

THE MUSEUM AND THE CITY: SCHINKEL'S AND KLENZE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE AUTONOMY OF CIVIC CULTURE

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Summary

The growing civic autonomy of the arts emerged within the context of the process of independence in which already in the eighteenth century collections and galleries in Germany came to be defined separately from courtly representation and were gradually physically dissociated from the setting of palace and castle. Influenced by modern French and English ideas, the Museum Fridericianum in Kassel (1764), may be regarded as one of the first autonomous cultural institutions aimed primarily at the public – as expressed by its Neo-Palladian rhetoric as well as its isolated and dominant position on the main square of the newly planned Oberneustadt. Responding to the Napoleonic enterprise, Leo von Klenze and Karl Friedrich Schinkel adopted these particular features to create the prototype of the modern museum of art as an architectural and urbanistic challenge. This paper charts the monumental anti-Napoleonic projects and their urban settings created by Klenze, with his Glyptothek at the Königsplatz in Munich as of 1815; and by Schinkel, with his museum in the former Royal Gardens (Lustgarten) in Berlin from 1823 onwards. The role of the monarch giving way to an abstract idea of aesthetics and humanistic education is analyzed and attention is devoted to the exemplary role these structures played leading to the triumph of museum building throughout Europe during the nineteenth century.

It is generally assumed that the modern museum of art is a product of the French Revolution and that European museum culture was modelled on the Muséum National, which

opened in the Louvre in 1793 and was renamed the Musée Napoléon in 1803. This institution's short-lived fame derived not only from the former royal collections, but more particularly from the countless masterpieces Napoleon looted from the most celebrated princely galleries throughout Europe during his campaigns, including the *Laocoon Group* from the Vatican, the *Horses of San Marco* in Venice, paintings by Raphael, Titian, Dürer, Rembrandt and even the ten-year-old *Quadriga* by Johann Gottfried Schadow, which now crowns Berlin's Brandenburg Gate again.

The reassessment and restitution of looted art treasures that took place after the Treaty of Paris (1814) and the Congress of Vienna (1815) certainly stimulated the development of museum architecture in the first half of the nineteenth century. However, the story begins earlier. Naturally, the process of deprivation had made people aware of the extent to which the masterpieces of art and other aspects of their cultural heritage were part of their own emerging national identity. And, they came to be even more highly valued and appreciated after their return from Paris.¹

Nevertheless, the prehistory of the public museum harks back to the enlightened absolutism of the eighteenth century, and – surprisingly – it meets nearly all of the requirements still relevant to this kind of institution today: for instance, a more or less liberal admission policy, a proper arrangement and lighting of the exhibition, and scientific documentation in the form of a catalogue or at least a guide book. Examining the

1 Bénédicte Savoy, *Patrimoine annexé. Les biens culturels saisis par la France en Allemagne autour de 1800*, (2 vols.), Paris: Éditions de la maison des sciences de l'homme 2003, vol. i, 389-415.

emergence of the public museum in Germany in the eighteenth century, for example, as recently outlined by Bénédicte Savoy's research group at the Technical University Berlin and published under the title *Tempel der Kunst*,² we can discern the gradual disassociation of the princely galleries and collections from the organisation of the court and even the very fabric of castles and palaces.³

In some places in Europe this development was underway long before the Revolutionary declaration of the museum as a civic institution for the people in 1793 that led to the foundation of the Musée Napoléon and the Musée des monuments français. Indeed, vacant palaces and convents had already been reused to exhibit the art and the treasures of the *patrimoine*. For instance, in Rome, the Palazzo Nuovo, reverting to Michelangelo's design, was opened as a Museo Pubblico in 1734; in Paris, French paintings were exhibited at the Hôtel du Luxembourg between 1751 and 1777; in Vienna, Prince Eugen's Obere Belvedere came to house the Imperial Galleries, which were transferred from the Stallburg, in 1778-1781; in Dresden, the antique marbles had been on display in the seventeenth-century Palais in the Great Garden from 1727 onwards, before being transferred to the Japanese Palais in 1785; and, in Braunschweig the ducal *Kunst- und Naturalienkabinett* was moved into a late medieval convent, which was expanded with new galleries, in 1765.

While these examples indicate topographical autonomy, most of the actual buildings were scarcely altered. The conversion of structures formerly serving other purposes into galleries and museums, and above all the construction

of new wings and even separate free-standing buildings, paved the way for the triumph of museum architecture after 1815. Before outlining Schinkel and Klenze's contributions in this respect, I will give a few brief examples of this process to indicate their point of departure.

I begin by comparing the secluded annex of Düsseldorf Castle built between 1710 and 1714 - with its separate entrance from the courtyard to the elector palatine's collection of paintings⁴ - to the new gallery in the former Stallgebäude in Dresden.⁵ The latter, built in the sixteenth century as an armoury and royal stable, was adapted for its new function between 1729-1747 with the introduction of an interior walkway, adequate lighting and the addition of a symbolic double flight of outer steps leading to the square, which though not used in practice - the visitor still entered via the old horse ramp from the palace behind - did symbolize the possibility of an independent, public access to the arts. Moreover, a classical stance was adopted with the introduction of pilasters and a pediment on the façade, in line with the Neo-Palladian interests of the elector's advisor Count Algarotti and his English idol, Lord Burlington.

