

The background of the cover is composed of large, expressive brushstrokes in various shades of teal and dark blue. A prominent, dark, textured square is positioned in the center-right area, appearing to be a piece of material or a specific architectural detail. The overall composition is dynamic and artistic.

COMUNICAR LA ARQUITECTURA

DEL ORIGEN DE LA MODERNIDAD A LA ERA DIGITAL

eug

The background is an abstract composition of broad, expressive brushstrokes in various shades of teal and dark blue. A prominent, dark, textured square, resembling a piece of fabric or a different material, is positioned in the center-right area, overlapping the brushstrokes.

COMUNICAR LA ARQUITECTURA

DEL ORIGEN DE LA MODERNIDAD A LA ERA DIGITAL

TOMO I

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COMUNICAR LA ARQUITECTURA

del origen de la modernidad
a la era digital

TOMO I

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(EDS.)

COMUNICAR LA ARQUITECTURA

del origen de la modernidad a la era digital

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The Diffusion of Architectural Culture Through Treatises and Manuals on the Art of Building in Denmark Between the 18th and 19th Centuries

La difusión de la cultura arquitectónica a través de tratados y manuales de arte de la construcción en Dinamarca entre los siglos XVIII y XIX

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Abstract

Este estudio reflexiona sobre los métodos a través de los cuales se desarrolló la comunicación arquitectónica en Dinamarca entre los siglos XVIII y XIX, analizando la correspondiente transmisión de modelos y conocimientos teóricos expresados en la práctica profesional. Así, se prestará atención a obras significativas a este respecto, empezando por el bello volumen ilustrado el *Abecedario dell'Architettura Civile* escrito por el pintor y arquitecto Carl Marcus Tuscher en 1743, siguiendo por la relectura crítica del *Tanker om Smaåen udi Kunsterne i Almindelighed* del escultor Johannes Wiedewelt, y a la reexaminación de los manuales editados por el arquitecto alemán Gustav Friedrich Hetsch, a través de los cuales esperaba un avance cultural didáctico que mejorase la educación artística de los arquitectos tanto como la de los artesanos e industriales).

This essay reflects on the methods by which architectural communication developed in Denmark between the 18th and 19th centuries, analysing the related transmission of models and theoretical insights expressed in professional practice. Thus, the focus will be placed on meaningful works in this sense, starting with the fine illustrated volume the *Abecedario dell'Architettura Civile* written by the painter and architect Carl Marcus Tuscher in 1743, following the critical re-reading of the *Tanker om Smaåen udi Kunsterne i Almindelighed* by the sculptor Johannes Wiedewelt, and on to the re-examination of the manuals edited by the German architect Gustav Friedrich Hetsch, through which he aimed for a didactic cultural enhancement that would improve the artistic education of architects as much as of craftsmen and industrialists.

Keywords

Tratados, Dinamarca, Carl Marcus Tuscher, Johannes Wiedewelt, Gustav Friedrich Hetsch

Treatises, Denmark, Carl Marcus Tuscher, Johannes Wiedewelt, Gustav Friedrich Hetsch

Introduction

For many centuries, the circulation of treatises and drawings influenced architectural communication and practice, guaranteeing the dissemination of the infinite variety of ancient models, and ensuring the propagation of new theoretical acquisitions throughout Europe¹. This was favored in Denmark by the presence in the capital city Copenhagen and in the town of Odense of Incunabula², thanks to which artistic transmission was facilitated. In the 18th century, new pages of architectural popularisation were marked by the refined illustrated volume the *Abecedario dell'Architectura Civile* by the painter and architect Carl Marcus Tuscher in 1743 and the *Danske Vitruvius* and the *Hafnia Hodierna* by Lauritz de Thurau, offering new inspiration for professional practice. These works had great critical success in the Nordic nation, constituting a main source from which the repertory of models could be drawn, not infrequently generating cultural drifts due to a sterile application of the orders and principles expressed, as in the case of the *Instruction for the Civil Art of Architecture* given to print in 1759 by Georg David Anthon. Against such widespread custom, the sculptor Johannes Wiedewelt reiterated his aesthetic conception in his 1762 work *Tanker om Smagen udi Kunsterne i Almindelighed*, building the theoretical basis of neoclassical taste in Denmark.

Danish architectural culture was influenced by these ideas until the 1820s, when the professor of the Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen, the German Gustav Friedrich Hetsch, marked a new boundary by presenting several volumes, which developed not only purely practical themes, such as geometric constructions, but also strictly conceptual issues. These were milestones in the theory of Danish Architectural History as they defined the opening towards Historicism, also approaching the idea of the Hamburg architect Gottfried Semper. However, although extremely remarkable, the works of the master of the Academy are still little acknowledged and do not hold due positions in the history of European aesthetics. The contribution therefore aims to reflect on the methods through which architectural communication was articulated in Denmark and its impact on professional practice between the 18th and 19th centuries.

The German Carl Marcus Tuscher³ occupied an important position in the scene of the circulation of classical stylistic features and late baroque models in the northern nation with his *Abecedario dell'Architectura Civile. In cui con Nuova simetria e Facoltà si mostrano le*

¹ Manfredo Tafuri, *Ricerca del Rinascimento. Principi, città, architetti* (Turin: Einaudi, 1992), 8.

² Elena Manzo, *Christof Marselis. Note a margine di un inedito libro di disegni* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2012), 15.

³ Francesco Maria Niccolò Gabburri, *Vite di pittori* (Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, Palatino E.B.9.5), 1866-1867; Fabia Borroni Salvadori, "Marcus Tuscher, artista norico fra la Toscana e Roma", in *Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Anna Saitta Revignas* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1978), 85-118; Howard Burns, "Palladio e i fondamenti di una nuova architettura al Nord," in *Palladio nel Nord Europa. Libri, viaggiatori, architetti* (Milan: Skira, 1999), 16-55; Elena Manzo, "Verso il classicismo nordico. Reti sintattiche e sperimentazioni linguistiche a Copenaghen in età moderna", in *Le vie dei mercanti. Città rete Rete di Città*, ed. by Carmine Gambardella and Sabina Martusciello (Naples: La Scuola di Pitagora, 2007), 157-164; Elena Manzo, "Verso il 'funzionalismo sociale'. L'idea di Roma nella ricerca architettonica di un 'Classicismo nordico'", *Storia dell'Urbanistica*, n.º 1 (2021): 345-346.

giuste e facilissime Regole dè Cinque Ordine, Coll'aggiunta d'un saggio d' un ordine novello da vari frammenti architetonici degli Antichi cavato e messo in un praticabile sistema e con molti esempi dimostrato che si possa metterlo in opera al pari degli altri ordini. Il tutto con gran diligenza e somma esattezza misurato, calcolato e disegnato da Marco Tuscher Norico in 1743. The German, aware of the professional and intellectual maturity he had reached, drew up an erudite work consisting of 51 plates, as the product of the experiences of his early formative years in Germany but especially of his work in Italy, where his active participation in the intense Roman life⁴ and in the cultural circles of Tuscany is already recognized⁵.

Declaring the subject of the essay in the title, Tuscher drew up plates, using his deft skills as “*miracoloso disegnatore*”⁶ to illustrate the geometric relationships of the five architectural orders, to which he added a sixth of his own design: the Noric. Thus, the German attempted to combine known models with innovative elements, indicating in detail the relative proportions, the geometric ratios, and advanced design demonstrations of its use. Among the drawings is the magnificent triumphal arch, dedicated to the Danish sovereign Christian VI as a sign of *captatio benevolentiae*, still linked to Baroque poetics, while closer to classical stylistic features is the semicircular public portico (fig. 1).

The planimetric composition elaborated by Tuscher had concrete repercussions on professional practice, specifically in the designs of the Bernstorff Slot in Gentofte (fig. 2) and in the plan of the impressive Frederiks Church in Copenhagen by the French architect Nicolas-Henri Jardin, a trait d'union between the Baroque and neoclassical instances in Denmark⁷.

The significant projects conceived during his fruitful career in Italy and Denmark found their place in the last plates, among which we would like to mention the drawing submitted in 1739 to Anna Maria Luisa Medici, Grand Princess of Tuscany for the finishing of the façade of the famous basilica of San Lorenzo in Florence, a proposal supported by the noblewoman before the extinction of the Florentine family⁸. Tuscher's unrealized project, with its two bell towers with explicit references to 16th-century architecture, was particularly appreciated by the exponents of Italian cultural architecture. The project for the Mancini Ferretti family in Cortona, reported in the volume with an elegant graphic design, was similarly successful. In Cortona, the architect had become well established in artistic circles, participating in the intellectual society of the newly born Accademia Etrusca, thanks to

⁴ Elena Ciletti, “Corsini Rome, Regency Florence, and the Last Medici Facade for San Lorenzo”, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, n.º 32 (1988): 486-587.

⁵ Borroni Salvadori, *Marcus Tuscher...*

⁶ Gabburri, *Vite di pittori...*, 1866-1867.

⁷ Ulla Kjær, *Nicolas-Henri Jardin: den danske klassicismes franske fader* (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag i samarbejde med Nationalmuseet, 2015); Hanne Raabyemagle, Claus M. Smidt (eds.), *Classicism in Copenhagen. Architecture in the Age of C.F. Hansen* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1998).

⁸ Ciletti, *Corsini Rome...*, 479-518.

which he had the opportunity to become acquainted with paradigmatic works of the late 16th century and to further his studies of antiquarian art⁹.

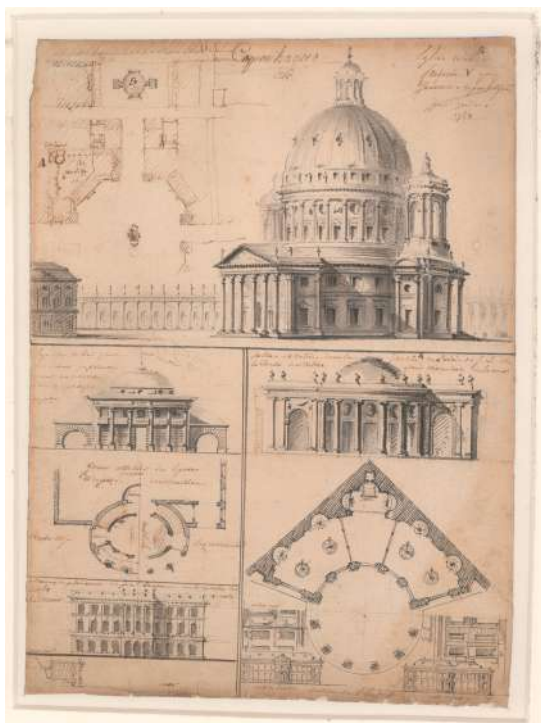
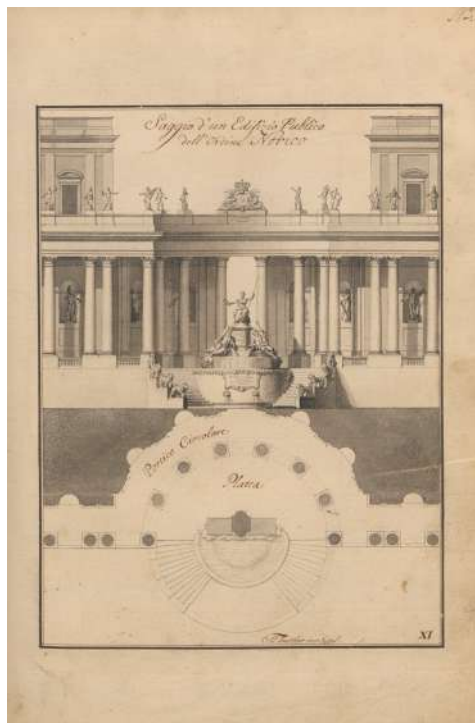


Figure 1. (izda) "Saggio d'un edifizio pubblico dell'Ordine dorico", Carl Marcus Tuscher. Source: *Abecedario dell'Architectura Civile*, 1743, tav. 24.

Figure 2. (dcha) "Fem af Jardins danske projekter Frederikskirken (ikke opført)", Nicolas-Henri Jardin. Source: Danmarks Kunstmuseum, Samlingen af Arkitekturtegninger, DKB 234, kasse 22, 23216 a.

Reverbs of his research and sensitivity to the vast repertoire of models can also be traced in the drawing of the monumental obelisk to be placed in the context of the Amagerør square in Copenhagen, in memory of the devastating fire that had struck the Danish capital in 1728¹⁰. Tuscher inserted runic words "per esprimere il fatto tristo" to create a national monument and recall local identity.

Therefore, the refined *Abecedario dell'Architectura Civile* must be considered an indispensable piece in the delicate transition from baroque to neoclassical taste¹¹. Implicit, in fact,

⁹ Ciletti, *Corsini Rome...*, 477.

¹⁰ Karin Kryger, "Det Nationale monument", in *Forblommet antik. Klassicismen i Dansk arkitektur og Havekunst* (Copenhagen: Arkitektens Forlag, 1988), 160-163.

¹¹ Manzo, *Christof Marselis...*, 15.

is Tuscher's cultural debt to the Roman Baroque¹² and to the variety of antiquarian models he encountered during his already mentioned Italian sojourn¹³ where, as is well known, he made 'extraordinary studies from antiquity'¹⁴ and understood that the *corpus* of rules did not have a universal character but only a conventional and arbitrary one¹⁵. Remarkable were the reflections that the German's drawings had on Danish architectural practice, influencing the Nordic nation's builders, constituting for a generation of Danish architects a main spring from which to draw models, including Nicolai Eigtved, Lauritz de Thura and later Nicolas-Henri Jardin.

Contemporary with Tuscher's work were the volumes entitled *Danske Vitruvius* published between 1745 and 1749 and the *Hafnia Hodierna* of 1748 commissioned by King Christian V of Denmark from the architect Lauritz de Thurah. Already from its title, the book showed a desire to follow in the footsteps of Colen Campbell's more famous *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The Dane's publication, edited in three volumes between 1735 and 1749, also celebrated the architecture in the capital of the Nordic nation abroad, and through its illustrations became an indispensable book for the professional reality of Danish artists and builders. Thus, Tuscher's and Lauritz de Thurah's experience was part of the renowned practice promoted by the rich patronage that had begun in Denmark under Frederick III (1648-1670)¹⁶, who saw travelling to Italy and the acquisition of drawings as the main instruments for improving professional knowledge¹⁷.

If the mentioned publications were positively evaluated, on the contrary critical were the reactions towards the volume entitled *Grundig og tydelig Anviisning til den civile Bygningskunst, hvorudi viises hvorledes man kan bringe de Fem Ordener i en god Overeensstemmelse, og vel anvende dem i heele Bygnings-Kunsten, efter de fem ældste og beste Byg-Mestere, nemlig Vitruvius, Serlio, Palladio, Scamozzi, Vignola og de Romerske Antiquiteter : udgivet til Nytte for den studerende Ungdom paa Det Kongl. Danske Skildre- Bildhugger- og Bygnings-Academie* published in 1759 by the professor of construction arts Danish Royal Academy of Sculpture and Building, Sculpture and Architecture in Copenhagen, Georg David Anthon. From an editorial point of view, Anthon's volume, which was less elaborate and refined than Tuscher's, consisted of a concise descriptive section and a second illustrated one in which the five different orders were reproduced, namely Tuscanic, Doric, Ionic, Composite (referred to as Romanesque) and Corinthian (fig. 3). Anthon also developed an elementary scheme with modules and geometric ratios of the different orders to make their use immediate. Antithetical to the mechanical and strict application of the orders and models, the French professor Nicolas-Henri Jardin, supported by the director of the Academy

¹² Manzo, *Verso il 'funzionalismo sociale'...*, 346.

¹³ Borroni Salvadori, *Marcus Tuscher...*

¹⁴ Gabburri, *Vite di pittori...*, 1866.

¹⁵ Tafuri, *Ricerca del Rinascimento...*, 12.

¹⁶ Manzo, *Christof Marselis...*, 21.

¹⁷ Manzo, *Christof Marselis...*, 17; Fabio Mangone, *Viaggio a sud. Gli architetti nordici e l'Italia (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2002)*; Monica Esposito, *L'Accademia in viaggio: Il tour italiano degli architetti danesi tra Settecento e Ottocento* (Naples: Fedoa Federico II University Press, 2021).

Jacques-François-Joseph Saly, succeeded in prohibiting the widespread volume, as he considered the work pedantic and unrefined¹⁸. Regarded as detrimental to artists' creativity, the book was a vehicle for empty models of theoretical universality that did not support any formal research.

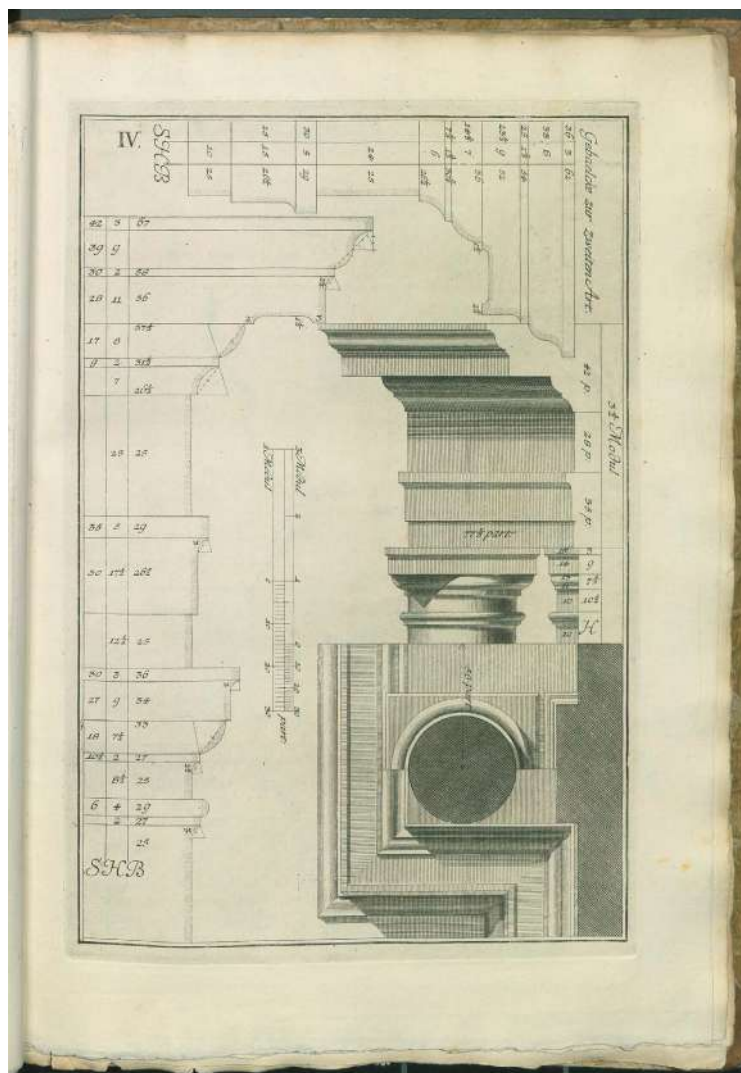


Figure 3. "IV. Tabelle", Georg David Anthon. Source: *Grundig og tydelig Anviisning til den civile Bygningskunst, hvorudi viises hvorledes man kan bringe de Fem Ordener i en god Overensstemmelse, og vel anvende dem i heele Bygnings- Kunsten, efter de fem ældste og beste Byg-Mestere, nemlig Vitruvius, Serlio, Palladio, Scamozzi, Vignola og de Romerske Antiquiteter*, 1759.

¹⁸ Ulla Kjær, *Nicolas-Henri Jardin...*, 53.

The sterile reproduction of models was also fought hard against by the Danish sculptor Johannes Wiedewelt¹⁹. He, a friend of the German archaeologist and erudite Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717 -1768), was one of the leading exponents of Neoclassicism in Denmark. In fact, in 1762, Wiedewelt published a concise philosophical-divulgative paper entitled *Tanker om Smagen udi Kunsterne i Almindelighed* in which he emphasised the unequivocal difference between imitation and copying, proposing the use of the former²⁰. In fact, he wrote:

Naar en Bygmester beraaber sig paa alles ne at følge Vitruvium, Scamozzi, Palladium og andre fleere, ja vover fig end og til at efterabe Antiquiteerne, uden at eftertænke findigen, hvorudi der Ve fentlige bestaaer, som han vil forestille: da bliver der ganske Arbeide ikkun en Blanding af en Deel copierede Ting, som forestille intet og efterlade mindre at tænke.²¹

The Dane firmly maintained that the artist should take inspiration exclusively from Nature and Antiquity, and that, on the contrary, he should avoid the slavish copying of models and the use of sumptuous decoration. In fact, moving away from the Baroque, of which there were still residual traces in Denmark, Wiedewelt exalted the Pantheon as a model from which to draw creative impetus for the impression of greater majesty it created, and conversely regarded St. Peter's Basilica as excessively decorated.²²

These speculations had important repercussions in the academic and professional spheres, and were also shared and disseminated by the Academy's professor of architecture Caspar Frederik Harsdorff²³. Thanks to his experience in Italy, during which Harsdorff had shown distinct aptitude for design and sensitivity to antiquarian architecture, he matured the idea that religious buildings should be inspired by the sacred works of the Greeks and Romans, in which the characteristics of intimate and profound spirituality resided. This was even more true for the construction of the Pantheon, whose interior offered a mysterious motherhood, and whose harmonious and perfect façade could not be surpassed by

¹⁹ Frederik Julius Meier, *Efterretninger om billedhuggeren, Johannes Wiedewelt og om kunstkademiet paa hans tid* (Copenhagen: Nielsen Hobey, 1877); Emma Salling, "Tanker om Akademie tog teorien 1754-1774," in *Forblommet antik. Klassicismen i Dansk arkitektur og Havekunst* (Copenhagen, Arkitektens Forlag: 1988), 77-95; Else Marie Bukdahl and Mikkel Bogh, *The roots of Neo-classicism, Wiedewelt, Thorvaldsen and Danish Sculptures of our Time* (Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, 2007); Annette Rathje and Marjatta Nielsen, *Johannes Wiedewelt: a Danish artist in search of the past, shaping the future* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 2010).

²⁰ Johannes Wiedewelt, *Tanker om Smagen udi Kunsterne i Almindelighed* (Copenhagen: Nicolaus Møller, 1762), 14.

²¹ [When an architect urges adherence to the indications of Vitruvius, Scamozzi, Palladio, or even dares to imitate antiquity sterilely, without reflecting on harmony, which is the most important feature, as one can well imagine, the work becomes nothing more than a composite of copied elements] Wiedewelt, *Tanker om Smagen...*, 14.

²² Wiedewelt, *Tanker om Smagen...*, 10.

²³ Frederik Weilbach, *C.F. Harsdorff og Antiken* (Copenhagen: Selskabet til Udgivelse af danske Mindesmærker, 1917); Frederik Weilbach, *Architekten C.F. Harsdorff* (Copenhagen: Société pour la publication des monuments d'art en Danemark, 1928); Hakon Lund, *C.F. Harsdorff, De byggede Danmark* (Copenhagen: Arkitektens Forlag, 2007).

any modern work²⁴. Therefore, entrusted in 1766 with the execution of the chapel for Adam Moltke, located in the medieval church in Karise, Harsdorff applied the thoughts expressed, proposing a plan for the transformation of the church with a design that was influenced by the cultural heritage of the Rotunda²⁵. Similarly, in accordance with his reflections on the architectural composition of the Pantheon, with the intention of concluding the unfinished Frederick's church in Copenhagen, Harsdorff proposed a hypothesis that was a paraphrase of the Roman construction²⁶ (fig. 4).

However, the master was never a strict follower of models and the mechanical application of orders, professing artistic freeness among his students at the Academy and definitively opening the door to classicism as the official language in Denmark²⁷.

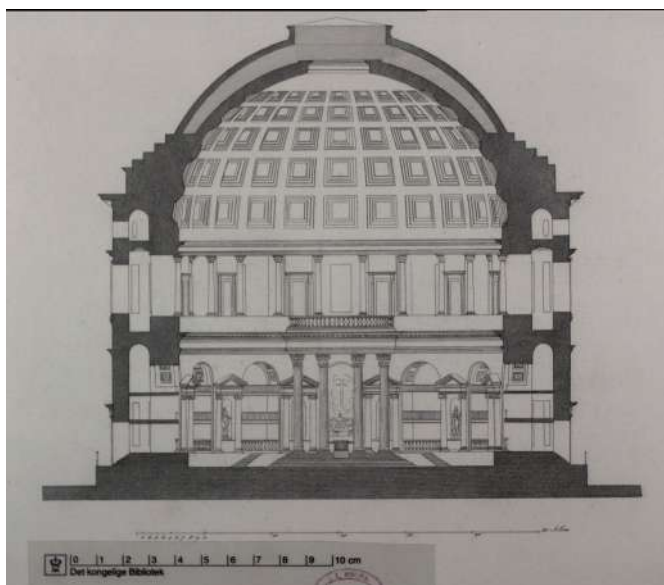


Figure 4. "Projekt til kirkebygning, 1790-1799", Caspar Frederik Harsdorff. Source: Danmarks Kunsthbibliotek, Samlingen af Arkitekturtegninger, DT012998.

The theoretical speculations expressed by Wiedewelt and Harsdorff were extremely successful until the first decades of the 19th century. This was a period in which a move away from neoclassical instances and an opening towards historical styles took place in Denmark,

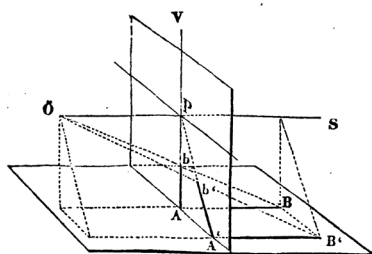
²⁴ Weilbach, *Architekten C.F. Harsdorff...*, 19.

²⁵ Lund, *C.F. Harsdorff...*, 30-34.

²⁶ Lisbet Balslev Jorgensen, "Tradizione e classicismo in Danimarca," in *Classicismo nordico: architettura nei paesi scandinavi 1910-1930*, ed. by Simo Paavilainen (Milan: Electa, 1988), 27.

²⁷ Hanne Raabyemagle, "Harsdorff Shows the Way," in *Classicism in Copenhagen. Architecture in the Age of C.F. Hansen*, 10; Manzo, *Verso il 'funzionalismo sociale'...*, 350; Elena Manzo, "La trasmissione del Modello. La Danimarca in età moderna," in *Storia dell'architettura moderna*, ed. by Giorgio Pigafetta (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2007), 405.

mainly due to the arrival of the German architect Gustav Friedrich Hetsch²⁸. Born in Stuttgart in 1788, Hetsch attended the University of Tübingen and then moved to Paris in 1808. Here, in the French capital, the young German had the privilege of studying with the famous architects Charles Percier and Louis Hippolyte Lebas, and eventually worked for Jean-Baptiste Rondelet, remaining deeply attached to the teachings he received²⁹.



38. Blev den derimod lagt mere til høire eller venstre f. Ex. i $A'B'$, men steds parallel med Hovedstraalen; saa vilde de Straaleplaner, som kunde lægges igjennem den og Øiet, altid falde sammen med Hovedstraalen og Gjennemsnitslinierne AP og $A'P$ af disse Straaleplaner med Tavlen, vilde gaae igjennem Hovedpunktet P .

Figure 5. "Figure 38", Gustav Friedrich Hetsch. Source: *Anvendelse Vejledning i Perspektivens Studium og Anvendelse*, 1839, p.9.

In 1817, two years later after his arrival in Copenhagen, Hetsch founded a private drawing school and held numerous positions in schools for artisans and at the Academy. Thus, the architect, quickly realising the enormous potential of industrial production, patronised craftsmanship to such an extent that he earned himself the title of Danish Founder of the Applied Arts and of the Industrial Association³⁰. Hetsch divulged his views on craft production and architectural practice both through the academic positions he held and his printed works, in which he expressed thoughts close to those of the architect Gottfried Semper. In the first volumes *Begyndelsesgrunde til den geometriske tegnelære* of 1828, *Grundtræk af Tegnekunsten* of 1836 and *Anvendelse Vejledning i Perspektivens Studium og Anvendelse* of 1839, Hetsch dedicated his work to theoretical aspects and elementary

²⁸ Josef Fischer, "Synagogen i København," *Jødisk Familieblad*, 1933; Kjeld Folsach, *Fra nyklassicisme til historicisme arkitekten G.F. Hetsch* (Copenhagen: Christian Ejlers, 1988); Hiort Esbjørn, *Arkitekten G.F. Hetsch 1788-1864, Udstilling i Kunstinstitumuseet 9 september-23 oktober* (Copenhagen: Bianco Lunos, 1988); Kim Dirckinck-Holmfeld and Martin Keiding and Marianne Amundsen, *Dansk arkitektur 250 år* (Copenhagen: Arkitektens Forlag, 2004); Anders V. Munch, "On the Outskirts: the Geography of Design and the Self-exoticization of Danish Design", *Journal of Design History* 30, n.º 1 (2017): 50-67

²⁹ Esbjørn Hiort, introduction to *Arkitekten G.F. Hetsch 1788-1864, Udstilling i Kunstinstitumuseet 9 september-23 oktober*, ed. by Esbjørn Hiort (Copenhagen: Bianco Lunos, 1988), 5.

³⁰ Folsach, *Fra nyklassicisme til historicisme...*, 211.

geometric constructions, in the second he explored more complex constructions and in the third he explained the fundamentals of descriptive geometry (fig. 5). Hetsch considered the study of simple figures and more articulated geometric constructions to be essential, as, mindful of the teachings of the Academies and Art Schools³¹, he valued drawing not only as the first occasion for creative production, but also as an indispensable vehicle of communication, consisting of lines and forms. Thus, for the Stuttgart architect, the mastery of geometric forms and constructions was a necessary condition for the definition of a cultured architectural language. Again, in the last publication, which will be discussed shortly, the German reiterated:

Efter min Anskuelse er nemlig Tegnekunsten intet Andet, end et Sprog, som ved Hjælp af Linier eller anskuelige Billeder udtaler og fastholder alle mulige Slags simple og sammensatte Formhegreher, disse værre nu mere eller mindre strenge eller frie, reelle eller ideale. Paa samme Maade er Regne kunsten et Middel eller Sprog, som ved Hjælp af vilkaarlig antagne Tegn anteder og behandler alle mulige Slags Talførrelser, uuder de simpleste saavelsom de mest combinede Forhold.³²



Figure 6. "Study of vases", Gustav Friedrich Hetsch. Source: Danmarks Kunsthbibliotek, Samlingen af Arkitekturtegninger, 53739.

In *Elementarstudier i Ornamentfaget* of 1831 and *Fortegninger for Haandværkere* published between 1839 and 1845, he dealt with the technical arts, proposing models of furniture, vases, and decorative elements that were widely disseminated within the decorative arts (fig. 6). The main reason for these publications must be found in Hetsch's opinion, also expressed by the architect Gottfried Semper, that the artistic taste of a nation could be

³¹ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Le Accademie d'Arte*, trans. Laura Lovisetti Fuà (Turin: Einaudi, 1982), 167.

³² [In my opinion, the art of drawing is nothing more than a language which, by means of lines or recognisable images, expresses and maintains all sorts of simple and complex forms, whether more or less strict or free, real or ideal. In the same way, the art of arithmetic is a means or language which, by means of arbitrarily assumed signs, assumes and deals with all sorts of numerical figures, under the simplest as well as the most combined conditions] Gustav Friederich Hetsch, *Bemærkning angående Kunst, Industri og Håndværk* (Copenhagen: Thieles Bogtrykkeri, 1864), 133.

elevated through a cultural reform of the craftsmen³³. Hetsch would return to these themes again during the lecture he gave at the *Industriforeningen* in Copenhagen on 7 March 1845 (similar considerations were later expressed by Gottfried Semper³⁴ only in 1852 in his work *Wissenschaft, Industrie und Kunst*) in which he praised the work of the Percier and made harsh criticism of contemporary production. In particular, Hetsch adversely attacked some of the furnishings that were widespread in France during the first decades of the 19th century, describing them as “rococo monsters”. The low quality and bad taste of such objects were to be blamed on the inadequate preparation and limited creative ability of the artists and craftsmen, who were not at all interested in the development of products with innovative features and were heedless of giving the imitation a harmonious coherence of form³⁵. However, both architects³⁶, Hetsch and Semper, looked to France as a place in constant fervor to produce furniture, recognising political factors as the reason for the changes in taste in the French nation over the last fifty years³⁷.

Nevertheless, despite the actual improvements in the cultural conditions of artisans and architects achieved thanks to Hetsch's work, the criticism of the German was ferocious. One fierce opponent was the young pupil Vilhelm Klein as he considered the master a dictator of taste, exclusively interested in the empty reproduction of the classical models he promoted and hostile to the search for a language and new forms for architecture. Klein polemised with Hetsch, going so far as to call him “a horrible tyrant who pushed his pupils towards a single form and would not tolerate anything that did not fit in with his principles, i.e., the three or four rules of beauty that he had assimilated during his youthful years from Percier and Rondelet”³⁸.

As confirmation of the multifaceted nature of the interests and teachings disseminated by Hetsch, a drawing, dated 4 December 1854, by his pupil Vilhelm Valdemar Petersen seems exemplary. Petersen honored the elderly professor with an ideal representation (fig. 7), in which he depicted two bronze tripods with lion legs in the foreground. In the center of the composition is the Master leading the pupil to a knowledge of ancient art, represented by a Greek Doric tetrastyle temple housing a colossal statue (presumably an Apollo). To the right of the sacred building were reproduced typologies still linked to the repertoire of classical models such as a Corinthian central plan temple, a triumphal arch, and the church of St. Peter. On the left, forms from other historical periods were evidently contrasted and thus a Gothic cathedral with slender towers, an Oriental building with minarets close to a pyramid and Romanesque architecture. The drawing was then accompanied by a dedication that

³³ Heinz Quitzsch, *La visione estetica di Semper. I quattro elementi dell'architettura* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1990), 62.

³⁴ Quitzsch, *La visione estetica di Semper...*, 61.

³⁵ Gustav Friderik Hetsch, *Om Moden og den rene Smag: Et Foredrag holdt i Industriforeningen den 7. Marts 1845* (Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1848), 4-5.

³⁶ Nicola Squicciarino, *Arte e ornamento in Gottfried Semper* (Venice: Il cardo, 1994), 17.

³⁷ Hetsch, *Om Moden...*, 3.

³⁸ Vilhelm Klein, *Architektportraiter*, manuscript, Danish National Library Archive, RL, NKS 3055.

reads "Our thoughts are riveted to the beautiful treasures of art, but we would have understood little of their value in the absence of a loving hand stretched out".

Therefore, the homage is unmistakable indication of his openness to the study of historical forms and confirms that the theories expressed in his last significant work entitled *Bemærkning angående Kunst, Industri og Håndværk* edited in 1863 (published only a year before the second volume of Semper's *Der Stil*) were the result of already widespread and well-established speculations.

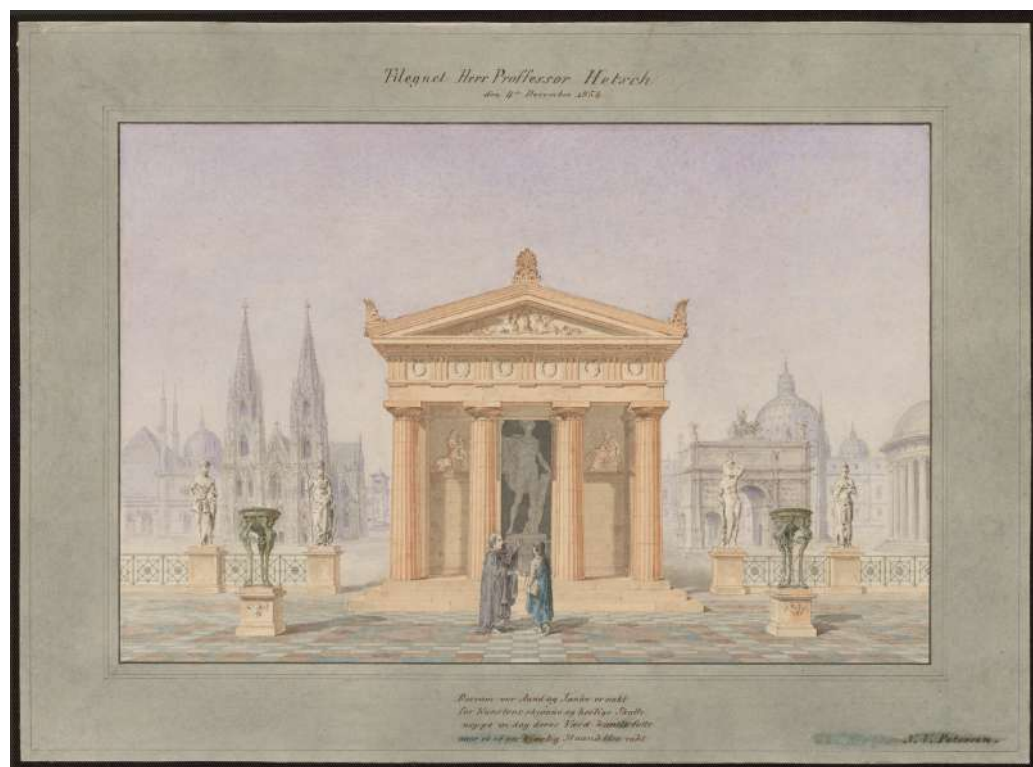


Figure 7. "Dedication to Hetsch", 1854, Vilhelm Valdemar Petersen. Source: Danmarks Kunstbibliotek, Samlingen af Arkitekturtegninger, ark_16778.

In this volume, Hetsch dealt with the relationship between form and colour in furniture and architecture. The issue became the subject of discussion due to the frequent choice of colours, which for the Stuttgart master had to derive from the natural colouring of building materials and should on no account falsify, hide, or imitate a different material. The use of tint was then permitted to protect the structure from the elements and finally used as ornamentation of buildings³⁹.

³⁹ Hetsch, *Bemærkning angående Kunst...*, 95.

Before examining the subject of colour, however, Hetsch emphasised the distinction between objects of craftsmanship, belonging to tectonics from τέκτων, and those belonging to the art of building and thus to architecture⁴⁰. In accordance with the theories of Abbot Marc-Antoine Laugier and the Vitruvian tradition regarding the correspondence between stone and wooden structures, such as Semper⁴¹, Hetsch identified the architectural archetype in the *Hytte* or primitive hut⁴² and the handicraft one in the vase and clay production. Thus, as much in works of architecture as in objects, form, derived from structure, was the essential part and had to respond to function, which was dictated by two indispensable conditions, namely usability and utility, to which beauty, determined by cultural progress, was added. This also applied to furnishings, which had to be closely related to the construction for which they were made⁴³. This principle of correspondence, between structure and material, like those that appear in the great works of architecture in more complex conditions, then existed in simpler conditions in all objects⁴⁴. With the above statements, Hetsch shows that he is strongly in debt to the contemporary positivist culture and to Georges Leopold Cuvier who had adopted and elaborated a new method in naturalistic research. The German master thus seems to know and accept the law of the correlation of parts, according to which the individual elements of an organism are connected in such equilibrium that one of them could not be changed without producing changes in all the others. Hetsch applied stimuli from other fields of science to the study of architecture and argued, like Semper, that works of architecture were the result of the genius of skilled artists and were based on previous history and long studies.⁴⁵

With a concise and at the same time culturally literate exposition, in which references to Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and Alois Hirt, Hetsch dealt with the different ages in the History of Architecture from Egyptian to his own contemporary eras. The German concluded that Greek, Roman and Gothic architecture had reached the acme of beauty thanks to the cooperation of fortunate circumstances and artists as skillful and talented as they were⁴⁶.

It is therefore clear that for Hetsch, history was a source of inspiration, and it was necessary to adopt the styles of the past in inventing new forms, without compromising the exclusion of classical stylistic features. Thus, the moment of confrontation with historical forms and construction techniques constituted an indispensable opportunity for linguistic research and for deriving ideological content and ethical charge. In fact, along with imitation from nature, architects had to refer to

⁴⁰ Hetsch, *Bemærkning angående Kunst...*, 5.

⁴¹ Mary Hvattum, *Gottfried Semper and the problem of historicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 29-46; Andrea Maglio, "Origine e archetipo dell'architettura da Laugier a Mies van der Rohe", in *L'idea del Riparo*, ed. by Renato Capozzi (Naples: CLEAN, 2012), 90.

⁴² Hetsch, *Bemærkning angående Kunst...*, 5.

⁴³ Hetsch, *Bemærkning angående Kunst...*, 9.

⁴⁴ Hetsch, *Bemærkning angående Kunst...*, 4-13.

⁴⁵ Hetsch, *Bemærkning angående Kunst...*, 61, 69.

⁴⁶ Hetsch, *Bemærkning angående Kunst...*, 75.

kan Architekten i vor Tidsalder altsaa kun kolde sig til den rige Kilde, der inde kaldes i de mangfoldige Bygningsformer, som vore Forgængere i alle Lande, til alle Tider og under alle klimatiske, religiøse, sociale, oeconomiste, constructive og andre Betingelser have anvendt.⁴⁷

Based on knowledge of history, architects had to use their intellectual and material faculties to produce rational, adequate, solid, and aesthetically appreciable buildings that corresponded to the needs and requirements of their time⁴⁸. As with Semper⁴⁹, among the main factors in the creation of artistic works were social influences and the conditions of the time, hence taste was not only a product of the individual interiority of the subject, but also the result of the collective consciousness and the expression of the relevant civilisation.

Such speculations had a great impact on the knowledge of architects and brought about a significant improvement in the skills of craftsmen and in industrial production, in which the German had seen an extraordinary opportunity for artists from the very beginning. Similarly, Tuscher's plates and Wiedewelt's thoughts constituted an important mode of transmission of theoretical acquisitions and models, bringing the Danish environment not a little closer to the European cultural milieu.

⁴⁷ [The architect of the present day can only draw on the rich spring contained in the manifold forms of building which our predecessors in all countries, always and under all climatic, religious, social, economic, constructive, and other conditions have used] Hetsch, *Bemærkning angående Kunst...*, 75.

⁴⁸ Hetsch, *Bemærkning angående Kunst...*, 75.

⁴⁹ Quitzsch, *La visione estetica di Semper...*, 48.



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