

THE PICTURE GALLERIES OF DRESDEN, DÜSSELDORF, AND KASSEL: PRINCELY COLLECTIONS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY

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The first cultural history of German museums, published in 1837 by Gustav Friedrich Klemm (1802–1867), identified churches—which the author called “the museums of the Middle Ages”—as the starting point of a progressive secularization and democratization of the arts and sciences. Following the rediscovery of antiquity and the exploration of the New World, Klemm wrote, art and science for the first time occupied an autonomous space in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century princely *Wunderkammern*, or cabinets of curiosities. With the progress of scientific knowledge, these confused assemblages of oddities and rarities would then give way to the museums of the eighteenth century and be arranged systematically according to scholarly and scientific criteria. For Klemm, the fourteen museums in Dresden that developed from one of the Holy Roman Empire’s earliest and most comprehensive *Wunderkammern*, which could be visited six months a year and at no cost, were prime examples of the rise of the modern “museum”—a term that Klemm applied broadly and in a progressive way to all kinds of collections.¹

Although the post-Revolutionary and Romantic notion of churches as museums hardly figures any longer in our understanding of the origins of the modern museum, scholars today accept the cabinet of curiosities as a paradigm both in early modern collection history and in postmodern exhibition practice.² Proceeding from Julius von Schlosser’s famous study of cabinets of curiosities in the late Renaissance (1908), Valentin Scherer’s survey *Deutsche Museen* (1913) begins the history of German museums with the *Kunstkammer* and the *Wunderkammer*, and ultimately idealizes them as the model for a universal national collection.³ Scherer’s discussion of the museums of the eighteenth century makes particular mention of the painting and antiquities collections of the elector Maximilian I of Bavaria (1573–1651), in Munich; the elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm (1658–1716), in Düsseldorf; the elector Charles Theodore of Bavaria (1724–1799), in Mannheim; Duke Charles II Augustus of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1746–1795), at Karlsberg Castle; Duke Anthony Ulrich of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1633–1714), at Salzdahlum Palace; the landgraves Wilhelm VIII (1682–1760) and Frederick II (1720–1785) of Hesse-Kassel, in Kassel; King Frederick II of Prussia (1712–1786; r. 1740–86), at Sanssouci; and

FIGURE 5-1. Michael Keyl (German, 1722–1798), after Johann Christoph Knöffel (German, 1686–1752), *Ground Plan of the Dresden Picture Gallery*, 1753. Engraving. From *Recueil d’estampes d’après les plus célèbres tableaux de la Galerie royale de Dresde*, edited by Carl Heinrich von Heineken (Dresden, 1753), vol. 1. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen

the electors of Saxony and kings of Poland Augustus II (Augustus the Strong, 1670–1733; r. 1697–1704, 1709–33) and Augustus III (1696–1763; r. 1734–63), in Dresden.

When tracing the cultural history of German art collections, Scherer could rely only on gallery and museum catalogues from the previous two centuries and thus focused his research on the princely collectors, their agents and curators, and their purchasing policies and tastes. According to Scherer, although the Renaissance *Wunderkammern* were broken up into specialized collections in the eighteenth century following new scientific criteria, so that “art as such” finally emerged in distinct sculpture and painting galleries, this step did not initiate a historical evolution leading teleologically from the pre-Revolutionary princely gallery to the modern public museum. Indeed, as historians we are confronted with a variety of princely collections that were accessible to the public to some degree, were published in different ways, presented diverse aesthetic focal points, were on the whole hardly displayed in a scientific or even systematic manner, and were visited only sparingly.

Scholarship since the Second World War has focused on the museum as functionally specific architecture, and it now tends to date the beginnings of the development of the art gallery in Germany as an autonomous building type to the eighteenth century.⁴ Yet recent sociohistorical studies place the birth of the museum in Germany only after the French Revolution, emphasizing that eighteenth-century collections were vehicles for princely representation, and not yet public educational institutions.⁵ The authors of a recent collection of essays edited by Bénédicte Savoy disagree: summarizing previous studies, they offer a systematic overview of German art collections of the eighteenth century and in so doing question the traditional view that the public museum originated only after 1793; they emphasize instead the conceptual and practical continuities in the history of European collections between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁶

Since the reunification of Germany in 1990, the study of early modern and modern German art collections in their European context has flourished, as evidenced by numerous exhibitions, monographs, research projects, essay collections, and dissertations.⁷ These have mostly focused on individual institutions and collectors as well as on aspects of the history of taste, means of publication, cross-cultural exchanges, and the history of the appreciation of art. The German art collections, second only to those of France and Italy, introduced innovations in the display and publication of works of art early on, making the overall European panorama more complex than previously thought. Thus the traditional view of a linear progression from the princely gallery to the modern public museum, crowned by the establishment in Paris of the *Muséum français* (one of several names used for the *Musée du Louvre* on its opening), is being called into question.⁸ Moreover, the European ideal

of the national encyclopedic museum has lost its political function with the recent emergence of museums founded by private collectors or devoted to one artist. A history of the Holy Roman Empire's art collections in the European context is still lacking, and scholars are confronted with a highly fragmented picture, one made up of singular situations and developments that can be reconstructed only after large quantities of as-yet-untouched archival material are scrutinized alongside the history of aesthetics, institutions, taste, connoisseurship, and art. Particular attention needs to be given to the exchange between courts and to the social networks that were the means of communication and publication. Thus the present essay, based on published catalogues and pictorial documentation, attempts to describe only three important German painting collections, whose partly autonomous and partly interdependent development did not occur in a strict chronological order.

Dresden

Dresden's collections evolved from the extensive cabinet of curiosities of the elector Augustus of Saxony (1526–1586) into one of the most important universal collections of the eighteenth century. Spared from the raids of Napoléon, though not from losses during the Second World War, it is to this day one of the best-preserved and best-documented historical collections in Europe.⁹ Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, studies on the history of the Saxon collections in early modern times and in a local, European, and global context have proliferated.¹⁰ The cabinet of curiosities, accessible to the public, was broken up by Augustus the Strong into special collections systematically separated by genre and discipline; the collections contained hundreds of thousands of objects. In the 1710s and 1720s he authorized a number of innovative museum designs that overshadowed the collecting activities of other German princes. Among the noteworthy projects were the large Palais des sciences in the Zwinger complex, the Green Vault in the Castle, the Collection of Antiquities in the Great Garden, and the porcelain collection at the Japanese Palace.

After his accession as elector in 1733, Augustus III continued the purchasing policies of his father, but with a special focus on paintings, which he acquired in great numbers with the help of a network of agents operating all over Europe. His remarkable purchase of the hundred best Cinquecento and Seicento Italian masterworks from the Galleria Estense, in Modena, amounted to a transfer of Italian taste to Saxony, and in 1745 served as the final impetus to the rebuilding of the guesthouse and stables on the Jüdenhof, which had been erected in the sixteenth century and for a time housed the armory.¹¹ The court architect Johann Christoph Knöffel (1686–1752) eliminated the series of rooms on the second floor so as to create large surfaces for display. The ground floor continued to be used as stables, until in 1792 they were partly dedicated to the

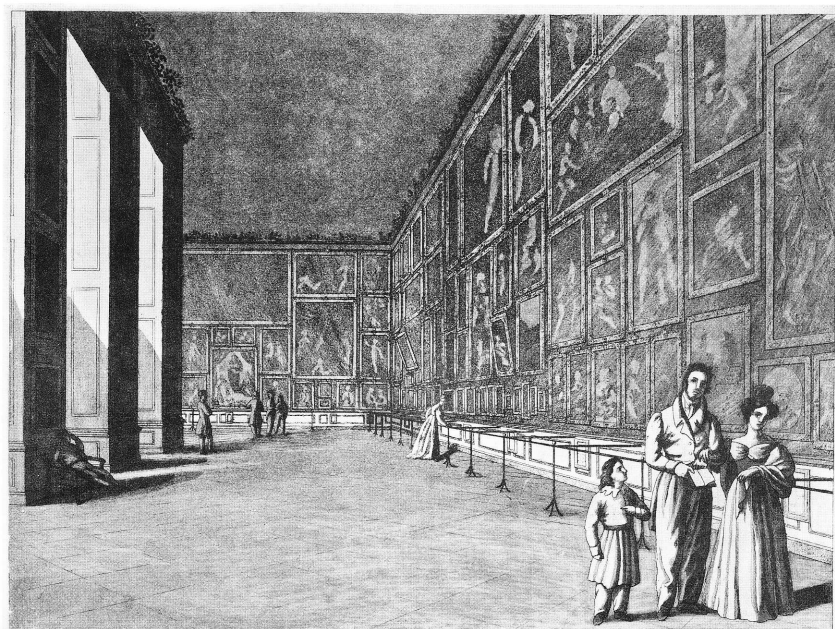
exhibition of the collection of casts that had been purchased in Rome by the court painter Anton Raphael Mengs (1728–1779).

