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Franz von Koller and the Enigma of the Bronze Tripod from the Real Museo Borbonico in Naples

Eliška Petřeková

Baron Franz von Koller (1767–1826) served as a general intendant in Naples between 1815 and 1826, where he oversaw the restoration of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the return of the Bourbons to the throne. During these years, this educated diplomat also became an accomplished collector of antiquities and an amateur archeologist. Contemporary sources describe Koller's civil behaviour in creating his art collection, which was not always common in this golden age of collecting. His diligence in adhering to official protocols and royal decrees, whether they concerned archaeological excavation or the trade of antiquities, is attested by the newly discovered correspondence containing Koller's request to create a copy of a bronze tripod which is exhibited in the royal museum in Naples. Although he did not obtain the permission, we can actually find two different copies of bronze tripods "created after the original from the Real Museo Borbonico" in the inventory of his collection. Koller's desire to own the most accurate copy of the exhibited piece, even though both inexpensive and luxurious copies of these tripods have already appeared on the Italian market, proves that it was not supposed to be a mere showpiece meant to illustrate an atmosphere, but a serious collectible original. The untimely death of Baron Koller prevented his plan to transfer the collection in its entirety to Bohemia and present it to the public at the castle in Obržstvi. The collection's character, order, and its overall diversity are clearly the answer to the question of why it was gradually breaking up after Koller's death until it completely fell apart. His enlightened idea about the necessity to cultivate the modern state's society was, in fact, clashing with the still traditional encyclopaedic way of presenting discoveries, which did not comply with the new collecting and exhibiting concepts of the newly emerging museum institutions at the time.

Keywords: collecting; antiquities; classical archaeology; antiquity; 19th century; Italy; Naples; Pompeii; Franz von Koller; Michele Arditi; Raffaele Gargiulo; Royal Bourbon Museum / Real Museo Borbonico; Royal Palace of Portici / Palazzo Reale di Portici

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I.

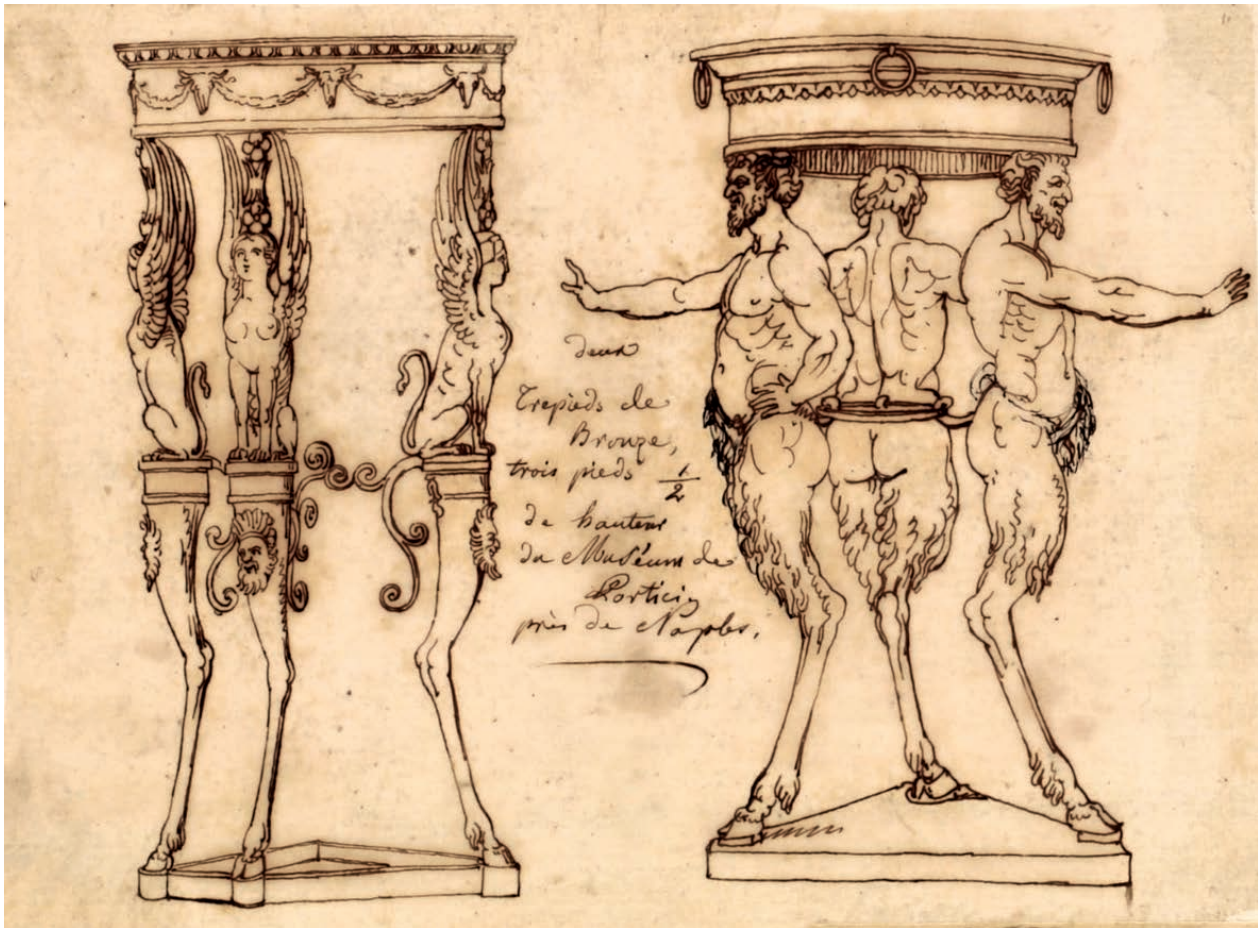
Eccellenza

Sarci molto grato, all'E. V. se avvesse la compiacenza di ordinare al Direttore del Museo Reale Borbonico di permettermi di far tirare le forme di alcuni pezzi del Tripode di bronzo, che trovasi esposto nella Galleria de'bronzi minuti del suddetto Real Museo sotto il N° 1. dell'Inventario, [...] sono desideroso di far eseguire una copia del suddetto Tripode, in tutto simile all'originale.

On November 16th, 1823, Baron Franz von Koller sent a letter addressed to Marquis Giuseppe Ruffo, the director of the Royal Secretariat and Ministry of the Royal Palace in Naples, in which he requests permission to copy a bronze tripod on display in the exhibition spaces of the Real Museo Borbonico in Naples. [Fig. 1] In this letter, Koller expresses his ambition to create a perfect copy of this bronze tripod and politely asks the marquis for his intercession with the director of the royal museum in Naples. [Fig. 2]

Franz von Koller (1767–1826) was not only a prominent figure of Austrian politics in the post-Napoleonic era but above all a significant collector of antiquities, an amateur archaeologist and an enlightened erudite.¹ Already in his youth, this son of a physician of the Waldstein family took advantage of the ubiquitous warfare, left his studies and joined the Austrian army. Very soon he started to work his way up the officer's ranks and in the course of several years he rose to become a major general. At this time he had been studying political and other sciences, which helped to expand his knowledge and experiences even further. Generally, we can say that with his charm and natural intelligence Koller easily matched, if not even exceeded, the commonly educated aristocrat.² [Fig. 3]

In the years 1815 to 1818 and 1821 to 1826, Koller served as a general intendant in Naples, where he oversaw the restoration of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the return of the Bourbons to the throne. Baron's correspondence shows that during his political activity in Naples he became an honourable member of a number of scientific



1 – Elie-Honoré Montagny, **Tripod with sphinxes and satyrs**, 1804–1805. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, inv. no. 2638–745, fol. 15

institutions, such as the Accademia delle Scienze (1818), Il Real Istituto d'incoraggiamento alle Scienze Naturali (Regno delle Due Sicilie) (1821), Imperiale e Reale Accademia Economico – Agraria dei Georgofili di Firenze (1824) or the Accademia Gioenia di Scienze Naturali (1824).³ Koller could not have wished for a more convenient time and place for his activities. It was right near Naples where excavations of perhaps the most significant archaeological and historical locations of the time, Pompeii and Herculaneum, were just taking place. These locations immediately became a sought-after destination of a number of travellers, specialists, scholars, and other curiosity seekers. Apart from his young age, education and social position – which undoubtedly led Koller toward his future career of a collector – it was especially the atmosphere of archaeological research and collecting which led Koller, while fulfilling his political duties, to succeed in creating a valuable collection of antiquities, comprising of about ten thousand items.

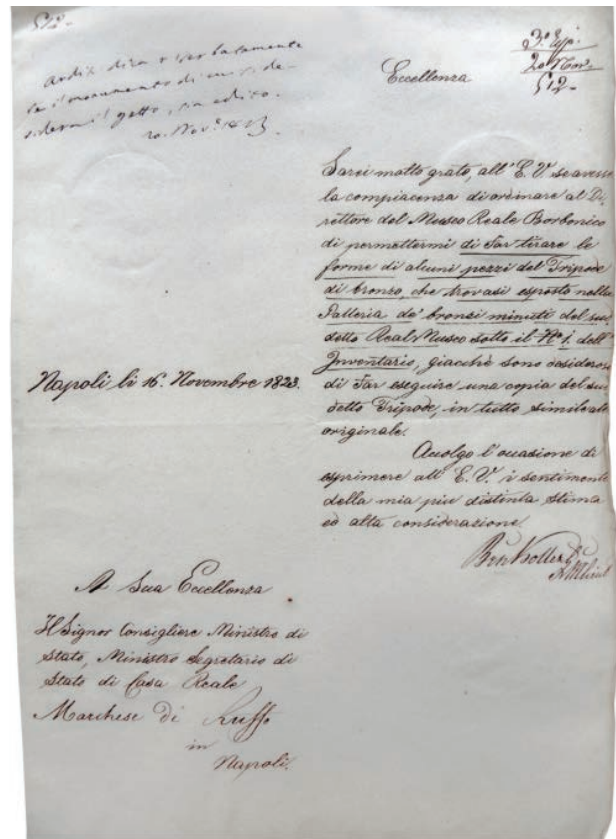
When Baron Koller visited the ancient cities for the first time, their final appearance was not yet clear. Milota Zdirad Polák (1788–1856), another Bohemian erudite and

Koller's loyal adjutant, allows us a glimpse behind the curtains of the famous excavations and describes the collecting of antiquities in his travel book *Journey to Italy*.⁴ Unfortunately, Franz von Koller did not keep his own notes during the stay, so we can be grateful that he chose such an educated and cultivated man as his adjutant, who handed information about Koller's activity in and around Naples down to us. Polák's writing is not only a valuable source of information about Koller's stay in Italy but it also describes in detail the contemporaneous developments of the excavations. By comparing Polák's description of Pompeii with maps of the time, we can infer that Baron Koller had, along with his companion, an opportunity to see only a segment of the western locality with a part of the Civic forum, Basilica and the Temple of Apollo.⁵ They entered the city through the Stabian gate from the south and proceeded through the so-called Theatre area of Pompeii, in which also stood the famous Temple of Isis. Apart from that, the amphitheatre in the south-eastern part of the city was already known, although they had to walk over vineyards to get to it. In 1817, they also could not have reached the unveiled Street

of Tombs without climbing up over the city and walking around it, this time from the west.⁶ [Fig. 4]

In addition to Polák's testimony, the archaeological situation is further illustrated in a number of royal decrees and interdictions. Several rulers sat on the throne during the period of excavations, starting with Charles VII of Naples (1716–1788; reigned between 1734–1759), who stood at the onset of the uncovering of the city, over his successor Ferdinand IV (I) (1751–1825; reigned intermittently between 1751–1825)⁷, to Napoleon's brother Joseph Bonaparte (1768–1844; reigned between 1806–1808) and later his brother in law, General Joachim Murat (1767–1815; reigned between 1808–1815), who all claimed the most significant discoveries for themselves. Already in a letter from July 24th, 1755, addressed to the Royal Chamber, Charles VII urged the bureaux to protect and preserve the discovered antiquities and warned against foreigners, who try to elicit and take away such precious Italian heritage.⁸ From the very beginning of excavation activities, Charles VII thus planned to keep all of the valuable discoveries for the consolidation of the glory and prestige of the royal crown and with this intention, he had a museum built near the royal palace in Portici, where he was going to store and further enlarge his art collection.⁹ To enter this museum, a visitor not only needed a special permit but was not allowed to make any notes or drawings. This proprietary approach of the monarchs manifested itself likewise in the management of the excavations, because for example in Herculaneum, only researchers, who obtained a license, were permitted to dig, which considerably slowed down and limited the area of discovery.¹⁰ Fearing too much popularity, which would undoubtedly attract a flock of curious explorers lusting for wealth and adventure, the king repeatedly issued orders prohibiting the free movement of visitors in the uncovered parts of the city. This royal monopoly over the excavations and exhibited art prompted Michele Arditi (1746–1838), the Superintendent of Excavations from 1807, to issue a provision ordering that all visitors must request a license and also have a personal custodian. These ordinances applied to virtually everyone, even well-known figures such as Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), a respected figure in the world of archaeology and art and the future inspector over all the antiquities in Rome. His bitter and snarky remarks on the archaeological methods, restoration and also on the manner of storing the artefacts without any labelling repeatedly raised displeasure at the royal court and Winckelmann was thus granted entry to the museum in Portici only with a supervisor, who made sure that he did not measure any of the artworks and did not make any sketches or notes.¹¹