Another revealing comparison demonstrates the structural unity of the lost Baroque castle of Salzdahlum near Braunschweig,⁶ built by Duke Anton Ulrich in 1697-1714, and Frederick the Great's Sanssouci in Potsdam (1744-1764), an architectural composition consisting of three autonomous units surmounting the terraces.⁷ In both cases the *Corps de logis* was flanked by an orangery on one side and a picture gallery on the other. Frederick, who knew Salzdahlum well, still viewed his official paintings - collected after his accession to the throne and far removed from his private Francophile tastes

2 Bénédicte Savoy (ed.), *Tempel der Kunst - Die Entstehung des öffentlichen Museums in Deutschland 1701-1815*, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern 2006, 9-26.

3 Adrian von Buttlar, 'Europäische Wurzeln und deutsche Inkunabeln der Museumsarchitektur', in: Savoy 2006 (n. 2), 35-46 [Buttlar 2006a]; cf. Helmut Selting: *Die Entstehung des Kunstmuseums*, unpublished Ph.D. diss., Freiburg 1952; Volker Plagemann, *Das deutsche Kunstmuseum 1790 bis 1870. Lage, Baukörper, Raumorganisation, Bildprogramm*, Munich: Prestel-Verlag 1967 (*Studien zur Kunst des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* 3), 11-24.

4 Sabine Koch, 'Die Düsseldorfer Gemäldegalerie', in: Savoy 2006 (n. 2), 89-111.

5 Katharina Pilz, 'Die Dresdner Gemäldegalerie', in: Savoy 2006 (n. 2), 145-174.

6 David Blankenstein, 'Die Gemäldegalerie in Salzdahlum bei Braunschweig', in: Savoy 2006 (n. 2), 67-86.

7 Tobias' Locker, 'Die Bildergalerie von Sanssouci bei Potsdam', in: Savoy 2006 (n. 2), 217-242.



Fig. 1 Johann Heinrich Tischbein the Elder, *Unveiling the monument of Friedrichs IInd on 24th of August 1783 on the Friedrichsplatz, Neue Galerie, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel*

- as an attribute of his role as king, which was also expressed in the hierarchical composition of the three buildings. On the other hand, he individuated the publicly accessible gallery by making it an autonomous structure in an autonomous garden area. As far as is known, this was the first picture gallery to be distinguished by a complete sculptural ensemble on the exterior dedicated to the contemporary theory and history of the fine arts, and including Dürer and Holbein as representatives of the German School.⁸

Yet, the real paradigm shift of the museum

8 Karl Ernst Müller, 'Der bildhauerische Schmuck der Bildergalerie im Park von Sanssouci. Seine Bedeutung und Geschichte', in: *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte Potsdams*, N. F. 13 (1941), no. 1, 7-29; Saskia Hüneke, 'Der Skulpturenschmuck an der Bildergalerie', in: Claudia Sommer (ed.), *Die Bildergalerie in Sanssouci. Bauwerk, Sammlungen und Restauration (Festschrift zur Wiedereröffnung 1996)*, Berlin: Generaldirektion der Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg/Milan: Skira editore 1996, 27-44.

from palace-gallery to an independent public institution seems to have taken place in Kassel, where in 1769-1779 the Landgrave Frederick II founded the Museum Fridericianum (fig. 1).⁹ The conception of this museum reflected an enlightened discussion taking place among French architects at that time: as a derivative of the *Kunstammer*, it would still unite galleries for displays of sculpture, painting, and coins and medals along with collections of optical and astrological instruments as well as an outstanding library. Hence, in 1775 the landgrave sought the advice of the French architect Claude-Nicolas Ledoux,¹⁰ even though no prototype of revolutionary museum-architecture had ever been built in France.¹¹ The Museum

9 Julia Vercamer, 'Das Museum Fridericianum in Kassel', in: *Savoy* 2006 (n. 2), 309-331.

10 Michel Gallet, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux – Leben und Werk des Revolutionsarchitekten*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt 1983, 137-140.

11 Thomas W. Gaehtgens, 'Das Museum um 1800 – Bil-

Fridericianum was ultimately designed by Frederick's Huguenot court architect Simon Louis du Ry. Aside from its internal organisation – which is not discussed here – the building featured two interesting interrelated innovations: first, an imposing location in the new city (called Oberneustadt), and second remarkable Neo-classical elements.

The regular layout of the new town, raised above the old, irregular town down near the river, culminated in the vast space of the Friedrichsplatz, which is dominated by the museum on the long side of the rectangle. For the first time, rather than a church, a princely palace or, as in the Netherlands, a town hall, the museum as the incarnation of cultural values, of art, education and learning, was presented as a public institution commanding the new city.¹² Its new role was underscored by the statue of the landgrave, which surprisingly faced the façade: the landgrave, who often retired to a small study in the museum, was not the master but rather an enlightened guest in this temple of the arts and learning, which bore his name.¹³ Consequently his presentation also differs from that of the statues of kings in the French Place Royale in his upright, almost civilian pose – though still bearing the insignia of authority, he is not shown on horseback.

Furthermore, the public museum's new role was expressed in a new style: English Palladianism. Although the landgrave was a son-in-law of King George II of England, this stylistic adaptation reflected more than just a change of taste fostered by dynastic transfer. Part of the liberal reaction against the model of absolute monarchy à la Louis XIV, Neo-Palladianism was

promoted by Colen Campbell, Alexander Pope, Lord Burlington, and many learned English patrons as an idiom fostering 'moral beauty' and the renewed ascendancy of classical virtues.¹⁴ Moving from the private to the public sphere, this style became exceptionally well suited for expressing cultural values and institutions. Thus, for his facade, du Ry looked not only at Colen Campbell's 1715 project for the country house of Wanstead, as has been frequently noted, but also at a public building associated with learning, namely James Gibbs' Library and Senate House in Cambridge (1721-1730), adopting its pattern of monumental pilasters in each bay.¹⁵ French theory of the revolutionary period modelled on Étienne-Louis Boullée, Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand as promulgated around 1800, as well as a familiarity with the Museum Fridericianum and other galleries in France and Italy, were the points of departure for both Karl Friedrich Schinkel and Leo von Klenze's museum concepts. The affinity with French – especially Napoleonic – Neoclassical taste and models coupled with the growing rejection of France for political reasons gave rise to a complicated pattern of imitation and rejection, action and experiment, in the following decades, which is traced below.

