

FROM ARCHAEOLOGY TO IMITATION:
POMPEII IN THE WORK OF ALEXANDER BRIULLOV

by

Masha Stoyanova
A Thesis
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DEDICATION

To Oleg, Nikita and Stephan, of course.

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This work would not have been possible if not for the enormous help from my Russian and American colleagues, who shared their time and knowledge. My deepest gratitude goes to Professor Carol Mattusch, a teacher one can only dream to have, for her support and encouragement during all these years, for the spirit she shares with her students, one that is both intellectually liberating and challenging, and for her wise guidance and enthusiasm about my work. I would like to thank Anna Metelkina (The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg) for the long hours she spent helping me look for prints that we were not sure we would ever find; Ekaterina Klimova (The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg) for her cooperation and for letting me use the unpublished images from the State Russian Museum collection for educational purposes in this thesis; Natalia Kalugina (Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow) for her assistance, for sharing her knowledge, and for kindest and warmest welcome to the topic; Kristen Regina (Hillwood Estate, Museum and Gardens, Washington, DC) for her genuine interest in my research, and for the encouragement and great help; Galina Mardilovich for her helpful comments; Elena Ivanova (The Academy of Arts Museum, St. Petersburg) for her timely cooperation; Nikolai Onegin (The State Hermitage Museum) for taking pictures and sending the images from the furniture collection; Nina Shabalina (Archives of the State Russian Museum) for going out of her way to help me read and decipher some of the hand-writing; Ksenya Gurshtein (National Gallery of Art) for pointing me in the right direction at the right moment; and Margarita Krylova (Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow) for her kind and quick responsiveness. I would like to thank the people (who prefer to remain anonymous) who guided me through the deteriorating house that was closed to the public for many years. I would like to thank Professor Lawrence Butler of George Mason University, and Professor Alison Hilton of Georgetown University for careful reading of this thesis, and for their insightful comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank Professor Christopher Gregg of George Mason University for his extremely helpful observations on different stages of this project. I thank my friends in St. Petersburg for accommodating me, and Alexandra Lugovaya and Valery Lugovoy for providing the best possible care for my children while I was studying, always. And finally, I thank my husband for his endless patience and constant support.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION, USE OF NAMES AND ILLUSTRATION SOURCES

I use the modified form of the Library of Congress transliteration system. Russian personal names that have an equivalent in English appear in their westernized version: for example, Alexander instead of Aleksandr, Nicholas versus Nikolai, Peter and not Petr, Yulia but not Iuliia, Maria and not Mariia. There are several exceptions due to the most common use, for example, Ekaterina Dashkova and not Catherine Dashkova. Some family names are transliterated in accordance with the existing tradition: for example, Yusupov Palace but not Iusupov Palace. In bibliographic references, when possible, I tried to use the first and last name of the author, instead of abbreviating the first and patronymic names: for example, Maria Nashchokina and not M. V. Nashchokina. Soft sign (') shows that the letter preceding it is pronounced with slight aspiration. All the translations from Russian and French are mine, unless noted otherwise. The sources of illustrations are chosen in accordance with the quality of the image: often, images of the best quality are found in popular blogs. The information regarding the image is from a scholarly source, but the image itself from any website that had it in better quality.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Archives of the State Russian MuseumOR GRM

ABSTRACT

FROM ARCHAEOLOGY TO IMITATION: POMPEII IN THE WORK OF ALEXANDER BRIULLOV

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In this thesis I investigate the material related to the exploration and exploitation of Pompeian heritage by the Russian architect Alexander Briullov (1798-1877). The thesis focuses on Briullov's book *Thermes de Pompéi* (Paris, 1829), describing and illustrating the Forum Baths at Pompeii, and on his design of the Pompeian Dining Room in the Winter Palace, St. Petersburg (1836-1839). Situating Briullov's work within the larger context of the European architects engaging with Pompeian legacy, I address the popularity of the Pompeian theme in the Russian visual arts, raise questions about the reasons behind Briullov's preference for archaeological, rather than architectural, treatment of the Forum Baths, and demonstrate the major influence of the publications illustrating Pompeian decorations on interior design and decorative arts. This thesis adds new information to the discussion of the rediscovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii in nineteenth-century Europe and Russia. Many of the facts and visual data are described and presented for the first time.

INTRODUCTION

The excavation of the unfortunate cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii started in 1738 and 1748, respectively. Although the cities were never completely lost to classicists and antiquarians,¹ their rediscovery for the general public coincided with and stimulated the intellectual movement of the Enlightenment. Uncovered objects, wall paintings, and skeletons had a great impact on the visual arts of Europe and America in all subsequent centuries. The architect Alexander Briullov (1798-1877, fig. 1), in the minds of his contemporaries and modern scholars, was one of the main artistic figures who brought a fashion for the Pompeian style into Russian homes.² Briullov operated within a larger international context of artists and architects who used Pompeian themes for transmitting their ideas or satisfying the tastes of their patrons. Just as the excavations themselves, which were carried out in an unsteady manner (extensive and speedy digging alternating with slowdowns), the fashion for Pompeian motifs in architecture and interior decoration had an erratic pattern.³

¹ See Ingrid D. Rowland, *From Pompeii: the Afterlife of a Roman Town* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press), 2014, and Carol C. Mattusch, introduction to *Rediscovering the Ancient World on the Bay of Naples, 1710-1890*, ed. Carol C. Mattusch (New Haven and London: Distributed by Yale University Press, 2013), 1.

² In 1888, art critic Vladimir Stasov, discussing Pompeian motifs in the oeuvre of the architect Aleksei Gornostaev, mentioned the influence that Alexander Briullov had on the latter, and wrote: "It was Briullov who brought this new fashion to Petersburg." Quote from: Maria Nashchokina, *Antichnoe nasledie v russkoi arkhitekture nikolaevskogo vremeni*. ["Classical heritage in Russian architecture during the reign of Nicholas I"] (Moskva: Progress-Traditsiia, 2011), 307.

³ During the French period (1799-1815), the excavations accelerated significantly, in large part due to the enthusiasm and financial input of Joaquin Murat and Queen Caroline Murat, only to be slowed down again

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the lack of publications stirred curiosity and whetted appetites for more images from the digs. The Bourbon court jealously guarded the discoveries, and forbade artists to make sketches, or to take notes, except in rare cases when royal permission had been granted. *Antichità di Ercolano* (1757-1792) in nine lavishly illustrated volumes, the first official publication of the finds, was largely inaccessible, and yet it became the major source to influence interior decoration.⁴ Subsequent publications of the finds, often unauthorized, greatly influenced taste for things Herculanean and Pompeian, and added to the ornamental and figurative repertoire of the modern decorative arts. Centaurs and centaresses, dancing maenads, and the *Cupid Seller* were among the most widely appropriated, most recognizable images, but represented a somewhat limited repertoire. In 1767, the abbé Ferdinando Galiani⁵ tried to persuade Prime Minister Bernardo Tanucci⁶ to translate *Antichità* into French and English: “Did Your Excellency know that everything these days is made à la greque, which is the same as saying à *Erculanum*? ... All the bronzes, engravings and paintings are copied from *Ercolano*. I have seen that painting of a woman selling cherubs

after the return of the Bourbons on the Neapolitan throne. The parallel suggested in: Alla Vershinina, “V poiskakh “novogo aleksandrizma”: pompeiskie motivy dekora v arkhitekture kontsa XIX – nachala XX veka,” [“In search of the “new alexandristm”: Pompeian motifs in decoration in the architecture in the end of the XIX – beginning of the XX century”], *Iskusstvoznanie: Zhurnal po istorii i teorii iskusstva* 1-2, (2007): 150-172.

⁴ Ottavio Antonio Bayardi et al., *Delle antichità di Ercolano esposte* (Napoli: Nella Regia stamperia, 1757-1792).

⁵ Ferdinando Galiani (1728-1787), a younger brother of an archaeologist Berardo Galiani (see footnote 110), was a prominent Italian economist, and at the time of this correspondence – secretary of the Neapolitan embassy at Paris.

⁶ Bernardo Tanucci (1698-1783) was a statesman of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies at the courts of Charles III and his son Ferdinand IV. On the important role of “a hard-working intellectual” Tanucci in the publication of the finds at Herculaneum, see John E. Moore, “ ‘To the Catholic King’ and Others: Bernardo Tanucci’s Correspondence and the Herculaneum Project,” in *Rediscovering the Ancient World on the Bay of Naples, 1710-1890*, ed. Carol C. Mattusch (New Haven and London: Distributed by Yale University Press, 2013), 89-122.

as chickens at least ten times. So Your Excellency can see the importance of a reprint of Ercolano as, without the whole book, the poor artists have to cope with just bits and pieces.”⁷

In France, Charles-Nicolas Cochin and Jérôme Charles Bellicard, and the Comte de Caylus printed engravings of Herculanean antiquities earlier than the official publication, in 1754 and 1756; these were followed by illustrations in abbot Jean-Claude Richard Saint-Non’s *Voyage pittoresque* in 1782.⁸ *Antichità* was eventually copied and reprinted: in England, Martyn and Lettice’s 1773 translation of the first four volumes of *Antichità* was smaller, and thus more accessible than the Italian original.⁹ In Italy, Tommaso Piroli copied the plates of *Antichità* and published the images in six volumes without the text between 1789 and 1807. The publication of Sir William Hamilton’s vase collections, first one in 1776 and the second one with illustrations by Johann Tischbein in 1791, and the first catalogue of Josiah Wedgwood’s and Matthew Boulton’s *Etruscan ware* in 1773, were significant in adding to the assortment of decorative schemes used by the neoclassical architects.¹⁰ Herculanean designs probably infiltrated Russia and Germany through the English, Italian and French publications.¹¹

⁷ Quote from: Ferdinando Bologna, “The Rediscovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii in the Artistic Culture of Europe in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Riscoprire Pompei* (Rome, 1993), 103.

⁸ Charles-Nicolas Cochin and Charles Jérôme Bellicard, *Observations sur les antiquités de la ville d’Herculanum* (Paris, 1754); Anne-Claude Phillipe de Tubières de Grimoard de Pestels de Levis Caylus, *Recueil d’antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises. Avec Éloge historique de M. le Comte de Caylus par M. le Beau*, 7 tomes (Paris, 1756-1767); Jean-Claude Richard Saint-Non, *Voyage pittoresque; ou, Description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* (Paris, 1782).

⁹ Thomas Martyn and John Lettice, *Antiquities of Herculaneum* (London, 1773).

¹⁰ Sir William Hamilton’s first collection *Collection of Etruscan, Greek and Roman antiquities* was published in 1766-1776, and the second, *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases Mostly of Pure Greek Workmanship discovered in Sepulchres in the Kingdom of Two Sicilies*, in 1791-1795, both in Naples and each in four volumes. On the sources of decorative schemes in neoclassical English interiors, including Giovanni Battista Piranesi’s engravings, see: John Wilton-Ely, “Pompeian and Etruscan Tastes in

The first surge of interest in Pompeian style resulted in the interiors that were not as much distinctly “Pompeian” or “Herculanean” as they were a mixture of the elements of Greek, Etruscan and Roman.¹² The finest exemplars of this neoclassical yet eclectic imitation style were the work of Robert Adam, James Wyatt, and James Stuart in England (figs. 2-5), the interiors of the Empress Josephine at Château Malmaison by Charles Percier and Pierre Fontaine, of Marie-Antoinette at Château de Fontainebleau by Pierre Rousseau, designs by Charles-Louis Clérissseau in France (figs. 6-10), and the work of Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff, Christian Traugott Weinlig and Carl Gotthard Langhansin in Germany (figs. 11, 12). In Russia, Charles Cameron, the admirer and follower of both Adam and Clérissseau, created designs evoking ancient Roman paintings in the palace of Catherine the Great at Tsarskoe Selo (figs. 13-16). Most of these architects were themselves authors of half architectural, half archaeological publications on classical architecture and decoration: Percier and Fontaine published a handbook of the Empire style; Charles Cameron was the author of a publication on Roman baths;

the Neo-Classical Country-House Interior” in *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, ed. Gervase Jackson-Stops et al. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989), 51-73.

¹¹ In relation to Germany, this assumption relies on the fact that German input into the publication of the finds was primarily textual. The major publications on the finds in German were that of Johann Joachim Winkelmann, and those did not have any reliable illustrations. Hamilton’s *Collection* was translated and published in Nuremberg in 1780, and a German translation of *Antichità* appeared in Augsburg in 1793. As for Russia, in the eighteenth century architects working on important commissions in St. Petersburg and Moscow were primarily foreigners, bringing with them first-hand sources and Italian, French and English publications, and there is no information about Russian publications of the finds. Princess Dashkova indicated in her memoirs that the King offered her edition of *Antichità* as a gift, see chapter “Pompeii in Russia, and Russians in Pompeii” of this thesis.

¹² The only known interior of these early interpretations of ancient Roman house decorations that was distinctly Pompeian was the Pompeian Gallery at Packington Hall, Warwickshire, designed by Joseph Bonomi and the 4th Earl of Aylesford, decorated by a team of artists led by John Francis Rigauld, 1785-1788. The decorative source for this room has been identified as engravings of the Roman wall decorations from M. Ponce, *Description des Bains de Titus*, 1786. See Wilton-Ely, “Pompeian and Etruscan Tastes in the Neo-Classical Country-House Interior,” 67-68.

Adam and Clérisseau worked on the ruins of Diocletian's palace in Rome; and James Stuart together with Nicholas Revett recorded monuments of Greece.¹³

The second wave of vogue for Pompeian architecture and decoration came about in the second quarter of the nineteenth century and was probably fueled by the treatment of the topic in romantic literature and painting. Of these, the best known examples are Edward Bulwer Lytton's wildly popular novel *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834) and the painting that inspired it, Karl Briullov's *The Last Day of Pompeii* (1830-1833, fig. 17). Variations on Pompeian themes in architecture and interior decoration during this period are traditionally associated with the cultural movement of Romanticism and viewed within the context of the revival of other styles, such as Gothic, Ottoman, Chinese, and Indian. It goes unquestioned that the nineteenth century was marked by "an inhibiting emphasis on greater archaeological accuracy."¹⁴ The explanations for this turn are often sought in the inextricable connection between Romanticism and archaeology. Interiors created between the 1840s and the 1880s in England, France, Germany and America were mostly reconstructions of actual Pompeian and Herculanean rooms, houses and villas. The main architects working with Pompeian interiors at this time were Agostino Aglio in England (figs. 18, 19), Alfred Normand in France (figs. 20-24), Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Leo von Klenze, Friedrich von Gärtner and Gottfried Semper in Germany (fig.

¹³ Charles Percier and Pierre Fontaine, *Recueil des décorations intérieure* (Paris, 1812); Charles , reprinted in 1774 and 1775, *The Baths of the Romans: Explained and Illustrated, with the Restorations of Palladio Corrected and Improved* (London, 1772); Robert Adam, *Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (London, 1764); James Stuart, and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities Of Athens : Measured And Delineated* (London: Haberkorn, 1762).

¹⁴ Wilton-Ely, "Pompeian and Etruscan Tastes in the Neo-Classical Country-House Interior," 70.

25,26),¹⁵ Vasilii Stasov, Alexander Briullov and Andrei Shtakenshneider in Russia (figs. 27-33).

On the technical level, the archaeological turn in interior decoration can be explained by the growth of higher-quality publications of classical designs, larger numbers of excavated spaces available for viewing and, thus, expansion of the visual vocabulary of the architects employing classical decoration. Design sourcebooks, reconstructions of Pompeian frescoes in color lithographs, and polychromatic folios presenting specimens of ancient ornaments and decorations were on the rise from the late 1820s. Many finely illustrated descriptions of the city became available to the public. The best known and referenced in contemporary scholarly works and travel guides at the time were those of the French architect Charles François Mazois and the English antiquarian Sir William Gell.¹⁶ Wilhelm Zahn produced chromolithographic prints that had tremendous influence on the design of Pompeian interiors.¹⁷ In four magnificent volumes (1854-1896) the brothers Fausto and Felice Niccolini represented the city and its finds in colorful chromolithographic images, and surpassed all previous editions in quantity and precision of illustrations.¹⁸ Ludwig Grüner and his student Owen Jones also made a

¹⁵ On the use of Pompeian motifs in German interiors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see: Peter Werner, *Pompeji und die Wanddekoration der Goethezeit* (München: W. Fink, 1970).

¹⁶ Charles François Mazois, *Les Ruines de Pompéi dessinées et mesurées pendant les années MDCCCIX, MDCCCX, MDCCCXI publiée à Paris en MDCCCXII, Première et seconde parties*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1813-1824); Sir William Gell and John P. Gandy, *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices, and Ornaments of Pompeii*, 2 vols. (London, 1817-19).

¹⁷ Wilhelm Zahn,

significant input into the expanse of the architectural vocabulary.¹⁹ The 1922 magazine *The Printing Art* also names less known publications by Wilhelm Ternite, Edward Trollope and Mastraca among those that had an impact on the evolution of Pompeian style in the decorative arts, and defines the works of Desiré-Raoul Rochette as having little to offer for the interior designer.²⁰ In pursuit of archaeological accuracy, many architects and artists were using optical devices such as the camera lucida for recording the remains and decorations, and using photographs as well, after the invention of photography of 1848.

Examples of Pompeian interior designs produced from the 1840s onward are not as well known today as the earlier neoclassical ones. Most of the 1840s-1880s interiors in Pompeian style were lost or destroyed during later redecoration projects. Among those lost were the dining room in the Garden Pavilion of the Buckingham Palace commissioned by Prince Albert from the architect Agostino Aglio for Queen Victoria (1843-45) (figs. 18, 19), the Pompeian villa of Ludwig I of Bavaria in Aschaffenburg (1840-1848, destroyed during World War II, now restored, figs. 34-36), the Pompeian Court of the Crystal Palace (1853) (fig. 37), the famous Maison Pompéienne on the Avenue Montagne built by Alfred-Nicolas Normand for Prince Napoléon's lover Rachel Félix in Paris (1860) (figs. 20-24), and Franklin Webster Smith's recreation of the House

Thomas M. Hartmann, *Houses and monuments of Pompeii: the works of Fausto and Felice Niccolini* (Los Angeles, Calif: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002).

¹⁹ Ludwig Grüner and August Emil Braun, *Specimens of ornamental art: selected from the best models of the classical epochs* (London: T. McLean, 1850, second edition in 1853); Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day and Son, 1856).

²⁰ Fred T. Singleton, "On the Trail of Pompeian Ornament: An Illustrated Adventure in the Ornament World," *The Printing Art. An Illustrated Monthly Magazine Devoted to the Graphic Arts*, 39 (1922): 453-455.

of Pansa in Saratoga Springs, NY (1888) (fig. 38). Searching for the visual records of these architectural projects can be an elusive task: all that survives may be one or two images of the place. Among the rare surviving examples of the imitations of Pompeian style dating back to the nineteenth century are the wall paintings in the Tartu University Art Museum and paintings in several manor houses in Estonia, and other designs scattered throughout Europe and America.²¹ The appeal of Pompeii survived in Europe until the late nineteenth century, but a third wave of interest in the Pompeian past occurred in the Russian Art Nouveau movement of the early twentieth century.²²

Alexander Briullov's work belongs to the second wave of vogue for Pompeian past which started in the 1830s and lasted for almost half a century in Europe and America, and which assumed forms visually different from the earlier interpretations of it. I shall examine Briullov's work at Pompeii in the 1820s and subsequent publication of his architectural and archaeological study of the Forum Baths at Pompeii. I shall consider Briullov's folio *Thermes de Pompéi* (Paris, 1829) within the context of the connections between archaeology and architecture at the time. I shall also analyze how Briullov's work responded to the academic methods by which architects were trained at the time and offer insight into techniques and devices that artists used while recording archaeological remains on the Bay of Naples. After thus addressing Briullov's training and early work, I shall consider his projects upon his return to Russia, where he became a prominent architect and interior decorator who worked for members of the Russian royal family, as

²¹ Hilka Hiiop, "In the footsteps of classical antiquity. Influences of the antique in Estonian manor murals," *Baltic Journal of Art History* Autumn (2011): 225-252, accessed February 20, 2014, url: <https://ojs.utlib.ee/index.php/bjah/article/download/817/795>

²² See Vershinina, "V poiskakh "novogo aleksandrizma...".

well as for other notable members of the aristocracy, from the 1830s through the 1850s. Briullov's Pompeian interiors did not escape the perils of time: they were lost during later redecoration projects, destroyed during World War II or through lack of funding for preservation of architectural heritage in Russia. My evidence for these projects depends upon a few watercolors, the scarce remains of the decoration in a single neglected and deteriorating house, and the descriptions of Briullov's work left by his contemporaries.

HISTORY OF THE QUESTION AND ITS CURRENT STATE: PROBLEMS AND DIRECTIONS

My thesis draws on several strands of contemporary scholarship in Russia and elsewhere. I look to Russian scholars for research on Alexander Briullov's oeuvre²³ and for studies of the development of Russian architecture during the reign of Nicholas I - a period between 1825 and 1855, traditionally characterized by a strong ideology of absolutism, orthodoxy and nationality on the one hand, and by the intellectual movement of Romanticism in literature and the visual arts on the other.²⁴ I rely on the research of an international group of scholars for basic knowledge about the ancient Roman world encapsulated in the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and for discussion of the reception of the discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe.²⁵

²³ Primarily K. Orlova, Galina Ol', Tatiana Pashkova and A. Blinov, Iraida Bott, Ivan Garmanov on Briullov's interiors and furniture design, and Elena Borisova, Evgenia Kirichenko, Maria Nashchokina for understanding of Russian architecture of the period.

²⁴ For the historians' assessment and interpretation of the reign of Nicholas I, I rely on Nicholas Riasanovsky and Richard S. Wortman. On the reflections of the period in primary sources, I look at the memoirs of Anna Tiutcheva, Modest Korf, the Marquise de Custine, Princess Olga, Florent Gille, and August Theodore de Grimm.

²⁵ To name just a few scholars whose work had direct relevance for the exploration of my topic: Mary Beard, Alison Cooley, Curtis Dahl, Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow, Carol C. Mattusch, Volker Michael Strocka, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, John Wilton-Ely, Fikret Yegül. Several recent collections of essays devoted to the rediscovery of Pompeii were invaluable for broader and deeper understanding of the topic: Shelley Hales and Joanna Paul, *Pompeii in the Public Imagination from Its Rediscovery to Today. Classical presences* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), and Mattusch, ed., *Rediscovering the Ancient World on the Bay of Naples*. So was the catalogue of the last year's exhibition organized by the Getty Museum, presenting the artworks of European and American artists up to the twentieth century, and demonstrating the changing agenda in the interpretation of Pompeian theme in the different centuries: Victoria C. Gardner Coates, Kenneth D. S. Lapatin, and Jon L. Seydl, *The Last Days of Pompeii*:

Although the topic of the rediscovery of the ancient world on the Bay of Naples chronologically belongs to the period studied by historians of modernity, it is dominated by scholars coming from a background in archaeology. While methods that archaeologists and art historians use are not essentially different, the narrative that is constructed by archaeologists has a strong documentarian lead. Where art historians of modernity might be tempted to explain fascination with Pompeian heritage and changes in its reception by major shifts in the intellectual sphere of the society at a given historical moment, archaeologists treating this topic construct a skeptical and pragmatic discourse, and avoid topics concerning the history of ideas, confining themselves to descriptions of the history of the excavations and publications of the finds, and to the discussion of the politics of the Neapolitan authorities. They offer solid factual material that might be used as building blocks to create theories, support or refute hypotheses about the reasons for the changes in visual arts. To this day, there exists no comprehensive study that would cover the story of the “re-awakened” Pompeii and Herculaneum in full and accurate detail.²⁶ As for the reception of Pompeii in Russia, the topic remains largely unexplored.

The study of nineteenth-century Russian architecture has been marked by a number of changes in recent decades. There is growing interest in previously understudied aspects: reevaluation of the rule of Nicholas I, and active exploration of the art produced under his patronage. These questions are now set free of negative connotations that permeated their scholarship for the most part of the twentieth century.

Decadence, Apocalypse, Resurrection (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum; Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 2012).

²⁶ A book by Judith Harris *Pompeii Awakened: A Story of Rediscovery* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), although not scholarly but a publicist's work, offers wider coverage of the story chronologically and geographically than any scholarly work on the topic to this day.

The royal patronage of Nicholas I was understudied in Soviet times primarily because his extremely conservative ideology of absolute monarchy and his harsh methods of rule made him the embodiment of evil “reactionism” in the old regime. It was common to characterize the architectural forms produced during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century as blind copying of other styles - copying that was governed by no principles - and to deem these forms tasteless, degenerate and not worthy of scholarly exploration.

Russian studies on architecture and decorative arts, and on Alexander Briullov’s work in particular, are often preoccupied with stylistic determinism. The era when Briullov’s career was at its peak (1830s-1850s) is termed “historicism,” understood as emulations of past or exotic styles in architecture and decorative arts.²⁷ In an attempt to explain differences in stylistic treatment of particular subjects, some authors even go so far as to subdivide the period into many different “historicisms,” such as “romantic historicism,” “archaeological historicism,” “experimental historicism,” and “dogmatic historicism.”²⁸ As most of the recent scholarship on Briullov’s interior designs came from the museum curators, this necessity to distinguish the styles is understandable and is probably related to the nature of the museum profession: the need to label and the ability

²⁷ In Russian scholarship, the term “historicism” is sometimes used interchangeably with “eclecticism” or “retrospectivism.” “Historicism” is applied specifically to the era of 1830s-1890s (although the time frame varies in different publications). It describes the era of particular interest to the imitations of Russian national, Russo-Byzantine, Gothic, Chinese, Oriental and other styles. The roots of historicism are traditionally seen in the aesthetics of Romanticism. The era of the eighteenth-century revival of classical is termed “classicism” in relation to the Russian art of the period. The term “neoclassicism” in Russia is applied to the art of the 1900s.

²⁸ M. Lopato and T. Petrova, *Istorizm v Rossii: stil' i epokha v dekorativnom iskusstve, 1820-e - 1890-e gody: katalog vystavki* [“Historicism in Russia: style and epoch in the decorative arts, 1820s-1890s: exhibition catalogue”] (S.-Peterburg: Slaviia. 1996), 11; Natalia Guseva, “Zvezdy Salona,” [“Stars of a Salon”] *Zvezda Renessansa* 18 (2013):17.

to show formal differences *in situ*. In fact, interpretations of classical antiquity recall conventionality of stylistic definitions, and just as Adam's and Stuart's interiors provoke us to look for the contradictory term "eclectic Neoclassicism," Briullov's work lets us think of "romantic Classicism."

Historicism in Russia from the 1830s to the 1850s was interlaced with the official course on "nationality" and with the literary movement of Romanticism. From interest in the great Russian past arose greater attention to archaeology, and better funding of various national archaeological projects and publications. The ruler's ideological program and his changing personal tastes found rationalization in art theory of the time, and yesterday's defenders of classicism became today's proponents of eclecticism.²⁹ The dominance of the classical canon was shattered in theory and in practice, and artists started seeing as much meaning in other cultures as they had previously seen in the Greco-Roman one. Russian architectural theorists of the time (who were, for the most part, writers or literary critics, social thinkers, and, more rarely, architects themselves) self-consciously proclaimed historicism, eclecticism and Romanticism as defining features of their time. Shifts in styles, expansion of subjects, and changes in their treatment were also seen within the binary opposition of Romanticism and Neoclassicism. Textual sources of the period put the opposition between neoclassical architectural forms and modern eclectic ones into the terms "blind copying" versus

²⁹ For example, note transformation of aesthetic views of Ivan Sviiazhev between 1833 and 1839. See Evgenia Kirichenko, *Arkhitekturnye teorii XIX veka v Rossii*. ["Architectural theories in the nineteenth-century Russia."] (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1986), 114-120.

“creative imitation.” A quote from 1837 *Khudozhestvennaia Gazeta* (*The Art Newspaper*) stresses innovation in imitation, and contrasts the latter to copying:

We believe that the imitation of style will always be the more original in itself the more it is successful in its goal. One can simply copy an object sometimes, letter for letter. But this will still only be a copy ... to create your own, entirely own and to guess the desired character ... for this, one needs to have something more, not just the slavish copying.³⁰

“Slavish copying” here is a reference to the working method of neoclassical artists as understood by nineteenth-century thinkers who tried to distinguish and define their own “eclectic” time in opposition to the dogmatism of “classical” forms.³¹ The work of neoclassical architects was opposed to “creative imitation” of the modern architects in many other contemporary sources.³² It is notable that at the end of the nineteenth century, architectural forms and interior designs created during the era of historicism were labeled, too, as “blind and slavish copying,” probably the most derogatory term in the history of art.

The desire to explain transformations in the treatment of archaeological material and stylistic changes by the major shift in the paradigm of thought puts us at risk of accepting or building atop interpretations of the moment constructed within the moment. Although the idea of Pompeii was being romanticized for most of the nineteenth century, searching for explanations of the far-reaching popularity of archaeology at that time, and of stylistic changes in imitations of Pompeian style in the cultural movement of

³⁰ *Khudozhestvennaia Gazeta* [“The Art Newspaper”], 1837. Quote from: Iraida Bott, “Peterburgskaia mebel’ epokhi istorisma. K voprosu o neostiliakh” [“St. Petersburg furniture in the era of historicism. To the question of neostyles”] *Izvestiia RGPU im. A.I. Gertsena* 76-1 (2008): 72.

³¹ On assessment of copying (подражательство) as a dated method of work with a strong negative connotation in the 1830s-1850s writings on architecture, see: Kirichenko, *Arkhitekturnye teorii*, 115-116.

³² See Kirichenko, *Arkhitekturnye teorii*..., 12-151.

Romanticism would be insufficient. Briullov's work at Pompeii, and later as an architect and interior decorator, lets us take into account the complexity of social, political, economic and intellectual life; print culture and the book market; technology; and educational reforms of the time.

POMPEII IN RUSSIA, AND RUSSIANS IN POMPEII

The Bay of Naples was a significant locus on the cultural map of the Russian Grand Tour. The practice of European travel with the purpose of “cultivating the heart”, “enriching the mind” and freeing oneself of “prejudices” started in Russia in the 1770s, a century later than in England, and lasted for at least seven decades.³³ Voyages of the Russian elite led by private - not state - initiative became possible after the 1762 abolition of the compulsory twenty-five-year military or civilian service for nobles. The idea of European travel was influenced and supported by the growing book market, which started providing much travel literature between the 1760s and the 1790s, including descriptions of journeys and of geography, history and art of different countries. Of those, the first travel guide to Herculaneum in Russian was published in 1789, and the first one to Pompeii only in 1843.³⁴ For Russians, the lure of Pompeii and Herculaneum was part of the general fascination with Italy, its nature and its culture. The core of the greatness of the latter was often seen in the former. One of the travelers remarked that, living in Italy,

³³ In my coverage of the Russian Grand Tour and its causes, I rely on a doctoral dissertation by Maria Stefko, *Evropeiskoe putesthestvie kak fenomen russkoi dvorianskoi kul'tury v kontse vosemnadtsatogo - nachale deviatnadtsatogo veka*. [“European travel as a phenomenon of the culture of Russian nobility in the end of the eighteenth - beginning of the nineteenth centuries”] (PhD diss., Moscow, 2010).

³⁴ Vasilii S. Berezaiskii, *Liubopytnoe otkrytie goroda Gerkulana, pogloshchennago strashnym izverzheniem gory Vezuviia i byvshago pod zemleiu okolo 1700 let. Sobrano iz raznykh pisatelei i na rossiiskii iazyk perevedennoe Vasil'em Berezaiskim* [“Curious discovery of the town Herculaneum, devoured by the dreadful eruption of the mount Vesuvius and remaining underground for circa 1700 years. Compiled from different writers and translated into the Russian language by Vasilii Berezaiskii”] (Sanktpeterburg: na izhdivenii I.K. Shnora, 1789, second edition in 1795). The first travel guide to Pompeii: Aleksei Levshin, *Progulki russkago v Pompei* (Sanktpeterburg, 1843).

you do not need to have much imagination, just record what you see around you: if Virgil had been strolling in the vicinities of St. Petersburg all his life and then would still be able to write the sixth book of *Aenead*, he would be twice the poet.³⁵

Matthew Craske has observed that a shared interest in the classical canon acted as a form of bond between the international community of grand tourists in Italy and was most cogently expressed in the portraits of Pompeo Batoni: for example, his portrait of the Russian count Kirill Razumovskii (1766, fig. 39) shows the same setting and the same group of conventional antiquities that were employed earlier in the portrait of the English baron Thomas Dundas (1764, fig. 40).³⁶ Admiration of the classical past, knowledge of ancient Greek and/or Latin languages, as well as of classical literature and of Johann Joachim Winckelmann's writings were an integral part of the culture of the educated Russian at the time. An enlightened Russian traveler perceived Italy as the cradle of all European art, the birthplace of the Renaissance, and the guardian of classical antiquity. How the exposed reality of Roman everyday life changed that idealized, perfected, white-marble myth of antiquity, and what responses it provoked is a promising topic for exploration, but even a quick glance at epistolary reactions of the visitors to the site reveal a sophisticated picture of its perception. Fascination with the story and with the finds, disappointment with some of the "tasteless" art and with the excavation practices, desire to revive the past, to enliven and to reconstruct the city, a wish to see all things represented exactly in the places where they were found, comparisons and parallels with

³⁵ Vasilii Perovskii, "Otryvki pisem iz Italii" ["Excerpts of Letters from Italy"] *Severnye Tsvety na 1825 god. Novoe isdanie. Prilozhenie k Russkomu Arkhivu* (Moskva: V Universitetskoi Tipografii (M. Katkov), 1881): 200.

