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GLYPTOTHEK AND ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH: MUSEUMS AS PUBLIC MONUMENTS

ADRIAN VON BUTTLAR AND BÉNÉDICTE SAVOY

The Glyptothek Building

The foundation stone of Munich's Glyptothek was laid in 1816, seven years before construction began on the Altes Museum in Berlin. Although both museums opened in 1830, the Glyptothek is considered the first autonomous museum building of monumental proportions to be constructed in Germany (fig. 12-1).¹ In addition, the original idea was focused more on building a public museum, with royal resources, than on any actual collection. When in 1806 the twenty-year-old crown prince (and future king) Ludwig of Bavaria professed, "I want to be the benefactor of a collection of antique works of sculpture," and in 1808 asserted, "here in Munich, we need to have what in Rome is called a *museo*," he was not just enthusiastically remembering his visits to the Museo Pio-Clementino and the Capitoline Museum during his first trip to Rome, in 1804 and 1805.² Although at that time Bavaria was allied with Napoléon, the prince's appeal was a patriotic reaction to the French occupation of Prussia in 1806 and last but not least to the looting of artworks there. Ludwig believed that the art treasures confiscated by the French should not be fostering cosmopolitanism at the Parisian Musée Napoléon (as the Musée du Louvre was called between 1803 and 1815). Rather, they should be cultivating the tastes of a culturally coalescent, albeit politically splintered, German nation (a *Kulturnation*).³ The museums and collections financed out of Ludwig's private coffers were accessible to everyone, but remained the private property of the king. Only once, after the Revolutionary riots and Ludwig's abdication in 1848, did the king (r. 1825–48) remind the populace that all the works of art in the Glyptothek and in the newly opened museum for contemporary art, called the Neue Pinakothek, belonged to him, and that his generosity in showing them to the public was not to be taken for granted.⁴

After Ludwig's acquisition in 1812 of the late Archaic pediment figures from the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina, his museum plans gradually became more concrete. His sculpture museum, for which the Greek neologism *glyptothek* was coined (by analogy with *pinakothek*), was to come into being outside the city walls, in a newly planned quarter around the Königsplatz. In 1812 the

FIGURE 12-1.
Carl Friedrich
Heinzmann (German,
1795–1846), after Leo
von Klenze (German,
1784–1864), *Glyptothek*.
Lithograph. From
Klenze, *Sammlung
architectonischer
Entwürfe, welche
ausgeführt oder für die
Ausführung entworfen
wurden* (Munich,
1830), notebook 1, pl. 6.
Technische Universität
Berlin

Munich architect Carl von Fischer (1781–1820) presented a design that called for a museum on the north side of the square, and a monument on the south side to the twelve thousand Bavarian soldiers who fought (and fell) alongside Napoléon’s army in Russia. With their domes, monumental columned porticoes, and windowless facades, both buildings were distinguished by the Neoclassical style of French Revolutionary architecture.⁵ This French character, however, contradicted Ludwig’s desire to dissociate himself from France and Napoléon. In 1813 the Battle of Leipzig forced Napoléon’s defeated army back toward France, and in February 1814, Ludwig announced a double competition, to be supervised by the Academy of Fine Arts, for the design of a museum and a Walhalla (German hall of fame); he stipulated that the buildings be in the “purest classical style,” modeled on the architecture of ancient Greece. Ludwig, educated in the spirit of the antiquarian Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) and steeped in humanist philosophy (and later involved as a philhellene in the Greek war of independence), continued for many years to view classical antiquity as the preeminent, though not the only, model for cultural policy and artistic endeavor in general.⁶

None other than the former royal architect to King Jérôme Bonaparte (r. 1807–13) in Kassel, Leo von Klenze (1784–1864),⁷ won the commission, and with the erection of the Glyptothek in Munich (1816–30) and the Walhalla near Regensburg on the Danube (1830–42) he constructed two key works of German Neoclassical architecture. As court architect and the first director of the State Building Department, he determined what would be constructed in Bavaria for four decades. Starting in 1800, together with Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841), he had begun his training under the Prussian architect David Gilly (1748–1808) at the Allgemeine Bauschule in Berlin. However, in Paris he had soon come under the influence of the *École polytechnique* and the Empire style. In Munich, in keeping with his commission and based on the rationalist design principles of the French architect Jean Nicolas Louis Durand (1760–1834),⁸ Klenze (like Schinkel in Berlin) developed a modern architectural syntax using Greek formal vocabulary, which he applied to established building types, making adjustments according to the commission and the building’s function. Klenze methodically followed the example of Palladio, who in the sixteenth century had modernized the principles of classical Roman architecture: “Just as Palladio achieved greatness and immortality through ingeniously adapting Roman architecture to his time, accommodating it to the needs of his country, so I would like to attempt the same with the works of Greece: this is the only way to become more than an outright plagiarist.”⁹

The one-story museum building of Munich’s Glyptothek is reminiscent of a Roman atrium villa of palace size—comparable in some respects to the similarly square, single-storied Palazzo del Te, in Mantua, designed by Giulio Romano in the early sixteenth century for Federico II Gonzaga:¹⁰ arranged

around a courtyard, the four-winged complex has windows facing outward only on the north side, and is otherwise lit from the courtyard and by toplighting in the corner rotundas. This plan (fig. 12-2) was not only particularly suited for illuminating the sculptures; it also made a cohesive tour of the collection possible. In keeping with Winckelmann's understanding of the evolution of ancient art, the chronological trajectory through the cultural epochs illustrated the rise and flowering of classical art and its recent "rebirth" in the present. The starting point and the end point were the same, in the vestibule with its portico overarching the facade. According to the wishes of Crown Prince Ludwig, the portico, as a citation of the Propylaea on the Athenian Acropolis, was to have had Doric columns. In a long and intense struggle with his patron, Klenze

GRUNDRISS DER GLYPTOTHEK.

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|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| I. PORTICUS. | IX. SAAL AL FRESCO GEMALT. |
| II. HAUPT VESTIBULE. | X. ZWISCHENSAL. |
| III. AEGYPTISCHER SAAL. | XI. SAAL AL FRESCO GEMALT. |
| IV. INKUNABEL SAAL. | XII. HEROEN SAAL. |
| V. AEGINETEN SAAL. | XIII. ROEMER SAAL. |
| VI. APOLLO SAAL. | XIV. SAAL DER BRONZEN UND |
| VII. BAKCHISCHER SAAL. | FARBIGEN STEINE. |
| VIII. NIOBIDEN SAAL. | XV. SAAL DER NEUEREN. |

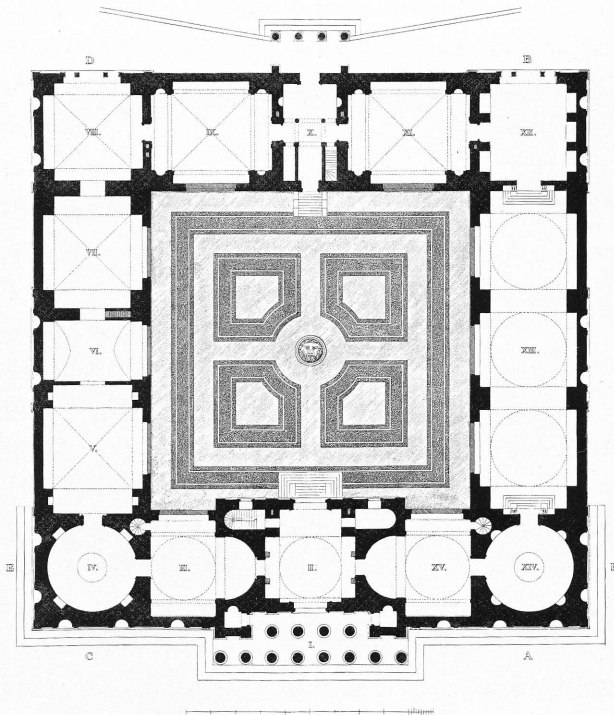


FIGURE 12-2.

Leo von Klenze
(German, 1784–1864),
*Ground Plan of the
Glyptothek*. From
Klenze, *Sammlung
architectonischer
Entwürfe, welche
ausgeführt oder für die
Ausführung entworfen
wurden* (Munich,
1830), notebook 1, pl. 1.
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managed to move this antique element, inappropriate here, to another building project planned from 1817 onward—the city gate on the west side of the Königsplatz (the so-called Propyläen, built between 1846 and 1862). He substituted Ionic columns without fluting, and with the capitals, too, he demonstrated his modern syntactic liberty, combining the form of the capitals from the Temple of Athena Polias, in Priene, with the band of anthemion that decorates the capitals of the Erechtheion, on the Acropolis—both taken from Durand's *Recueil et parallèle des édifices en tout genre, anciens et modernes* . . . (Album of prints and comparison of buildings of every type, ancient and modern . . . ; 1800).¹¹ Finally, Klenze placed the structure, like a Greek temple, on a triple-stepped stylobate, and finished the facade with an intricate cornice and acroteria.