Schinkel's Museum Designs

In his design, sketched in Friedrich Gilly's circle - the *Privatgesellschaft Junger Architekten* (Private Society of Young Architects) - in 1800, the nineteen-year-old Schinkel seems very close to the highly held French prototypes. The compact monumental facade with bas-reliefs replacing the windows, the austere cubic forms, the abstract systematization of the ground plan and

dungsideal und Bauaufgabe', in: Pascal Griener und Kornelia Imesch (eds.), *Klassizismus und Kosmopolitismus - Programm oder Problem? Austausch in Kunst und Kunsttheorie im 18. Jahrhundert*, Zürich: Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft 2004, 137-162.

12 Cf. Debora Meijers' article in this volume.

13 For the enlightened ambition of the landgrave, see: Peter Gercke (ed.), *Aufklärung und Klassizismus in Hessen-Kassel unter Landgraf Friedrich II. 1760-1785*, Kassel: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen 1979 (exh. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel).

14 Adrian von Buttlar, *Der englische Landsitz 1715-1760 - Symbol eines liberalen Weltentwurfs*, Mittenwald: Mäander-Verlag 1982 (*Münchener Universitätsschriften, Philosophische Fakultät für Geschichts- und Kunstwissenschaften - Studia iconologica* 6), 129-139; cf. Rudolf Wittkower, *Palladio and English Palladianism*, London: Thames and Hudson 1974.

15 James Gibbs, *A book of architecture, containing designs of buildings and ornaments*, London 1728 (Reprint Mineola, N.Y.: Dover 2000), 36.

the composition of the wings arranged around square courts and connected by rotundas, all recall the typology established by Boullée, Ledoux and Durand, possibly as transmitted via Schinkel's esteemed teacher, Gilly, who had travelled to France in 1798.¹⁶ The contrast with the sober museum palace proposed two years earlier by the archaeologist Aloys Hirt is obvious and indicative of a shift from the vision of the museum as a place of academic learning¹⁷ to one of veneration fostered by a sublime architectural language.

However, the plans for a public museum forwarded by Hirt after his return from Rome and supported by King Friedrich Wilhelm III had to wait because of Prussia's defeat and its occupation by Napoleon's troops as of 1806. Young Schinkel survived this period working as a painter, a stage designer, clerk of works in the building department and an interior designer for the royal family. He, too, had to wait until Prussia recovered after the victories of Leipzig and Waterloo to obtain prestigious state commissions based on Prussian patriotism and idealistic philosophy.¹⁸ Abandoning his attempts to express anti-Napoleonic sentiments in his 'Gothic' allegorical history paintings during and after the French occupation,¹⁹ Schinkel now established a very

complex idea of civic monumental architecture by adopting classical Greek and Roman architectural vocabulary and fusing it into a new vision, labelled the best representative of the 'Prussian style' by Arthur Moeller van den Bruck during the First World War.²⁰ Schinkel delivered his patriotic, yet universal message in three ways: through stylistic expression, urban design, and symbolic iconography.

His first attempt was the New Guard House (Neue Wache) Unter den Linden (1816-1819). Even though the monarch was the official patron, commissioning a victory monument, Schinkel devised an abstract expression of military strength and patriotic virtue free of direct allusions to politics by combining a Doric portico with a Roman castrum scheme. The anti-Napoleonic triumph was restricted to the freestanding statues of Generals Bülow and Scharnhorst on both sides of the building as part of the composition as a whole. They represent the Prussian military reform ideas of 1807, which underlay the successes on the battlefield. The Guard House served as the prelude to the redesigning of the former Royal Gardens (called Lustgarten), which had deteriorated by then, in the central public space of the capital. This design relates to the late seventeenth-century royal castle, but also defines the limited role of the monarch as only one of the forces governing the modern state and society. In addition to religion and free and voluntary self-defence, these forces were seen for the first time in the form of 'the people's army' in the Wars of Liberation, and last but not least, the arts. All of these forces were embodied in the freestanding colossal buildings around the square (fig. 2): Schinkel's new monumental bridge (called Schlossbrücke) with its statue groups of dying heroes in memory of the Wars of Liberation;²¹ his reshaped cathedral church on the opposite

16 Christoph M. Vogtherr, 'Das Königliche Museum zu Berlin. Planungen und Konzeption des ersten Berliner Kunstmuseums', in: *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 39 Beiheft (1997), 46-55; Elsa van Wezel, 'Die Konzeptionen des Alten und Neuen Museums zu Berlin und das sich wandelnde historische Bewußtsein', in: *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 43 Beiheft (2001), 66-68.

