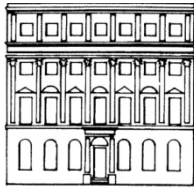


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*Artistic Encounters: British Perspectives on Bavaria and
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ARTISTIC ENCOUNTERS: BRITISH PERSPECTIVES ON BAVARIA AND SAXONY IN THE VORMÄRZ

HANNELORE PUTZ

In the nineteenth century the travel itineraries of British art lovers were generally oriented by objects, artists, museums, and collections. As a rule, their sight-seeing programmes were dictated by a canon which was changing constantly in response to new viewing habits, but also by a desire to deviate from these guidelines and discover something different. Travelling for art lovers was arduous as they had to seek out works of art and artists in many different places. Travellers had to decide which works were worth a visit, and which ones could not be incorporated into their itineraries. Italy (especially Venice, Florence, Rome, and Naples) was always their main goal, but by choosing particular routes, travellers were also making decisions about what they would visit on the way to and from Italy. Only once were art lovers able to admire a large number of the most significant works of European art at a single location. During the Napoleonic Wars, the Emperor of the French turned the Louvre into the main site for viewing European art. Napoleon was less interested in making life easier for art lovers than in demonstrating the superiority of a victorious France by bringing works of art from every newly conquered country to Paris.¹ Nonetheless, by bringing together important collections in this way, he provided an unprecedented opportunity for comparative viewing and experiencing. After the victory of the allied forces over Napoleon in 1815, these art works were returned to their original homes, and art lovers once again had to travel from place to place to view paintings, sculptures, and antiquities.

Trans. Angela Davies (GHIL).

¹ James J. Sheehan, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunstmuseen: Von der fürstlichen Kunstkammer zur modernen Sammlung* (Munich, 2002), 85–6.

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Since the middle of the eighteenth century opportunities for enjoying art had changed fundamentally. Private collections were frequently opened to the public,² but most importantly, conditions on the art market had altered. As the result of the secularization of ecclesiastical property and a difficult economic climate, works of art which had been in the possession of the church and secular owners flooded on to the art market. New collections, such as that of the Boisserée brothers, soon attracted lively public interest.³ And changes in authority, such as the transfer of Bavaria to the Palatinate branch of the Wittelsbach dynasty in 1777, meant that works of art were placed into a completely new context, making it possible to see them as if for the first time again. When the holdings of the Düsseldorf gallery were sent to Munich, Düsseldorf became less attractive to travelling art lovers, while Munich became much more interesting because of its acquisition of the Flemish masters and, later on, its gains from the secularizations of 1803.⁴ And, finally, excavations in Greece and Italy, especially in Rome, which were at first carried out privately – with or without a concession – brought large amounts of antiquities on to the art market and opened up new horizons for collectors.⁵

² See Bénédicte Savoy, 'Zum Öffentlichkeitscharakter deutscher Museen im 18. Jahrhundert', in ead. (ed.), *Tempel der Kunst: Die Geburt des öffentlichen Museums in Deutschland 1701–1815* (Mainz, 2006), 9–26.

³ See Eduard Firmenich-Richartz, *Sulpiz und Melchior Boisserée als Kunstsammler: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Romantik* (Jena, 1916); Peter Eikemeier, 'Die Erwerbungen altdeutscher und altniederländischer Gemälde', in Konrad Renger (ed.), *Ilm, welcher der Andacht Tempel baut . . .': Ludwig I. und die Alte Pinakothek* (Munich, 1986), 56–67; Uwe Heckmann, *Die Sammlung Boisserée: Konzeption und Rezeptionsgeschichte einer romantischen Kunstsammlung zwischen 1804 und 1827* (Munich, 2003).

⁴ While Sir Joshua Reynolds had seen the Flemish masters in Düsseldorf, pointing out that nobody could judge these painters without having seen the collections in Antwerp and Düsseldorf, Anna Jameson was able to view them in the context of the new collections in Munich. See Anna Jameson, *Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad with Tales and Miscellanies now First Collected and a New Edition of the Diary of an Ennuyée*, 4 vols. (London, 1834), ii. 245–6.

⁵ See Jeremy Warren and Adriana Turpin (eds.), *Auctions, Agents and Dealers: The Mechanism of the Art Market 1660–1830* (Oxford, 2007); Alexander Meystrik and Peter Melichar, 'Editorial', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften*, 17 (2006), 5–9.

For the British, unrestricted travel on the Continent had only become possible again after the fall of Napoleon. British travellers had largely been prevented from visiting the Musée Napoléon, and the coalition wars had hugely reduced travel to Germany. In her profound study of British travellers, Frauke Geyken established that their image of Germany only gradually improved over the course of the eighteenth century. The country had long been described as 'barbarian in the classical sense, uncultivated', and its inhabitants as phlegmatic and too fond of alcohol. Few princely courts and towns in the Old Reich were compulsory stops on the Grand Tour during the first half of the eighteenth century, and most of them lay on the way to Italy or France. British travellers frequently took the route from Aachen to Cologne, and then along the Rhine via Bonn, Mainz, Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Stuttgart towards Italy. Hanover's connection with the British royal house meant that a visit there was considered good form. Vienna, the Kaiser's residence, was worth a visit, Regensburg and a description of the Reichstag appear in many travellers' reports, Dresden gained significance under Augustus the Strong, and Munich, too, was often considered worth a stay. With the exception of Hamburg, with its many British residents,⁶ the northern part of the Reich had generally been seen as culturally and scenically uninteresting; Berlin was rarely visited.⁷ This did not really begin to change until the second half of the eighteenth century, when Berlin, for example, became more attractive under Frederick II. The overall picture which travellers had of Germany was that it was composed of many largely independent and almost sovereign residences and imperial towns.⁸

⁶ On Hamburg see Anne D. Petersen, *Die Engländer in Hamburg 1814 bis 1914: Ein Beitrag zur Hamburgischen Geschichte* (Hamburg, 1993).

⁷ See Frauke Geyken, ' "The German language is spoken in Saxony with the greatest purity" or English Images and Perceptions of Germany in the Eighteenth Century', in Joseph Canning and Hermann Wellenreuther (eds.), *Britain and Germany Compared: Nationality, Society and Nobility in the Eighteenth Century* (Göttingen, 2001), 45; Frauke Geyken, *Gentlemen auf Reisen: Das britische Deutschlandbild im 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main, 2002), 256.

⁸ *Ibid.* 253.

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During the nineteenth century, Germany became a 'highly respected cultural model',⁹ largely because its achievements in literature, music, and the fine arts made it more attractive. After 1816, British travellers increasingly visited the states of the German Confederation and wrote about them in travel reports and later also in newspaper articles. Led by their own interests, art lovers pointed to the changes that had taken place in the German art world since the eighteenth century, detailed existing conditions, and located what they had seen in a European context.

The article which follows here will start by asking about the position of the German Confederation's *Mittelstaaten* on the permanently changing European art map. The largest of these *Mittelstaaten*, Bavaria and Saxony, which will provide the focus of this article, made great efforts from the 1820s and 1830s to distinguish themselves in the fields of art and culture. The support of the state or monarch for art and culture was targeted first on historical research and the cultivation of a festive culture focused on the state and the monarchy, and thereafter on promoting the fine arts, museums, and the erection of monuments.¹⁰ All of these measures were dictated by an inward perspective and served, among other things, the state-building process.¹¹ The borders of the member states of the German Confederation were not fixed until 1816; Bavaria and Saxony faced almost diametrically opposed initial conditions in this respect. Bavaria, which was elevated into a kingdom in the wake of Napoleon, had expanded its territory considerably by comparison with the eighteenth century and now brought together Old Bavarians and New Bavarians,

⁹ Ibid. 57–60, 249 (quotation). Geyken observes that except during the War of the Spanish Succession, Germany had only slowly become more interesting for England since the Silesian Wars; see ead., 'English Images and Perceptions of Germany in the Eighteenth Century', 43–6.

¹⁰ See Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, 2001), 98, who concentrates on Hanover, Saxony, and Württemberg. On the monarchical festive culture of Bavaria and Saxony see Simone Mergen, *Monarchiejubiläen im 19. Jahrhundert: Die Entdeckung des historischen Jubiläums für den monarchischen Kult in Sachsen und Bayern* (Leipzig, 2005); on the historical associations in the German Confederation see Gabriele B. Clemens, *Sanctus amor patriae: Eine vergleichende Studie zu deutschen und italienischen Geschichtsvereinen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 2004).

¹¹ On this see, in detail, Green, *Fatherlands*.