³⁶ Matthew Craske, *Art in Europe 1700-1830: A History of the Visual Arts in an Era of Unprecedented Urban Economic Growth* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 137-138.

modern times, a feeling that the ancient inhabitants were here as if yesterday, bursts of imagination, comments on the morals of the ancients, a question “what if a volcano erupted on our city today?” – all these motifs we find again and again in many descriptions of the Russian visitors to the site, some of which were published in the literary journals. The most famous ones were “Excerpts of Letters from Italy” that appeared in the almanac *Severnye Tsvety* (*The Northern Flowers*) in 1825, and “A Walk of a Russian Traveler in Pompeii in the year 1829” published in *Moskovskii Vestnik* (*Moscow Newsletter*) in 1830.³⁷ A full spectrum of these impressions and reflections found expression in the first Russian travel guide to Pompeii: *Walks of a Russian in Pompeii* that was published in St. Petersburg in 1843.³⁸

Princess Ekaterina Dashkova was one of the first Russian visitors to the site. Lady-in-waiting of Catherine the Great and a future director of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences,³⁹ she was touring Europe this time with the main purpose of continuing the education of her son Pavel. She visited Naples in 1781, where she spent time in the company of Sir William Hamilton and his wife Emma, and met with His

³⁷ “Otryvki pisem iz Italii,” 172-244. *Excerpts of Letters from Italy* were anonymous (signed “П...й”), but the readers soon identified that they were written by Vasilii Perovskii. These *Letters* caused Pushkin’s jealous comment “Lucky man! He has seen Rome and Vesuvius!” (Alexander Pushkin, A letter to Vasilii Zhukovskii from August 17, 1825, (http://pushkin-art.ru/letters_t1_3_172/)). Perovskii was one of those in whose company Alexander Briullov climbed Vesuvius in 1824. Stepan Shevyrev was the author of “A Walk of a Russian Traveler in Pompeii in the year 1829.” See Stepan Shevyrev, “Progulka russkogo puteshestvennika v Pompeie v 1829 godu,” *Moskovskii Vestnik* 1 (1830): 91-110, 2 (1830): 192-205. (http://dugward.ru/library/shevyrev/shevyrev_progulka.html)

³⁸ Levshin, *Progulki russkago v Pompei*. This travel guide was soon followed by another one: in 1847, Vladimir Klassovskii published *Sistematicheskoe opisanie Pompei i otkrytykh v nei drevnostei, s monografiiei Vesuviia i ocherkom Gerkulanuma, s planami i poiasnitel’nymi graviurami*. This last travel guide was reprinted several times in subsequent years: the second edition appeared in 1849, the third in 1856, and the fourth in 1883.

³⁹ Dashkova was the director of the Academy of Sciences from 1783 to 1794, under the president of the Academy Kirill Razumovskii.

Majesty The King of Naples and Sicily, Ferdinand I. She climbed Vesuvius, which nearly cost her life, if we are to believe her own words, and visited the museum at Portici:

It was with infinite interest that I contemplated those invaluable treasures from Herculaneum and Pompeii deposited at Portici. On the subject of Pompeii, I remember once taking the liberty of observing to their majesties, that if the whole city with its several streets were rescued from the cinders, and all the utensils, furniture, carriages, and whatever object of curiosity might be discovered, cleared from their incrustation, and replaced in the exact situation where they were found, a perfect image and illustration of antiquity might thus be presented, which could not fail to attract the curious from all parts of Europe; and by having it guarded and exhibited at a certain price, it might not only indemnify his majesty for the expense of the work, but become a valuable source of revenue. His majesty, not recollecting, perhaps, that I understood Italian, turned to one of the lords near him, and declared that I was a very clever sort of person, — that what I proposed was extremely reasonable, and much more worthy of being adopted than anything which had been hitherto suggested by the antiquaries, who professed to be such idolaters on these subjects. I found, too, by what followed, that his majesty took no offence at my freedom of speech; for without replying to my observation, "There is," said he, "a publication in several volumes, with plates of every curiosity found in Pompeii, which, as appertaining to so interesting a discovery, may perhaps be worthy of your acceptance, and if so, I will direct that it shall be presented to you." I expressed my humble acknowledgments for the offer of what I prized much more than baubles, however valuable.⁴⁰

Dashkova's suggestion to place every object discovered "in the exact situation where they were found" is one in line with other advocates of "leaving everything in its place,"⁴¹ from Maffei to Chateaubriand. From the times of Ekaterina Dashkova and up to the 1840s⁴² the social status of tourists expanded. In those six decades, many writers,

⁴⁰ Ekaterina R. Dashkova and Martha Wilmot, *Memoirs of the Princess Daschkaw, Lady of Honour to Catherine II, Empress of all the Russias: Written by Herself: Comprising Letters of the Empress, and other Correspondence. Edited from the originals, by Mrs. W. Bradford*, vol. 1 (London: H. Colburn.1840), 250-251. Although Ekaterina Dashkova finished her memoirs in 1805, her writings became widely known in Russia only closer to the middle of the nineteenth century: due to the sensitive information they contained, the publication was delayed.

⁴¹ Scipione Maffei, *Tre lettere del Signor Marchese Scipione Maffei* (Verona, 1748), quote from: Ferdinando Bologna, "The Rediscovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii...", 109.

⁴² The upper time border is dictated by the topic and by the 1848 decree of Nicholas I, which required all pensionnaires of the Academy to urgently leave Europe for Russia.

poets, historians, archaeologists, artists and architects visited Pompeii. Of those travelers, the royal couple and the architects-pensionnaires of the Imperial Academy for the Arts are of most importance to our discussion.

The prototype of the St. Petersburg Academy was the French Academy in Paris, which sent the winners of the Grand Prix de Rome to its branch in Rome.⁴³ Already in the 1760s, the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg was, too, sending its best students to study in France and Italy; however, their travel was often fraught with financial and safety problems.⁴⁴ The number of pensionnaires increased, and their conditions improved in the 1820s, after Aleksei Olenin was appointed the new president of the Academy in 1817, and after Nicholas I took the Academy under his royal patronage, thus raising the funding. Olenin, who was a brilliantly educated man of many merits, but primarily a dedicated archaeologist, regarded the definition of architecture given by Vitruvius above all others,⁴⁵ and strove to introduce archaeology into the list of required subjects of the Academy. The geography of the pensionnaires' travel expanded, and now they were allowed to visit Germany, England, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland,

⁴³ Those sent to study abroad were called *pensionnaires* in French and *pensionery* (пенсионеры) in Russian, after the term *pension* used to denote their funding.

⁴⁴ See M.B. Mikhailova, "Russkie arkhitektory-pensionery v Italii (vtoraia polovina XVIII – pervaiia tret' XIX veka)" ["Russian architects-pensionnaires in Italy (second half of the XVIII – first third of the XIX century)"], in *Rossiia i Italiia. Vypusk 4. Vstrecha kul'tur* (Moskva: Nauka, 2000), 84-97.

⁴⁵ Aleksei N. Olenin, and N.S. Beliaev, sost., *Izbrannye trudy po istorii i deiatel'nosti Imperatorskoi Akademii khudozhestv* (Sankt-Peterburg, 2000), 87. Some scholars see the role of Aleksei Olenin in the development of the Academy very positively (see Nashchokina, *Antichnoe nasledie...*, 245-271). However, Oleg Ostrovskii gives negative assessment of Olenin's work as a president of the Academy, concluding that his activities caused more harm than benefits for the artists. See Oleg Ostrovskii, "A.N. Olenin i Akademiia khudozhestv v 1817-1825 gody" ["Olenin and the Academy of Fine Arts in 1817-1825"], *Izvestiia rossiiskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni A.I. Gertsena* 11- 5 (2005): 154-168. <http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/a-n-olenin-i-akademiya-hudozhestv-v-1817-1825-gody>. Memoirs of Modest Korf also portray a very unappealing image of Olenin, see Modest Korf, *Zapiski* (Moskva: Zakharov, 2003), 223-227.

Spain, Greece, Egypt and Syria.⁴⁶ Major centers of architectural and archaeological research in Italy were in Latium and Campania: Rome, Palestrina, Tivoli, Ostia, Frascati and Pompeii, Pozzuoli, Herculaneum, Stabiae, and Baiae.⁴⁷ A major influx of Russian architects to the Naples area started in the 1820s: by this time, excavations there had been in progress for almost a century. Russian artists working in the environs of Rome and Naples copied Renaissance frescoes, measured remains of ancient buildings, and studied in the studios of the most acclaimed modern sculptors, such as Bertel Thorvaldsen.⁴⁸ In the first half of the nineteenth century, there was a large colony of Russian artists working in Italy: the painters Karl Briullov, Fedor Bruni, Alexander Ivanov, Orest Kiprenskii, Aleksei Markov, Fedor Matveev, and Silvestr Shchedrin; the architects Alexander Briullov, Vasilii Glinka, Alexander Gornostaev, Nikolai Efimov, Sergei Ivanov, Dmitrii Kalashnikov, Avraam Melnikov, Nikita Martos, Konstantin Thon, Vasilii Stasov; and the sculptors Samuil Galberg, Boris Orlovskii and Nikolai Ramazanov, to name only a few. Although the tasks that either the Academy or patrons gave to the architects-pensionnaires varied from practical architectural projects to archaeological research, one of the most common assignments was a “restoration project,” which will be discussed in detail in the chapter *Thermes de Pompéi* dedicated to Briullov’s folio.

⁴⁶ A short survey of the activities in which Russian architects-pensionnaires in Italy engaged, and of the expectations of their patrons, is discussed in: Natalia Kalugina, “Russkie arkhitektiry-pensionery v Italii. Pervaia polovina XIX veka.” [“Russian architects-pensionnaires in Italy. First half of the nineteenth century”], in *Khudozhestvennyi mir glazami inostrantsev: vpechatleniia, vzaimovlianiia, novye tendentsii. Sbornik statei*, ed. E. F. Fedotova (Moskva, 2013), 234-255.

⁴⁷ Kalugina, “Russkie arkhitektiry-pensionery v Italii...,” 235.

⁴⁸ On the relations of the Russian artists with Bertel Thorvaldsen, see: Vladimir Lapshin, “Torvaldsen i ego tvorchestvo v russkoi kul’ture XIX – nachala XX veka” [“Thorvaldsen and his art in the Russian culture of the XIX – beginning of the XX century”] *Iskusstvoznanie: Zhurnal po istorii i teorii iskusstva* 2 (2006): 588-615.

The artist-centric paradigm that claims Alexander Briullov to be the major artistic figure to bring Pompeian designs into the homes of the Russian elite disregards the work of other architects employing Pompeian motifs in architecture, primarily Andrei Shtakenshneider (1802-1865), and diminishes the significance of Briullov's patrons. And yet it was his major patron, the Emperor Nicholas I (fig. 41), who set the fashions and was the main tastemaker, and on whom the eyes of the court were directed.⁴⁹ This dependency on the tsar's tastes showed itself conspicuously in private estate architecture of the landowning courtiers who employed the same architectural vocabulary as that used in the royal residences. Architectural imitation emphasized one's identification with the tsar and offered an ideal vehicle to approach the aura of power radiating from the crown.⁵⁰ The tsar himself, at the same time, was looking elsewhere for a source of emulation (or at least that was suggested in a 1913 survey of the royal palace construction): "beginning with the 1830s, and then during all twenty five years of his rule, Nicholas I had a fancy for everything that they had interest in at the courts of Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia, Ludwig I and Max I of Bavaria, and even of his most hated Louis Phillippe."⁵¹

⁴⁹ A Frenchman Astolphe-Louis-Léonor Custine, or, the Marquis de Custine, who visited Russia in 1839, vividly represented this dependence of the court on the tsar's taste, opinion and judgment in his famously unflattering description of Russia. See Astolphe Louis Léonor de Custine, *La Russie en 1839. The Empire of the Czar; or, Observations on the social, political, and religious state and prospects of Russia, made during a journey through that Empire, translated from the French* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1843).

⁵⁰ See Richard S. Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy* (Princeton, N.J., 1995); Priscilla Roosevelt, "Russian Estate Architecture and Noble Identity" in *Architectures of Russian Identity: 1500 to the Present*, James Cracraft and Daniel Rowland, eds. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 66-79.

⁵¹ A. N. Benois and N. Lanseray, "Dvortsovoe stroitel'stvo imperatora Nikolaia I" ["Palace building of the Emperor Nicholas I"], *Starye Gody*, July-September (1913), 175.

The tsar's role was defining in architecture and the arts, and his personality and ideology are important for understanding him as a patron of the arts. Nicholas I had a sincere belief in the divine nature of the monarch's power, a strong ideological doctrine of "orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality,"⁵² and saw great meaning in militarism.⁵³ Liberals (and even conservative monarchists like the Marquise de Custine) both at home and abroad denounced his conservative policies. His rule started with the execution of five members of the Decembrist riot and with the exile of the others, and ended with the catastrophic Crimean war. It was an era characterized by the souring of relations with France as a post-Napoleonic reaction (raised during the war with Napoleon, Nicholas I had a strong dislike for the French, and celebrated the date of Napoleon's capitulation annually⁵⁴), but also due to the spread of liberal ideas, which resulted in the French revolutions of 1830 and 1848. German influence became more pronounced in the intellectual life of Russian society, and was strengthened by political ties with Prussia, and by the tsar's marriage to the German princess Friederike Luise Charlotte Wilhelmine von Preußen, crowned Russian Empress Alexandra Fedorovna (fig. 42).

The intellectual atmosphere of the time was colored by Romanticism and idealism. Artists turned from the Greco-Roman past to various other pasts. Of the three ideological pillars, nationality ("*narodnost*") was overtly reflected in the arts and was a

⁵² The new doctrine was formulated and proclaimed by new minister of education Sergei Uvarov in 1833.

⁵³ For a long time, it was common to refer to Nicholas I's rule as the "apogee of autocracy," and to the tsar himself – as to the crowned policeman of Russia, and the gendarme of Europe. The term "apogee of autocracy" was coined by a historian Alexander Presniakov (1870-1929): in 1925, the publisher "Brokgauz i Efron" issued his book called *Apogei Samoderzhaviia. Nikolai I*. The term was used extensively by Soviet historians to describe Nicholas's rule.

⁵⁴ The victory over Napoleon I was commemorated in many monuments commissioned by Nicholas I, including The Alexander Column and The Borodino Monument; the tradition of annual reenactments of the Battle of Borodino started in 1839, and continues up to this day.

cause of many stylistic changes: artists and architects revived “purely Russian” or Russo-Byzantine forms to proclaim Russian history and the greatness of the Russian past. At the same time, classicism continued to be held in high regard, and the architecture of the time is marked by the symbiosis of classical antiquity and Russian antiquity in both large and small architectural forms. Nicholas I personally supervised his architectural commissions, regarding himself knowledgeable in architecture and engineering, and a parallel between himself and the Roman emperor Hadrian was popular at the time.⁵⁵ Nicholas also funded many projects directed to the development of education, which, on the one hand, were aimed at gaining control over minds, but on the other, resulted in higher standards of education and better funding, and in building many libraries, laboratories, increasing the salaries of teachers, sending (up to 1848) the best students to study abroad, and other aids to the scholarship.⁵⁶ One of the most important commissions in the sciences was the construction of the Pulkovo observatory, designed by Briullov, which received highly favorable reviews from European scholars.⁵⁷

Richard Wortman has demonstrated that Nicholas I and the Empress Alexandra Fedorovna exemplified the ideal of marriage embodying the concept of romantic love,

⁵⁵ Nashchokina, *Antichnoe nasledie...*, 176-190. The Belvedere Palace at Peterhof was built after the drawing by Nicholas I, and so was the reconstruction of the ancient ruins on the island of The Pond of Ruins (Руинный Пруд) there. Nicholas's attitudes toward art were self-confident, and this had its downsides: he ordered destruction of the art in the Hermitage which he did not like or did not understand, ordered addition to the paintings of the old masters which would make the latter, in the tsar's view, more pleasurable and meaningful, and offered Alexander Pushkin his services as an editor and a censor. (See Ol', *Arkhitektori Briullov* ["Briullov the Architect"] (Leningrad: Gos. izd-vo lit-ry po stroitel'stvu i arkhitekture, 1955), 112).

⁵⁶ Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *Russian identities: a historical survey* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 146.

⁵⁷ The Pulkovo observatory was designed by Alexander Briullov and built in 1834-39. Director of the Greenwich observatory George Airy and French physicist Jean-Baptiste Biot spoke about the observatory in the highest terms. See Ol', *Arkhitektori Briullov*, 58.

and this domestic scenario made the family “a central symbol of the moral purity of autocracy – the purest form of absolute monarchy.”⁵⁸ The familial scenario during Nicholas’s reign entailed the tsar’s chivalric role as a knight and servant protecting his delicate and beautiful Fair Lady, sentimental displays of mutual affection, and acts emphasizing the Empress’s domestic role as a mother and a wife. This theatrical display of domesticity was channeled through the royal court’s ceremonies, festive performances (family medieval pageants, festivals held in the royal palace on certain holidays), and through the visual arts to a broader audience. In this scenario, the Empress was the passive recipient of affection, and epitomized maternal love and tenderness.⁵⁹ Walter Scott, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Madame de Staël were among the favorite authors on the reading list of the royal family.

The private architectural commissions of the tsar provided a convenient setting to perform the spectacle of a familial idyll of high morality and noble romantic sensibility, “public exhibition of private virtue.”⁶⁰ Display meant for the eyes of the public entailed the tsar’s serving the desires and interests of the Empress, of which the fascination with Italy in general, and Pompeii in particular, was one of the most notable. During Nicholas’s reign, Pompeian interiors in the private royal architectural spaces were almost always associated with the Empress. The Winter Palace, restored in just two years after the 1837 fire, had the Pompeian Gallery (architect Vasilii Stasov, fig. 28) and the Pompeian Dining Room (by Alexander Briullov, fig. 27) in the quarters of Alexandra

⁵⁸ Wortman, *Scenarios of Power...*, 334-335.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 247-405.

⁶⁰ Wortman, *Scenarios of Power...*, 342.

Fedorovna. In 1842-1844, Nicholas I commissioned his favorite architect Andrei Shtakenshneider to build Tsaritsyn⁶¹ (Empress's) Pavilion in Pompeian style (figs. 31, 32), as a gift for the Empress. It was intended to imitate an original Pompeian interior, and had the ancient mosaic on the floor (still in situ; the pavilion restored in 2005). Ozerki, or, Rozovyi (Pink) Pavilion by Andrei Shtakenshneider (1845-48, destroyed during World War II) in Peterhof was designed in imitation of a Roman villa, decorated in Pompeian style, and had a bronze statue of the Empress, thus signifying the connection of this architectural space to Alexandra Fedorovna (figs. 29, 30).

To improve the Empress's frail health, worsened by St. Petersburg's unhealthy damp climate, and by ten pregnancies in fourteen years, the royal couple traveled to Italy in 1845-1846 – a trip to which Nicholas agreed not without a hesitation, but under the pressure of Alexandra's doctor.⁶² They spent several months living in Palermo and often visiting Genoa, Livorno, Malta and Naples. The Empress's memoirist August Theodore von Grimm remarked on the first impressions of her arrival: "The Empress was well instructed about this country by her zealous studies on the subject, and yet even her expectations were surpassed."⁶³ Nicholas and Alexandra visited Pompeii, and, as was common with royal visits, excavations in their presence yielded many finds, which the royal couple brought back to Russia and added to the Hermitage collection.⁶⁴ Vladimir

⁶¹ The name of the pavilion reflects its belonging to Tsaritsa ("Царница," feminine form of the "Tsar"), or, to the Empress.

⁶² August Theodore von Grimm, *Alexandra Feodorowna: Empress of Russia*, trans. Lady Wallace, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1870), 250.

⁶³ Grimm, 254.

⁶⁴ Naschokina, *Antichnoe nasledie...*, 238-239.

Klassovskii described the discoveries during the visits of Russian royalty in the following manner:

...[in the house of Castor and Pollux] the discoveries were made in the presence of Her Royal Highness Elena Pavlovna [the wife of Nicholas's brother Mikhail Pavlovich]. The search was rather fortunate and rich with finds: here are some of them: just at the doorstep, they found a skeleton of a woman covered with ashes, who was probably going to flee the house, and not empty-handed: in her sack, she had hidden a couple of golden earrings with pearls, three rings and two class rings of pure gold, several cameos and gemmae, artfully carved, silver and bronze money, and crystal flask, possibly for the perfume. We will be silent about the clay, bronze and glass tableware and about objects of bone and iron, transferred from here to the museum – they are similar to those we described before...

In the side street parallel to the Street of Mercury and the fourth from the Herculaneum gates, there are the house of the Bacchantes and of the Faun, or, the Big Mosaic... these are followed by a house, in the beginning of the third lane from the Street of Mercury, partially excavated on March 20, 1846, in the presence of the Empress (editici scoperti innanzi a S. M. L'Imperatrice di Russia Alexandra, №134). Here is the list of finds in it:

Of *bronzes*: two large weighing plates; six vessels, of which four have one handle, the fifth has two; broken vessel for storing oil; cauldron with an iron hook at the bottom; three more small boilers, damages at the bottom and at the edges; an oval vase; a round plate with a handle; two cooking pots; a box without a lid; an inkwell; eight cake molds; a case for storing surgical instruments; a small sphinx, adorning some unknown-to-us accessory of a lady's dress; a lamp; a big needle; three locks; a bathing brush; a candelabrum with an upper plate broken off; two adornments for [horses'] bits equipped with rings.

Of *clay*: five lamps; three bowls with red glaze on the inside; a bottle with long bottleneck; a goblet and two glazed plates.

Of *glass*: two bottles, - one with wide bottleneck, another spherical; a cubical bottle; a glass and flasks, almost melted with fire into amorphous shape.

Of *marble*: a mortar and a pestle.

Of *iron*: an axe and a hammer...⁶⁵

The block where the house "with the painted capitols" was dug out, from its eastern side is enveloped by a *Curved lane* (Vicolo Storto...), behind it are the houses of Prince Helmut of Netherlands (c. del Principe Enrico di Ollanda №119), of Quadriga (c. Delle Quadrighe, №120)... and of the Emperor Nikolai Pavlovich (Scavi avanti a S.M. l'Imperatore di Russia Nicola, №133). In the last house, in the presence of His Majesty, on December, 10, year 1845, were dug out the following household items: of *bronze*: a Roman balance with a plate attached

⁶⁵ Vladimir Klassovskii, *Pompeia i otkrytiia v nei dervnosti, s ocherkom Vezuviia i Gerkulanuma*, 3-e izdanie (Sanktpeterburg: V tipografii Eduarda Veimara, 1856), 218-220.

with chains, and with the counterweight (*contre-poids*, *Gegengewicht*), depicting a warrior; a large pastry pan and six baking sheets of different sizes; two cups with handles; two bells; a lock; a round mirror without a handle, silvered around the edge; a small statue of Hercules; a tripod which was used as a candelabrum. Of *glass*: eleven vessels of different shapes and sizes; two cups; a cubical bottle with a handle, and another one, round with a narrow bottleneck, decorated with bronze. Of *clay*: six lamps, a kitchen pot; a bowl; a miniature jar; a plate; four roofing tiles in the shape of masks and heads (*antefisse di tetti*). Of *marble*: a statuette of a boy; a head of an old man with a beard; a mortar and a pestle; a weight. These antiquities, along with the others, found on March, 20, year 1846 in the presence of the Empress, are dispatched, at the order of the Neapolitan King, to Petersburg.⁶⁶

These recorded finds are for the most part domestic and relatively modest. The aforementioned objects were not the only antiquities that the Russian monarch brought home from the Italian trip: it has been suggested that there were also ones that could have been used in the decoration of the royal interiors at Peterhof.⁶⁷ The Neapolitan generosity was met with gratitude from Nicholas: as a reciprocal gesture, he presented Ferdinand II with copies of the famous bronze *Horse Tamers* by Peter Klodt that crowned the Anichkov bridge in St. Petersburg. These *Cavalli di Bronzo* were installed in front of the royal palace in Naples, where they can still be seen now (fig. 43).

Following the royal predilection for Pompeii, a “Pompeian room” became a common feature of Russian palaces, estates and houses, usually just one among other rooms designed to revive past times and exotic places.⁶⁸ The vogue for Pompeian style was also in many ways motivated by the international fame and success of the painting *The Last Day of Pompeii*, which Alexander’s younger brother Karl finished in 1833 in

⁶⁶ Klassovskii, *Pompeia i otkrytiia v nei dervnosti...*, 231-232.

⁶⁷ Nashchokina, *Anticnoe nasledie...*, 240.

⁶⁸ The Pompeian interiors can still be seen in the Yusupov Palace in St. Petersburg, <http://reshell.livejournal.com/73748.html?thread=176404>.

Rome (fig. 17).⁶⁹ “The first Russian art work to create a major international sensation,”⁷⁰ the painting reached Russia in 1834, a year after its European triumph, but even before it got to St. Petersburg, the word about the glorious picture spread around. The enthusiastic descriptions of the painting by those who had seen it in Italy or France (it was exhibited in Paris and Milan as well as in Rome) made the anticipation of *Pompeii*’s arrival in Russia so ardent that “some trickster” lithographed a touristy picture in the folk style based on the published descriptions of Pompeii, depicting the characters “as she wished, and in modern clothes”⁷¹ (fig. 44). This *lubok*⁷² lithograph has no resemblance to the original painting and cannot be viewed without a smile: the original pathos and tragedy of the story had been transformed into humor in the folk culture.⁷³ The fame of the painting popularized the Pompeian theme and let it spread across the social strata, and large numbers of copies of the painting were printed. Not only *lubok* prints in the folk style featuring the eruption of Vesuvius as a subject were popular, but street spectacles during folk festivals also often featured the eruption of Vesuvius theme (fig. 45, 46). Even Karl Briullov’s *Pompeii* had been made into the *balagan*⁷⁴ performance, which the artist had seen himself on Novinskii boulevard in Moscow in 1836.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ After buying the canvas from Briullov, the patron of the painting Anatolii Demidov presented the painting as a gift to Nicholas I.

⁷⁰ Craske, *Art in Europe...*, 104-105.

⁷¹ A. Somov, *Karl Pavlovich Briullov i ego znachenie v russkom iskusstve. Perepechatka stat'i A. Somova, izdannoi v 1876 godu* [“Karl Briullov and his significance in the Russian arts. Reprint of an article by Somov, issued in 1876”] (Sankt-Peterburg, 1899), 13.

⁷² *Lubok* (лубок) is a popular print in the folk style with religious, moral, historical or entertaining subject matter, usually a narrative. See Dmitrii A. Rovinskii, *Russkii narodnyiia kartinki* (Sankt Peterburg: Tip. Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk, 1881).

⁷³ The lithograph is described in: Dmitrii A. Rovinskii, *Russkii narodnyiia kartinki*, Book IV (Sankt Peterburg: Tip. Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk, 1881), 364-366.

⁷⁴ *Balagan* (балаган) was a temporary fairground theatre, a kiosk or a booth with an entrance fee to see a short performance inside. See Eugene Anthony Swift, *Popular Theatre and Society in Tsarist Russia*

ALEXANDER BRIULLOV IN NAPLES

Alexander Briullov comes from an artistic and large Briullo family.⁷⁶ The Briullo lineage went back to the French Protestants Brulelau who fled to Germany, and changed their French last name onto German: Brüllo, which in Russian was transformed into Брюлло, and is transliterated as Briullo. Alexander's father Pavel Briullo was a professor of ornamental arts at the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg. Alexander studied in the St. Petersburg Academy for the Arts for ten years, graduating in 1820. In 1822, he and his younger brother, a famous painter Karl Briullov, received the funding from the Society for the Encouragement of Artists to continue their education abroad. On August, 16, 1822, the brothers left Russia for Western Europe, with an annual stipend of five thousand rubles provided for three years.⁷⁷ To be eligible for this funding, however, an artist had to be a Russian, and that's how Alexander and Karl became the only members of the Briullo family whose foreign last name was changed into the Russian by adding "v" at the end. They traveled through German and Italian cities, reaching Rome in 1823.

(Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2002), and Anna Nekrylova, *Russkie narodnye gorodskie prazdniki, uveseleniia i zrelishcha. Konets XVIII- nachalo XX veka* ["Russian folk urban festivals, entertainments and performances. End of the XVIII – beginning of the XX century."] (Sankt-Peterburg: Azbuka-Klassika, 2004).

⁷⁵ N. Ramazanov, *Materialy po istorii khudozhestv v Rossii. Kniga I-ia* (M.: v gubernskoi tipografii, 1863), 188.

⁷⁶ The Briullo family had seven children: Fedor, Alexander, Karl, Ivan (died at the age of 20), Pavel (died in childhood), and sisters Maria and Yulia. Fedor, Alexander and Karl would become professors of the Academy.

⁷⁷ The philanthropists Peter Kikin, Ivan Gagarin and Alexander Dmitriev-Mamonov established Society for the Encouragement of Artists in 1820.

There, they found a whole colony of Russian artists, and a warm atmosphere in the house of a Russian diplomat Grigorii Gagarin, under whose aegis they gathered along with the other Russian celebrities. Karl stayed in Rome, where he eventually produced his *Pompeii*. Alexander went to Naples, drawn there by the freshly excavated remains of Roman architecture.

We know much about Alexander's life and work in Italy from his correspondence with the family and the members of the Society for the Encouragement of Artists. Unlike his brother Karl, Alexander was a consistent writer, enjoying epistolary activity.⁷⁸ In May 1824, Alexander arrived on the Bay of Naples for the first time. His long letters to family members and reports to his patron Peter Kikin, one of the founders of the Society, contain detailed descriptions of his impressions, of the places he visits, people he meets, and of his activities. He visited Pompeii soon after the arrival, and described the dead city in a letter to his parents dated May 8, 1824, in a manner emotional and sentimental:

Naples is so beautiful that if I wanted to describe it to you I would have to send you a whole book. ... Having arrived in Naples, we rented a flat on the bayshore, that is, on the seashore; our windows are facing Vesuvius, the city is to the left, an open sea and the islands to the right, and the constant noise, vividness and gaiety on the streets - this is our habitat. We spent the first days going sightseeing around the city, and, having satisfied somehow our curiosity, one morning we left the city to see its surroundings. Our first wish was to see Pompeii and Vesuvius; having passed Portici, Resina, Torre di Greco, Torre Annunziata, finally, we saw some extensive hill, covered with recently planted groves, and we were told that this was Pompeii. We were approaching, and the excavated part of this unfortunate city came upon our view. We got up, guides were sitting at the entrance; one of them offered us his services and said that this place was a small forum, or place where people gathered for market and other public business. At this moment I forgot about you, and the sight of these ruins transported me into the times when

⁷⁸ His letters were published in *Briullov's Archive* in 1900 and serve as one of the primary sources for the scholarship on the Briullovs. The unpublished records of Alexander's work abroad are kept in the Archives of the State Russian Museum in St. Petersburg.

these walls were still inhabited, when this forum, on which only we were standing, and where silence was only disturbed by some lizard, was filled with people, who maybe were carefully hustling about acquiring something and thus increasing their possessions, not thinking about the danger that overhung them, which deprived them of all their wealth, many of them - of the most precious - friends, family, others - of life. One cannot walk among these ruins without having this very new feeling inside, that makes you forget everything except for the horrible event that had happened with this town. Having run through the empty streets, I stepped onto the main forum, surrounded by columns on the two sides, and saw the Temple of Jupiter to the right side, the tribunal to the left, opposite it the basilica, next to it the Temple of Venus, opposite that the Pantheon. Imagine this, and you may understand the feeling that overwhelmed me at this sight. The tops of the buildings are all destroyed, the bottoms with all the things on which decay had taken mercy are completely preserved. Altars, on which the blood had not been running for one thousand eight hundred years, stand in their places untouched. May it be that the priest bowed down in front of Zeus's altar and asked for help, and Zeus himself at the same time was being struck by Perun⁷⁹ of Vesuvius. And after this terrible revolution of the elements in this town, silence and serenity reign everywhere. Let them come here to talk about vanity! In this town there are two theaters, eyewitnesses of their splendor. At last I came out on a wide road outside the town, where they buried all respectable and distinguished persons (Strada dei Sepolcri); gravestones on this road are preserved best of all that is left from the town, as if time, in reverence to these monuments, erected to the virtue, preserved them for future generations as witnesses of their deeds. Tired from walking and from the diversity of subjects, we came back home by sea, and sang Russian songs on our way...⁸⁰

The next day, Alexander climbed Vesuvius in the company of other Russian travelers, "one more amiable and merry than another."⁸¹ Vesuvius was the attraction no

⁷⁹ Perun is a pagan thunder-god of ancient Slavs. Briullov uses this name here as an umbrella term for the forces of Nature.

⁸⁰ Aleksandr P. Briullov, Karl P. Briullov, and I. Kubasov, ed. *Arkhiv Briullovskikh* (Izdanie redaktsii zhurnala "Russkaya starina." S-Peterburg, 1900), 48-49.

⁸¹ *Arkhiv Briullovskikh*, 49-50. Alexander Briullov names colonel L.N. L'vov (in fact, it was Alexander L'vov, son of an architect N. L'vov), Vasilii Perovskii, adjutant of the Grand Duke Nikolai Pavlovich (later the tsar Nicholas I), state councilor Mr. Tseiger (Franz Zeiger), and baron Shilling (Pavel Shilling, a scientist and an orientalist, an inventor of magneto-electric telegraph, and a founder of the first lithography in Russia). The proper identification of these personae derived from: see T. G. Dmitrieva, L. A. Karnaukhova, and N. I. Mikhailova, *Aleksandr Pavlovich Briullov: russkii kamernyi portret* (

less important than the buried cities, and in some cases, even more so: some travelers found climbing the volcano an enterprise much more interesting than the tiring walks through the dead city. Everyone was hoping to view a picturesque but preferably safe eruption.

Briullov recorded that trip in a group of ironic watercolors featuring the “Ascending Vesuvius” theme, now in the State Russian Museum (figs. 47-49). The watercolors show the usual heroes: the visitors, the Neapolitan guides, and the donkeys, but are less comical than the nineteenth-century caricatures on the same subject, such as Italian lithographs by Gatti and Dura (figs. 50, 51), or the illustrations in *The Innocents Abroad* by Mark Twain (fig. 52) or in the *The Dodge Club or, Italy in 1859* by James de Mille (fig. 53). Briullov’s goal was not to produce caricatures, so he eludes extreme comical effect, especially in his depiction of Russian travelers, who seem static and reserved. All the gentlemen in the expedition were Briullov’s recent acquaintances of higher social status, older than he, and potential patrons, so the artist probably wanted to avoid unkind humor that could be deemed unpleasant or inappropriate by the sitters. Although the preparatory drawings for these watercolors in his album are more satirical than the finished watercolors, in the final pictures he shows the Russians to be dignified.⁸² He allows himself more freedom in his humorous representation of the local Neapolitan guides, whose energetic gestures and dramatic facial expressions enliven the pictures.

⁸² The State Russian Museum, album A20 a/II, inv. P-58996-59031. For more on Briullov’s Italian albums, see Natalia Kalugina, “Ital’ianskii al’bomy Aleksandra Briullova” [“Italian albums of Alexander Briullov”] in *Tretiakovskii chteniia 2010-2011. Materialy otchetnykh nauchnykh konferentsii* (Moskva: Izdatel’stvo INIKO, 2012), 414-427.

As a pragmatist, Briullov was concerned with making connections that might prove useful for him and bring commissions that would support him financially, in addition to the funding that he got from the Society. From his letters to his parents, it is clear that he wanted to take advantage of the new acquaintances, and to spend time with pleasure and profit. After exploring his Vesuvian surroundings, Alexander traveled to Sicily, returning to Naples in the autumn of 1824. He soon became a popular portraitist there, and he would be regarded as a talented portraitist for the rest of his life.⁸³ He did his portraits easily and playfully, preferred watercolors to oil, used a tender pastel color palette, and placed his sitters in Pompeian or Vesuvian settings. His *Self-Portrait* of 1830 is representative of his portrait style and has all the conventional background elements: ruins of an amphitheater and a forum, and the mountaintops of Vesuvius-Somma (fig. 1).

In his letter to his parents of April 19, 1825 from Naples, he says that he has a tremendous amount of work to do, mostly commissions for portraits. Naples had suddenly been flooded by foreigners, he says, many of them Russians. When these visitors saw his portraits, made in moments of leisure and almost as a jokes, they wished to have him make their own portraits, and these commissions kept him extremely busy. One Russian aristocrat, Elizaveta Khitrovo, mentioned Briullov's portraits in her conversation with the royal family. King Francis I and Queen Maria Isabella wished to see them, and then commissioned Alexander to make portraits of themselves and their children, which he executed to their great satisfaction (figs. 54, 55). The portraits were sent to Milan to be lithographed, but Briullov was not satisfied with the quality of the

⁸³ For information on Briullov as a portraitist, see T. G. Dmitrieva et al., *Aleksandr Pavlovich Briullov: russkii kamernyi portret*.

prints and had them destroyed.⁸⁴

As a sign of royal gratitude, Queen Maria Isabella gave him a watch. More important, he was granted exceptional permission to make drawings of the buildings in Pompeii, which was generally forbidden for artists. Thus, he was able to produce his important architectural study of the Forum Baths, entitled *Thermes de Pompéi*, published in Paris in 1829 by Firmin Didot. This work secured Briullov an appointment as a royal architect in Russia, gave him professional standing in Europe, made him an associate member of the Institut de France, a member of the Royal Institute of Architects in England, and a member of the Academy for the Arts in Milan. Although his work made occasional appearances in bibliographies on the Roman and Pompeian baths, and was known by influential Pompeian scholars - nineteenth-century François Mazois and twentieth-century August Mau - it has not yet received scholarly treatment.⁸⁵

Thermes de Pompéi

Thermes de Pompéi is a large folio (71 x 53,5 cm; 27,6 x 21 inches) with fifteen pages of text, general observations on Roman baths, and a specific description of the Forum Baths at Pompeii and of the Baian Baths. Ten plates accompany the text, and include a plan of the Forum Baths (fig. 56), sectional drawings of those and of the baths

⁸⁴ *Arkhiv Briullovskh*, 83.

⁸⁵ Briullov's work appeared in bibliographies: Salomon Reinach, *Manuel de philologie classique: d'après le Triennium philologicum de W. Freund, et les derniers travaux de l'érudition* (Paris: Hachette, 1880), 61;

at Baiae (figs. 57-63), and two engravings with perspective views of the Forum Baths' *tepidarium* (fig. 64) and *caldarium* (fig. 65) after watercolors by the author. Briullov starts with an historical survey of the Roman baths, their origins, planning, and major elements. He talks about the role that bathing played in Roman society, the function of different parts, and about the leisure activities that took place in the baths, from gymnastics and ball games to poetry recitals. Proceeding to the description of the Forum Baths at Pompeii, Briullov does not go into much detail on the town's destruction, but starts by talking about the location of the baths in the general plan of the town, and describes each component. He concentrates on the purpose of each chamber, its decoration, architectural elements, materials, and current condition. He makes frequent references to Vitruvius, Juvenal, Cicero, Celsius, Galen, Pliny the Elder and Pliny the Younger, Ammianus Marcellinus, Suetonius, Horace and Seneca. His main modern sources were Charles Cameron's study of the Roman baths, Piranesi's work on the baths of Caracalla, and Mazois's description of the baths in the palace of Scaurus in Rome, as well as his second volume of *Les ruines de Pompéi*.⁸⁶ He probably wanted his work to be seen in relation to Charles Cameron's study of the Roman baths. Although Cameron's book, almost four hundred pages with dozens of high-quality illustrations, was a far more serious study than Briullov's folio, it is hardly possible that an ambitious parallel with Cameron did not cross Briullov's mind. It would be tempting for him to hope to be the same to Nicholas I as Charles Cameron was to Catherine the Great, which, in part, came

⁸⁶ Charles Cameron, *The Baths of the Romans*; Giuseppe Antonio Guattani, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, and Francesco Piranesi, *Della gran cella soleare nelle Terme di Antonio Caracalla* (In Roma: Dalla Stamperia Pagliarini, 1783);

true: this publication secured his appointment as a royal architect, a position for which he yearned.

Thermes de Pompéi is defined as a “restoration project of the Forum Baths” both in the curatorial files of the Museum of the St. Petersburg Academy of the Arts, where the original drawings of the illustrations are kept, and in various scholarly publications where Briullov’s work is sometimes mentioned in passing. “Restoration project” is a term used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to describe the study of ancient buildings, which usually included a graphic recreation of the whole architectural ensemble or reconstruction of any part of it.⁸⁷ Those projects were a final exercise that the art academies of Europe expected their architects-pensionnaires residing in Italy to present upon completing their study abroad. Such projects had nothing to do with actual restoration, but were a combination of accurate archaeological records of the remains and creative reconstructions of ancient buildings in their original state in antiquity.⁸⁸ The term widely used when referring to the reconstruction exercises by the Russian

⁸⁷ The term is fluid, see Quatremère de Quincy, *Dictionnaire historique d'architecture comprenant dans son plan les notions historiques, descriptives, archaéologiques, biographiques, théoriques, didactiques et pratiques de cet art* (Paris: A. Le Clerc, 1832), tome 2: de Quincy separated the terms “restauration” and “restitution.”

⁸⁸ For more on “restoration projects” by the students of the St. Petersburg Academy of the Arts working in Italy, see Nashchokina, *Antichnoe nasledie...*, 291-336. Among other known restoration projects, there were: Vasilii Glinka on the mausoleums of the Roman Emperors Hadrian and Augustus in Rome (1818-1824), Nikolai Efimov (1827) on the Forum Baths of Pompeii, Alexander Gornostaev on the Temple of Jupiter in Pompeii (1836-1838), Lev Dal’ on the Forum Baths of Pompeii (1859-1865), Konstantin Thon on the Temple of Fortuna in Praeneste and on the Baths of Caracalla in Rome. For more information on *envois* of the French pensionnaires in Italy, see Roberto Cassanelli, Massimiliano David, Emidio de Albeniis, and Anne Jacques, *Ruins of Ancient Rome: the drawings of French architects who won the Prix de Rome, 1796-1924* (Los Angeles, Calif: J.P. Getty Museum, 2002); and Stefano de Caro, et al.,

pensionnaires.⁸⁹ Being part of the academic architectural education in Europe since the eighteenth century, restoration projects were produced in the largest numbers during the first half of the nineteenth century. The pedagogical idea of these exercises was that in the process of that “restoration,” students would learn the rules of classical architecture and the repertory of architectural elements and decorations, and would employ their knowledge and skill in their future work. The peculiarly Russian aspect of that idea was that they would also help develop the methodology for studying the ancient remains in the St. Petersburg Academy, which was still undergoing reforms. When turned in to the Academy, these projects added to the body of authoritative folios on classical architecture kept in the library of the Academy,⁹⁰ and served as manuals for future generations of students. Looking from a wider perspective, these restoration projects were rooted in the view that by carefully studying the actual remains and ancient texts, we can reimagine and recreate the ancient buildings as they were, just as we can add missing parts to the ancient sculptures: “History must be restored, as a statue found in the ruins of Athens, as [a copy of] Virgil’s writing in a monastery manuscript.”⁹¹ On the international scene, this view would begin to change in the 1860s, when the profession of an archaeologist in the modern sense would begin its formation, and doubts about legitimacy of recreating antiquity would creep into the conscience of the architects-pensionnaires. As stated by a French pensionnaire:

⁸⁹ The alternative terms for this genre are “reconstruction project” and “*envois*,” in regard to the projects made by the pensionnaires of the French Academy in Rome. However, *restoration project* is more common in Russian scholarship.

⁹⁰ Most well known of these were Julien David Le Roy, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, Giambattista Piranesi, Antoine Desgodetz.

⁹¹ Nikolai Gogol, “Istoricheskie aforizmy Mikhaila Pogodina,” *Sovremennik* 1 (1836): 301.

The academy rule required the reconstruction of an ancient monument during our third year... I can say I did the best I could; yet I did so reluctantly. It is work... I do not believe in... What were forums, basilicas, libraries, or temples meant to be? I cannot say... So the work consists of a reconstruction that seems as impossible to me and - why not say it frankly - as absurd as a modern writer who, however distinguished a Latin expert he may be, sets about to reconstruct the missing parts of Cicero and Tacitus.⁹²

Briullov's illustrations of the baths do not contain the architectural reconstruction of the building: imaginative additions are present only in miniscule details.⁹³ That Briullov's study did not contain the actual reconstruction of the baths, and that it was published were not uncommon. Russian pensionnaires did not have exact instructions regarding their projects until much later, and had a great deal of freedom in choosing the subject and the method of its treatment. Some of those projects were published, others were a single copy in ink and watercolor: this depended on the funding opportunities.⁹⁴ There can be two ways to approach Briullov's work: it can be compared and contrasted with the restoration projects produced by other architects-pensionnaires working in Italy at the time, or discussed within the context of scholarly archaeological accounts on Pompeian buildings. It is this last approach that I have chosen, primarily because the

⁹² Julien Guadet, 1867, in a report attached to his work. Quote from: Roberto Cassanelli et al., *Ruins of Ancient Rome: the drawings of French architects who won the Prix de Rome, 1796-1924* (Los Angeles, Calif: J.P. Getty Museum, 2002), 5.

⁹³ Briullov's imaginative additions in representation of the perspective views of the *tepidarium* and *caldarium* are discussed in the section "On the Possibility of Briullov's Use of the Camera Lucida."

⁹⁴ Among the published were: Vasilii Glinka, Sergei Ivanov (S.A. Iwanoff and C. Huelsen, *Architektonische Studien: Herausgegeben vom Kaiserlich Deutscher Archaeologischen Institut. Heft 3: Aus den Thermen des Caracalla Mit Erläuterungen von Christian Hülsen* (Berlin, 1898)); Roman Kuz'min (R. Kousmin and V. Ballanti, *Le Temple de la Victoire sans ailes sur l'acropole d'Athènes. Restaure par R. Kousmin, décrit par V. Ballanti* (Rome, 1837)); Fedor Rikhter (F. Richter and A. Grifi, *Il restauro del Foro Traiano opera del sign. Federico Richter... con le dichiarazioni de Antonio Grifi* (Roma, 1839)); Konstantin Thon (C. Thon, *Il tempio della Fortuna Prenestina restauro da C. Thon* (Roma, 1825), and V. Ballanti, V and C. Ton, *Il Palazzo de' Cesari sul Monte Palatino restaurato da C. Thon, architetto della corte di Russia socio delle Romane Academie di S. Luca e d'archeologia e di belle arti di Firenze* (Roma, 1828)); and Alexander Nikitin.

illustrations in *Thermes de Pompéi* compare poorly to the other restoration projects by the Russian pensionnaires, and to the *envois* of the French ones: they are schematic, and show the outlines of the decorations and architectural elements, but never the three-dimensional view with meticulous hatching (figs. 66, 67). At the same time, plates of Briullov's folio demonstrate an approach to the architectural remains of the Forum Baths that is similar to the contemporary archaeological accounts on the building (figs. 68, 69). Another reason for that choice is my inability to consult the works of the Russian pensionnaires in full: this area of scholarship is still largely unstudied, and most of the restoration projects are unpublished. Many of them are kept in the library of the Academy of the Arts, which was still closed to readers as of summer 2013, owing to renovation. Analyzing Briullov's work in relation to the other projects by Russian architects, especially those who also worked on the Forum Baths - Nikolai Efimov in 1827 and Lev Dal in 1859-1865 - must be done in the future.

Archaeology

The Forum Baths were the first to be excavated of the four main public baths at Pompeii.⁹⁵ Built in circa 80-55 BC, they were the only *thermae* completely restored after the earthquake of AD 62 and largely operational in AD 79.⁹⁶ These baths had both men's and women's sections, and all the essential elements of a Roman bath: *palaestra* (a court for gymnastic exercises), *apodyterium* (dressing room), *frigidarium* (cold room), *tepidarium* (warm room), and *caldarium* (hot room). By 1824, enough of the Forum

⁹⁵Stabian Baths, the largest and oldest, were excavated in 1854-1859, Central Baths in 1877-1878, and Suburban Baths in 1958.

⁹⁶ Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow, "The City Baths of Pompeii and Herculaneum," in *The World of Pompeii*, ed. John J. Dobbins and Pedar W. Foss (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 231.

Baths had been excavated that they could be published in the second volume of the *Real Museo Borbonico* (1825), with a description by Guglielmo Bechi. Two years later, Carlo Bonucci wrote about the baths in *Pompei descritta*, as did Thomas Leverton Donaldson in his *Pompeii illustrated with picturesque views*. In 1828, Andrea de Jorio described the baths in

address his assumptions, questions posed and judgments expressed, trying to clarify what distinguished Briullov's work from other accounts of the Forum Baths at the time. Situating this folio within the historiography of the Forum Baths, we can see how our knowledge and understanding of Roman public architecture and bathing has evolved.

We can understand the reasons for Briullov's choice of subject by reading his letter to Peter Kikin, Secretary of State of the Emperor Nicholas I, and one of the founders of the Society for the Encouragement of Artists:

A.P. Briullov to P.A. Kikin, April 21, 1825, Naples.

I intend to make use of my stay in Naples and make something of the Pompeian ruins, which, with all their originality, don't give much to an artist for a beautiful picture. Several months ago they opened a wonderful building of the public baths - the only beautiful one and differing from others by its vaults. All the houses in Pompeii have no roof, or, better to say, no upper parts of the buildings. We should assume that the city was covered only to a certain height, and everything that was left above the ground was dismantled by people or destroyed by the time. All the temples that were much higher than the other buildings are now of the same height as those. Only terraces, stairs and the lower parts of columns are left. Had they been covered entirely, then, most likely, no centuries could have destroyed them.⁹⁹ But the aforementioned baths are preserved entirely, and the reason for this preservation, we might assume, were the vaults that covered this building... In size and in richness, these baths are the best of what is left from all Pompeii. I do not want to compare them with the amphitheater and two theatres, which were intended to exceed all other public buildings in splendor and in their enormous size. Pompeian painting, in my opinion, has less merit than it is credited with. In all things can be seen good taste of [its own] time. In all remaining pieces of painting ease of the brushwork and much skill are visible, but strict technique is nowhere to be found. Looking at this painting, one may say about an artist who produced it: this person worked a lot, but no one would say: this person studied a lot. About paintings I said it because here in conversations I heard several times how they had been celebrated and even compared with Raphael's works. It's a pity, however, that artists are not allowed to copy whatever they like, and are only allowed to copy objects that had been published, but once during the King's session I asked His Majesty and was given permission to draw from anything I

⁹⁹ This is probably a wrong assumption: modern archaeologists agree that upper stories of the buildings were most probably destroyed by Surge 6, approximately 80 miles per hour. See Alison Cooley, *Pompeii* (London: Duckworth, 2006), 46.

would like, and that's why I am going to start work there next month on the detailed drawings of the baths, which I will transfer eventually to Petersburg.¹⁰⁰

Briullov started taking measurements of the Forum Baths in December 1825. In 1826, after he had finished, he went to Paris to prepare his work for publication there: all the publishing costs were fully and generously covered by the royal funding of Nicholas I. Peter Kikin assures Briullov not to worry about the money:

Alexander, I am writing to you ... to ensure [you] put ... [all] possible efforts for your publication to be as good and deserving the tsar as possible, for on his dependence it is done. Thousand or two do not make a difference and is not your worry, meanwhile the honor and glory will be yours. Do not disgrace the Russian name! As the engraving, so the print should be excellent, and don't neglect the text, consult the right people properly. Your attached estimate is irrelevant; the tsar gave a command, and thus the question of the price is only in how to transfer the money. The tsar said that he only wants it to be done well.¹⁰¹

While in Paris, Briullov took several courses on the history of architecture and mechanics, and studied lithography with Godefroy Engelmann. Peter Kikin warned him to resist the liberal air of Paris, and advised him to

notice everything that is needed for the improvement of your talents... look, listen, read, try to acquire things that are significantly lacking in our artists, i.e. basic knowledge. Take the necessary courses in architecture in its broad sense. Don't be satisfied with the drawing alone, learn mathematical implementation and positive laws of production.¹⁰²

While working on the baths, Alexander had also gotten more concrete advice from his colleagues in Russia as to where to direct his attention. Fedor Briullo forwarded

¹⁰⁰ *Arkhiv Briullovyykh*, 77.

¹⁰¹ Letter from Kikin to Briullov of April 7, 1827, *Arkhiv Briullovyykh*, 95.

¹⁰² *Arkhiv Briullovyykh*, 90.

him instructions from Vasilii Stasov,¹⁰³ who advised to consider several aspects in particular:

Stasov gave instructions to compare one building with another, and what is good in it, and why it is so good. First, what was the bricklaying, where it was strengthened, second, what type of lime, what proportion of the sand, how it was slaked and how it was used; third, compare one building to another, and make measurements as accurately as possible; fourth, read lectures, read descriptions by famous architects and compare their descriptions with ancient temples and buildings.¹⁰⁴

The directions given to Briullov are indicative of the educational standards and requirements of the Academy, and of the expectations in the professional community toward the new generation of architects. The pensionnaires were now required to study ancient buildings meticulously, and in great detail. Russian scholars note that by the beginning of the nineteenth century, repetition of classical forms was not satisfactory enough: insistence on imitation was now replaced by demand for scientific research and archaeological record. This change is often explained as a shift from neoclassical aesthetic approach in the eighteenth century to the archaeological view in the early nineteenth century, and is linked to the changing paradigm of thinking within the worldview of Romanticism.¹⁰⁵ As true as it might be, the stimulus for the cultural

¹⁰³ Vasilii Stasov (1769-1848) was a prominent architect who worked on many public and private buildings in St. Petersburg and Moscow, and was a professor of the Academy of Fine Arts. In the late 1830s, together with Alexander Briullov he directed the works on the restoration of the Winter Palace after the 1837 fire.

¹⁰⁴ A letter from Fedor Briullov to Alexander Briullov of August 18, 1823. *Arkhiv Briullovskikh*, 24.

¹⁰⁵ See Göran Blix, *From Paris to Pompeii: French Romanticism and the Cultural Politics of Archaeology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009). Blix, working on the French material and coming from the literary background, suggested that the indestructible past uncovered through archaeology substituted for the loss of belief in the Christian Heaven. He suggests that the end of the eighteenth - beginning of the nineteenth centuries was a time of transition from aesthetic “neoclassical gaze” to historicizing “archaeological gaze.” It was a transition from “visual contemplation” and “instant value judgments” to the “labor of comprehension,” from seeing things aesthetically to seeing things in context. In

paradigm shift can be sought in such prosaic things as the changing politics of archaeological authorities in Naples, financial possibilities of the St. Petersburg Academy, and demands of the market where future architects would be employed. Although this discussion is beyond the scope of the current thesis, we can assess how closely Alexander listened to the advice of his Russian patrons by acquainting ourselves with the work itself.

There are several interesting points in Briullov's writing that make his report different from other contemporary accounts on these baths, such as those of Carlo Bonucci, Guglielmo Bechi, Andrea de Jorio, Charles François Mazois and Sir William Gell, mentioned above. For example, while other authors compare Roman *thermae* with Oriental baths, particularly with the Turkish *hamam*, Briullov makes references to the Russian baths. Describing an inscription on the bronze brazier in the *tepidarium*, Briullov made an assumption that Vaccula bequeathed these thermal baths to the city of Pompeii, just as Agrippa did to the city of Rome. Also, Briullov noted, with a reference to Juvenal, that "women did not disdain gymnastic games at the baths, which attributed greatly to their physical strength."¹⁰⁶ Last, the large numbers of lamps found in these baths led him to suggest that the prohibition against bathing after sunset, "if it existed at all," did not

the neoclassical gaze, says Blix, "the excavated fragment - be it a ruin, a statue, an inscription, a coin, or a vase - was ... viewed chiefly as an art object, to be appreciated for its aesthetic merit, and either to be held up as a model of beauty or to the found shortcoming with respect to the ideal." (Blix, 9). Blix sees strong correlation between the birth of archeology and the worldview of Romanticists, who saw an unearthed object as an historical document which "enabled the viewer to reconstruct and reimagine the world to which it had belonged." (Blix, 9-10).

¹⁰⁶ Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi*, 2.

extend to Pompeii.¹⁰⁷ Throughout his writing, one can sense the opposition “Roman versus Greek,” as in the following passage, for example: “The Greeks went there [to the baths] to exercise and study, considering the baths as an accessory. The Romans, on the contrary, were going to bathe there, and considered the rest as secondary.”¹⁰⁸ Briullov mentioned “Italian softness” and Roman practices “weakened by luxury,” and contrasts them with the “stoic” Greeks.¹⁰⁹

In Briullov’s day, there was much more confusion with classical terminology than we have now. Scholars were uncertain about the meaning of the architectural terms used by Vitruvius, and their interpretations varied from one translation to another, of which Briullov was very much aware. Briullov used a translation of Vitruvius’s books on architecture by a writer and an archaeologist Berardo Galiani (1724-1774).¹¹⁰ While he mostly agreed with Galiani, he also tried to evaluate the text critically, as in the case of the term *alveus* (a tub or a basin).¹¹¹ Galiani understood *alveus* wrongly as a “space around the *labrum* [shallow round basin] which served as a channel through which passed the waters poured by those who washed themselves outside the pool,”¹¹² but Briullov expressed his confusion with the term and denied the presence of the *alveus* in

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi*, 5, footnote 3.

¹⁰⁹ Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi*, 10.

¹¹⁰ *L’architettura di Marco Vitruvio Pollione*. Tradotta et comentata dal Marchese Berardo Galiani, Academico Ercolanese, et Architetto di merito dell’ Accademia di S. Luca (Napoli: Nella Stamperia Simoniana, 1758, second edition: Siena: Luigi, and Benedetto Bindi, 1790, third edition: Milano: Alessandro Dozio, 1832). For more on Berardo Galiani, see Tommaso Carrafiello, *Berardo Galiani intendente d’architettura (1724-1774)* (Napoli: Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, 1995), and here: <http://www.webalice.it/loris.pellegrini/testi/galiani.html>.

¹¹¹ *Alveus* is a “tub or basin for a hot bath, or the recess for such a tub, constructed on or into the floor of the *caldarium*,” *The World of Pompeii*, 637. What we now term *alveus* in the *caldarium* of the Forum Baths, Briullov, lacking the classical term, called “baignoir.”

¹¹² *Thermes de Pompéi*, 7, footnote 3.

the Forum Baths:

According to the description of the *alveus*, [which is] a little bit obscure in Vitruvius, of which all the translators have commented so differently on the meaning, we would be inclined to give this name to the space around the pool; but the word *alveus* means a trough, which makes M. Galliani's idea the most justified: he says that *alveus* was the space around the *labrum* [shallow round basin] which served as channel through which passed waters poured by those who washed themselves outside the pool... However, by considering the construction of the pool and its circumference in the *frigidarium* of the baths of Pompeii, we need to renounce this idea, because not only its small space would prevent one from being around the pool to wash oneself, but also, even if it were possible, the pool, having no edges, had to receive all the water and the dirt which one would spread outside; so it is reasonable to suppose that bath served only as place of refreshment, without the use of perfumes and strigils there.¹¹³

But his most curious observation concerns his understanding of a *laconicum*, a small sweat room with either dry heat or steam.¹¹⁴ Briullov used the terms *caldarium* and *sudatorium* interchangeably, but he noted the confusion in the use of the term *laconicum*:

This [hot] bath was generally designed under the name *Caldarium*; but its construction varied very often: sometimes this place was only used to stimulate perspiration, and then was called *Asseum*. The hot bath (*calida lavatio*) was in the adjoining room, but very often the two baths were indeed one, and thus it kept the name *Caldarium* or *Sudatorium*. The *Laconicum* also formed a part of the hot bath. We were uncertain to give the construction, even to explain the true meaning of it. Some thought it was a separate room, others assigned it to be a part of *Caldarium*; finally, it was thought to be a furnace [poêle], which was built in the same manner as those of the Lacedaemonians, from which it kept the name.¹¹⁵

Briullov's indication of the confusion in the use of the term *laconicum* from

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Modern scholars define *laconicum* as "a small round room used as a sweat-bath, usually with dry heat. The room was heated either by a fireplace, hot stones or a brazier placed at the center of the room." See Joanne Berry, *The Complete Pompeii* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2007), 151. August Mau understood *laconicum* as a round room with dry heat. See Mau, *Pompeii*, 187. Fikret Yegül defines *laconicum* as "the hot, dry-steam sweat chamber in Roman baths, often circular in shape as recommended by Vitruvius," Fikret Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (New York: The Architectural History Foundation, Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 1992), 491.

¹¹⁵ Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi*, 2.

ancient times onwards seems important. No matter how the term was interpreted by Briullov's contemporaries, most of them thought that the *laconicum* was present in these baths. Gell uses the term interchangeably with the *caldarium*, Mazois describes *laconicum* as a room that we now know as women's *caldarium*, and understands it as a steam room [*étuve*]. De Jorio assigns it to be the part of the men's *caldarium* where the *labrum* is situated, and so does Bonucci. It seems that Briullov is inclined to view *laconicum* as a steam room, where sweating is caused by vapor, and the air is heated by the furnace located in the room. He denies its presence in these baths:

There is no need for much research to make sure that in this *sudatorium* there was no *laconicum*, unless one takes the whole for a part, and unless we give the name of *laconicum* to the *sudatorium*, as we confused them for a while, according to a false interpretation of the description by Vitruvius.¹¹⁶

However, he is puzzled by his own finding, and poses a question:

One cannot refrain from wondering why these baths of Pompeii, which perfectly agree with the ordinance of Vitruvius, could be missing such an essential part? Did the construction of the baths change afterwards? Were there any improvements introduced later that caused them to abandon this way of heating the baths? That is perhaps the true reason; Vitruvius did his writing during the rule of Augustus; since then and until the destruction of Pompeii, many changes could have taken place.

Briullov posed the right questions: modern scholars have concluded that a circular part of the room that had been originally built as a *laconicum* was later redesigned to be a part of the *frigidarium*.¹¹⁷ Trying to find an explanation for the absence of the *laconicum*, Briullov quotes Seneca, who lists the invention of *suspensura*

¹¹⁶ Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi*, 10.

¹¹⁷ Fikret Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, 61-63; Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow, "The city baths of Pompeii and Herculaneum," 250, with a reference to H. Eschenbach, "Untersuchungen in den Stabianer Thermen zu Pompeji," RM 80 (1973): 235-42.

and of hot air spaces in the walls among the artful discoveries of his days, as well as the invention of windows made with transparent stones.¹¹⁸ Briullov thus suggests that the invention of wall heating led to the disappearance of the *laconicum*, offering an explanation for the absence of this essential element:

After this discovery [of the wall heating], maybe it was found that it was by no means necessary to have a *laconicum*, which certainly could not give this soft and even temperature that was obtained by means of pipes [in the walls]; so you should not be surprised that a Roman, weakened by luxury, preferred new refinements to the simplicity of the Lacedaemonian practices.

Briullov is very much preoccupied with the heating of the *caldarium*, and describes thoroughly both the construction of the *hypocaust* and the system of heating through the hollow spaces in the walls. He explains the method of attaching square tiles with conical projections (*tegulae mammatae*) to the wall with iron studs, which allowed the circulation of the hot air inside, and illustrates these tiles (fig. 70).¹¹⁹ He dismisses the hypothesis that the *hypocaust* was heated by the fire lit under the floor of the bath, accepting the more probable and widespread opinion that the hot air was conveyed under the floor of the *caldarium* from the furnace located in the separate room.¹²⁰ Noting the bad condition of the *caldarium* floor, which was quickly restored during the excavations, Briullov could not find the drainage for the water that was once overflowing from the

¹¹⁸ Seneca, Liber XIV, Epistula XC: “Quaedam nostra demum prodisse memoria scimus, ut speculariorum usum perlucente testa clarum transmittentium lumen, ut suspensuras balneorum et inpressos parietibus tubos per quos circumfunderetur calor qui ima simul ac summa foveret aequaliter.” <http://www.intratext.com/X/LAT0230.htm>

¹¹⁹ “Nipple tiles,” *tegulae mammatae*, had pieces of brick in the conical shape attached to the each of the four corners. Briullov does not use the term *tegula mammata* and calls them not “tiles” but “bricks.”

¹²⁰ This hypothesis was suggested by Flaminio Vacco and quoted by Bernard de Montfaucon.

labrum, and this difficulty, he hoped, would be solved in the future.¹²¹

Describing the most lavishly decorated room in these baths, the *tepidarium*, he was looking for the implementation of the principle of *decorum*, a correlation between the decoration and the main purpose of the room:

What was the thought of the sculptor? what is the meaning of this allegory? because the ancients always sought the analogy between the decorations and the main purpose of the monument. All the sea gods are reminiscent probably of freshness, abundance of water, which are the first elements of the bath; but even though the importance given by the ancient people to the attributes of their gods could not be well captured by modern people, even though the author's thoughts were developed in a clear enough manner, we won't risk to guess the purpose and the suitability of these decorations; moreover, the details are not executed with a talent above the mediocre. Let's content ourselves with saying that we see everywhere figures of animals and monsters whose presence and attributes are in some way appropriate to the purpose of buildings devoted to the baths.¹²²

Following the instructions received from his patrons, Briullov notes that the type of bricklaying in the baths was *opus incertum*, and then follows his observations with the judgment:

the construction of these baths is roughly the same as that of most of the houses of Pompeii, that is to say *opus incertum*, interspersed at intervals with a few layers of brick, covered with stucco. In this respect, it presents no other merit than the quality of the materials; the type of ornaments is very reminiscent of the Greek style, although very distant from the simplicity, which forms the main idea of what is considered beautiful in this nation. In every detail of this edifice, we are discovering type, however, always distorted.¹²³

The high standard by which Briullov and other Russians measure all ancient art is in the terms “grace” (grâce, грация) and “simplicity” (простота). Connoisseurial

¹²¹ *Labrum* is a shallow round basin with fountained cool water used to relieve one from the heat of the *caldarium*.

¹²² Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi*, 6.

¹²³ Ibid.

judgments on the quality of the decorations, like the one Briullov passes above, permeated almost every early account of the ancient art unearthed around the Bay of Naples. One should probably see these evaluative remarks as falling within the notion that Roman art was an inferior imitation of the great Greek art. This attitude, which goes back, at the very least, to the founding father of Neoclassicism Johann Joachim Winckelmann,¹²⁴ lasted up to the twentieth century, and has always been part of a complex paradoxical public perception of Pompeii: a conflation of fascination and disappointment.

The Tepidarium and Caldarium Perspective Views: Engravings and Etchings

Having discussed, although selectively, the textual part of Briullov's study, I would like to examine the illustrations supplementing the text. The sections drawings and architectural plans of the baths were printed in Paris, but the perspective views of the *tepidarium* and of the *caldarium* after Briullov's drawings were printed in London by Robert Sands and Son (figs. 64, 65). The engravings of these perspective views were bound in the final folios. However, there is evidence suggesting that the final engravings that became part of the book were not the only prints made after Briullov's drawings. The correspondence between the English engraver and the architect shows that there were

¹²⁴In his *History of the Art of Antiquity* (1764), Winckelmann represents the art development in a "bud-bloom-decay" fashion, and speaks of the fall of the Greek art starting with in the time of Alexander the Great. Winckelmann's view is that "the imitator has always remained inferior to the imitated" (Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity*, introduction by Alex Potts, translation by Harry Francis Mallgrave (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2006), 238,) and that "we must constantly infer what constituted the most beautiful works from what are, to all appearances, no more than mediocre productions and consider ourselves fortunate, as after suffering a shipwreck, to collect individual planks" (Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity*, 251).

also etchings of the *tepidarium* and *caldarium*.¹²⁵ The billing statement from Sands to Briullov is dated January, 16, 1829:

Engraving 2 plates	210...0..0
2 copper plates for the above	3..0..0
Printing 50 Proves of Etching on India and plain paper	4...7..6
Tin bases and parking base for plates and Proves	0...8..0
	£ 217...15..6 ¹²⁶

As noted above, the etchings were printed in fifty copies. However, it is unclear whether Sands printed fifty etchings total (twenty five etchings on each type of paper), or fifty etchings on each type of paper, one hundred in total. We know that Sands produced the etchings in 1828, and sent them for Briullov's approval the same year. In a letter from March, 17, 1828, which Robert Sands sent along with the "proof of the Etch's state" to Briullov, he wrote:

I have had taken from the plate 2 large Indian paper and 1 small paper Indian [I] now send you, as you left no orders of Proves of the etchings to be taken I suppose you do not publish copies of Etchings as we do in England a limited number being taken off for the curious and generally are sold for double the amount of the finished impressions, such plan helping to remunerate the Publisher...¹²⁷

Sands implied that if Briullov wished to order additional copies, he could certainly do so. He also stated directly that if Briullov had any intention to translate his work into English, he would be more than happy to print the whole work, and that no doubt it would sell in England.

Briullov was very pleased with the etchings. He wrote:

¹²⁵ OR GRM, fond 31, edinitsa khraneniia 68, listy 4-9.

¹²⁶ OR GRM, fond 31, edinitsa khraneniia 68, list 9.

¹²⁷ OR GRM, fond 31, edinitsa khraneniia 68, list 5.

Almost everything is ready for publication of the baths, except for one plate from London... The engraver had succeeded in this plate even more than in the first one. I think I will not be mistaken if I say to the credit of the English engraver that these *eau fortes* will always remain interesting materials for engravers; precision, cleanliness, evenness in the arrangement, hatching are excellent. If the critic will find a lot to decry in this *ouvrage*, surely it will not be the engraver.¹²⁸

I found the examples of these etchings in the copy of the folio owned by the State Russian Museum (fig. 71, 72).¹²⁹ Unlike the other copies of Briullov's book, the State Russian Museum copy contains both the etchings and the engravings of the *tepidarium* and *caldarium* (from now on referred to as "SRM etchings.") The SRM etchings are different from engravings not only in technique, but also in date, size, and inscriptions. They are dated 1828, they are slightly smaller (but not smaller enough to suggest that they were produced using a different plate), and they are entitled in English. The inscription on each etching reads "Drawn by A. Brulloff" (on the lower left) and "Etch. by Rob. Sands London, 1828" (on the lower right). But the engravings are inscribed in French: "Dessiné par A. Brulloff" (on the lower left), and "Gravé par R. Sands & Fils, à Londres" (on the lower right), and are not dated. I assume that Sands, after getting Briullov's approval of the etchings, developed the plate further with a burin, and produced engravings. Thus, the SRM etchings might be those "proof copies" that Sands sent for Briullov's approval. The State Russian Museum copy of the folio comes from a collection of Peter Volkonskii,¹³⁰ and the two SRM etchings were most probably

¹²⁸ OR GRM, fond 123, edinita khraneniia 127, list 7.

¹²⁹ I have consulted the copy in the Russian National Library and in the National Library of France, and also an unbound copy at the Museum of the Russian Academy for the Arts, St. Petersburg.

¹³⁰ The owner's stamp on the SRM folio shows letters *PPV* under the crown. This stamp was owned by count Petr Mikhailovich Volkonskii (1776-1852). See O.V. Vlasova, E.L. Balashova, and M.A. Alekseeva,

acquired separately, and bound in the folio upon the request of the collector. The existence of the SRM etchings, and Sand's terminology in the billing statement might also suggest another possibility: perhaps Briullov took Sands's hint and ordered fifty more copies of the etchings to sell separately on the market. To prove this hypothesis, more copies of the etchings have to be found, as well as a separate receipt for the engravings.

There is also another curious aspect related to these two plates. The perspective view of the *tepidarium* in Briullov's interpretation resembles an illustration of the same space from the 1832 edition of William Gell's *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices and Ornaments of Pompeii, the Result of the Excavations since 1819*. The image for Gell's book was produced by the German architect Wilhelm Zahn (1800-1871) with the help of the camera lucida, as Gell clearly indicated in the description. The kinship of the two prints raises questions of whether Briullov also used the camera lucida. Before examining this possibility, I would like to deviate from the main narrative on Briullov and give the context for the use of the camera lucida by artists working around the Bay of Naples in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

The Camera Lucida and Documentation of Pompeii in the First Decades of the Nineteenth Century

While the use of optics by artists of all times is unquestioned, the scope and details remain largely unknown, and this is one of the reasons that makes the Hockney-

Vladel'cheskiye znaki na graviurakh i litografiakh na materiale otdela graviury Gosudarstvennogo Russkogo Muzeia (Sankt-Peterburg: D. Bulanin, 2003), 122. I thank Anna Metelkina for this identification.

Falco thesis, so controversial. This thesis claims that the advances in realistic representation in Western art starting from the Renaissance era owe as much to technology as to an artistic genius.¹³¹ Most artists who used technical aid did it privately for a variety of reasons. Whatever these reasons were, they faded when the purpose of producing images became accurate documentation of the past. Before photography became the prime means of documentation, artists traveling to Italy, Greece and Egypt who were concerned with archaeological precision in recording the remains of the ancient world faced the problem of correct representation. In the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, with the growing scope of excavations, the need for precision in images of the ancient buildings and decorations called for the help of a portable optical device that would ensure accuracy in tracing the outlines of the architectural landscape. The camera obscura had been known for centuries, but even its portable type was bulky (usually 20 x 25 x 35 cm) and its field of view was restricted to about 35 degrees, which made it inconvenient for outdoor use and for recording vast spaces. A new device was soon invented: the camera lucida was a proto-photographic alternative to the camera obscura, and had an advantage of being more easily transportable, and a disadvantage of requiring significantly more practice for its

¹³¹ An artist David Hockney and a physicist Charles M. Falco have suggested that "certain elements in certain paintings made as early as ca. 1430 were produced as a result of the artist using either concave mirrors or refractive lenses to project the images of objects illuminated by sunlight onto his board/canvas. The artist then traced some portions of the projected images, made sufficient marks to capture only the optical perspective of other portions, and altered or completely ignored yet other portions where the projections did not suit his artistic vision. As a result, these paintings are composites containing elements that are "eyeballed" along with ones that are "optics-based." Further, starting at the same time, the unique look of the projected image began to exert a strong influence on the appearance of other works even where optical projections had not been directly used as an aid." See: <http://fp.optics.arizona.edu/SSD/art-optics/index.html> and David Hockney, *Secret knowledge: Rediscovering the Lost Techniques of the Old Masters* (New York: Viking Studio, 2001).

successful use.

Whereas the camera obscura was indeed a box with either a pinhole or a lens to let the light in, and a mirror inside, the camera lucida was a prism attached to an adjustable rod (fig. 73). Camera lucida is thus a misnomer: “as it was the last invented, and as its predecessor was called *camera obscura*, it was called *camera lucida*.”¹³² The two devices were very much alike in the principle of projecting images of objects on the flat surface. In the camera obscura, the lens brings the rays of light from a scene to a focus, creating an image of the object that is reflected from a mirror and can be seen and traced on the thin translucent paper, resting on a clear glass (fig. 74). With the camera lucida, the artist looks at the edge of the prism (the position of the head is very important), seeing the illusion of the object, the object in front of him, and the drawing paper at the same time. The camera lucida allowed a wider field of view (up to 80 degrees) and little or no distortion of the image around the edges of the picture, and could be carried around easily.¹³³ This made it more convenient to use outdoors. Using the camera lucida, one had to be persistent as it was very difficult to master: looking through the prism, the artist had to keep the eyes and the head at the same position in order not to lose the illusion of the object.¹³⁴

¹³² *Penny Encyclopaedia*, 1836. Quote from John H. Hammond and Jill Austin, *The Camera Lucida in Art and Science* (Bristol: IOP, 1987), 17.

¹³³ For more on comparison of the camera obscura and the camera lucida, see Hammond and Austin, *The Camera Lucida in Art and Science...*, and Erna Fiorentini, *Camera Obscura vs. Camera Lucida: Distinguishing Early Nineteenth Century Modes of Seeing* (Berlin: Max-Planck-Institute for the History of Science, 2006).

¹³⁴ David Hockney describes his experience with the camera lucida: “At first, I found the camera lucida very difficult to use. It doesn’t project a real image of the subject, but an illusion of one in the eye. When you move your head everything moves with it... It is a concentrated work.” Hockney, *Secret knowledge...*, 12-13.

A very popular caricature by Carl Jacob Lindström distributed in Naples in 1830 depicts two English painters surrounded by all imaginable sketching and measuring equipment: a telescope, binoculars, a tent-type camera obscura, a compass, a camera lucida (on the tripod), a ruler, a setsquare, and other devices that are harder to identify (fig. 75).¹³⁵ One gentleman is standing and observing the landscape through the spectacles-binoculars, another is covered by the tent of the camera obscura, with only his bottom and feet being visible. This satirical document tells us that the use of optical drawing aids was ubiquitous in the international artistic community working in the Bay of Naples in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

The camera lucida, also known as the prism of Wollaston, was patented in 1806 by the English scientist William Hyde Wollaston, and was on the market in the next year. As Erna Fiorentini notes, “the reaction to Wollaston’s invention was overwhelming, and the spreading of the device throughout Europe a phenomenon of epidemic character,” and the opticians very soon recognized the commercial potential of the device.¹³⁶ The instructions sheet that came with the camera described it to the buyer as “an instrument for drawing Objects in true Perspective, and for copying, reducing, or enlarging other Drawings.”¹³⁷

The camera lucida was marketed and advertised as an easily portable instrument for amateur artists and travelers:

¹³⁵ Lindström’s caricature appeared in an illustrated book *I Stranieri in Italia* (Naples, 1830) and was reproduced later in multiple media (watercolor, engraving and lithography), and numerous copies. See Erna Fiorentini, *Camera Obscura vs. Camera Lucida...*, 1.

¹³⁶ Erna Fiorentini, *Camera Obscura vs. Camera Lucida...*, 10.

¹³⁷ Hammond and Austin, *The camera lucida in art and science*, 19.

With his Sketch book in one pocket, the Camera Lucida in the other ... the amateur may rove where he pleases, possessed of a magical secret for recording the features of Nature with ease and fidelity, however complex they may be, while he is happily exempted from the triple misery of Perspective, Proportion, and Form, - all responsibility respecting these being thus taken off his hands.¹³⁸

The etchings made with the camera lucida were described as possessing “the character of truth which the mechanical accuracy of the Camera Lucida communicates to its work, even in hands but little familiar with the management of the pencil.”¹³⁹ However, this device providing magical powers for amateurs was perceived ambivalently in the professional community. An architect James Hakewill, who used the camera lucida to draw his views of Rome, earned harsh disapproval from another architect, George Basevi, in 1818. Basevi called Hakewill “a very vulgar low-bred fellow” and criticized Hakewill’s method:

...and another thing against his work is that they are all drawn with a lucida camera, a thing not very creditable to a professional artist, and from its mechanism always unpleasing. His drawings however have considerable merit.¹⁴⁰

The French architect Léon Vaudoyer who saw drawing as a research method was “disgusted with his father’s proposal to use the camera lucida for the depiction of the Pompeian ruins in 1827,” and regarded the innovative device “as an obsolete method for a modern architect who aims at an analytical documentation of his observations.”¹⁴¹

The English ‘amateur’ antiquarian Sir William Gell had a great deal of respect for

¹³⁸ Basil Hall, *Forty etchings, from sketches made with the camera lucida, in North America, in 1827 and 1828* (Edinburgh: Cadell & Co. ,1829), 2.

¹³⁹ Hall, *Forty etchings...*, 1.

¹⁴⁰ Quote from: Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Roman Topography and the Prism of Sir William Gell" in *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation, Visualization, Imagination*, eds. Lothar Haselberger and John Humphrey (Portsmouth, RI, 2006), 288.

¹⁴¹ Fiorentini, *Camera Obscura vs. Camera Lucida...*, 26.

the camera lucida, and used it to produce illustrations of the ancient remains for his widely popular “pocket companion and guide to those who visit the spot,”¹⁴² *Pompeiana*.¹⁴³ Gell did not hesitate to publicize his reliance upon the new technology. In the preface to the first edition, Gell wrote: “It may be proper to state, that the original drawings for this work were made with the camera lucida, by Sir William Gell. To render the subject clearer, a slight alteration has in two or three instances been made, but always mentioned in the text.”¹⁴⁴ The 1832 volume had a similar line: “The views and pictures have been uniformly made by the Author, as before, with the prism of Dr. Wollaston, and the drawings have been compared with such copies of the originals as have been published in the Museo Borbonico at Naples.”¹⁴⁵ By mentioning the camera lucida, Gell claimed to provide the most truthful representation of the past, which became possible through the technological achievements of the present. During the industrial revolution in Britain, when fascination with technological advancement was at its peak, such reference would also build more trust in his readers. Since Gell was not a professional artist or an architect, but a *dilettante*, he was not restricted by conventions of any professional community that might denounce his use of an “amateurish” sketching aid, nor could the

¹⁴² William Gell, *Pompeiana* (1832), xii.

¹⁴³ The first series of *Pompeiana* were co-authored with another dilettante, J.P. Gandy, with illustrations by Gell and text by Gandy. See William Gell and J. P. Gandy, *Pompeiana. The topography, edifices, and ornaments of Pompeii* (London, 1817-19; new editions in 1824, 1852). The second series were by Gell alone: William Gell, *Pompeiana. The topography, edifices and ornaments Pompeii. The results of excavations since 1819* (London, 1832; new edns. 1835, 1837). On Gell’s topography and use of the camera lucida, see Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, “Roman Topography and the Prism of Sir William Gell”, in *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation, Visualization, Imagination* eds. Lothar Haselberger and John Humphrey (Portsmouth, RI, 2006), 285–296.

¹⁴⁴ Gell, *Pompeiana*... (1824), xvi.

¹⁴⁵ Gell, *Pompeiana*... (1832), xxii-xxiv.

latter diminish his skill as an artist. His *dilettantism*¹⁴⁶ gave him more freedom both in the choice of his techniques and in his openness about them. Aside from his goals of scientific documentation, the camera lucida might have helped him speed up the production of the illustrations. Gell's books were immensely popular and made him, in the words of Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "a major figure in terms of his historical influence, on the one hand on the popular image of Pompeii, on the other on the tradition of topographical study of Italy."¹⁴⁷

On the Possibility of Briullov's Use of the Camera Lucida

The 1832 edition of *Pompeiana* contains a perspective view of the Forum Bath's *tepidarium* (warm room) made not by Gell but by the German architect Wilhelm Zahn, whom Gell identified as a "friend", "an artist of merit", and "an indefatigable and exact artist"¹⁴⁸ (fig. 76). Like Gell himself, Zahn used the camera lucida, and this fact was indicated in the accompanying description. Being one of the first images of the Forum Baths, this plate is similar to the view of the *tepidarium* produced by Alexander Briullov (fig. 64). While William Gell stated that Zahn did his drawings with the camera lucida, there is no record of Briullov indicating either his use of, or knowledge about the camera lucida, and generally, there is a lack of information on the familiarity of Russian artists and architects with this device. In 1837, the Journal of the Ministry for the People's Education in Russia compared a newly patented device with the camera lucida, calling it "similar to Wollaston's camera lucida, which has such benefit that it doesn't require

¹⁴⁶ I use Bruce Redford's definition of this term as a wide-ranging "curiosity that crosses what would now be called 'disciplinary boundaries'." Bruce Redford, *Dilettanti: the Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-Century England* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008), 1.

¹⁴⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, "Roman topography...", 285.

¹⁴⁸ Gell, *Pompeiana* (1832), 54.

much skill from the draughtsman's part.”¹⁴⁹ However, considering how widespread the use of optical devices was, we must assume that Briullov knew about the camera lucida. The comparative analysis of the two plates - Zahn's and Briullov's - might help us determine whether Briullov used the device for his drawing of the *tepidarium*. This exercise can illuminate a broader picture of the reasons for the use or non-use of optics by the artists concerned with the correct documentation of the ancient remains, their goals and artistic choices.

The background and lifework of the two artists have similarities. Both Wilhelm Zahn and Alexander Briullov were academy-trained architects whose careers were indebted to Pompeii. Their work in Pompeii and passion for it gave them respected positions in their profession and important commissions. Both Zahn and Briullov worked at the site around 1824-1826. It is possible that they were acquaintances; at least it is known for sure that Zahn was guiding around Pompeii another Russian, Vasili Zhukovskii, a famous romantic poet, the teacher of Russian to the German native, Empress Alexandra Fedorovna, and the author of the best translation of Homer's *Odyssey* into Russian.¹⁵⁰ Zahn had studied at the Kassel Academy in Germany, and later in Paris with Antoine-Jean Gros, and in 1829 he was invited by the elector of Hesse in Kassel to extend and decorate several palaces.¹⁵¹ His interest in lithography, science and new

¹⁴⁹ *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* ["Journal of the Ministry of People's Education"], vol. 13 (1837), 483.

¹⁵⁰ Zhukovskii acquired

technologies was deep. He made a significant contribution to the development of color lithography, and his work

much more archaeologically accurate than the schematic representation of it by Zahn,¹⁵³ probably in response to the directions that Briullov received from Stasov, who recommended him to pay particular attention to the ancient bricklaying.¹⁵⁴ Zahn's plate shows the room from the center, so that we are presented with the frontal view of the chamber, while Briullov shows the room slightly from the left. Zahn's viewpoint is lower than Briullov's: we can see more of the sky in the opening in the ceiling and less of the tops of the brazier and the banquettes in Zahn's plate. Zahn's viewpoint is also closer to the far wall of the *tepidarium*, while Briullov represented the building from a greater distance, which allowed him to show more vertical space. If we tried to locate Zahn's imagined drawing spot in Briullov's picture, we would be able to do so (fig. 78). Comparing Zahn's image and Zahn's presumed viewpoint in Briullov's picture, we can see that the far wall on Zahn's print appears smaller and farther from us than it does in Briullov's picture, and thus the perspective in Zahn's picture is steeper. Briullov's picture, in contrast, displays a proportion and perspective that is perceived as more "natural" by the human eye, with "normal" angle of view of approximately sixty degrees.¹⁵⁵ In the right foreground of Zahn's image, we notice a distortion in the representation of the doorframe: it is not straight but slightly bent. This distortion is curious, and the explanation is yet to be found. Distortion commonly occurs when the

¹⁵³ I thank Christopher Gregg for this observation.

¹⁵⁴ See page 44 of the current thesis.

¹⁵⁵ "Normal" refers to the natural field of view of a human eye, which is approximately 60 degrees when looking directly up front. Most fixed-lens digital cameras today offer 62 degrees angle of view, achieved by shooting with a conventional 35 mm lens. (See Bryan Peterson, *Understanding Exposure. How to Shoot Great Photographs with a Film or Digital Camera* (New York: Amphoto Books, 2004), 46. Hammond and Austin note that to get an 80 degrees field of view with the camera lucida, one has rotate the device while working.

image is projected through the lens, but in the image received through a prism with straight surfaces distortion should be absent. The steep perspective, wide field of view, and distortion are the main characteristics indicating the use of the optical aid in the production of an image. All these features are absent in Briullov's view of the *tepidarium*, which suggests either that he did not rely upon any optical aid or that he disguised his use of the latter.

Briullov went beyond the requirements of archaeological exactitude for his architectural study and enlivened the picture with a scenic cloudy sky, an impressive cut-off of the vault, two male figures, and a dog. In contrast with Zahn's figure of an imagined ancient bather in the background, apparently to show the scale of the room, Briullov's men have modern attire, and their poses convey character and personality. The man looking at the ceiling and making sketches is the artist himself, and the barefoot figure sprawling on the ground is a local Neapolitan type. Briullov's placement of himself in the picture is a tradition that we find in many travel illustrations, for example, in the pictures of Greek monuments by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett: the image of an artist recording himself recording the ruins was supposed to add to the truthfulness of representation.¹⁵⁶

The scenic details of Briullov's picture, and its perspective, showing "natural" proportions, and more of the vertical space, make it "more agreeable to the Eye."¹⁵⁷ Briullov created an image that met the convention of the picturesque, while Zahn, with the help of the camera lucida, produced an austere and archaeologically precise image at

¹⁵⁶ Redford, *Dilettanti*..., 67-68, 158.

¹⁵⁷ James Stuart, quote from Redford, *Dilettanti*..., 66.

the expense of the picturesque effects. Commitment to exactitude and truthfulness in representation justified Zahn's relying upon instruments that otherwise could be considered "unprofessional." It seems ironic that the image intended for mass distribution in a pocket guide proved to be more "scientific" than an illustration in a folio that meant to be a quasi-scientific study, so we have to look back at Briullov's goals and at the intended audience for his work in an attempt to explain his choice of approach.

It was Briullov's hope that this work would give him professional standing in Europe and Russia, which proved to be true. Since *Thermes de Pompéi* was published on royal funding, and with the hope of the French Academy acknowledging the work, Briullov had less freedom to experiment, and it is safe to assume that he was inclined to produce an image according to the rules of perspective, which he studied in the Academy meticulously, and for many years. In a way, *Thermes de Pompéi* was his report showing the professional skills that he acquired during his study abroad, and was supposed to demonstrate what he had learned at the Academy during all his state-funded years of study, so the use of optical help in Briullov's case could be considered dishonest. To conclude, we cannot truly determine Briullov's technique, but by attempting to do so, we can learn about the variety of reasons in favor of the artist's use of optical aid, or against it.

Thermes de Pompéii is one of those proto-archaeological, quasi-scientific architectural studies that reflect the state of interpenetration of the disciplines at the time. This condition, and the absence of strict instructions from either Academy or Society,

gave Briullov a certain freedom of choice in the treatment of his subject. He chose not to produce the graphic reconstruction of the baths, a genre so common among the architects of his time, nor even to present polished and meticulous drawings of the architectural elements, with careful hatching. Instead, he decided to describe the Forum Baths, and illustrate his work with a plan, with outline drawings and section views, and to devote part of his study to discussion and illustration of the baths at Baiae: a decision made in favor of archeological treatment at the expense of artistic imaginative recreation.

In *Thermes de Pompéii*, we see a much archaeological research, but not much artistic effort, and I would like to pose questions about the reasons for Briullov's choice of an archaeological approach. Was it because he did not want to put much more effort into illustrations, but decided to devote more of his time to the quality of the textual description? Was it his response to the archaeological turn in artistic education in Russia? Could it be that a work like this would be more likely to get recognition than a restoration project that would be one of many? Did he take on too many private commissions, such as watercolor portraits of the international elite touring Naples, that he did not cope with the workload on his main project? Did he decide that his illustrations were good enough as they were?

We know that before he started working on the baths, he was conscious of separating the roles of architect and antiquarian. Speaking of the ancient remains in Syracuse, which he visited in 1824,¹⁵⁸ he says: "As an architect, I have to be almost quiet... I don't want to talk as an antiquarian, although there are many ancient remains

¹⁵⁸ I thank Natalia Kalugina for confirming this date.

here.”¹⁵⁹ In Pompeian baths Briullov found a subject that let both architect and antiquarian in him speak, the latter more loudly than the former. We could also add that as an artist, he allowed himself “picturesque” representations of the rooms: that gives us three professional identities in one person, which was characteristic of his times.

¹⁵⁹ Travel notes of Alexander Briullov in the archives of the State Russian Museum, Quote from: Natalia Kalugina, “Russkie architektory-pensionery v Italii. Pervaia polovina XIX veka” [“Russian architects-pensionnaires in Italy. First half of the XIX century”] in *Khudozhestvennyi mir glazami inostrantsev: vpechatleniia, vzaimovliianiia, novye tendentsii* [Art world in the eyes of foreigners: impressions, influences, new tendencies], ed. E. Fedotova (Moskva, 2013), 234-255.

BRIULLOV IN SAINT-PETERSBURG

Briullov returned to St. Petersburg an internationally acknowledged architect in 1829, and the most fruitful decade in his career was to follow. Right after his return, the Academy assigned him to design a project of the House of the Invalids (Инвалидный Дом) on the Black Sea coast. He got private contracts as well: Countess Varvara Polie commissioned from him a church in Pargolovo in the Gothic revival style (fig. 79), and a good friend of his brother Karl, Countess Yulia Samoilova, asked him to build her a country house (*dacha*) in a place called Grafaskaia Slavianka near St. Petersburg. In 1829, Samoilova wrote to Alexander Briullov: “As your brother’s friend, I resolve to write to you and to ask you to be the architect of my *dacha*, which I am going to build in my estate, at Slavianka, near Petersburg. It is precious for me to have as an architect the one who bears the name Briullov.”¹⁶⁰ Alexander started working on the project right away, and in 1831 the construction of the country house began. Only ruins were left of her *dacha* after the World War II, but memoirs tell us that one drawing room there was decorated in Pompeian style: however, visual records of that room still have to be found. In 1830-31, Briullov started work on the design of the Mikhailovskii theater, where ceiling and loges’ decoration evoked Pompeian wall paintings, including representations

¹⁶⁰“В качестве друга Вашего брата я решаюсь писать Вам и просить быть архитектором дачи, которую я собираюсь строить в своём имении, в Славянке, близ Петербурга. Мне дорого иметь архитектором того, кто носит имя Брюллова.” Quote from: Konstantin Ivanov, “Vo vkuse umnoi stariny” [“In the taste of the smart old times”] *Neva: organ Soiuzu sovetskikh pisatelei SSSR*, 5 (1991): 198.

of the flying maenads: “Sculptured and polychromatic ornament adorning the ceiling and loges was executed in the manner of Pompeian paintings; on the back walls of the loges, light dancing female figures are depicted in color, and also a fantastic animal, located in the center of the rectangular field.”¹⁶¹ Although the theater was redecorated later, records of Briullov’s original design are kept in the Museum of the Academy for the Arts.

At the same time as these major commissions, in 1831, Briullov was appointed a professor at his alma mater, with ten students in his studio. In 1835, he and Ivan Sviiazhev authored the entries “Architecture” and “Architect” (respectively) in the popular contemporary encyclopedia *Entsiklopedicheskii Leksikon*.¹⁶² We need to see Briullov’s architectural projects within the framework of his understanding of architecture as outlined in this entry. This entry serves as a manifesto of the view that he and some of his contemporaries had on the architecture, its purpose, and its meaning, and allows some Russian scholars to see Briullov as one of the architectural theorists of the time.¹⁶³ According to Briullov, the main principle of architecture is an inextricable link between beauty and utility. Architecture is

the art to invent and erect buildings of various kind in a given space, following the requirements of necessity and obeying the laws drawn from nature and sanctioned by the conventional rules of taste and experience. ... Fine beauty of the building is so closely linked to the first demand of necessity and usefulness that it cannot exist separately; that is why there have to be employed only those means for decoration ... which are necessary for the expression of the character of the building, or at least seem to be so. This law is the main law in Architecture, the rein that controls imagination and leads it through the whims of vagueness, not

¹⁶¹ Ol’, *Arkhitektori Briullov*, 42.

¹⁶² *Entsiklopedicheskii Leksikon* [“Encyclopedic Lexicon”] was the Russian version of the German encyclopedia *Conversations-Lexikon*. It was published in 1834-1841, up to the letter Д [D], before the publisher Adolphe Pluchart had gone bankrupt.

¹⁶³ See Kirichenko, *Architekturnye teorii...*

allowing deviation from the course to the goal.¹⁶⁴

In 1836, Briullov was already employed in royal commissions, and in 1837, along with the architect Vasilii Stasov, he was appointed to supervise restoration works in the Winter Palace after the fire of 1837: his official title was Court Counselor. The Small Dining Room in the quarters of the Empress and the adjacent gallery in the palace were designed in distinctly Pompeian style.

The Pompeian Dining Room in the Winter Palace¹⁶⁵

There exists a pattern in which the high and mighty commissioned interiors in Pompeian style for their female consorts. Napoleon I built Château Malmaison for the Empress Josephine in the 1800s, Prince Albert commissioned a dining room in the Summer House of Buckingham Palace for Queen Victoria in 1846, and Prince Jérôme Napoléon “Plon-Plon” built Maison Pompéienne for his lover Rachel Félix in 1860. This list is selective, and does not suggest the prevalence of domestic interiors in Pompeian style as exclusively female spaces, but the practice does indicate a correlation of Pompeian style with effeminacy and sensuality. As for the royal commissions of Nicholas I, Pompeian style can be said to signify feminine space, for all major projects employing Pompeian style by Briullov, Shtakenshneider, and Stasov were either exclusively for the Empress (Tsarytsyn (the Empress’s) and Rozovyi (Pink) Pavilions in Peterhof, and Pompeian Dining Room and the Pompeian Gallery in the Winter Palace),

¹⁶⁴ *Entsiklopedicheskii Leksikon*, tom 3, s.v. “Архитектура,” (Sanktpeterburg, 1835), 270.

¹⁶⁵ The Winter Palace and the adjacent Imperial Hermitage museum constituted a single architectural complex on the embankment of Neva river in St. Petersburg, now known as the State Hermitage Museum. On the history of the buildings and their construction, see: <http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/>

or for his daughter Princess Maria Nikolaevna (Mariinskii Palace, fig. 33, and Palace at Sergievka, destroyed).

The Small, or Pompeian, Dining Room in the royal residence in Saint Petersburg was one of the five ceremonial rooms located in the north-western section of the Winter Palace, in the quarters of Empress Alexandra Fedorovna on the second floor¹⁶⁶ (fig. 80). The members of the royal family occupied all three floors in this part of the palace: the first floor was for the children, and the third for Nicholas I. The second-floor rooms of the Empress were considered the most personal space of the royal family, the place where the family could gather in a domestic atmosphere. The Pompeian Dining room, being the smallest, was probably the most private of the dining rooms in the palace, where the royal family would share a meal only with relatives and the closest confidants. Modest Korf, a memoirist loyal to Nicholas I, describing the intimate gatherings of the royal family, wrote: “These small dinners, to which two or three confidants were invited, happened at the Emperor Nicholas’s very often, almost every day.”¹⁶⁷ We can suggest that these small privy dinners took place in the Pompeian Dining Room, decorated in the style that the Empress fancied so much.

Briullov designed the entire room: the parquet, walls and ceiling decorations, and

¹⁶⁶ Other rooms in this quarter (north-western part of the Winter Palace) designed by Briullov included the Malachite Drawing Room, Pink Drawing Room, Crimson Drawing Room, Moorish Dining Room, and Mauritanian Bathroom. After a day-long fire of the Winter Palace in December 1837, which destroyed interior decorations of the building almost entirely, many artists were involved in restoration of the rooms. Architects Vasilii Stasov and Alexander Briullov directed the works, and designed the interiors. Two of those were in Pompeian style: Vasilii Stasov designed Pompeian Gallery (lost during the redecoration of the palace in 1886), and Alexander Briullov designed a small Dining Room in Pompeian style, also lost due to redecoration in 1894.

¹⁶⁷ Modest Korf, *Zapiski* (Moskva, 2003), 431.

the furniture.¹⁶⁸ The implementation of this design entailed a collaboration of artists, craftsmen and workshops. The names of the masters working on the room, and some of the prices paid for their work are recorded. The walls and the table top were made in a rare *scagliola* technique in the workshop of the master Terziani; the suite of furniture was ordered from the workshop of the Gambs brothers; Betkher, Tarasov and Mikheev worked on the elaborate parquet floor; and the artist Drollinger painted the ceiling.¹⁶⁹ Nicholas I supervised and personally approved every architectural design project in the Winter palace during its restoration.¹⁷⁰ Although the Pompeian Dining Room was finished during the reconstruction of the palace after the fire, we know that this project was started earlier, probably in 1836.¹⁷¹ It took about three years to design and finish the room: in June 1836, manufacturing of the *scagliola* plates for the wall decorations and of the furniture had already started, and the room was finished in 1839. In the letters of the Marquise de Custine we read that the Empress, proud and pleased with the renovation of the palace, encouraged the French guest to see her newly redecorated apartments.¹⁷²

Unfortunately, the decoration of this room did not escape the fate of many other Pompeian designs. Tastes changed, and in 1894 the room was redesigned in the rococo style. Although the wall and ceiling decorations are now lost, the furniture from the original design survived, and is now in the State Hermitage Museum. This Dining Room is one of the most famous Pompeian projects by Alexander Briullov, and is fairly well

Dining Room in The Winter Palace, Executed Upon the Drawings of Alexander Briullov”] *Soobshcheniia gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* XXXVIII (1974): 33.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Bashutskii, *Vozobnovlenie Zimnego dvortsa...*, 66.

¹⁷¹ Orlova, “Pompeiskaia stolovaia...,” 33.

¹⁷² Astolphe Louis Léonard de Custine, *La Russie en 1839*, tome deuxième (Paris: Librairie D’Amyot, 1846), 8.

documented, which lets us discuss its creation and perception at length.¹⁷³ The design was recorded in a watercolor by Konstantin Ukhtomskii (fig. 27), and in a sketch by Vasilii Sadovnikov (fig. 81). For the purposes of my description, the watercolor by Ukhtomskii will serve as a document of the room's decoration.

The decor is slightly reminiscent of both the third and the fourth style Pompeian wall paintings, if we choose to believe in a rigid distinction between the two styles.¹⁷⁴ In that case, we will find the major elements of both styles in this room (fig. 82). The distinctive feature of the decoration is the division of the wall surface into three vertical registers. The broad white central field is framed with a wide red border, and carries a couple of griffins in the center, surrounded by whimsical floral embellishments. The dark dado below contains a square geometric pattern with a vertical and horizontal lines crossed, and four diagonals joined at the center, and the light upper section features

¹⁷³ Briullov's Pompeian Dining Room has been discussed in the following publications: Iraida Bott, "Peterburgskaia mebel' epokhi istorisma. K voprosu o neostiliakh." ["St. Petersburg furniture in the era of historicism. To the question of neostyles"] *Izvestiia RGPU im. A.I. Gertsena* 76-1 (2008): 66-76; Iraida Bott and M.I. Kaneva, *Russkaia mebel': istoriia, stili, mastera* (Sankt-Peterburg: Iskusstvo-Spb, 2003); Antoine Chenevière, *Russian furniture: the golden age, 1780-1840* (New York: Vendome Press, 1988); Ivan Garmanov, "Raboty K. Rossi, O. Monferrana i A. Briullova v Zimnem dvortse do pozhara 1837 g. K probleme stilisticheskoi evoliutsii mebeli" ["The Works by Carlo Rossi, Auguste de Montferrand and Alexander Briullov in the Winter Palace before the fire of 1837. Addressing the Problem of the Stylistic Evolution in Furniture"] *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* XL (2008): 45-72; Natalia Guseva et al., *Khudozhestvennoe ubranstvo russkogo inter'era XIX veka* ["Decorative decoration of the XIX-century Russian interiors: digest and guide"] (Leningrad: "Iskusstvo," Leningradskoe otd-nie, 1986); K. Orlova, "Pompeiskaia stolaia Zimnego dvortsa, ispolnennaia po risunkam A. P. Briullova" ["Pompeian Dining Room in the Winter Palace, executed upon the drawings of Alexander Briullov"] *Soobshcheniia gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* XXXVIII (1974): 33-35; T.A. Petrova, "Pompeiskii stil' v russkoi arkhitekture XIX veka. Nekotorye aspekty issledovaniia" ["Pompeian Style in Russian Architecture of the XIX century. Some Aspects of Research"] in *Istorism v Rossii: stil' i epokha v dekorativnom iskusstve 1820-1890-kh godov: materialy mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*

candelabra joined by garlands, and a single winged creature with quite colorful plumage, possibly a fantastic bird. All around the room above the upper register runs a decorative frieze with figures of ancient warriors caught in motion, in the moments of vivid interaction with their horses: red silhouettes on a white field. The centerpiece of the room is a panel with a figure of a dancing maenad, one the most recognizable images of Pompeian decoration. Floating on a white background, the figure is accentuated by the light blue frame, the only one of its kind in the room, and by the daylight coming from the windows on the opposite wall.

The wide vertical fields are framed by illusionistic pilasters with elaborate capitals, and narrow red panels are furnished with candelabra. Strict symmetry in the arrangement of the panels on the wall surface allows repetition of each element and decorative pattern. The display of miniaturized floral designs, garlands, arabesques, candelabra and winged beasts also employs exact symmetry, and if the panels could be folded in half around the central axis, each side would be a mirror reflection of the other. This symmetry helps organize the lively fantasy into a strict order. The elements are delicate and attenuated: elongated candelabra, fanciful tendril scrolls, fine blossoms and the filigree “embroidery” borders. Miniature ornaments are characterized by linear precision and particular detail. The rectangular and square patterns on the walls, ceiling, and floor all correlate with each other. A meander design on the floor around the perimeter of the room is intended to evoke Roman floor mosaics. In the layout, the room refers directly to actual Pompeian interiors: the coordination of the floor, wall and ceiling

decoration was one of the main features of domestic decorations at Pompeii.¹⁷⁵

It seems very likely that polychromatic plates in Wilhelm Zahn's first volume of

agree with the later tastes: it was peculiarly and brightly polychromatic. The colors used to decorate the walls were white, red, light blue, with some elements of green and yellow, especially on the ceiling. The curtains were green, and the furniture deep red. Not incidentally, “variegated” [пёстрый] is the very term that was often used by the nineteenth-century visitors to Pompeii to define the use of color in Pompeian paintings. In the first Russian guidebook to Pompeii, the author notes that the use of garish and contrasting colors strikes a modern spectator unpleasantly and requires a certain effort to comprehend it:

[T]he Pompeians were extremely fond of brightness [пестрота] in their own homes, and that’s why they not only painted the walls of their houses in the most dramatic and contrasting colors, but even painted columns, giving the lower part one color, the upper another, and the capital - the third. At first glance, this garishness unpleasantly strikes the eye, but peering at the color combination, and assuming the idea that variegation can have its own beauty, we find that Pompeian artists have used it with great taste. Despite my many and frequent walks around Pompeii, I could not become friends with the multi-colored columns, but in artful combination on the walls of the opposite and most vivid colors, such as the red, black, green, blue and yellow, and especially in all their freshness at the excavation, I learned to find the extraordinary pleasure. We all admire the colorful silk or woolen fabrics if the pattern on them is beautiful, so why not admire the diversity of the room, if the colors of the paints in it are perfectly matched?¹⁷⁷

Ancient polychromy came as a big surprise to modern spectators, and was at first declared to be bad Roman taste, a degradation of the great Greek grace. If viewing the wall decoration required an effort to comprehend, it was even harder to believe that the great white marbles were once painted, especially after they had been canonized for so

¹⁷⁷ Aleksei Levshin, *Progulki russkago v Pompei* [“Walks of a Russian in Pompeii”] (Sanktpeterburg, 1843), 119.

many centuries. Polychromatic antiquity seemed vulgar, and denounced its own canonized and idealized image. Russian critics admitted that “the theory of fine arts, developed from the specimens of ancient art, is shattered in one of its major grounds,” and that archaeological finds were proving that true antiquity was unknown to the classicists, and that they were mistaken about the “classical simplicity” which should have been called instead “classical colorfulness.”¹⁷⁸

However, the first-hand account describing Briullov’s design in the Winter Palace focused on the production technique, and barely talked about the style and the colors. It was published the same year that the Dining Room was completed, in 1839. The book *Restoration of the Winter Palace in Saint-Petersburg* was written by Alexander Bashutskii, who remains in the unflattering historical accounts a second-rate writer, and a person who could not finish anything upon which he embarked.¹⁷⁹ Bashutskii’s praise of Briullov’s interior in the Winter Palace is indeed excessive:

In Briullov’s works, art appears to be vested with an intangible grace, and with a diversity and lure which are impossible to express; it displays as much intelligence and deep, dignified acumen as ardent imagination, which magnificently conveys the idea of pure beauty in the most poetic forms¹⁸⁰ ... We were astonished at the phenomenal harmony and grandeur of his ideas, at the purity of his taste that did not betray him in every smallest detail, at the abundance of his inventiveness ... and at the variety of his fantasy, with such lure and grace played them in enchanting variations.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ The pun of the original expression “классическая простота” versus “классическая пестрота” is lost in the English translation. “O pestrote arkhitekturnoi u drevnikh” [On the architectural polychromy of the ancients], in *Biblioteka dlia chteniia* XXIII (Sanktpeterburg, 1837). Quote from: Nashchokina, 339.

¹⁷⁹ *Novyi Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar’* s.v. “Bashutskii, Aleksandr Pavlovich” in volume V (S-Peterburg: Tipografiia aktsionernogo obshchestva “Brokgauz i Efron” (1911), 510.

¹⁸⁰ Aleksandr Bashutskii, *Vozobnovleniie Zimnego dvortsa v Sanktpeterburge* (S.Peterburg: V Gutenbergovoi Tipografii, 1839), 102.

¹⁸¹ Bashutskii, *Vozobnovleniie Zimnego dvortsa...*, 103.

Describing the Pompeian Dining Room, Bashutskii felt obliged to note that “in the small dining room, there is no gold, but it is no less precious...”¹⁸² He compliments the room’s style in passing:

Briullov transferred Pompeian art here in all its charm; the character is consistently maintained from the main parts to the details; to the excellent furniture in pure Greek style. The white field of the wall is pierced by adornments and patterns of shiny colors; the windows let the sunlight in from the upper part, which is surrounded by a beautiful attic with the pilasters; the doors themselves are marble (in order not to disturb the unity).¹⁸³

Bashutskii uses terms “Greek” and “Pompeian” next to each other - indeed, the terms “Pompeian,” “Etruscan,” “Greek” and “Roman” were commonly used interchangeably at the time, which was not entirely incorrect, if we think of style imitations in antiquity, fluidity of the art market and workshops, and of artists’ migrations - but it caused much confusion for modern scholars striving for stylistic determinism. Russian scholars describing the room make sure to distance Briullov’s interpretation of Pompeian theme in furniture and the rest of the decoration from both the actual Pompeian interiors and from the French Empire style.¹⁸⁴ Instead, they insist that Briullov’s interpretation of Pompeian theme exemplifies the stylistic movement of historicism, and is novel, combining the elements of different types, and using the first-hand source material that the artist gathered while working in Pompeii and visiting the Bourbon museum.

It is true that Briullov did not re-create authentic Pompeian design, even if his

¹⁸² Bashutskii, *Vozobnovleniie Zimnego dvortsa...*, 105-106.

¹⁸³ Bashutskii, *Vozobnovleniie Zimnego dvortsa...*, 106.

¹⁸⁴ For the list of scholars who have written about the room, see footnote 173.

contemporaries were intellectually preoccupied with the archaeological precision and historical accuracy. He allowed himself selectivity in adapting and borrowing elements that would meet the tastes of his patrons, and that were in accordance with the purpose of the room. This method of borrowing elements and adapting them freely to modern architectural designs was widespread throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But nineteenth century artists had a wider choice of elements, which were printed and distributed in design sourcebooks. Briullov's work in the Winter Palace shows conventionality of stylistic definitions and lets us revisit the contradictory terms "eclectic Neoclassicism" and "romantic Classicism."

In his description of Briullov's Pompeian Dining Room, Bashutskii focuses on the rare and painstaking technique of faux marble inlay which was used to produce decorations on the walls. To him, the main merit of the room is in the grand scale of the *scagliola* panels application, and this foreshadows the considerations of style and decorative patterns:

This small, but charming room (9.6 by 6.4 meters) is the only one in Europe of this kind of workmanship - it is *scagliola*. We will explain the meaning of this word for those who do not know it. *Scagliola* is a carved work; a stucco of one color is applied to the walls, an ground layer of the picture; after that, each part of it is cut out of this undercoat, and is filled with the stucco of a color according to the picture design, in these parts, when it dries, again are cut deep places for the shades, for lights, and flecks, for small embellishments, reflections, and so on; again is filled with the stucco of appropriate color, and thus the work continues to the last line, to the last detail. It is clear what labor and patience and craftsmanship, and what accuracy *scagliola* requires, but this kind of artwork can live forever. There is not, as we have said earlier, another such room in Europe: work of this kind had been tried here and there, in parts, in pieces, but nowhere

for the entire hall. It is executed by Terziani...¹⁸⁵

The tabletop is the only surviving piece of the *scagliola* that once adorned the whole room (fig. 90). Although the first known use of term *scagliola* appears in 1747,¹⁸⁶ the technique of imitating marble was widely used before that date.¹⁸⁷ Faux-marble techniques were commonly used in the interior decoration of the Roman houses, with plaster and stucco, as is recorded by Vitruvius: “those of the ancients who first used polished coats of plastering, originally imitated the variety and arrangement of inlaid marbles.”¹⁸⁸ When speaking of imitation marble in Pompeian houses, we usually refer to the slate imitations. The ancient Roman marble imitation that we know of does not include figural ornaments, and *scagliola* decoration of walls in the eighteenth century and later usually imitated marble slabs as well. The design of the walls in the Pompeian Dining Room is reminiscent of the *pietra dura* or *opus sectile* mosaic. In the case of the Pompeian Dining Room, copper plates were covered with the plaster of different colors to create an imitation of marble. Patterns were carved into the surface, and then filled with plaster of different colors. Though different from the faux marble technique used in the Roman houses, *scagliola* in itself was a reference to the ancient Roman manipulations with plaster in order to achieve the effect of a different material.

¹⁸⁵ Bashutskii, *Vozobnovlenie Zimnego dvortsa...*, 105-106.

¹⁸⁶ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/scagliola>

¹⁸⁷ Modern definition of *scagliola*: “imitation stone prepared by mixing finely ground plaster with glue, pigments, and stone dust, allowing it to harden, and then giving the surface a shiny polish. It is used in interiors as a substitute for marble panels and columns. In wet, pastelike form, *scagliola* can be spread into cavities in a stone matrix; it can also be cut into pieces and assembled to make pictorial and ornamental wall panels and tabletops in the manner of Florentine mosaic.” See *Art of the Royal Court. Treasures in Pietre Dure from the Palaces of Europe*, ed. Wolfram Koeppe (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 370.

¹⁸⁸ Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, VII.5.1.

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Vitruvius/7*.html

The furniture for the Dining Room was from the St. Petersburg atelier of the brothers Gambs, the most famous brand at the time, and synonymous with the highest quality and exquisite taste.¹⁸⁹ The pieces included a table, a couch, six stools, sixteen chairs, a firewood box and a fireplace screen (figs. 91-99). Briullov directed the furniture makers: “A couch, stool, and all the furniture should be made white and varnished, and painted with red and black arabesques.”¹⁹⁰ The varnish yellowed over time, which explains the color of the chairs now, and the arabesques that were once red now look brown or terracotta. The original fabric of the red upholstery was replaced with the new one during the restoration of 1980s, for the display of this furniture on the exhibition *Artistic decoration of Russian interiors in the XIX century* at the State Hermitage Museum (now part of the permanent exposition).¹⁹¹ The front legs of the table and the stools represent lion’s forepaws and breast, crowned at the top with the animal’s head, with grinning snout and extended tongue. Painted to imitate bronze, these creatures were repeated on the fireplace mantels. The shape of the chair legs evokes Roman folding *curule* seat (fig. 100), a symbol of imperial political and military power in ancient Rome, frequently referenced by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century furniture designers. The curved back of the chairs, reminding us of the Greek *klismos* (chair) (figs. 101, 102), is painted with figural ornamentation that the Russian decorative arts specialists identified as scenes from the Odyssey, though they do not specify which scenes.

The chairs are made of birch and are very lightweight: the frame, back and

¹⁸⁹ Natalia Guseva et al, *Khudozhestvennoe ubranstvo russkogo inter* (Leningrad: "Iskusstvo," Leningradskoe otd-nie, 1986), 37-49.

¹⁹⁰ Orlova, “Pompeiaskaia stolovaia...,” 34.

¹⁹¹ Guseva et al., *Khudozhestvennoe ubranstvo...*, 80.

cushion are thin, and the seat under the cushion is woven; they are visually light as well. Stylistically, the lightness of these chairs, both physical and visual, match the idea of ease and motion expressed in the elements of the decoration of the room, like delicate floral ornaments and, most notably, in the centerpiece -- a dancing maenad. Adding to this concept of motion, the chairs have castors, which made them easy to move around the room. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, castors were very common in Europe, as in the rooms of the Winter Palace. The architectural watercolors by Konstantin Ukhtomskii, Eduard Gau, Vasilii Sadovnikov and Luigi Premazzi recording interiors of the Winter Palace show that the castors were used both on heavy pieces of furniture and on the more lightweight preferred by the tsar.¹⁹² In the case of the Pompeian chairs, the presence of castors added to the parallel with a foldable *curule* seat, and, generally, with the movability of the Roman furniture, offering a variation of the easily movable seat. In addition to considerations of fashion, the presence of castors on the furniture also had practical rationale: they preserved expensive parquets, and made it easier to clean the floors.¹⁹³

Made with the minimum of soft padding on the seat, and with no padding on the back, these chairs can hardly be called “comfortable.” Sitting on a very light chair

¹⁹² Emmanuel Ducamp et al., *The Winter Palace, Saint Petersburg* (Paris: Alain de Gourcuff, 1995). This publication contains the highest quality reproductions of watercolors by Konstantin Ukhtomskii and Eduard Gau, and I thank Kristen Regina for introducing me to this book, and for her help in scanning the images from it. For watercolors of the Winter Palace and the Hermitage interiors by Gau on the web, see <http://tsars-palaces.livejournal.com/18023.html>.

¹⁹³ We know that Alexandra Fedorovna insisted on having castor furniture in Jasper Drawing Room (redesigned by Briullov into the Malachite Drawing Room after the 1837 fire) in 1830. The accounts of Peter Gambs recorded that “...keeping with the wish expressed by Her Majesty the Empress, the eight armchairs, six chairs, two screens and the large table have been mounted on copper castors.” Chenevière, *Russian Furniture...*, p. 228.

mounted on castors, one would probably feel unstable more than relaxed. The idea of comfort, however, is linked to human behavior that is relaxed: the first meaning of the word *comfort* is “a state or situation in which you are relaxed and do not have any physically unpleasant feelings caused by pain, heat, cold, etc.”¹⁹⁴ These chairs, therefore, were not meant to make the sitter feel relaxed but to present a proper posture, balance, and self-control. The image that the tsar wanted to project was of an alert and responsible ruler, setting the example of a proper human behavior for his subjects. The design of these chairs combines the original meaning of a *curule* seat, being that an office of a ruler of the republic was temporary and could not be occupied by one person for a long time, with Nicholas I’s ascetic lifestyle and his ideology of rule: truly believing in the absolute power of a monarch given him by God, he saw his duty in serving his country, guarding it from liberal ideas for its own good. Nicholas I was preoccupied with appropriateness, etiquette, and protocol, and court ceremonies during his rule almost received the meaning of a ritual. He was known for his abstemious habits in eating and drinking, as for his military disdain of physical comfort, famously expressed in his habit of sleeping on a military bed under a plain wool blanket (fig. 103). In other private spaces of Nicholas I and Alexandra Fedorovna we also see very light furniture (figs. 104, 105). Royal family meals were always short, usually of three or four courses, of which tsar preferred plain food (potatoes, buckwheat *kasha* and pickles) to elaborate creations.¹⁹⁵ The royal family was intended to demonstrate exemplary behavior of high morality and propriety. This

¹⁹⁴ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/comfort>

¹⁹⁵ E.V. Lavrentieva, *Povsednevnaia zhizn’ dvorianstva pushkinskoi pory. Etiket*. [“Everyday life of the nobility in Pushkin times. Etiquette”] (Moskva: Molodaia Gvardiia, 2005), 457-460.

represented behavior was almost too proper to be comfortable, and this idea was expressed in the design of the Pompeian Dining Room chairs, and in the other furniture intended for the personal use of the royal family furniture.

Pompeian Style in Briullov's Houses

The portrait of Alexander Briullov by his brother Karl recorded the architect at the peak of his career (fig. 106). The painting shows the attributes of his profession, and of success. Briullov is surrounded by books, fragments of the *acroterion*¹⁹⁶ and of classical sculpture, and by drawing tools. Both his hands lay on the architectural drawings, as if to convey that he works without interruption, and manages several projects at the same time. Alexander's pose, attire, a ring on his finger, a cross on his chest (probably an award), and his face bear the imprint of well-being. The title on the folder that he holds reads "Poggetti" ("hillocks"), and probably was intended to be "Progetti" ("projects"). This mistake could be intentional, reflecting Karl's irony about the possible temporality of the brother's high status of the royal architect. And indeed, already in the 1850s Nicholas rejected most of Briullov's projects, and his career concentrated on the teaching at the Academy than on commissions.

In 1831, Briullov married Alexandra Ral', the daughter of a banker, and had six children with her. He provided for his large family successfully not only through his main occupation, but also by running a real estate business.¹⁹⁷ Renting out rooms in a house was a profitable business (the apartment buildings were called *dokhodnyi dom*; the

¹⁹⁶ *Acroterion* is an architectural ornament placed on the top of the pediment in classical buildings.

¹⁹⁷ This very plausible assumption has been suggested in T.L. Pashkova and A.M. Blinov, *Dom arkhitektora Briullova*. ["The House of Briullov the Architect"] (Sankt-Peterburg: Almaz, 1997).

practice of renting out rooms in your own property was also very common), and Briullov owned several houses for this purpose.¹⁹⁸ The first property that he bought in the early 1840s was a house at Bolshoi Prospekt on Vasilievskii Island. Briullov renovated it, decorating interiors in the Pompeian style (the house has not survived), and most probably rented the rooms out. Descriptions of his renovations appeared in *Khudozhestvennaia Gazeta (The Art Newspaper)* in 1841. The anonymous author of this description assessed the decoration favorably, but remarked at the end: “you look at it as if into the kaleidoscope, and can not help asking yourself, isn’t it too motley?”¹⁹⁹ In 1845, Briullov bought a house at Kadetskaia, 21 on Vasilievskii Island, and started reconstruction and remodeling projects there, adding two stories intended to be apartment rentals. The house on Kadetskaia had a fountain and mosaic floor in the anteroom, with the inlaid greeting *salve!* on the floor at the entrance, niches in the walls with vases, walls coated with marble imitations, brownish red at the bottom and yellow at the top, a hall with paintings in the Pompeian style on the ceiling, and open vistas on the upper register of the walls with the images of Vesuvius.²⁰⁰ After Briullov’s death, part of the house was occupied by the family of his daughter Sofia and his son-in-law, the architect Pavel Siuzor. The original decorations of the house had undergone renovation and restoration several times, however, these were always in line with the main Pompeian theme. Unfortunately, the house is now in ruinous condition, and very little is left of its former splendor (figs. 107-112). The possible road for future research is to examine the

¹⁹⁸ See Pashkova and Blinov, *Dom arkhitektora Briullova*.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 70.

²⁰⁰ The book *Dom arkhitektora Briullova* by T. Pashkova and A. Blinov, published in 1997, meticulously recorded the pitiful remnants of the decorations in the house on Kadetskaya, 21.

exploitation of Pompeian style in the architecture intended for different social groups. To discuss the adaptation of Pompeian theme for the purposes of each social stratum, and the different meanings that it assumed on every level might be a fascinating task for the future researches.

CONCLUSIONS

The work of Alexander Briullov offers an insight into the reception of Pompeii and Herculaneum in Russia – a topic that is vast and rich in material, yet largely unexplored. Investigation of Briullov's engagement with Pompeian art during the two stages of his professional career revealed close interrelation of archaeology and architecture, and the prime role of publications in the appropriation of Pompeian legacy in Russian architecture and decorative arts. I have examined the folio *Thermes de Pompéi*, a textual description and illustrations of the Forum Baths in Pompeii, within the context of other contemporary accounts of the Forum Baths. Briullov's folio adds valuable information to the historiography of Pompeii and to the development of archaeology as a discipline. It allows us to get a broader picture of the attitudes and judgments in relation to the ancient art, and documents not only archaeological remains but also the author's assumptions, some of which proved wrong while others passed the test of time. Although the engravings do not provide a wealth of architectural detail, the textual description of the baths fills the lack of a visual record, and adds to the archaeological value of Briullov's project. The reasons for Briullov's choice of archaeological, rather than architectural, treatment of his subject are not clear, but the suggested directions of search for his motives range from archaeological turn in artistic education in Russia to his personal career goals.

I explain the popularity of Pompeian interiors in royal commissions in relation to the domestic scenario that the royal couple wanted to convey to the public. This explanation relies on Richard S. Wortman's interpretation of Russian history. The Pompeian Dining Room in the Winter Palace operated as an architectural space intended to promote the tsar's servitude to the kind, beautiful and fragile Lady-Empress, satisfying her romantic tastes and interests. It was therefore a means of constructing the model of a happy, idyllic family that the tsar intended to project to the public.

The method of Briullov's work in the decoration of the Pompeian Dining Room in the Winter Palace was essentially the same as that employed by neoclassical architects in Europe creating eclectic interiors evoking Greek, Roman and Etruscan motifs in their interior designs. Briullov did not reconstruct the actual Pompeian interior – a practice that would become popular in the mid-nineteenth century. Instead, he combined the archaeologically precise elements of Pompeian ornament, which were available in chromolithographic prints of Wilhelm Zahn, with imaginary components of a general classical theme. This leads me to question the legitimacy of the strict separation of styles, and the opposition of the Neoclassicism and Romanticism in relation to the interiors employing classical motifs.

The directions for future research are many. A closer look at the restoration projects produced by the Russian architects-pensionnaires at Pompeii is needed. The Pompeian interiors produced in Russia could be investigated within the context of architectural theory, with the possible shattering of the conventional division between Neoclassicism and Romanticism.

FIGURES



Figure 1: Alexander Briullov. Self-portrait, 1830. The State Russian Museum. Watercolor.

Source: <http://www.virtualrm.spb.ru/ru/node/8001>



Figure 2: Robert Adam, Osterley Park, Middlesex, dressing room in the Etruscan style, 1775-79.

Source: R. Middleton and D. Watkin, *Architecture of the nineteenth century* (Milano: Electarchitecture, 1980): 177.



Figure 3: James Wyatt, Heaton Hall, Lancashire, Cupola Room, 1772.
Source: R. Middleton and D. Watkin, *Architecture of the nineteenth century* (Milano: Electarchitecture, 1980): 174.



Figure 4: James Stuart. Spencer house, Painted Room, London, 1759-1765.

Source: <http://www.spencerhouse.co.uk>



Figure 5: James Stuart. Spencer house, Painted Room, London, 1759-1765.

Source: <http://www.spencerhouse.co.uk>



Figure 6: Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine, Château Malmaison, Library, 1800.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Château_de_Malmaison_-_Bibliothèque_003.jpg



Figure 7: Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine, Château Malmaison, Hauts-de-Seine, L'appartement de l'impératrice Joséphine, 1800.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Château_de_Malmaison_-_Appartement_de_Joséphine_003.jpg



Figure 8: Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine, Château Malmaison, Dining Room, 1800.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Château_de_Malmaison_-_Salle_à_manger_002.jpg



Figure 9: Charles-Louis Clérisseau, design for wall of the salon of the Hôtel Grimod de la Reynière, Paris, ca.1777.

Source: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O115338/panels-clerisseau-charles-louis/>



Figure 10: Pierre Rousseau, Chateau de Fontainebleau, Boudoir of Marie Antoinette, 1786.

Source: <http://maisonarts.forumgratuit.org/t484-objets-d-art-2>



Figure 11: Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Erdmannsdorff, The ceiling at Villa Hamilton, Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz, 1791-1794.

Photo: Heinz Fräßdorf

Source: <http://www.la->

[sa.de/en/state_museum_of_prehistory/sonderausstellungen/ausstellungsarchiv/pompeji/exhibition/the_garden_kingdom_of_dessau_woerlitz/](http://www.la-de/en/state_museum_of_prehistory/sonderausstellungen/ausstellungsarchiv/pompeji/exhibition/the_garden_kingdom_of_dessau_woerlitz/)



Figure 12: Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Erdmannsdorff, Kaminszimmer der Villa Hamilton, Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz, 1791-1794.

© Kulturstiftung Dessau Wörlitz, Heinz Fräßdorf

Source: http://www.monumente-online.de/10/05/streiflichter/Woerlitz_Vulkan.php



Figure 13: Charles Cameron, Bedroom, Catherine Palace, Tsarskoe Selo, 1780-1782.
Source: http://tsarselo.ru/content/0/yenciklopedija-carskogo-sela/adresa/ekaterininskii-dvorec-spalnja-ekateriny-II-zubovskii-fligel.html#.UzQ_-NxZ0ds



Figure 14: Charles Cameron, Bedroom, Catherine Palace, Tsarskoe Selo, 1780-1782.
Source: http://tsarselo.ru/content/0/yenciklopedija-carskogo-sela/adresa/ekaterininskii-dvorec-spalnja-ekateriny-II-zubovskii-fligel.html#.UzQ_-NxZ0ds



Figure 15: Charles Cameron, Catherine Palace, Tsarskoe Selo, Arabesque Hall, 1784.
Watercolor by Eduard Gau, ca. 1850.

Source: <http://tsarselo.ru/content/0/yenciklopedija-carskogo-sela/adresa/ekaterininskii-dvorec-arabeskovyi-zal.html>



Figure 16: Charles Cameron, Green Dining Room, Catherine Palace, Tsarskoe Selo, 1779.

Source: <http://museums-ru.livejournal.com/130804.html>



Figure 17: Karl Briullov, The Last Day of Pompeii, 1830-1833. The State Russian Museum

Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karl_Brullov_-_The_Last_Day_of_Pompeii_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg?uselang=ru

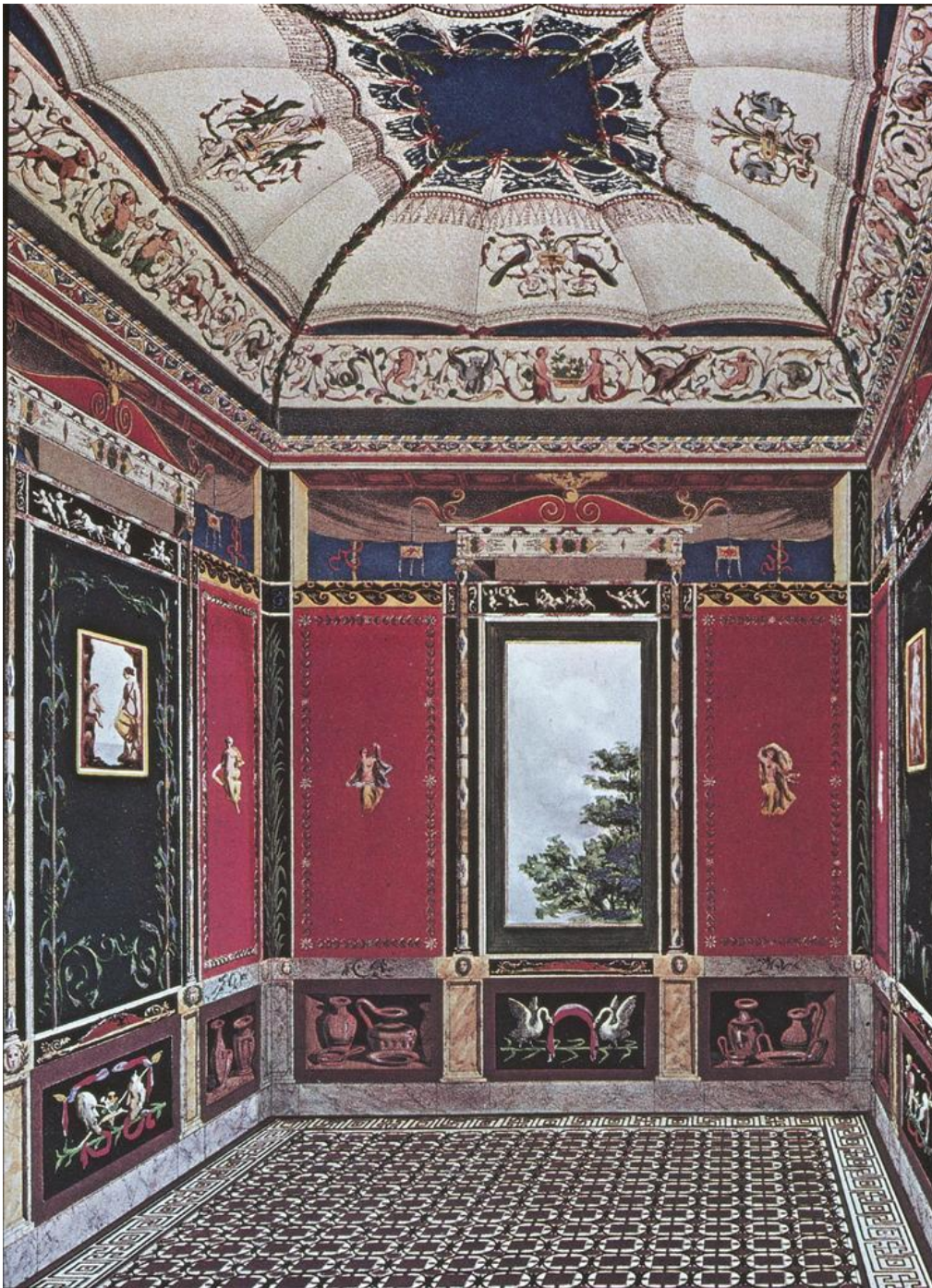


Figure 18: Agostino Aglio, Pompeian Dining Room, Summer House of the Buckingham Palace, 1844.

Color lithograph from *The Decorations of the Garden-Pavilion in the Grounds of Buckingham Palace in the Grounds of Buckingham Palace* by Ludwig Grüner (1801-82) and Anna Brownell Jameson (1794-1860) 1846

Source: <http://www.guise.me.uk/museum/aglioroom/index.htm>



Figure 19: The Octagon Room of the Garden Pavilion, Buckingham Palace, 1843-46 (destroyed).

Color lithograph from *The Decorations of the Garden-Pavilion in the Grounds of Buckingham Palace in the Grounds of Buckingham Palace* by Ludwig Grüner and Anna Brownell Jameson, 1846.

Source: <http://carltonhobbs.com/portfolio-items/the-buckingham-palace-centre-table-attributed-to-george-morant-and-sons/>



Figure 20: Alfred Normand, La Maison Pompéienne du prince Napoléon, avenue Montaigne, Paris, 1860s.

Photo: Pierre-Ambroise Richebourg, 1866.

Source: <http://expositions.bnf.fr/napol/grand/010.htm>



Figure 21: Alfred Normand, La Maison Pompéienne du prince Napoléon, avenue Montaigne, Paris, 1860s.

Photo: Pierre-Ambroise Richebourg, Intérieur de l'Atrium de la maison Pompéienne du Prince Napoléon, 18, avenue Montaigne, 1866.

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Source: <https://www.facebook.com/Carnavalet>

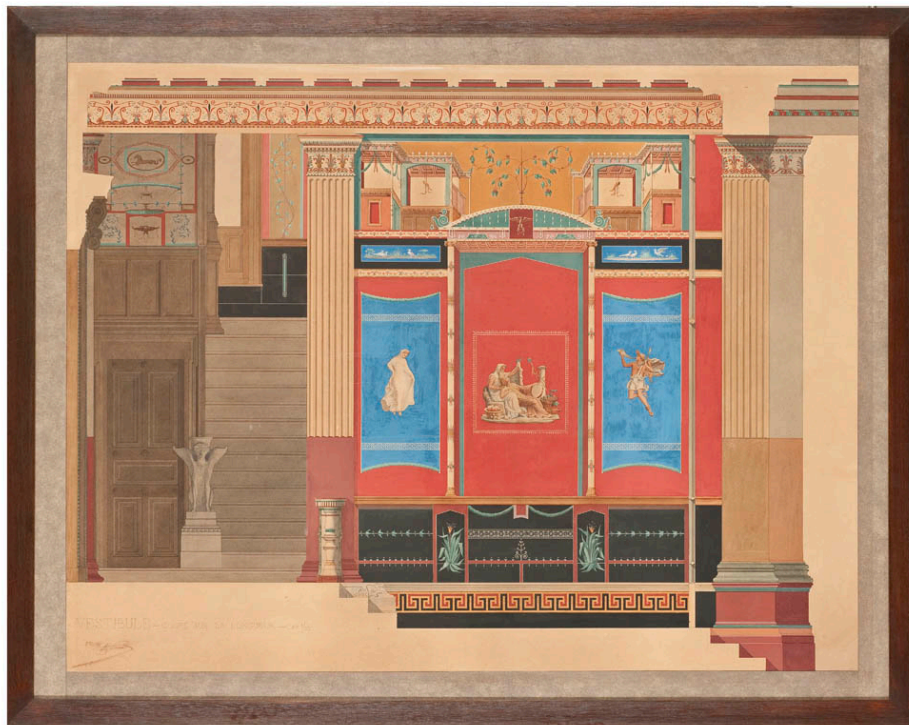


Figure 22: Alfred Normand, Vestibule de la Maison Pompéienne, 1862.
Inv. 45383, Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris.
Source: http://dessins.hypotheses.org/343?lang=en_GB



Figure 23: Alfred Normand, Projet pour la Maison Pompéienne du Prince Napoléon (peut-être pour l'atrium), c. 1860.
Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris, inv. 35 309 B1 et B2.
Source: http://dessins.hypotheses.org/343?lang=en_GB



Figure 24: Gustave Boulanger, Rehearsal of the “Flute Player” and “The Wife of Diomedes” with Prince Napoleon in the Pompeian House, 1860. Versailles, Musée National du Château de Versailles.

Source :

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gustave_Boulanger_The_Flute_Concert.jpg



Figure 25: Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Roman Baths in the Gardens of Sanssouci, Charlottenhof Palace, Potsdam, 1834-1840.

Source: <http://allthingsruffnerian.blogspot.com/2014/03/pompeii-no3-starting-to-paint.html>



Figure 26: Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Roman Baths in the Gardens of Sanssouci, Charlottenhof Palace, Potsdam, 1834-1840.

Source: <http://tweedlandthegentlemansclub.blogspot.com/2013/07/the-roman-bathssanssouci-park-in-potsdam.html>



Figure 27: Alexander Briullov, The Pompeian Dining Room, The Winter Palace, St. Petersburg.

Watercolor by Konstantin Ukhtomskii, 1874. The State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. 14383.

Source: <http://corason7799.wordpress.com/2013/06/01/константин-андреевич-ухтомский/>



Figure 28: Vasilii Stasov, Pompeian Gallery, The Winter Palace, St. Petersburg, 1838.
Watercolor by F. M. Slavianskii, 1842.

Source: <http://www.liveinternet.ru/users/4723908/post240666193/>

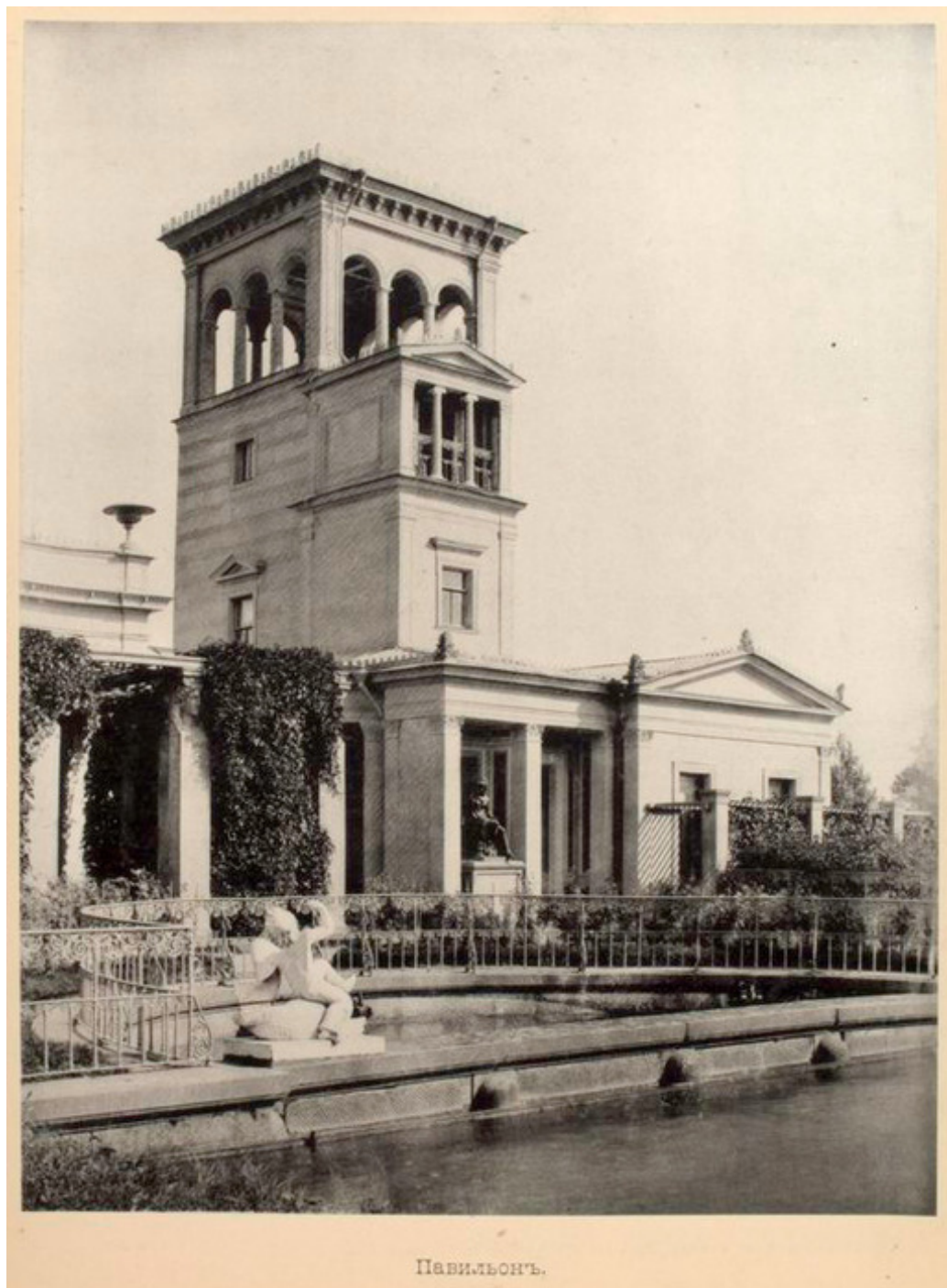


Figure 29: Andrei Shtakenshneider, Rozovyi Pavilion (Pavilion Ozerki), Peterhof, 1845-1848.

Photo: early XX ce.

Source: <http://elsa555.livejournal.com/95032.html>



Figure 30: Andrei Shtakenshneider, Interior of the Masquerade Room in the Rozovyi Pavilion (Pavilion Ozerki), Peterhof, 1845-1848.

Watercolor by Konstantin Ukhtomskii.

Source: <http://corason7799.wordpress.com/2013/06/01/константин-андреевич-ухтомский/>



Figure 31: Andrei Shtakenshneider, Tsaritsyn Pavilion, Peterhof, 1842-1844.
Destroyed during World War II, restoration finished in 2005.

Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Tsaritsyn_Pavilion?uselang=ru



Figure 32: Andrei Shtakenshneider, Atrium in Tsaritsyn Pavilion, Peterhof, 1842-1844. Destroyed during World War II, restoration finished in 2005.

Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Tsaritsyn_Pavilion?uselang=ru



Figure 33: Andrei Shtakenshneider, Mariinskii Palace, Hallway in Pompeian Style, 1839-1844.

Source: <http://www.sergekot.com/mariinskij-dvorets/>



Figure 34: Friedrich von Gärtner, Villa Pompejanum, Aschaffenburg, 1840-1848. Damaged during World War II, now restored.

Source: <http://www.romeinspompeii.net/pompejanum.html>



Figure 35: Friedrich von Gärtner, Villa Pompejanum, Aschaffenburg, 1840-1848.
Damaged during World War II, now restored.

Source: <http://www.romeinspompeii.net/pompejanum.html>



Figure 36: Friedrich von Gärtner, Villa Pompejanum, Aschaffenburg, 1840-1848.
Damaged during WWII, now restored.
Source: <http://www.romeinspompeii.net/pompejanum.html>



Figure 37: Pompeian Court, Crystal Palace, London, 1854. Destroyed by the fire in 1936.
Source: <http://sydenham.org.uk/forum/viewtopic.php?t=1500&start=20>



Figure 38: Pompeia, Saratoga Springs, NY, 1889.

Source: <http://bloggingpompeii.blogspot.com/2009/08/reconstructing-history-of-pompeia.html>



Figure 39: Pompeo Batoni, Portrait of Count Kirill Razumovskii, 1766.
Source: <http://latander.livejournal.com/159496.html>



Figure 40: Pompeo Batoni, Portrait of Thomas Dundas, 1764.

Source: <http://yolk-of-the-sun.tumblr.com/post/11953341432/peira-pompeo-batoni-portrait-of-thomas-unddas>



Figure 41: Franz Krüger, Portrait of Emperor Nicholas I, 1852. The State Hermitage Museum.

Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Franz_Krüger_-_Portrait_of_Emperor_Nicholas_I_-_WGA12289.jpg?uselang=ru



Figure 42: Alexander Briullov, *Portrait of the Empress Alexandra Fedorovna*, early 1830s. The State Historical Museum, Moscow.

Source: T.G. Dmitrieva, L. A. Karnaukhova, and N. I. Mikhailova, *Aleksandr Pavlovich Briullov: russkii kamernyy portret*



Figure 43: Peter Klodt, Cavalli di Bronzo, 1843-44, Palazzo Reale, Naples.

Source: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cavalli di Bronzo.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cavalli_di_Bronzo.jpg)



Figure 44: *Poslednii Den' Razrusheniia Pompei* ("The Last Day of the Destruction of Pompeii"), 1834. The State Russian Museum.

Inspired by the descriptions of the painting by Karl Briullov. Inv. no. 31278, 31279, 31280.

Lubok lithograph or engraving.

Drawing by F. Bobel', engraved (?) by F. Alekseev. Publisher A. Belova.

Photo: Author.

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Figure 45: Konstantin Makovskii, Fair Booths on Admiralty Square, St. Petersburg, 1869. The State Russian Museum.

Source: <http://www.wikipaintings.org/en/konstantin-makovsky/fair-booths-on-admiralty-square-st-petersburg-1869>



Figure 46: Konstantin Makovskii, Fair Booths on Admiralty Square, detail, a sign *ИЗВЕРЖЕНИЕ ВЕЗУВІЯ* ["Eruption of Vesivius"]. Photo: author.



Figure 47: Alexander Briullov, The Ascension of Baron Schilling (The Ascent of Vesuvius), 1824. The State Russian Museum.

Paper, watercolor, ink, pen.

Source: Evgenia Petrova,



Figure 48: Alexander Briullov, Members of the Expedition on Vesuvius, 1824. The State Russian Museum.

Paper, watercolor, ink, pen.

Source: Evgenia Petrova,



Figure 49: Alexander Briullov, Bivouac on the Crater of Vesuvius, 1824. The State Russian Museum.

Paper, watercolor, ink, pen.

Source: Evgenia Petrova, *Risunok i akvar*



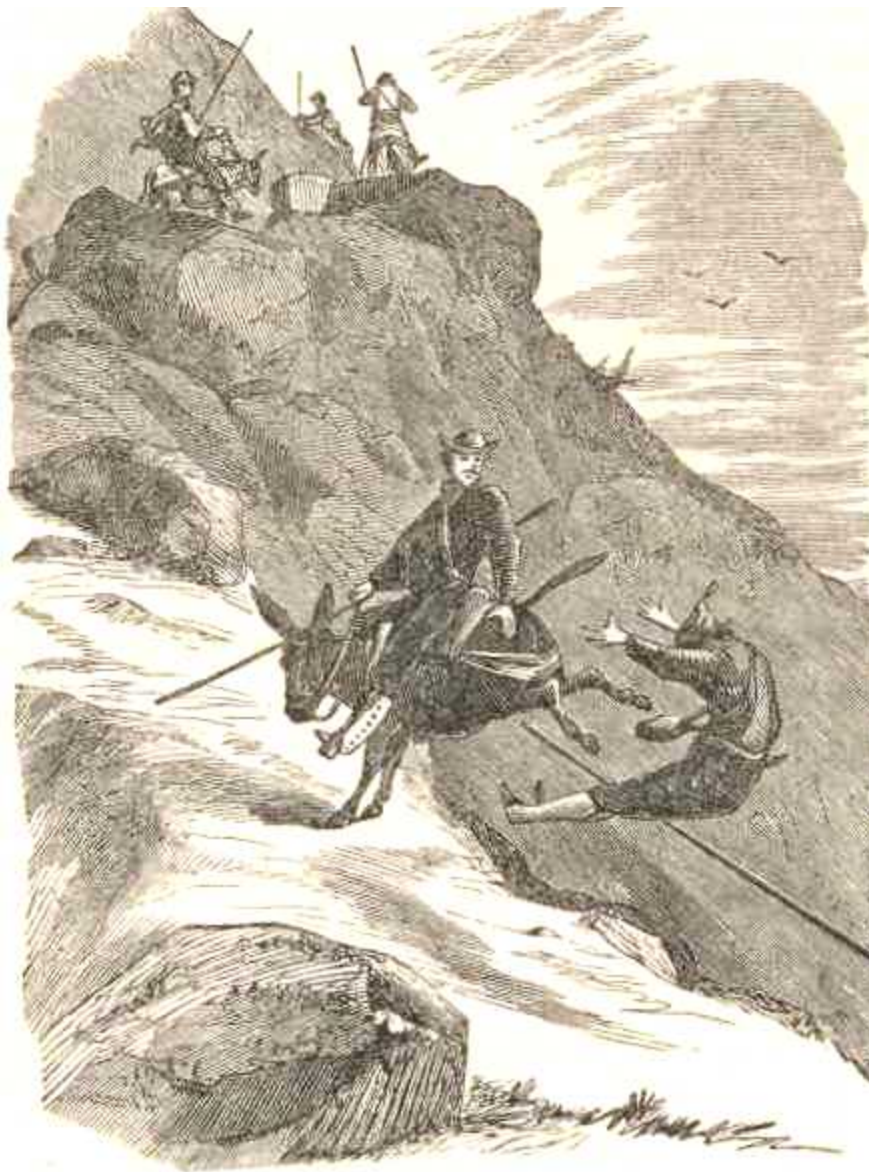
Figure 50: Gatti and Dura, The climb to Mount Vesuvius, Italy, 19th century. Lithograph.

Source: <http://www.superstock.com/stock-photos-images/1788-31134>



Figure 51: Gatti and Dura, The climb to Mount Vesuvius, Italy, 19th century. Lithograph.

Source: <http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/photo/the-climb-to-mount-vesuvius-lithograph-by-high-res-stock-photography/123720106>



ASCENT OF VESUVIUS

Figure 52: Ascent of Vesuvius, illustration 118 from Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad*, 1869.

Source: Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad*, (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1869): 306.
<http://books.google.com/books?id=XX-wAAAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=mark+twain+innocents+abroad&hl=en&sa=X&ei=XSA4U5fsAomtsATxiICYCg&ved=0CFIQ6AEwAg&authuser=1#v=onepage&q=mark%20twain%20innocents%20abroad&f=false>



THE ASCENT OF VESUVIUS.

Figure 53: The Ascent of Vesuvius, from James de Mille, *The Dodge Club, or, Italy in MDCCCLIX* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1872).

Source: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/27086/27086-h/27086-h.htm>

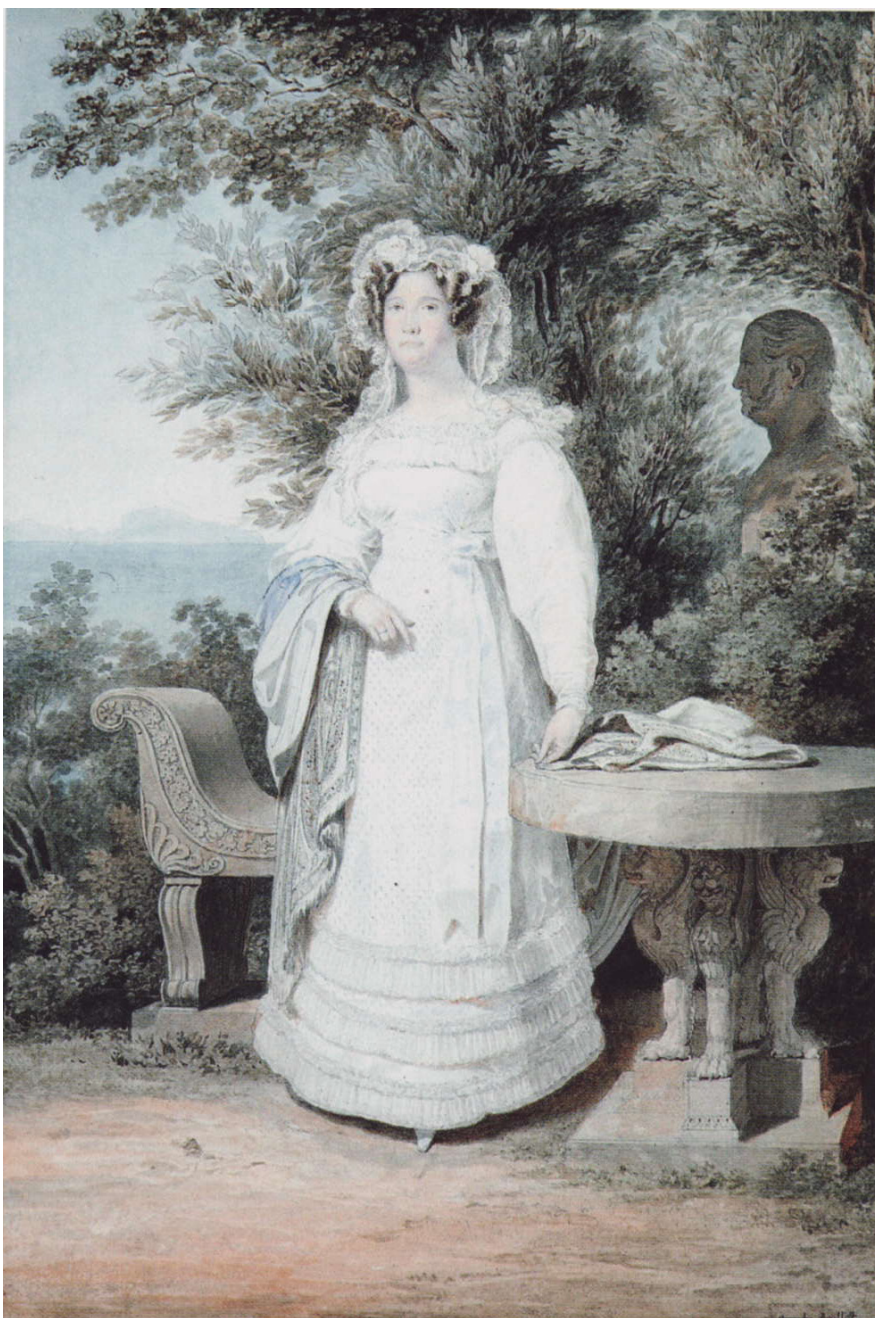


Figure 54: Alexander Briullov, Portrait of Neapolitan Queen Maria Isabella, 1825. Private collection (S. and T. Podstanitskii).

Paper, watercolor, pencil.

Source: L.A. Markina et al., *O Dolce Napoli: Neapol' glazami russkikh i italianskikh khudoznikov pervoi poloviny XIX veka*. ["O Dolce Napoli: Naples Through the Eyes of Russian and Italian Artists in the First Half of the XIX Century"] (Moskva: SkanruS, 2011): 61.

On the web: http://mashastoyanova.github.io/maria_isabella.html



Figure 55: Alexander Briullov, Portrait of Neapolitan King Francis I, 1825. Private collection (S. and T. Podstanitskii).

Paper, watercolor, pencil.

Source: L.A. Markina et al., *O Dolce Napoli: Neapol' glazami russkikh i italienskikh khudozhnikov pervoi poloviny XIX veka*. ["O Dolce Napoli: Naples Through the Eyes of Russian and Italian Artists in the First Half of the XIX Century"] (Moskva: SkanruS, 2011): 60.

On the web: <http://mashastoyanova.github.io/francis1.html>

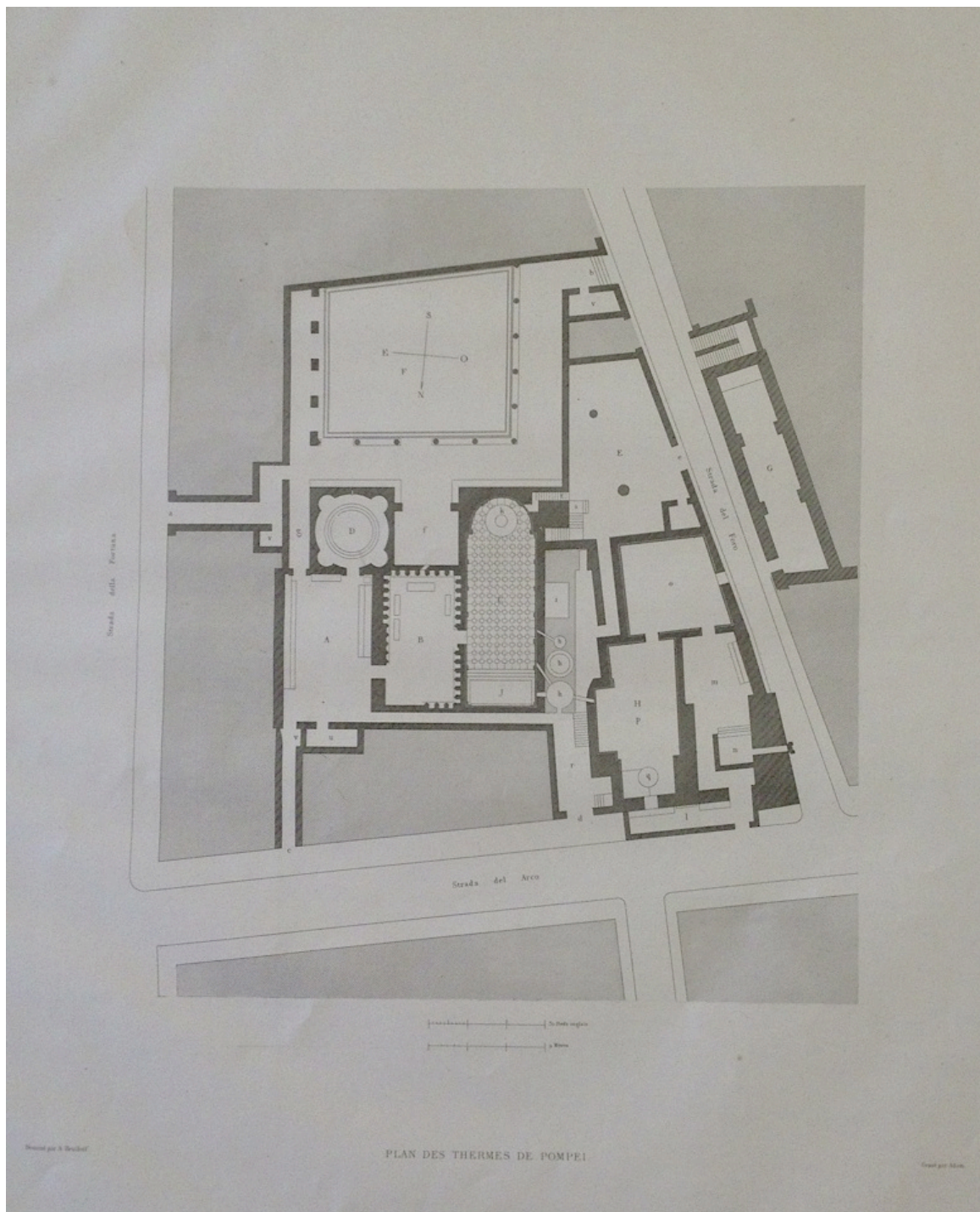


Figure 56: Alexander Briullov, The Plan of the Forum Baths, 1929. Engraving. The Russian National Library.
 Source: Alexandre Brulloff, *Thermae de Pompéi* (Paris, 1829), planche 1.
 Photo: Author.

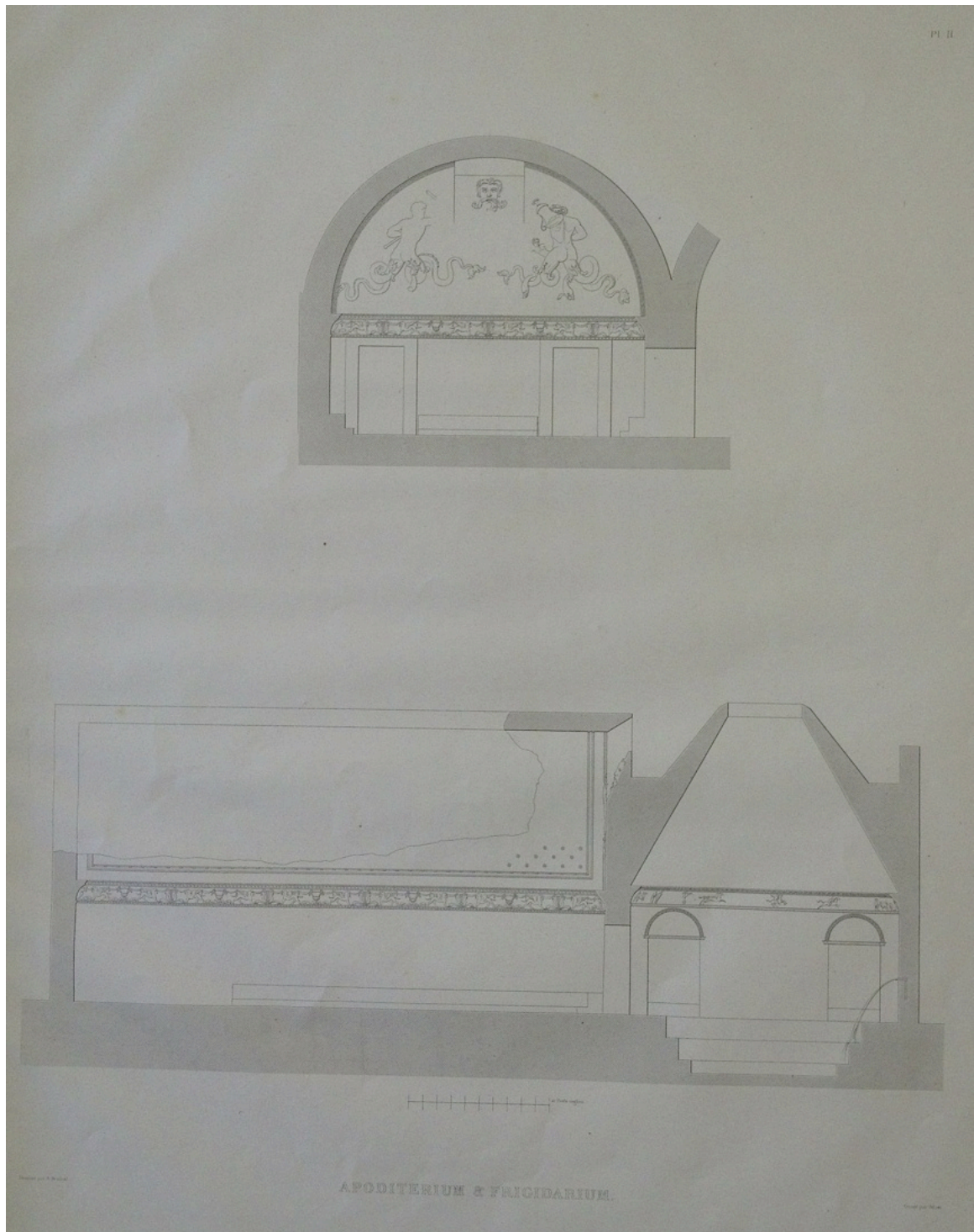


Figure 57: Alexander Briullov, Section Drawing of Apodyterium and Frigidarium of the Forum Baths at Pompeii, 1829. Engraving. The Russian National Library.
 Source: Alexandre Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi* (Paris, 1829), planche 2.
 Photo: Author.

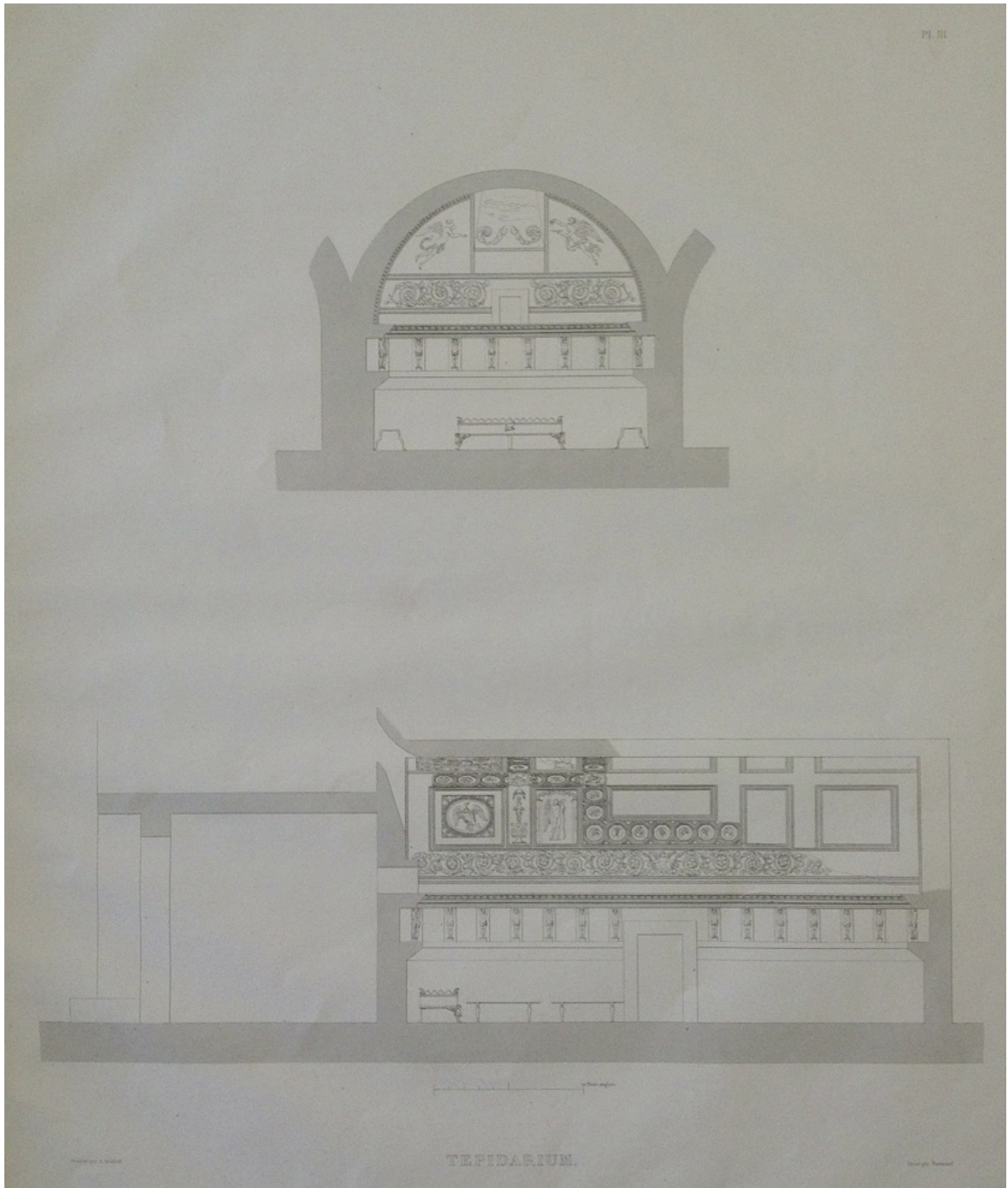


Figure 58: Alexander Briullov, Section Drawing of Tepidarium of the Forum Baths at Pompeii, 1829. Engraving. The Russian National Library.
 Source: Alexandre Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi* (Paris, 1829), planche 3.
 Photo: Author.

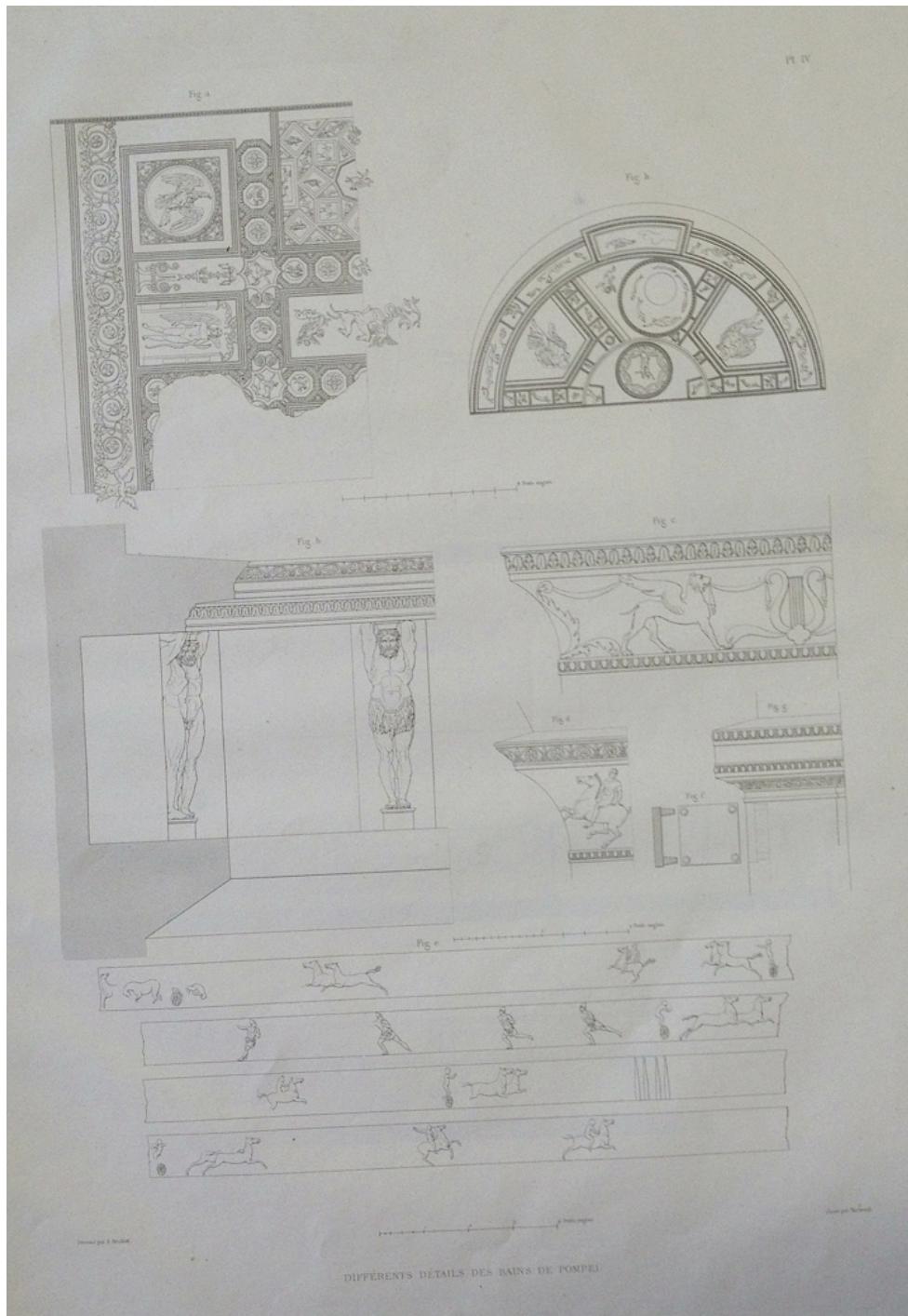


Figure 59: Alexander Briullov, Various Details of the Forum Baths at Pompeii, 1829. Engraving. The Russian National Library.
 Source: Alexandre Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi* (Paris, 1829), planche 4.
 Photo: Author.

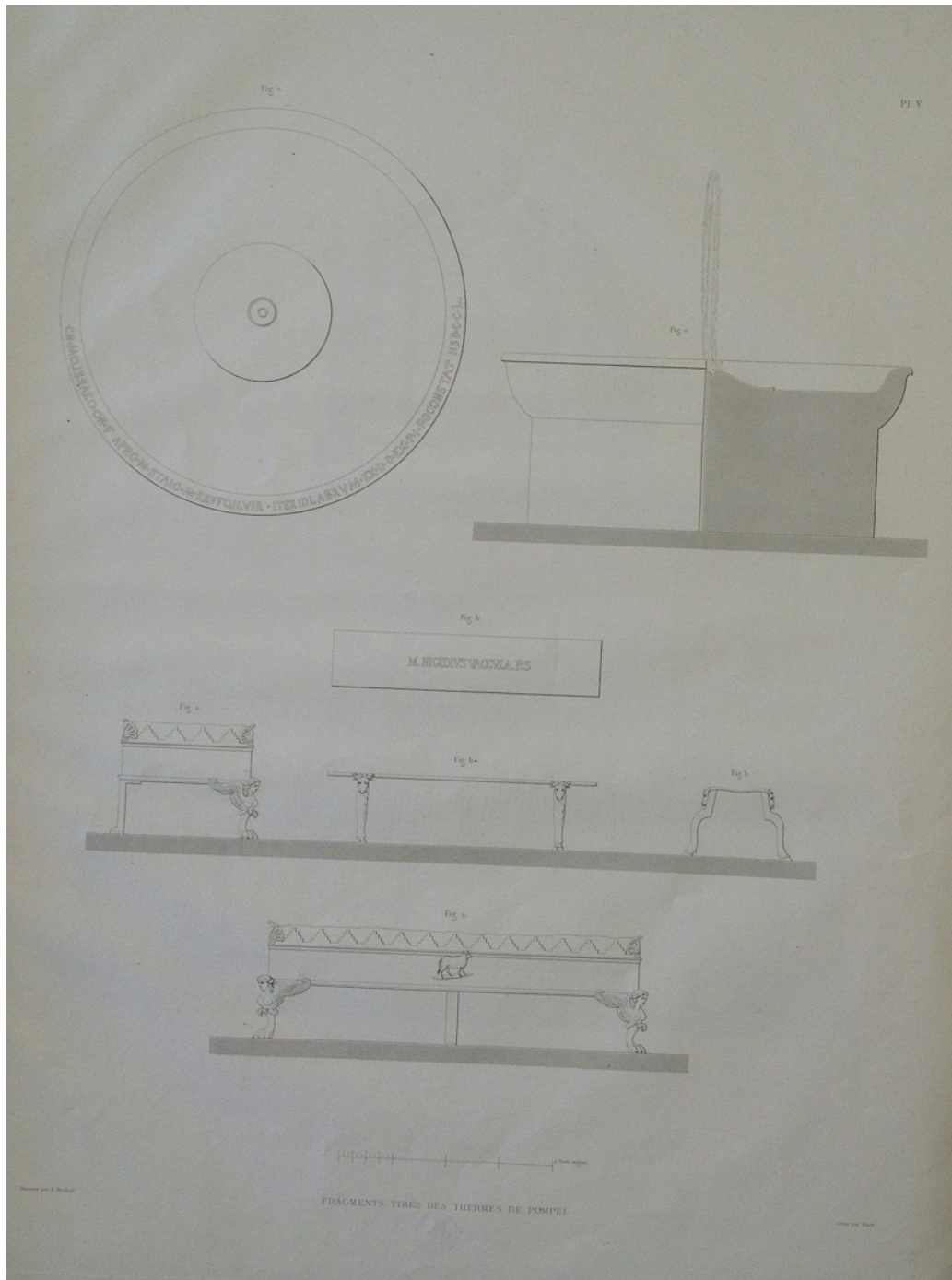


Figure 60: Alexander Briullov, Fragments from the Forum Baths at Pompeii, 1829. Engraving. The Russian National Library.
 Source: Alexandre Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi* (Paris, 1829), planche 5.
 Photo: Author.

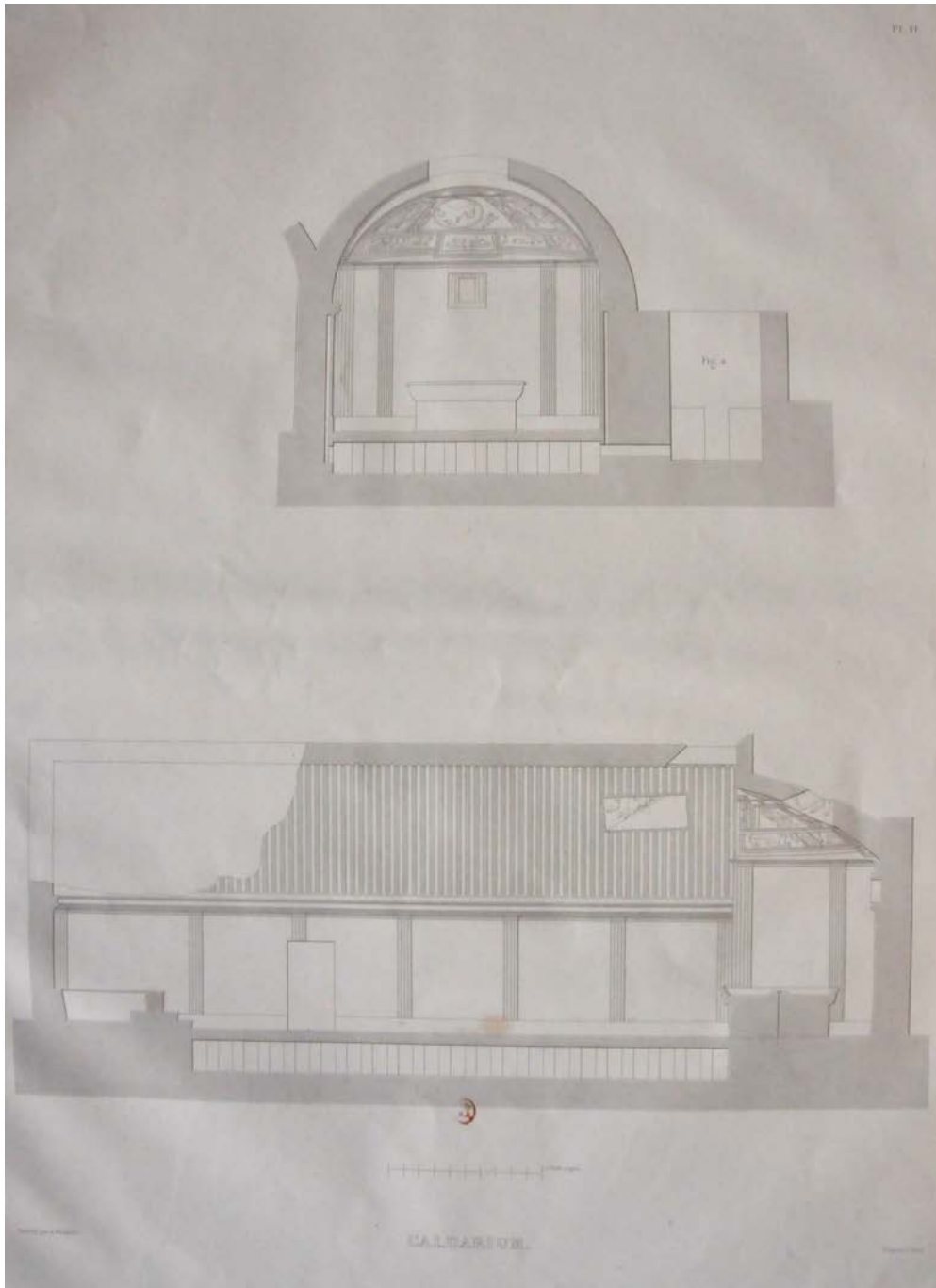


Figure 61: Alexander Briullov, Section Drawing of Caldarium of the Forum Baths at Pompeii, 1829. Engraving. All rights reserved by Bibliothèque nationale de France. Reproduction is not allowed.

Source: Alexandre Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi* (Paris, 1829), planche 6.

Photo: Author.

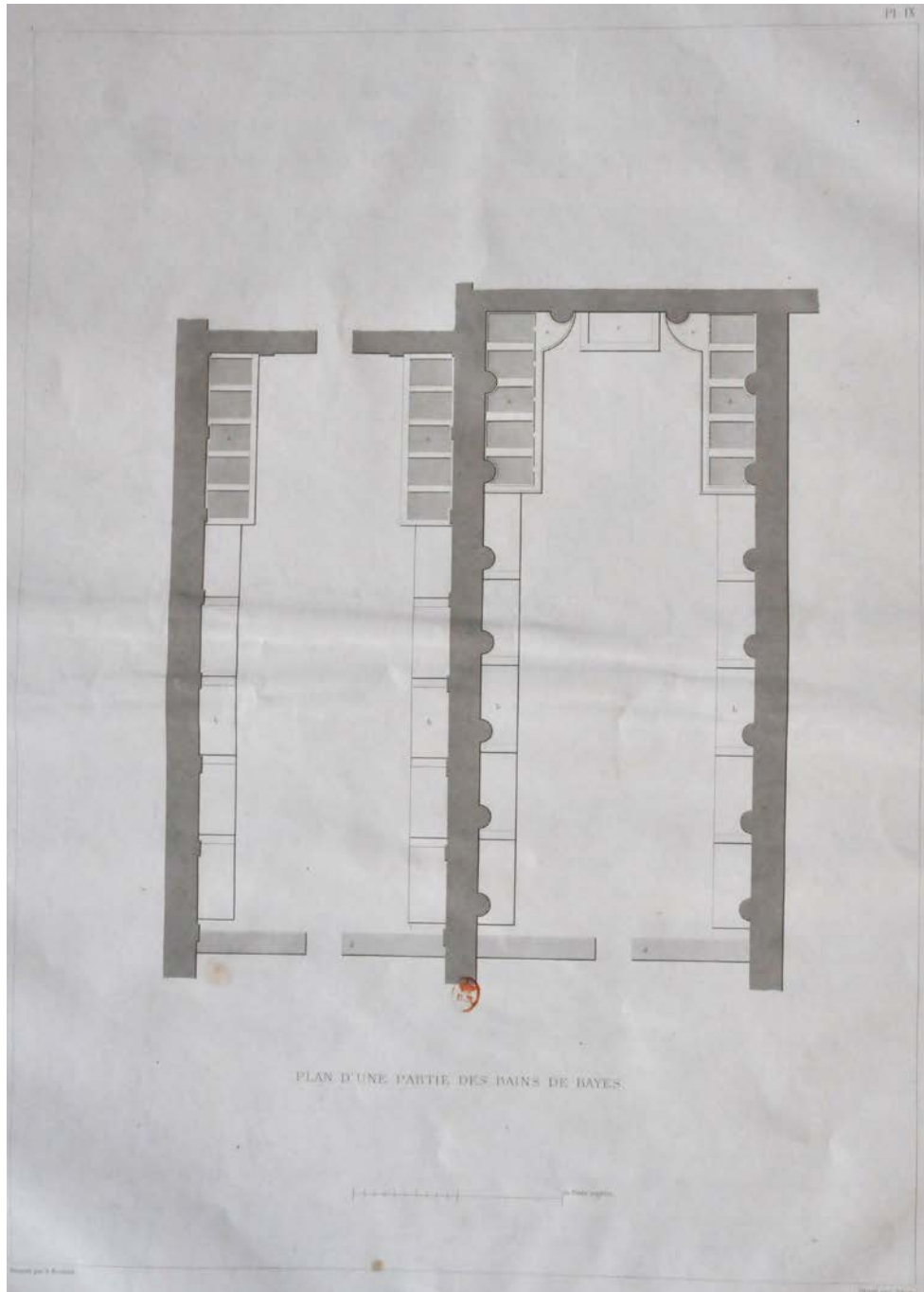


Figure 62: Alexander Briullov, Plan of the Part of the Baths at Baiae, 1829. Engraving. All rights reserved by Bibliothèque nationale de France. Reproduction is not allowed. Source: Alexandre Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi* (Paris, 1829), planche 9. Photo: Author.

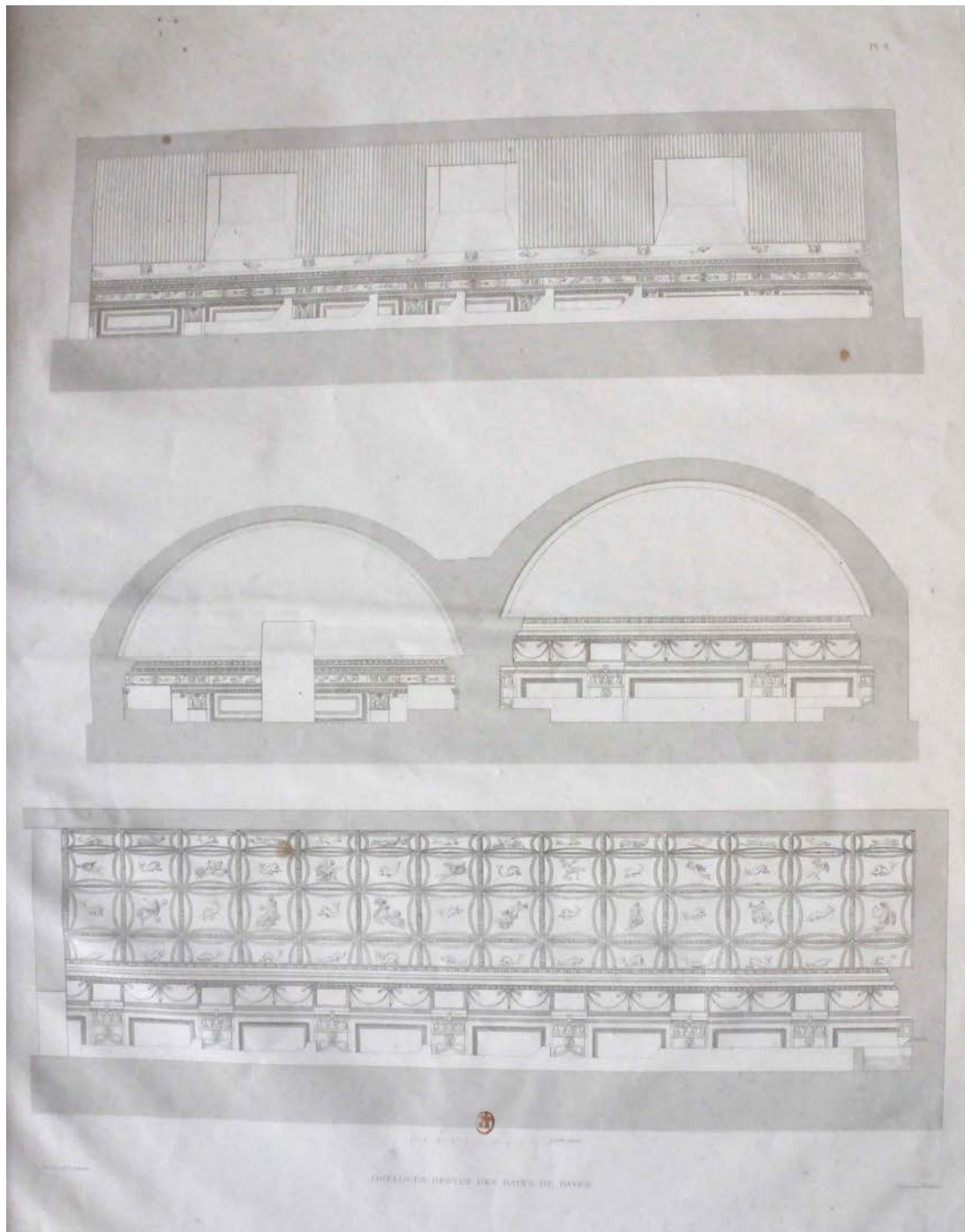


Figure 63: Alexander Briullov, Some of the Remains of the Baths at Baiae, 1829. Engraving. All rights reserved by Bibliothèque nationale de France. Reproduction is not allowed.

Source: Alexandre Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi* (Paris, 1829), planche 10.

Photo: Author.



Figure 64: Alexander Briullov drawing, and R. Sands and Sons, engraving. Perspective View of the Forum Bath's Tepidarium. 1829. The State Russian Museum.
Source: Alexandre Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi* (Paris, 1829), planche 7.
Photo: Author.

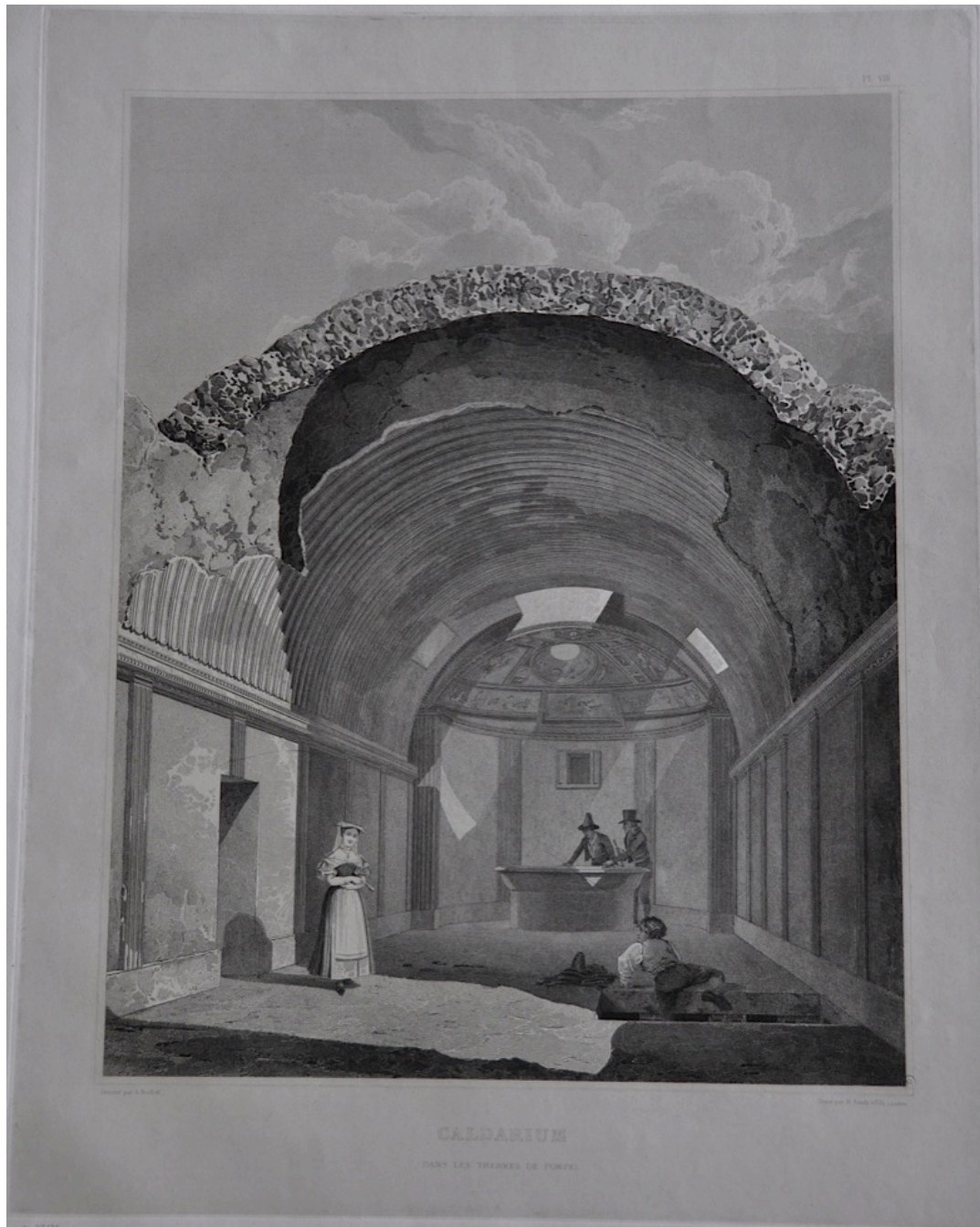


Figure 65: Alexander Briullov, drawing, and R. Sands and Sons, engraving. Perspective View of the Forum Bath's Caldarium, 1829. The State Russian Museum. Source: Alexandre Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi* (Paris, 1829), planche 8. Photo: Author.

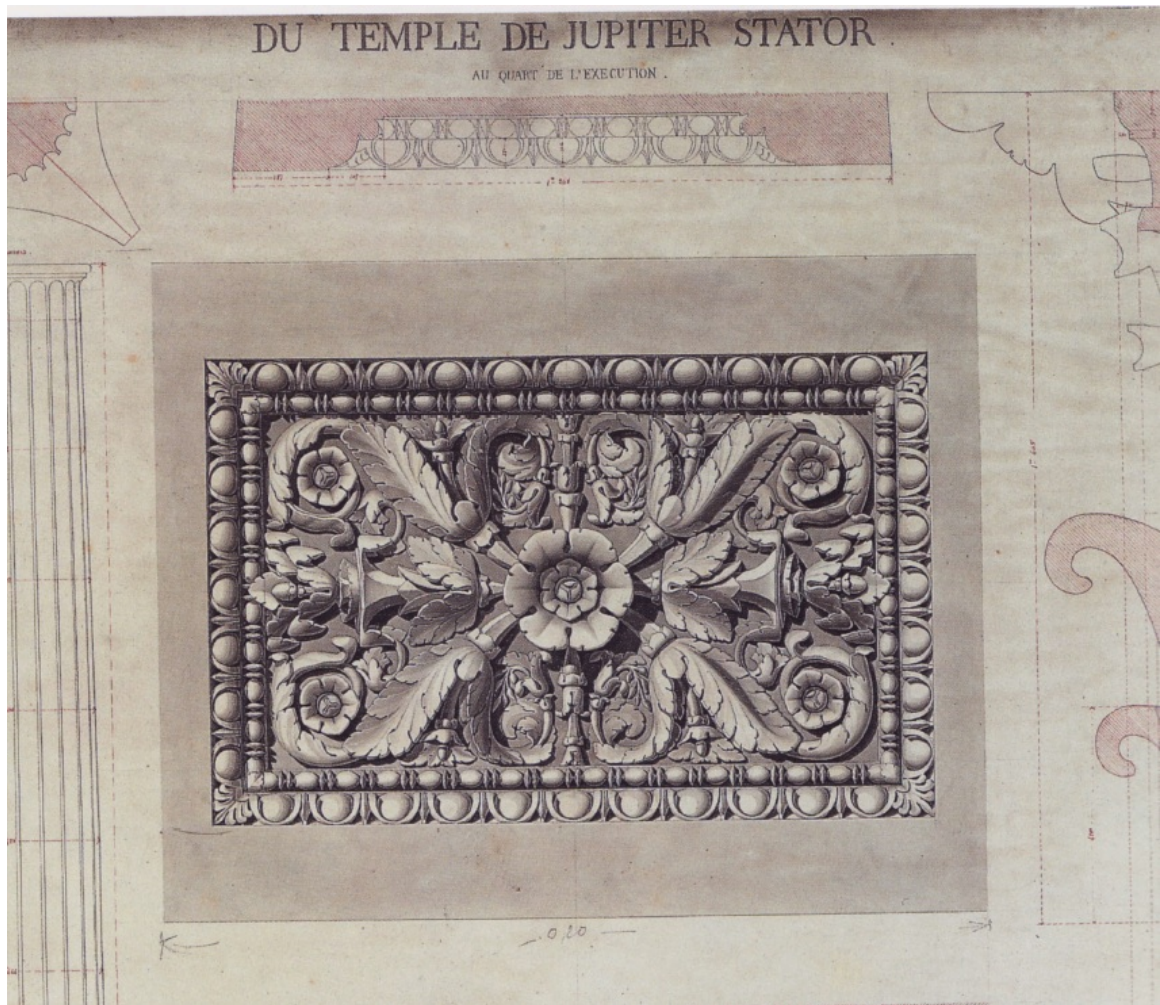


Figure 66: Jean-Tilman-François Suys, The Temple of the Castors (Jupiter Stator), 1816. École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Paris.

Source : Cassanelli, Roberto, Massimiliano David, Emidio de Albentiis and Anne Jacques. *Ruins of Ancient Rome: the drawings of French architects who won the Prix de Rome, 1796-1924* (Los Angeles, Calif: J.P. Getty Museum, 2002): 80.



Figure 67: Jean-François-Julien Ménager, The Temple of Antonius Pius and Faustina, 1809. École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Paris.

Source : Cassanelli, Roberto, Massimiliano David, Emidio de Albentiis and Anne Jacques. *Ruins of Ancient Rome: the drawings of French architects who won the Prix de Rome, 1796-1924* (Los Angeles, Calif: J.P. Getty Museum, 2002): 81.

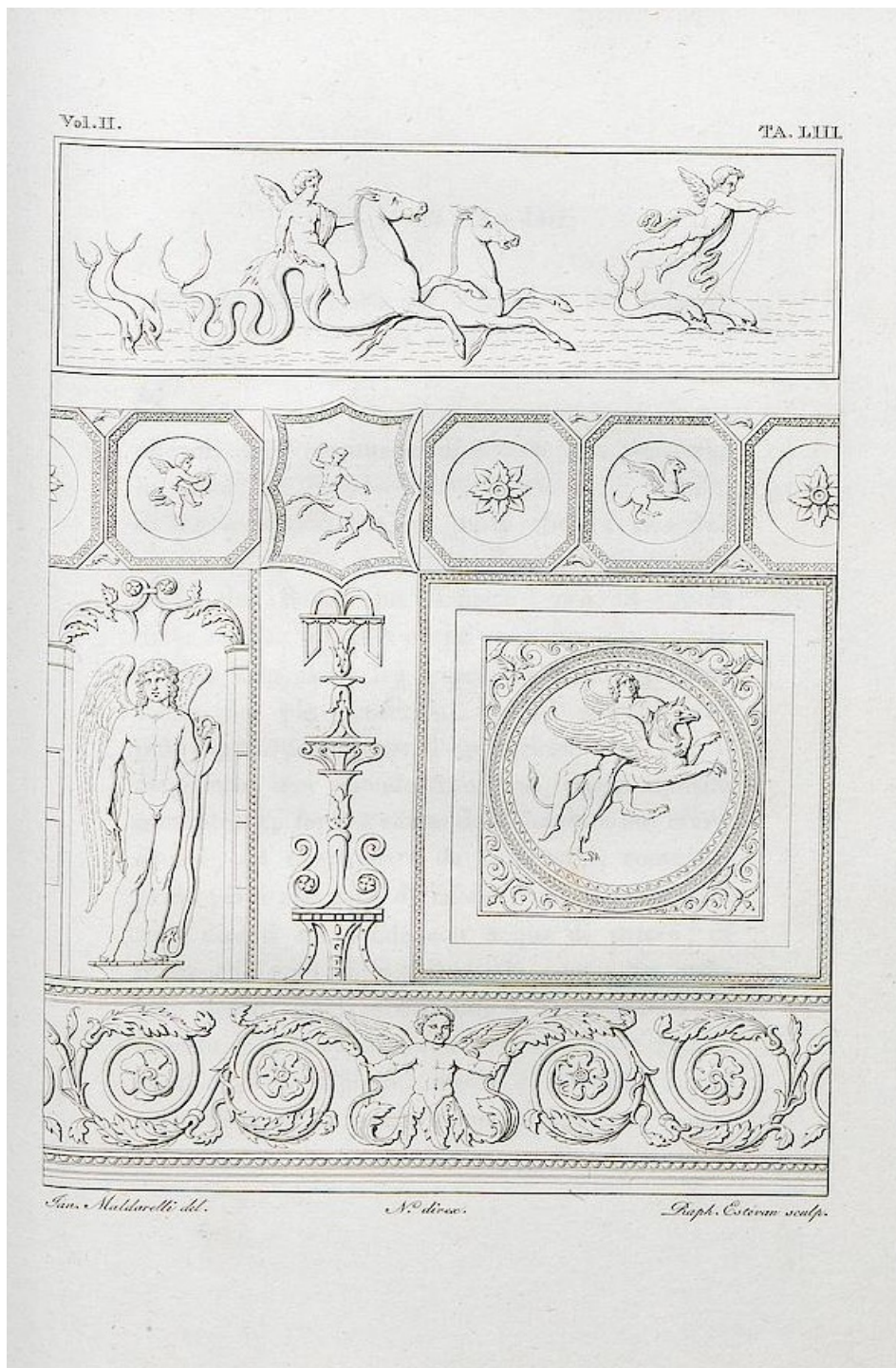


Figure 69: Maldarelli, Stucco Decorations of the Tepidarium Vault, *Real Museo Borbonico*, vol. II, tavola LIII.

Source: <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico1825/0301?sid=857db5b3be6655bec3e9b3f8c0ff3ea8>

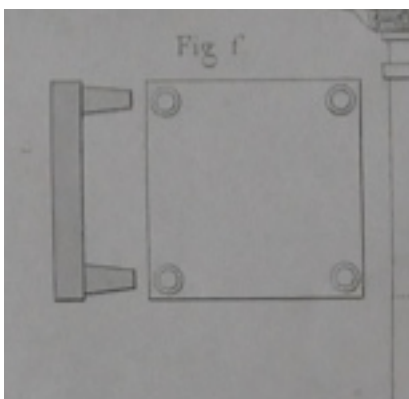


Figure 70: Alexander Briullov, tegula mammata, detail from planche 4.
Source: Alexandre Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi* (Paris, 1829).
Photo: Author.



Figure 71: Alexander Briullov, drawing, and Robert Sands, etching. Perspective view of the Tepidarium, 1828. The State Russian Museum. Inv. no. 37127.
Photo: Author.

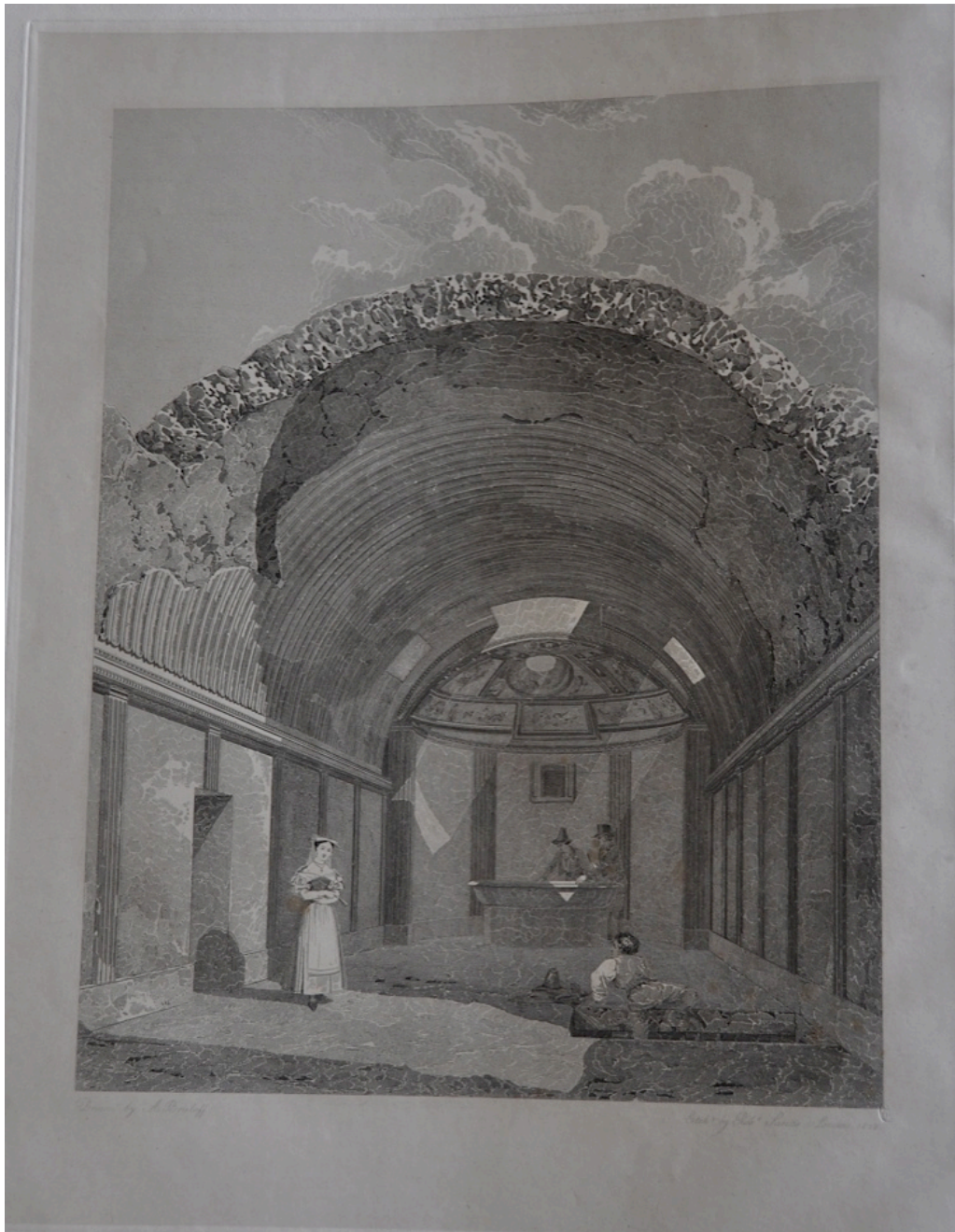


Figure 72: Alexander Briullov, drawing, and Robert Sands, etching. Perspective view of the Caldarium. 1828. The State Russian Museum. Inv. no. 37129

Photo: Author



Figure 73: Drawing with a camera lucida. Illustration from George Dollond and Basil Hall, *Description of the Camera Lucida: an Instrument for Drawing in True Perspective, and for Copying, Reducing, or Enlarging Other Drawings: to which is added ... A letter on the use of the camera by Capt. Basil Hall* (London, 1830).
Photo: Author.

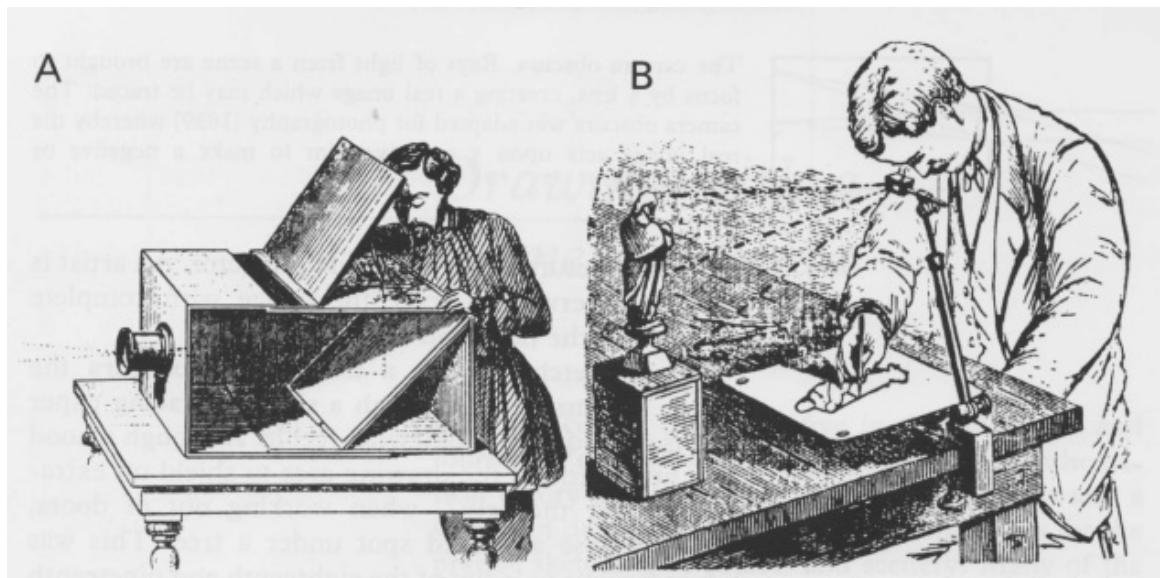


Figure 74: Drawing with the camera obscura and with the camera lucida. Illustration from John H. Hammond and Jill Austin. *The Camera Lucida in Art and Science*. Bristol: IOP, 1987.



Figure 75: Carl Jakob Lindström, Den engelske konstnären (The English Painter), 1830. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

Watercolor, 7.6 x 10,16 in. (19,3 x 25,8 cm). Inscribed on the suitcase "The effect I am sure of when first I have the lineament."

Source: http://vision.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/imageCollection/drawing_instruments/cameraLucida/vision_images/zogiVisionDetails/zogiVisionWindow?fn=permanent/vision/images/Lindstroem_eng_konst_Orig&ws=3&filename=Lindstroem_eng_konst_Orig



Figure 76: Tepidarium, engraving by Benjamin Winkles after Wilhelm Zahn.
Plate 29 from William Gell, *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices and Ornaments of Pompeii, the Result of the Excavations since 1819*, London, 1832, tome I. Photo: Sarah Betzer.
Source: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8365.2010.00765.x>



Figure 77: Alexander Briullov, Relaxation chamber in the public baths of Pompeii, ca. 1826-1828. Museum of the Academy for the Arts, St. Petersburg. Paper, watercolor, pencil, inv. no. A-7137.



Figure 78: Fragment of: Alexander Briullov drawing, and R. Sands and Sons, engraving Perspective View of the Forum Bath's Tepidarium, 1829. Engraving. The State Russian Museum.

Source: Alexandre Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi* (Paris, 1829), planche 7.

Photo: Author.



Figure 79: Alexander Briullov, Church of Peter and Paul, Pargolovo, 1831.

Photo: Andrei Neshitov, 2012.

Source: <http://neshitoff.livejournal.com/13887.html?thread=3220031>

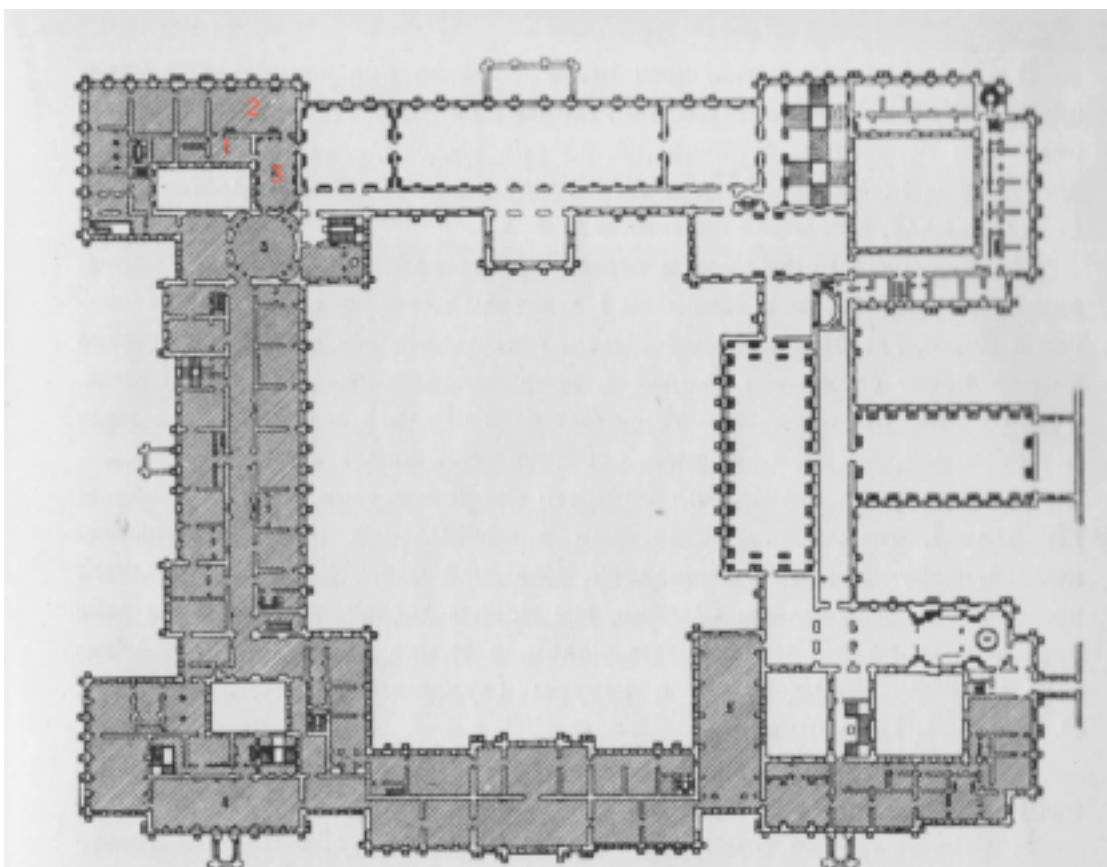


Figure 80: Plan of the second floor of the Winter Palace, copy from the drawing by Alexander Briullov and Vasilii Stasov.

Hatched are the interiors of the Winter Palace restored by Alexander Briullov after the fire of 1837.

In red numbers:

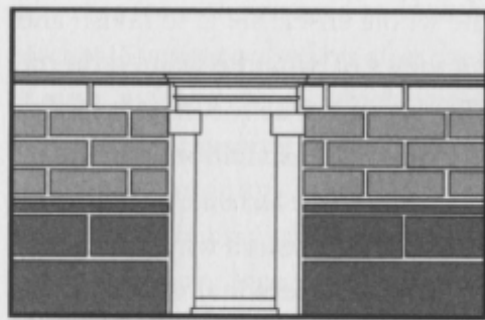
1- Pompeian Dining Room, 2- Malachite Drawing Room, 3 – Moorish Dining Room

Source: Ol', G. A. *Arkhitektori Briullov*. ["Briullov the Architect"] (Leningrad: Gos. izd-vo lit-ry po stroitel'stvu i arkhitekture, 1955):71.



Figure 81: Vasilii Sadovnikov, Study of the Pompeian Dining Room, watercolor. The State Russian Museum, inv. no. P-37351.

Source: <http://fotki.yandex.ru/users/wise-cat/view/1894138/?page=7>



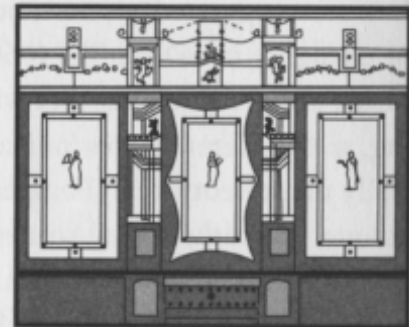
(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Figure 11. Four Styles of wall decoration. Top left, (a) The First Style. Second century BCE. Top right, (b) The Second Style. In Pompeii this is usually dated to after the arrival of the Roman colonists in 80 BCE. Bottom left, (c) The Third Style. From the Augustan period (c. 15 BCE) to the mid first century CE. Bottom right, (d) The Fourth Style. The style of the final years of Pompeii, from the mid first century CE on.

Figure 82: Four styles of Pompeian wall decoration.

Source: Mary Beard, *The Fires of Vesuvius: Pompeii Lost and Found* (Cambridge, MA, 2008): 136.

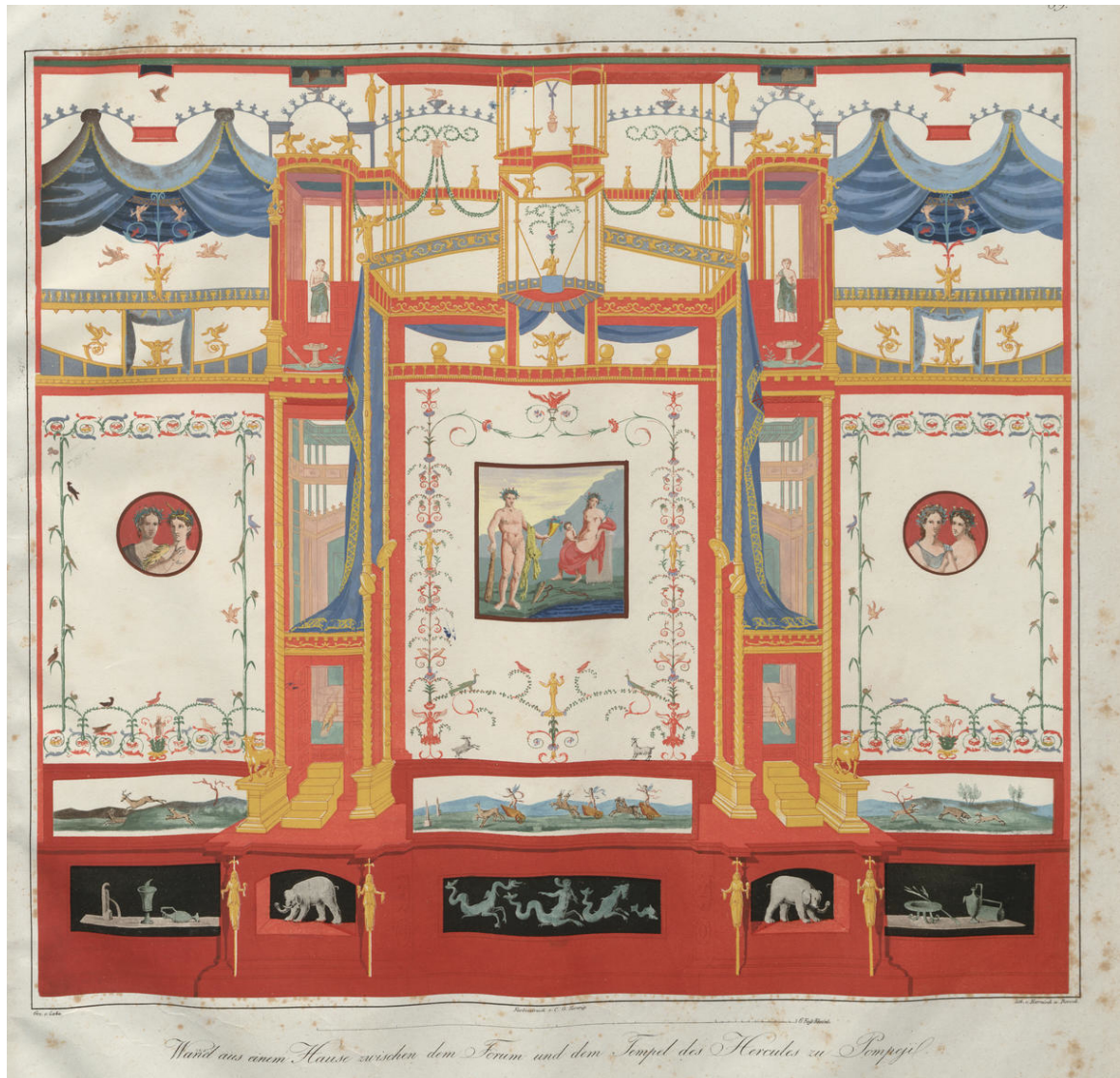


Figure 83: Wilhelm Zahn,

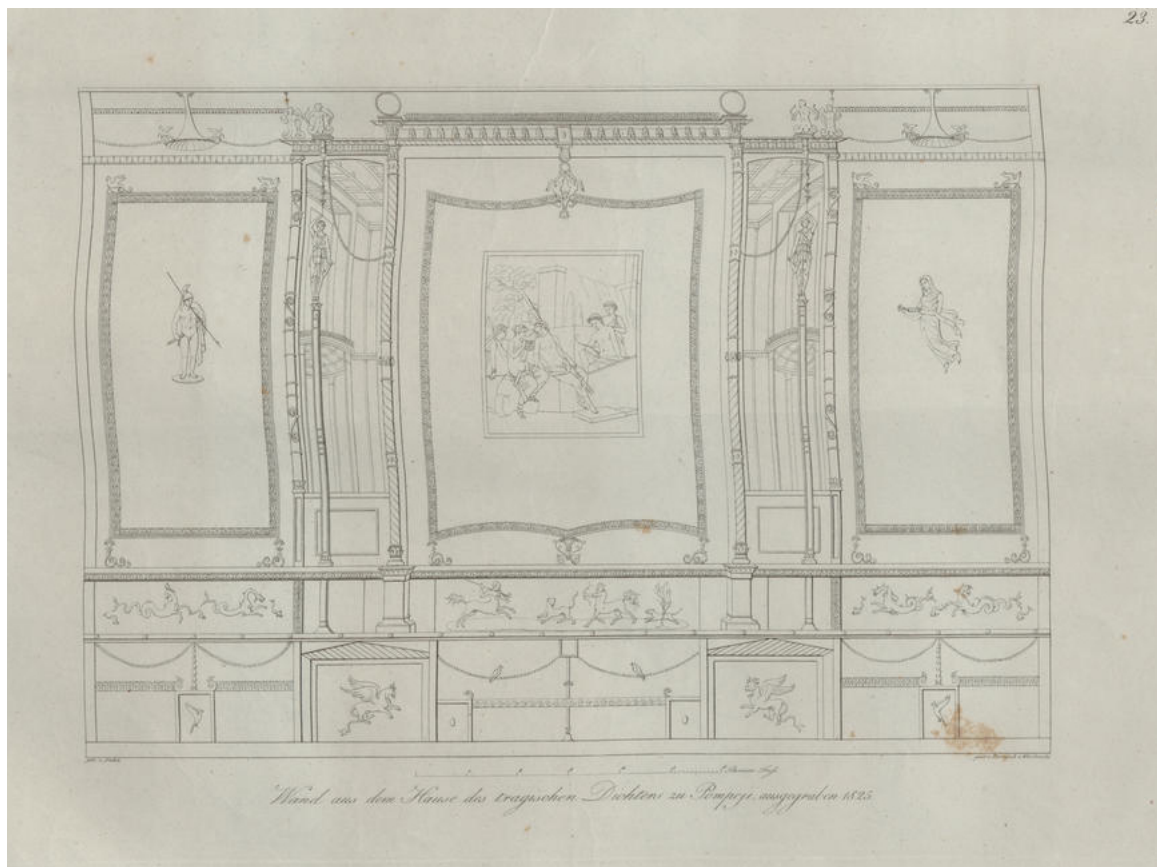


Figure 84: Wilhelm Zahn,

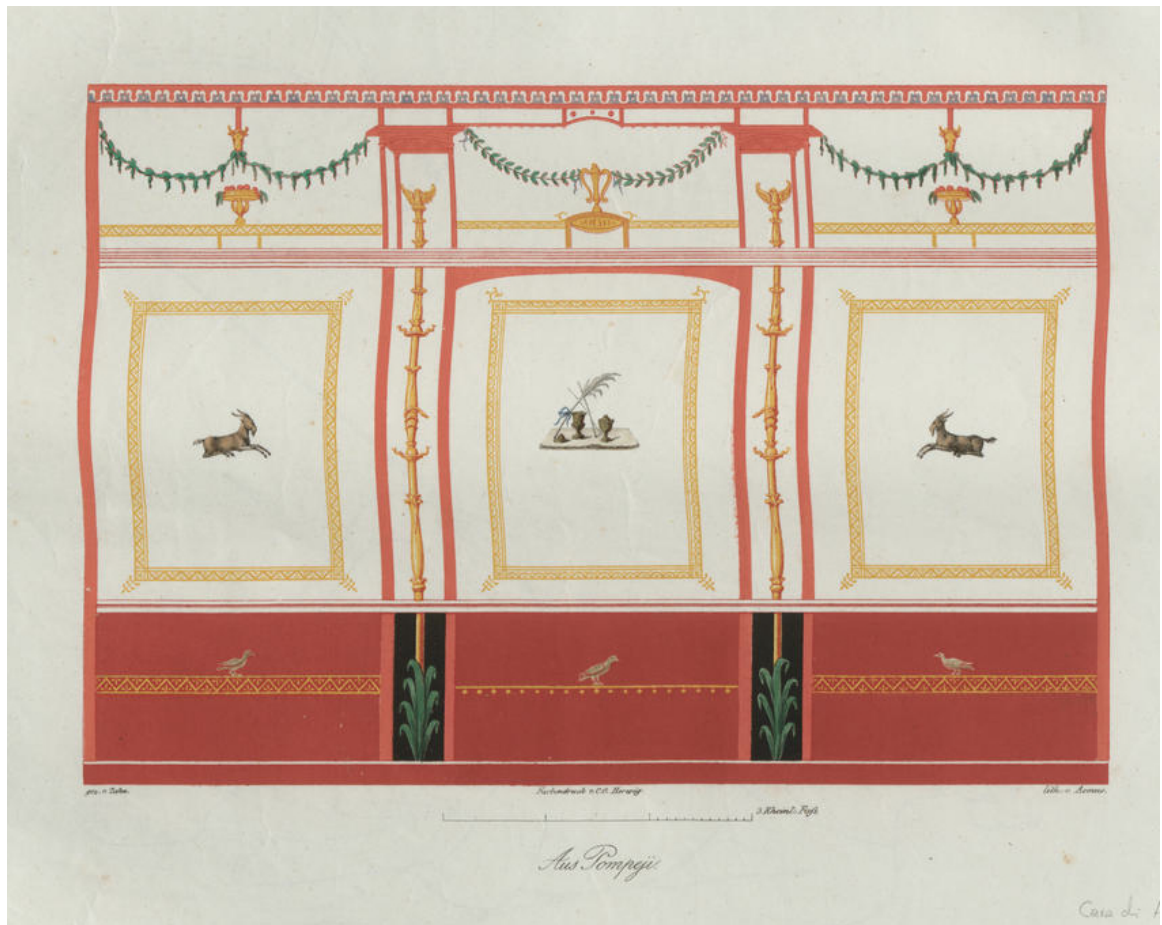


Figure 85: Wilhelm Zahn,



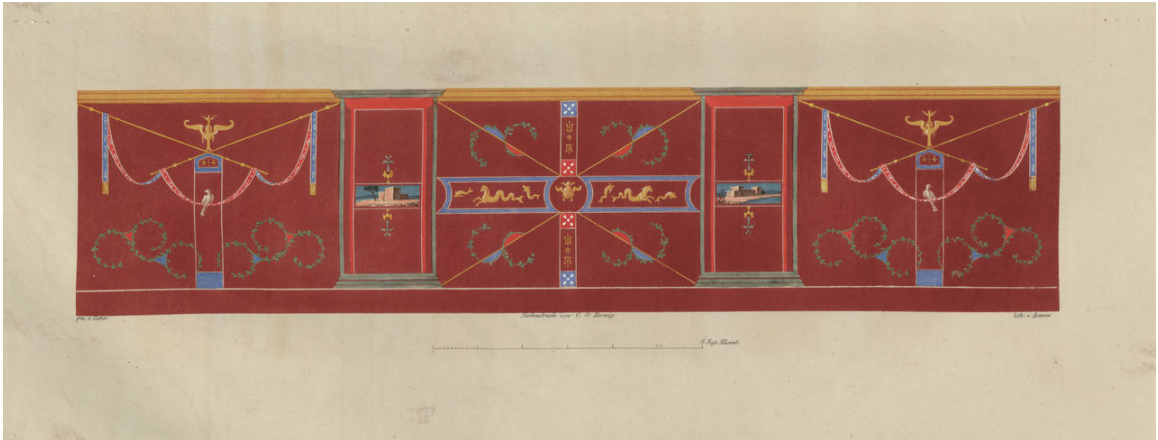


Figure 87: Wilhelm Zahn,





Figure 89: Wilhelm Zahn,



Figure 90: Scagliola tabletop. Design by Alexander Briullov, produced in the workshop of L. Teziani. St. Petersburg, 1836-1839. The State Hermitage Museum.

Source: Natalia Guseva et al., *Khudozhestvennoe ubranstvo russkogo inter'era XIX veka:* *ocherk-putevoditel* (Leningrad: "Iskusstvo," Leningradskoe otd-nie, 1986).

'era XIX veka:



Figure 91: Table from the Pompeian Dining Room, design by Alexander Briullov, produced in the workshop of P. Gambs, 1836-1839.

Photo: Nikolai Onegin, 2013

Courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum.



Figure 92: Stools the Pompeian Dining Room, design by Alexander Briullov, produced in the workshop of P. Gambs, 1836-1839. The State Hermitage Museum.
Photo: Nikolai Onegin, 2013
Courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum.



Figure 93: Table from the Pompeian Dining Room, fragment. Design by Alexander Briullov, produced in the workshop of P. Gambs, 1836-1839.
Photo: Nikolai Onegin, 2013
Courtesy The State Hermitage Museum.



Figure 94: Couch from the Pompeian Dining Room, design by Alexander Briullov, produced in the workshop of P. Gambs, 1836-1839. The State Hermitage Museum.
Photo: Nikolai Onegin, 2013
Courtesy The State Hermitage Museum.



Figure 95: Firewood box (fragment) from the Pompeian Dining Room. The State Hermitage Museum.

Source: Natalia Guseva et al. *Khudozhestvennoe ubranstvo russkogo inter ocherk-putevoditel* (Leningrad: "Iskusstvo," Leningradskoe otd-nie, 1986).

'era XIX veka:



Figure 96: Furniture from the Pompeian Dining Room, design by Alexander Briullov, produced in the workshop of P. Gambs, 1836-1839. The State Hermitage Museum.

Source: Natalia Guseva et al., *Khudozhestvennoe ubranstvo russkogo inter'era XIX veka: ocherk-putevoditel* (Leningrad: "Iskusstvo," Leningradskoe otd-nie, 1986).



Figure 97: Furniture from the Pompeian Dining Room, design by Alexander Briullov, produced in the workshop of P. Gambs, 1836-1839. The State Hermitage Museum.

Source: Natalia Guseva et al., *Khudozhestvennoe ubranstvo russkogo inter'era XIX veka: ocherk-putevoditel* (Leningrad: "Iskusstvo," Leningradskoe otd-nie, 1986).

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Figure 98: Furniture from the Pompeian Dining Room, design by Alexander Briullov, produced in the workshop of P. Gambs, 1836-1839. The State Hermitage Museum. Source: Iraida Bott and Maria Kaneva, *Russkaia mebel': istoriia, stili, mastera* (Sankt-Peterburg: Iskusstvo-Spb, 2003).



Figure 99: Chairs from the Pompeian Dining Room, design by Alexander Briullov, produced in the workshop of P. Gambs, 1836-1839. The State Hermitage Museum. Source: http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/html_Ru/08/hm88_6_2_2_1.html

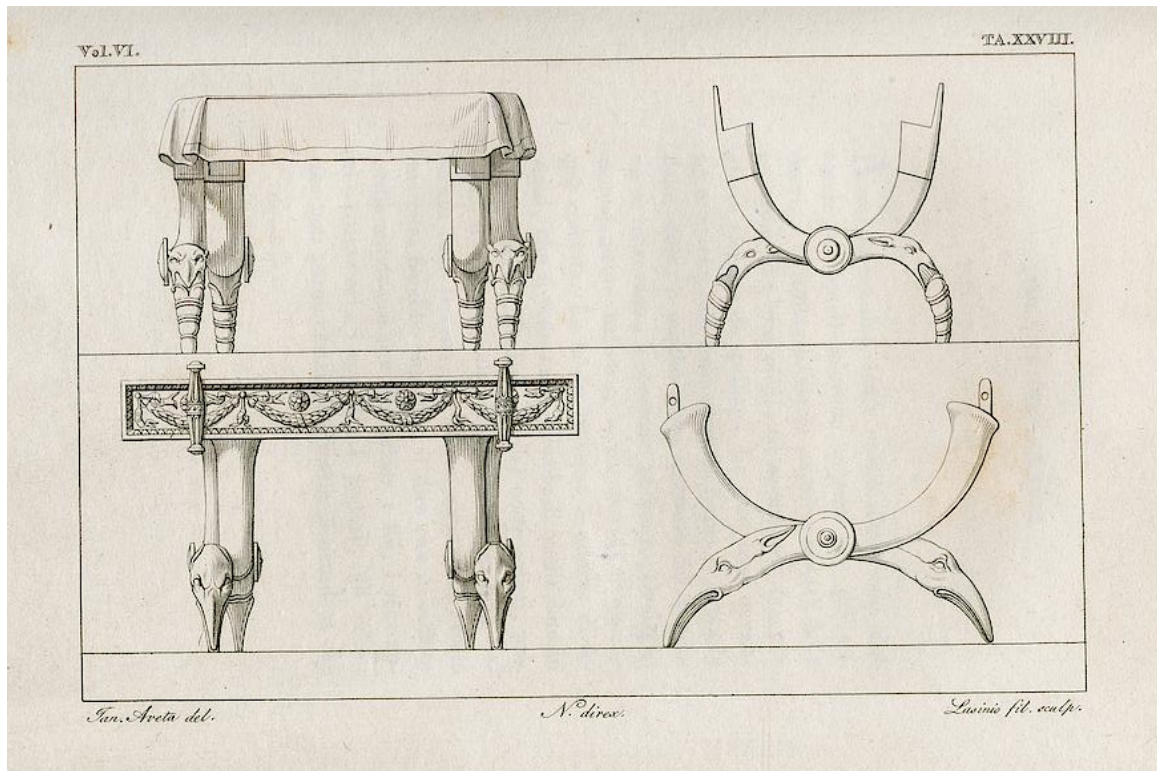


Figure 100: Curule chair from Pompeii.

Source: *Real Museo Borbonico*, vol. 6, plate XXVIII. Napoli, Dalla Stamperia Reale, 1830.

<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/museoborbonico>



Figure 101: Grave stele of Hegeso, from the Dipylon cemetery, Athens, Greece, ca. 400 BCE, National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

Source:

http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/arth/Images/ARTH209images/late_fifth/hegeso.jpg



Figure 102: Satyr carrying a *klismos* from a crater in the British Museum.
Source: Richter, Gisela Marie Augusta. *Ancient Furniture; a History of Greek, Etruscan and Roman furniture* (Oxford: The Clarendon press. 1926): fig. 135.



Figure 103: Konstantin Ukhtomskii, The Small Study of Nicholas I, 1850s.

Source:

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Small_cabinet_Nicholas_I.jpg?uselang=ru



Figure 104: Eduard Gau, The Boudoir of Empress Alexandra Fedorovna, 1871, The State Hermitage Museum.

Source:

Emmanuel Ducamp et al, *The Winter Palace, Saint Petersburg* (Paris: Alain de Gourcuff, 1995).



Figure 105: Eduard Gau, The Large Study of Nicholas I. The State Hermitage Museum.

Source:

Emmanuel Ducamp et al, *The Winter Palace, Saint Petersburg* (Paris: Alain de Gourcuff, 1995).



Figure 106: Karl Briullov, Portrait of the architect A.P. Briullov, 1841. The State Russian Museum.

Source: <http://www.wikipaintings.org/ru/karl-bryullov/portrait-of-the-architect-and-painter-alexander-brullov>



Figure 107: House on Kadetskaia, 21, Vasilievskii Island, St. Petersburg.
Photo: Author, 2013



Figure 108: Inner yard of the House on Kadetskaia, 21, Vasilievskii Island, St. Petersburg.
Photo: Author, 2013.



Figure 109: Detail of the ceiling decoration with an image of Vesuvius. Pompeian Hall. House on Kadetskaia, 21, Vasilievskii Island, St. Petersburg.
Photo: Author, 2013.



Figure 110: Ceiling decoration. Pompeian Hall. House on Kadetskaia, 21, Vasilievskii Island, St. Petersburg.
Photo: Author, 2013.



Figure 111: A cupid on a hippocampus. Detail of the ceiling decoration in Pompeian Hall in the House on Kadetskaia, 21, Vasilievskii Island, St. Petersburg.
Photo: Author, 2013.



Figure 112: Detail of the ceiling decoration in the Pompeian Hall in the House on Kadetskaia, 21, Vasilievskii Island, St. Petersburg.
Photo: Author, 2013.

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