17 For Hirt's museum conception and proposals, see: Van Wezel 2001 (n. 16), 29-37.

18 For Schinkel's oeuvre, cf. the volumes of *Karl Friedrich Schinkel - Lebenswerk*, starting with Paul Ortwin Rave, *Bauten für die Kunst, Kirchen, Denkmalpflege*, Berlin: Deutsche Verein für Kunstwissenschaft 1941 (Reprint Munich/Berlin 1981) and continued up to today. For his artistic biography, see among others: Erik Forsman, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel - Bauwerke und Bauge Gedanken*, Munich: Schnell und Steiner 1981; Barry Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel - Preußens berühmtester Baumeister*, Munich: Klinkhardt und Biermann 1994; Andreas Haus, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel als Künstler - Annäherung und Kommentar*, Munich/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag 2001.

19 For Schinkel's paintings, see: Helmut Börsch-Supan, *Bild-Erfindungen*, Munich/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag 2007 (= *Karl Friedrich Schinkel - Lebenswerk*, 20).

20 Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, *Der preussische Stil*, Munich: Piper 1916.

21 Peter Springer, *Schinkels Schlossbrücke in Berlin. Zweckbau und Monument*, Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Vienna: Propyläen 1981.



Fig. 2 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *View on the Lustgarten with the new build bridge, the museum, the cathedral and the palace*, drawing 1823, SM 22a250, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

side; and the museum (built in 1823-1830) with its unique iconography depicting the process of civilization and culture as a result of man's struggles. The ensemble around the museum re-enacted the ancient iconographic topos of war and peace.²²

Although Schinkel enhanced regularity, the unity of place – and this was his new approach – is achieved not by means of a strict geometrical order or traditional formulas of formal dominance, correspondence or subordination, but by the individuality of the elements and their exciting spatial, visual, and ideational relations. The same spirit is characteristic of the museum itself and its extremely modern synthesis of typological elements, from the Greek *stoa* as the prototype of the long integrated portico, to the Roman pantheon rotunda in the centre (also reminiscent of the Museo Pio-Clementino in the Vatican), to the palatial *habitus* of the side facades following the strict system of Greek tectonics. The building's artistic complexity was enhanced by Schinkel's allegorical exterior frescos illustrating the mythic origins of culture, the process of civilization and the role of the

arts in the evolution of humanistic *Bildung* and universal humanity, based – as Elsa van Wezel has pointed out in detail – on the idealistic philosophy of Erwin Solger, Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt and Friedrich Schelling.²³ Though inherent in his general concept, the patriotic ambition – nourished by Johann Gottlieb Fichte's ideas – was not explicit. For instance, Schinkel originally conceived the portico as a hall of fame for 'men of merit' in recent history transcending national perspectives.²⁴ Not only the museum's position within the topology of the city and its iconographic programme, but the very nature of its function changed when it switched from being an institution of courtly representation and academic learning to being a public temple of the arts addressing civic society.

23 Van Wezel 2001 (n. 16), especially 39-91.

24 Jörg Trempler, *Das Wandbildprogramm von Karl Friedrich Schinkel – Altes Museum Berlin*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag 2000, 163-167, overemphasizes the nationalistic implications in the Hall of Fame due to its later completion; cf. also: Jörg Trempler (with Bernhard Maaz, Berlin, Nationalgalerie), 'Denkmalkultur zwischen Aufklärung, Romantik und Historismus. Die Skulpturen der Vorhalle im Alten Museum und im Säulengang vor dem Neuen Museum in Berlin', in: *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 56/57 (2002), 211-254.

22 H. G. Pundt, *Schinkel's Berlin*, Frankfurt a.M./Berlin/Vienna: Propyläen 1981 (orig. Cambridge, Mass. 1972).

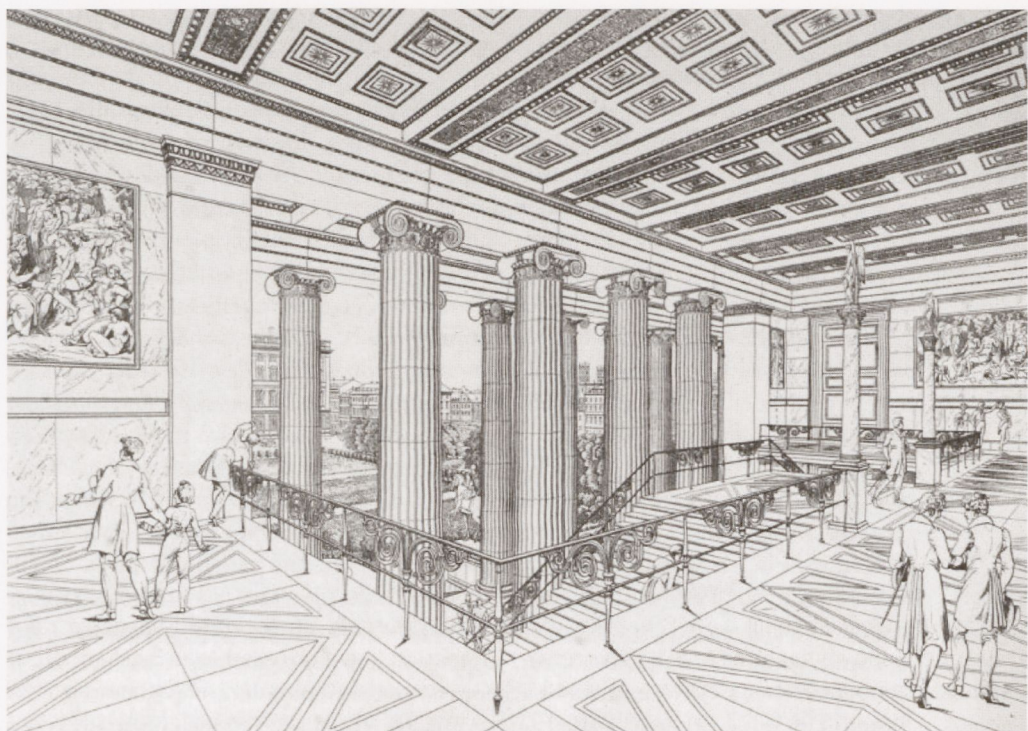


Fig. 3 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Perspektive View of the stairway in the Alte Museum*, drawing 1829, print published in: *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe*, 1866, fig. 43

Berlin's museum, one of the first autonomous buildings constructed solely for the public reception of art, encompasses three floors. The administrative offices, service areas and cellars were in the basement. The first floor housed the galleries of ancient sculpture, which radiates around the rotunda and two interior courts giving light to the south galleries. The top floor housed the picture gallery, insufficiently lit from three sides but later improved with roof lighting.