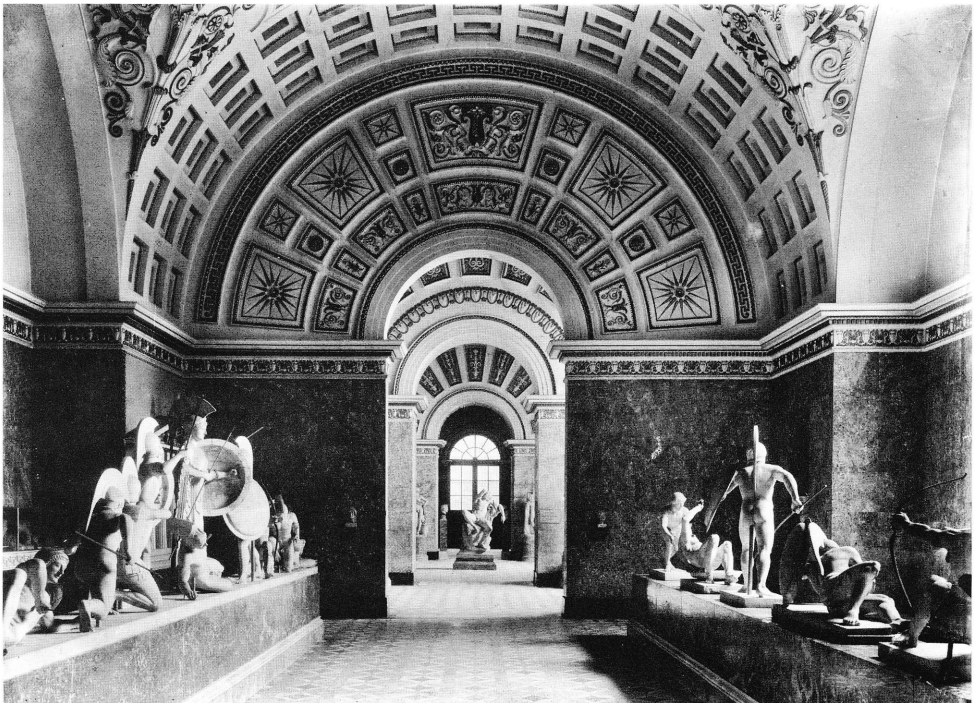
A further dispute between architect and client developed concerning the aedicules on all sides of the building: these contradicted the Greek style and rightly reminded Ludwig of Rome and the Cinquecento.¹² Klenze needed them to articulate the stark, windowless facades as well as to gain space for a didactic decorative program, conceived in part by the philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (1775–1854). The program is announced in the pediment (executed in marble from 1836 to 1862, based on a design by Johann Martin von Wagner), whose figures are carved not in bas-relief, as had become the norm for pediment sculpture, but fully in the round—that is, in “Greek” style—for the first time since antiquity. Athena appears at the center of the group as protectress of all the sculptural arts, and is thus accompanied by craftsmen and artists ranging from the builder to the bronzemaker. In the niches of the main facade, we find Prometheus as the mythical prototype of the artist, Vulcan as the protector of the foundry, Daedalus as the inventor, Phidias as the perfecter of sculpture, and, finally, Pericles and Hadrian as the first and last “protectors of art” in the antique world. The west facade, or evening side, shows the sculptural arts of the Italian Renaissance, embodied by Ghiberti, Donatello, Michelangelo, Benvenuto Cellini, and Giovanni da Bologna—and the Nuremberger Peter Vischer the Elder. The east side, facing the rising sun, and thus the future, presents the contemporary Neoclassical masters (Antonio Canova, Berthel Thorvaldsen, Pietro Tenerani, John Gibson, Michael Ludwig Schwanthaler, and Christian Daniel Rauch). The scheme for the figures accorded with the intention to close the tour of the collection's antique art with a Gallery of the Moderns and to include the museum building itself in this art-historical cycle, as the most recent testimony to the rebirth of classical principles of art.

The enfilade of round, rectangular, and square rooms calls to mind, on the one hand, the series of varied rooms in the Museo Pio-Clementino, in Rome (see chap. 4, fig. 4-4), and, on the other hand, Palladio's palace floor plans (such as that of the Palazzo Thiene, in Vicenza) and their imitations in the galleries of eighteenth-century English country houses. Klenze attached great impor-

tance to richly and colorfully designed terrazzo floors and stuccoed coffered ceilings, gilded and decorated with reliefs, emblems, or portrait medallions. The embellishments included the Osiris lunette in the Egyptian Gallery, referring to the genesis of art in ancient Egypt; the color-painted reconstruction of the Temple of Aphaia in the Gallery of the Aeginetans; the symbols of the cities of Athens, Corinth, Sicyon, and Argos, “whose art academies achieved particular renown,” in the Gallery of Apollo; and the genii who crowned the portraits of Roman generals, consuls, and emperors in the Gallery of the Romans. In the Gallery of the Moderns, the rising phoenix symbolized the rebirth of the arts in the era of Ludwig I.

Uniform wall surfaces made of highly polished *stucco lustrato*—which served as colorful, contrasting backgrounds for the statues—were mounted from floor to ceiling. The statues, as Klenze visualized them, would “stand out more clearly in the warm, diffused light from the alternating but strong and vivid coloration [of the walls].”¹³ Following Winckelmann, particular attention was paid to the effect of the contours of the sculpted figures. Klenze’s solution was adopted from the collection of ancient sculpture at the Villa Albani, in Rome, and from the antiquities gallery in the Musée Napoléon, designed by the architects Charles Percier (1764–1838) and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (1762–1853), of which he had done an exhaustive analysis.¹⁴ In the Glyptothek Klenze heightened the figures’ effect through intense coloration of the *stucco lustrato*: the luminous yellow of the Egyptian Gallery is followed by the deep red (*rosso antico*) of the Incunabula Gallery. The Gallery of the

FIGURE 12-3.
View of the Gallery of the Aeginetans, Glyptothek, Munich, ca. 1930



Aeginetans (fig. 12-3) and the following rooms were green porphyry (*verde antico*), the Gallery of the Niobids was again yellow, the Gallery of the Heroes blue-gray, the Gallery of the Romans violet (*fior de persico*), and the Gallery of the Moderns pale green, since the pure white of the modern marble sculptures harmonized especially well with this tone.¹⁵

An “Opportune Era”? The History of the Glyptothek Collection

The antiquities collection came into being *ex nihilo* within just a few years.¹⁶ Whereas the paintings collection in the Pinakothek was the fruit of over a hundred years of active collecting and museum practice at the Bavarian court, the Glyptothek’s antiquities did not arrive in Munich until between 1808 and 1816. Since the late Renaissance, however, the royal seat had possessed an antiquities gallery of both cultural and historical significance—the Antiquarium, with its cycle of magnificent antique ruler portraits. But neither Ludwig I nor his advisers appreciated the Antiquarium, which archaeological experts around 1800 considered to be no more than a curiosity. It led a shadowy, derelict existence in court life, and at most was used as a welcome storage space while preparations for the Glyptothek were under way. In this context, a statement in the foreword to the first catalogue of the Glyptothek’s collection, coauthored by Klenze and the art historian Ludwig Schorn (1793–1842) and published in 1830, does not come as a surprise: “Up until very recently, Bavaria was missing the most indispensable, indeed the one and only requisite pillar of higher cultivation in the arts: the sight of original works from antiquity.”¹⁷ Such a “sight,” that is, access to antique art in a public museum, did exist in various locations in the German-speaking states as early as the last third of the eighteenth century—in, for example, the Japanese Palace in the center of Dresden, from about 1785, and in the Fridericianum in Kassel, from 1779; both were significant collections.¹⁸ The Glyptothek in Munich was thus founded relatively late, and in contrast to the Pinakothek, for example, it did not have the advantage of building upon a previous institution. For this very reason, the Glyptothek is of particular interest in respect to the history of museums and of taste; it narrates the final chapter of a Neoclassical cultural history in Europe around 1800. Furthermore, the Glyptothek’s acquisition history and the provenance of its objects provide a detailed view of the complex structure of the European antiquities market at this time. Finally, the Glyptothek offers a unique example of a museum whose edifice and collection came into being more or less simultaneously and thus developed in a reciprocal relationship to each other. Although it was conceived as a public museum from the beginning, the Glyptothek was not particularly frequented, a fact that surely resulted more from the general conditions of the times than from any definition of a museum.