Catholics, Protestants, and Jews within its borders. Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, the issue was the integration not only of New Bavarians, but also Old Bavarians; what was required was collective integration. Saxony, by contrast, which had also been elevated into a kingdom by Napoleon in 1806, suffered considerable territorial losses. Unlike Bavaria, Saxony did not manage to switch sides from Napoleon to the anti-Napoleonic alliance in time. As a result, in 1816 it was only half as big as Bavaria. The big issue facing Saxony, therefore, was to come to terms with these losses and shape what territory was left, along with its inhabitants, into one state. Beyond this, the monarch, his ministers, and top officials in both Bavaria and Saxony wanted to underpin the existing internal political order and to secure sovereignty and independence in the context of the German Confederation. Finally, the cultural measures outlined here also served, to different extents, to educate Bavarian and Saxon patriots.¹²

In the capital cities, however, a clear outwards-directed movement could also be discerned. Its aim was to strengthen the cultural profile of monarch and state in Europe. In Munich, therefore, foreign monarchs were regularly shown museums and artists' studios and workshops, mainly because Bavaria could not compete with the larger European states in staging extravagant military parades and social festivities.¹³ Efforts by the Bavarian crown prince and later king,

¹² In relation to painting see Frank Büttner, 'Bildung des Volkes durch Geschichte: Zu den Anfängen öffentlicher Geschichtsmalerei in Deutschland', in Ekkehard Mai (ed.), *Historienmalerei in Europa: Paradigmen in Form, Funktion und Ideologie* (Mainz, 1990), 77–94, 83–8; Frank Büttner, 'Bildungsideen und bildende Kunst in Deutschland um 1800', in Reinhart Koselleck (ed.), *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart, 1985–92), ii. *Bildungsgüter und Bildungswissen* (1990), 259–85, at 263–9.

¹³ When rulers paid each other visits in the first half of the nineteenth century, fixed programmes were not, as a rule, laid down in advance; royal visitors tended to decide partly on the spot what they would like to visit. See Johannes Paulmann, *Pomp und Politik: Monarchenbegegnungen in Europa zwischen Ancien Régime und Erstem Weltkrieg* (Paderborn, 2000), 232. Taking the Russian Tsar Nicholas I's visit to Munich in 1838 as an example, we see that, mostly accompanied by Ludwig I, he visited the Glyptothek, St Bonifaz, the Allerheiligen-Hofkirche (All Saints' Court Church), and the Pinakothek, then the Porzellanmanufaktur (porcelain factory), the Glasmalereianstalt (stained glass establishment), and the Erzgießerei (foundry). Ludwig I showed his guest the Festsaalbau of the residence and the stained glass windows made

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Ludwig I, to position Bavaria on the transnational art market and within European artistic society by, for example, maintaining an art representative in Rome, at that time indisputably Europe's most important cultural centre, are further evidence of this.

Nonetheless, the question arises whether, and to what extent, the promotion of fine arts was perceived from the outside, especially by art historians, travellers, and artists. Only an investigation of this issue will provide information about the success or failure of attempts to gain a greater reputation as a sovereign state by promoting the arts. The following article will approach this question from two sides, taking Britain as an example. First it will look at reports by travelling British art lovers dating from the second half of the 1820s and the 1830s, that is, focusing on an early period of increased artistic profiling on the part of Bavaria and Saxony. They will be examined for evidence of how British travellers perceived the capital cities of Saxony and Bavaria, that is, Dresden and Munich respectively, and for what they say about the position that these two cities occupied on the European art map at this time. But the article is also interested in what these reports reveal about the status of Bavaria and Saxony within the German Confederation. It will ask whether Munich and Dresden were perceived as the capitals of sovereign states, or whether they were primarily located within the larger German context. Secondly, the article will look at artistic encounters and meetings between artists from Britain, Bavaria, and Saxony going beyond those generated by travelling. In the 1830s, the writer Anna Jameson made several references to exchanges between British artists and art historians and their counterparts in the German states: 'While the literary intercourse between England and Germany increases every day, and a mutual esteem and understanding is the natural consequence of

for the Maria-Hilf-Kirche in der Au on display in St Ludwig. The Tsar also sought out artists' studios, such as that of Peter Heß. For Nicholas I's visit, see Gerhard Grimm, 'Nikolaus I. von Rußland in Bayern im Jahre 1838', in Hermann Beyer-Thoma (ed.), *Bayern und Osteuropa: Aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen Bayerns, Frankens und Schwabens mit Rußland, der Ukraine und Weißrußland* (Wiesbaden, 2000), 351-74; Hannelore Putz, 'Rußland: Leo von Klenze in St. Petersburg', in Alois Schmid and Katharina Weigand (eds.), *Bayern – mitten in Europa: Vom Frühmittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2005), 339-54.

this approximation of mind, there is a singular and mutual ignorance in all matters appertaining to art, and consequently, a good deal of injustice and prejudice on both sides.¹⁴ Against this background, we will ask whether, and from when, Bavarian, Saxon, and British artists and art historians availed themselves of chances to work together. Our observations will make it possible to draw initial and careful conclusions about the respective cultural profiles of Bavaria and Saxony in the first half of the nineteenth century as seen from a British perspective.

Travelling Art Lovers and their Reports

As already mentioned, political events and forces at the beginning of the nineteenth century, coupled with a contemporaneous change in taste and viewing habits, resulted in strong modifications in some areas of the European art map. Art periodicals drew attention to the locations of art, travel literature reacted to changes in opportunities, and travelling art lovers, with some delay, reported on their experiences. Art historians, travellers with an interest in art, and diplomats stationed on the spot pin-pointed museums, art studios, and monuments on an imagined art map of the whole of Europe; they made connections, and by judging, classified comparatively. Going beyond this, they described the position of art in the countries they visited, thus becoming 'agents of the transfer of knowledge'.¹⁵

In the eighteenth century travel reports were the most popular reading material in Britain. The social and political elite was expected to travel and to capture its experiences in writing, but only from the second half of the eighteenth century did a growing interest in the

¹⁴ Jameson, *Visits and Sketches*, ii. 136.

¹⁵ Rudolf Muhs, 'Geisteswehen: Rahmenbedingungen des deutsch-britischen Kulturaustauschs im 19. Jahrhundert', in id., Johannes Paulmann, and Willibald Steinmetz (eds.), *Aneignung und Abwehr: Interkultureller Transfer zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien im 19. Jahrhundert* (Bodenheim, 1998), 44–70. On British diplomats who operated as art collectors and agents in Italy, see Saho Matsumoto-Best, 'The Art of Diplomacy: British Diplomats and the Collection of Italian Renaissance Paintings, 1851–1917', in Markus Mösöslang and Torsten Riotte (eds.), *The Diplomats' World: A Cultural History of Diplomacy 1815–1914* (Oxford, 2008), 83–101.

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Reich produce more reports of this sort.¹⁶ After the downturn in the numbers of British travellers caused by the coalition wars, the 1820s witnessed a gradual return of enthusiasm for visiting the states of what was now the German Confederation.¹⁷ Consequently there are more reports about experiences in Germany in the 1820s and 1830s. Anna Jameson, for example, one of the best known British art writers, brought the art scene in the *Mittelstaaten* of the German Confederation alive for the British public. Edmund Spencer had collected many impressions on his journeys while acquiring a considerable knowledge of the history of art; Charles Boileau Elliott, Fellow of Queens College Cambridge, gained wide experience of art during his extended travels through the Nordic countries and Russia, especially St Petersburg; and while Frances Trollope and Richard Bryan Smith were less experienced, they, too, were shrewd observers who did not hesitate to judge what they had seen. All proved themselves connoisseurs of the European art scene, and all drew very precise comparisons between the various sites of European art.¹⁸

Travellers such as the five mentioned above often used literary references in preparing their journeys. In general, any detailed knowledge they had of the country to be visited was gleaned from published travel reports and oral and written reports by acquaintances, and they were, in general, happy to follow the routes suggested in

¹⁶ Geyken, *Gentlemen auf Reisen*, 73–4.

¹⁷ Ibid. 60. For the 1830s, I have chosen to concentrate on the following travel reports: Jameson, *Visits and Sketches*; [Edmund Spencer], *Sketches of Germany and the Germans, with a Glance at Poland, Hungary & Switzerland in 1834, 1835, and 1836*, 2 vols. (London, 1836); Charles Boileau Elliott, *Letters from the North of Europe: Or a Journal of Travels in Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Prussia and Saxony* (London, 1832); Richard Bryan Smith, who was artistically less experienced, *Notes made During a Tour in Denmark, Holstein, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Pomerania, The Isle of Ruegen, Prussia, Poland, Saxony, Brunswick, Hannover, the Hanseatic Territories . . . Interspersed with some Observations on the Foreign Corn Trade* (London, 1827); and Frances Trollope, *Vienna and the Austrians: With some Account of a Journey through Swabia, Bavaria, the Tyrol, and the Salzbourg*, 2 vols. (London, 1838).