Schinkel's artistic genius was essential for making the idealistic concept work. The rotunda, reserved for the most exalted art, was the setting for the statues of Greek and Roman gods framed by Corinthian columns and lit from the *opaiou* in the dome. Here the visitor would not only gain an impression of the sacred realm to which this ancient art once belonged, but also be transported to a higher contemplative state.

Schinkel responded to Hirt's pedantic criticism by calling the rotunda an aesthetic 'sanctuary', which was necessary to prepare the beholder for a true perception of art, one appropriate for the museum as a public institution.²⁵

Another key to understanding Schinkel's convictions is his famous perspective view in the *Architektonische Entwürfe* (fig. 3), which simultaneously illustrates the idea of aesthetic education and the prospect of the new 'Schinkellesque' town as the rebirth of the antique *polis*. The vista is fragmented into a glimpse of the towers of Schinkel's Friedrich-Werder Church at the right (then under construction) as a counterweight to the royal castle, which was reduced

25 'Schinkel's Votum vom 5. Februar 1823 zu dem Gutachten des Hofraths Hirt', in: Alfred von Wolzogen (ed.), *Aus Schinkels Nachlass*, vol. iii, Reprint Mittenwald: Mäander Verlag 1981 (orig. Berlin 1863), 245, 248; cf. Van Wezel 2001 (n. 16), 75.

to a small inset at the left. We see a father elucidating the sights to his child and two young gentlemen in conversation in an open vestibule and staircase, which likewise belongs to the exterior public space of the city as well as to the interior of the museum. The subject of their discourse while gazing at Schinkel's allegorical wall paintings would certainly relate to the development of mankind and the role of the arts in modern society modelled on the democratic Greek *polis*, in keeping with Johann Joachim Winckelmann's interpretation in the *History of the Arts in Greece* (1765). As emerges from an analysis of Schinkel's historical landscape paintings, especially his 1825 panoramic townscape *A View of Greece in Its Prime*, he shared Winckelmann's conviction that the progress of art – even in a monarchy – depended on the political freedom and liberty of civic society.²⁶ In his 'Report' to the king in 1826, Schinkel cited the Musée Napoléon and the Vatican Museum as models for his ambitions, but not ones worth imitating.²⁷ Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer recently suggested that the two Roman *Victories* together with the famous *Adoring Boy* in the main axis of the rotunda, just then recuperated from the Musée Napoléon, formed a 'porta triumphalis' reminding the visitor of Prussia's new ascendancy, and observed that even Antoine-Denis Chaudet's statue of Napoleon (1805), confiscated in Paris in 1815, was exhibited in the Roman gallery.²⁸ These political allusions, however, remained discreetly subordinate to the idealistic

concept and the museum became a monument of peace rather than victory.²⁹

Klenze's Museum Designs

With regard to culture, Bavaria has always been ranked second among the German principalities even though it was actually further ahead with respect to the creation of public museums. Planned since 1808, the sculpture museum (called the Glyptothek) in Munich was built between 1816-1830, and the new picture gallery, the Alte Pinakothek (1825-1836) saw the light of day at the same time as Schinkel's museum. They were designed by the architect Leo von Klenze (1784-1864), an admirer and sometimes rival of Schinkel who outlived his friend by 25 years. Although, as often stated, he lacked Schinkel's artistic confidence, his museum buildings provided innovative solutions to functional and technical problems.³⁰ The progressive distribution of rooms and functional design of Klenze's Pinakothek (1825-1836) and his New Hermitage in St. Petersburg (1839-1852) set the model for picture galleries and multifunctional museums all over Europe.³¹

As in Prussia, in Bavaria can be observed the same idealistic movement to civic culture as a principal basis for the modern state, which was fostered primarily by Crown Prince Ludwig,

26 Andreas Haus, 'Karl Friedrich Schinkel: Die Blüte Griechenlands – Das Schaubild als gemalte Staatsidee', in: Annette Dorgerloh, Michael Niedermeier, Horst Bredekamp (eds.), *Klassizismus – Gotik, Karl Friedrich Schinkel und die patriotische Baukunst*, Munich/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag 2007, 99-112. For the role of the staffage in Schinkel's prospects, see: Wolf Tegethoff, 'Landschaft als Prospekt oder die ästhetische Aneignung des Außenraums bei Schinkel', in: *Kunstsplitter. Beiträge zur nord-europäischen Kunstgeschichte (Festschrift W. J. Müller)*, Husum: Husum Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft 1984, 120-129.

27 'Schinkel's Bericht an den König vom 24. October 1826', Wolzogen 1981 (n. 25), 186, 264-266.

28 Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, 'Zur Erstaufstellung der Skulpturensammlung im Alten Museum', in: Dorgerloh/Niedermeier/Bredenkamp 2007 (n. 26), 165-174.

