

9 The Holbein exhibition of 1871 – an iconic turning point for art history

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The Holbein dispute

Exhibitions write art history. This is especially true for one of the earliest monographic exhibitions in history: the Holbein exhibition of 1871. Significantly enough it emerged in the context of the so-called Holbein dispute, a much talked-about academic controversy involving two versions of a painting by Hans Holbein the Younger: the famous *Madonna of Jakob Meyer zum Hasen* purchased for Dresden Gemäldegalerie in 1743 and a newly emerged version, which remained in private possession during the entire debate, first in Berlin and then in Darmstadt. From the outset, the two paintings were geographically separated and subject to very different conditions with regard to accessibility, viewing, publicity and conservation. The Dresden painting was the uncontested ‘foremost painting in German art’¹; it was considered on a par with Raphael’s Sistine Madonna, the *Madonna di San Sisto*, and was celebrated as worthy of equal merit. Contemporaries typically associated the two paintings as ideal representations of the Italian and German Renaissances. The parallel was strongly reinforced from inside the Dresden Gallery via catalogues and guides. However it is the Darmstadt Madonna which is the original Holbein, and in 2011 it even made headlines as ‘Germany’s most expensive artwork’.² The Dresden Madonna, on the other hand, is now known to be a copy by Bartholomäus Sarburgh, a portrait painter from the sixteenth century. The attribution was made in 1910, following long and agitated years of scholarly dispute.³

The controversy which eventually led to the exhibition in 1871 was fundamental for the institutionalization of art history; it rightly holds a place among the canonical topics in the discipline’s historiography: ‘the most bitter and most extended [controversy] that has ever been aroused by a work of art’;⁴ a ‘crisis of art history’;⁵ ‘a touchstone for the young art history’;⁶ ‘art history’s turning point’;⁷ the ‘founding moment of academic art history’⁸ and so on. One of the key figures of this narrative was Max J. Friedländer, who brought to the fore the ‘supremacy of experts with a historical point of view over artists who go by a canon of beauty which belongs to the nineteenth century’.⁹ This interpretation paved the way for the dramatic story of art history’s ‘victory’ or ‘triumph’, for which the Holbein exhibition is said to have been the deciding factor.

Arising in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars, the question of the two paintings was charged with national politics from the beginning. What first began as an argument among connoisseurs in the course of new emerging research on Holbein quickly became a widely followed political affair involving one of Germany’s most

famous paintings. Burgeoning national movements and their ideological implications definitely played an important part in the sensationalisation of the dispute. Spectacular exhibitions, countless essays, public surveys and statements as well as numerous reproductions were mobilised in order to get to the bottom of the puzzle of the two originals. The explosive force and reach of the conflict is also explained by the participation of a variety of social groups. Renowned artists and academic representatives were especially active in what would become an agitated race for interpretational jurisdiction in questions of art, as artists were still mostly in charge of museums and, subsequently, catalogue entries. In order to settle the question several exhibitions were organized, culminating in a comprehensive Holbein retrospective in 1871 in Dresden, where the two paintings were for the first time shown side by side. The history of this exhibition, as it has been told until now, is a story of pure success leading to the recognition of the original and therefore solving the dispute and paving the way for 'the birth of art history'.¹⁰ But the Holbein controversy was not solved in 1871, or rather: it could not be solved. As is evident from primary sources, especially widely unconsidered visual materials, it is precisely because of the exhibition that the Holbein dispute went on for so long and continued well into the twentieth century. As will be shown, the problem was not to determine the original; the real challenge was to recognise the beauty of the copy.

Comparing images

The formerly unknown version of the Meyer-Madonna, the later so-called Darmstadt Madonna, appeared only in 1821. It is mainly thanks to the engagement of a few art historians who travelled to Darmstadt that the painting became famous within a short time. One of the major challenges of the Holbein dispute was the lack of historical sources. Only a few reliable documents had been transmitted, and the ones that had survived were not precise enough in their description to be unambiguously attributed to one of the two paintings. At an early stage it was therefore recognised that the question could not be settled without engaging with visual studies, thus helping shape art history as a 'school of seeing'. Consequently, a multitude of reproductions were made over the years, often accompanied by an engaged critique of their visual components as well as precise descriptions, reviews and counterstatements. These images were part of an intense training in comparing images, be it originals and reproductions or reproductions themselves or written descriptions and their visual counterparts. Only once, however, were the two paintings presented in an actual side-by-side comparison (Figure 9.1).¹¹

The first concrete plans for a Holbein exhibition date back to 1869. However, as a result of conflicting interests, the Darmstadt Madonna was first shown in Munich, being one of the highlights in an exhibition of Old Masters, alongside photographs of the Dresden Madonna.¹² Following the outbreak of war, the planned Holbein exhibition had to be postponed again, finally opening in August 1871, only a few months after the German peace agreement, in the newly built Prinzen Pavillon, after the idea of a temporary building was rejected for safety reasons.

The first version of the catalogue registers 440 numbers, but one entry may contain several works, especially in the case of drawings.¹³ Also art works were still added to the exhibition while it was on display as the daily press reports, leading shortly afterwards to a second edition of the catalogue. Judging from its entries there were



Figure 9.1 Alfred Richard Diethe, *Visitors at the Holbein exhibition*, 1871, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Source: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, photograph: Herbert Boswank

503 initial exhibits: fifty-six paintings, twenty-two woodcuts, 124 drawings, four watercolour copies, ten miniatures, two painted copies, one carpet and a total of 284 photographs mainly after drawings (229) but also after paintings (fifty-two) and woodcuts (three). The loans came from forty-one cities in Germany, Switzerland, England, France, Austria, Ireland, Portugal, Hungary, and Holland. Up to sixty-one museums, galleries and royal collections participated, in part with a striking number of works as for instance in the case of the museums in Basel or Vienna. One must also not forget the high share of private collectors, who supplied up to one third of the exhibits. For Francis Haskell this was the 'greatest display yet mounted of the works of any Old Master' and 'the first time that Old Masters were transported across frontiers for the purpose of being exhibited. It thus signals a dramatic moment in this story'.¹⁴ However, what is special about this exhibition is not its impressive magnitude or its public success but its art historical foundation: 'It should be pointed out that this was perhaps the first exhibition to be prompted not by a king or a group of noble collectors, a government or an association of artists, but by art historical scholars – and for this reason alone it could not have taken place anywhere outside Germany'.¹⁵ And yet the full potential of its art historical character has not been fully grasped until now.¹⁶

Reproductions and enquiries

Next to works attributed to Holbein and his family there were also reproductions and copies on display. This was by no means new to art history, but in Dresden their presentation was given institutional support. Numerous reproductions were commissioned especially for the exhibition, for instance, eighteen original photographs after paintings from Vienna, many of which could be purchased on site. As is apparent from the explanation in the catalogue, all images on display were mentioned in the publication – original paintings and drawings as well as reproductions ('Nachbildungen'¹⁷), which included mainly photographs and a few watercolour copies. All are listed in the catalogue, in each case accompanied by technique and size indication as well as one or two bibliographic citations – only the caption varies according to the object's status: originals are represented in big letters (and, if available, accompanied by the respective gallery number), while copies and reproductions appear in smaller letters (and, if available, the photograph's inventory number). The Dresden Madonna and the Darmstadt Madonna are thus both announced in big letters; for the original drawings from Basel on the other side, which had to stay at the Kunstmuseum and were therefore presented by photographs, small lettering was used (with the numbering according to Braun's catalogue; see Figure 9.2).¹⁸ The catalogue is sorted alphabetically following the city of each collection (Aachen, Annaberg, Augsburg . . .), the only exception being a special category for woodcuts at the end, containing woodcuts as well as photographs after woodcuts mainly from Basel and Berlin. In order to encourage comparisons the show also included drawings which had been wrongfully attributed to Holbein as well as copies made after original paintings.¹⁹ As a result the exhibition invited the viewer to learn something about not only the context in which each work had been created but also the history of its reception, in both texts and images.

Another special feature of this truly art historical catalogue is its appendix. It contains a list of more than seventy-four publications written on the Holbein debate

- 74-75. [12. 13. 14] 3 Bl. Bürgermeister Jacob Meyer zum Hasen, seine Ehefrau Dorothea Kannengiesser und seine Tochter. Studien zur Madonna mit der Familie Meyer.
(Schwarze Kreide und Rothstift. — A. C. — Br. 47. 49. — Woltmann I. 319. II. 446.)

DARMSTADT.

I. KÖNIGL. HOHEIT DIE FRAU PRINZESSIN CARL
VON HESSEN UND BEI RHEIN.

„Hans Holbein der Jüngere“.

193. Madonna des Bürgermeister Meyer.

Gemälde a. H. — H. 1,44. Br. 1,01. — Woltmann I. S. 317. f. II. 452.
Siehe d. Anhang: „Literatur über die beiden Exemplare der Meyerschen Madonna“.

DRESDEN.

KÖNIGL. GEMÄLDEGALLERIE.

„Hans Holbein der Jüngere“.

199. [1809] Die Madonna des Bürgermeister Meyer.

Gemälde a. H. — H. 1,60. Br. 1,04. — Woltmann I. 317. II. 199. 453.
S. d. Anhang: „Literatur über die beiden Exemplare der Meyer'schen Madonna“.

Figure 9.2 Detail from the catalogue of the Holbein Exhibition, from *Katalog der Ausstellung von Gemälden älterer Meister im K. Kunstaussstellungsgebäude gegenüber der Glyptothek in München 1869*, ed. by Adolph Bayersdorfer and Franz von Reber

Source: München: Akad. Buchdr. von F. Straub, 1869, p. 7, 16, 17 (Montage: Lena Bader)

and compiled by Gustav T. Fechner, a famous physicist, also known for his essays on natural philosophy and his experiments in psychology, with which he aimed for forms of popular aesthetics.²⁰ Fechner's most famous field study was without doubt the one which arose from the Holbein dispute. In order to analyse the majority's taste he launched a public survey inviting visitors of the Holbein exhibition to enter 'the verdict of their comparison' into a guestbook.²¹ Although only two pictures of the exhibition are known to date, one of them, a drawing made by Adolph Menzel, shows two men at the so-called plebiscite table, browsing through the guestbook (Figure 9.3). It is the only sketch Menzel made on the occasion of his visit to the Holbein exhibition, and it is undoubtedly significant that the artist focused on Fechner's 'public aesthetic experiment',²² considered by many being the first museum visitor survey ever.

Fechner's Album may not have brought the results he expected, but the exhibition was incredibly popular and widely discussed. More importantly, it had a major impact on scholarly research, especially with respect to a then-pervading confusion

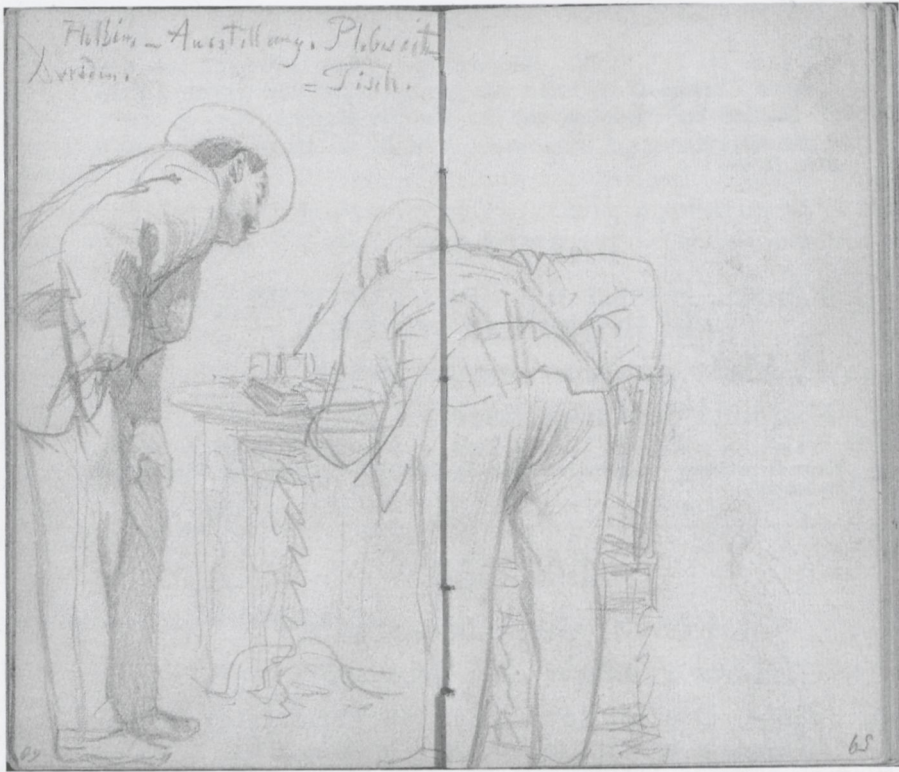


Figure 9.3 Adolph Menzel, *Holbein exhibition, plebiscit table*, Dresden, 1871, 14 × 16,6 cm, pencil drawing, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. SZ MenzelSkb. 36, 1871/75, S. 59–60

Source: © bpk/Staatliche Museenzu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

over Holbein the Younger and Holbein the Elder: from the fifty-one paintings on view at the beginning only fourteen remained as originals at the end. The numerous reviews left no doubt as to the ground-breaking installation: they all agree that the exhibition was a chance not only to see new images but also to see old ones in a new way because of the nature of their display.²³ It was due to the visual arrangement that new comparisons and relationships became possible. The *mise-en-scène* and its visual argumentation were recognised for their epistemological power.

The first art history conference

Judging by the numerous reviews we can ascertain that the two paintings were hung side by side, the Dresden picture on the left side, the Darmstadt on the right. They were not completely fixed to the wall, as may be evident judging from the shadowing in a drawing made by Alfred Richard Diethe in 1871 showing visitors in front of the two paintings (Figure 9.1). This is confirmed by several reports: the pictures were attached to hinges so that they could be turned, not towards one another but towards a window on the left side.²⁴ The display was said to guarantee best possible

viewing conditions. In addition, selected images were positioned in close proximity to the two paintings for the purpose of comparison, including photographs of Holbein's sketches from Basel (Figure 9.2) and other works by the master. However, in one respect Diethe's drawing strongly differs from numerous reviews. Judging by the written reports the situation in front of the pictures was not as civilised as depicted here. On the contrary, almost every text describes the scene as turbulent, chaotic or at least agitated. In fact it was so crowded in front of the two paintings that special arrangements had to be made in order to enable serious studies. This led to another special feature of the exhibition: an art historical congress.

The congress began two weeks after the opening and ran for three days. The meeting was organised by leading Holbein experts and staged for maximum publicity. Among the participants were well-known scholars as well as publishers, artists and art lovers from Germany and abroad – the list is long, a real who's who of nineteenth century art connoisseurs. The congress took place inside the exhibition, in front of the two paintings. Conference members were granted entry as early as 8.00 in the morning, while the exhibition opened to the general public at 10.00, with bigger crowds around 12.00. All received reports are explicit in this respect: 'It is not at the green table of a conference with its presidium and protocols that this interesting reunion of excellent art authorities has to be imagined, but standing before the two pictures hung in the best light'.²⁵ The frames were opened, critics stood on chairs, magnifying glasses came into use, details were studied, comparisons were discussed, and photographs were held next to the paintings for comparison. In brief, what we have here is the essence of an art history *ad oculos*, or '*Anschauungsunterricht*' as it was called: the idea that art history can only be studied by means of images.²⁶ The concept was crucial for the constitution of art history as an academic discipline and its emancipation from historical and philosophical approaches. The problem of missing sources for Holbein's Madonna was therefore a pragmatic argument in perfect accordance with art history's methodological program: research had to be pushed away from biographic or philosophical approaches and towards iconic criticism. It is therefore significant that the Holbein congress had its origins first and foremost in an exhibition: the first art history congress was born from the desire to study pictures from a close distance; the congress emerged in the context of an '*exposition imaginaire*'²⁷ of art history.

After three days of working together the participants came to a first agreement. The result was communicated to the public in a series of press releases, including a famous example published in the *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*.²⁸ The manifesto lists three central findings of the congress: 1. the affirmation of authenticity for the Darmstadt picture, being the 'undoubtedly true original picture', 2. the reference to several later retouches which had 'dulled' the 'initial condition' and 3. the categorization of the Dresden Madonna as a 'free copy'. These points were then explained more thoroughly by a series of essays published afterwards by the signatories of the press release – all well-known authorities and leading critics of that time, including Alfred Woltmann, Moritz Thausing, Carl von Lützow, Wilhelm Lübke, Adolph Bayersdorfer, Karl Woermann (and more names were added over time, as the press release began to circulate in different journals). It is also worth mentioning that these were all – with very few exceptions – young men between twenty-five and thirty-five years of age. Adding fuel to the fire, their communiqué was accompanied by one of Holbein's drawings to Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*: Folly stepping down from the pulpit. This press

release is more than a simple memorandum: it is a programmatic statement made by art historians asserting not only their authority but also the image's epistemological evidence. It aimed particularly at all those artists still in charge of museums and their catalogue entries but also at all those who insisted that art works had to be judged 'from the inside outward'.²⁹

The message was heard, and the answer came promptly in the form of a press release signed by even more names, mostly established artists, all around seventy to eighty years old, strictly arguing in favour of the Dresden picture.³⁰ Their main argument is based on the interpretation of the differences between the two paintings as 'improvements' and corrections from the Darmstadt version to the Dresden exemplar, the latter supposedly being proportionally more equilibrated and also more beautiful in the depiction of the portraits. It was thus postulated that only Holbein himself could have painted the Dresden Madonna, as no mere copyist would have been able to surpass the master. The Darmstadt Madonna on the other hand was said to be in such bad condition and also repainted that it was not possible to judge 'how much of an original' it still was. This press release was equally programmatic: the artists argued as 'thinking painters'³¹ and addressed their manifesto against the academic representatives and their claim of expertise.

The end?

In general this is said to be the end of the Holbein dispute, with a clear winner: the art historians. It is a sensationalistic story, according to which academic experts won over artists and practitioners. In sum, as the story goes, with the triumph of the original, the way was paved from art enthusiasm to art scholarship, thus leading to 'the birth of art history'. A polarizing pattern runs through the narrative: art historians versus artists, original versus copy, truth versus beauty. Unfortunately by doing so the most interesting aspects, the subtle differences, are obscured. And still, the two manifestos alone withstand already a strict polarization between original and copy by the mere choice of words (undoubtedly true original, initial original, dulled original etc.).

It is because of this very rigid and all-too-simplistic historiography that the Holbein exhibition became a show case model for rather distorted notions of original and copy as separated and invariable visual phenomena. In such a simplistic interpretation, the image's historicity is denied – even though it was at the heart of the debate. The Holbein dispute is indeed a story of restoration, altering, retouching, manipulating and reframing pictures. There was not one original and one copy but only complex interrelations of different versions, especially because the copy had been made before the later overpainting of the original (see Figure 9.4). But this was in no means the only reason why the definition of the Dresden painting as a copy did *not* lead to its depreciation as a work of art. Quite the contrary, the Dresden Madonna was not appreciated in spite of being a copy but precisely because it was a copy. This idea is best encapsulated in the recurring description of the Dresden picture as a 'wonder of a copy',³² articulating both fascination and confusion in light of a copy that seemed to be more original than the original itself. The high esteem for the copy was not decreased in the course of the Holbein exhibition but, *au contraire*, strengthened as the interrelation of the two paintings became evident. Their side-by-side presentation alongside photographs and many other paintings helped recognise the entanglement



Figure 9.4 Original reproductions of the Holbein Madonna, 1635–1954

Source: Montage: Lena Bader

of original and copy. It was thanks to the Holbein exhibition that their ‘histoire croisée’³³ became visual.

The power of images

The Holbein exhibition is mainly known for a series of premieres: the first museum visitor survey, the first art history congress, the first academic press release. But the real significance came from the developing modes of arguing both with and through images. The Holbein exhibition was a boot camp for iconic criticism. Image analyses made *in situ* ranged from close study of pentimenti and other details to reflections on visual interrelations, phenomena of afterlife and other image cascades. It is no surprise that the desire for images would grow even more after the exhibition. As a consequence of this early iconic turn, a magnitude of impressive image experiments emerged following the show in Dresden (see Figure 9.5). Instead of aiming for the truest possible reproduction of the respective painting, these images aspired to be its truest interpretation. This is especially true in the case of the representation of the original: in order to explain (and justify?) the fascination with the copy, art historians launched a series of montages arguing that the Darmstadt Madonna should be seen from different angles or in different places or with different frames. Each and every one of these montages responded to many years of comparing the Darmstadt and Dresden pictures. Often authors would explicitly point out that the manipulations



Figure 9.5 Reconstruction of different frames and installations for the Darmstadt Madonna dating from 1904 to 1954, Tudor Wilkinson, reconstruction of a winged altar, Paris 1932, 47 × 58 cm, photomontage, Staatsarchiv Basel, Hauptsammlung, BILD 39,5; ill. from Wilhelm Lübke, *Outlines of the History of Art*, ed. by Russell Sturgis, vol. 2 (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co, 1904), plate after p. 312; ill. from Heinrich A. Schmid, 'Holbeins Darmstaedter Madonna', in *idem*, *Gesammelte Kunsthistorische Schriften. Zum 70. Geburtstag des Verfassers herausgegeben von Schülern und Freunden* (Leipzig: Heitz, 1933), p. 227–250, plate 14; ill. from Hans Reinhardt, 'Die Madonna des Bürgermeisters Meyer von Hans Holbein d. J., Nachforschungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte und Aufstellung des Gemäldes', *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 15/4 (1954/1955), pp. 244–254, plate 83

Source: Montage: Lena Bader

had been made in order to counteract the contrast made evident by the confrontation of the two pictures. The engagement with the copy thus remained a driving force in the experience of the original. And the work done with images was acknowledged to be of epistemological value. This is also why copyists, by means of their copying activity, could claim art-historical authority within the debate, as for instance in the case of Julius Grüber.³⁴

These original reproductions, made by art historians, artists and editors as well as by other practitioners and often produced in collaboration, may best be

characterised as 'interpretations of effects' ('*Wirkungsinterpretationen*'), as Heinrich Wölfflin used to call his illustrations.³⁵ Their own impact was impressive too, culminating among other things in a major restoration of the Darmstadt Madonna in 1887.³⁶ The work done with reproductions led to a transformation of the original. This is only one example of how much more complicated the shared history between original, copy and reproductions would still become in the years following the Holbein exhibition.

The consequences were tremendous: it was precisely because of the Holbein exhibition and the visual experience it offered that the Holbein dispute went on for fifty more years – even more intensely than in the years before. The conflict became a dispute over art history and, more precisely over the power of images, the role of visual evidence and the question of reproduction. It was due to the exhibition that the deep connection between original and copy became clear. It is therefore no surprise that more and more experts demanded that both pictures be permanently hung side by side. Albert von Zahn, one of the main orchestrators behind the Holbein Exhibition, was explicit in this regard: only then would one be able to completely enjoy the paintings.³⁷ A closer look at the Holbein exhibition therefore disproves the sensationalist story about the original's triumph and the copy's decline. On the contrary: after 1871 the situation evolved into a complex debate about the interdependency of pictures.

The story of the Holbein Madonna compels scholarship to incorporate the history of reproductions. It is impossible to describe the Holbein dispute from the perspective of the original alone. Indeed, the same arguments for crediting the Dresden Madonna come up again and again in the engagement with contemporary reproductions. Ultimately, the main challenge to art history was not to identify the original work but rather to recognise the beauty of the copy itself. Herein lies the meaning of this truly art historical exhibition: it argued for a common visual history exceeding historiography's bottlenecks. Involving a complex montage of originals as well as copies and reproductions, arranged to facilitate visual comparisons, the show redefined not only connoisseurship but also new forms of image criticism. It became a public milestone in a series of attempts to visualise art history as both dynamic and object oriented. The exhibition was born from the desire to see images in a new light, to see how images may change depending on the viewer's position or other images and their shared histories. In a way the use of hinges instead of picture hooks is almost symptomatic: it embodies both art history's desire for a visual experience and the awareness of its anarchic dynamic.

Notes

- 1 Original: 'Hauptbild deutscher Kunst'; Gustav T. Fechner, [Ankündigung] 'Über die Aechtheitsfrage der Holbein'schen Madonna', *Leipziger Zeitung, Wissenschaftliche Beilage*, 25 August 1871, p. 368.
- 2 Following its acquisition by Reinhold Würth in 2011: Rose-Maria Gropp, 'Holbein-Madonna. Deutschlands teuerstes Kunstwerk' *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14 July 2011.
- 3 Emil Major, 'Der mutmassliche Verfasser des Dresdener Madonnenbildes', *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde NF*, 12 (1910), 318–324.
- 4 Francis Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 91.

- 5 Oskar Bätschmann, 'Der Holbein-Streit: eine Krise der Kunstgeschichte', in "Kennerschaft". *Kolloquium zum 150sten Geburtstag von Wilhelm von Bode*, ed. by Thomas W. Gachtgens and Peter-Klaus Schuster (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1996), pp. 87–100; Oskar Bätschmann and Pascal Griener, *Hans Holbein d. J., die Darmstädter Madonna: Original gegen Fälschung* (Frankfurt aM.: Fischer, 1998).
- 6 Gottfried Biedermann, 'Wissenschaft und/oder Kennerschaft', in *Kontinuität und Identität. Festschrift für Wilfried Skreiner*, ed. by Peter Weibel, Christa Steinle, and Götz Pochat (Vienna, Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau, 1992), pp. 157–165 (p. 162).
- 7 Udo Kultermann, 'Original oder Kopie? Der Holbein-Streit – an einer Wende der Kunstgeschichte', *Artis*, 3 (1966), 23–27.
- 8 Andreas Beyer, 'Am Anfang war der Streit. Hans Holbein d. J. und die kunsthistorische Tradition', in *Konzert und Konkurrenz. Die Künste und ihre Wissenschaften im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Christian Scholl, Sandra Richter, and Oliver Huck (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2010), pp. 201–222 (p. 201).
- 9 Max J. Friedländer, 'Artistic Quality: Original and Copy', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 78, no. 458 (1941), 143–145, 147–148, and 151 (p. 144).
- 10 Regine Prange, *Die Geburt der Kunstgeschichte. Philosophische Ästhetik und empirische Wissenschaft* (Cologne: Deubner Verlag, 2004), p. 174ff. Similarly: Heinrich Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution. Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin* (Frankfurt aM.: Suhrkamp, 1979), p. 165ff; Udo Kultermann, *Geschichte der Kunstgeschichte. Der Weg einer Wissenschaft* (Munich: Ullstein Taschenbuchverlag, 1990), p. 136ff; Wolfgang Beyrodt, 'Kunstgeschichte als Universitätsfach', in *Kunst und Kunsttheorie 1400–1900*, ed. by Peter Ganz (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), pp. 313–333 (p. 324ff); Hubert Locher, *Kunstgeschichte als historische Theorie der Kunst 1750–1950* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2001), p. 47ff.
- 11 In this way the Holbein exhibition differs from other early monographic exhibitions in that it did not precede or launch first monographs concerning the subject as in the case of Courbet 1882, for example (cf. Chapter 7 by Petra ten-Doesschate Chu in this book) but that it emerged from the desire to go beyond the written word (and biographical approaches). The two major monographs on Holbein the Younger had already been published by Alfred Woltmann (1864/1868) and Ralph N. Wornum (1867). Cf. Lena Bader, *Bild-Prozesse im 19. Jahrhundert. Der Holbein-Streit und die Ursprünge der Kunstgeschichte* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2013).
- 12 *Katalog der Ausstellung von Gemälden älterer Meister im K. Kunstaussstellungsgebäude gegenüber der Glyptothek in München 1869*, ed. by Adolph Bayersdorfer and Franz von Reber (München: Akad. Buchdr. von F. Straub, 1869). See also: Karl Förster, 'Die Ausstellung älterer Bilder', *Die Dioskuren*, 14 (1869), 242, 263–264, 272–273, 279–280, 287–288, 297, 305; Wilhelm Schmidt, 'Die Ausstellung älterer Gemälde im Kunstaussstellungsgebäude zu München', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst. Mit dem Beiblatt Kunst-Chronik*, 4 (1869), 356–360.
- 13 *Katalog der Holbein-Ausstellung zu Dresden: 15. August bis 15. October 1871*, ed. by Albert von Zahn (Dresden: Schönfeld in Comm, 1871).
- 14 Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum*, p. 92.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 91.
- 16 See on this: 'Art History and the Art of the Present: Interactions Between Artists and Scholars', guest section edited by Eleonora Vratskidou, *Journal of Art Historiography* (forthcoming 2018), and *Art History for Artists: The Role of Practice in the Shaping of a Humanistic Discipline*, ed. by Eleonora Vratskidou (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming).
- 17 *Katalog Holbein-Ausstellung*, p. III.
- 18 'Die Beschreibungen der Originale sind mit grösserer (*Bourgeois*-)Schrift, die der ausgestellten Copien und Vervielfältigungen (Stiche, Photographien) mit kleinerer (*Petit*-)Schrift gedruckt.' *Ibid.*, p. IV. Attributions followed in each case the owner's indication.
- 19 '[. . .] als Repräsentanten einer Reihe dem Meister fälschlich zugeschriebener Zeichnungen zur vergleichenden Beurtheilung ausgestellt.' *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- 20 See Adolf Elsas, 'Zum Andenken Gustav Theodor Fechners', *Die Grenzboten*, 47, no. 2 (1888), 73–80, 113–124; Wolfgang Schönpflug, 'Methodenprobleme einer empirischen

- Ästhetik – Ein Rückblick auf Fechners Holbein-Untersuchung', *Exakte Ästhetik* 1 (1965), 4–13.
- 21 Gustav T. Fechner, *Bericht über das auf der Dresdener Holbein-Ausstellung ausgelegte Album* (Leipzig: Nobel Press, 1872), p. 3. The guest book still exists and can be studied in Leipzig: Gustav Theodor Fechner, *Besucherbuch der Holbein-Ausstellung, 1871*, Museum der bildenden Künste, Archiv, Karton 68. For Fechner's own critical review, see Gustav T. Fechner, 'Wie es der experimentalen Aesthetik seither ergangen ist', *Im neuen Reich*, 8, no. 2 (1878), 41–51, 81–96.
- 22 Gustav T. Fechner, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1876), p. VI. See also Helmut Leder, 'Zur Psychologie der Rezeption moderner Kunst', in *Sichtweisen. Zur veränderten Wahrnehmung von Objekten in Museen*, ed. by Bernhard Graf and Astrid B. Müller (Berlin: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2005), pp. 79–90 (p. 80); Sabine Knopf, 'Fechners Rolle im Holbeinstreit', in *Gustav Theodor Fechner: Werk und Wirkung*, ed. by Anneros Meischner-Metge (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitäts-Verlag, 2010), pp. 167–178.
- 23 See for example: Carl von Lützow, 'Ergebnisse der Dresdener Holbein-Ausstellung', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst. Mit dem Beiblatt Kunst-Chronik*, 6 (1871), 349–355; Joseph A. Crowe, 'Die Holbein-Ausstellung zu Dresden', *Im neuen Reich*, 2 (1871), 419–427; Carl Schnaase, 'Rückblick auf die Holbein-Ausstellung in Dresden', *Im neuen Reich*, 2 (1871), 737–745; Alfred Woltmann, 'Die Holbein-Ausstellung in Dresden I/II.', *National-Zeitung*, 14 September 1871, column 8; 20 September 1871, column 9; Max Schasler, 'Die dresdener Holbein-Ausstellung und die Madonnenfrage', *Die Dioskuren*, 16/34–41/44 (1871), 271–272, 279–280, 287–288, 295–296, 302–304, 311–314, 320–321, 329–330, 352–353; Albert von Zahn, 'Die Ergebnisse der Holbein-Ausstellung zu Dresden', *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, 5 (1873), 147–168, 193–220.
- 24 See Ludwig Pietsch, 'Die Holbein-Ausstellung zu Dresden', *Vossische Zeitung, Beilage* 216/217/220 (08 September/09 September/13 September 1871).
- 25 Jakob Felsing, *Der literarische Streit über die beiden Bilder in Dresden und Darmstadt genannt Madonna des Bürgermeisters Meyer* (Leipzig: H. Vogel, 1872), p. 18. See also: Bruno Meyer, 'Holbein-Ausstellung in Dresden. I. Der Holbein Congreß. II. Hie Dresden! – Hie Darmstadt! III. Resultate', *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg) (09 September/15 September/03 December 1871), 4443–4444, 4554–4556, 5977–5979.
- 26 See for example: August Schmarsow, *Die Kunstgeschichte an unsern Hochschulen* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1891); Anton H. Springer, *Die Arundel-Gesellschaft zur Förderung höherer Kunstkenntnisse* (Bonn: n. pub. 1860).
- 27 Anke te Heesen, 'Exposition Imaginaire. Über die Stellwand bei Aby Warburg', *Fotogesichte* 29, no. 112 (2009), 55–64.
- 28 Adolph Bayersdorfer and others, 'Erklärung', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst. Mit dem Beiblatt Kunst-Chronik*, 6 (1871), 355.
- 29 Eduard Engerth, *Zur Frage der Aechtheit der Holbein'schen Madonna in Dresden. Ein Vortrag gehalten im Wiener Künstlerhause* (Wien: C. Gerolds Sohn, 1871), p. 7f.
- 30 Ludwig Theodor Choulant and twenty-four other experts, 'Zur Holbeinfrage', *Dresdner Anzeiger*, 276 (3 October 1871).
- 31 Carl Lampe, *Holbeins Madonna in Darmstadt und Dresden* (Leipzig: F.C.W. Vogel, 1871), p. 10.
- 32 Eduard His 1871, quoted after Fechner, *Bericht*, p. 22.
- 33 Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity', *History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History*, 45, no. 1 (2006), 30–50.
- 34 Cf. Bader, *Bild-Prozesse*, pp. 241–357.
- 35 Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst* (München: Hugo Brockmann, 1920 [1915]), p. 74, 244. See the English translation: Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 2012), p. 68.
- 36 See for example Ludwig Hofmann-Zeitz, 'Das wiedererstandene Darmstädter Madonnenbild', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst. Mit dem Beiblatt Kunst-Chronik*, 23 (1888),

302–307; Georg Hirth, 'Ein künstlerisches Ereigniß', *Münchner neueste Nachrichten*, 21 September 1887.

- 37 'Darf man auch, so lange das Bild in der bisherigen überaus liberalen Weise den Darmstadt besuchenden Kunstfreunden zugänglich bleibt, sich immerhin damit trösten, dass das Meisterwerk Holbeins sich auf deutschem Boden und in sorgsamer Verwahrung befindet, so würde doch erst bei der dauernden Nebeneinanderstellung mit dem Dresdener Exemplar der ganze Genuss des Werkes an einer Stelle überhaupt zu gewinnen sein.' Zahn, 'Ergebnisse', p. 161. Marcus Andreas Hurrting recently curated a spectacular exhibition devoted to Albert von Zahn and his career between the worlds of art history and art making: *Albert von Zahn. Grenzgänger zwischen Kunst und Wissenschaft*, ed. by Marcus Andreas Hurrting and Hans-Werner Schmidt (Leipzig: Museum der bildenden Künste Leipzig, 2016).