“Zealous agents, led by the connoisseurship of rulers, took advantage of

this opportune era in history: and so, eight years after its start in 1808, a collection had already grown that could measure up to the best that Europe had to offer, and that necessitated an appropriate building,” states the foreword to Klenze and Schorn’s catalogue.¹⁹ Indeed, in 1830, the year of its opening, the Glyptothek could boast three hundred objects—not an insignificant number. Crown Prince Ludwig, it is usually presumed, started pondering the idea of beginning a collection of antique sculpture in his fatherland, using his own means, as early as his first yearlong sojourn in Italy, in 1804 and 1805. In addition to his time in Italy, his visit to the British Museum in London (1814) was a motivating factor. Because a trip to Greece, planned by the crown prince together with Klenze for the spring of 1819, fell through, Ludwig’s knowledge of original Greek sculpture was limited to his encounters with examples in Italy, France, and England.

The timing of his museum project was extremely good. First, since the reopening of the Grand Gallery (1799) and the opening of the antiquities gallery (1801) at the Louvre (from 1804 called Musée Napoléon), museums had played a new strategic role in the discussion about national affirmation and claims to cultural superiority. Second, as a consequence of the political turmoil in Europe caused by the French Revolution and Napoleonic rule, much that had for years been inaccessible in princely collections was now for sale. Third, the big excavation projects that had been going on since the mid-eighteenth century, not only in Italy but also in Greece, were bearing fruit and bringing to light some excellent objects. The numerous letters and directives that Ludwig sent to his agents, and the reports and written recommendations that he received from them, allow his acquisitions for Munich’s Glyptothek to be reconstructed precisely. From 1806 to 1812 he had several trustworthy intermediaries in Rome: the painter Friedrich Müller (1749–1825); the sculptor Konrad Eberhard (1768–1859); the painter (and later the first director of the Pinakothek) Johann Georg von Dillis (1759–1841); and after 1810, the Würzburg painter and sculptor Johann Martin von Wagner (1777–1858), who soon became indispensable in the acquisitions process and as a go-between with German artists living in Rome. The chronology and geography of the acquisitions can be summarized as follows: up to about 1810 there were a few purchases, none especially noteworthy, in Rome; in 1810 and 1811, with Dillis’s help, Ludwig purchased the small Bevilacqua collection in Verona; in 1812 Greece was the source of, among other works, the *pièce de résistance* of the collection—the valuable pediment figures from the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina (see fig. 12-3); in 1814 Ludwig made a few purchases in Vienna; and in Paris in 1815, through Dillis and Klenze, he bought numerous statues from the Albani collection that had been confiscated in Rome and taken to France by Napoléon’s soldiers in 1789. Rome remained the chief source for further acquisitions. From the beginning, Ludwig wanted to acquire only works of antique sculpture in

marble (not, for example, plaster casts or smaller objects such as bronzes or coins). He wished, as he repeatedly emphasized, “to acquire really good products rather than mediocre works, better not so many, for the quality rather than the quantity determines the value of a collection.”²⁰

Whereas the general dissolution of many European private collections and the resulting circulation of artworks in Europe were advantageous to the Bavarian museum plans, the unprecedented competition in the art market complicated some of the negotiations. In Rome, the capital of the European antiquities market, there was no longer a papal administration that collected antique artworks and that could deny export permits; nor were there any more Englishmen eager to buy—they had all been driven out of the Roman market by Napoléon’s Continental System. However, omnipotent French collectors, not least the minions of Napoléon (such as Cardinal Fesch and Lucien Bonaparte), were playing a new role in the market and were frequently able to outbid even Ludwig. Nevertheless, by 1816 a collection had been assembled in Munich that, though later richly supplemented, could already be considered fundamentally complete. From this point on, the planning and financing of the Glyptothek building was in the foreground, and most of the acquisitions were closely related to the interior design of the galleries. There was a determined search for “missing” pieces. In March 1820, for example, Klenze, who needed a complete series of statues and busts for the so-called Gallery of the Romans, wrote to Ludwig: “It may very well be that I will purchase ten more Roman portrait busts, since the size of the Gallery of the Romans calls for this—if possible of emperors and empresses that are still missing from the collection, but otherwise other portraits of preferably well-known figures, but in no case of individuals whose portraits I already have.”²¹

Klenze’s *Promenade architecturale* as a Walk-In History of Antique Art

“The great museums will be superior to mine in their number of exhibits; my collection will distinguish itself in quality rather than in quantity,” wrote Ludwig in 1813.²² And indeed, from 1830 onward, Munich boasted a collection on a par with those of the best European museums. Not only the collection but also, and above all, its presentation were characterized by a high degree of organizational clarity.

The intense discussions concerning the interior decorations and the display of the antique sculptures were of greatest importance for Ludwig’s art policies. His art agent Wagner, who at that time was resident in Rome and well acquainted with the thematic display of the Borghese collections, argued for a thematic presentation of the antique figures according to “divine ideals,” in the spirit of the *Götterlehre* (theogony) of Karl Philipp Moritz.²³ Wagner advised that no more than three to five exhibits be shown in each of the unadorned

chambers; this was a didactic strategy with the aim of teaching the technique of comparative viewing. Klenze criticized Wagner's "menagerie, where every monkey has its territory."²⁴ With the intent of clearly showing the "development of the course of art," Klenze pushed through—as the art historian Gustav Friedrich Waagen (1794–1868) remarked in 1820²⁵—the first chronological ordering of an antiquities collection.²⁶ Whereas Wagner warned against opulent interior decoration, since "every ornament, everything that is colorful and shiny . . . damages the ideal artwork,"²⁷ Klenze called for a "general impression of overwhelming magnificence that should lift the spirit of the visitor into a celebratory mood." Klenze recalled "the halls of the Olympian palace, in which we are used to imagining [the gods] and where they are depicted by Homer and Hesiod."²⁸ Here the idealistic conception of a public museum's function becomes clear. The attempt is made to present art in a spectacular manner, as one of the highest spiritual and moral values; in contrast to the stark academic study rooms that tended to be reserved for connoisseurs and artists, the public museum was open to a new, educated citizenry. The museum, argued Wagner in vain, is not meant "for the low-down rabble, which is more used to gaping at the floors or the shining walls than at the statues."²⁹

Klenze created a cohesive series of highly varied galleries, finely tuned in size, shape, vaulting, color tones, and splendid decoration to the respective epoch and the character of the objects. Proceeding in a clockwise direction, one entered the Egyptian Gallery from the vestibule, and moved from there into the rotunda of the Incunabula Gallery, where the earliest works from the Archaic period, such as the Kouros of Tenea, were displayed. Turning a corner to the north, one entered the Gallery of the Aeginetans, followed by three galleries for "Greek statuary from the apogee of art": the Apollo Gallery, the Bacchic Gallery (containing the Barberini Faun), and the Niobids Gallery. On the north side, with a ramp leading up to them and a small portico, were two ballroom-size halls—the Gallery of the Gods and the Gallery of the Heroes (Gallery of the Trojans)—with frescoes by Peter von Cornelius (1783–1867). The 1814 announcement of the competition had specified these halls for the purpose of royal diversions,³⁰ and occasional festivities did take place in them. The halls' true purpose, however, is revealed in the fresco scheme, conceived in the spirit of Schelling's philosophy of art, at the center of which (in the Gallery of the Gods) stood the principle of Eros as source of poetry and all creative energy. Competing with Eros was Eris (in the Gallery of the Heroes), the destructive energy of discord, embodied by the Trojan War as a metaphor for the history of humanity.³¹

The tour continued in the northeastern exhibition room, also named the Gallery of the Heroes, where—as Klenze writes in the 1830 catalogue—"[a]rt begins to descend from the peak of perfection that it had reached in Greece."³² The next room was the three-bay, flat-domed, slightly sunken Gallery of the

Romans, the museum's largest gallery. The Gallery of Colored Statuary in the southeast corner contained both objects of decorative art and polychrome works in bronze, silver, and various types of stone. In the last room, the Gallery of the Moderns, were sculptures by Canova, Schadow, Rauch, and other modern masters. Among these were busts of Crown Prince Ludwig (by Thorwaldsen) and his opposite, Napoléon (by Spalla).

The Glyptothek Then and Now

Johann Georg von Dillis, the director of the Pinakothek, was also in charge of the Glyptothek. Visiting hours, established immediately, were daily from eight o'clock till noon, except Wednesdays and Saturdays.³³ These were not particularly generous opening times in comparison with those the Munich public had come to know in the Hofgartengalerie since the 1780s (as discussed later in this essay). Entrance to the museum was, however, free of charge; an indirect increase in the wages of the museum guards through tips was "strictly prohibited." Yet entrance was truly free only on Fridays, from eight o'clock till noon. For all other times it was necessary to pick up tickets in advance at the office of the central gallery director, a requirement that was obviously something of a deterrent. The public's reaction was less than exuberant. Thus in 1837 Dillis remarked to the king that "except for Fridays, which had been set aside for general visiting, the Glyptothek [is] not visited much." Not until 1847 were the visiting hours extended: besides the morning hours, the museum remained open in the afternoon from two o'clock until six o'clock. The catalogue of the collection published by Klenze and Schorn was a thin, descriptive booklet with no illustrations. Although it was soon found to be inadequate, a new catalogue did not appear until 1868. This modest publications program was accompanied by a restrictive reproduction policy; even archaeologists were not allowed to sketch the sculptures without the express permission of the king, a measure that elicited much criticism. Overall, in the nineteenth century, in spite of its modernity and the quality of its collection, the Glyptothek never developed into a popular attraction.

In 1972, following the heavy destruction it suffered during the Second World War, the Glyptothek was reconstructed with exposed brickwork. The colored walls and all the interior decoration have been lost,³⁴ but the sublime antique effect of the shell construction accords even today with Ludwig's vision of 1858, when he wrote to Klenze: "You know how I liked the unplastered walls of the Glyptothek, so much so that I regretted that they couldn't just stay that way."³⁵ The Glyptothek had been a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a complex decorative scheme, with the antiquities collection and the structure that housed it forming an indivisible union. To modern eyes, the purified version has become one of the most convincing settings for the exhibition of ancient sculpture.

The Bavarian Paintings Collection

It was a different case with the Pinakothek (fig. 12-4). Whereas in Munich the antiquities collection had to be created out of nothing within just a few years, the paintings collection housed in the Pinakothek was the product of centuries of collecting. Long before the Pinakothek's opening in 1836, the collection was distinguished by years of public accessibility and ongoing, intensive deliberations and debates about the ideal presentation of works of art, both with respect to aesthetic, scholarly, and didactic considerations and also in the technological sense. The history of the collection's holdings, curators, scholarly publications, and visitors bears witness to its international character. The formation of the paintings collection is a double success story—the success of a continuous, cultivated dynastic practice of collecting on-site, dating from the sixteenth century, as well as an early practice of public display; and the spectacular success resulting from the incorporation of magnificent picture galleries, famous across Europe, from Düsseldorf, Mannheim, and Zweibrücken, which were bequeathed to Bavaria through inheritance in the eighteenth century. Viewed from this perspective, the nineteenth-century Pinakothek represents direct continuity with the museum practice of the eighteenth century, and it

FIGURE 12-4.

View of the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, ca. 1890–1900. Hand-colored photograph. Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division



forms a clear counterpoint to the Glyptothek, if not in architectural history then certainly in the history of collecting.³⁶

The International Composition of the Holdings

Scholars are not certain about the exact origins of the paintings collection in Munich.³⁷ The starting point is generally considered to be a cycle of history paintings commissioned by the Bavarian prince Wilhelm IV (r. 1493–1550) and his wife, Jakobäa von Baden, and executed by various South German artists between 1528 and 1540.³⁸ Among these is a painting by Albrecht Altdorfer (1482–1538) that is even today considered to be a showpiece of the collection: the so-called *Battle of Alexander at Issus* (1529). A clear preliminary phase of intensive collecting of paintings beyond the surrounding regions occurred toward the end of the sixteenth century. Under Duke Maximilian I (r. 1597–1651), alongside early German art, Flemish and Dutch paintings were brought to Munich, with a particular focus on the works of Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). A second phase of international collecting activity took place during the rule of Maximilian II Emanuel, who as governor of the Spanish Netherlands (r. 1691–1706) had special access to the vibrant art market there. In an extremely short time, hundreds of paintings were acquired for Munich in Antwerp, Brussels, and elsewhere, including—again—major works by Rubens.³⁹ Although almost nothing is known about the agents who made the acquisitions, the quality and quantity of the purchases indicate professional activity. By around 1700 the elector had enlarged the collection fourfold,⁴⁰ and the acquired paintings were presented (though not publicly) in the galleries of the Nymphenburg and Schleißheim Palaces near Munich. In the first half of the eighteenth century the Munich paintings collection, which would later become the foundation of the Pinakothek, already contained hundreds of paintings. The character and size of these collections, however, were to change dramatically in 1777.

In that year the Palatine branch of the Wittelsbach lineage succeeded the Bavarian branch. The associated redistribution of property led to the incorporation of three comprehensive painting galleries: the Düsseldorf and Mannheim picture galleries were formally integrated into the Bavarian holdings in 1777, and the Zweibrücken picture gallery in 1799, when Elector Maximilian IV Joseph (r. 1799–1806) gained the throne. The Mannheim and Düsseldorf collections were initially not moved from their original locations; the former was brought to Munich in 1798, and the latter in 1805, to safeguard them at the start of the Napoleonic Wars. One year before the formal consolidation of the Düsseldorf gallery with the Bavarian collection, the novelist and art critic Wilhelm Heine (1746–1803) wrote in his famous *Düsseldorfer Gemäldebriefe* (1776): “We have a collection of paintings the likes of which no

other place in Germany can boast, even including Dresden; and in consideration of the fact that in Greece a city can be famous because of just one column or painting by one of its great masters: what might not Düsseldorf be for all of Europe, if art were still awarded such a high degree of appreciation, were still held in such honor?"⁴¹ Indeed, the Düsseldorf picture gallery had developed into a significant cultural attraction soon after its founding at the beginning of the eighteenth century (ca. 1714), and it was visited by scholars from all over Europe—not least by the English who traveled along the Rhine on their way to Italy. Its founder, the elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm (r. 1690–1716), made numerous and high-quality acquisitions on the European art market, as evidenced by a fragmentary record from the War Commissariat treasury: the document indicates that in Düsseldorf one hundred thousand reichstaler—a huge sum for that time—was spent on “pictures, painters, art agents, sculptors, jewels, elephant tusks, and the like.”⁴² Johann Wilhelm’s close familial and diplomatic ties to Florence and Madrid played a central role in his collecting. In Madrid, one of Johann Wilhelm’s sisters had been queen of Spain since 1690, and thus this region, too, was a source of valuable paintings—not least of which were Flemish works—for Düsseldorf and later for Munich. Johann Wilhelm’s second wife, Anna Maria Luisa, was from Florence and brought valuable paintings to Düsseldorf, or received them as gifts from her father, Cosimo III de’ Medici (r. 1670–1723).

The Mannheim picture gallery, shortly before it was transferred to Munich, consisted of over seven hundred paintings, which included works that had come from Düsseldorf when part of that collection had been temporarily removed to Mannheim in 1731. Although relatively new, the Zweibrücken gallery’s collection numbered about two thousand paintings, among which were numerous eighteenth-century French works.

The incorporation of the three picture galleries added hundreds of Dutch, Flemish, Italian, Spanish, and French masterpieces to the Munich paintings collection. Among them were Rubens’s *Great Last Judgment* (1617) and *Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus* (ca. 1618), Jacob Jordaens’s *Satyr with Peasants* (1620–21), Raphael’s *Canigiani Holy Family* (1501–6), and works by important Italian masters like Guido Reni, Carlo Dolci, Tintoretto, and Andrea del Sarto—all of which were to become highlights of the Pinakothek. At a time when the French school was not well represented in the princely public galleries, the Munich collection was enlarged by *Woman Peeling Turnips* (1738–39) by Jean Baptiste Siméon Chardin, François Boucher’s *Reclining Girl* (1752), and Claude’s *Expulsion of Hagar* (1668).

After the French invasion in the winter of 1800–1, about seventy paintings from different locations in Munich were confiscated and taken to Paris; in 1815 about one-third of the confiscated paintings came back. Yet significant growth also occurred in these years: approximately fifteen hundred artworks from

monasteries, churches, and foundations that had been secularized starting in 1803 arrived in the Bavarian capital. In the years following, both Elector Maximilian IV Joseph (from 1806, King Maximilian I) and his son Crown Prince Ludwig increased the Munich holdings through acquisitions in Italy and Paris. The last great addition took place in 1827 with the purchase of the famous collection of over two hundred early German and Netherlandish paintings assembled by the brothers Melchior (1786–1851) and Sulpiz (1783–1854) Boisserée. With this acquisition the Munich paintings collection achieved world-class status. Along with Vienna's Belvedere Museum, the Altes Museum in Berlin, and the Dresden Gemäldegalerie, it was one of the most significant galleries in the German-speaking lands; along with the Parisian Musée du Louvre, the National Gallery in London, and the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg, it was one of the most comprehensive, high-quality, and well-balanced galleries in Europe.

A Long Tradition of Public Access

With the regular growth of the collection after 1777, the safekeeping and appropriate presentation of the paintings in Munich were the highest priorities, particularly in connection with the wish to allow the public access to the collection. In 1779, under the elector Charles Theodore (1724–1799), construction began on a new building to house the collection, which up to that time had been divided among various Munich galleries and palaces. The building was designed by Carl Albrecht von Lespilliez. Immediately after its completion in 1783, the Hofgartengalerie, as the museum was called, was opened to the general public; it continued in this function until the transfer of the paintings to the Pinakothek in 1836. As in Vienna and Dresden, the beginnings of the public museum in Munich can thus be traced to the ancien régime, not just to the early nineteenth century.

Entrance to the Hofgartengalerie was free of charge. From the start it was open to everyone, on workdays from nine o'clock till noon and from one o'clock to seven o'clock (to four o'clock in winter). As early as 1783, the elector had decreed that the museum's purpose "be that of meaningful entertainment for lovers of art and simultaneously that of education for art students."⁴³ In 1784 a visitor wrote, "This splendid temple of the arts is open all the time and to everyone."⁴⁴ No particular restrictions on access to the museum are mentioned in travel accounts. The remarks of a traveler who in 1813 was allowed by way of exception to visit the gallery at midday testify to the institution's attraction: "I don't feel truly comfortable until there are fewer people around me, people who visit this place just to be seen, and I don't have to hear all the constantly repeated formulas about art."⁴⁵

The policy of Munich's ruling house allowing public access to its paintings collection was supported by publications about the collection. A scholarly catalogue of the Pinakothek's paintings, the *Verzeichnis der Gemaelde in der königlichen Pinakothek zu München* (Catalogue of paintings in the Royal Pinakothek in Munich), by the director, Johann Georg von Dillis, was published in 1838 on the occasion of the opening of the new museum building. It could be purchased for the modest sum of one florin and fifty-four crowns. It was far from the first of its kind: as early as 1787, a similar scholarly catalogue conceived for the general reader, by an anonymous author, had been published as a handy, inexpensive octavo.⁴⁶ A second catalogue had appeared for sale in 1805, likewise as an octavo,⁴⁷ this one written by the central gallery director, Johann Christian von Mannlich (1741–1822). In contrast to the Glyptothek, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Pinakothek could look back on a long tradition of publications and public access.

Presentation of the Collection

The first director of the Pinakothek, Johann Georg von Dillis, had been the last director of the Hofgartengalerie. In 1790 he had been given the position of inspector of the Hofgartengalerie, and in 1822, upon the death of Mannlich,⁴⁸ he had taken over the position of central gallery director. Both Mannlich and Dillis were painters themselves, and both were responsible for the hanging of the paintings in the galleries they oversaw. The arrangement that Dillis conceived for the Pinakothek, an arrangement that was retained for almost the whole of the nineteenth century, was closely related both to his work at the Hofgartengalerie and to the controversial ideas of Mannlich, who for decades had given shape to the Munich collection.

Indeed, the manner in which paintings were hung in Munich's public galleries prior to Mannlich's death was unique among museums in the German-speaking states. Whereas the hanging scheme used by Christian von Mechel (1737–1817) in Vienna from 1781 onward was well received, and imitated all over Europe, a very different system was employed in the Hofgartengalerie well into the nineteenth century. The display of paintings in Munich did follow didactic principles, but the Hofgartengalerie was the antithesis of the newly organized Belvedere Museum in Vienna. In Vienna the arrangement aimed to make the history of art—its chronological development and its division into schools—"transparent." By contrast, the intention in the Hofgartengalerie was to guide the visitor through the exhibition halls toward the "highest peak of art." Mannlich had rearranged the Hofgartengalerie in 1799, radically changing the hanging scheme that existed before his time as director.⁴⁹ In the foreword to the first volume of the 1805 museum catalogue, Mannlich

explains his scheme: “The aim is to show the aesthetic progress of art, not the historical schools. . . . According to our model, the most consummate and most well-preserved masterpieces of all schools and eras, and of all the objects, are juxtaposed in one hall; thus the eye will be offered an always pleasant variety, and the viewer will increasingly be capable of discerning the differences and the merits of the different schools, with the masterpieces right in front . . . and in close proximity to each other.”⁵⁰ Mannlich thus uses the technique of a qualitative crescendo all the way to the last, climactic hall. The abandonment of presentation by schools was characteristic of the Munich collection, and controversial.

Mannlich’s scheme was intensely disputed by his contemporaries. Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau described the hanging of the collection in the years 1806 to 1808 thus:

The whole arrangement [is] unfortunate. Mr. Mannlich, the director of the museum and himself an artist—may God have mercy on his soul—without taking into consideration how unequal he is to the project, has come up with the inappropriate idea of organizing the gallery without any regard to schools, subject matter, or the like, but rather solely according to the evolution of art. In the last rooms, where supposedly the prime exemplars of all the works are juxtaposed, one finds the strangest potpourri ever to be seen. . . . [N]ext to a magnificent little Raphael one sees with amazement the most detestable Mannlich that there ever was, *et c’est beaucoup dire*.⁵¹

In spite of severe criticism, Mannlich’s scheme was maintained until his death, and the paintings were not rehung until Dillis took over the directorship. The reorganization of the Hofgartengalerie according to the modern principle of categorization by schools was a kind of test run for a new hanging scheme in the Pinakothek. It constituted the beginning of an important shift in the presentation of the Bavarian paintings collection.

Dillis’s scheme for the Pinakothek was determined long before the construction of the museum building was completed. In 1822, when he gave the Ministry of the Interior his expert opinion on the renovation and reconstruction project for the Munich picture gallery, he expressed it this way: “Since the display of any large paintings collection is subject to a systematic organization, upon which the quiet enjoyment of the art lover and the edification of the art student is based, and the categorization according to schools in respect to affinity and characteristics is generally recognized as being the most effective, I would like to suggest the same as preferable.”⁵² But whereas Mechel, in Vienna, primarily used chronology as the basis of his arrangement, for Dillis aesthetic considerations prevailed. His main preoccupation in the reorganization of the

Hofgartengalerie was that the scheme be “consistent with aesthetic feeling.” Characteristically, he had studied different European galleries. Of the Uffizi galleries, which he visited in 1806, he noted: “The preliminary arrangement and categorization of paintings by schools, undertaken by Cavaliere Puccini, is of such admirable effect that I am again convinced that for the viewing of art, such an arrangement corresponds the most closely with aesthetic feeling.”⁵³ At the Pinakothek he installed artworks in large, cohesive groups, within a sequence comprising early German paintings as a prelude, the Rubens collection at midpoint, and the Italians as the high point at the end. In between these three pillars, the seventeenth-century Dutch followed upon the Germans; after the Dutch came the French school; and the Spanish school led into the Italian section. Dillis’s scheme as a whole gives a general impression of an artfully balanced and self-contained system. The three centers of attraction were evenly distributed, and this symmetry was closely related to the architecture of the Pinakothek itself, whose ground plan constituted an exact architectonic fit for the hanging scheme.

The Pinakothek Building

From 1826 to 1836 Leo von Klenze erected the Pinakothek in the Maxvorstadt District, on the outskirts of Munich. The building, freestanding for reasons of fire safety and optimal lighting, was, like the Glyptothek, given a Greek name. In contrast to Ludwig I’s private museum of antiquities, the Pinakothek was a state commission by the government of King Maximilian I Joseph. However, in this case, too, Crown Prince Ludwig was a driving force in the project; he was involved from the time it was first discussed in 1807. When in 1831 the Estates Assembly refused to provide further funding for its completion, Ludwig himself took over some of the costs. The new building was to replace the Hofgartengalerie,⁵⁴ which had become too small since the addition of the Düsseldorf, Mannheim, and Zweibrücken collections. The first plan, which up to 1822 was advocated particularly by Johann Georg von Dillis, was to expand the Hofgartengalerie through remodeling; this turned out to be unfeasible. Nonetheless, the later plans might be considered to stem from the scheme of the Hofgartengalerie, with its series of long exhibit halls in east-west alignment on the upper floor. Plans for hanging the pictures, based on an inventory of some fourteen hundred works, determined the dimensions of the rooms and the wall surfaces of the new building.⁵⁵

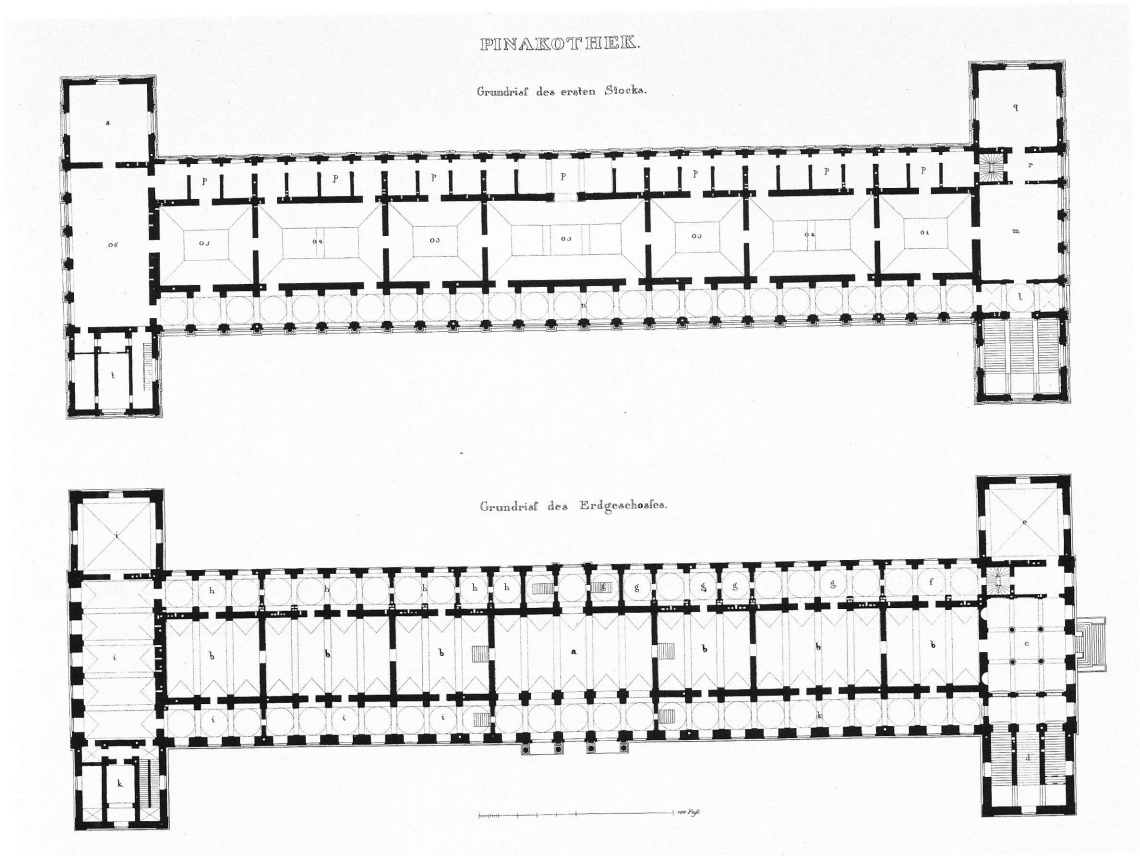
Dillis and Klenze each later claimed authorship of the functional six-point scheme: east-west orientation with windows facing north and south; distribution of the pictures according to format in galleries and specially designed cabinets; overhead lighting of the galleries; lighting of the cabinets with northern side light; avoidance of reflections through high vaulting; and a separate

entrance to each of the main galleries from the south loggia.⁵⁶ Indeed, as Klenze wrote in his publication on the plan, “[after] the idea for the interior design of the building had been conceived and clarified, . . . the exterior followed of its own accord.”⁵⁷ The highly unusual form of the Pinakothek building is the direct outgrowth of functional considerations.

In 1822 the concrete planning began, at first for a piece of property on Brienner Strasse, and later for an undeveloped city block northeast of the Königsplatz. This location, far from the gates of Munich’s historic center—which in recent times has developed into a museum district through the construction of the Neue Pinakothek (1846–53, 1972–75), the Pinakothek der Moderne (2002), the Museum Brandhorst (2009), and the Egyptian Museum (2010)—was chosen with a view to fire safety, dust-free air, and optimal lighting—and with considerable foresight. The Pinakothek demonstrated, as did the Glyptothek before it, the geographical distancing of the public museum from the courtly atmosphere of the palatial residence. The concepts of urban planning were thus an expression of the increasing autonomy of culture and education in nineteenth-century bourgeois society.⁵⁸

Klenze’s earliest sketch, of about 1820,⁵⁹ already showed the actual plan of the Pinakothek: five (later seven) rooms of different sizes, with overhead lighting, in an enfilade, and with high haunches, take up the middle of the upper floor. The vaulted lower floor was reserved for storage, the copying and conservation rooms, the museum administration, the print room, drawings, and antique paintings in the form of Greek vases. The entrance and the stairway hall are located on the eastern, narrow side, and a gallery lying perpendicular, with side lighting, closes off the western narrow side of the building. In the draft for the execution of the building, both side wings were extended with cross buildings. On the south side, a continuous flat-domed gallery allowed for separate entrances to each of the main galleries. On the north side, there is an adjoining chain of low cabinets that are illuminated from the side. This well-thought-out lighting system was superior to that used for the upper-floor painting gallery in Schinkel’s Altes Museum in Berlin (1823–30), which is illuminated by side lighting from three directions.

The rationalist flow of the ground plan (fig. 12-5), which is consistently laid out in accordance with Durand’s planning grid,⁶⁰ was also forward-looking. So were the central heating system, with fourteen ovens in the basement furnishing the museum with a regulated supply of warm air, and the elaborately executed glass-and-iron skylighting. Both Dillis and Klenze had studied central overhead lighting in the Salon Carrée in the Parisian Palais du Louvre (1789).⁶¹ In Munich, however, the lanterns were of much more formidable dimensions, and as a commitment to the gallery’s modern functionality, they stood out markedly from the building as such, which used the architectural vocabulary of the Italian early and High Renaissance. Klenze’s brick construction, in the



seamless and mortarless *opus romanum* pattern, was carefully articulated with ashlar; the pale yellow of the brick contrasts with the gray-green of the Bad Abbach glauconitic sandstone. Whereas the window frames and the rhythmic bays articulated by Corinthian pilasters on the north facade and upper floor follow the example of Donato Bramante's Palazzo della Cancelleria, the generously fenestrated loggia corridor with its Ionic pilasters on the south side is modeled after Raphael's loggia in the Vatican. For this reason, the Pinakothek, whose foundation stone was laid on April 7—Raphael's birthday—has been numbered among the incunabula of the Renaissance revival. Dürer and Raphael—representatives, respectively, of the Germans and the Italians—formed the two poles of the art-historical iconography in the loggia gallery painted by Peter von Cornelius. Each of the consecutive flat domes was dedicated to a single artist, his life, and his mythography—though in the opposite order of the development of schools traced in the galleries.⁶² The Dutch and the Flemish, especially Rubens, took up the center of the building, mediating between the Southern and the older Northern schools (fig. 12-6). The hanging of the paintings chronologically by schools (originally in two sequences one above the other), which was finally insisted upon by Klenze and Dillis, was, however, still combined with judgments of quality, inasmuch as the visitor started out in the eastern Gallery of

FIGURE 12-5.
Leo von Klenze
(German, 1784–1864),
Plan of the Pinakothek.
From Klenze, *Sammlung
architectonischer
Entwürfe, welche
ausgeführt oder für die
Ausführung entworfen
wurden* (Munich,
1830), notebook 2, pl. 2.
Technische Universität
Berlin

Patrons (dedicated to the Wittelsbachs, as collectors and patrons of a now-public art institution), moved on to the early Germans and Netherlanders, the Dutch, the Flemish, and the Spaniards, and following the art-historical development westward, finally reached art's zenith in the three galleries devoted to the Italians.

The walls were hung with crimson and green damask (reconstructed in 2009), and the vaulted ceiling was executed with rich white and gold stucco, so that the visitor would be transported into an appropriate mood by a magnificence corresponding to that of the pictures. Dillis, however, like Johann Martin Wagner in respect to the Glyptothek, feared that the wealth of decoration could distract from the artworks. Emblems, ornaments, nameplates, and portrait busts corresponded to the paintings exhibited in the respective galleries. The exterior counterpart to the loggia's domes painted with individual artists was the balustrade featuring statues of artists, located in the attic area (1832–40), after the design of Ludwig Schwanthaler (1802–1848). The choice of artists was left to Dillis, who composed a list of twenty-four painters “who were responsible for new directions and advancements in the development of Christian painting.”

The strictly functional logic of the building, on the one hand, and the modernity and innovative design of the Pinakothek, on the other hand, have frequently been acknowledged.⁶³ Thus the Pinakothek became the most advanced museum building in Europe, destined to be imitated repeatedly in the nineteenth century. Especially instructive is a hearing of the Select Committee on Arts and Their Connexion with Manufactures, of the British House of Commons, on August 13, 1836, for which Klenze was invited to London. He was closely questioned about Bavarian cultural policies and about his recently completed Pinakothek. Before him, the first keeper of the new National Gallery on Trafalgar Square (to be completed in 1838), the painter and restorer William Sequier (1771–1843), had been subjected almost to an interrogation. The chairman extolled the concept of the Pinakothek as an ideal model. Klenze himself explained not only the functional and artistic but also the educational and political aspects of the Munich museums, which, as he noted, were accessible to everyone for no entrance fee: “It is far better for the nation to pay a few additional attendants in the rooms, than to close the doors on the laboring classes, to whose recreation and refinement a national collection ought to be principally devoted.” At a later hearing concerning the new British Museum (1853), Klenze severely criticized William Wilkins's National Gallery building and again reported on his innovations in museum construction, including the recently completed New Hermitage in Saint Petersburg.⁶⁴ Indeed, the Pinakothek became the much-admired model for numerous museum buildings. We find references to Klenze's work in Gottfried Semper's Dresden Gemäldegalerie (1838/47–54), in the Neue Pinakothek by August von Voit (1846–53), in the Kassel Gemäldegalerie by Heinrich Dehn-Rothfelser (1871–77), in the

Städelschen Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt (1874–78) and the Herzog-Anton-Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig (1883–88), both by Oscar Sommer, and many others, including the Kiel Kunsthalle by Georg Thür and Georg Lohr (1907–9). In more recent times, Klenze's principles were again taken up in Alexander von Branca's Neue Pinakothek in Munich (1975–81), in James Stirling's Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (1977–84), and explicitly in Berlin's Gemäldegalerie in the Kulturforum by Heinz Hilmer and Christoph Sattler (opened 1998).

The Pinakothek had been called the Alte Pinakothek probably since 1846, when construction of the Neue Pinakothek for contemporary art began nearby. It was heavily damaged during the Second World War, and the original building could not be re-created. The loggia gallery with Peter von Cornelius's frescoes was lost, and in the course of the new arrangement of the collections, it was replaced by a modern monumental double flight of stairs. The vaulting of the gallery ceilings is today lacking Klenze's stucco. The architect Hans Döllgast (1891–1974) repaired the outer shell of the ruin (1952–57) in a minimalist form exemplary for monument conservation: the exposed brickwork has left the bomb damage and the loss of the onetime decoration visible, without diminishing the effect of Klenze's building.⁶⁵

NOTES

- This essay was translated from the German by Catherine Framm.
- 1 On the Glyptothek building, see, most recently, *Glyptothek München, 1830–1980: Jubiläumsausstellung zur Entstehungs- und Baugeschichte*, edited by Klaus Vierneisel and Gottfried Leinz, exh. cat. (Munich: Glyptothek München, 1980); Britta R. Schwahn, *Die Glyptothek in München: Baugeschichte und Ikonologie*, Miscellanea Bavarica Monacensia, 83 (Munich, 1983); Adrian von Buttlar, “Glyptothek, Pinakothek, Neue Eremitage: Klenzes immanenter Historismus,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 88 (1992), pp. 39–52; Adrian von Buttlar, *Leo von Klenze: Leben, Werk, Vision* (Munich, 1999), chap. 5; *Leo von Klenze: Architekt zwischen Kunst und Hof, 1784–1864*, edited by Winfried Nerdinger, exh. cat. (Munich, 2000), pp. 238–49.
 - 2 Ludwig I, Letters to Friedrich (Maler) Müller, dated April 2, 1806, and April 15, 1808, cited in Vierneisel and Leinz, *Glyptothek München* (note 1), pp. 25 and 256. Ludwig, born in 1782, ruled from 1825 to 1848 as King Ludwig I. After his abdication following the Lola Montez affair and the threats of revolution, he continued supporting his cultural projects until his death in 1868.
 - 3 On the term *Kulturnation*, see Thomas Nipperdey, “Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 206 (1968), pp. 229–85.
 - 4 Ludwig I, Letter to Leo von Klenze, dated August 7, 1854, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (hereafter BSB), Klenzeana XIV/1.
 - 5 *Carl von Fischer, 1782–1820*, edited by Winfried Nerdinger, exh. cat. (Munich, 1982), pp. 156–67, 219ff.
 - 6 On Ludwig’s philhellenism and his involvement in the Greek liberation struggle, as well as the regency of his son Otto as the first king of Greece (r. 1833–62), see *Das neue Hellas: Griechen und Bayern zur Zeit Ludwigs I.*, edited by Reinhold Baumstark, exh. cat. (Munich, 1999).
 - 7 On Klenze’s career, see Buttlar, *Leo von Klenze* (note 1), esp. chaps. 2–4, and Adrian von Buttlar, “Also doch ein Teutscher? Klenzes Weg nach München,” in Nerdinger, *Leo von Klenze* (note 1), pp. 73–83.
 - 8 Jean Nicolas Louis Durand, *Précis des leçons d’architecture données à l’École polytechnique*, 2nd ed. (1817–21; repr., Unterschneidheim, 1975).
 - 9 Leo von Klenze, Letter to Ludwig I, dated December 27, 1817, Wittelsbachtisches Geheimes Hausarchiv, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (hereafter GHA), IA 36 I. The correspondence between Ludwig I and Klenze is published, with annotations, in *König Ludwig I. von Bayern und Leo von Klenze: Der Briefwechsel*, edited by Hubert Glaser, Quellen zur neueren Geschichte Bayerns, 5, Korrespondenzen König Ludwigs I. von Bayern (Munich, 2004–). Volume 1 (2004), in three parts, contains correspondence from Ludwig’s time as crown prince, from 1815 to 1825; volume 2 (2007), also in three parts, contains correspondence from his reign as king, from 1825 to 1848.
 - 10 Ludwig himself referred to this: Ludwig I, Letter to Klenze, dated January 7, 1821, BSB (note 4), Klenzeana XIV/1.
 - 11 Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, *Recueil et parallèle des édifices en tout genre, anciens et modernes . . .* (1800; repr., Nördlingen, 1986), pl. 69.
 - 12 Ludwig I, Letters to Leo von Klenze, dated September 7 and September 18, 1817, BSB (note 4), Klenzeana XIV/1.
 - 13 Leo von Klenze, *Sammlung architectonischer Entwürfe, welche ausgeführt oder für die Ausführung entworfen wurden* (Munich, 1830), notebook 1, p. 2.
 - 14 See Klenze’s analysis of the antiquities galleries of the Musée Napoléon (presumably 1815), BSB (note 4), Klenzeana II/17.
 - 15 Leo von Klenze and Ludwig Schorn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek Sr. Majestät des Königs Ludwig I. von Bayern* (Munich, 1830), p. 217; Vierneisel and Leinz, *Glyptothek München* (note 1), p. 196ff.
 - 16 For the history of the collection, see Raimund Wünsche, “Ludwigs Skulpturenerwerbungen für die Glyptothek,” in Vierneisel and Leinz, *Glyptothek München* (note 1), pp. 23–83; Raimund Wünsche, “Göttliche, paßliche: Wünschenswerthe und erforderliche Antiken; Leo von Klenze und die Antikenerwerbungen Ludwigs,” in *Ein griechischer Traum: Leo von Klenze, der Archäologe*, exh. cat. (Munich: Glyptothek München, 1985), pp. 9–115.
 - 17 Klenze and Schorn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek* (note 15), p. v.
 - 18 Gabriele Boller, “Die Dresdner Antikensammlung,” in *Tempel der Kunst: Die Entstehung des öffentlichen Museums in Deutschland, 1701–1815*, edited by Bénédicte Savoy (Mainz, 2007), pp. 117–44, and Julia Vercamer, “Das Museum Fridericianum in Kassel,” in Savoy, *Tempel der Kunst*, pp. 309–31.
 - 19 Klenze and Schorn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek* (note 15), p. vi.
 - 20 Ludwig I, Letter to Müller, dated November 26, 1808, cited in Wünsche, “Göttliche, paßliche” (note 16), p. 26.
 - 21 Ludwig I, Letter to Wagner, dated March 17, 1820, cited in Wünsche, “Göttliche, paßliche” (note 16), p. 76.
 - 22 Cited in Gottfried Leinz, “Baugeschichte der Glyptothek,” in Vierneisel and Leinz, *Glyptothek München* (note 1), p. 91.
 - 23 Karl Philipp Moritz, *Götterlehre; oder, Mythologische Dichtungen der Alten* (Berlin, 1791).
 - 24 Leo von Klenze, Letter to Ludwig I, dated June 2, 1817, GHA (note 9), IA 36 I.
 - 25 Gustav Friedrich Waagen, “Bericht über die Glyptothek in München,” *Kunstblatt* 26 (March 30, 1820), p. 101.
 - 26 Leo von Klenze, “Über die Aufstellung von Antiken” (1816) GHA (note 9), IA 36 I; Textentwurf BSB (note 4), Klenzeana III/6; Schwahn, *Die Glyptothek in München* (note 1), supplement 6, p. 296f.
 - 27 Johann Martin von Wagner, Letter to Ludwig I, dated September 30, 1814, GHA (note 9), IA 34 I.
 - 28 Klenze, “Über die Aufstellung von Antiken” (note 26).
 - 29 Johann Martin von Wagner, Letter to Ludwig I, dated September 30, 1814 (note 27).

- 30 As proposed, for instance, by Francesco Milizia, *Principi di architettura civile* (Bassano, 1804), vol. 2, chap. 15.
- 31 See Frank Büttner, *Peter von Cornelius: Fresken und Freskenprojekte* (Wiesbaden, 1980), vol. 1, pp. 125–206.
- 32 Klenze and Schorn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek* (note 15), p. 127.
- 33 See Raimund Wünsche, “Zur Geschichte der Glyptothek zwischen 1830 und 1948,” in Viernseil and Leinz, *Glyptothek München* (note 1), pp. 84–89.
- 34 The only known documents that give an impression of the effect of the original colors of the interior are three watercolors from 1938 by W. A. Hahn (private collection); see Buttlar, *Leo von Klenze* (note 1), p. 112, figs. 114, 115.
- 35 Ludwig I, Letter to Leo von Klenze, dated August 22, 1858, BSB (note 4), Klenzeana XIV/1.
- 36 For a thorough early history of the Pinakothek, see Rüdiger an der Heiden, *Die Alte Pinakothek: Sammlungsgeschichte, Bau und Bilder* (Munich, 1998). For the history of its predecessor institutions, see the recent *Kurfürst Johann Wilhelms Bilder*, 2 vols. (Munich, 2009), and Juliane Granzow, “Die Hofgartengalerie zu München,” in Savoy, *Tempel der Kunst* (note 18), pp. 333–47.
- 37 See Heiden, *Alte Pinakothek* (note 36), p. 19.
- 38 See Heiden, *Alte Pinakothek* (note 36), p. 9; see also Wolf-Dieter Dube, *Alte Pinakothek München* (Stuttgart, 1976), p. 11.
- 39 They were pictures of the artist’s second wife, Helena Fourment: *Helena Fourment in Her Bridal Gown* (1630–31), *Helena Fourment Putting on a Glove* (1630–31), *Peter Paul Rubens and His Second Wife, Helena Fourment, in the Garden* (1630–31), and *Helena Fourment and Her Son, Frans* (ca. 1635).
- 40 See Heiden, *Alte Pinakothek* (note 36), p. 33.
- 41 Wilhelm Heinse, *Düsseldorfer Gemäldebriefe, 1776–77*, edited by Helmut Pfothenhauer (Frankfurt, 1996), p. 12.
- 42 Cited in Eduard Alberts, *Die ehemalige Düsseldorfer Gemäldegalerie. Eine Untersuchung über die an ihr ehemals bestandenen Eigentumsverhältnisse mit einer ausführlichen historischen Vorstudie* (Düsseldorf, 1961), p. 47. On the general financing of the collection, see the chapter “Die Finanzierung der Sammlung,” in the same text, pp. 43–54.
- 43 Cited in Granzow, “Hofgartengalerie” (note 36), p. 344.
- 44 Johann Nepomuk Hauntinger, *Reise durch Schwaben und Bayern im Jahre 1784*, edited by Gebhard Spahr (Weissenhorn, 1964), p. 70.
- 45 [Johann Gottlob von Quandt], *Quandt’s Reise nach Italien, Streifereien im Gebiete der Kunst auf einer Reise von Leipzig nach Italien im Jahr 1813* (Leipzig, 1819), vol. 1, p. 131.
- 46 Anonymous, *Die Bildergalerie in München: Ein Handbuch für die Liebhaber, und Kunstfreunde* (Munich, 1787).
- 47 Johann Christian von Mannlich, *Beschreibung der Churfürstbayerischen Gemälde-Sammlungen zu München und Schleißheim* (Munich, 1805).
- 48 Mannlich, *Beschreibung* (note 47).
- 49 An elucidation of the Munich hanging scheme can be found in Peter Böttger, *Die Alte Pinakothek in München, Studien zur Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 15 (Munich, 1972), pp. 112–40.
- 50 See Mannlich, *Beschreibung* (note 47), vol. 1, Preliminary Report, p. viiif.
- 51 See *Reisetagebücher und vermischte Aufsätze des Fürsten Hermann von Pückler—Muskau*, edited by Ludmilla Assing (Bern, 1971), vol. 2, p. 70.
- 52 Draft of a letter to the Ministry of the Interior, dated September 19, 1822, cited in Böttger, *Alte Pinakothek* (note 49), p. 142.
- 53 Böttger, *Alte Pinakothek* (note 49), p. 142.
- 54 For a recent summary, see Granzow, “Hofgartengalerie” (note 36), pp. 333–47.
- 55 See Böttger, *Alte Pinakothek* (note 49); Rüdiger an der Heiden, “Die Stellung der Alten Pinakothek in der Entwicklung des Museumsbaus,” in *Thm, welcher der Andacht Tempel baut...: Ludwig I. und die Alte Pinakothek; Festschrift zum Jubiläumjahr 1986* (Munich, 1986), pp. 177–204; Heiden, *Alte Pinakothek* (note 36); Buttlar, *Leo von Klenze* (note 1), pp. 247–65; Nerding, *Leo von Klenze* (note 1), pp. 282–90.
- 56 Leo von Klenze, *Memorabilien, oder Farben an dem Bilde, welches sich die Nachwelt dereinst von König Ludwig machen wird*, BSB (note 4), Klenzeana I–VIII, here III, p. 5; Johann Georg von Dillis, “Promemoria die bey Erbauung eines neuen Gebäudes zur Aufstellung aller ausgesuchten Kunstsammlungen Berücksichtigung [findet],” cited in Böttger, *Alte Pinakothek in München* (note 49), p. 23.
- 57 Leo von Klenze, *Sammlung architectonischer Entwürfe, welche ausgeführt oder für die Ausführung entworfen wurden* (1830–42; repr., Worms, 1983), notebook 2, p. 4.
- 58 See Adrian von Buttlar, “The Museum and the City: Schinkel and Klenze’s Contribution to the Autonomy of Civil Culture,” in *Napoleon’s Legacy: The Rise of National Museums in Europe, 1794–1830*, edited by Ellinoor Bergvelt et al., Berliner Schriften zur Museumsforschung, 27 (Berlin, 2009), pp. 173–89.
- 59 “Skizzenbuch Münchner Stadtmuseum, Lang Collection xh/170,” in Buttlar, *Leo von Klenze* (note 1), p. 249, fig. 326.
- 60 Nerding, *Leo von Klenze* (note 1), p. 27.
- 61 On important elements of museum construction, see Adrian von Buttlar, “Europäische Wurzeln und deutsche Inkunabeln der Museumsarchitektur,” in Savoy, *Tempel der Kunst* (note 18), pp. 35–46.
- 62 On Cornelius’s loggia cycle, see Frank Büttner, *Peter von Cornelius: Fresken und Freskenprojekte* (Wiesbaden, 1999), vol. 2, pp. 61–152.
- 63 See, for example, Hippolyte Portoul’s discussion in *The Builder* (London, 1843), p. 389ff; Friedrich Pecht, *Deutsche Künstler des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Nördlingen, 1885), vol. 4, p. 57.
- 64 Reports from the Select Committee on Arts and Their

Connexion with Manufactures with the Minutes of Evidence, in *House of Commons: Sessional Papers* (London, 1836), vol. 9, pp. 351–55 (London, 1852–53), vol. 35, pp. 13–18, 655–58, 758–67; Adrian von Buttlar, “Klenze in England,” in *Künstlerische Beziehungen zwischen England und Deutschland in der viktorianischen Epoche*, edited by Franz Bosbach and Frank Büttner, Prinz Albert Studien, 15 (Munich, 1998), pp. 39–52; Buttlar, *Leo von Klenze* (note 1), pp. 360–62, 365–68.

- 65 Erich Altenhöfer, “Die Alte Pinakothek in den Nachkriegsjahren: Die Rettung vor Abbruch und Verfall; Der Wiederaufbau durch Hans Döllgast, 1952–57,” in *Ludwig I. und die Alte Pinakothek* (note 55), pp. 205–35.