Like other German picture galleries, the one in Dresden was only provisional and remained connected to the residential complex. In 1753 and 1757 the director of the Cabinet of Prints and Drawings, Carl Heinrich von Heineken (1706–1791), published the first and second volumes, respectively, of the *Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus célèbres tableaux de la Galerie royale de Dresde* (Album of prints of the most famous paintings in the Royal Gallery of Dresden), which contained large engravings reproducing the masterworks of the gallery.¹² As indicated by the ground plan (fig. 5-1), the new gallery comprised a four-sided Exterior Gallery (labeled A in the plan) that wrapped around a three-part, U-shaped Interior Gallery (labeled B). In 1812 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) described the layout as a “space turning back on itself.”¹³ Adjoining it to the north were the Pastel Cabinet (labeled C), entirely devoted to that genre and featuring almost exclusively works by Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757), and the restorers’ painting studio (labeled D).¹⁴ Visitors entered by way of a spiral staircase leading up from the courtyard side into the Exterior Gallery, from which three doors opened onto the Interior Gallery.

In 1747 two inspectors had been appointed to supervise the newly opened picture gallery: Johann Gottfried Riedel (1691–1755), who was in charge of the Exterior Gallery, and Pietro Maria Guarienti (1678–1753), who oversaw the Interior Gallery. Like other museum directors and curators of his time, the Venetian Guarienti was a painter, restorer, dealer, and writer all in one, and is likely to have followed his own aesthetic preferences along with those of his patron in the first hanging of the gallery in 1747.¹⁵ Following the accepted hierarchy of pictorial genres at the time, Guarienti attempted to exclude still lifes and landscapes from the Interior Gallery. Thus it mainly contained large-scale history paintings from the Italian schools of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, works highly sought after on the art market. Among them, however, hung some Dutch, Flemish, and German works that were intended to encourage a visual *paragone*, or comparison, between the schools north and south of the Alps. When Guarienti completed the hanging of the Interior Gallery in 1750, he compiled a topographical inventory, one that also documents the elector’s own cabinet of Netherlandish painting, which—as in other German collections—was part of the ceremonial apartments and represented the prince’s fondness for more intimate works as opposed to the gallery’s great artistic showpieces. But set apart from all the rest were two paintings that hung in Augustus III’s ceremonial bedroom and visually documented his Catholic sensibilities: a *Madonna* (whereabouts unknown) by Carlo Dolci (1616–1686) and the famous *Saint Mary Magdalene* by Correggio (1489–1534), presumed destroyed during the Second World War.¹⁶

Four years later the hanging of the Exterior Gallery was completed, and there, much as in the Düsseldorf picture gallery, an attempt was made to separate the national schools and to devote the Interior Gallery exclusively to the Italian school as the aesthetic heart of the collection. Yet even among the Italian paintings it is possible to discern Guarienti's tastes and historical assumptions: for example, by grouping Bolognese and Venetian painters around Correggio, Guarienti followed the accepted art-historical narrative of his time, according to which the Bolognese Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), inspired by Correggio, Titian (1488/1490–1576), and Jacopo Tintoretto (1518–1594), had effected the revival and salvation of the art of painting. Whereas Augustus III followed his own preferences in commissioning the Pastel Room, dedicated to Carriera—the equivalent, as it were, of Düsseldorf's Rubens Room (discussed later in this essay)—the connoisseurs at court sought additions to the painting collection so that it might present a more complete history of art. In 1742 Francesco Algarotti (1712–1764) proposed an encyclopedic museum project that would also encompass contemporary painting, but owing to the scarcity of excellent works on the art market and to the elector's only modest scholarly interest, his proposal came to naught.¹⁷

The only surviving interior view of the Dresden gallery is a French-entitled record of the Interior Gallery as it appeared in 1830 (fig. 5-2). The dividing wall between the two galleries offered unusually large hanging surfaces on both sides. In the engraving one sees the expanse of the Interior Gallery, its walls nearly 30 feet high and roughly 121 feet long and covered in damask, its white-washed ceiling ornamented with a strip of palmettes, and its parquet floor



Une partie de la Galerie royale de Dresde (appelée Galerie intérieure ou italienne) comme elle était à l'an 1830.

FIGURE 5-2.

Anonymous, *View of Part of the Royal Gallery in Dresden (Called the Interior or Italian Gallery) as It Appeared in 1830*, ca. 1830.

Engraving, 19.8 × 25 cm (7¾ × 9¾ in.).
Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen,
Kupferstich-Kabinett

gleaming, as sunlight floods in from the inner courtyard. The light reflected off the pictures, and for this reason some were tipped forward. Others were hung so high that visitors could study them only with the aid of opera glasses. Pictured in the foreground are visitors of a new type, a young bourgeois family pursuing its notion of culture, the gallery guide in hand. A female visitor, leaning across one of the railings required to protect the paintings, is attempting to decipher the labels—not yet present in Augustus III's day—on the paneled wainscoting. Several gentlemen are gazing at paintings hung high above, and another is heading toward the *Sistine Madonna* (1512/13; today Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister), painted by Raphael (1483–1520), which had been hung in the center of the room in 1816 or 1817 and now served as a cult image of the new bourgeois taste.

The Dresden picture gallery impressively illustrates a number of basic principles conventional in the display of art in the eighteenth century, notions that had already become established in Italy's *gallerie* and *quadrerie* a century earlier. Beginning with the installation of 1747, paintings completely covered the walls, including the areas between the windows, overwhelming viewers with the grandeur of the elector's collection. As was customary in early modern times, the pictures were arranged symmetrically along vertical axes. Symmetry was considered intrinsic to beauty and decorum, especially in court ceremonial, and was therefore appropriate for the regal presentation of works of art. As a rule, two or more pendants hung side by side or flanking a center picture. True pendants were valued more highly as pairs than as the sum of the two works, and Renaissance and Baroque pendants were rare and especially expensive. For this reason it was customary to create pairings with pictures of similar format and similar subject matter, composition, or coloring. Because the walls in Dresden were so high and so long, such symmetries could extend across five or even six horizontal registers, one above the other, and be repeated in multiple vertical divisions. The succession of axial symmetries made for easy orientation, yet the density and height of the hanging made it difficult to study single works. The ornamental arrangement pressed hundreds of heterogeneous paintings into an overall visual harmony and invited comparisons between the pendants and other surrounding paintings.