¹⁸ In her study *Fatherlands*, Abigail Green investigates, among other things, to what extent travellers perceived Germany's political fragmentation, and how they treated it in their reports. She also used, among many others, the travel reports by Charles Boileau Elliott, Richard Bryan Smith, and Frances Trollope; see Green, *Fatherlands*, 22–61.

this context. Individual backgrounds and education were reflected in the contents of travel reports. Some authors accepted the evaluations made in older works, and thus perpetuated existing clichés.¹⁹ Others, however, made their own independent judgements. Against this background, it is crucial in each case to be aware of who the author of the report was, what horizon of experience he or she had, and what substantive emphasis he or she had selected.²⁰

As far as education and interests were concerned, travelling art lovers formed a largely homogeneous group who had been specially schooled in the practice of looking and comparing. The way in which they mention works of art and their locations show that these authors were writing primarily for an educated readership with an interest in art, for whom brief references were enough to establish a context. These authors frequently showed themselves contemptuous of the unschooled public, which they considered uneducated, in galleries and museums.²¹

The five travelling art lovers we will be looking at more closely here, like all their colleagues, set off on their travels with very precise expectations. They shared, in different forms, a desire to see works of art, to study collections, and to view museums and monuments, and they had prepared themselves by reading guidebooks and travel reports. The way in which they looked at things, therefore, was preformed.²² As they targeted the locations where art was to be found,

¹⁹ See Geyken, 'English Images and Perceptions of Germany', 47.

²⁰ See Michael Maurer (ed.), *Britannien von deiner Freiheit einen Hut voll: Deutsche Reiseberichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1992), 8.

²¹ See Jameson's descriptions of visitors to the Königsbau: Jameson, *Visits and Sketches*, i. 240–2. She wrote as follows about the ability to make a judgement about the paintings: 'I amuse myself in the gallery here with watching the countenances of those who look at the pictures. I see that the uneducated eye is caught by subjects in which the individual mind sympathizes, and the educated taste seeks abstract excellence. Which has the most enjoyment? The last, I think. Sensibility, imagination, and quick perception of form and colour, are not alone necessary to feel a work of art; there must be the power of association; the mind trained to habitual sympathy with the beautiful and the good; the knowledge of the meaning, and the comprehension of the object of the artist' (ibid. i. 249).

²² In her travel writing Jameson was very clear that John Russell, *A Tour in Germany and Some of the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire in 1820, 1821*,

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every visit expanded their artistic knowledge and horizons of experience. They therefore formed a special group and, in respect of art, could be considered specialists.

For art enthusiasts travelling from England, Bavaria and Saxony were not, as a rule, directly on the route to Italy, the mandatory goal of their journey, although Dresden was often visited on the way to the Bohemian spas, and Munich on the way to or from Salzburg. But increasing numbers of visitors made Munich and Dresden their primary goal because of the art treasures collected there.²³ In the first half of the nineteenth century travellers to Munich could see a collection of paintings expanded by holdings from Düsseldorf, which transformed it into one of the best collections of Flemish art in Europe. In Dresden they could see Raphael's *Sistine Madonna*; an outstanding collection of works by Corregio, which made it a centre of Italian art comparable to Florence; and the Green Vault (Grüne Gewölbe), the Armoury (Rüstkammer), and the Japanese Palace with its holdings.²⁴ But beyond the actual works of art, visitors were intrigued by the cultural and artistic activity on the spot, seeking contact with artists, patrons of art, collectors, and art historians. They displayed great interest in finding out about innovations in museology, the technical aspects of art, and developments on the art market. This interest was reflected in the reports they wrote. In those consulted here, Munich's art collections are described in detail, and while less tended to be written about Dresden, this is because there were fewer objects to look at there. In a qualitative assessment, Munich and Dresden were ranked equally after Vienna and thus second in Germany. In the work by Trollope, for example, Vienna merits the longest description. In terms of artistic activity, Munich stands out by comparison with all other German centres of art in the 1830s, as emerges clearly from Jameson's report.

The published versions of the reports by the five English travellers presented here reveal both the prior knowledge and the expectations of their authors, and their perceptions and evaluations of the artistic activity they discovered. Their writings were widely read on

1822, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1828) was the standard work to be read in preparation for a visit to Dresden. See Jameson, *Visits and Sketches*, ii. 86-7.

²³ Bavarian and Saxon artists and art historians, conversely, did not consider Britain an absolutely essential place to visit.

²⁴ See the list in Geyken, *Gentlemen auf Reisen*, 256-7.

the art scene; just as they had been affected by earlier works, their accounts influenced the routes and sightseeing programmes of travellers who came after them. As 'material remnants of the lived reality of travelling', these reports are important sources which allow us to assess Bavaria's and Saxony's standing within the European cultural scene at a particular point in time as revealed by the example of their capital cities. They also uncover cultural relations and, because they mix factual information with personal impressions, provide a valuable yardstick for measuring the success of the cultural policy pursued by these *Mittelstaaten*.²⁵

Munich and Dresden in the Reports of Travelling British Art Lovers

Anna Jameson's first days in Munich in 1833 were inauspicious. She was in a fragile state of health and it took her a week to acclimatize. But from her hotel, which was on Max-Joseph-Platz and provided views over the newly built National Theatre and the almost completed Königsbau of the residence, she thought about the architecture of these two buildings. Describing them with the authority of an expert, she identified the pediments of the National Theatre as unsatisfactory.²⁶ During her stay, she attentively and critically examined the newly established sites of art. She was enthusiastic about the Glyptothek and its collection,²⁷ viewed the Königsbau where, however, she

²⁵ Michael Maurer, 'Reisen interdisziplinär: Ein Forschungsbericht in kulturgeschichtlicher Perspektive', in id. (ed.), *Neue Impulse der Reiseforschung* (Berlin, 1999), 287–410, at 298–9.

²⁶ Jameson, *Visits and Sketches*, i. 206: 'The theatre is in itself a beautiful object: the portico, of the Corinthian order, is supported by eight pillars; the ascent is by a noble flight of steps, with four gigantic bronze candelabras at the corners; and nothing, at least to my unlearned eyes, could be more elegant—more purely classical and Greek, than the whole, were it not for the hideous roof upon the roof—one pediment, as it were, riding on the back of the other. Some internal arrangement of the theatre may render this deformity necessary, but it is a deformity, and one that annoys me whenever I look at it.'

²⁷ Ibid. i. 214: 'First visit to the Glyptothek [*sic!*]—just returned—my imagination, still filled with "the blaze, the splendour, and the symmetry,"—excited as I never thought it could be again excited after seeing the Vatican'; *ibid.* 214–24. Trollope considered the Glyptothek Munich's most beautiful build-

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did not approve of the approach to the staircase,²⁸ the Hofgarten (Court Garden) and its Arcades, the as yet unfinished Allerheiligenhofkirche (All Saints' Court Church),²⁹ Ludwigstraße, Maximiliansplatz and Karolinenplatz, the Duke of Leuchtenberg's tomb in St Michaels, and Ludwig the Bavarian's cenotaph in the Frauenkirche. She wrote at length and in detail about her visits to the royal galleries in the Hofgarten and at Schleissheim, and about the chance to visit the Duke of Leuchtenberg's gallery, Baron von Eichthal's collection of paintings, and the studios of the sculptors Bandel and Mayer. At the Odeon she attended a musical performance and described the concert hall as 'larger than any public room in London, and admirably constructed for music'.³⁰ The Pinakothek, still under construction, she found impressive, although she was highly critical of a fresco in the gallery which was to depict the muses introducing Ludwig I to the grove of art.³¹ Jameson was surprised to find that she was refused permission to visit Ludwig's Schönheitengalerie (Gallery of Beauties), and in this context compared the Bavarian king

ing, but its magnificence did nothing for her. See Trollope, *Vienna and the Austrians*, i. 218–22.

²⁸ See Jameson, *Visits and Sketches*, i. 272–3. In 1837 Trollope criticized the Königsbau of the residence. She found its appointments 'gaudy and unpleasing in the extreme' and was disappointed by the use of stucco cladding instead of marble but, by contrast, appreciated its old holdings. Trollope, *Vienna and the Austrians*, i. 215–17.

²⁹ Frances Trollope was able to visit the completed Allerheiligenhofkirche, which she described as 'perfectly unique', but had to admit that 'to my fancy, the old chapel of King's College, Cambridge, which I quote as the strongest contrast to it that I can remember, is more pleasing to the eye'. Trollope, *Vienna and the Austrians*, ii. 409.