29 Cf. Elsa van Wezel's contribution to this volume, 157-172.

30 Adrian von Buttlar, *Leo von Klenze – Leben, Werk, Vision*, Munich: C.H. Beck 1999. For a comparison between Schinkel and Klenze, see: Adrian von Buttlar, 'Schinkel und Klenze', in: Franziska Dunkel, Hans-Michael Körner, Hannelore Putz (eds.), *König Ludwig I. von Bayern und Leo von Klenze – Symposium aus Anlass des 75. Geburtstages von Hubert Glaser*, Munich: C.H. Beck 2006 (*Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte, Beiheft 28, Reihe B*) [Buttlar 2006b], 119-140. A catalogue of Klenze's oeuvre by Sonja Hildebrand is provided in: Winfried Nerdinger, Sonja Hildebrand, Ulrike Steiner and Thomas Weidner (eds.), *Leo von Klenze. Architekt zwischen Kunst und Hof 1784-1864*, Munich/London/New York: Prestel 2000 (exh. Stadtmuseum München).

31 This is proved by Klenze's invitation to London to attend the hearings of the 'Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures' (1836) and the 'Select Committee on the National Gallery' (1853), cf. Buttlar 1999 (n. 30), 360-368, and Adrian von Buttlar, 'Klenze in England', in: Franz Bosbach and Hans Pohl (eds.), *Künstlerische Beziehungen zwischen England und Deutschland in der viktorianischen Epoche*, Munich: K. G. Saur 1998 (*Prinz-Albert-Studien* 15), 39-52.



Fig. 4 Aerial view of the Königsplatz with the Glyptothek, art exhibition building, basilica and the Propylaeum in Munich, 1932, in: Iris Lauterbach, Julian Rosenfeldt and Piero Steinle (eds.), *Bürokratie und Kult: Das Parteizentrum der NSDAP am Königsplatz in München; Geschichte und Rezeption*, München/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag 1995, fig.3

later King Ludwig I, after 1825. Again, in 1812 French models were still relevant when Carl von Fischer began making sketches for the Munich Glyptothek, which was to be erected as an independent building far from the palace and outside of the town centre. At that time Fischer was a protégé of the powerful minister Maximilian Josef Garnerin, Count von Montgelas, who had managed the pro-Napoleonic policy of King Maximilian I of Bavaria that had resulted in Bavaria's elevation from an electorate to a kingdom in 1806. Fischer was immediately sent to study the architecture of Paris. Upon his return he designed a series of public buildings and drafted plans for the new royal palace, which were probably presented to Napoleon during his visit to Munich in 1809.³²

Very few of Fischer's projects³³ were actually built, the most important being a new north-west extension of the city of Munich, called Max-Vorstadt after the king, which he planned together with the garden architect Ludwig von Sckell between 1808 and 1816. Their concept called for a regularly ordered garden city with cubic Neo-Palladian villas interrupted by a sequence of circular spaces and a rectangular space called the Königsplatz (fig. 4). It was the central site on the northern side of this public square that Crown Prince Ludwig chose for his Glyptothek in 1812.³⁴ He wanted the public to benefit from an exhibition of his private collec-

32 For a comparison of Carl von Fischer and Klenze's idioms, see: Adrian von Buttlar, 'Fischer und Klenze. Münchner Klassizismus am Scheideweg', in: Herbert Beck, Peter C. Bol and Eva Maek-Gérard, *Ideal und Wirklichkeit der bildenden Kunst im späten 18. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann 1984, 141-162.

33 Winfried Nerdinger (ed.), *Carl von Fischer 1782-1820*, Munich: Architektursammlung der TU München 1982 (exh. TU München).

34 Cf. Hans Lehbruch, 'Aspekte der Stadtentwicklung Münchens 1875-1825' und 'Der Wettbewerb für die Anlage der Max-Vorstadt', in: Winfried Nerdinger (ed.), *Architektur des Klassizismus in Bayern, Schwaben und Franken – Architekturzeichnungen 1775-1825*, Munich: Architektursammlung der TU München und Münchner Stadtmuseum 1980, 29-36, 199-225.