Since the Renaissance, comparative viewing and judging had been fundamental in both the reception and the production of works of art.¹⁸ In the nascent art history and connoisseurship of the early eighteenth century, too, the appreciation of paintings was a matter of making visual comparisons.¹⁹ The Dresden display took this into account and presented viewers with an abundance of possible *paragoni* that might be studied in the manner recommended by Roger de Piles (1635–1709) in his 1708 *Cours de peinture par principes* (The principles of painting), taking into consideration such features as composition, draftsmanship, color, and expression.²⁰ Writing in 1751 about the royal collec-

tion in the Palais du Luxembourg, a Parisian art critic who signed himself the “chevalier de Tincourt” identified “the ingenious and agreeable contrast” as the basis for such entertaining and instructive comparisons of pictures. And in 1782, Christian von Mechel (1737–1817), who had reinstalled the imperial collection in Vienna’s Belvedere Palace, insisted that visitors might become experts in art by studying and comparing “alternating contrasts, by the viewing and comparison of which (the sole method for achieving knowledge) the visitor can become a connoisseur of art.”²¹

Such interplay between display and viewer, museum and art history, is also of historical importance. For example, an understanding of the way in which the Dresden collection was presented helps to illuminate the developing taste of the young Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768). In his “Beschreibung der vorzüglichsten Gemälde der Dresdner Galerie” (Description of the most excellent paintings of the Dresden gallery), written in 1752 or 1753, he is influenced by Guarienti’s presentation of Northern Italian painting, which was in accordance with the court’s rococo taste and the prevailing notions of Italian and French art theory.²² Yet in his *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst* (Reflections on the imitation of Greek works in painting and sculpture), published in 1755, Winckelmann wholly rejects the taste of the Dresden court and its theoretical precepts in proposing a more classicizing ideal of beauty personified by the *Sistine Madonna*, which Augustus III had acquired the year before.²³ The fictive gallery conversation published by August Wilhelm (1767–1845) and Caroline (1763–1809) Schlegel in the journal *Athenaeum* in 1799 is one of the most important literary documents about the Dresden art collections.²⁴ In referring to various works that Winckelmann had singled out in his “Beschreibung,” the Schlegels’ Romantic dialogue represents an intertextual revision of Winckelmann’s classicism, one that defines the aesthetic canon by way of a literary and imaginary rehang of the gallery.

After the Seven Years’ War (1756–63) and the loss of the Polish crown, Saxony sank into political and economic insignificance. As was the case with other German collections, princely acquisitions stagnated and were replaced by a bourgeois interest in aesthetic and scholarly education and the establishment of public museums. It is significant that the first handy catalogue of the Dresden picture gallery appeared in 1765, testifying to the gallery’s changing public.²⁵ Criticism of the gallery’s unfavorable viewing conditions and its unsystematic, unscholarly arrangement increased in the following decades. In 1771 the lord chamberlain Ludwig Siegfried Vitzthum von Eckstädt (1716–1777) responded with the suggestion that the paintings be hung in the order of the artists’ birthdates, so as to present “a chronological history of painting in paintings themselves.”²⁶ As an experiment, the Exterior Gallery was first rearranged according to schools, which matched the bourgeois interest in Netherlandish

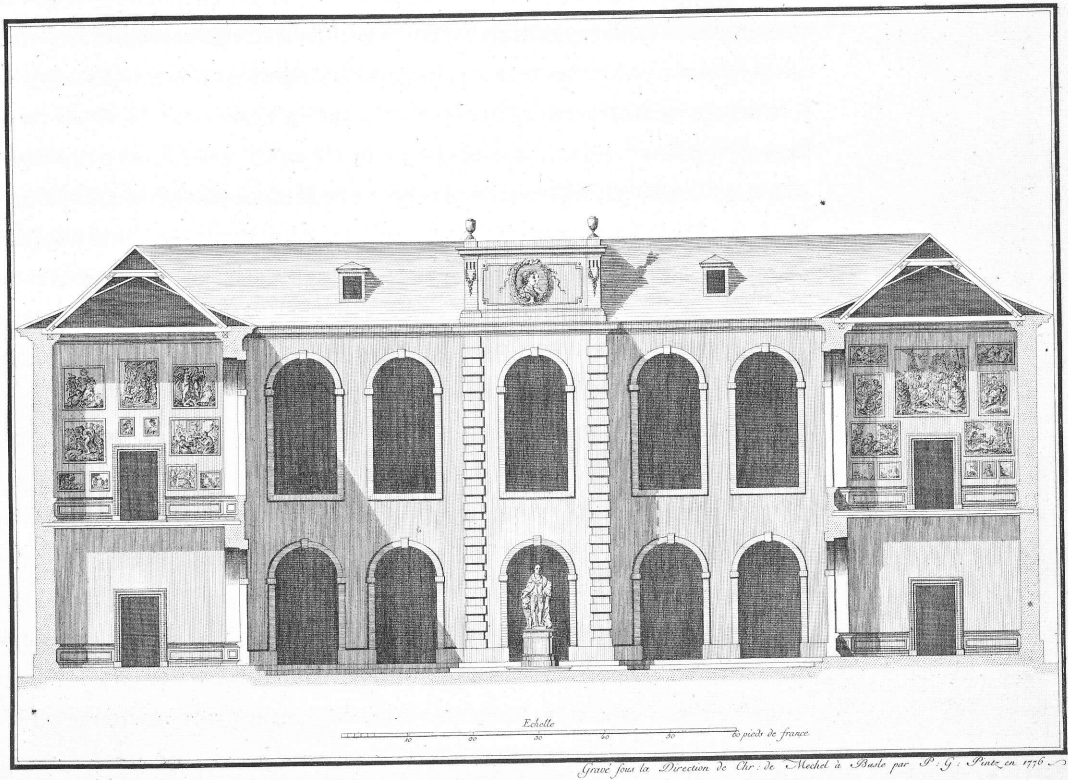
painting of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in German art, that can be observed in such connoisseurs as Ludwig von Hagedorn (1712–1780) and Goethe.²⁷ In the 1830s, finally, the picture gallery was divided into smaller cabinets so that the schools of painting might be displayed separately, as had recently been done in the Altes Museum in Berlin.²⁸ It was only after the collection was moved in 1855 into the new Gemäldegalerie, designed by Gottfried Semper (1803–1879), that it was more properly presented. But even there the Baroque convention of hanging pendants symmetrically was maintained, as was the programmatic emphasis on exemplary works. The two highlights of the gallery were now Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* and the *Madonna of Jakob Meyer*, the latter then held to be an original work by, rather than a copy after, Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98–1543). Their juxtaposition was an expression in art-historical terms of the rivalry between the two emerging nation-states of Italy and Germany.

Düsseldorf

In 1776 the novelist and art critic Wilhelm Heinse (1746–1803) wrote: “We have a collection of paintings the like of which no other place in Germany can boast, even including Dresden.”²⁹ The Düsseldorf picture gallery was indeed one of the most celebrated collections in Europe before the works were moved in 1805 to Munich, where they became part of the Bavarian collections (and eventually of the Alte Pinakothek). In 1709 the elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm commissioned the Venetian architect Matteo Alberti (1646–1735) to design a functional four-wing complex (fig. 5-3) for his growing collection of paintings and sculptures, then housed in the gallery of the Düsseldorf Residential Palace, where there was no longer sufficient space and where, according to Giorgio Maria Rapparini (1660–1722), the artworks were “all pell-mell and in disorder and confusion.”³⁰ Ultimately only three of the four wings would be built by 1714.

The gallery faced the palace across a landscaped courtyard and abutted the town hall and marketplace. Although the gallery stood apart visually, it was connected to the palace at one corner and was thus part of the residential complex. It was only a provisional solution, and was meant to be replaced by the gallery of a new residential palace, as the catalogue published in 1778 by Nicolas de Pigage (1723–1796) confirms: “This building does not contribute anything extraordinary to architecture, but it seems that Johann Wilhelm had it erected with the intention of creating a temporary space for his paintings until he could display them in a more appropriate manner in that vast palace that he planned to build in Düsseldorf, the existing plans for which still promise the most sumptuous of edifices.”³¹ The Düsseldorf gallery's contribution as an independent exhibition space to the evolution of museum architecture should therefore not be overestimated.