³⁰ Jameson, *Visits and Sketches*, ii. 30–1.

³¹ *Ibid.* ii. 45–6: 'At one end of this gallery there is to be a large fresco, representing his majesty King Louis, introduced by the muse of Poetry to the assembled poets and painters of Germany. Now, this species of allegorical adulation appears to me flat and out of date. I well remember that long ago the famous picture of Voltaire, introduced into the Elysian fields by Henri Quatre, and making his best bow to Racine and Molière, threw me into a convulsion of laughter: and the cartoon of this royal apotheosis provoked the same irrepressible feeling of the ridiculous. I wish somebody would hint to King Louis that this is not in good taste, and that there are many, many ways in which the compliment (which he truly merits) might be better managed.'

with a 'grand Turk'.³² Spencer's itinerary in Munich was similar to Jameson's.³³ In 1837 Trollope, unlike Jameson, was able to visit the newly opened Pinakothek: 'the noble Pinakothec was open to the whole world, and it will not be easy for the whole world to find anything better worth looking at.'³⁴ On the whole, however, she was disappointed with Munich. She was aware that she was expected to show greater enthusiasm, but felt incapable of this: 'And what shall I tell you about it all? That I admire Munich, its gaudy decorations, its ambitious architecture, and its smart new residence? I cannot honestly do this; for neither the general aspect of the town, nor the peculiar style of the new palace, suit my taste.' She explained her views by pointing out that all the recently laid out streets and the palaces and houses that had just been completed or were still under construction were simply 'too new'. It would be worth visiting Munich a few years later, she suggested.³⁵

While Dresden presented visitors with far fewer attractions than Munich, the city inspired people with its silhouettes and urban spaces. Jameson wrote: 'Beautiful, stately Dresden! if not the queen, the fine lady of the German cities!'³⁶ Jameson and Spencer both used the already well-worn comparison of Dresden with Florence; both visited the city's churches, Brühl's Terrace, the Zwinger, the Opera, and the Japanese Palace with its collections. But the climax of their tours was a visit to the Green Vault and especially the gallery, which at this time was still accommodated in the residence. Art lovers were enthusiastic, especially about the magnificent collection of Italian art,³⁷ although Jameson criticized the presentation of two of its main works. To do them justice, she suggested, Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* and Corregio's *Holy Night* should each be shown in a 'sanctuary' of its

³² Ibid. ii. 54–5: 'The king of Bavaria has a gallery of beauties (the portraits of some of the most beautiful women of Germany and Italy), which he shuts up from the public eye, like any grand Turk—and neither bribery nor interest can procure admission.'

³³ See [Spencer], *Sketches of Germany*, ii. 315–27.

³⁴ Trollope, *Vienna and the Austrians*, ii. 408.

³⁵ Ibid. i. 213–14.

³⁶ Jameson, *Visits and Sketches*, ii. 86.

³⁷ Smith, *Notes made During a Tour*, 209: 'The royal gallery of paintings, in one of the buildings in the castle, deserves the early attention of the stranger, being the second, if second to any, in Europe.'

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own and illuminated from above.³⁸ The writer was also deeply impressed by a reading given in his own house by Ludwig Tieck, who she rated as the 'literary Colossus of Dresden; perhaps I should say of Germany'.³⁹ Spencer considered the following worth a special mention: the layout of the new town; the equestrian statue of Augustus II; a model of Solomon's temple, which, originating in Hamburg, had been bought from London by Augustus the Strong and was on display in Dresden; and the contents of the Armoury.⁴⁰ He objected that the area around the Zwinger was too cluttered with coffee houses, billiard halls, and so on. The impact of the Wache (Guard House), erected by Karl Friedrich Schinkel, too, he suggested, was impaired by a wine and beer house, the area to the museum being separated only by a dilapidated wooden railing that had not been painted for a long time.⁴¹ Elliott, who visited the city in October 1830, at a time of political unrest, had a much more negative view of Dresden, and reflected on the insecure situation in his report. Although Dresden under Augustus III had long been known as the 'Athens of modern times', he suggested, it could not claim this for much longer.⁴² The residence, for example, looked more like a prison than a representative building.⁴³ All the authors followed a similar itinerary in Dresden.⁴⁴

³⁸ Jameson, *Visits and Sketches*, ii. 111-12.

³⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 94-100, at 94.

⁴⁰ See [Spencer], *Sketches of Germany*, i. 242-58.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* i. 245-46: 'thus the centre of the fine spacious square, composed of the king's palace, the Catholic church, the Zwinger, &c. is occupied with what they are pleased to term an Italian village, but what, in plain English, is nothing more nor less than an assemblage of low beer-houses, billiard rooms, and coffee-houses, the rendezvous of all the idle and dissipated in Dresden. The royal guard-house, a beautiful specimen of Grecian architecture, built by M. Schinkel of Berlin, is joined to one of those little wooden nuisances, called a wine and beer-shop, and the Museum is merely separated from this said Italian village by a mean, dilapidated wooden railing, which did not appear to have been painted for the last thirty years.'

⁴² Elliott, *Letters from the North of Europe*, 446.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 448. [Spencer], *Sketches of Germany*, i. 246, compared the residence with 'a fortress'.

⁴⁴ In addition, Elliott and Smith also referred to the monument for the Russian general Jean-Victor Moreau, who in 1813 had fought in Dresden by the side of Alexander I in 1813, and died there; Elliott, *Letters from the North of Europe*, 453; Smith, *Notes made During a Tour*, 229.

The point of comparison for judging what had been seen was initially something familiar in Britain, giving readers at home the chance to contextualize what they read about. All the authors, however, also drew comparisons with European references in the area of art when they wanted to describe their impressions.⁴⁵ Jameson, for example, noted that members of the audience at the Munich Opera were wearing French fashions which had been modern two or three years previously.⁴⁶ The organization of opera performances inspired the following comment: 'They manage these things better here than in England.'⁴⁷ She described the Glyptothek as a 'Vatican in miniature',⁴⁸ while in her disapproval of ostentatious representation, Trollope drew a comparison with the Louvre.⁴⁹ Jameson described the Bavarian king, Ludwig I, as the 'Lorenzo de' Medici of Bavaria';⁵⁰ the Court Garden arcades with their shops and cafés reminded her of the Palais Royal in Paris; while the cycle of historical frescos by Cornelius distinguished the Munich arcades from all others.⁵¹ Referring to the rediscovery of the technique of fresco painting in the nineteenth century, Jameson placed the advancement of this art into its Roman context. Dresden, she went on, although 'one of the smallest, and by no means one of the richest capitals in Europe', was 'one of the most delightful residences on the continent'.⁵² Jameson judged that, with the possible exception of Florence, no other European city had an Italian collection to compete with Dresden's.⁵³ Trollope's remark that visitors to the paintings in The Hague would value the collections more highly if they had not already seen those in Vienna and Munich shows that the Munich collections had long since become a point of reference.⁵⁴

⁴⁵ Geyken, *Gentlemen auf Reisen*, 260, finds the same thing in travel reports of the eighteenth century.

⁴⁶ See Jameson, *Visits and Sketches*, i. 209.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* i. 212.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* i. 214.

⁴⁹ See Trollope, *Vienna and the Austrians*, i. 219-20.

⁵⁰ Jameson, *Visits and Sketches*, i. 239.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* i. 266.

⁵² *Ibid.* ii. 89.

⁵³ *Ibid.* ii. 113.

⁵⁴ See Trollope, *Vienna and the Austrians*, ii. 411.

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The esteem in which travel reports held both Munich and Dresden show that they were firmly established entities on the European art map, less on the basis of the quantity of their collections than of their quality. While Dresden's exceptional collection of Italian paintings made it a compulsory stop, in Munich it was the work of the Flemish masters. Beyond this, however, from the 1820s Munich increasingly presented itself as the centre of a highly diverse contemporary arts scene. New paintings, sculptures, and works of architecture were constantly being created there; artists came and went, and with them, studios and workshops. Spencer appositely captured the difference between Dresden and Munich: 'though Dresden, from its beautiful localities, is more captivating, yet this [Munich] is more striking: add to which, the one is dull and stationary, while the other is lively and attractive, and continually advancing in prosperity.'⁵⁵

When Charles Boileau Elliott was staying in Dresden in October 1830, the Director of Antiquities there seized the opportunity and asked the visitor, who was well-versed in Oriental languages, whether he could decipher the inscription on an ancient seal. Elliott declared his willingness to help, and translated the Arabic and Persian text into English and Latin.⁵⁶ This story, recounted by Elliott, is typical. The authors regularly report that their expertise was consulted, that they were shown around by local artists and scholars, and that they were invited to social gatherings, thus demonstrating their professional competence, fame, and access to the social and artistic scene. These accounts conferred additional authority on their writings, raised their own status, and gave the judgements printed in their books added significance. Jameson was conducted through the rooms of the Königsbau and the Pinakothek by their architect, Leo von Klenze; in Dresden, she was recognized by Karl August Böttiger before she had identified him herself; Spencer witnessed King Ludwig I addressing foreign guests at his court in their respective mother tongues; and Smith was able to observe the Saxon king at lunch with his court in Pillnitz.⁵⁷ The other side of the coin was that Frances Trollope felt constrained to explain why she had lacked such contacts and meet-

⁵⁵ [Spencer], *Sketches of Germany*, ii. 320.