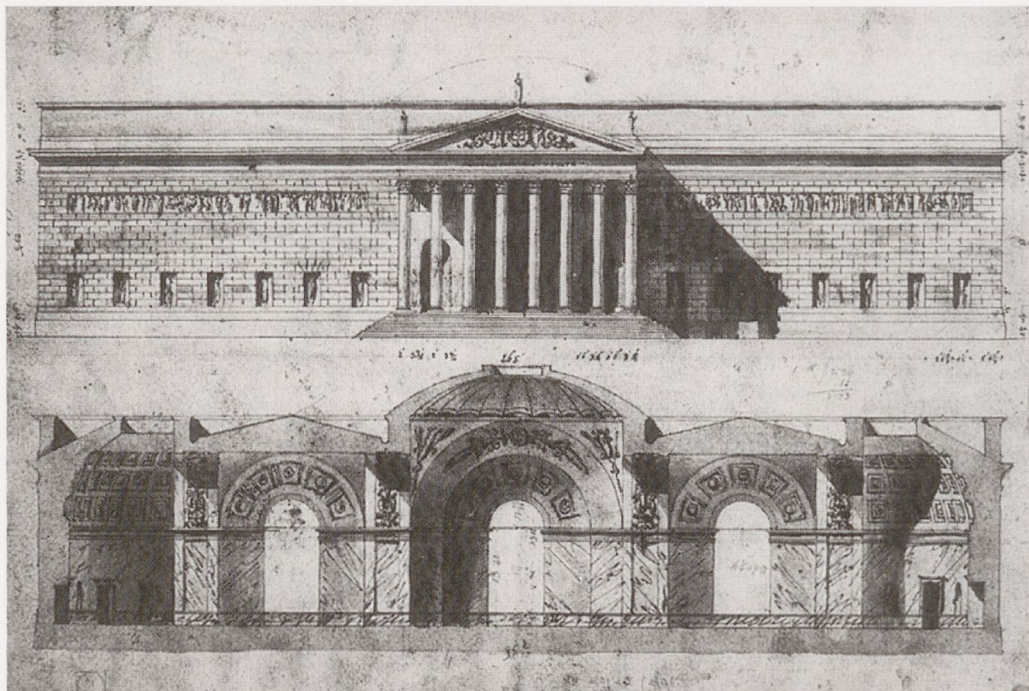


Fig. 5 Leo von Klenze, „French“ preliminary design for the *Glyptothek*, 1815, nr. 26833, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München

tion of antique and modern marbles, above all the famous Greek sculptures from the Temple of Aegina that he had acquired at auction just two years earlier.³⁵

The virtues of the classical heritage as represented in the arts, especially sculpture, together with the architectonic shrine to them, were meant to become a landmark of the new Munich (comparable to the ‘Bilbao effect’ today). Interesting for our investigation into the iconology of civic culture is that the museum’s counterpart site on the south side of the square was initially reserved for a hospital for disabled

soldiers, and then for an army memorial for the 30,000 Bavarians who had fought and died side by side with Napoleon’s troops in Russia in 1812.³⁶ The old topos of war and peace, of culture as the reward for bravery in battle and victory, was embodied in this architectural ensemble nearly a decade earlier than Schinkel’s monumental project in Berlin.

In the wake of Bavaria’s last-minute reaction against Napoleon in 1813, Crown Prince Ludwig, an ardent Germanic patriot who in contrast to his father hated the emperor, tried to replace the Empire style with a national idiom. He demoted Carl von Fischer, and in 1815 called in Leo von Klenze, even though Klenze had been serving Napoleon’s brother, King Jérôme Bonaparte of Westphalia, as second Court Architect in Kassel since 1808. Like Schinkel, Klenze had studied at Berlin’s Allgemeine Bauschule (from

35 For the Glyptothek, see: Klaus Vierneisel, Gottlieb Leinz and Klaus-Jürgen Sembach (eds.), *Glyptothek München – 1830-1980*, Glyptothek/Prestel 1980 (exh. Glyptothek München); Britta R. Schwahn, *Die Glyptothek in München. Baugeschichte und Ikonologie*, Munich: Münchner Stadtarchiv 1983 (*Miscellanea Bavarica Monacensia* 83; Ph.D.diss. Munich 1976); Buttler 1999 (n. 30), 109-140.

36 Nerdinger 1982 (n. 33), 156-159.

1800 to 1803), but had subsequently been influenced by French architects, such as Claude-Nicolas-Louis Durand, Charles Pierre Joseph Normand, Charles Percier and Pierre François Léonard Fontaine. He fled after the Russians besieged Kassel in 1813, settling in Paris in 1814. Although he presented himself as a patriot at the Congress of Vienna, he remained a Francophile at heart and his dependence on the French idiom is still evident in the first designs he submitted to a competition for a museum of sculpture, which he sent to Munich from Paris (fig. 5).³⁷ Like his rival Fischer, Klenze also took French sources - such as the most recent *Grand Prix* publications of 1814 - as his point of departure.³⁸

How could Klenze - so deeply rooted in the French School - invent an anti-French patriotic architecture as postulated by Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria, already renowned for his Philhellenism? The answer is found in an article by the journalist Christian Müller, who commented on Klenze's final appointment as Bavarian Court Architect in 1816. By cultivating the so-called 'Greek style', strongly recommended in the 1814 competition for the Walhalla, a memorial hall celebrating national German heroes, and also for the Glyptothek,³⁹ Klenze was expected to create models in a true 'national style (...) so far lacking in Bavarian architecture'.⁴⁰ Müller's statement can be understood as the first expression of the Graeco-Germanic synthesis, which later propagated the revival of the Greek style as an ethnic heritage from the Indo-

Germanic, or so-called 'Pelagian' tribes, which was brought from India and the Caucasus to the northern hemisphere in the great migration (as explained in Klenze's theoretical essays⁴¹). Instead of the Franco-Roman tradition of the Napoleonic 'Empire', or the impractical 'Gothic' style preferred by the Romantic faction, the Greeks were now declared the true ancestors of the Germans. Imitating Athens became as patriotic as referring to the cathedrals of Cologne or Strasbourg.⁴²

Counteracting the French character of his first design, Klenze now copied and transformed elements and details from Greek temples, such as the Erechtheion on the Acropolis, into an Italian atrium scheme to achieve a more *néogrec* character. As in Berlin, the veneration of Greek art and culture was primarily an aesthetic, philosophical and humanistic imperative, as well as being a highly welcome means of escaping from the Franco-Roman identification. The iconographic programme of the Glyptothek illustrated the same shift in which modern German art claimed Greek ancestry. The various plastic arts devised by the Greeks were illustrated in the pediments, while historic artist-heroes from the mythic Prometheus and Phidias up to contemporary Nordic sculptors, including Berthel Thorvaldsen, John Gibson, Christian Daniel Rauch and Ludwig Michael Schwanthaler, and even the North-Italian Antonio Canova and Thorvaldsen's collaborator Pietro Tenerani, were set up in the niches.⁴³

37 Adrian von Buttlar, 'Also doch ein Teutscher? Klenzes Weg nach München', in: Nerdinger/Hildebrand/Steiner/Weidner 2000 (n. 30), 72-83.