We can infer from testimonies of the period and the preserved documentation, that in creating his art collection, Baron Koller carefully adhered to these official protocols and royal decrees concerning not only archaeological



2 – Baron Koller's request for permission to copy the bronze tripod, 1824. Naples, Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Ministero degli affari interni, Inventario II – Antichità e Belle Arti, bb. 1966–2147, b. 2020, fasc. 67

excavations, but also trade of antiquities. Furthermore, we can find evidence regarding the official process of managing the archaeological work in the state archive in Naples and in Koller's estate. There we can discover official documents in which the director of the royal museum, Michele Arditi, grants Koller permission to carry out archaeological excavations in specific areas.¹² The Prussian scholar, Eduard Gerhard (1795–1867), writes that Koller behaved as tactfully as possible, in a manner becoming of a diplomat, although collecting was only his personal hobby.¹³ Koller's civil behaviour was emphasized precisely because during that period unauthorized practices were often prevalent at ancient locations, as well as in the trade of antiquities. Koller's adjutant, Polák, offered a comprehensive account of the inappropriate behaviour at archaeological sites and there even exist preserved records that document arrests of various individuals damaging the Pompeian monuments.¹⁴ Therefore, Baron Koller's request was nothing more than diplomatic concession to the bureaucratic system of the contemporary royal museum.

II.

Riservata

Il Sig.^e Barone Koller ha chiesto il permesso di far tirare le forme di alcuni pezzi del Tripode di bronzo esposto nel R. Museo Borbonico e segnato al N° 1 dell'Inventario. Prima di rassegnare a S. M. siffatta domanda, la incarico di dirmi riservatamente se il monumento di cui si desidera il getto già editato o inedito.

In the following letter marked as “confidential”, Marquis Ruffo from the Royal Secretariat asks the director of the museum in Naples, Michele Arditi, whether the exhibited piece of the bronze tripod had already been published or not.

When General Koller arrived in 1814 to Naples for the first time, Michele Arditi had already been a member of the Naples Academy of Sciences and Fine Arts for forty years and also a member of the Antiquities Council. Furthermore, Joseph Bonaparte named him the Director of the Royal Museum and the Superintendent of Excavations at the ancient sites in 1807. This was not Arditi's first encounter with Koller. Arditi granted him permission for archaeological excavations at Nola already in 1822,¹⁵ whereas this location is the most represented in the inventory of Koller's collection and it can, therefore, be assumed that Koller truly obtained a great number of these antiquities thanks to his own archaeological excavations.¹⁶



The manner in which the number and form of the exhibited pieces in the royal museum under Michele Arditi changed is documented by a number of contemporary testimonies. The earliest are from Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715–1790) and Jérôme Charles Bellicard (1726–1786) from 1753 and from a Swedish orientalist Jacob Jonas Björnsthåhl (1731–1779) from 1777 and describe mural paintings found in Herculaneum. The Swede counted 1.400 of them in only six rooms of the museum in Portici.¹⁷ We can read about how rapidly the collection of antiquities grew in the writings of Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who visited the museum in Portici twice in a four-year period. During his first visit in 1758, he describes the exhibited pieces in four vaulted rooms on the ground level and notes two additional spaces, which served as storage. During his following visit in 1762, he reports how sixteen rooms on the ground floor were dedicated to painting and a further seventeen rooms on the first floor, the courtyard and the staircase were needed for exhibiting all the antiquities.¹⁸ A number of other authors pass on their testimonies regarding the gradual growth of the collection,¹⁹ but the strict prohibition of taking notes or making sketches in the museum was still in place, so many authors probably used Winckelmann's aforementioned description to refresh their memories in depicting the exposition.²⁰

An essential event for the subsequent development of the royal museum was the strong earthquake of Vesuvius in 1779, after which the king decided to relocate the entire collection from Portici to Naples. This challenging transport was begun in 1805 and it was not finished until 1822, while plaster copies of the sculptures and the mural paintings from Herculaneum still remained in the Portici museum, which is among others also confirmed by Polák.²¹ [Fig. 5] These murals were the last pieces transferred to Naples in 1828 and with that, the museum achieved its complete and final form. We can judge from the description of a traveller named Mariana Starke (1762–1838) from 1826 that the visitors could already use a small catalogue as a guide.²² Thanks to this catalogue we know that, at the time of Koller's activities, particular halls bore names after the most significant exhibited pieces, for example, the Hall of Apollo, Hercules, Flora or Venus etc., but the great open spaces still had general titles such as “the first section of the museum with antique sculptures” or simply “the courtyard”.²³ Although it may seem from this description that the antiquities were exhibited according to some sophisticated system, the only decisive category for their arrangement was still the material that they were created from. For example, sculptures and busts in a long gallery were displayed

3 – Giovanni Battista Amici, **Portrait of Franz von Koller**, 1817. Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Fondo Amici, donazione eredi

regardless of chronology or provenance and even a large collection found at the Villa dei Papiri was separated by material and scattered all over the museum.²⁴ The exhibited material rarely changed due to programmatic reasons, and if any changes occurred, then only because of new additions and the resulting necessity to expand the exposition. [Fig. 6]

Apart from traveller's notes and museum guides, there were also inventories which were officially published by the Neapolitan royal press. The press was founded in the middle of the 18th century, specifically with the intention to offer a respectable and graphically well-designed view of the excavations at Herculaneum. Furthermore, it was supposed to earn more prestige for the Neapolitan kingdom, emphasizing its history, culture, and traditions and promote local artists. Initially, a modest printing shop which included only two presses and two mallets was located in one of the galleries of the royal palace. By the end of the 18th century, it was recognized throughout the entire European continent; it concentrated the best engravers and designers and included an archive and a royal school of printmaking in Portici which adjoined to the extensive printing shop. Between 1824 and 1857, the press published a total of 16 volumes titled simply *Real Museo Borbonico*, which successively introduced the royal collection of antiquities. Each illustration was well described and captioned by the greatest scholars and admirers of classical culture, while the engravings were entrusted to the artists of the aforementioned engraving school.

It is not clear however what criteria were applied to the particular objects that were selected to be printed in the volumes. As the initial piece to be presented in the first volume, from the time of Koller's active work in Naples, an engraving of the colossal sculpture of King Ferdinand I, created by the most famous sculptor of the time, Antonio Canova (1757–1822) and which was located in one of the niches of the main staircase of the royal museum, was chosen. It is thus apparent that this monumental encyclopaedic project aimed to encompass a wide range of artworks of various age and provenance. The first volume presented several ancient paintings from Herculaneum, Stabiae and Pompeii, and beyond that, renaissance religious paintings, bronze lanterns, candelabras, scribal tools, views of the Pompeian ruins, Greek ceramic and bronze vessels, small sculpture and bronze busts, marble statues, cameos, and coins. In addition to the ambiguous criteria for the selection of artefacts, it is also the chaotic order of the presented objects, which all the volumes have in common, that is strikingly apparent.

III.

Il Tripode [...] trovasi pubblicato alla pagina 44, tavola N° 3, della seconda parte del primo volume dell'Opera dell'Ab.º de Saint Non stampato a Parigi l'anno 1782 col titolo Voyage

Pittoresque, on'Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile. Se la memoria non mi servisse male in questa circostanza, poterci forse additarle qualche altro luogo, nel quali credo di aver veduto anche pubblicato lo stesso tripode.

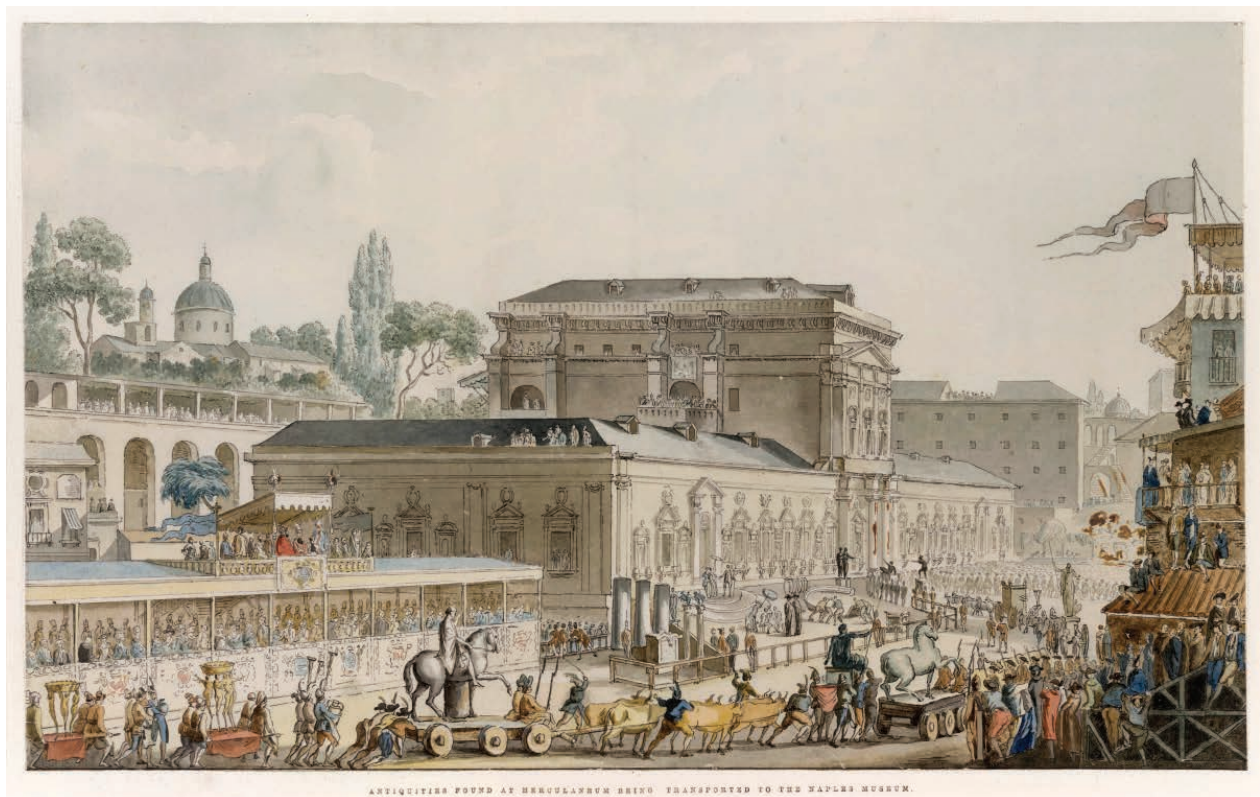
In his reply to the marquis, Michele Arditi stated and stressed by underlining the title of the publication, the name of its author, the volume, page numbers and also the illustration, where the requested tripod can be found. He further adds that “if his memory serves me well in this case, we would be able to also point to another place, where, as I believe the same tripod is published as well”. [Fig. 7]

Although there exists plenty of correspondence, records, inventories, and drawings devoted to bronze tripods from the royal collection, it is not definitively clear which object they are referring to. In his letter, Baron Koller requests permission to create a copy of the tripod, which is by his own words located in the “*Galleria de'bronzi minuti*”, but he does not specify it closer in any way. According to the aforementioned guide *Guida per Real Museo Borbonico*, only one tripod was situated in this section of the museum during Koller's activity in Naples – a richly decorated tripod with sphinxes. This piece was supposedly found in the Pompeian ruins of the Temple of the goddess Isis, uncovered in 1765, but its depiction actually appears already in the publication titled *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques et romaines* from 1759.²⁵ Especially impressive are the three sphinxes seated atop richly decorated supports with lion paws at the bottom which bear a vessel with a fine relief depicting *bucranium*. [Fig. 8] Even Raffaele Gargiulo (1785–1870), the chief court restorer (and a controversial figure of the trade of antiquities at the time), who played an important part in Koller's collecting, placed this “*tripode bellissimo con tre sfingi*” in his *Raccolta dei monumenti piu interessanti del Real Museo Borbonico*. Apart from that, it had seen publication in 1842 within the previously discussed royal catalogue of antiquities.²⁶