FACADE ET COUPE DE LA GALERIE ELECTORALE DES TABLEAUX Á DUSSELDORFF,



Above the ground floor, which—as in Dresden—housed the collection of sculptures and casts, there was an enfilade of three long halls, roughly thirty feet high, connected by two corner cabinets and receiving light from the courtyard. In each room three walls were available for the display of paintings. The first hanging was presumably done with the assistance of the painter Gerhard Joseph Karsch (d. 1753), who served as director beginning in 1704. It is documented in the 337 entries of his undated catalogue, the *Spezifikation der kostbarsten und unschätzbaren Gemälde* (Specification of the most precious and inestimable paintings). Since the catalogue is dedicated to the elector Palatine Charles III Philip (1661–1742), it must have been published during Charles's service as elector, between 1716 and 1742, yet it reflects Johann Wilhelm's taste rather than his successor's. The catalogue was reprinted repeatedly until at least 1750 and also appeared in French, documenting the breadth of the gallery's public.³²

As indicated in Karsch's catalogue, the paintings were arranged in axially symmetric pairs and distributed among the five rooms as follows: the first hall held a mixture of all schools; the first corner cabinet did the same, but with an emphasis on the works of Rembrandt (1606–1669); the second hall was devoted exclusively to paintings by Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640); the second

FIGURE 5-3.

Christian von Mechel (Swiss, 1737–1817), after Philipp Gottfried Printz, *Elevation and Cross Section of the Electoral Picture Gallery in Düsseldorf*, 1776. Engraving. From Nicolas de Pigage, *La galerie électorale de Dusseldorf; ou, Catalogue raisonné et figuré de ses tableaux...* (Basel, 1778), vol. 2, fol. B. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, N2294.P61778

corner room displayed mainly works by Adriaen van der Werff (1659–1722); and, finally, the third hall featured works of the Italian school and the Italianate paintings of Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641). The staircase was decorated with allegorical wall paintings by Karsch that simulated stone reliefs and served as a visual connection between the sculptures on the ground floor and the paintings on the floor above. In the allegories, which celebrated the art patronage of Johann Wilhelm and his second wife, Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici (1667–1743), the Rhine and Arno were joined by Aganippe, the three visual Arts, and Poetry, Theory, and Practice, while Hercules and Minerva triumphed over the enemies of the arts, Sloth, Drunkenness, Avarice, Ignorance, Melancholy, and Worry. Like Hercules led by Minerva, the visitor to the gallery would climb the steep path to Mount Parnassus, to the triumph of modern painting over the examples of ancient sculpture.

The emphasis on Rubens, which Johann Wilhelm strengthened through additional purchases, went back to his grandfather the count Palatine Wolfgang William (1578–1653), a convert to Catholicism who had supported the artist. Early in the eighteenth century the writings of de Piles had fostered a new appreciation of the colorist from Antwerp.³³ By displaying the largest Rubens collection in Europe in a room of its own, Johann Wilhelm was clearly more concerned with exhibiting his personal preferences and his purchasing power than with claiming to present a comprehensive collection. The many works in the gallery from the Italian school, with their Christian iconography; the precious marble tables for the display of small-scale sculpture; the modest collection of self-portraits; and the extensive collection of casts of classical sculptures recall Johann Wilhelm's Grand Tour of Italy as a young man, his connection to the Medici family, and his Catholic faith.³⁴ The painted perspectives on the gallery's walls and ceilings—Pigage's 1778 catalogue attributes their design to Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656–1723), and their execution to Antonio Maria Bernardi (d. 1745)—as well as Karsch's allegorical wall paintings, are also reminiscent of seventeenth-century Italian galleries, which Karsch had surely visited during his Italian sojourn, financed by the elector, from 1700 to 1703.

Its Italian orientation notwithstanding, the gallery was an expression of Johann Wilhelm's passion for collecting Flemish and Dutch paintings. These he purchased on the European art market through an alliance of agents. Like Landgrave Frederick II of Hesse-Kassel, Augustus the Strong, and other German princes, he had the private cabinets next to the palace's ceremonial bedroom filled with small-scale works from those schools.³⁵ To be sure, Italian paintings accounted for the aesthetic showpieces of a classicist gallery tour, but the largest, central hall presented the Fleming Rubens as a negotiator in a *balance des peintres*, reconciling North and South. Indeed, the gallery seemed to have been constructed around Rubens's *Great Last Judgment* (1617; today

Munich, Alte Pinakothek), nearly twenty feet tall and placed precisely in the gallery's center.

Just as his grandfather had been a patron of Rubens, so Johann Wilhelm collected contemporary paintings, though at that time it was still unusual to present affordable eighteenth-century works in a princely gallery. In 1697 the elector appointed Adriaen van der Werff painter to the court; he knighted him in 1703. The artist had the honor of having twenty-two of his paintings displayed in the second corner room together with works by such contemporaries as Benedetto Luti (1666–1724), Gerard de Lairese (1640–1711), and Jean François Millet (1666–1723); mezzotints of these paintings were also published by Karsch. The pictures of religious subjects that Van der Werff produced for Johann Wilhelm blended Italianate imitation of classical sculpture with Dutch *fijnschilder* style, making him an ideal, eclectic gallery painter in the service of a Catholic prince and collector—as Christian Wilhelm Ernst Dietrich (1712–1774) was in Dresden.³⁶ The Düsseldorf gallery, encompassing works by Italian, Flemish, Dutch, and German old masters as well as contemporary European and local artists, attested to the prominence of the electors Palatine in the European art market and to the courtly exchange of gifts. Moreover, it ostentatiously documented the historical art patronage of the electors Palatine since the time of Wolfgang William, and also the taste and exceptional connoisseurship of the reigning sovereign, whose political role was relatively insignificant.

Charles Theodore, Charles III Philip's successor, seems to have appointed, probably in the 1750s, the Frenchman François-Louis Colins (1699–1760) as a restorer and inspector. Colins published an undated catalogue of the Düsseldorf gallery that documents a new display of the paintings, though the focus on Rubens in the second hall and on Van der Werff in the second cabinet was maintained.³⁷ After the conclusion of the Seven Years' War and the return of the paintings from temporary storage in the Mannheim Residential Palace, Charles Theodore subjected the gallery to a renovation. Pigage's catalogue says: "He wished to convey new splendor to the Düsseldorf Gallery by ordering all the favorable changes possible, by adding various paintings to its collection, and by rearranging the whole with a more advantageous order."³⁸ In 1763 the elector entrusted the new installation to the Düsseldorf painter, restorer, and art dealer Lambert Krahe (1712–1790), who had been appointed director of the gallery in 1756. Krahe had lived for two decades in Rome, and became a cofounder of the Düsseldorf Drawing Academy, which he directed beginning in 1767. In 1768 he undertook to finance the reproduction of some of the gallery's paintings as a *recueil*, or album of prints, but abandoned the project some time later after producing only four mezzotints. In competition with this *recueil*, the elector's chief architect, Pigage, produced, with the Basel publisher and court engraver Mechel, the two-volume *Galerie électorale de Dusseldorf; ou, Catalogue raisonné et figure de ses tableaux...*, which appeared

in 1778. Its topographical reproductions of the gallery walls imitated those in the *Theatrum artis pictoriae* (1728–33), four volumes of plates documenting the Viennese imperial art collection published by Anton Joseph von Prenner (1683–1761), and were later to be supplemented by an extensive *Galeriewerk* (album of large-scale prints) following the Dresden example.³⁹ The catalogue's text, which Thomas W. Gaehtgens has recently attributed to Jean-Charles Laveaux (1749–1827) in collaboration with Krahe, took into account the interests and expectations of the swelling stream of international connoisseurs and tourists by deliberately employing a comprehensible language with few technical terms. Parallel to this, the gallery became the object of publications of art critics and aesthetic sentimentalists such as Wilhelm Heinse and Georg Forster (1754–1794).⁴⁰

Although Charles Theodore moved the Düsseldorf painting cabinets and the collection of sculptures and casts into the new Mannheim Residential Palace, and maintained a separate public painting gallery there from 1770, he left Johann Wilhelm's collection in Düsseldorf virtually unchanged, even after he departed for Munich in 1777 when he became Charles II, elector of Bavaria. It was as though he felt it to be a historic monument to dynastic cultural patronage. The conversion of the gallery into a permanent museum collection was completed by Pigage and Mechel's elaborate true-to-scale reproductions of all the gallery's wall displays, executed by four different draftsmen, and detailed written descriptions of all the paintings, for it was established ahead of time that once this catalogue was published, the gallery's display would remain unchanged.