38 First observed by Seling 1952 (n. 3), 296-300. Helmut Seling, 'Das Museum als Aufgabe der Architektur im Frankreich der Revolutionszeit', in: Vierneisel/Leinz/Sembach 1980 (n. 35), 328-333.

39 The competition of 1814, published on 28 February in the Allgemeine Zeitung and comprising the Walhalla, the Glyptothek and the hospital for the disabled soldiers recommended using the 'purest ancient style' and even 'imitating' the Parthenon. Cf. Vierneisel/Leinz/Sembach 1980 (n. 35), 98, 125, 441.

40 Christian Müller, *München unter Maximilian I. Joseph*, vol. i, Munich 1816, 244.

41 Leo von Klenze, 'Versuch einer Wiederherstellung des toskanischen Tempels nach seinen historischen und technischen Analogien, vorgelesen am 3.3.1821 in der philosophischen Klasse der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München', in: *Denkschriften der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München für die Jahre 1821 und 1822, Classe der Philosophie und Philologie*, vol. 8, Munich 1824, 1-86.

42 Adrian von Buttlar, "'Germanische Tektonik'? Leo von Klenzes patriotische Interpretation des Klassizismus', in: Dorgerloh/Niedermeier/Bredenkamp 2007 (n. 26), 119-139.

43 Although the early plan to collect and exhibit masterpieces of the Renaissance as well was not realized, the heroes of the Florentine School, such as Ghiberti, Donatello, Michelangelo and Benvenuto Cellini, were presented on the western facade, while Giovanni da Bologna and Peter



Fig. 6 Wilhelm August Hahn, *View from the Romanhall into the hall of Heroes*, water-colour 1938, one of the few colour documentations of the lost interior of the Glyptothek, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich

The Glyptothek is the first museum in which Winckelmann's cyclic concept of the rise and fall of cultures found expression not only in the presentation of the collections, but also in the architectural concept, ornamentation and iconology. The chronological cycle began with the birth of sculpture in Egypt, moved on to the archaic and classical Greek periods, and then celebrated the more decorative merits of the Romans. Glossing over periods of decline, the historic cycle ended with the rebirth of contemporary classicist art under King Ludwig as its apotheosis.⁴⁴ This self-contained programme would soon collide not only with the growth of the collection, but also with the open, linear model of historicism practiced in Berlin, which became dominant in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁵

In his early years in Kassel Klenze came to admire and even imitate Charles Percier's decorative designs, especially for furniture.⁴⁶ Besides the Museo Pio-Clementino in Rome, the Glyptothek's interior decoration owed a great deal to Percier's *Musée des Antiques*, which was set up in the Louvre in the first decade of the nineteenth century and which Klenze had visited and described.⁴⁷ The shining, coloured, unin-

terrupted screen of artificial marble and stucco emphasizing the classical contour of the sculptures, and the richly gilded ornaments in the ceilings are particularly worthy of comparison.⁴⁸ Moreover, the caryatids of the Villa Albani, which were integrated into the Roman gallery (fig. 6), resemble those of Jean Goujon in the Louvre. Nevertheless, the stylistic transformation was too dominant to evoke any sense of dependence on the Louvre. Klenze defended the rich decoration of the galleries against Johann Martin von Wagner, who, comparable to Hirt in Berlin, considered the museum more as a place of academic learning than of aesthetic experience for the masses.⁴⁹

Like Schinkel's museum, the Glyptothek and the Pinakothek embodied the idealistic concept of cultural autonomy and of the arts as an instrument for the aesthetic and moral education (*Bildung*) of civic society. In 1836 Klenze explained this role of the new public museums, which were open to everyone free of charge, to the parliamentary Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures in London. In doing so, he referred to the drawing lessons given in the elementary schools and the Greek language courses taught in the secondary schools in Bavaria.⁵⁰ The guiding principle, namely that the arts, including architecture, should serve and improve life was clearly expressed in the constitution of the Royal Academy of Arts devised by Schelling in 1808.⁵¹

Vischer represented the transfer of the art to the northern sphere. For the sculpture programme and its execution, see: Hinrich Sieveking, 'Materialien zu Programm und Entstehung des Skulpturenschmucks am Außenbau der Glyptothek', in: Vierneisel/Leinz/Sembach 1980 (n. 35), 234-255, 544-575.

44 For the corresponding character of the interior design and iconography cf. Elianna Groppler di Troppenburg, 'Die Innenausstattung der Glyptothek durch Leo von Klenze', in: Vierneisel/Leinz/Sembach 1980 (n. 35), 190-213; Buttler 1999 (n. 30), 124-132.

45 Cf. among others: Debora J. Meijers, *Kunst als Natur. Die Habsburger Gemäldegalerie in Wien um 1780*, Milan: Skira editore/Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien 1995 (*Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums* 2).

46 1808-1813 as the 'second architect' at Jérôme's court in Kassel he worked with Percier's disciple August Henri Victor Grandjean de Montigny, imitating their 'capricci'. His furniture designs for the royal residence in Munich still relied heavily on Percier's models. Buttler 1999 (n. 30), 47-66; Veronika Schäfer, *Leo von Klenze. Möbel und Innenräume. Ein Beitrag zur höfischen Wohnkultur im Spätempire*, Munich: Münchner Stadtarchiv 1980 (*Miscellanea Bavarica Monacensia* 89).

47 Probably in 1814/15. