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The World on Your Pencil Tip

Baltic German Artists' Travel Materials as Mediators of Knowledge in the Context of Travelling in the Enlightenment

Abstract: In the first decades of the 19th century, several Baltic German artists decided to embark on a journey to Europe in order to study abroad and visit sites of historical and artistic interest. In the Enlightenment period, amongst other things, art fulfilled a role as a mediator of knowledge. It played a part in education practices, as did travelling. In this article I consider the Baltic artists' goals, priorities, and evaluations while travelling. I ask what kind of an effort was made to distribute their knowledge afterwards? Where, for instance, were their accounts published? The drawings and sketches that the artists produced while travelling later performed as agents that mediated places and people from the artist's experience to later observers, and participated in the artists' identity construction. I argue that artists were conscious participants in the production of knowledge, intentionally mediating and creating new knowledge for their contemporaries and for later generations. Artistic contacts – whether during the Enlightenment era or later – were constantly reinforced in the material, by publishing and trading objects such as letters, drawings and prints.

Keywords: Baltic Germans; artists; travel writing; actors; agents; education practices; knowledge production

Zusammenfassung: In den ersten Jahrzehnten des 19. Jahrhunderts unternahmen verschiedene deutschbaltische Künstler Reisen nach Europa, um dort zu studieren und Kunstdenkmäler zu besuchen. So wie die Kunst in der Aufklärungszeit ein wichtiges Medium der Wissensvermittlung war, so spielte auch das Reisen eine wichtige Rolle für die Bildungspraktiken der Aufklärung. Der Aufsatz beschäftigt sich mit den Zielen, Prioritäten und Bewertungen der reisenden Künstler. Welche Bemühungen wurden unternommen, um ihr gewonnenes Wissen zu verbreiten? Wo wurden ihre Reiseberichte veröffentlicht? Wie vermittelten die auf den Reisen produzierten Zeichnungen und Skizzen die Sicht der Künstler auf Orte und Menschen an spätere Betrachter? Inwiefern trugen sie zur Identitätskonstruktion der Künstler bei? Grundthese des Textes ist, dass Künstler sich bewusst an der Wissensproduktion beteiligten, indem sie ihre Kenntnisse gezielt an Kollegen und spätere Generationen weitergaben sowie auch neues Wissen schufen. Ihre künstlerischen Kontakte materialisierten sich in der Aufklärungsepoke selbst, aber auch dauerhaft durch Publikationen und den Austausch von Objekten (wie Briefe, Zeichnungen, Stiche usw.).

Schlagwörter: Deutschbalten; Künstler; Reisebeschreibungen; Akteure; Bildungspraktiken; Wissensproduktion

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Introduction

Throughout the ages travelling has been seen as an effective way to educate. Only by travelling can a person obtain first-hand knowledge about the people and places, customs and sights away from their homeland. While technology such as Google Street View, video and virtual reality has increasingly enabled people to experience a place from a distance, the importance and immediacy of first-hand experience remains difficult to surpass.

The notion of purposeful travelling was prevalent in the Enlightenment era as an effective and gradually more accessible practice to acquire knowledge,¹ and was considered by some to be an even better source of information than from books.² In areas where school education was limited or lacking, travelling and personal contacts would have been especially important.

Such was the case in the Baltic provinces³, which then belonged to the Western part of Russian Empire – an area that suffered considerable damage during the Great Northern War of 1700 – 1721; together with the plague and famine that occurred before and during the war. At the end of the 18th century contacts with other parts of Europe began to intensify as cultural life became more active again. This period coincides with a pan-European surge in travelling that was even called “travel mania”.⁴

While the arts in the last decades of the 18th century could reasonably be described by terms of dilettantism in the Baltic provinces⁵, the beginning of the 19th century saw the gradual professionalisation of artists following the reopening of the University of Tartu (as Kaiserliche Universität zu Dorpat) in 1802, the establishment of an accompanying drawing school, and artists and teachers arriving from Germany.

¹ Cf. Gert Robel: Reisen und Kulturbeziehungen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. In: Boris Il'ich Krasnobaev, Gert Robel, Herbert Zeman (Ed.): *Reisen und Reisebeschreibungen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert als Quellen der Kulturbeziehungsforschung*. Berlin 1980, 9 – 37, here 12.

² Cf. Uli Kutter: Zeiller – Lehmann – Krebel. Bemerkungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte eines Reisehandbuches und zur Kulturgeschichte des Reisens im 18. Jahrhundert. In: Krasnobaev/Robel/Zeman (Ed.), *Reisen und Reisebeschreibungen* (cf. n. 1), 10 – 33, here 20.

³ During the period in question, the area of the Republic of Estonia was divided between the provinces of Estonia in the north and Livonia in the south. The latter also comprised a large portion of what is nowadays Latvia.

⁴ Klaus Beyrer: Des Reisebeschreibers ‚Kutsche‘. Aufklärerisches Bewusstsein im Postreiseverkehr des 18. Jahrhunderts. In: Wolfgang Griep, Hans-Wolf Jäger (Ed.): *Reisen im 18. Jahrhundert. Neue Untersuchungen*. Heidelberg 1986 (Neue Bremer Beiträge 3), 50 – 90, here 50.

⁵ The topics of art practice and dilettantism in the Baltic provinces in this period have recently been covered in a dissertation by Kadi Polli: *Valgustuskunst. Balti kunstiharrastusest ja joonistuspraktikatest 18. ja 19. sajandi vahetusel* [Enlightenment Art. Baltic Dilettanti and Drawing Practices at the Turn of the 19th Century]. Tartu 2019 (Dissertationes Historiae Universitatis Tartuensis 46).

Baltic Germans, who formed the economical, cultural, and political upper class in the Baltic provinces, were the ones who engaged in enlightened cultural activities. More self-consciously, Estonian artists emerged from the 1860s onwards, beginning with Johann Köler. Before that the arts were dominated by Baltic *German* artists. Some of them, such as Gerhard and Karl von Kügelgens, came from Germany to work in the Baltics; while others, such as August Matthias Hagen, were born locally but often educated in Germany.

The dominance of Baltic German culture was reinforced by the idea that only the German language could be the true language of culture. The position of Baltic Germans in the Russian Empire was such that they needed to establish and strengthen their German identity while also maintaining local characteristics as a token of political independence.⁶ As the only German-speaking university in the Russian Empire, the University of Tartu (Dorpat) served as an important bastion that enabled the Baltic German culture to fully develop, inviting more intellectuals from Germany to the Baltics.

In this article I focus on the travels of Baltic German artists in the first decades of the 19th century as an intersection of art history and the cultural history of travelling. Travelling is seen here as journeying West from the Russian Empire with a conscious wish to see and experience distant places, and encounter the arts and/or the natural world there. These artists recorded their travels with sketches and drawings, as well as written notes, as was customary for the time.

The travel materials of the Baltic German artists can be seen in the context of travelling as a means of education during this period, and viewed as cultural actors in their own right. The materials themselves provide a valuable insight in terms of what was deemed important to see, which was then important to sketch or copy. The drawings and sketches later performed as agents that mediated places and people from the artist's experience to later observers, and participated in the artists' identity construction (fig. 1).

In this article I ask what the goals and priorities of the Baltic artists while travelling were? How they assessed what they saw? And what kind of an effort was made to distribute their knowledge afterwards, i.e. where were their accounts published?

Travelling as a mode of education from the 18th to the beginning of the 19th century

Travelling and travel writing was an ideal embodiment of Enlightenment ideas. This is because one of the main goals of the Enlightenment was to distribute knowledge and make it accessible to as wide an audience as possible. In the 18th century the

⁶ Cf. Jaan Undusk: Baltisaksa kirjakultuuri struktuurist [About the Structure of Baltic German Literary Culture]. In: *Keel ja Kirjandus* 8–9 (2011), 561–571, here 566.



Fig. 1: August Pezold: Self-portrait. 1818. Oil on canvas on cardboard. 72 x 59 cm (Estonian Art Museum EKM j 53024 M 7377).

newspapers and travelling were seen as two main ways of obtaining knowledge.⁷ While conveying observations about the natural world, and being both educative and entertaining travelogues were one of the most popular instruments of the Enlightenment.⁸

Travelling as a mode of education was widespread in European culture from the 16th century onwards; where noblemen, craftsmen, artists and scholars acquired important knowledge through travelling abroad. This practice was accompanied by a multitude of literary sources that together formed *ars apodemica*, the art of travelling. Apodemic literature contained thorough factological data about the destination as well as guidance on how to travel in a well organized manner in order to gather knowledge, and how to systematize that knowledge in order to benefit the learned community.⁹

⁷ Cf. Elger Blühm: Von der Zeitungen Notwendig- und Nutzbarkeit auf der Reise. In: Griep/Jäger (Ed.), Reisen im 18. Jahrhundert (cf. n. 4), 1–9, here 7.

⁸ Cf. Uli Kutter: Reisen – Reisehandbücher – Wissenschaft. Materialien zur Reisekultur im 18. Jahrhundert. Neuied 1996 (Deutsche Hochschuledition 54), 115.

⁹ Cf. Gerald Glaubitz: Geschichte – Landschaft – Reisen. Umrisse einer historisch-politischen Didaktik der Bildungsreise. Weinheim 1997, 332.



Fig. 2: Gustav Adolf Hippius: *Ecco l'alma città di Roma / Behold the kind city of Rome!* 1821. Copper engraving. 12 x 18.5 cm (Estonian Art Museum EKM j 5985 G 6663).

The desire, or rather demand, for a traveller to contribute to the expansion of shared knowledge continued into the 18th century. Enlightened society regarded the interconnected nature of knowledge, and a sense of belonging to a community, as something that is bound by common desires and interests.¹⁰ A traveller was a person for whom the Enlightenment ideal to become 'an adult' was within reach. 'Adulthood' could be obtained by education, and travelling was a superb means to achieve that: offering a personal, direct experience.¹¹ Direct experience was also very much appreciated by Baltic German artists who were grateful to go to the places they had long dreamed of visiting, such as when Otto Ignatius finally arrived in Italy in 1817,¹² or August Matthias Hagen in Switzerland in 1821.¹³ This can be seen in how Gustav Adolf Hippius shows artists greeting their destination in his *Behold the kind city of Rome!* (fig. 2).

Good educative travel was thought to comprise three elements: the tour should be preceded by thorough preparation, then carefully keeping one's goals in mind while travelling, finally making sure the experience and knowledge acquired on the

10 Cf. Hans Erich Bödecker: *Reisen: Bedeutung und Funktion für die Deutsche Aufklärungsgesellschaft*. In: Griep/Jäger (Ed.), *Reisen im 18. Jahrhundert* (cf. n. 4), 91–110, here 104.

11 Cf. *ibid.*, 93.

12 Cf. Aus Otto Ignatius Tagebuch seiner Reise nach Italien. In: Franz Schleicher (Ed.): *Esthona*. No. 23. 01.04.1829, 179–181, here 179.

13 Cf. August Matthias Hagen: *Kunstniku reisipäevikud 1820–1821* [The Artist's Travel Diaries 1820 – 1821]. Tallinn 2011, 114.

journey is applied practically.¹⁴ The many diverse influences and impulses obtained while on a tour resulted in an intensive experience which could become misleading. Baltic authors writing at the time suggested that there was a concern that young travelling artists would lose sight of these goals when travelling from a small village to a large city.¹⁵ In order to avoid this threat, one had to order and classify one's impressions,¹⁶ best way to achieve this being to take written notes. This is why travel writing was almost an obligatory part of travelling.

All of this meant that the obtained knowledge would somehow need to be shared, something that was already happening in the 17th century where the accounts about travelling were published, mostly in journals and magazines.¹⁷ By the apex of the noblemen's Grand Tour, there was an abundance of published literature as reflected in travel handbooks of the time.¹⁸ For those who could not afford travelling themselves, vivid accounts of others offered the possibility to still go on a tour without leaving the room, albeit in their own imagination.¹⁹ Indeed, the amount of travel literature grew steadily as the numbers of travellers continuously grew; on the one hand popularising travelling and inviting others to see more distant places on their own, while on the other hand producing more and more travel accounts in return.

In Europe during the 18th century the culture of travel went through several changes as it became more possible. Increased safety²⁰ and speed, and enhanced comfort were one of the reasons why travelling became more popular and attainable, including for the middle classes.²¹ The introduction of the postal system provided a regular, reliable and favourably-priced option for moving between cities and villages.²² On the other hand, thinkers of the late Enlightenment, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, promoted travelling on foot as something that was spontaneous and firsthand. Here the traveller was fully independent and, furthermore, could experience nature more thoroughly and directly, feeling its majesty and grandeur.²³ There were even some school teachers who benefitted from this and took their pupils on excursions so that they could learn about nature first-hand in a manner that we would now describe as being 'project-based' and 'interdisciplinary'.²⁴

¹⁴ Cf. Glaubitz, *Geschichte – Landschaft – Reisen* (cf. n. 9), 346.

¹⁵ Cf. Leopold Pezold: *Kolme Eestimaa kunstniku rännuaastad* [The Travel Years of Three Artists from Estonia]. Tallinn 1994, 17.

¹⁶ Cf. Glaubitz, *Geschichte – Landschaft – Reisen* (cf. n. 9), 335.

¹⁷ Cf. Blühm, *Von der Zeitungen Notwendig- und Nutzbarkeit auf der Reise* (cf. n. 7), 4.

¹⁸ See for example Kutter, Zeiller – Lehmann – Krebel (cf. n. 2).

¹⁹ Cf. idem, *Reisen – Reisehandbücher – Wissenschaft* (cf. n. 8), 24.

²⁰ Cf. Robel, *Reisen und Kulturbeziehungen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (cf. n. 1), 12.

²¹ Cf. Harald Witthöft: *Reiseanleitungen, Reisemodealitäten, Reisekosten im 18. Jahrhundert*. In: Krasnobaev/Robel/Zeman (Ed.), *Reisen und Reisebeschreibungen* (cf. n. 1), 39–50, here 40.

²² Cf. Beyer, *Des Reisebeschreibers „Kutsche“* (cf. n. 4), 62.

²³ Cf. ibid., 73.

²⁴ Cf. Wolfgang Griep: *Die lieben Zöglinge unterwegs. Über Schulreisen am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*. In: Griep/Jäger (Ed.), *Reisen im 18. Jahrhundert* (cf. n. 4), 152–180.

Travelling on foot as a heroic act towards obtaining knowledge is a common trope in local cultural history, such as when the first Estonian-speaking poet, Kristian Jaak Peterson (1801–1822), walked from Tartu to Riga in order to study at the University. All in all, the Baltic German artists used various means of transportation. Interestingly Otto Ignatius wrote in 1817 that he and his companions used a post carriage to get to Italy. Once they arrived, however, they switched to travelling by foot.²⁵

Travel materials of the Baltic German artists

The numbers and background of travellers also expanded and diversified in the Baltics at the turn of the 19th century. There are examples of travelogues being written not only by university professors and artists, but also doctors and representatives of other professions who belonged to the local – mostly German-speaking – upper and middle classes. In this article, the focus will be on travelling artists while taking into consideration that, in this period, a clear distinction between a professional artist and an intellectual with notable artistic interests may not always be easy – or also necessary – to make.

Focusing on artists, for whom it was customary to add pictorial representations of the visited sites in addition to their written accounts, means the creation of another layer of presented knowledge. Travel materials are here understood as various textual and pictorial documents – such letters, notes, diaries or sketchbooks, drawings and paintings – that were produced while travelling, regardless of their preliminary aims or intended outcomes.

One of the first artists who travelled extensively was Carl Gotthard Grass (1767 – 1814) who visited Vienna, Prague, Switzerland, and northern Italy in his youth from his native Livonia in the 1790s. He was partially accompanied by his friend, architect and artist Johann Wilhelm Krause (1757–1823).²⁶ Grass later lived in Switzerland from 1796 to 1803, and in Italy from 1803 until his death in 1814.²⁷ While studying and travelling in Europe, Grass met Friedrich Schiller, Johann Wolfgang Goethe, and Karl Friedrich Schinkel among others. When returning to his homeland Grass brought along both his own watercolours of landscapes (fig. 3), along

²⁵ Cf. Aus Otto Ignatius Tagebuch seiner Reise nach Italien (Fortsetzung). In: *Esthona*. No. 25. 15.04. 1829, 201–203, here 202.

²⁶ Cf. Kadi Polli: *Est pictura poësis, est poësis pictura. Carl Grassi maaistikud. / Est pictura poësis, est poësis pictura. Die Landschaften von Carl Grassi*. In: *Idem (Ed.): Šveitsi maaistikud Balti valgustusaja kunstis. / Schweizer Landschaften in der baltischen Kunst der Aufklärungszeit*. Tallinn 2009, 29–90.

²⁷ A year after his death two volumes about his travels in South Italy were published. Cf. *Carl Grassi: Sizilische Reise, oder Auszüge aus dem Tagebuch eines Landschaftsmalers*. Stuttgart-Tübingen 1815.



Fig. 3: Carl Grass: Chapel of Wilhelm Tell by the Vierwaldstädter See. 1790. Watercolour. 16.7 x 20.8 cm (Collection of Tartu University Library).

with graphic sheets and drawings from Swiss and Dutch artists that proved influential to the local art scene in Livonia.²⁸

Karl Morgenstern (1770 – 1852), a professor of aesthetics, rhetorics, literature and classical philology at the University of Tartu, and the director of the university library, travelled west in 1808. He went through Germany to Paris at first, then on to Switzerland and Italy. His choice of travel destinations was customary, if not canonical, for a learned man in the Enlightenment era. He visited all the larger cities in Italy and wrote thorough accounts of the art and architecture there.²⁹ After returning to Tartu, and influenced by his travels, he coined the term *Bildungsroman* in one of his lectures in 1819.³⁰

Artists August Georg Wilhelm Pezold (1794 – 1859), Gustav Adolf Hippius (1792 – 1856), and Otto Friedrich Ignatius (1794 – 1824) had their *Wanderjahre* in Europe from about 1815 until 1821. They spent the years studying in Berlin and Vienna,

28 Cf. Polli, *Est pictura poësis, est poësis pictura* (cf. n. 26).

29 Cf. Karl Morgenstern: *Reise in Italien*. Dorpat-Leipzig 1813.

30 Cf. Tobias Boes: *Formative Fictions. Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Bildungsroman*. New York 2012, 1.



Fig. 4: August Pezold: Portrait of a woman. 1816. Pencil, sepia on paper. 16.8 x 15.7 cm (Estonian Art Museum EKM j 190:77 G 2266).

before extensively touring Italy. Along the way they drafted pictures of landscapes and historic monuments, as well as portraits and recorded city life (fig. 4).

For example, Hippius drew portraits of Ludwig van Beethoven, Bertel Thorvaldsen and Friedrich Overbeck.³¹ They had an avid interest in classical European art history and wrote vivid accounts of the monuments they saw in Italy.

In 1820 – 1824, August Matthias Hagen (1794 – 1878) travelled in Germany and Switzerland. His sketches and diaries exemplify his interest in the landscapes that he sketched enthusiastically (fig. 5), as does his choice of travel destinations; where he also visited galleries, art museums, churches, and other sites of cultural interest. Descriptions of cultural sightseeing and experiences in Hagen's diaries are interwoven

³¹ Cf. Leopold Pezold: *Aus den Wanderjahren dreier estländischer Maler I*. In: *Baltische Monatsschrift* 36 (1889), 708 – 747, here 726.

with personal encounters and his relationships with local people. Given that his primary goal was to see the Alps, weather and nature were dominant themes in his work.³²

These were more just some of the Baltic German artists travelling in Europe at the time, their numbers growing as the exchange of ideas and knowledge via travelling became a widespread practice. In the context of knowledge-valuing Enlightenment, I argue that artists were conscious participants in heritage production, intentionally mediating and creating new knowledge for their contemporaries, and for following generations. This is exemplified by the fact that they returned from their travels with drawings, notes, and prints by other artists. Many of these were intended not solely for the artist's own use, but to be seen and read by others.³³

Both the tone of their writings and their later works – such as August Pezold's self-portrait with the Colosseum (fig. 1) – suggest that being a part of European culture and artistic heritage formed an important part of these artists' identities. Their choice of travel destinations is hardly surprising as it is in accordance with the custom of educational travelling in Enlightenment era Europe. There were two main destinations, both of which had their own allure. Italian cities attracted artists with their rich art history, and for centuries, a Grand Tour was unthinkable without visiting Italy. In the first half of the 19th century awareness of aesthetics and the history of art grew in the Baltics, and it gradually became the norm that artists should have some knowledge in these areas.³⁴

From the second half of the 18th century onwards, Switzerland and the Alps became another important travel destination. The growth of the Romantic movement led to a desire to experience nature in all its majesty, as seen in Hagen's landscape sketch with mountains and Romantic ruins in the centre (fig. 5). As the travels of Baltic German artists show, both Italy and Switzerland were popular travel destinations. It seems that they always travelled through Germany, probably for geographical reasons, and because of the cultural connections that the artists had with the region. The ports of Tallinn (Reval) and Riga had been well connected to North German harbours for centuries.

In general, the artists viewed the places and monuments that they saw in a positive light. For instance, August Matthias Hagen found nature in Switzerland to be extremely appealing. He declared emotionally that visiting Switzerland was a dream he had already had in his childhood, and on the 3rd July 1821 the dream finally came true as he crossed the Swiss border.³⁵ Seeing the dome of St Peter's Church in Rome for the first time was also very moving for August Pezold – a scene that his companion

³² Cf. Hagen, *Kunstniku reisipäevikud 1820–1821* (cf. n. 13).

³³ Cf. Juta Keevallik: *Karl Morgensterni ja August von Kotzebue Itaalia-reisid ja reisiraamatud* [The Travels to Italy and Travel Books of Karl Morgenstern and August von Kotzebue]. In: *Eesti kunstikontaktid läbi sajandite I* [Estonian Art Contacts through the Centuries I]. Tallinn 1991, 26–49, here 31.

³⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 26.

³⁵ Cf. Hagen, *Kunstniku reisipäevikud 1820–1821* (cf. n. 13), 114.

Hippius later captured in an emotional etching (fig. 2).³⁶ In Italy some artists, such as Hippius, were more drawn to local people, others not so much. However, all of them displayed a great interest in art museums and visited the Uffizi gallery in Florence. While personal interests and assessments varied a little, they were most interested in Italian art of the 16th and 17th centuries, which they scrutinized carefully.

One could typically distinguish four main types of travel materials developed by Baltic German artists at the beginning of the 19th century. Firstly, there were diaries that were kept while travelling, such as the aforementioned journal of August Matthias Hagen. Diaries were rather personal and direct, seemingly mediating what the artist had in mind and underlining what kind of impressions were most important to them. For instance, Hagen's diary exemplifies his somewhat grumpy and adventurous character. It is also rather emotional, something that could be influenced by the fact that he met his future wife while staying in Passau on the way to Switzerland.³⁷ This diary was not published in the 19th century.

Secondly, there were travel materials, some could even be described as 'studies', that were intentionally created for publishing, often by *litterati* from various backgrounds.³⁸ Most were probably notes taken on the trip itself that were later re-written and edited into a coherent text and published. A good example of this are the writings of Karl Morgenstern who, as a university professor who was prominent in several fields, worked diligently for the better education of others. He was the editor of *Dörptische Beyträge für Freunde der Philosophie, Litteratur und Kunst* (1813 – 1816; 1821) where he also published contributions from other travellers. Morgenstern's plans to publish his own travel writings were so ambitious that he only managed to publish one 900-page book about Italy, while he intended to make three. Separate volumes about France, Switzerland, and Germany were planned, but remained unfinished.³⁹

Thirdly, were accounts written by artists, such as Gerhard von Kügelgen, that were created intentionally for publishing. Gerhard, and his twin brother Karl von Kügelgen, originated from Germany but worked in the Baltics for a long time, having a notable influence in the artistic life of the area. Gerhard von Kügelgen had already moved back to Germany, living in Dresden, when he wrote an article about the *Sistine Madonna* by Raphael for Morgenstern's *Dörptische Beyträge* in 1814.⁴⁰ It is clear that

³⁶ Cf. Bernd Koch: Der Maler August Pezold aus Estland. In: *Jahrbuch des baltischen Deutschstums* 47 (2000), 134 – 155, here 140.

³⁷ Cf. Hagen, *Kunstniku reisipäevikud* 1820 – 1821 (cf. n. 13), 7.

³⁸ The *litterati* or *Literatenstand* were here mostly educated men such as home teachers (in the houses of noblemen), or professors at the newly reopened Tartu University. They were often not born in the Baltic region but were invited, or came, from Germany in order to find work.

³⁹ Cf. Keevallik, Karl Morgensterni ja August von Kotzebue Itaalia-reisid ja reisiraamatud (cf. n. 33), 31.

⁴⁰ Cf. Gerhard von Kügelgen: Rafael's Madonna in der Gallerie zu Dresden. In: *Dörptische Beyträge für Freunde der Philosophie, Litteratur und Kunst* 2 (1814), 317 – 338.

his account of Raphael's masterpiece was explicitly intended to disseminate knowledge about the work to a Livonian audience.

Fourthly, a compilation of different travel materials could be made with a view to publishing it later. Here the author of the compilation might not be the traveller himself, but someone else. For example, August Pezold's son Leopold Pezold compiled materials from the diaries and notes of his father and his friends, Gustav Adolf Hippius and Otto Ignatius. This compilation was published in 1889–1890 in journal *Baltische Monatsschrift*, about 70 years after the tour had taken place. However, Leopold Pezold stated that it was the travellers' original intention to publish it.⁴¹

The Actor-Network of the Baltic Artists

There has long been a narrative of the Baltic provinces being placed at the periphery of Europe, where Western influences arrive somewhat later than elsewhere. However, through studying Baltic German culture and heritage, one can show this long-established account to be too one-sided and simplistic: a good example of this being Baltic Germans' travels and contacts with European intelligentsia. One can evidence this by shifting the emphasis from strictly national art history to a regional discourse, by taking more historical groups and actors into consideration.

In the contemporary context, it has proved to be more reasonable to speak about *histoire croisée*, or 'entangled history', where influences and ideas move in a multi-faceted network; rather than in one direction from centre to periphery. Actor-network theory (ANT) is also a good method for tracing trans-boundary connections, especially considering that Baltic German art – and Enlightenment culture in Europe – had a rather network-like character that had many different influences woven into it.

According to actor-network-theory social networks are not given as such, but consist of complex relations between innumerable actors, each of whom or which has or have some sort of influence upon the others. The network itself is therefore not constant, but constantly moving; not stable, but shapeshifting. Relations in the network do not work one-way, but in a reciprocal and intertwined manner.⁴² Actors in this sense are not just human beings, as this is not a theory for human social relations only; rather for tracing a multifactorial network where objects and ideas

⁴¹ Cf. Anne Lõugas: Gustav Adolf Hippius, Otto Friedrich Ignatiuse ja August Georg Wilhelm Pezoldi õppereis 1810. aastatel [The Study Travel of Gustav Adolf Hippius, Otto Friedrich Ignatius, and August Georg Wilhelm Pezold in the 1810s]. In: Anne Lõugas (Ed.): *Neli baltisaksa kunstnikku. Artiklite kogumik. [Four Baltic German Artists. A Compendium of Articles.]* Tallinn 1994, 49–55, here 49.

⁴² Cf. Bruno Latour: *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford 2005, 4–5.

also have a say. In this sense actors could also be such as plants, machines, texts, animals and artefacts.⁴³

Alfred Gell has expressed similar ideas about the agency of an artwork in an attempt to view art from an anthropological perspective.⁴⁴ Gell uses the term ‘index’ instead of an artwork, because ‘artwork’ already implies a classification whereas, in fact, it is always an index of somebody’s agency. Like actors in actor-network-theory, agents can also be either human or non-human. They become agents in cases where they induce an effect. Art is thus viewed as a system of action which “is inherently more anthropological than the alternative semiotic approach because it is pre-occupied with the practical mediatory role of art objects in the social process”,⁴⁵ always viewing artworks in a context of social networks.

Similar strategies to find a new perspective have also been brought up by those researching the Enlightenment in Europe. Upon closer inspection, the cultural context of the Enlightenment itself appears to have a network-like character. The notion of a network is also more suited in characterising East-West relations in Europe, which were not uniformly dichotomous but rather multifarious and combined.⁴⁶ We could not speak, therefore, of a center that unambiguously influenced the periphery. On the contrary, the ‘transportation’ of enlightened ideas and innovations occurred via heterogenous networks.⁴⁷

These contacts – whether in the Enlightenment era or later – did not remain metaphysical, but were constantly reinforced in a tangible manner – by trading objects such as letters, drawings, prints, and so on. Agency is always in need of a materialisation, an object is necessary for agency to be exercised.⁴⁸ The research objects for art history also consist of ideas that have acquired a material form – such as in art works, buildings, reproductions and *tractatae*. These are all a set of carriers that enable the ideas to move, to circulate, to be disseminated. In the written and drawn sources created by travellers, knowledge about other places has also been materialised in a vehicle that enables this knowledge to start travelling on its own.

Through the act of travelling and interpreting, the Baltic German artists found themselves in close relationship with Western European heritage. In terms of actor-network-theory, the act of interpretation is never situated outside the network since the network can only be expanded, creating *new* actors in the field.⁴⁹ Further-

⁴³ Cf. idem: On Actor-Network Theory: A Few Clarifications. In: *Soziale Welt* 47/4, (1996), 369 – 381, here 369.

⁴⁴ Cf. Alfred Gell: *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford 1998.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁶ Cf. Christoph Augustynowicz, Agnieszka Pufelska: Einleitung. In: Christoph Augustynowicz, Agnieszka Pufelska (Ed.): *Konstruierte (Fremd-?)Bilder. Das östliche Europa im Diskurs des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin-Boston 2017, 1 – 10, here 9.

⁴⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 8.

⁴⁸ Cf. Gell, *Art and Agency* (cf. n. 44), 20.

⁴⁹ Cf. Latour, *On actor-network theory* (cf. n. 43), 376.

more, it could be argued that by creating more connections, interpretation creates a density or gravity in the network to which new ideas and layers of interpretation can more easily adhere. The more connections an actor has, the more gravity it creates. This is also the reason why the Baltic Germans' travel materials are important – their interpretations of European artistic heritage drew attention to their objects, extended the network and also extended knowledge by adding new elements to local heritage.

The joint travel of Pezold, Hippius, and Ignatius

It is clear that the original travel materials of Baltic German artists have reached their audience in different ways, because of the influence of different actors. The joint travel of the three friends – August Pezold, Gustav Adolf Hippius, and Otto Ignatius – offers an interesting example here; showing artistic cooperation and highlighting various stages of how they mediated information. The travelling artists were influenced by their background, growing up in an environment where music and art were encouraged. Ignatius and Hippius were first educated in the parsonage of Hageri (Haggers), where their tutors were the musician Johann August Hagen (1786–1877) and artist Carl Sigismund Walther (1783–1866).⁵⁰

Both of them were invited from Germany to Hageri by playwright, diplomat and theatre activist August von Kotzebue (1761–1819), who originated from Weimar but spent a large part of his life working in the Baltic province of Estonia. Kotzebue himself had visited Italy in 1804–1805. His accounts of his travels, *Erinnerungen von einer Reise aus Liefland nach Rom und Neapel*, were published in Berlin in 1805 and were one of the first of their kind to be written by an intellectual who was active in the region. Although Kotzebue's text was also critical towards the monuments in Italy – because of how they were mostly seen with unending amazement; and although it was published in Berlin,⁵¹ it is probable that Hippius and Ignatius were at least familiar with, if not influenced by, it.

The education of the young artists continued in academies of art in St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna where the study system was rather conservative and relied on copying old masters and antique sculptures. From early on, the students looked forward to self-organized excursions that allowed them to see the world on their own and sketch freely, ultimately deciding to leave the academy.⁵² The rest of their *Wanderjahre* were mostly spent in Italy, visiting galleries and churches, and forming contacts with the German community in Rome.

50 Cf. Pezold, Kolme Eestimaa kunstniku rännuaastad (cf. n. 15), 15.

51 Cf. Juta Keevallik, Rein Loodus, Lehti Viiroja (Ed.): *Tekste kunstist ja arhitektuurist / Texte über Kunst und Architektur*. Köide 1 / Bd 1. Tallinn 2000, 103.

52 Cf. Pezold, Kolme Eestimaa kunstniku rännuaastad (cf. n. 15), 26f.

Otto Ignatius leaves no room for doubts as to whether it would be beneficial to visit Italy or not, suggesting that the joy of seeing everything with one's own eyes is incomparable to reproductions:

Obgleich ich jedes Einzelne schon aus Kupferstichen und aus den Bildern des Canaletto kannte, so ist der Eindruck des Ganzen doch so mächtig und so neu, dass man sich in einen ganz anderen Weltteil hingezaubert glaubt, da alles ganz von den übrigen Städten Europas abweicht.⁵³

Ignatius is also certain that these impressions will have an influence upon his later creations:

Bin ich nicht ein Kind des Glücks, dass mir Gott das Gefühl und die Augen gab, dieses alles zu durchschauen und zu ergreifen? Auch soll es gewiss Früchte tragen für meine Kunst, deren ihr alle Euch einst freuen sollt. Habt nur Geduld.⁵⁴

However, there were also mediators on their journey; such as a travel itinerary they acquired, or several people who are only hinted at in Ignatius's writing. When visiting churches or chapels, he often uses the phrase "man zeigte uns", but leaves the question of who showed them the artefacts as open. In one case it is a librarian and, in another case, a choir boy.⁵⁵

An important set of actors were the artists they met on their travels. A friendship with Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, a member of the Nazarene movement, had already been established in Vienna. The young artists spent some memorable moments together, eating, drinking, and discussing history of art questions such as "die Vorfürze Rafaels und Rubens".⁵⁶ Hippius arrived in Rome in early 1817 and visited Casa Bartholdy, where he saw the frescoes of the Nazarene painters. While Hippius had had some doubts about the Nazarene movement before, the frescoes 'acted' as a good influence upon him and he formed a closer relationship with Friedrich Overbeck, whose work he admired. Hippius and Overbeck confirmed their friendship by drawing portraits of each other – a good example of a relationship materialised.⁵⁷

While in Berlin, Ignatius and Pezold stayed at the home of Gottfried Schadow whose son, Friedrich Wilhelm Schadow, was also one of the Nazarenes. Ignatius later married Gottfried Schadow's daughter, Adelheid, and became close friends

⁵³ Eesti Kunstimuuseumi arhiiv (EKM), Tallinn [Archive of Estonian Art Museum, Tallinn]. Otto Ignatiuse isikuarhiiv. Otto Ignatiuse päevik (fragmendid koopiatena) [The Personal Archive of Otto Ignatius. The Diary of Otto Ignatius. (fragments as copies)] EKMA 111.1, p 50.

⁵⁴ EKM EKMA 111.1, p 70.

⁵⁵ "Man zeigte uns noch mehrere Madonnenköpfe von Sarro Ferrato [...]." "Jetzt näherte sich der Chorknabe, der uns führte, mit feierlichen Schritten einem großen Seidenvorhange, und zog ihn langsam weg." EKM EKMA 111.1, p 55.

⁵⁶ Pezold, Aus den Wanderjahren dreier estländischer Maler I (cf. n. 31), 730.

⁵⁷ Cf. idem: Aus den Wanderjahren dreier estländischer Maler II. In: Baltische Monatsschrift 37 (1890), 35.

with her brothers.⁵⁸ As a result all of the three friends – Ignatius, Pezold, and Hippius – had a close association with the Nazarene artists both in terms of family relations and artistically, especially in terms of religious works. In the 1850s, decades after staying in Rome, August Pezold produced an altar painting, *The Last Supper*, for the church in Türi (Turgel) that borrows its composition from Friedrich Overbeck. The journal *Inland* considered this fact worthy of mentioning when introducing the new work, thereby also introducing the Nazarene artist.⁵⁹

This kind of extensive travelling has generally been shown to be a decisive factor in the education and development of the young artists.⁶⁰ It is probable that it added much to the sparkling career of Otto Ignatius, who became an imperial court artist in St. Petersburg at a very young age soon after his return from Italy. His friend Hippius became an important artistic figure in Tallinn in the middle of the 19th century. Hippius was also an active art teacher and author of several books in the same field. It has been estimated that Hippius's actions led to a more organized and professional culture of art in Tallinn.⁶¹ His contacts and early influences probably had a big impact on his endeavours and shaped his later life.

In addition to the direct relationships with other noteworthy artists, the three friends also produced travel materials, as was customary. The details of their travels have reached us thanks largely to Leopold Pezold's compilation which was first published in German in the journal *Baltische Monatsschrift* in 1889–1890, and later in Estonian in 1994. Leopold Pezold, an avid art activist and editor of the impactful *Revalsche Zeitung*, states in his compilation that his writing is based on various sources such as sketchbooks, diaries, letters, poems, oral accounts and memories.⁶²

However, Leopold Pezold was not the first to publish information about the travellers. When arriving in Italy, Otto Ignatius started writing rather thorough accounts of the artistic monuments he saw:

Ich will auf dieser Reise außer meinen Briefen, noch ein getreues Tagebuch schreiben, und habe schon manche kleine Zeichnung beigefügt. Der Gedanke, daß sie einmal den lieben Meinigen zu Hause in die Hände kommen werden, macht mir diese Mühe doppelt süß.⁶³

⁵⁸ Cf. idem, *Aus den Wanderjahren dreier estländischer Maler I* (cf. n. 31), 720.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Das Inland*. 05.11.1856, 731.

⁶⁰ Cf. Rein Loodus: *Kunstielu Eesti linnades 19. sajandil* [Art Life in Estonian Cities in the 19th Century]. Tallinn 1993, 31.

⁶¹ Cf. Rein Loodus, Juta Keevallik: *Kunstielu Eestis 19. sajandil* [Art Life in Estonia in the 19th Century]. Tallinn 1990, 9.

⁶² Cf. Pezold, *Kolme Eestimaa kunstniku rännuaastad* (cf. n. 15), 12.

⁶³ Aus Otto Ignatius *Tagebuch seiner Reise nach Italien* (cf. n. 12), 179.

His thoughts and impressions were only published in excerpts, first in *St. Petersburgische Zeitschrift* in 1823⁶⁴ and then, posthumously, in a weekly journal *Esthona* in 1829–1830.⁶⁵

Ignatius sent his materials to *St. Petersburgische Zeitschrift* himself,⁶⁶ consequently his accompanying notes are of particular interest. He describes his work and explains why an artist should still publish his travel notes from Italy when there are already so many. On the contrary, his goal is to offer his views on art, not just travel notes:

Wenn ich mich bei meiner Arbeit blos darauf beschränkt hätte, eine Reisebeschreibung zu liefern, so hätte ich mit der Herausgabe des Werks mehr eilen müssen, um den Reiz der Neuheit zu benutzen; es soll aber kein Itineraire werden, sondern vielmehr allgemeine Kunstansichten aussprechen, welche erst mit der Zeit ihre Reife erlangen können, und welche niemals altern, wenn sie wahr sind. Auch habe ich die erfreuliche Erfahrung gemacht, daß manches Urtheil, welches damals, als ich es niederschrieb, gar nicht erhört oder gänzlich verkannt worden wäre, jetzt schon ziemlich allgemeinen Eingang findet.⁶⁷

Ignatius's intention to publish his notes were convincing since he claims to already have had some agreements with publishers in Germany. That was before he received an irrefutable offer to publish it in his fatherland, Russia, the only evidence of his plan being an advertisement for pre-ordering that accompanied his published excerpts in the *St. Petersburgische Zeitschrift* on June 1, 1823. Pre-orders were accepted in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw, Riga, Tallinn, Tartu, Turku, and Jelgava (Mitau).⁶⁸ These ambitious plans were unfortunately never realized, most probably because Ignatius died only a year later, in 1824, at the age of 30 – in a sad case where an illness explicitly influenced art history.

Both *St. Petersburgische Zeitschrift* and *Esthona* were part of many publications that were mostly intended for general education. This sort of journal tended to be published with a common aim in mind, but often with a rather short lifespan, probably influenced by the enthusiasm of the publisher and/or editor. Novels were generally not the most favoured literary genre in the Baltic region. The audience preferred practical texts that were either educative, informative or had at least some connection to real life; and were not just about fictional characters⁶⁹ – expectations that

⁶⁴ Cf. Fragmente aus den Briefen und Tagebüchern eines reisenden Malers in Italien. In: *St. Petersburgische Zeitschrift* 9 (1823), 165–177.

⁶⁵ Cf. Aus Otto Ignatius Tagebuch seiner Reise nach Italien (cf. n. 12), 179.

⁶⁶ „Bei meiner Rückkehr ins Nordische Vaterland war es meine höchste Freude mich an der Erinnerung der Italischen Zauberwelt zu sonnen. Um meine Phantasie noch lebhafter anzuregen, sammelte ich meine Briefe ein, ordnete und verband sie mit meinen Tagebüchern, und fügte mehrere Zeichnungen hinzu, welche Bezug darauf hatten [...] zwei Bände nebst einer Mappe mit 30 litographirten Blättern.“ Pränumerationsanzeige. In: *St. Petersburgische Zeitschrift* 9 (1823), 377–381, here 377.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 378.

⁶⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 380f.

⁶⁹ Cf. Undusk, Baltisaksa kirjakultuuri struktuurist (cf. n. 6), 565.

travel writings accommodated rather well. These publications were intended for the German-speaking reader, most of whom were such as state officials, professors, pastors and writers.⁷⁰

Pictorial Traces of Travelling

Kadi Polli has expressed similar thoughts regarding the pictorial culture in the Baltic Enlightenment where high genres and mediums such as oil paintings on historical topics were rather scarce; but drawings, sketches and graphic sheets could be found in abundance. A large portion of the visual culture also had a practical and educative character, a “didactic nature that considered the promotion of society to be more important than aesthetic values”.⁷¹ Cases where artists embarked on a journey to sketch people and landscapes were intentional efforts to offer a structured pictorial representation of the otherwise chaotic world.⁷²

The fact that objects such as artworks could have an important role in the network of knowledge was felt at the beginning of the 19th century, when a restructuring of knowledge regimes occurred, as the culture historian Peter Burke has shown. The “map of learning” was redrawn according to new institutions such as universities, museums and libraries.⁷³ A new regime of knowledge was not only institutional, however. As Burke has pointed out: “The point to emphasize is that art was coming to be regarded as a form of knowledge, part of the new regime. [...] the ‘Bildende Künste’ were viewed as a means to Bildung.”⁷⁴

As the travellers in this instance were practising artists, their travel materials were two-tiered: written accounts were accompanied by drawings and vice versa. This would at once raise questions about the relationship between text and image, and how each has been arranged, in order to see how they both began to act. These questions are, unfortunately, difficult to answer because the materials have been dispersed and scattered in the two centuries that have since elapsed.

Leopold Pezold offers an interesting description of the different practices of the artists he writes about. For instance, Otto Ignatius spent the most time detailing his accounts of the historical artworks he saw in Italy which he intended to accompany with drawings (for publication), but the drawings were lost already to Pezold. Gustav

⁷⁰ For example, the *Dörptische Beyträge* always printed a list of pre-subscribers that enables one to get an idea of the array of readers of the journal. Vgl. *Dörptische Beyträge für Freunde der Philosophie, Litteratur und Kunst* 1 (1814), XV–XVIII.

⁷¹ Kadi Polli: The Role of Pictures in the Late Baltic Enlightenment. In: *Makslas Vesture un Teorija / Art History and Theory* 18 (2015), 18–33, here 21.

⁷² Cf. *ibid.*, 28.

⁷³ Peter Burke: Circa 1808: Restructuring Knowledges. / Um 1808: Neuordnung der Wissensarten. München 2008 (The Schelling Lectures on the Arts and Humanities 1), 26.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 50.

Adolf Hippius also included information of the history of the art that he encountered in his notes from the same period, while August Pezold confined himself to drawing and only sometimes wrote diary-like notes on the back of his sketches. As Leopold Pezold remarks, as diary entries become less frequent as the artists produced more sketches and vice versa, it is likely that these texts and sketches were not always connected when they were produced.⁷⁵

August Matthias Hagen describes his working methods in his diaries. On 13th October 1820, he copied a landscape from another artist from memory, changing some details.⁷⁶ He mentions that, on 2nd June 1821, the weather acted upon him – it was rainy and cloudy and did not allow him to sketch a complete landscape. Consequently, he started to combine several elements.⁷⁷ Two days later he offers a description that seems quite typical of his work: he had sketched the outline of the ruins in Wolkenstein the day before and worked with the lighting the next day. On the following day he had intended to colour some contours with Indian ink. As it was a personal diary, he also mentions digestive problems and his dog in the same paragraph.⁷⁸ The aforementioned working style can be seen in his sketch, from the same period, that depicts a mountainous landscape with castle ruins and a church (fig. 5).



Fig. 5: August Matthias Hagen: Landscape with ruins and a church. Ca. 1820–1824. Pencil and Indian ink on paper. 24.6 x 38 cm (Tartu Art Museum TKM TR 4290 B 1223)

⁷⁵ Cf. Pezold, *Kolme Eestimaa kunstniku rännuaastad* (cf. n. 15), 68f.

⁷⁶ Cf. Hagen, *Kunstniku reisipäevikud 1820–1821* (cf. n. 13), 54.

⁷⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 95.

⁷⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 95f.

It seems that the scene was drafted first with pencil and then coloured with Indian ink, just as he described. It is also probable that the elements (trees, ruins, the church and rocks) have been combined from different views.

The travelling artists were also affected by their tours later in life. While Hagen's sketches were mostly executed *in situ*, his way of perceiving landscape was also later evident when making *vedutae* in Livonia. As the most renowned landscape artist of the period his works also had an impact on others; probably influencing his daughter, Julie Hagen-Schwarz, a well-known artist in her own right.

Gustav Adolf Hippius returned to his home in Hageri on 9th November 1819.⁷⁹ In 1821, he created a copper engraving depicting pilgrims (probably including art pilgrims) greeting the city of Rome (fig. 2). A group of people – some kneeling, some waving to the city with overflowing joy – have gathered on a hilltop where they probably see Rome in the distance for the first time. They are shown travelling on foot, as was common for pilgrims and poor young artists alike, but also a favourable method to experience nature in the period.⁸⁰ Hippius's work shows a deeply felt nostalgia for their tour in Italy.

Visiting Rome was an important event to be remembered and depicted. In this work by Hippius the scene was inspired by personal experience, but abstracted later as a general sign of the importance of Rome. An exemplary depiction of a self-conscious artist relating himself to classical heritage is given by Hippius's companion, August Pezold, who painted a self-portrait with the Colosseum in the background (fig. 1). Painted in 1818, the portrait was created while in Rome. Pezold shows himself standing three-quarters in front of his easel, his palette on the right and a window (or a painting) showing the Colosseum in evening light on the left. Pezold has thus set himself in an honourable tradition of painting a (self-)portrait with classical ruins, just like Maarten van Heemskerck did with his *Self-portrait with the Colosseum* in 1553, or like Johann Tischbein painted *Goethe in the Roman Campagna* in 1787.

Conclusion

Travelling has been helpful in creating and establishing communicative networks, and in obtaining and mediating knowledge through many centuries. It could be argued that a sense of a common Europe was felt in the 18th century, largely established in iconography that relied upon classical antiquity.⁸¹ Although the Napoleonic wars weakened such a feeling of European community a pan-European style in art was still dom-

⁷⁹ Cf. Pezold, *Kolme Eestimaa kunstniku rännuaastad* (cf. n. 15), 93.

⁸⁰ Cf. Beyer, *Des Reisebeschreibers „Kutsche“* (cf. n. 4), 73.

⁸¹ Cf. Augustynowicz/Pufelska, *Einleitung* (cf. n. 46), 5.

inant, as the feeling for a common Europe being first and foremost cultural.⁸² This singular European culture was mainly visualized in a similar pictorial language⁸³ that was disseminated via cultural contacts such as those acquired by travelling.

I would agree with the idea of Alfred Gell that art does not have an *a priori* unified role in every society, but acquires a role in each society separately by acting through social practice.⁸⁴ In the Enlightenment period art fulfilled, amongst other things, a role as a mediator of knowledge and, as such, definitely played a part in educational practices, as did travelling. Travelling as an educative method spread as a means of direct experience that was gradually more and more approachable from this point onwards.

Travel and art as mediators of knowledge went hand in hand when it came to travelling artists, where the places they experienced were later reproduced both textually and visually, as seen from their *oeuvre*. The relative approachability of travelling on the one hand, and the growing demands for education that were applied to different professions on the other, lured many Baltic artists and intellectuals to travel; alongside their colleagues from other parts of Europe. Their travel destinations were in line with the most popular of the time (visiting Italy and Switzerland) and their impressions rather positive, praising the power of witnessing these landscapes and monuments first hand.

In many cases the artists' materials were explicitly intended for publishing either as a separate volume or in a journal that circulated, for example, among professors, other artists, pastors, and teachers or officials who belonged to the German-speaking community. Some of the information was shared in personal materials that were either meant as an *aide-mémoire* for the artists themselves, or to be sent to their family. In some cases this material was later published, probably because the next generations regarded it as worth sharing.

In the case of Otto Ignatius, the artist himself worked diligently in order to publish his writings and drawings in order to engage not only with the travel genre, but in a wider theoretical discussion of art that was ignited by his experiences in Italy. His companions Gustav Adolf Hippius and August Pezold were also influenced by their years of travelling that drew them together with the Nazarene movement, amongst others. As the artists' contacts show communication and exchange were rather intense, considering, of course, the physical limitations of travel in the period. However, at a time where a boat trip from Tallinn to Travemünde could easily take more than two weeks, the world could be brought back home on their pencil tips – in their sketches and diaries.

⁸² Cf. Wolfgang Schmale: Das östliche Europa: (Fremd-?)Bilder im Diskurs des 18. Jahrhunderts und darüber hinaus. Eine Keynote. In: Augustynowicz/Pufelska (Ed.), Konstruierte (Fremd-?)Bilder (cf. n. 46), 11–28, here 21.

⁸³ Cf. *ibid.*, 22.

⁸⁴ Cf. Gell, Art and Agency (cf. n. 44), 7.