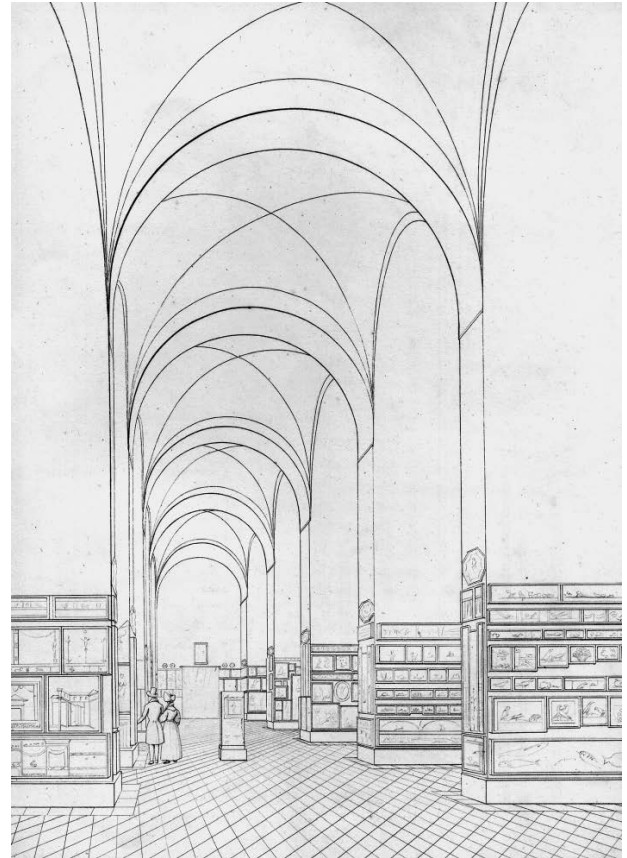
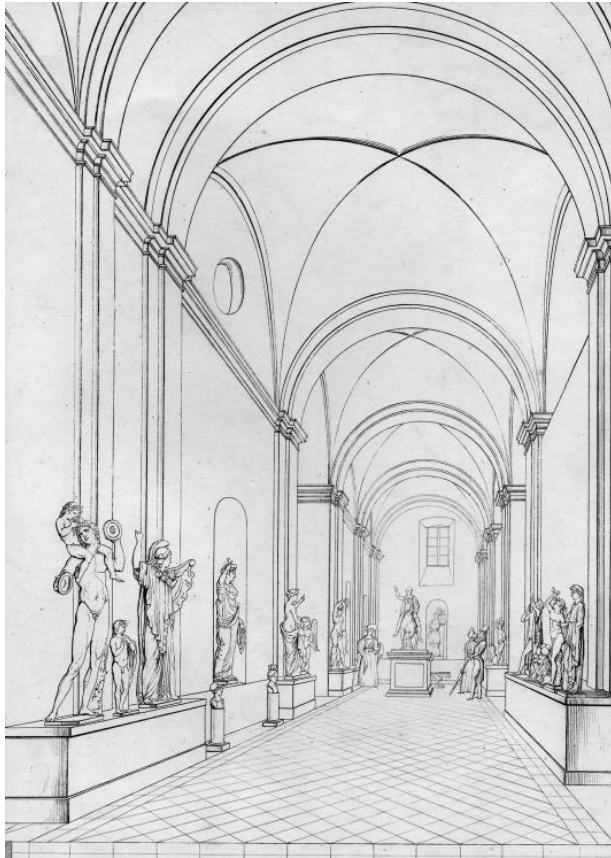
As referred to above in his response to Koller's request, Michele Arditi points without hesitation to a specific page in the *Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* from 1782, where the requested stool should be printed.²⁷ However, on this particular page, there are two tripods, neither of which are decorated by sphinxes. The first one has a quite simple shape and ornamentation; the second is decorated by three satyrs. [Fig. 9] It is precisely this latter tripod that is mentioned in the *Guida per Real Museo Borbonico*, which marks it as a discovery from Herculaneum, but in contrast to the tripod requested by Koller, it places it in the so-called “*Gabinetto degli oggetti Riservati*”.²⁸ Was it, therefore, Arditi's mistake? Or was the tripod with sphinxes located in the same section as the tripod with satyrs at the time of Koller's stay? The decision of director Arditi to withdraw all the antiquities of “pornographic nature” and the creation of a new section called “*Gabinetto degli oggetti osceni*”, renamed in 1823 to “*Gabinetto degli oggetti ris-*



4 – William Gell and John Peter Gandy, **Map of the City of Pompeii**, engraving, 1817. *Pompeiana: the topography, edifices, and ornaments of Pompeii. The result of excavations since 1819*, London 1817–1819, pl. 1



5 – Louis Jean Desprez, **Antiquities Found at Herculaneum Being Transported to the Naples Museum**, ca. 1782. London, British Museum, inv. no. 1864,1210,502



6 – Jacopo Morghen, *Views of the collection of marble statues and mural paintings in the museum in Naples*, engraving, 1835. Achille Morelli, *Musée royal Bourbon: Vues et descriptions des galeries*, Naples 1835, pl. 11 and 8

ervati”, could have played a part in this.²⁹ All artworks with an erotic motif were exhibited in one of the halls which was restricted to adult men of pure character.³⁰

We can search for answers in the preserved inventory of Koller’s collection, which was composed after his death by Raffaele Gargiulo. In its section of bronzes, under the inventory number 691, we can indeed discover a bronze tripod including an annotation denoting it is a modern copy after the original from the Real Museo Barbonico. Gargiulo’s description clearly states that “*esso e composto da tre fauni*”, it is therefore without question a copy of the tripod with satyrs. Nevertheless, the seemingly resolved enigma is complicated again by the following item number 692: “*Tripode, e conformato da tre branche di leoni che posano su di essi altrettante sfince con vari arabeschi e ornate di rilievo e bassorilievi*”. Thus, Baron Koller obviously acquired copies of both tripods for his collection – the one with satyrs, as well as the one with sphinxes.³¹ [Fig. 10]

As was explained before, archaeological excavations and discoveries were scrupulously guarded for many decades and only selected sculptures and paintings could be copied and published. However, the effort to protect treas-

ures of the ancient world from meddlers had an opposite effect and the less they were shown to the public, the more the public craved information.³² Thus, the number of artists copying the collection kept increasing and, because it was not possible for each of them to be monitored, they were constantly reminded of the regulations about the prohibition of copying and drawing, which were issued by Charles VII. Regardless of all these orders, a number of documentary illustrations depicting particular murals or whole walls were secretly appearing already from the 1760s.³³ Both of the tripods were drawn, copied and published by a number of authors. They were published after their discovery most likely already at the end of the 1750s by Anne Claude de Caylus (1692–1765), and after him also by the aforementioned Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non (1727–1791).³⁴ [Fig. 8, 9] They appear both collectively and separately not only in albums of prints and illustrated publications but also on drawings of many artists. The tripod with sphinxes is portrayed for example in the drawing *Meubles Antiques trouves dans la Ville d’Herculanum* by the architect Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745–1819), who participated on the illustrations of the mentioned *Voyage pittoresque*,³⁵ and the tripod with sa-

7 – The reply of Michele Arditi, Director of the Royal Museum and Superintendent of Excavations, addressed to the Royal Secretary, Giuseppe Ruffo, November 25th, 1823. Naples, Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Ministero degli affari interni, Inventario II – Antichità e Belle Arti, bb. 1966–2147, b. 2030, fasc. 312

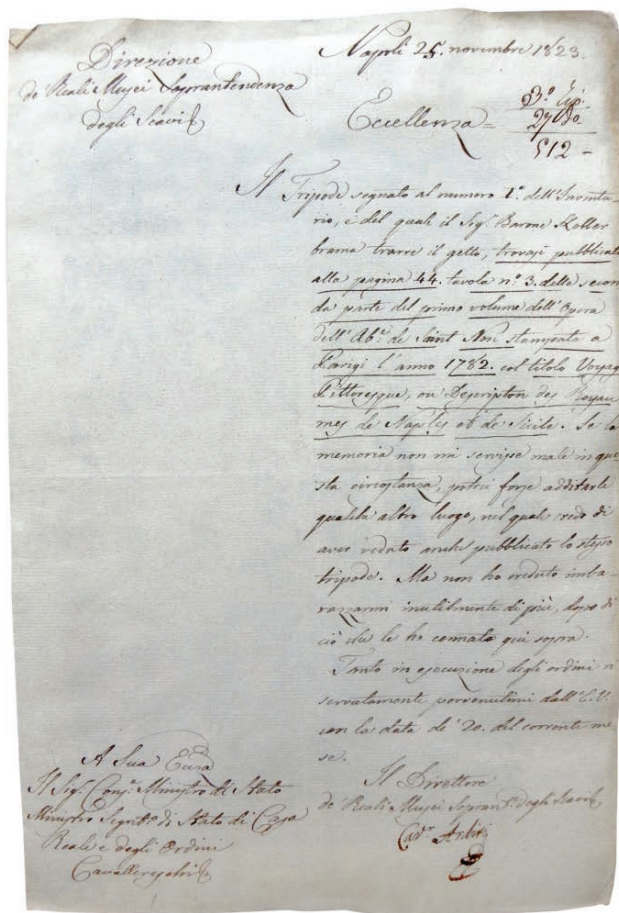
tyrs for example in the manuscript of Elie-Honoré Montagny (1782–1864).³⁶ [Fig. 1, II] Whether Baron Koller requested permission to copy either of these tripods in the revealed correspondence, it apparently concerned one of the most famous pieces of its kind at that time, which was frequently reproduced, copied, appeared in popular historical scenes from ancient times and even served as an example in the education of craftsmen and industrialists.³⁷ Their appearance varies fairly radically on a number of reproductions. In the case of the tripod with satyrs, it is nevertheless apparent that it is not only a problem of the different technical level of individual graphical reproductions – difference in the musculature of the satyrs or in their faces, which are sometimes smooth and youthful and in other instances bearded and mature, are particularly striking. [Fig. 12, 9, 1] How did the authors cope with the mentioned restrictions? Artists were forced to draw from memory, as was the case of Cochin and Bellicard, or alternatively they worked with second-hand drawings or prints, which explains why they made and repeated various mistakes. Similarly, Giovanni Battista Piranesi created an engraving of the tripod with sphinxes for his famous cycle *Vasi, candelabri, cippi, sarcofagi, tripodi* [...] from 1778 after a considerably loose and imprecise drawing by Vincenzo Brenna (1747–1820). [Fig. 13] The strict royal decrees also caused that de Caylus acknowledged only one of his assistants called Boutin and withheld the rest of the authors of the model drawings.³⁸ Part of the depictions of the tripods thus clearly could not compete with the modern requirement for documentary accuracy of records, which could be the main reason Koller asked for access to the original.

IV.

Benvero prima di [...] a V. M. la domanda del G.^{le} Koller, essendosi interrogato riservatamente sulla med. Monsignor Rosini, lo stesso opina che non si debba accordare il chiesto permesso per le seguenti ragioni, cioè:

1. *Non è necessario di trarre un modello dal tripode in questione per averne una copia, non trattandosi di statua o baso-rilievo, ma di un oggetto di cui può trarsi esatto disegno con tutte le sue dimensioni, a quindi farsene qualunque altra copia o imitazione che se ne desidera.*

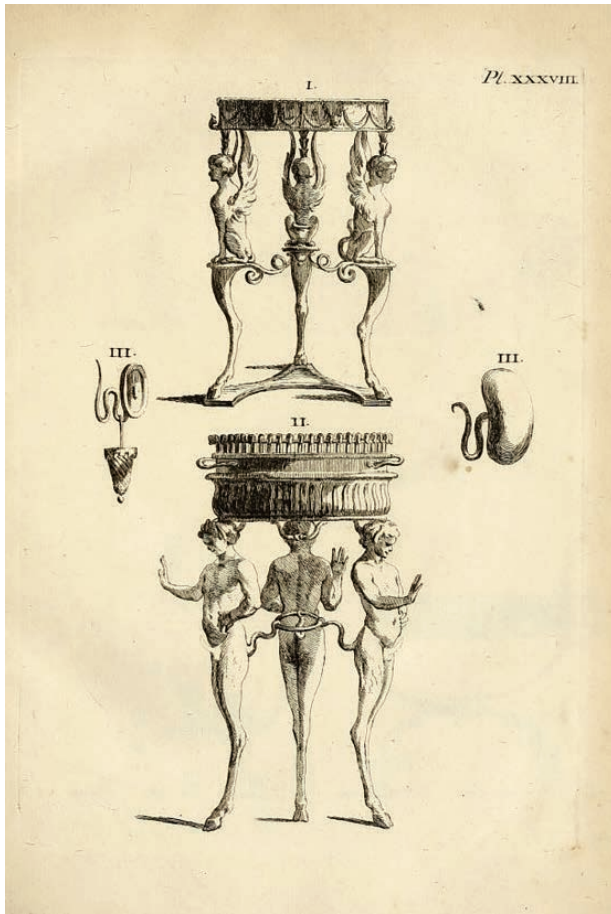
2. *Per quanta diligenza si usi, il trarre il chiesto modello può sempre copionar questi, o alterazioni nel Tripode, ed in particolare nuocere alla patina.*



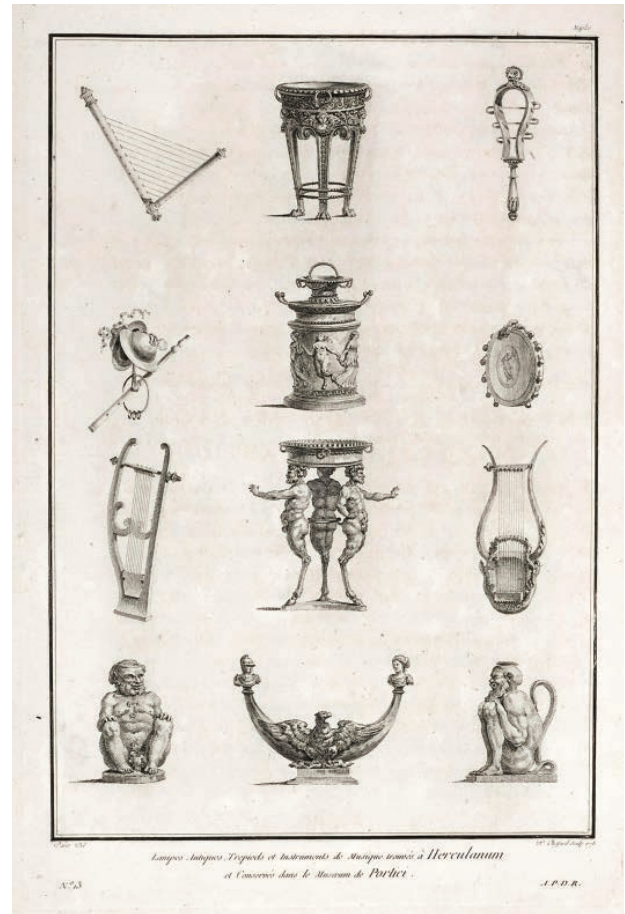
3. *Su fine togliendosi dal sito che occupa detto tripode per più giorni, verrebbero per essi i curiosi, che visitano il Real Museo, a restar privati della vista del medesimo.*

In one of the following letters, secretary Ruffo consults with Carlo M. Rossini (1748–1836), bishop of the Pozzuoli cathedral and chairman of the Royal Bourbon Society, in which they debate about the reasons the permission to copy the tripod should not be granted to Koller. Ruffo emphasises that it is not a sculpture or a bas-relief, but an object which can be captured in drawing along with all its dimensions, so it is possible to use a drawing to make any kind of copy or imitation that Koller desires. Furthermore, the marquis fears that with frequent copying, damage or unsolicited changes, especially harm to the patina, could occur. Lastly, he sees a problem in the absence of the object in the exposition of the royal museum for several days.

But what did the powerful delegate of the Austrian emperor need a copy of an exceedingly valuable tripod for? Koller was well known by the royal offices in Naples for his archaeological interest and not only because of the numerous requests for a licence to carry out archaeological excavations, which were discussed in the introduction. At this



8 – Anne Claude de Caylus, **Tripod with sphinxes and satyrs**, engraving, 1752. Anne Claude de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques et romaines*, Paris 1752, pl. 38



9 – Pierre-Philippe Choffard after Pierre-Adrien Pâris, **Antique lamps, tripods and musical instruments found in Herculaneum [...]**, engraving, 1782. Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* 2, Paris 1782, pl. 13

point, we should focus instead on the character of his collecting activities and on what goals, beside the ones mentioned before, he actually pursued in this field.

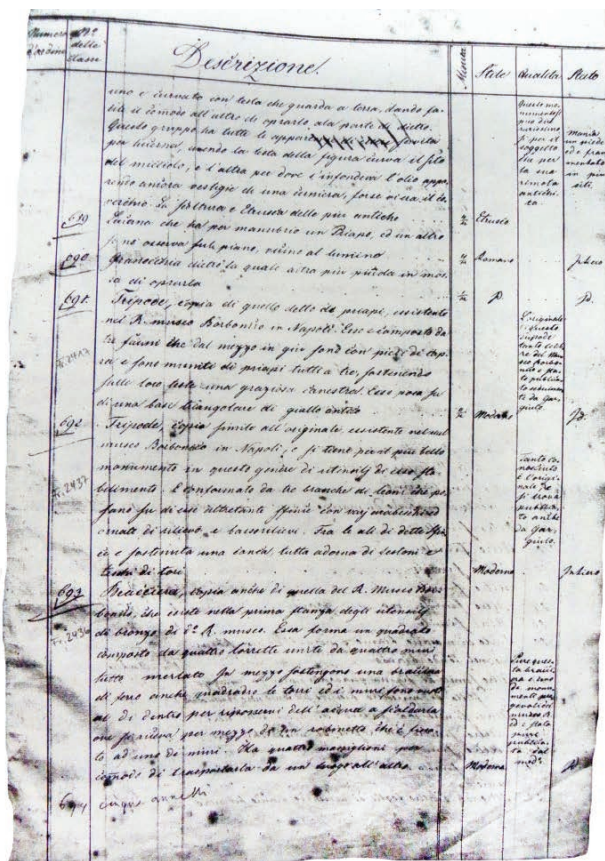
Koller intended to transport his collection in its entirety to Bohemia and present it to the general public. In order to be able to display these objects he first had to find a suitable place – both in size (his collection included almost ten thousand items) and accessibility. Franz von Koller already bought the Obříství Castle from Count Christian Christoph Clam-Gallas (1771–1838), and later the whole Mělník manor.³⁹ The strategic position of Koller's new castle on the Elbe River was ideal not only for the easy transport of antiquities but also for the convenient access for future visitors. [Fig. 14] The remodelling of the old keep according to Koller's ideas started in 1822. The new castle, remade in modern fashion, was supposed to serve as a private residence where the whole ground floor was dedicated to the public exposition of his collection. How to arrange the entire collection, what criteria to use for

the order of the pieces and in what manner to display the antiquities – those were some of the serious questions Koller had to ask himself. Because it was the first exposition of this kind in the Bohemian lands, the inexperienced baron had to look for answers among other European private collectors and institutions.

Franz von Koller had the opportunity to view a number of top collections of antiquities on his diplomatic journeys thanks to his political activities; for example in Vienna or Saint Petersburg. The greatest models for him were undoubtedly the royal museum in Portici and the Real Museo Borbonico in Naples. That Koller actually visited the museum and even expressed more than a common interest in the exhibited pieces is confirmed by the newly recovered correspondence.⁴⁰ Names of the particular sections of the royal museum (*Portico delle Statue di Bronzo*, *Gabinetto degli Oggetti Preziosi*, *Gabinetto degli Oggetti Osceni*, *Galleria dei bronzi Minuti*) clearly indicate that the

fundamental criteria for the classification and exposition of the objects were material, subject matter, typology, and potentially function, completely irrespective of chronology or provenance. To what extent was Koller really influenced by the concept of the royal museum in the creation of his own exhibition space at the Obříství Castle, we cannot say with certainty. Marie Dufková (1945–2016) was convinced that Raffaele Gargiulo helped Koller with the exposition program, whereas his preserved inventory of Koller's collection was originally the collection catalogue (and only later acquired the function of a sales catalogue) and therefore the division of the particular exposition units would correspond to Gargiulo's classification of antiquities.⁴¹ Painted vases and other ceramics would thus be displayed together in the first part of the museum, while the second section would be comprised of mainly terracotta and lamps. Afterward, there would follow the sections of glass, marble, and bronze. The sixth part would be dedicated to the Egyptian collection and the subsequent group would include smaller objects like enamel, gems, and their casts and imprints. The final part of the exposition would contain coins and small objects from tombs.⁴² If this assumption is correct, then Koller, in the position of a curator of his own museum, followed the example of the Neapolitan model. [Fig. 15]

At the beginning of the 19th century, debates about new museum and exposition concepts were taking place in



a number of European cities. In this context already at the end of the 18th century, Johann Joachim Winckelmann came with a new idea which is noticeable in the arrangement of the Capitoline Museum in Rome, sometimes called the first public museum of the modern era. This new concept took into account individual artistic genres, so it was not only the material which was the determiner of the exhibited group, but corresponding typology and similarities in subject matter; therefore, Winckelmann describes individual busts, sculptures, reliefs, urns or inscriptions. What is pivotal and innovative about Winckelmann's concept is that it considers the respective historical development. This agreement of artistic and aesthetic qualities with the chronological arrangement is apparent for example in the Capitoline busts of Roman emperors, which are displayed in the corresponding historical succession.⁴³ Theoretical considerations about the historical, i.e. the chronological arrangement of exhibited pieces based on the contemporary modern scientific research was also taking place in France, in connection with the preparations of the exposition of ancient artworks in the Grande Galerie of the Louvre at the end of the 18th century. However, the plundering of the papal collections by the French, in which only canonical artworks were selected as opposed to smaller objects without which the historical overview would not be complete, thwarted this plan of historians and theorists. Moreover, considering the fact that the chronology of ancient sculptures was in many respects problematic and unclear, this theoretical concept of exhibiting was in the end practically inapplicable (see the role of the former director of the Roman museum Pio Clementino, Ennio Quirino Visconti).⁴⁴

By contrast, there was a completely different manner of presenting ancient artworks in the British Museum at that time. The halls were named after the respective collectors who gathered the exhibited pieces. This completely dissimilar concept was probably influenced by the strongly embedded tradition of the Grand Tour, whereby many of its participants gathered a respectable amount of artworks.⁴⁵ Many private collectors had managed to create considerable collections, which then found their place in the British Museum. Confirmed by contemporary records, such figures as, for example, Sir William Hamilton (1730–1803), Sir Thomas Hope (1769–1831), Lord Elgin (1766–1841) or Charles Townley (1737–1805) all earned their own halls in the museum.⁴⁶

It is the museum in Berlin which is especially symptomatic and not only because the most valuable part of Koller's collection, including the tripod in question, ended

10 – Raffaele Gargiulo, *Inventario della collezione de Antichità, cioè Vasi Italo-Greci, Terre-cotte, Vetri, Bronzi e Marmi, non che una raccolta di Monumeti Egizzi ad altrioggette di belle arti di proprieta della famiglia di Koller*, undated. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung, Archiv Rep. 1 Abt. A Inv. 41



11 – Pierre-Adrien Pâris, **Vases, Furniture and Objects Discovered at Herculaneum**, pen and black ink, watercolor, 1777. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 88.GA.26

up there after Koller's death at his bequest. Upon planning Schinkel's new project for the Altes Museum, a debate took place between the professor of archaeology, Aloys Hirt (1759–1837), who was the author of several concepts of the planned exposition (beginning in 1797 and ending with the plan from 1825) and architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841), who was the architect selected for the design of the museum. While Hirt's concept essentially counted on the traditional antiquarian system of an encyclopaedically treated exposition in the spirit of the 18th century, Schinkel, in collaboration with the young art historian Gustav Friedrich Waagen (1794–1868) and later even with Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), proposed a new and more ambitious scheme in 1828. This concept was based on a hierarchical arrangement of the artworks based on authenticity, aesthetic perception, and artistic quality, abandoning the approach of exhibiting the pieces in a traditional encyclopaedic manner. The success of this ultimately victorious project proposed by the young generation of researchers and museologists was due mainly to the fact that it was conceived not only with regard to the national emancipation in Hohenzollern Prussia after the victory over Napoleon, but more importantly because it aimed not at connoisseurs and antiquarians, but at the growing bourgeoisie and middle class and its "natural sentiment", intuitive sense for true aesthetic qualities and for the "inner spirit of ancient

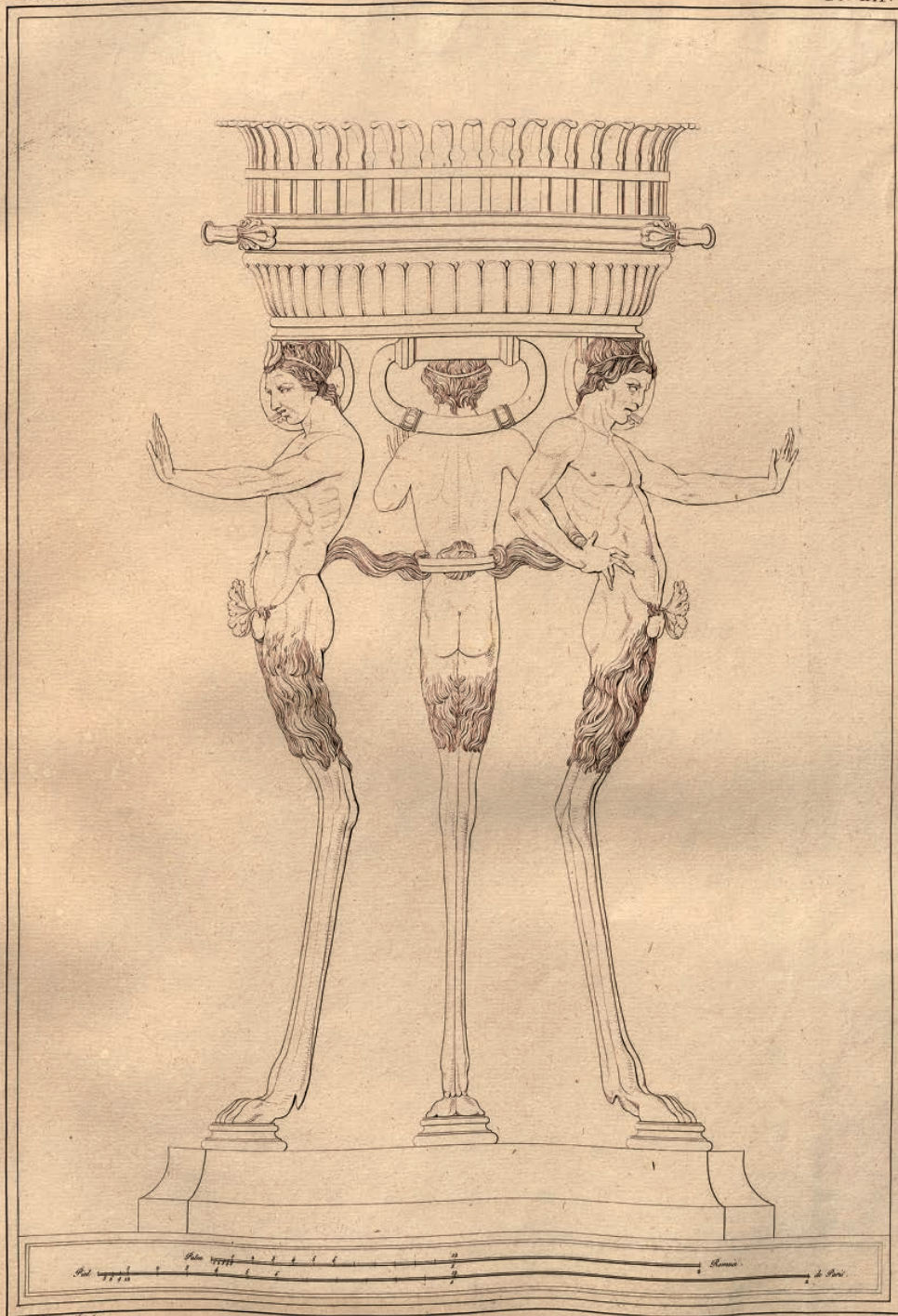
art".⁴⁷ Many of these debates were still taking place during Koller's lifetime. However, they do not seem to have had a fundamental effect on the way he intended to present his own collection. It seems that the main framework for him was still the traditional encyclopaedic method of presenting the discoveries, typical especially (but not only) for the spectacular exposition of the authentic finds from Herculaneum and Pompeii in the Real Museo Borbonico in Naples, which corresponds to his interest of acquiring significant, yet inaccessible works at least in the form of modern copies.

This conservative, antiquarian conception of the baron's collection was perhaps precisely one of the reasons why interest in the collection in Bohemia was not as great as Koller had imagined.

V.

Tenendo presente Sua Maesta la domanda fatta dal Generale Barone Koller di far [...] le forme d'alcuni pezzi del tripode di bronzo eforto nel R. Museo Borb. Segnato nel N° 1 dell'Invet.º si e degnata la M. S. permettere che se ne faccia unicamente il disegno.

In his reply to Koller, Carlo Rossini summarizes and quotes Ruffi's arguments as to why it is not possible to allow the stool to be reproduced. A note is added to this letter that the marquis has thus decided not to allow Koller to

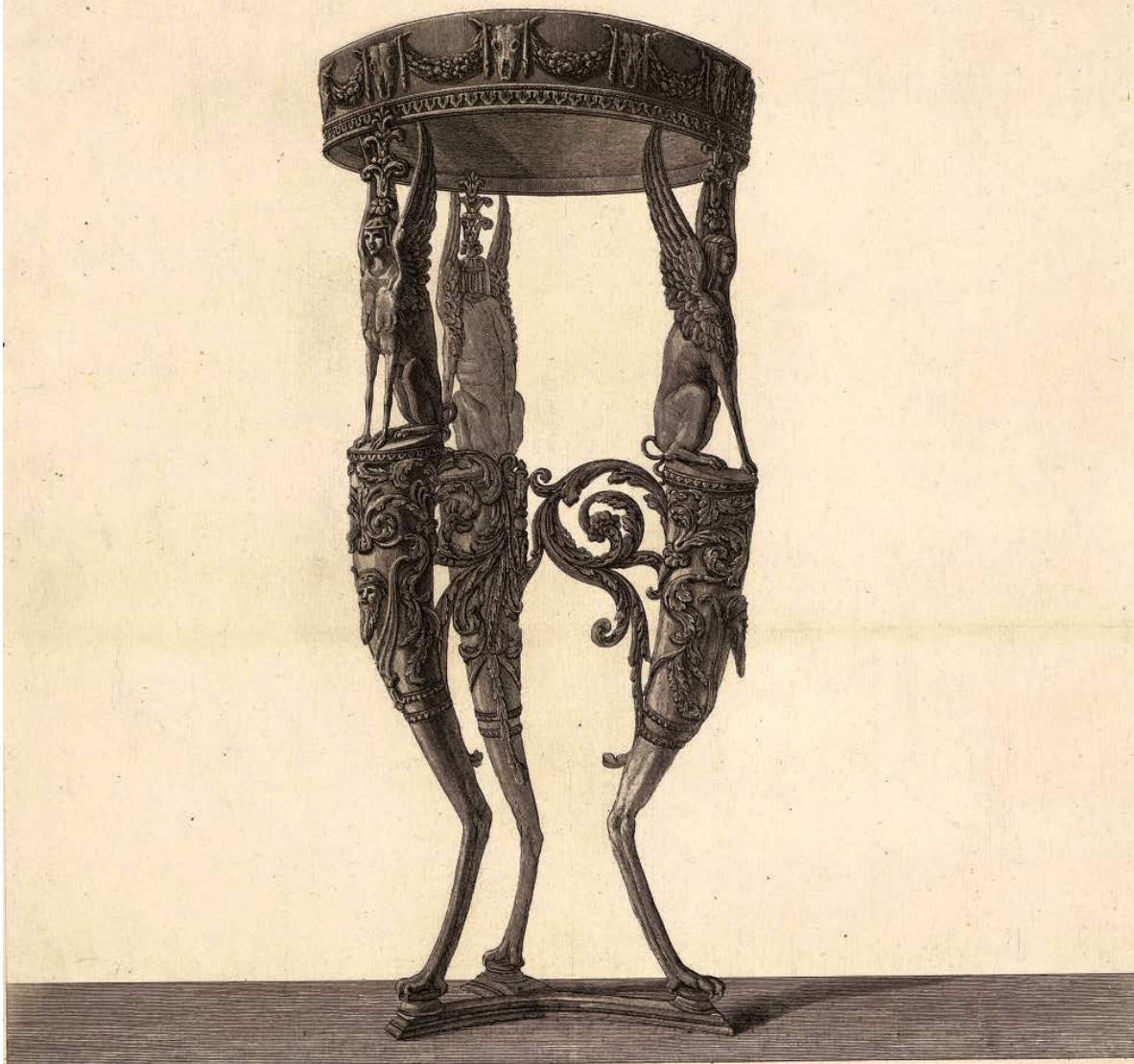


Tripod de Satyres en Bronze, trouvé à Pompeïa.

12 – Francesco Piranesi, Tripod with satyrs found in Pompeii, engraving, 1805–1807.

Francesco Piranesi, *Antiquités de la Grande Grèce, aujourd'hui Royaume de Naples I*, Paris 1807, pl. 12

*Tripode antico di Bronzo che si conserva à Portici
nel Museo Reale di Sua Maestà Il Rè delle due Sicilie*



*Al Signor Cavaliere Roberto Smyth Inglese
amatore delle belle arti*

In atto di ossequio il Cavaliere Gio. Battà Piranesi D.D.D.

Vincenzo Brenna disegno

Cavaliere Piranesi inc.

13 – Giovanni Battista Piranesi after Vincenzo Brenna, **Antique bronze tripod from the royal collections in Portici**, engraving, 1778.
Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vasi, candelabri, cippi, sarcofagi, tripodi, lucerne, ed ornamenti antichi* I, Rome 1778, pl. 44

create a bronze model of his desired tripod, but he will be permitted to make a sketch that he can possibly use to have a bronze copy created. This letter is ultimately followed by the final preserved official document, which informs Arditì about the permission to let Koller copy the longed-for tripod only in drawn form.

As we already know, Baron Koller's wish to own a copy of the famous bronze tripod from the royal collections was eventually crowned with success, even twofold. But unfortunately, because neither a copy of the tripod with sphinxes, nor the one with satyrs has been preserved in the Berlin collections, where they ended up after Koller's death, there still remains a number of questions unanswered. We do not know whether the Austrian delegate had managed to evade the bureaucratic restrictions due to some loophole and finally had exact copies of both pieces made, as Gargiulo's record states in the collection's inventory. In the first half of the 19th century, collecting of antiquities was still predominantly the domain of the traditional elites. A significant number of the collectors were predominantly foreign diplomats of Koller's type, whose need for social self-presentation, contacts among higher circles, the possibility to travel and often almost unlimited funds allowed them to compile a remarkable amount of scarcely available, authentic works of ancient art. General Koller, in his prominent role as a diplomat, overseeing the smooth return of the Bourbons to the royal throne after the revolutionary and Napoleonic episodes, held many privileges, considerable power, and finally wealth which undoubtedly facilitated his collecting activities. Already during his career, there existed a strict law in the Neapolitan kingdom, which banned the export of ancient artworks.⁴⁸ How that law operated in practice, how it was adhered to, or as the case may be, how it was evaded and violated, is aptly illustrated by the Dutch collector and art dealer, Jean Emile Humbert (1771–1839). "A commission has been established by the Government of Naples, which considers all antiquities one would like to export. A high degree of rareness prohibits the object from leaving the country. There are, however, ways to export rare vases from the Kingdom of Naples, and these are related to considerations of rank and influence. Foreign diplomats attached to the Court of Naples can obtain, through the service of the Foreign Office, a permit to export a certain number of crates, thus avoiding a visit by the Customs Office, if they are labelled *oggetti d'uso* or 'domestic objects'. In, reality these crates are filled with antiquities, mostly vases. The Minister of Foreign Affairs is aware of these practices, fully knowing the meaning of the term *oggetti d'uso*, but pretends not to. This favour, however, is not offered in the same way to every foreign diplomat. There are preferences."⁴⁹ Collecting became a part of a high political game and many large European museums, owing to contemporary diplomacy at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, still possess a considerable portion of ancient heritage that was acquired and taken from the countries where it originally came from.

The second unanswered question is how were both of Koller's copies of the bronze antique tripods actually created. It is, of course, quite possible that they were not exact copies as evoked by Gargiulo's inventory, such as casts from the originals, but only loose imitations made from drawings that the Neapolitan authorities allowed Koller to create. As mentioned earlier, as a result of the obstacles which were posed by strict Neapolitan royal officials in the way of collectors and publishers, a number of seemingly authentic depictions of discoveries including tripods often vary significantly from each other and therefore do not stand up to the demands for documentary accuracy. A comparison of drawings of another chair, which was located in the royal museum, can serve as evidence. It is a foldable portable tripod found in Herculaneum, labelled by Raffael Gargiulo as one of the "most interesting" objects of the royal museum in *Raccolta dei piu monumenti interessant del Real Museo Borbonico*. The stool was included in the catalogue of the Real Museo Borbonico as well. Here it is described as a "*mensa di marmo con piedi di bronzo*" and surprisingly has one more leg than in Gargiulo's drawing. These and other examples show that the perception of authenticity and documentary accuracy was, at least among the older generation of antiquarians, in many regards distinctive. The specific form was not as important as uniqueness and the nature of the material.⁵⁰ At the same time, the Neapolitan museum is distinguished by an obsession with antique bronzes and no other museum of that time abound them in such quantity and in so many variations.⁵¹

Nonetheless, later researchers perceived modern copies as having little value as collection items, serving better as educational aids. According to Karel Sklenář, the tripods were acquired "*not because of material or scientific value, but as proof of how progressively Koller saw his future museum – they are "visual aids" and exhibition accessories: copies, casts of bronzes and vessels predominantly from the Museo Borbonico, and especially three-dimensional models of buildings and excavations.*"⁵² If Koller's tripod was merely supposed to complement the exhibition hall and evoke an atmosphere of the ancient world, it would be more probable that the baron would choose an easier way and would have acquired cheap copies, so popular and easy to get all over Italy.⁵³ He, however, made an effort and officially requested a bronze copy of an object from the royal museum, which had to take considerable time and money. Therefore, I conclude that Koller's tripod was not merely an exhibition supplement meant to convey an atmosphere, but apparently a collectible original, a real work of art.

According to Marie Dufková, Franz von Koller, through his arrangement of the museum, tried to place the antiquities in an archaeological context according to the provenance of discovery, to illuminate their original function, to search for mutual relations between objects and to



14 – Antonín Mánes, **Castle Obříství on the river Elbe**, 1826. Prague, National Museum, inv. no. H2-7371

present comprehensive discovery units. She clearly drew from Gargiulo's inventory, the sole surviving source revealing the contents of Koller's collection, where each item was provided with the aforementioned provenances of discovery. The inventory, however, does not point out whether the additions were obtained by personal archaeological research or through purchase. Nor is it very likely that Koller tried to present comprehensive units. The objects in the inventory are divided according to type and material without any connection to their discovery, so it is impossible to trace and present the corresponding discovery units. The objects are often supplemented by short characteristics, mostly a brief description of their appearance; therefore, the information from which the interrelationships between the findings can be derived is missing.

As previously expressed, the greatest influence on Koller's exhibition concept was the royal museum in Naples, and so Koller's only decisive category for the arrangement of the antiquities is their material, which is confirmed by Gargiulo's inventory which was considered to be a collection and later also a sales catalogue. The exhibition halls

were undoubtedly livened up by exhibition accessories, which are mentioned by Sklenář, but we cannot consider these additions as proof of an effort to present comprehensive discovery units. Also, the encyclopaedic character of the collection, which was illustrated by Jan Vaclík in his report, clearly does not point to any kind of an elaborated concept, but rather to the traditional effort to create an encyclopaedic picture of the ancient world and archaeology.⁵⁴ Apart from the "*antiques of Rome and Pompeii* and *antiques of Phoenicia*", he describes, for example, a collection of weapons and signs, the so-called historical memorabilities, which can be understood as curiosities (e.g. Napoleon's hat), an extensive library, illustrated documents (maps, engravings, caricatures) and seashells, fossils, etc. Such a list of miscellaneous objects is reminiscent more of a cabinet of curiosities of an early modern noble than a collection of a modern collector and archaeologist who wanted to convert one of the wings of his castle into a public museum.

Finally, it should be briefly noted that after Koller's premature death, his widow decided to sell the collection. The first offers were directed toward the Bohemian

society because the late Baron Koller was deeply involved in its public life – he was one of the founding members of the Patriotic Museum in Prague (today the National Museum), the conservatory, the Patriotic-Economic Society and several other patriotic groups.⁵⁵ His name was associated most frequently, however, with the Society of Patriotic Friends of Art, where he had many acquaintances and friends. Therefore, Koller's widow laid great hopes on the interest of Prague museums, after all, the baron had previously donated a collection of minerals to the Patriotic Museum.⁵⁶ But surprisingly, no one showed the least bit of interest in the valuable collection of one of the most significant officials of the country. The reasons may be nationalistic, as suggested by the prominent historian František Palacký (1798–1876), in whose terms the museum “*is just so little [...] called upon to lay the foundations of collections de omni scibili, to accept Indian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman antiques and the like, or even to foster geography and ethnology; objects such as this can only be admitted if through comparison they can contribute to the better understanding or appreciation of that which is domestic.*”⁵⁷ Marie Dufková aptly described Palacký's opinion as “*hide-*

bound national coat”,⁵⁸ which is nevertheless historically quite understandable. On the contrary, his correspondence from the autumn of 1829 when he was entrusted with the first evaluation of Koller's estate, clearly shows how much the antiquities captivated and occupied him (he observed only a part of the ancient and Egyptian antiquities). In a private letter to his wife, Palacký expresses astonishment over the size of the collection, and although he allegedly learned many new things, if he knew the real scope of the collection in advance, as a fresh newlywed would never have accepted such a strenuous task.⁵⁹ The considerable diversity of Koller's collection was, along with the high price, probably one of the reasons why it was not preserved as a whole as originally intended.⁶⁰ Marie Dufková assumed that Koller was aware of the absence of a good collection of ancient artworks and apparently “*at a time when museums were being established and expanded elsewhere in Europe, he hoped to provide his native Bohemia with the resources to study and appreciate the shared heritage of diverse cultures.*”⁶¹ The question remains, however, to what extent is the history of Koller's collection a testament to the Bohemian

15 – Unknown artist, **Hall of the museum at the Obříství castle on the river Elbe**, 1826. Prague, National Museum, inv. no. H2-7387



relationship to the ancient tradition and to the high level of national maturity and Bohemian ability to reflect this tradition to an appropriate degree.⁶² In fact, Baron Koller collected antiquities and tried to present these items at the turn of an interesting period. Unlike other European countries, for which ancient art served at the beginning and in the first half of the 19th century to define and subsequently measure their own cultural values against a certain timeless ideal (see for example the aforementioned cases of the museums in Paris and Berlin), Bohemia at the time of the growing emancipation movement after 1850 searched for

cultural patterns and models for the most part elsewhere. Koller's late-enlightenment approach, influenced by the idea of the necessity to cultivate the society and the citizen of the modern state, could be accepted favourably among cosmopolitan circles, but the diversity and character of his collection, together with the type of arrangement and the character of the pieces, did not fully meet the specific ideas and needs of Czech society and its nationalist ideology of the second half of the 19th century.

Translated by Anna Jaegerová

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Notes

¹ For the life and work of Franz von Koller, see the State Regional Archives in Prague (hereafter SRA), the branch in Mnichovo Hradiště, the Wallenstein Family Archive, inv. no. 3977, sign. VI-18/3, box n. 131, Koller's letters to Arnošt Filip z Valdštejna. – The Museum of Czech Literature Literary Archive in Prague (hereafter MCL LA), fund of Franz von Koller, unprocessed fund. – Ludwig Ritter von Rittersberg, Franz Freiherr von Koller, kais. österreichischer Feldmarschall-Leutnant, *Monatsschrift der Geschichte des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen* I, 1827, pp. 78–89. – Johanna von Koller, Nachricht von dem v Kollerschen Museum zu Obřístvy in Böhmen, ibidem III, 1829, Mai, pp. 466–470. – Constantin von Wurzbach, Koller, Franz Freiherr, in: idem, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich, enthaltend die Lebensskizzen der denkwürdigen Personen, welche 1750 bis 1850 im Kaiserstaate und in seinen Kronländern gelebt haben. Zwölfter Teil (Klazel – Korzistka)*, Wien 1864, pp. 339–343. – Gerald Heres, Die Erwerbung der Sammlung Koller durch Berliner Antikenkabinett, *Listy filologické* 100, 1977, pp. 104–109. – Karel Sklenář, *Z Čech do Pompejí. Příběhy a objevy českých archeologů ve světě*, Praha 1989, pp. 72–105. – Marie Dufková – Ursula Kästner, The History of the Ceglie Vases, in: Ursula Kästner – David Saunders (edd.), *Dangerous Perfection: Ancient funerary vases from southern Italy*, Los Angeles 2016, pp. 21–41. – Eliška Petřeková, *Osudy antické sbírky barona Františka Kollera* (bachelor's thesis), Masaryk University, Brno 2017.

² He impressed even Napoleon Bonaparte, whom he accompanied to Elba as a delegate of the Austrian allies. Allegedly, Napoleon gave Koller his hat as an acknowledgment of his abilities, tact and cultivated behaviour. The hat was then a highlight of the curiosities section of Koller's collection; see Sklenář (note 1), p. 101. – Jan Vaclík, Zpráva o archeologickém museum barona Kollera v Praze, *Památky archeologické* II, 1857, p. 46.

³ MCL LA, fund of Franz von Koller, unprocessed fund.

⁴ Milota Zdirad Polák, Portici, Favorita a Herculaneum, in: Josef Liboslav Ziegler (ed.), *Dobroslaw, aneb, Rozličné spisy poučujícího a mysl obveselujícího obsahu v řeči newázané, y wázané* 1, vol. 4, Praha 1821, pp. 7–13. – Idem, Pompeji, in: ibidem 2, vol. 1, Praha 1822, pp. 3–42. – Idem, Stabia, Sorrento, in: ibidem 2, vol. 2, Praha 1822, pp. 5–14. – For Polák's work in general see Sklenář (note 1), pp. 86–97. – Jozef Bradáč, *Básnické spisy Miloty Zdirada Poláka* I, Praha 1907. – Felicitas Wünschová [Alexander Stich], *Italský osud české literatury a Milota Zdirad Polák*, in: *Milota Zdirad Polák, Cesta do Itálie (od roku 1815 až do léta 1818)*, ed. Felicitas Wünschová [Alexander

Stich], Praha 1979, pp. 7–34. – Zdeněk Hrbata, Polákovo dílo v evropské tradici a koncepci cest do Itálie, in: Robert Ibrahim – Alexandr Stich (edd.), *Milota Zdirad Polák, Vznešenost přírody / Cesta do Itálie*, Brno 2014, pp. 539–568.

⁵ There are several maps which were issued during the time of Koller's activities in Naples: a map of Pompeii from 1817 from the magazine *Pompeiana* and two maps by James Cockburn and Henry Wilkins from 1819; see William Gell – John Peter Gandy, *Pompeiana: the topography, edifices, and ornaments of Pompeii*, London 1821, unpag. – William Bernard Cooke, *Pompeii, illustrated with picturesque views* I, London 1827, unpag. – Henry Wilkins, *Suite de vues pittoresques des ruines de Pompeii et un précis historique de la ville, avec un plan des fouilles qui ont été faites jusqu'en février 1819 et une description des object les plus intéressants*, Rome 1819.

⁶ See Polák 1822, vol. 1 (note 4), pp. 9–37. – Jana Keparťová, *Češi v Pompejích 1748–1948: kulturněhistorická studie*, Praha 2007, p. 42.

⁷ The excavations were officially led by Ferdinand IV, but in fact they were managed by his regent, Bernardo Tanucci (1698–1783), and later by Queen Maria Carolina of Austria (1752–1814), since the king himself did not show any interest in the excavations; see Keparťová (note 6), p. 26.

⁸ "Le province onde questo Regno di Napoli è composto, essendo né tempi antichi abitate da Greci Romani, [...] hanno in ogni tempo somministrato in grandissima copia de rari monumenti di antichità agli uomini di quella studiosi, di statue, di tavole, di medaglie, di vasi e d'istrumenti o per sacrificio, o per sepolcri, o per altri usi della vita, o di marmi, o di terra, o di metalli. Ma perche niuna cura e diligenza è stata per l'addietro usata in raccogliarli e custodirli, così che tutto ciò che di più pregevole è stato dissotterrato s'è dal Regno estratto, onde il medesimo ne è ora assai povero. Altri stranieri de lontani paesi se ne sono arricchiti e ne fanno i loro maggiori ornamenti, grandissimi profitti traendone. Di qui la necessità di rifarsi alla esperienza degli stati più culti dell'Europa, nei quali l'estrazione di sì fatte reliquie d'antichità, senza espressa licenza de'Sovrani, è stata vietata ed la loro proibizione osservata esattamente." Lorenzo Giustiniani, *Nuova collezione delle Prammatiche del Regno di Napoli* IV, Napoli 1804, pp. 201–203.

⁹ Marcello di Venuti, *A description of the first discoveries of the ancient city of Herculaneum*, London 1750, p. 37. – The lack of interest in everyday objects was often reflected in the manner in which archaeological work was conducted. When the diggers uncovered a room, the director and curator of the museum in Portici, Camillo Paderni (1751–1781), who had the task of collecting valuable objects for the private royal collection, took over and the remainder was destroyed; see Carol C. Mattusch, *The Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum. Life and Afterlife of Sculpture Collection*, Los Angeles 2005, p. 55.

Paintings were carved out of the walls by a special procedure, then framed and displayed in the gallery. The buildings which were cleared in this way were buried again afterward; see Kępartová (note 6), p. 30. Polák describes how the findings were treated after their discovery: "The most valuable and best-preserved murals were peeled off and for further preservation carried off to the Royal Museum in Portici."; see Polák (note 4), vol. 2, p. 25.

¹⁹ For more information, see Agnes Allroggen-Beden, Gli scavi di Ercolano nella politica culturale dei Borboni, in: *Ercolano 1738–1998: 250 anni di ricerca archeologica: atti del convegno*, Roma 1993, p. 37. – For the excavations in Pompeii, there were three types of licenses granted, namely "medaglie, statue, tavole", i.e. coins, statues and paintings. The license was granted by three experts: canon Alessio Simmaco Mazzocchi (1684–1771), the royal sculptor Giuseppe Canart (1738–1790), and the royal painter, Giuseppe Bonito (1707–1789); cp. Rita Coppola, *Gli aspetti amministrativi e finanziari per la valorizzazione degli scavi di Pompei* (Tesi di dottorato), Napoli 2010, p. 38. – Marcello Barbera, *Storia dell'archeologia classica in Italia*, Bari 2015, unpag., section 2.4.6.

²¹ See Coppola (note 10), p. 142–144. – Kępartová (note 6), p. 30–32.

²² MCL LA, fund of Franz von Koller, unprocessed fund, license issued on the November 14th, 1825, sent on May 14th, 1826. – Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Neapol (henceforth ASN), Ministero degli affari interni, Inventario II – Antichità e Belle Arti, bb. 1966–2147, b. 2030, fasc. 312, Permesso al Barone Koller di fare scavi di Antichità, 1824.

²³ Eduard Gerhard, *Bullettino degli Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica per l'anno 1829*, Roma 1829, p. 170.

²⁴ See Polák (note 4), vol. 2. – ASN, Ministero degli affari interni, Inventario II – Antichità e Belle Arti, bb. 1966–2147, b. 1986, fasc. 212, Arresto di un individuo, che degrava un pavimento di Pompei, 1822.

²⁵ "Essendosi degnata S. M. accordare al signor Barone Koller il permesso di far eseguire scavi di antichità nel così detto Campo Militare di Nola, nel Real nome lo partecipo a lei per la parte che la riguarda a norma del Real Decreto del 12 Maggio 1822. Napoli 14 Novembre 1825." MCL LA, fund of Franz von Koller, unprocessed fund, license issued on November 14th, 1825, sent on May 14th, 1826.

²⁶ A remarkable report on Koller's collecting activities in Naples was published in contemporary print by an unknown author, hidden under the abbreviation [H.], *Correspondenz-Nachrichten, Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode* 1829, n. 90, 28. 7., p. 748; n. 91, 30. 7., p. 756. – For more about Koller's collection, see esp. Heres (note 1). – Dufková (note 1), pp. 51–53. – Dufková – Kästner (note 1), pp. 26–30. – Petřeková (note 1).

²⁷ Jérôme Charles Bellicard – Charles Nicolas Cochin, *Observations Upon the Antiquities of the Town of Herculaneum, Discovered at the Foot of Mount Vesuvius*, London 1753. – Jacob Jonas Björnsthål, *Briefe auf seinen ausländischen Reisen an den Königlichen Bibliothekar C. C. Gjörwell in Stockholm*, Leipzig 1777, pp. 265–285.

²⁸ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der Alten*, Leipzig 1762, pp. 47–49.

²⁹ Jean-Jacques Barthelemy, *Voyage en Italie de M. l'abbé Barthelemy*, Paris 1801, pp. 257–258.

²⁰ See Mattusch (note 9), p. 253.

²¹ See Polák (note 4), vol. 2, pp. 9–10.

²² Mariana Starke, *Travels in Europe Between the Years 1824 and 1828: Adapted to the Use of travellers comprising a historical account of Sicily with particular information for strangers in that island*, London 1828, pp. 270–290. It was probably a bilingual guide: Lorenzo Giustiniani, *Guida per lo Real Museo Borbonico*, Napoli 1824.

²³ See Starke (note 22). – Giustiniani (note 22).

²⁴ Erik Risser – David Saunders, *The Restoration of Ancient Bronzes: Naples and Beyond*, Los Angeles 2013, p. 22. – It was only in 1973 that the group of discoveries from the Villa dei Papiri, including not only bronzes but also objects from "inferior materials", has been exhibited in its entirety; cp. ibidem.

²⁵ Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. no. 72995. The tripod was apparently published for the first time by Anne Claude Philippe de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques et romaines* 3, Paris 1759, fig. XXXVIII, l. Recent studies also suggest that his discovery occurred in the area of Herculaneum, and not Pompeii; cp. e.g. Carol C. Mattusch (ed.), *Johann Joachim Winckelmann: Letter, and Report on the Discoveries at Herculaneum*, Los Angeles 2011, pp. 105–106.

²⁶ Raffaele Gargiulo, *Raccolta dei monumenti piu interessanti del Real Museo Borbonico e di varie collezioni private*, Napoli 1845, unpag. – *Real Museo Borbonico, Volume sesto*, Napoli 1842, pp. 360, 370–375.

²⁷ Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* 2, Paris 1782, fig. 13.

²⁸ Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. no. 27874.

²⁹ ASN, Ministero degli affari interni, Inventario II – Antichità e Belle Arti, bb. 1966–2147, b. 2012, fasc. 255, Gabinetto degli Oggetti osceni del Museo da intitolarsi Gabinetto degli oggetti riservati, 1823.

³⁰ This hall soon became the most sought-after part of the museum, which is confirmed by a large number of preserved requests and permits for its inspection; see ASN, Ministero degli affari interni, Inventario II – Antichità e Belle Arti, bb. 1966–2147, b. 1975, fasc. 511; b. 1990, fasc. 333; b. 1990, fasc. 340; b. 1991, fasc. 367; b. 1991, fasc. 379; b. 1992, fasc. 390; b. 1992, fasc. 392; b. 2004, fasc. 126; b. 2015, fasc. 13, Permessi di osservare il gabinetto degli oggetti osceni, 1822–1824. – Michele Arditi, *Il fascino e l'amuleto control del fascino presso gli antichi*. Napoli 1825, p. 45.

³¹ Both copies of the bronze tripods from Naples were later acquired from Koller's estate by the Prussian royal collections in Berlin (tripod with sphinxes, inv. no. Fr. 2417, tripod with satyrs, inv. no. Fr. 2437), where they were exhibited until 1888 in the Altes Museum. They were then moved to the Berlin Museum of Applied Arts (inv. no. K 9456 a, b), from where they were lost (apparently during World War II). The acquisition was reported already in 1829 by Jakob Andreas Konrad Levezow, *Über der freiherrlich v. Kollerschen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer, als neueste Bereicherung des kgl. Museums der Altertümer zu Berlin, Berliner Kunst-Blatt* 2, 1829, vol. 1, p. 10. – See also Heres (note 1), pp. 104–109.

³² See Allroggen-Beden (note 10), p. 37.

³³ See Kępartová (note 6), pp. 30–31.

³⁴ See Caylus (note 25), fig. .XXXVIII, I–II. – Saint-Non (note 27), fig. 16.

³⁵ Pierre-Adrien Pâris, *Meubles Antiques trouvés dans la Ville d'herculanum*, pen and wash drawing on paper, 22.9 x 37 cm, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 88. GA.26. – Just one year later, the same tripod was also published by Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vasi, candelabri, cippi, sarcofagi, tripodi, lucerne, ed ornamenti antichi disegnati ed incisi dal Cav. Gio. Batt. Piranesi*, Roma 1778, unpag. – There are other images from the beginning of the 19th century as well, for example Lorenzo Roccheggiani, *Raccolta di Cento Tavole Rappresentanti i Costumi Religiosi Civili, e Militari degli antiche Egiziani, Etruschi, Greci, e Romani tratti dagli antichi Monumenti* [...], Roma 1804, fig. 59. – Francesco Piranesi, *Antiquites de la Grande Grèce, Aujourd'hui Royaume de Naples* 1, Paris 1807, fig. 11. – Carlo Bonucci, *Pompéi décrite par Charles Bonucci. Seconde traduction de la troisième édition italienne par C. J. revue et augmentée par l'auteur*, Naples 1830, unpag. – Francesco Piranesi, *Antiquités de Pompeia* 3, Paris 1835, fig. 11; cp. reproductions on individual prints, e.g. George Cooke – Henry Parke, *Bronze tripod found at Pompeii*, London 1827, 42.1 x 33.3cm, British Museum, reg. n. 1879, 0614.240.

³⁶ Elie-Honoré Montagny, *Recueil d'antiquités dessinées d'après des peintures trouvées à Herculaneum, Stabia et Pompei a qui sont maintenant au musée de Portici à quatre milles de Naples*, 1804–1805, Getty Research Institute, inv. no. 2638–745, fol. 15v (available at <https://digitalmontagny.inha.fr/en/record/montagny15v03b>, accessed 1. 8. 2018). – For other reproductions see e.g. Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, *Recueil et parallèle des édifices*, Paris 1799–1801, fig. 75. – Francesco Piranesi, *Antiquites de la Grande Grèce, Aujourd'hui Royaume de Naples* 1, Paris 1807, fig. 12. – Idem, *Antiquités de Pompeia* 3, Paris 1835, fig. 12 et al.

³⁷ Despite the strict supervision of the royal authorities, the Roman businessman Francesco Righetti had occupied himself with the bronze copies of the tripods already in the 1890s; cf. Francis Haskell – Nicholas Penny, *The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900*, New Haven – London 1981, p. 78, Appendix. – At the beginning of the 19th century, the Milanese workshop of brothers Manfredini became famous throughout entire Europe. Their workshop created popular and luxurious modern copies of the tripod with sphinxes, which were, among other things, often used as diplomatic gifts; cf. Benedetta Gallizia di Vergano, *La manifattura dell'Eugenia dei fratelli Manfredini*, in: *Splendori del Bronzo. Mobili e oggetti d'arredo tra Francia e Italia 1750/1850. Catalogo della mostra*, a cura di G. Beretti, Turin 2002. – In contemporary historical painting, Neapolitan tripods appear for example in the works of the French painter, Jean-Leon Gérôme (e.g. *Gyneceum*, 1850,

private collection; see Sarah Betzer, afterimage of the Eruption: An Archeology of Chassériau's Tepidarium (1853), *Art History* 33, 2010, p. 475) et al. – For the function of both tripods as models for contemporary education of design cf. e.g. Henry Moses, *Vorbilder für Fabrikanten und Handwerker* 1/2, 1821–1830, img. 18 (“*Vier DreifüÙe aus Bronze aus Pompeji und Herculaneum*”), in: *Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, inv. no. 34.19–1991.

³⁸ See Haskell – Penny (note 37), p. 75.

³⁹ MCL LA, fund of Franz von Koller, unprocessed fund, contract of purchase of the Mělník estate, Franz von Koller purchases from Clam-Gallas, 14. 6. 1819. Cf. also literature in note 1.

⁴⁰ ASN, Ministero degli affari interni, *Inventario II – Antichità e Belle Arti*, bb. 1966–2147, b. 2020, fasc. 67, *Permesso al Barone Koller di far eseguire il disegno di un tripode di bronzo*, 1824.

⁴¹ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Antikensammlung*, *Archiv Rep. 1 Abt. A Inv. 41*, Raffaele Gargiulo: *Inventario della collezione de Antichità, cioè Vasi Italo-Greci, Terre-cotte, Vetri, Bronzi e Marmi, non che una raccolta di Monumenti Egizi ad altri oggetti di belle arti di proprietà della famiglia di Koller*; cf. also Dufková (note 1), p. 56. – Dufková – Kästner (note 1), p. 31. For more about Raffaele Gargiulo see also David Saunders – Marie Svoboda – Andrea Milanese, *Exactitude and Mastery: Raffaele Gargiulo's Work as a Restorer*, in: Ursula Kästner – David Saunders, *Dangerous Perfection: Ancient funerary vases from southern Italy*, Los Angeles 2016, pp. 43–66. – Andrea Milanese, *Raffaele Gargiulo's Observations: The Contribution of a Dealer and Restorer to the Understanding of Greek Pottery*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 161–166.

⁴² See Dufková – Kästner (note 1), p. 32.

⁴³ For the importance of Winckelmann's work in the formation of Roman public museums cf. Carole Paul, *The Capitoline Museum: the first large public museum in the Europe of Enlightenment*, in: Eloisa Dodero – Claudio Parisi Presicce (edd.), *Il Tesoro di Antichità. Winckelmann e il Museo Capitolino nella Roma del Settecento*, Roma 2017, pp. 105–110. – Ilaria Sgarbozza, *Winckelmann, The Palazzo Nuovo in Campidoglio and the practice of the museum in the mid-eighteenth century*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 111–117.

⁴⁴ Andrew McClellan, *Inventing Louvre, Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 153–154.

⁴⁵ The greatest number of “souvenir collectors” in Pompeii at that time were from Britain, because many humorous stories about Englishmen, who became the object of ridicule and jokes of the locals, were recounted by Polák: “*Those gentlemen came over Pompeii to Castellamare and arrived [...] on donkeys. For a long time I did not know what the heavy load the donkeys carried was; [...] then one mule, no longer able to bear the weight, fell, spreading all four legs apart, and perished. Then we saw what was in the baskets, nothing but clay and bricks, whole clumps of rock of all sorts of stones that, as we inquired, those men bought at a high price from the boys that worked at the Pompeian excavations. [...] and since then, old bricks and stones are paid for dearly, I tore down the whole chimney of my house and sold a couple at a time to the English, when they came, always at a high price, claiming they were from this or that place in Pompeii, stolen from there with great danger. The brick that was the most blackened by smoke, earned the most amount of money.*” See Polák (note 4), vol. 2, pp. 9–11.

⁴⁶ Neil Chambers, *Joseph Banks and the British Museum: The World of Collecting, 1770–1830*, New York 2007, pp. 75–128. – Ruurd Binnert Halbertsma, *Schollars, Travellers and Trade: The Pioneer Years of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leyden, 1818–1840*, London 2003, pp. 28–29.

⁴⁷ Can Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display, Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, Oxford 2012, pp. 70–71; cf. also Elsa van Wezel, *Die Konzeptionen des Alten und Neuen Museums zu Berlin und das sich wandelnde historische Bewusstsein*, in: *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 43, 2001, pp. 3–11. – Theodore Ziolkowski, *German Romanticism and Its Institutions*, Princeton 1990, pp. 314–320. – Astrid Fendt, *Archäologie und Restaurierung. Die Skulpturenergänzungen in der Berliner Antikensammlung des 19. Jahrhunderts. Transformationen der Antike*, Berlin – Boston 2012, pp. 70–81.

⁴⁸ Giuseppina Belloisi, *La tutela del Patrimonio artistico. Dalla legislazione*

preunitaria alla legislazione fascista. Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, Dipartimento di Giurisprudenza, Napoli 2014, pp. 64–80. – Salvatore Italia (ed.), *Beni culturali a Napoli nell'Ottocento, Atti del convegno di studi Napoli, 5–6 novembre 1997*, Napoli 2000.

⁴⁹ Cit. after Halbertsma (note 46), p. 109.

⁵⁰ For the issue of accuracy of copies of ancient artworks, see Claudia Sedlarz, *Incorporating Antiquity – The Berlin Academy of Arts' Plaster: Collection from 1786 until 1815: acquisition, use and interpretation*, in: Eckart Marchand – Rune Frederiksen (edd.), *Plaster Casts: Making, Collecting, and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present*, Berlin – New York 2007, pp. 197–228. – Dana Stehlíková, *More Valuable than Originals? The Plaster Cast Collection in the National Museum of Prague (1818–2008): Its history and predecessors*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 519–538. – Charlotte Schreiter, *„Moulded from the best originals of Rome” – Eighteenth-Century Production and Trade of Plaster Casts after Antique Sculpture in Germany*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 121–142. – Malcolm Baker, *The Reproductive Continuum: plaster casts, paper mosaics and photographs as complementary modes of reproduction in the nineteenth-century museum*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 485–500. – Marjorie Trusted, *The Making and Meaning of Plaster Casts in the Nineteenth Century: Their Future in the Twenty-First Century*, in: *Casting. Ein analoger Weg ins Zeitalter der Digitalisierung?* Berlin 2015, pp. 148–161. – Tatjana Bartsch et al. (edd.), *Das Originale der Kopie. Kopien als Produkte und Medien der Transformation von Antike*, Berlin 2010.

⁵¹ Risser – Saunders (note 24), p. 21.

⁵² “*There was a three-dimensional model of a Greek grave with a skeleton, vessels and equipment, models of the temple at Paestum and Agrigento; the most remarkable was undoubtedly the “stereorama” of the Pompeian excavations, which was made for Koller for 3,000 ducats from cork and clay by the Neapolitan phelloplast Padiglione: the entire extent of the excavated area had been shown here on 17 plates that have been assembled into a 25 feet long model (about 7,5 m).*” See Sklenář (note 1), s. 101.

⁵³ Baron Koller did not choose cheap local copies either, nor was he satisfied by the luxurious realization of brothers Luigi and Francesco Manfredini, often supplemented by gold, marble and lapis lazuli; the Emperor Napoleon himself received this elegant and costly copy as a gift from Eugène de Beauharnais (1781–1824), then the Viceroy of Italy; cf. Gallizia di Vergano (note 37). – Enrico Colle – Angela Griseri – Roberto Valeriani, *Bronzi Decorativi in Italia. Bronzisti e fonditori italiani dal Seicento all'Ottocento*, Milan 2001, pp. 290–291. – Leon de Groër, *Decorative Arts in Europe 1790 and 1850*, Friborg 1985, p. 14.

⁵⁴ See Vaclík (note 2), pp. 45–46.

⁵⁵ See Sklenář (note 1), p. 80.

⁵⁶ Josef Hanuš, *Národní museum a naše obrození: k stoletému jubileu založení musea*, Praha 1923, pp. 151, 157. – Rittersberg (note 1), p. 86.

⁵⁷ František Palacký, *Spisy drobné. Díl 3, Spisy estetické a literární*, Praha 1901, pp. 321–322.

⁵⁸ See Dufková (note 1), p. 60.

⁵⁹ The section of Egyptian and ancient antiques alone contained about 3463 items, whereas this number corresponds to Gargiulo's inventory; cf. Gargiulo (note 41) – Archive of the National Museum, Palacký to his wife Theresa October 28th, 1827; similarly, Palacký to Theresa November 6th, 1827, cit. after Jiří Kořalka, *František Palacký (1798–1876). Životopis*, Praha 1998, p. 116.

⁶⁰ See Vaclík (note 2), pp. 45–46.

⁶¹ See Dufková – Kästner (note 1), p. 30.

⁶² A noteworthy reflection of the contemporary appreciation of Koller's collection in the Bohemian environment is contained in a remark in the Prague press from 1845 in connection to the collection of the local art dealer, Marc Berry, that was threatened to be sold abroad. The author pertinently does not recall the fate of Koller's collection as a whole, but only the loss of the most valuable part in the form of a group of Etruscan vases sold from the Baron's estate to Berlin: “[...] *wir haben bereits die Sammlung etruskischer Vasen des General Koller [...] Verloren – sollen wir auch diesen Schatz verlieren?*” Cf. *Prag Beilage zu Ost und West* 1845, n. 205, 24. 12., p. 820. I would like to thank prof. Lubomír Slaviček for pointing this out to me.

RESUMÉ

František Koller a záhada bronzové trojnožky z Real Museo Borbonico v Neapoli

Eliška Petřeková

Baron František Koller (1767–1826) působil mezi léty 1815 a 1826 jako generální intendant v Neapoli, kde dohlížel na obnovu Království obojí Sicílie a návrat Bourbonů na trůn. Během těchto let se tento vzdělaný diplomat stal také uznávaným sběratelem starožitností a amatérským archeologem. Stráně pod Vesuvem bez ustání chrlily další a další starožitnosti a Neapol se stala cílem všech starožitníků, historiků umění, sběratelů, ale i cestovatelů a dobrodruhů. V nakažlivé atmosféře tehdejší „*Pompeii-mania*“ si Koller při budování své umělecké sbírky zachoval smysl pro diplomacii a korektní jednání, což v této zlaté éře sběratelství jistě nebylo vždy samozřejmostí. Jeho pečlivost při sledování oficiálních protokolů a královských vyhlášek, ať už se jednalo o archeologické vykopávky, nebo o obchod se

starožitnostmi, dokládají nově objevené archivní prameny. Ve Státním neapolském archivu se dochovala jedinečná výměna korespondence, ve které Koller žádá o vytvoření kopie bronzové trojnožky, jež je vystavena v Královském muzeu v Neapoli. Po této žádosti následuje byrokratická přestřelka mezi Královským sekretariátem, ředitelem Královského muzea a předsedou Královské bourbonské společnosti, jejímž výsledkem bylo zamítnutí Kollerovy žádosti. Přestože toto povolení nezískal, v inventáři jeho sbírky se objevuje bronzový tripod „*vytvořený podle originálu z Real Museo Borbonico*“, a to dokonce ve dvou různých exemplářích. Kollerova touha vlastnit co nejpřesnější kopii vystaveného exponátu, přestože se na italském trhu již objevily levné i luxusní kopie těchto trojnožek, dokazuje, že nešlo o pouhou výstavní pomůcku k dokreslení atmosféry, jak se dříve předpokládalo, ale jednalo se o skutečný sběratelský originál. Předčasná úmrtí barona Kollera překazilo jeho plán sbírku v celé své úplnosti převést do Čech a předvést veřejnosti na zámku v Obříství. Charakter sbírky, její řazení a celková rozmanitost je zjevně odpovědí na otázku, proč se sbírka po jeho smrti postupně tříštila, až se zcela rozpadla. Jeho osvícenská představa o nutnosti kultivovat společnost moderního státu se totiž střetávala s ještě tradičním encyklopedickým způsobem prezentace nálezu, což neodpovídalo novým sbírkovým a výstavním konceptům tehdy nově vznikajících muzejních institucí.

Obrazová příloha: 1 – Elie-Honoré Montagny, **trojnožka se sfingami a satyry**, 1804–1805. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, inv. č. 2638-745, fol. 15; **2** – **Žádost Barona Kollera o povolení kopírovat bronzovou trojnožku**, 1824. Neapol, Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Ministero degli affari interni, Inventario II – Antichità e Belle Arti, bb. 1966–2147, b. 2020, fasc. 67; **3** – Giovanni Battista Amici, **portrét Františka Kollera**, 1817. Biblioteca Estense di Modena, Fondo Amici, donazione eredi; **4** – William Gell a John Peter Gandy, **mapa Pompejí**, rytina, 1817. *Pompeiana: the topography, edifices and ornaments of Pompeii. The result of excavations since 1819*, London 1817–1819, obr. 1; **5** – Louis Jean Desprez, **převezení nálezů z Herculeana do muzea v Neapoli**, kolem 1782. Londýn, British Museum, inv. č. 1864,1210.502; **6** – Jacopo Morghen, **pohledy do sbírky mramorových soch a nástěnných maleb v neapolském muzeu**, rytiny, 1835. Achille Morelli, *Musée royal Bourbon: Vues et descriptions des galeries*, Naples 1835, obr. 11 a 8; **7** – **Odpověď Michele Arditioho, ředitele královského muzea a vrchního ředitele vykopávek, královskému sekretáři Giuseppe Ruffovi**, 25. listopadu 1823. Neapol, Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Ministero degli affari interni, Inventario II – Antichità e Belle Arti, bb. 1966–2147, b. 2030, fasc. 312; **8** – Anne Claude de Caylus, **trojnožka se sfingami a satyry**, rytina, 1752. Anne Claude de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques et romaines*, Paris 1752, obr. 38; **9** – Pierre-Philippe Choffard podle Pierre-Adriena Pàrise, **antické lampy, tripody a hudební nástroje nalezené v Herculeanu**, rytina, 1782. Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* 2, Paris 1782, obr. 13; **10** – Raffaele Gargiulo, **Inventario della collezione de Antichità, cioè Vasi Italo-Greci, Terre-cotte, Vetri, Bronzi e Marmi, non che una raccolta di Monumeti Egizi ad altrioggette di belle arti di proprietà della famiglia di Koller**, nedatováno. Berlín, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung, Arch. Rep. 1 Ábt. A Inv. 41; **11** – Pierre-Adrien Pàris, **nádoby, nábytek a další předměty nalezené v Herculeanu**, kolorovaná perokresba, 1777. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. č. 88.GA.26; **12** – Francesco Piranesi, **trojnožka se satyry nalezená v Pompejích**, rytina, 1805–1807. Francesco Piranesi, *Antiquités de la Grande Grèce, aujourd'hui Royaume de Naples* I, Paris 1807, obr. 12; **13** – Giovanni Battista Piranesi podle Vincenza Brenny, **antická bronzová trojnožka z královských sbírek v Portici**, rytina, 1778. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vasi, candelabri, cippi, sarcofagi, tripodi, lucerne, ed ornamenti antichi* I, Roma 1778, obr. 44; **14** – Antonín Mánes, **zámek Obříství na Labi**, 1826. Praha, Národní muzeum, inv. č. H2-7371; **15** – Neznámý autor, **sál muzea na zámku Obříství na Labi**, 1826. Praha, Národní muzeum, inv. č. H2-7387