⁵⁶ See Elliott, *Letters from the North of Europe*, 451–2.

⁵⁷ See Jameson, *Visits and Sketches*, i. 270–301; *ibid.* ii. 105–6; [Spencer], *Sketches of Germany*, ii. 322; Smith, *Notes made During a Tour*, 248–9.

ings on her first stay in Munich, by contrast with her visit to Vienna. She explains in detail that Munich society had been on summer holiday, comparing that city in summer to London during the hunting season. In neither, she pointed out, would members of the social elite be found at such a time.⁵⁸

Their many conversations and visits fed in to the authors' evaluations and assessments of the cultural scene, and gave them remarkable insights into Munich's and Dresden's artistic milieux. It was not so much the facts that were important; errors and imprecision frequently crept in. But the observations and assessments derived from them conveyed the value of the collections and role of the arts scene from the perspective of a British traveller with a European artistic horizon.

This will be illustrated further by taking the accessibility of museums as an example. Information about when and under what conditions works of art could be visited was important to readers, and Jameson discussed this in detail. She described the regulations of the Dresden gallery as 'rather inhospitable and ill-natured' in this respect. While the gallery was opened twice a week in summer, she went on, it was closed throughout the autumn and winter. In order to gain access during these months, it was necessary to pay a considerable sum of money. This gave visitors access to the gallery whenever they wanted, and for as long as they wanted, once it had been unlocked. And to establish whether this had happened, a messenger had to be dispatched every morning.⁵⁹ Museum opening times could be found in every guidebook; the information alone therefore provided no special insights. But the explanations that the author put forward for the rather unsatisfactory arrangements in Dresden are remarkable. Jameson pointed out that Saxony was in financially straitened circumstances as a result of the Napoleonic wars and its territorial losses, and suggested that there might have been financial reasons why the gallery, which was difficult to heat, was not open regularly in winter. She also suspected a further reason in the fact that the gallery was 'royal' not 'national'. Augustus III had acquired his collection in the eighteenth century for his own private amusement. Opening times were therefore set personally by each monarch

⁵⁸ See Trollope, *Vienna and the Austrians*, ii.; on Munich, i. 208-9.

⁵⁹ Jameson, *Visits and Sketches*, ii. 100-1.

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and, in this case, granting a regular opportunity to view the collections was not a matter for the nation.⁶⁰

The situation in Munich, by contrast, was quite different. Collections there, Jameson reported, were regularly open to the public, and the Glyptothek was even kept open longer for foreign visitors. In addition, public guided tours through the Königsbau of the residence were held regularly. All this showed, Jameson claimed, that the king considered the artistic ventures which he financed privately—she expressly mentioned the cuts in the budget for royal building imposed by parliament in 1831—as both royal and national undertakings.⁶¹ In the Pinakothek, which was already under construction, Jameson saw a ‘national gallery’ like the one planned for London. She identified the main objective behind the construction of this building as follows:

Such, then, is the general plan of the Pinakothek, the national gallery of Bavaria. I make no comment, except that I felt and recognised in every part the presence of a directing mind, and the absence of all narrow views, all truckling to the interests, or tastes, or prejudices, or convenience, of any particular class of persons. It is very possible that when finished it will be found by scientific critics not absolutely perfect, which, as we know, all human works are at least intended and expected to be; but it is equally clear that an honest anxiety for the glory of art, and the benefit of the public—not the caprices of the king, nor the individual vanity of the architect—has been the moving principle throughout.⁶²

Jameson’s classification was based on the availability of regular public and general access which did not, ultimately, depend on the king’s permission; she was obviously referring back to similar discussions which were being held at the time in Britain. The question of ownership probably played a less important part in her assessment because in both Munich and Dresden most of the collections belonged to the king personally, or to the royal house. Beyond this,

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 101.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* i. 241.

⁶² *Ibid.* ii. 47.

the location of the display area probably also played a subordinate role, for the author recognized both 'royal' and 'national' aspirations in the Königsbau. To be considered 'national', we can conclude from Jameson's comments, museums generally had to be exempted from untransparent interference by the monarch and reliably available to visitors at regular hours.

It is striking how differently the role of the monarch in the field of fine arts was perceived in the 1820s and 1830s. In Munich the king dominated all artistic activity; he features in all travel reports as the central figure on the art scene and as the initiator of the museums. Spencer, for example, concluded that in no other German state – not even in Austria – was more done for the arts than in Bavaria. As a museum building he went on, the Glyptothek cast 'the highest honour on the taste and munificence of his present majesty'; although the monarch of only a small country, Ludwig I had in this museum building erected 'one of the proudest monuments to the fine arts in Germany; a monument that will transmit his name to posterity, as one of the most accomplished princes of his time'.⁶³ In this passage, Spencer alludes to one of the royal motives for promoting art, namely, to enter the ranks of the great patrons of art since Antiquity as a monarchical instigator and collector.⁶⁴ In Dresden, by contrast, the monarch played at most a marginal role, if we believe the travellers' reports. As the main viewing interest here was the art objects collected by Augustus III in the eighteenth century, and a contemporary artistic scene played only a small part at this time, the question of who promoted artistic life was not pertinent here.

Dresden, unequivocally seen as the capital city of the sovereign Kingdom of Saxony, thus appears rather static; its significance was drawn from past artistic achievements. In the 1820s and 1830s the gallery was still integrated into the royal residence and entrance requirements were anything but professional. Things only changed in this respect with the building of the Semper gallery in the 1840s and 1850s. There was little talk about the cultural scene; at least, travelling

⁶³ [Spencer], *Sketches of Germany*, ii. 320–1.

⁶⁴ See Hannelore Putz, *König Ludwig I. von Bayern als Bauherr und Kunstsammler: Monarchisches Mäzenatentum zwischen kunstpolitischem Impuls und ästhetischem Vergnügen im Spannungsfeld des Frühkonstitutionalismus* (Munich, forthcoming 2013).

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art lovers did not report visiting building sites and artists' studios. Consequently, neither artists nor patrons of the arts had a high profile in Dresden. The city owed its position on the European art map more to its collections than to its rather marginal contemporary art scene. The situation in Munich was quite different. While the Bavarian capital also scored points for its collections of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century art, its recent acquisitions of nineteenth-century works and especially the city's artistic and building activities offered considerably more opportunities for experiencing art. Munich presented itself as possessing a lively and vibrant arts scene. Well-known sculptors, painters, and architects had a major influence on social life, and were there to meet and talk to travelling art lovers. The dominant figure in the world of art, however, was the king, who financed art from his private means. Only in few cases, and mostly after heated exchanges in parliament, was he able to draw on public money for this purpose. Unlike in Saxony, a conscious monarchical will to build on the existing situation and promote the country as a location of art can be discerned in Bavaria. Travelling British art lovers therefore experienced Dresden and Munich in very different ways, and conveyed their impressions home in conversations, newspaper articles, and travel reports.

Artistic Encounters between the Mittelstaaten and Britain

The specific character that Bavaria and Saxony developed in the 1820s and 1830s and which travellers reported and reflected on in many ways very soon impacted on the actual points of contact between English, Saxon, and Bavarian artists in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the case of Bavaria, an increasingly dense network of relationships emerged in the 1830s. At the end of the eighteenth century and in the first half of the nineteenth, Britain undoubtedly lost some of the lead it had enjoyed in the development of art and museums to France and Germany. It was only with the Great Exhibition of 1851 and its exhibition building which attracted international attention that this gradually began to change again. If Continental European artists and princes had, in the eighteenth century, looked rather one-sidedly at developments in Britain in addition to Italy and France, from the 1830s the arts scene was observed more

closely in the opposite direction as well.⁶⁵ This increased interest is also revealed in the fact that the British press reported ever more frequently on the artistic situation in Germany.⁶⁶

The decision of the members of the British Select Committee on Arts and their Connexion with Manufactures to consult Prussian and Bavarian experts when the exhibition concept of the National Gallery was being discussed may serve as an example. In 1835 the Select Committee drew on the expertise of the director of the Berlin gallery, Gustav Friedrich von Waagen. In the summer of 1836 Leo von Klenze was invited to London to report to the House of Commons on the Bavarian arts scene. The Munich head of the Oberste Baubehörde and Hofbauintendant reported on the teaching of art, royal and state support for art and crafts, and especially the state-of-the-art exhibition system used by the new museums in Munich. The report describes Bavaria as 'the classic country of the Arts'.⁶⁷

A special interest was taken in whether the Bavarian museums and collections were open to the public without charge or restrictions. Klenze confirmed this. In general, the Select Committee devoted a great deal of attention to accessibility. Specialists were consulted

⁶⁵ See Adrian von Buttlar, *Leo von Klenze: Leben – Werk – Vision* (Munich, 1999), 360. Ernst Schütz, *Die Gesandtschaft Großbritanniens am Immerwährenden Reichstag zu Regensburg und am kur(pfalz-)bayerischen Hof zu München 1683–1806* (Munich, 2007), 277–9, paints a colourful picture of Munich Anglophiles in the eighteenth century, distinguishing the various areas of social life.

⁶⁶ Emma Winter has demonstrated this with regard to fresco painting in Munich in the 1830s; see Emma L. Winter, 'German Fresco Painting and the New Houses of Parliament at Westminster, 1834–1851', *Historical Journal*, 47/2 (2004), 291–329, at 304–5.

⁶⁷ In the 1850s Leo von Klenze's opinion was sought again when a cultural and educational centre and national museum was being planned for South Kensington. On Klenze's appearances before Parliament see Reinhold Baumstark, 'Klenzes Museen', in Franziska Dunkel, Hans-Michael Körner, and Hannelore Putz (eds.), *König Ludwig I. von Bayern und Leo von Klenze: Symposium aus Anlaß des 75. Geburtstags von Hubert Glaser* (Munich, 2006), 1–20; Adrian von Buttlar, 'Klenze in England', in Franz Bosbach and Frank Büttner (eds.), *Künstlerische Beziehungen zwischen England und Deutschland in der viktorianischen Epoche* (Munich, 1998), 39–51 documents his hearing in the House of Commons; on this see also Anthony Burton, 'Art and Science Applied to Industry: Prince Albert's Plans for South Kensington', in Bosbach and Büttner (eds.), *Künstlerische Beziehungen*, 169–86, at 170–1.

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about conditions on the Continent. In relation to Bavaria, it was established that all classes of people had access to the museums.⁶⁸

If we are looking for further areas of contact between Bavarian and British artists, we find that the two leading Bavarian architects of the first half of the nineteenth century, Leo von Klenze and Friedrich von Gärtner, were elected Corresponding Members of the Royal Institute of British Architects, founded in 1834. Gärtner had studied in Britain as a young architect, and had established a network of connections.⁶⁹ Following European-wide recognition of Klenze, the same Institute in 1852 conferred on him its Gold Medal, which it had been awarding since 1848. The Munich architect was the fifth person, after Charles Robert Cockerell, Luigi Canina, Charles Barry, and Thomas L. Donaldsson, to receive this prize; the award was justified by reference to Klenze's role in the development of architecture in Bavaria and the significance of his writings on the theory of art.⁷⁰ In the field of painting Peter von Cornelius and Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, who later went to Dresden, were a great attraction. A visit to the Cornelius school's Munich frescoes had been more or less obligatory for all travelling British art lovers since the 1820s, and in 1841 Cornelius himself accepted Lord Monson's invitation to visit London.⁷¹ Later,

⁶⁸ (William Ewart): 'Are you aware that in Bavaria the peasants come from the mountains, almost from the plough, and wander through the gallery with the most perfect freedom? – (George Rennie): I have seen it in Italy; and at Paris you will see the peasantry leave their baskets of vegetables in the market, and come to the Louvre to see the pictures' (Report from the Select Committee on Arts and their Connexion with Manufactures, 21 June 1836, 62, no. 716).

⁶⁹ Royal Institute of British Architects (henceforth RIBA) Archives, General Meetings Minutes, vol. i. 1835, elected in May (see Buttlar, *Leo von Klenze*, 484). This also contains a letter from Klenze dating from the same year, in which he expresses gratitude for being elected and reports on the finding of the Temple of Nike and attempts to protect monuments in Athens (RIBA Archives, Letters to Council, I/1); on Friedrich von Gärtner see Winfried Nerdinger (ed.), *Friedrich von Gärtner: Ein Architektenleben (1791–1847)* (Munich, 1992).

⁷⁰ See Buttlar, 'Klenze in England', 45–6.

⁷¹ See Wolfgang Lottes, 'Nazarener und Präraffaeliten: Zwei Künstlerbünde in den deutsch-englischen Kunstbeziehungen des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Adolf M. Birke and Kurt Kluxen (eds.), *Viktorianisches England in deutscher Perspektive* (Munich, 1983), 109–31. The standard work on Peter von Cornelius is

this high esteem was extended to Munich history painting in general. Munich's frescos, supported in particular by Ludwig I out of his own money, were studied as a model in the discussion about frescos for the Houses of Parliament.⁷²

If we ask about the chances for encounters during education and training, it is well known that since the second half of the eighteenth century a period of study in Britain had been regarded as an important stimulus to the artistic development of landscape architects, painters, sculptors, and architects;⁷³ conversely, about seventy young Englishmen studied at the Munich Akademie der Bildenden Künste in the nineteenth century, while more established artists also travelled to the city for periods of advanced study.⁷⁴

Bavarian and British artists also had mutually fruitful discussions on the theory of art. In London, Leo von Klenze intervened in the

Frank Büttner, *Peter Cornelius: Fresken und Freskenprojekte*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1980–99). Büttner also deals extensively with Cornelius's views on the educational and political function of fresco painting. On Cornelius's visit to London see Winter, 'German Fresco Painting and the New Houses of Parliament at Westminster, 1834–1851', 313.

⁷² Ibid. 291–329. Taking the example of fresco painting, Winter demonstrates the importance of travel accounts and newspaper articles as well as personal reports in making conditions in Munich known to the British public. She also describes the positive reception of Bavarian fresco painting, followed by its rejection as a style of art stigmatized as German and Roman.

⁷³ Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff, Carl Gotthard Langhans, and Johann Christian Neumark, for example, travelled to Britain during the last twenty-five years of the eighteenth century. The gardens laid out later in Wörlitz and at the country seat of Dyhernfurth near Breslau show the influence of this experience in Britain. Karl Friedrich Schinkel visited England in 1826, but was unable to arrange meetings in London with John Nash, John Soane, or Robert Smirke; on the travels of architects see Reinhard Wegner, 'Der Architekt auf Reisen: Von der Grand Tour zur technologischen Reise', in Michael Maurer (ed.), *Neue Impulse der Reiseforschung* (Berlin, 1999), 227–35. For the English travels of the landscape architects Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell and Carl August Sckell and the English reception of Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell's work on gardens, see Jan Woudstra, 'The Sckell Family in England (1770–1830)', in Iris Lauterbach (ed.), *Friedrich Ludwig von Sckell (1750–1823): Gartenkünstler und Stadtplaner* (Worms, 2002), 211–20.

⁷⁴ See *Matrikelbücher der Akademie der Bildenden Künste in München 1809–1920*, digital edition <<http://adbk.de>>, accessed 10 Aug. 2012.

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fierce controversy about the polychrome architectural style of ancient Greece, publishing his own pamphlet and thus contributing to the discussion about whether objects in Antiquity had been coloured. The work of the architects James Stuart and Nicholas Revett had a lasting impact on architectural designs, themselves influenced by examples from Antiquity, in Munich and Dresden.⁷⁵ In his works on the theory of art, Charles Robert Cockerell wrote about the restoration of the pediment sculptures from the temple of Aphaea on Aegina and the way in which they were displayed in the Munich Glyptothek.⁷⁶ August von Voit adopted basic elements of construction from Crystal Palace and reshaped Paxton's idea, thus making his own contribution to the development of iron and glass architecture.⁷⁷

Scholarly exchange and personal encounters were not limited to artists. In the fine art trade, Bavarian and British buyers faced each other as competitors in Italy (especially in Rome) and Greece, particularly during the first half of the nineteenth century. They observed each other; sometimes they bought objects from each other. Very late, in 1863, Ludwig I acquired Assyrian bas-reliefs for the Glyptothek from Austen Henry Layard, who had discovered them during his excavations in Nimrud.⁷⁸ In 1852 Owen Jones and Digby Wyatt trav-

⁷⁵ See the late German edition of James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Die Alterthümer von Athen: Aus dem Englischen übersetzt nach der Londoner Ausgabe von 1762 und 1787 und bereichert mit eigenen und allen Zusätzen der neuen Ausgabe von 1825*, 3 vols. (Darmstadt, 1829–33).

⁷⁶ See Hubert Glaser (ed.), *König Ludwig I. von Bayern und Leo von Klenze: Der Briefwechsel*, pt. 1: *Kronprinzenzeit König Ludwigs I.*, ed. Franziska Dunkel, Hannelore Putz, and Friedegund Freitag, 3 vols. (Munich, 2004).

⁷⁷ On the influence of Crystal Palace on the development of Munich's Glaspalast see Winfried Nerdinger (ed.), *Zwischen Glaspalast und Maximilianeum: Architektur in Bayern zur Zeit Maximilians II. (1848–1864)*, exhibition catalogue (Eurasburg, 1997); Jan R. Piggott, *Palace of the People: The Crystal Palace at Sydenham 1854–1936* (Madison, 2004).

⁷⁸ See Glaser (ed.), *König Ludwig I. von Bayern und Leo von Klenze: Der Briefwechsel*, pt. 3: *Nach dem Thronverzicht König Ludwigs I.*, ed. Hannelore Putz, Friedegund Freitag, and Franziska Dunkel, 3 vols. (Munich, 2011), at iii. doc. 1583, 15 May 1863. The correspondence between King Ludwig I of Bavaria and his art representative in Rome, Johann Martin von Wagner, is at present being edited by the Historical Seminar of the University of Munich. The letters dating from the first decades of the nineteenth century constantly refer to British competition on the art market in Rome and Greece.

elled to Munich to take casts of a number of the Glyptothek's antiquities for display in the cast museum at Sydenham's newly built Crystal Palace.⁷⁹

Ludwig I of Bavaria and Maximilian II also spent time in Britain when they were crown princes in order to gain insights into the country's arts and cultural scene. Crown Prince Ludwig was deeply impressed by the British Museum's large holdings of extraordinary works of art from Antiquity, but criticized the chiselling off of the marble bas-reliefs from the Parthenon in Athens as 'barbarism'. From this concern grew attempts to protect ancient monuments on the Acropolis and elsewhere in Greece, which Ludwig pushed forward energetically in the 1830s.⁸⁰ Ludwig also closely studied the genesis of the British Museum's collections, which were extraordinary and unthinkable for German conditions at the time.⁸¹ Sir Robert Peel, on the other hand, visited Munich in the 1830s on a fact-finding mission about the city's museums. In 1838 Prince Albert was taken on a tour through the Munich residence, and the influence of this on Buckingham Palace's State Rooms has been documented.⁸²

How little Saxony was perceived as a reference point for the contemporary art scene and developments in museology in the 1830s, by contrast, is reflected in the fact that there were many fewer contacts between British and Saxon artists and that they took place later in time. After a start had been made in overcoming the financial consequences and painful territorial losses of the Napoleonic wars, however, a growing monarchical will for cultural representation manifested itself in Saxony as well. The monument for Frederick Augustus I can be mentioned as an example. The school of sculpture which

⁷⁹ Ibid. ii. doc. 1264, 23 Nov. 1852.

⁸⁰ See Reinhold Baumstark (ed.), *Das neue Hellas: Griechen und Bayern zur Zeit Ludwigs I.* (Munich, 1999).

⁸¹ On the visit to London and the British Museum see MvWM, Wagner Archive, Ludwig to Wagner, 17 June 1814: 'The British Museum contains a larger number and more outstanding sculptures than I expected, some of them are very beautiful statues, including a Venus found at Ostia and a caryatid. I have not yet been able to see it all, but as in Paris, noticed a discobolus. The collections of . . . Sloan and Townsly and the Egyptian works collected by the French and taken from them account for by far the majority of the sculptures. There are also exquisite collections of private paintings.'

⁸² See Jonathan Marsden, *Victoria and Albert: Art and Love* (London, 2010), 21.

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was established in Dresden under the leadership of Ernst Rietschel, probably the most talented of Christian Daniel Rauch's students, attracted attention from all over Europe.⁸³ From 1843, the Saxon state started to buy more contemporary paintings. Art acquisition received an additional boost when a budget was granted for the purpose after 1858. In Saxony the state was the main patron of the arts, not primarily the monarch as in Bavaria.⁸⁴ Attention paid to the artistic scene increased markedly from the 1840s, reflecting its growing economic prosperity and political significance in the context of the German Confederation.⁸⁵ Artistic relations between Saxony and Britain intensified from the 1840s. During his years of exile, Gottfried Semper taught at the London School of Design, which was being reformed at that time by Henry Cole. As a teacher, Semper argued that the design of everyday objects should be guided by artistic principles; in this way, he suggested, industrially produced products could contribute to the moral elevation of society. In the context of his work as a teacher at the School of Design, Semper exchanged views with Owen Jones, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, and others, and his debates with John Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites prepared the way for the later Arts and Crafts movement.⁸⁶ Largely on the basis of his experiences in Britain, Semper attempted, in theoretical reflections, to reconcile art with the new and increasing demands of the economy and industry, and to develop an architectural language of forms corresponding to changing cultural values.⁸⁷ The Old Masters' Gallery

⁸³ See Gerd Spitzer, 'Staatspolitik und bildende Kunst: Das Denkmal für König Friedrich August I. und die Situation der Bildhauerei in Dresden um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Winfried Müller and Martina Schattkowsky (eds.), *Zwischen Tradition und Modernität: König Johann von Sachsen 1801–1873* (Leipzig, 2004), 265–87.

⁸⁴ Green, *Fatherlands*, 119–22.

⁸⁵ See Jonas Flöter, *Beust und die Reform des Deutschen Bundes 1850–1866: Sächsisch-mittelstaatliche Koalitionspolitik im Kontext der deutschen Frage* (Cologne, 2001).

⁸⁶ See Rainald Franz and Andreas Nierhaus (eds.), *Gottfried Semper und Wien: Die Wirkung des Architekten auf 'Wissenschaft, Industrie und Kunst'* (Vienna, 2007).

⁸⁷ See John V. N. Soane, 'Gottfried Semper und seine englischen Erfahrungen 1850–1855', in Henrik Karge (ed.), *Gottfried Semper – Dresden und Europa: Die moderne Renaissance der Künste* (Berlin, 2007), 289–300.

in Dresden and the Opera House that he designed aroused great interest in Britain.⁸⁸

The examples mentioned above show that relations between the states of Saxony and Bavaria and Britain were very different in both chronology and substance. Further research is required before the network of mutual exchanges can be drawn even more tightly, and suggestions can only be made here. It has already become apparent, however, that we are not dealing with 'single encounters between individuals and groups',⁸⁹ but that there was a growing mutual interest on the part of all art lovers. The aim of this ultimately quantitative assessment must be to allow us to make qualitative statements about the 'process' of artistic exchange so that we can recognize to what extent artists and art historians mutually accepted each other's various theories, views, techniques, and artistic knowledge, or under what circumstances they deliberately rejected them.⁹⁰ The bearers of these contacts in the first half of the nineteenth century were prominent men on both sides. Leo von Klenze, Friedrich von Gärtner, Peter von Cornelius, and Gottfried Semper on the German side faced Charles Robert Cockerell, Henry Cole, and Joseph Paxton, equally influential representatives of the British arts and cultural scene. If we take the debate about the polychrome architectural style of ancient Greece as an example of the contemporary discourse on the theory of art, Leo von Klenze and especially Gottfried Semper were on a par with their British colleagues. As so often in art, the debate was a transnational one.⁹¹

⁸⁸ On Semper see Winfried Nerdinger and Werner Oechslin (eds.), *Gottfried Semper 1803–1879: Architektur und Wissenschaft* (Munich, 2003); Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper: Ein Architekt des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Zurich, 2001).

⁸⁹ Rudolf Muhs, Johannes Paulmann, and Willibald Steinmetz, 'Brücken über den Kanal? Interkultureller Transfer zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien im 19. Jahrhundert', in eid. (eds.), *Aneignung und Abwehr*, 7–20, at 11.

⁹⁰ Ibid. 18–19. On the Munich frescos as a model for the decoration of the Houses of Parliament see Winter, 'German Fresco Painting and the New Houses of Parliament at Westminster, 1834–1851', 291–329.

⁹¹ See Andreas Prater, 'Streit um Farbe: Die Wiederentdeckung der Polychromie in der griechischen Architektur und Plastik im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert', in Vinzenz Brinkmann and Raimund Wünsche (eds.), *Bunte Götter: Die Farbigekeit antiker Skulptur* (Munich, 2003), 256–67.

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The Artistic Profile of Bavaria and Saxony from a British Perspective

The central German states of the German Confederation played at most a marginal part in political and military decision-making at European level.⁹² Even within the German Confederation they had little political say and were unable to resist Austria's and Prussia's dominance. Nonetheless, they were keen to be perceived as independent and sovereign states within the existing political order. At the Great Exhibition of 1851, for example, which featured the German Customs Union as a unit, Prussia was eager to seize the initiative and reinforce its claim to leadership internally and externally. The *Mittelstaaten* Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, and Hanover, by contrast, placed great value on being able to act independently as Britain's economic partners. In the publication which the German Customs Union commissioned for the Great Exhibition, its products were listed in groups based on their state of origin.⁹³ But these at-

⁹² If, for example, we take the significance that Britain accorded its diplomatic missions abroad as reflecting the political value which Britain recognized each country as possessing, then the *Mittelstaaten* of the German Confederation come rather low in the ranking. The mission in Dresden was regularly second to bottom in the list of all Britain's foreign missions. See Sabine Freitag, '“The narrow limits of this kingdom”: Sachsen im Spiegel britischer Gesandtschaftsberichte aus dem Vormärz', *Dresdner Hefte*, 70 (2002), 27–37, at 27. Measured in terms of the salary paid to Britain's representatives abroad, Bavaria was twelfth (1815) and later fourteenth (1825) out of twenty foreign missions; Württemberg was fifteenth, then sixteenth. In the mid nineteenth century all of Britain's representatives in the *Mittelstaaten* of the German Confederation belonged to the third of four classes; see Raymond A. Jones, *The British Diplomatic Service 1815–1914* (Gerrards Cross, 1983), 56, 60, 65, 69.

⁹³ See Abigail Green, 'The Representation of the German States at the Great Exhibition', in Franz Bosbach, John R. Davis, and Susan Bennett (eds.), *Die Weltausstellung von 1851 und ihre Folgen* (Munich, 2002), 267–77; Abigail Green, 'Representing Germany? The Zollverein at the World Exhibitions, 1851–1862', *Journal of Modern History*, 75 (2003), 836–63; after the Exhibition a report was published in Berlin, commissioned by the governments of the German Customs Union, *Amtlicher Bericht über die Industrie-Ausstellung aller Völker zu London im Jahre 1851 von der Berichterstattungs-Kommission der Deutschen Zollvereins-Regierungen*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1852–3). The extent to which the central German states stressed their economic independence until the 1860s

tempts to define their own priorities could not obscure the fact that in any case of doubt, they were subordinate to Prussia and Austria within the Confederation.

In the cultural area, however, things were different. In the field of art, for instance, the German Confederation was characterized by multi-centrality.⁹⁴ The capitals of Saxony and Bavaria, Dresden and Munich, were, to different degrees, known to all artists and art lovers in the whole of Europe. These two cities, along with Vienna, were firmly anchored on the European art map in the mid nineteenth century; only after the middle of the century did Berlin emerge as a competitor worth mentioning, although one which later became significant. All this is generally known. The actual significance of Munich and Dresden as locations of art in the European cultural space, however, has hardly been researched so far. It is mostly assumed simply as a given.

A quantitative and especially a qualitative evaluation of artistic encounters between Bavarian, Saxon, and British artists can now provide both an approach to this question and a powerful criterion on which to base an assessment. The status of the artists, museum experts, and art historians who lived and worked in Munich and Dresden, or were sent there, can be measured among other things by the extent to which they cultivated contacts going beyond Bavaria and Saxony, were included in scholarly discourse, and invited to take part in cooperative work. The totality of these activities in the field of art constitutes the rank accorded to the Bavarian and Saxon arts scene and its practitioners.⁹⁵ An investigation of Bavarian and Saxon cul-

is shown by Markus Mösslang, "Side by Side with Sound Commercial Principles": Deutscher Zollverein und deutsche Nation in der Wahrnehmung britischer Diplomaten', in Hans-Werner Hahn and Marko Kreuzmann (eds.), *Der deutsche Zollverein: Ökonomie und Nation im 19. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 2012), 229–54, at 237.

⁹⁴ See Joachim Studberg, *Globetrotter aus dem Wuppertal: Eine Untersuchung großbürgerlicher Mentalität anhand autobiographischer Reiseaufzeichnungen aus der Zeit des Deutschen Kaiserreichs* (Pfaffenweiler, 1991), 13, who claims that the German Kaiserreich had 'no absolute and normative centre' in the field of culture (philosophy, art, science).

⁹⁵ Franco-German cultural contacts have been studied for much longer than Anglo-German ones; on this see Johannes Paulmann, 'Interkultureller Transfer zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien: Einführung in ein Forschungs-

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tural contacts with people active in the British artistic sphere can therefore help profile the *Mittelstaaten* in a European context. In this way we will be able to establish for the whole of the nineteenth century whether the cultural policy pursued by the *Mittelstaaten* in the fine arts achieved its aim, that is, to increase European awareness of them, or whether the fine arts became more significant in Bavaria and Saxony themselves, but had little impact on countries outside, in this case, Britain. Beyond this, developments and their different courses, as well as peculiarities will emerge in a comparison.

The British perspective on the Bavarian and Saxon artistic sphere is mostly gleaned from travel literature, written reports, and newspaper articles on the subject. These media are not investigated for their literary quality, but seen as the result of many subjective artistic experiences. They report on the Bavarian and Saxon arts scene, but they also place it within a larger European context. As the travel reports dating from the 1830s discussed here show, Britons both in informal cultural contact zones and in government circles (as the Parliamentary reports suggest) perceived the *Mittelstaaten* of the German Confederation as independent entities. Their descriptions, judgements, and assessments reveal that they identified the cultural life of Munich and Dresden as Bavarian and Saxon respectively. If this investigation is pursued throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, we will be in a position to gain a specific view, from outside, of Saxony's and Bavaria's profiles and how they changed within the political structure of the German Confederation and later the Reich. In this context, Berlin's rise, at breakneck speed, to become an influential site of arts and museums, will be highly significant; this development was encouraged in equal measure by the monarch, state, and notables. Berlin thus represented hitherto unprecedented competition for Munich and Dresden as centres of art. As the individual states were, in essence, responsible for artistic and cultural matters after 1871, it is of great significance for

konzept', in Muhs, Paulmann, and Steinmetz (eds.), *Aneignung und Abwehr*, 21–43. On Franco-Saxon cultural transfer in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries see Michael Espagne, *Von der Elbe bis an die Seine: Kulturtransfer zwischen Sachsen und Frankreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (2nd edn. Leipzig, 1999). For its relation to the industrialization debate see Steffen Sammler, *Wissenstransfer und gesellschaftliche Modernisierung: Frankreich und England in der Industrialisierungsdebatte Sachsens im 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 2010).

their self-image whether and when the centres of gravity on the art map of the country shifted from the British perspective.

When looking at the British image of Germany, it is necessary to differentiate. Until the establishment of the German Reich in 1871, Britain saw the states of the German Confederation as individual entities in the field of culture.⁹⁶ Why should this suddenly have changed after 1871, with the political unification of Germany? In her study, Abigail Green has shown that the *Mittelstaaten* were very well able to maintain their own identities as states after 1871, even as their integration into the Reich proceeded.⁹⁷ While the process of military, economic, and political unification undeniably proceeded and, especially after 1871, increasingly absorbed the specific nature of the member states, in the cultural area there was always room for manoeuvre. We could ask whether, after 1871, these states were able to maintain and perhaps deliberately enhance their own profiles as seen from outside. And we could ask whether Britons could maintain a positive interest in the artistic and cultural life of individual states at the same time as they were developing a feeling of increasing unease towards the Reich as a whole.

⁹⁶ Markus Mösslang, 'Deutscher Zollverein und deutsche Nation', 253, points out that this also applied to economic perceptions of the Customs Union.

⁹⁷ Green, *Fatherlands*, 338–41.

HANNELORE PUTZ is *Privatdozentin* in Modern and Regional History at the University of Munich and was a visiting Research Fellow at the GHIL in 2012. Her main research interests are regional history, art and cultural history, the history of the German *Mittelstaaten* in the nineteenth century, and the history of education and universities. Her main publications include *Die Domus Gregoriana zu München: Erziehung und Ausbildung im Umkreis des Jesuitenkollegs St. Michael bis 1773* (2005) and her *Habilitationsschrift* on King Ludwig I of Bavaria's promotion of the arts, which will be published in 2013.