Pigage's catalogue documents a rearrangement of the original holdings (and a few new acquisitions, which were mounted on hinged window shutters for lack of space). The first hall now contained Flemish paintings almost exclusively; the first corner room exhibited pictures from a variety of schools and, above all, works by Van Dyck; the central hall displayed solely paintings of the Italian school; the second corner room once again included pictures from various schools, with an emphasis on Rembrandt and Van der Werff, as before; and, finally, the Rubens collection filled the last hall. Although the main emphases of the collection remained the same, Krahe changed the gallery's focus, in a reflection of academic aesthetics, to Italian painting of the Cinquecento and Seicento (this had an impact, for example, on Heinse's description of a series of Madonnas).⁴¹ The *Ascension of the Virgin* by Carlo Cignani (1628–1710) now occupied the prime location in the center of the gallery, in place of Rubens's *Great Last Judgment*, which was now the final picture, at the end of the gallery tour. According to Pigage and Mechel's catalogue, Cignani's *Ascension* perfectly combined genius, composition, drawing, drapery, color, and expression. Indeed, Johann Wilhelm had originally commissioned Cignani's painting for the Jesuit church in Neuburg as a replacement for

Rubens's *Great Last Judgment*, which he had earlier removed from the church. Because of the outstanding quality of the *Ascension*, however, Johann Wilhelm ultimately kept it for the gallery.⁴²

Opposite Cignani's altarpiece, on the side walls of the *avant-corps*, hung two panels that were attributed to Raphael and Ludovico Carracci (1555–1619) and were therefore displayed in the gallery's inner sanctum.⁴³ In his catalogue Pigage attempted to emphasize the geographical focus in Krahe's new display by naming the rooms after schools and artists: the Flemish Room, Gerrit Dou Room (Dou's *Market Crier* was installed there), Italian Room, Van der Werf Room, and Rubens Room. This strategy of clarifying geographical divisions by naming the rooms would consistently be followed by Mechel between 1779 and 1783 in his arrangement of the Belvedere gallery in Vienna.⁴⁴ Pigage's catalogue also included an allegorical frontispiece before each section: the concepts "généie des arts," "théorie de la peinture," "composition," "dessin," "coloris," and "imitation" suggest an academic system at work in the collection, though the only term that characterized a specific gallery section was *color*, for the Rubens Room.

If one looks closely at the gallery's first wall (fig. 5-4), it proves to be programmatic. The *Equestrian Portrait of the Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm II*

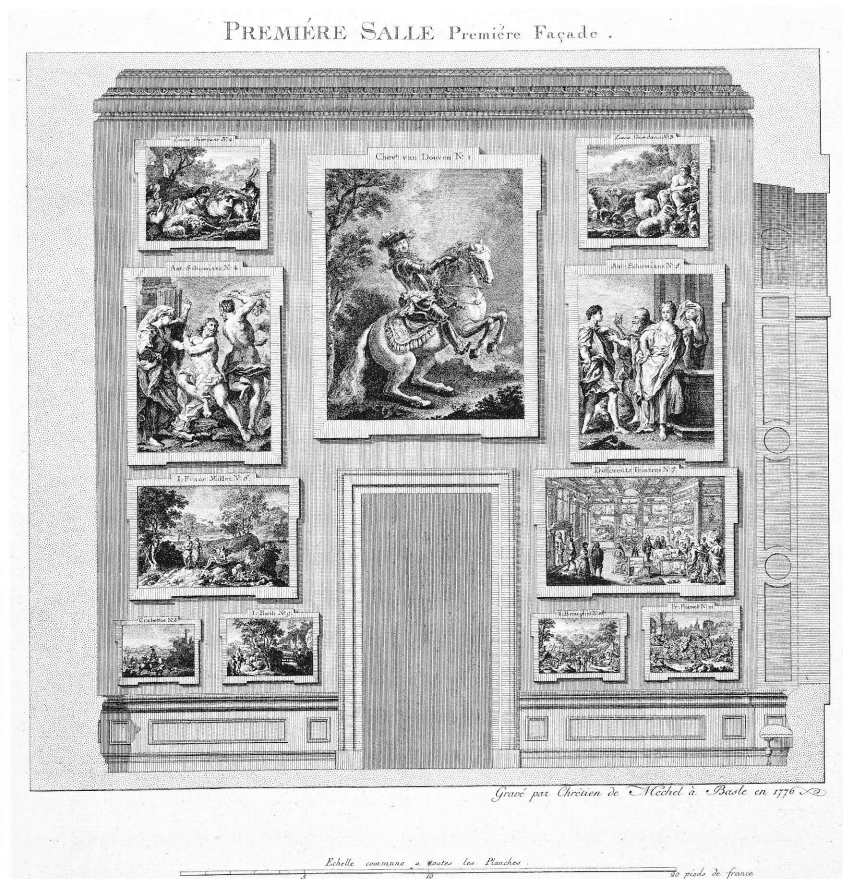


FIGURE 5-4. Christian von Mechel (Swiss, 1737–1817), *First Wall of the First Room at the Düsseldorf Picture Gallery, 1776*. Engraving. From Nicolas de Pigage, *La galerie électorale de Dusseldorff; ou, Catalogue raisonné et figuré de ses tableaux . . .* (Basel, 1778), vol. 2, fol. 1. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, N2294.P61778

(1703; today Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast Düsseldorf) by Jan Frans Douven (1656–1727), which had since Colins been the first picture in the gallery, introduces the collection's founder and patron. If Pigage's catalogue entry is correct in asserting that Douven, as court painter and art agent to Johann Wilhelm, was responsible for the first hanging, which included this same painting among the first works, the painting would point to a twofold authorship. Flanking this portrait in the top register were two paintings by Luca Giordano (1632–1705), an artist from whom Johann Wilhelm had commissioned paintings, and below them pendants by his court painter Anthony Schoonjans (1655–1726). These works, which had already been hung together by Karsch, alluded to Johann Wilhelm's grand patronage of the arts. Also on this wall, to the right of the door below one of the Schoonjans pendants, was one of the most curious pictures in the collection, the *View of a Gallery* from 1666. Instead of being the work of a single artist, like traditional Dutch paintings of gallery interiors, it represented a communal effort by artists from Antwerp's Academy of the Arts and was a composite, signed original, not the usual small-scale copy after a number of famous originals. Wilhelm van Ehrenberg (1630–1676) painted the interior architecture, Charles Emmanuel Biset (1633–1691) portrayed the aristocratic visitors, Jordaens painted Mercury with his train, the ceiling painting quotes the one by Rubens in Antwerp's Jesuit church, and so forth. The miniature paintings, with subjects like Venus and Satyr, Diana and Actaeon, Gyges and Candaules, the Annunciation, and the Adoration of the Shepherds, alluded to sight, visualization, and the fine arts, and the composite picture itself illustrated the power and nobility of the arts.⁴⁵ As Pigage's catalogue remarks: "This rare work, which is of astounding craftsmanship and infinite detail, by itself is a small gallery."⁴⁶ On the first wall of the Düsseldorf gallery, in a *mise en abyme*, this genuine miniature gallery within the real gallery celebrated Johann Wilhelm's refined artistic taste, his preference for Flemish painting, and his own gallery as a work of art.

Kassel

In the 1730s the regent and landgrave Wilhelm VIII of Hesse-Kassel began buying quantities of paintings, mainly Dutch and Flemish works of the sort that he had come to value while serving as governor of Breda and Maastricht and that were becoming increasingly sought after on the art market.⁴⁷ By 1749 his collections had expanded to the point that he commissioned a large gallery building for their housing and display. As part of the redesign of the Kassel Residential Palace, the architect François de Cuvilliés (1695–1763) erected one of three planned wings of the gallery by 1751. The gallery was not meant to stand alone as an autonomous building; owing to the Seven Years' War, it remained a fragment. The hall on the second floor, 130 feet long, 23 feet wide,

and 36 feet high, had a row of windows just below the ceiling, obviating the need for the traditional window wall and thus allowing the lower part of the wall to be used for the display of paintings. This innovation represented a compromise, for during a visit in 1750 the marquis Marc-Antoine-René de Voyer de Paulmy (1722–1787) had recommended a skylight that would provide non-reflecting light from above, as in the Parisian gallery of the duc d'Orléans. That solution, devised by the duc's architect Jacques Hardouin-Mansart (1709–1776), was ultimately not adopted in Kassel.

Around 1753, at its greatest extent, Wilhelm's painting collection numbered roughly nine hundred works, with a distinct emphasis on the Netherlandish school. The Kassel collections were first opened to the public in 1775 by Wilhelm's successor, Landgrave Frederick II of Hesse-Kassel. The surviving visitors' book records some 260 noble and bourgeois tourists, connoisseurs, and artists each year over the roughly three decades after the opening, testifying to the still limited public interest in visiting galleries.⁴⁸ The decision to transform the collections into a museum was part of a comprehensive educational policy pursued by Frederick II: in 1777 he opened the Academy of Painting and Sculpture, and in 1779 the antiquities collection in the Fridericianum.⁴⁹

The first catalogue of the exhibited works from Frederick II's painting collection appeared in September 1783.⁵⁰ Following Enlightenment ideals, its author, the private tutor and theology professor Simon Causid (1729–1793), notes in the foreword that the landgrave's art collection served not only as decoration and display; it also acted as a "preceptor" for "lovers of art," and in addition to providing pleasure promoted the "formation and proliferation of good taste," largely thanks to instructive biblical and history paintings. The establishment of the academy, whose pupils were permitted to make copies of the gallery's paintings, also attested to the sovereign's "enlightened sense of art," as Causid writes. His book was meant to give the locations of the paintings in the various rooms and provide students and the public with explanations of the painting's narratives and descriptions of the masterworks.

Causid shows himself to be aware of contemporary art-historical and museological issues. For example, he regrets that the new type of display that Mechel had introduced in Vienna's Belvedere Palace in 1781 and published in a catalogue in 1783, the same year as his own, could not be adopted in Kassel for architectural reasons.⁵¹ According to Causid, Mechel's didactic arrangement, which grouped the labeled paintings both chronologically and by schools (see chap. 6, fig. 6-3), produced "a visual school of art" that presented "its origins, growth, and perfection in stages," that is to say, a history of the development of art. Such a hanging in Kassel would require more space, which would be available only once the gallery was finally completed. From these introductory remarks one sees that the rearrangement of the Belvedere in Vienna was immediately perceived as a new scholarly standard for enlightened princely

galleries, though it was often impossible to imitate it owing to architectural constraints and to the number and choice of works available.

Since no topographical guide survives from the period between the gallery's establishment and its opening to the public, the only hanging that can be studied is the one presented in Causid's 1783 catalogue, itself based on an inventory compiled in 1775. Only a visual reconstruction of the Kassel painting collection would permit more precise investigation of the aesthetic and art-historical structure of the display in various spaces under Frederick II. According to the catalogue, the first hall held 107 paintings, almost exclusively by Dutch and Flemish masters like Rubens and Rembrandt. They constituted the focus of the collection and mainly depicted secular and pagan subjects. The paintings were hung in axial symmetry and in pairs of the same size, either with related subjects or by the same master. The implicit *paragoni* also included contemporary Neoclassical artists who had served Wilhelm VIII; thus two matching works by the court painter Johann Heinrich Tischbein the Elder (1722–1789), whose nephew Tischbein the Younger became the gallery director in 1775, vied with the Netherlandish old masters, in a further indication that the collection was intended to serve the public as a school of taste.

The next three of the seven rooms following also presented approximate groupings by painter and school: first, works by Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678), then Northern Italian paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and, finally, panels by Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519). The remaining rooms contained miscellaneous paintings, predominantly Dutch and Flemish. With the description of the painting gallery complete, the catalogue presents a listing and description of the paintings in the rooms of the academy, clearly indicating the new didactic function of the landgrave's collection. Finally, it enumerates the small-scale Netherlandish paintings from Wilhelm's and his own holdings that Frederick II had hung in a cabinet in the Residential Palace between the ceremonial bedroom and the audience chamber. This secluded paintings cabinet, which held numerous genre pictures and which, according to Causid, represented "a private princely collection with no relationship to the gallery paintings," sheds light on the practice among eighteenth-century princely collectors of maintaining a personal painting cabinet in addition to the more public and representative galleries. These private cabinets, which have received little scholarly attention, were usually filled with works by schools and in genres closer to the princes' own tastes than the Italian and French classical and academic ideals of devotional or history painting displayed in the more public galleries. A plan of the hanging of the cabinet survives, which was produced in 1770 by the court painter and gallery director Johann Georg van Freese (1701–1775).⁵² It documents a highly original device consisting of a row of vertical wooden laths with drilled holes and tenons, onto which the paintings could be hung in axial symmetry, in pairs according to art-

ist, subject, and so on. The display of these cabinet paintings could be changed with ease, an indication that above and beyond the joy of collecting and possessing, the art lover would derive pleasure in rearranging his paintings and refining his connoisseurship by way of new comparative pairings.

In large part thanks to Causid's catalogue, the Kassel collections were well known beyond Germany's borders and were ultimately coveted by the French emperor, who in January 1807 had some three hundred works confiscated for the Musée Napoléon (as the Louvre was then called), ostensibly for the benefit of the public, though the Kassel gallery had already been publicly accessible for three decades. The Strasbourg painter Benjamin Zix (1772–1811) participated in the Napoleonic looting of art in the retinue of Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), who had become director of the Parisian museum in 1802. In a pen drawing (fig. 5-5) Zix documented not only the appropriation of the paintings but also the unusual design of the Kassel picture gallery, which then displayed roughly one hundred works (and was destroyed in 1943).⁵³ Zix emphasizes



FIGURE 5-5.
Benjamin Zix
(French, 1772–1811),
*Dominique-Vivant
Denon Supervising the
Removal of Paintings
from the Kassel Picture
Gallery, ca. 1807.*
Pen and wash. Paris,
Bibliothèque nationale
de France, Département
des estampes et de la
photographie

the novel architectural solution to the need for top light, which was of interest in the contemporary redesign of the Grand Gallery at the Palais du Louvre. Although the scene is set in winter, the hall is filled with midday light; rays of sunlight strike the ceiling and white walls and are reflected back by the large mirror on the southeast wall. Thanks to the high row of windows and the narrowness of the room, the light also strikes the north wall at a steep angle, permitting the two experts to examine the depiction of a nude figure up close without annoying reflections. The nude recalls a confiscated painting then attributed to Leonardo and interpreted as an allegory of Charity, here seemingly justifying its theft in the name of the people.⁵⁴

The confiscation itself is placed in an equally favorable light: while Denon and his secretary, one Perne, kneel in front of stacks of old masters leaning against the wall, demonstrating their superb connoisseurship, the plump, hand-wringing gallery director, Johann Heinrich Tischbein the Younger (1742–1808), stands, excluded, to the side. The second-rate paintings still hang on the wall, and oriental ceramics still ornament the mantelpiece. Denon was determined to select only the best paintings for Paris, and the number of works on the floor in preparation for packing confirms that the Kassel picture gallery was of especially high quality. Indeed, it furnished a large percentage of the booty from German territories, and Denon described the collection as a gem. Under the direction of a French colonel, the paintings selected are being taken down from the walls by a team of assistants with the help of scaffolding and ladders, removed with great care from their gilt frames—which would betray their former ownership—and packed in custom-made wood crates. It is as if the French occupying forces were liberating the old-master paintings from the narrow, gilded cage of the private collection of a provincial prince so that they might be displayed in Paris before an enlightened international public and as an integral part of a visual “universal art history.” How, exactly, the paintings were displayed in Paris is another still-unanswered question. As in the case of most early modern European art collections, the reconstruction, visualization, and interpretation of the Louvre’s different states and strategies of display require further study. Indeed, an important part of Europe’s visual culture and of the evolution of art history lies hidden in the dry numbers of inventories and catalogues that need to be explored and studied in order to be infused with meaning.

NOTES

- I thank Marie Therese Bätschmann and Thomas W. Gaetgens for their valuable comments.
- 1 Gustav Friedrich Klemm, *Zur Geschichte der Sammlungen für Wissenschaft und Kunst in Deutschland*, 2nd ed. (Zerbst, 1838), pp. 135–328.
 - 2 See, for example, *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, edited by Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor (Oxford, 1985); Horst Bredekamp, *Antikensehnsucht und Maschinenglauben: Die Geschichte der Kunstkammer und die Zukunft der Kunstgeschichte*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 2000); Klaus Minges, *Das Sammlungswesen der frühen Neuzeit: Kriterien der Ordnung und Spezialisierung* (Münster, 1998); Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York, 1998); *Der Anfang der Museumslehre in Deutschland: Das Traktat "Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi" von Samuel Quiccheberg: Lateinisch-Deutsch*, edited by Harriet Roth (Berlin, 2000).
 - 3 Julius von Schlosser, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sammelwesens* (Leipzig, 1908); Valentin Scherer, *Deutsche Museen: Entstehung und kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung unserer öffentlichen Kunstsammlungen* (Jena, 1913), pp. 43–101.
 - 4 See Helmut Selig, *Die Entstehung des Kunstmuseums als Aufgabe der Architektur* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1954); Volker Plagemann, *Das deutsche Kunstmuseum 1790–1870: Lage, Baukörper, Raumorganisation, Bildprogramm* (Munich, 1967); Thomas W. Gaetgens, "Das Museum um 1800: Bildungsideal und Bauaufgabe," in *Klassizismen und Kosmopolitismus: Programm oder Problem? Austausch in Kunst und Kunsttheorie im 18. Jahrhundert*, edited by Pascal Griener and Kornelia Imesch (Zurich, 2004), pp. 137–62; Adrian von Buttlar, "Europäische Wurzeln und deutsche Inkunabeln der Museumsarchitektur," in *Tempel der Kunst: Die Entstehung des öffentlichen Museums in Deutschland, 1701–1815*, edited by Bénédicte Savoy (Mainz, 2006), pp. 35–43.
 - 5 See Walter Grasskamp, *Museumsgründer und Museumsstürmer: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Kunstmuseums* (Munich, 1981); Walter Hochreiter, *Vom Musentempel zum Lernort: Zur Sozialgeschichte deutscher Museen, 1800–1914* (Darmstadt, 1994); James J. Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World: From the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism* (New York, 2000); Alexis Joachimides, *Die Museumsreformbewegung in Deutschland und die Entstehung des modernen Museums, 1880–1940* (Dresden, 2001); Andrew McClellan, *The Art Museum from Boullée to Bilbao* (Berkeley, 2008).
 - 6 Savoy, *Tempel der Kunst* (note 4).
 - 7 See, for example, *Les musées en Europe à la veille de l'ouverture du Louvre*, edited by Édouard Pommier (Paris, 1995); *Kunstsammeln und Geschmack im 18. Jahrhundert*, edited by Michael North (Berlin, 2002); *Sammeln als Institution: Von der fürstlichen Wunderkammer zum Mäzenatentum des Staates*, edited by Barbara Marx et al. (Munich, 2007); Joachim Penzel, *Der Betrachter ist im Text: Konversations- und Lesekultur in deutschen Gemäldegalerien zwischen 1700 und 1914* (Berlin, 2007); Astrid Bähr, *Repräsentieren, bewahren, belehren: Galeriewerke (1660–1800); Von der Darstellung herrschaftlicher Gemäldesammlungen zum populären Bildband* (Hildesheim, 2009); Pascal Griener, *La république de l'œil: L'expérience de l'art au siècle des Lumières* (Paris, 2010).
 - 8 See Thomas W. Gaetgens, "Das Musée Napoléon und sein Einfluß auf die Kunstgeschichte," in *Johann Dominicus Fiorillo: Kunstgeschichte und die romantische Bewegung um 1800*, edited by Antje Middeldorf Kosegarten (Göttingen, 1997), pp. 339–69, and "Le Musée Napoléon et son influence sur l'histoire de l'art," in *Histoire de l'histoire de l'art: Cycles de conférences organisés au Musée du Louvre par le Service culturel, du 10 octobre au 14 novembre 1991 et du 25 janvier au 15 mars 1993*, edited by Édouard Pommier (Paris, 1997), vol. 2, pp. 89–112.
 - 9 This section of the essay is based on Tristan Weddigen, "Ein Modell für die Geschichte der Kunst: Die Hängungen der Dresdener Gemäldegalerie zwischen 1747 und 1856," *Dresdener Kunstblätter: Vierteljahrschrift der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden* 52, no. 1 (2009), pp. 44–58, and "Der visuelle Diskurs des Inventars: Geschmackliche und kunstgeschichtliche Argumentationsmuster in der Dresdener Gemäldegalerie des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden* (2004), pp. 97–104. The reconstructed displays of the Dresden picture gallery can be viewed online at <https://khistdbl.uzh.ch/gallerycreator/>.
 - 10 See *Königliches Dresden: Höfische Kunst im 18. Jahrhundert*, edited by Werner Schmidt (Munich, 1990); Gerald Heres, *Dresdener Kunstsammlungen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1991); Debora J. Meijers, *Kunst als Natur: Die Habsburger Gemäldegalerie in Wien um 1780* (Vienna, 1995); *Unter einer Krone: Kunst und Kultur der sächsisch-polnischen Union*, edited by Werner Schmidt and Dirk Syndram (Leipzig, 1997); *Eine gute Figur machen: Kostüm und Fest am Dresdner Hof*, edited by Claudia Schnitzer and Petra Hölscher (Dresden, 2000); *Elbflorenz: Italienische Präsenz in Dresden 16.–19. Jahrhundert*, edited by Barbara Marx (Dresden, 2000); *La famosissima Notte! Correggios Gemälde "Die Heilige Nacht" und seine Wirkungsgeschichte*, edited by Birgit Kloppenburg and Gregor J. M. Weber (Dresden, 2000); *Dresde; ou, Le rêve des princes*, edited by Harald Marx and Emmanuel Starcky (Paris, 2001); *Arte per i re: Capolavori del '700 dalla Galleria Statale di Dresda*, edited by Harald Marx, exh. cat. (Udine, 2004); *Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister Dresden*, edited by Harald Marx and Elisabeth Hipp, 2 vols. (Cologne, 2005); *Splendeurs de la cour de Saxe: Dresde à Versailles*, exh. cat. (Paris: Reunion des musées nationaux, 2006); Dirk Syndram

- et al., *Die barocke Schatzkammer: Das Grüne Gewölbe zu Dresden* (Berlin, 2006); Virginie Spenlé, *Die Dresdner Gemäldegalerie und Frankreich: Der "bon goût" im Sachsen des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Beucha, 2008); *Goldener Drache—weisser Adler: Kunst im Dienste der Macht am Kaiserhof von China und am sächsisch-polnischen Hof (1644–1795)*, edited by Cordula Bischoff (Munich, 2008); *Sehnsucht und Wirklichkeit: Wunschbilder; Malerei für Dresden im 18. Jahrhundert*, edited by Harald Marx (Cologne, 2009); *Venedig—Dresden: Begegnung zweier Kulturstädte*, edited by Barbara Marx and Andreas Henning (Leipzig, 2010); *Zukunft seit 1560: Von der Kunstammer zu den Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden*, edited by Karin Kolb et al., 3 vols. (Berlin, 2010).
- 11 On the Galleria Estense and Augustus's purchase, see *Der Verkauf an Dresden: Dresden und Modena aus der Geschichte zweier Galerien*, edited by Johannes Winkler (Modena, 1989); *Sovrane passioni: Le raccolte d'arte della Ducale Galleria Estense*, edited by Jadranka Bentini (Milan, 1998).
- 12 *Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus célèbres tableaux de la Galerie royale de Dresde*, edited by Carl Heinrich von Heineken, 2 vols. (Dresden, 1753–57). On Heineken, see Christian Dittrich, *Johann Heinrich von Heucher und Carl Heinrich von Heineken: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dresdner Kupferstich-Kabinetts im 18. Jahrhundert*, edited by Martin Schuster and Thomas Ketelsen (Dresden, 2010).
- 13 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Werke*, edited by Erich Trunz (Hamburg, 1948–60), vol. 9, p. 320.
- 14 See "Das Kabinett der Rosalba": *Rosalba Carriera und die Pastelle der Dresdener Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister*, edited by Andreas Henning and Harald Marx ([Munich], 2007).
- 15 On Guarienti's hanging of the gallery, see Weddigen, "Der visuelle Diskurs des Inventars" (note 9). For the 1750 inventory, see Henri de Riedmatten et al., "Pietro Maria Guarientis *Catalogo* der Dresdener Gemäldegalerie von 1750," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden* 31 (2007), pp. 105–41.
- 16 See Tristan Weddigen, "Mary Magdalen in the Desert: The Dresden Picture Gallery, a Crypto-Catholic Collection?," in *Sacred Possessions: Collecting Italian Religious Art, 1500–1900*, edited by Gail Feigenbaum and Sybille Ebert-Schiffner (Los Angeles, 2011), pp. 191–208.
- 17 Francesco Algarotti, "Progetto per ridurre a compimento il regio museo di Dresda presentato in Hubertsbourg alla r. m. di Augusto III. re di Polonia il di 28. ottobre 1742," in *Opere del conte Algarotti edizione novissima*, edited by Francesco Aglietti (Venice, 1791–94), vol. 8, pp. 353–88; Hans Posse, "Die Briefe des Grafen Francesco Algarotti an den sächsischen Hof und seine Bilderkäufe für die Dresdner Gemäldegalerie, 1743–1747," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 52 (1931), pp. 1–73.
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- 19 See Martin Gaier et al., *Vergleichendes Sehen* (Munich, 2010).
- 20 Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris, 1708).
- 21 Chevalier de Tincourt, *Lettre de M. le chevalier de Tincourt à Madame la marquise de ***: Sur les tableaux et dessins du cabinet du roi, exposés au Luxembourg depuis le 14 octobre 1750* (Paris, 1751), p. 7; Christian von Mechel, *Verzeichniss der Gemälde der kaiserlich königlichen Bilder Gallerie in Wien* (Vienna, 1783), pp. xi–xii.
- 22 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, "Beschreibung der vorzüglichsten Gemälde der Dresdner Galerie: Fragment," in Winckelmann, *Kleine Schriften: Vorreden; Entwürfe*, edited by Walter Rehm et al., 2nd ed. (Berlin and New York, 2002), pp. 1–12.
- 23 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, in Winckelmann, *Kleine Schriften* (note 22), pp. 26–59.
- 24 August Wilhelm Schlegel and Caroline Schlegel, *Die Gemähde: Ein Gespräch*, edited by Lothar Müller (Amsterdam and Dresden, 1996).
- 25 Johann Anton Riedel and Christian Friedrich Wenzel, *Catalogue des tableaux de la Galerie électorale à Dresde* (Dresden, 1765).
- 26 See Virginie Spenlé, "Eine chronologische Historie der Malerey in Gemählden: Vorschläge aus dem Jahre 1771 zu einer Neuordnung der Dresdner Gemäldegalerie," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 67 (2004), pp. 461–78.
- 27 See Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn, *Betrachtungen über die Malerey*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1762).
- 28 See Friedrich Matthäi, *Verzeichniss der königlich sächsischen Gemälde-Galerie zu Dresden*, 2 vols. (Dresden, 1835).
- 29 Wilhelm Heine, *Düsseldorfer Gemäldebrieftage*, edited by Helmut Pfötenhauer (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1996), p. 12. On the Düsseldorf picture gallery, see Nicolas de Pigage, 1723–1796: *Architekt des Kurfürsten Carl Theodor*, edited by Wieland Koenig and Inge Zacher (Düsseldorf, 1996); Sabine Koch, "Die Düsseldorfer Gemäldegalerie," in Savoy, *Tempel der Kunst* (note 4), pp. 87–116; *Kurfürst Johann Wilhelms Bilder*, edited by Reinhold Baumstark, 2 vols. (Munich, 2009); and especially Thomas W. Gahtgens and Louis Marchesano, *Display and Art History: The Düsseldorf Gallery and Its Catalogue* (Los Angeles, 2011).
- 30 Kornelia Möhlig, *Die Gemäldegalerie des Kurfürsten Johann Wilhelm von Pfalz-Neuburg (1658–1716) in Düsseldorf* (Cologne, 1993), pp. 42–44.
- 31 Nicolas de Pigage, *La galerie électorale de Dusseldorf; ou, Catalogue raisonné et figuré de ses tableaux...* (Basel, 1778), vol. 2, p. viii.
- 32 Gerhard Joseph Karsch, *Ausführliche und gründliche Specification derer kostbarsten und unschätzbaren Gemählden welche in der Gallerie der churf: Residentz-Stadt Düsseldorf in grosser Menge anzutreffen sind* (Düsseldorf, [after 1716]); *Désignation exacte des peintures précieuses, qui sont en grand nombre dans la galerie de la résidence de son altesse ser.me électorale palatine à*

- Dusseldorf* (Düsseldorf, [after 1716]). A second edition of the French-language catalogue was published in 1750. See also Penzel, *Betrachter ist im Text* (note 7), pp. 103–6.
- 33 De Piles, *Cours de peinture* (note 20).
- 34 See Möhlig, *Gemäldegalerie des Kurfürsten Johann Wilhelm* (note 30), pp. 160–66, and Weddigen, “Mary Magdalen in the Desert” (note 16).
- 35 Anonymous, *Détail des peintures du cabinet électoral de Dusseldorf* (n.p., [after 1716]).
- 36 See Barbara Gaetgens, *Adriaen van der Werff, 1659–1722* (Munich, 1987).
- 37 François-Louis Colins, *Catalogue des tableaux qui se trouvent dans les galeries du palais de s. a. s. é. palatine, à Dusseldorf* (n.p., n.d.).
- 38 Pigage, *Galerie électorale* (note 31), vol. 1, p. viii.
- 39 Pigage, *Galerie électorale* (note 31); Bähr, *Repräsentieren* (note 7), pp. 298–332. See Anton Joseph von Prenner, *Theatrum artis pictoriae*, 4 vols. (Vienna, 1728–33).
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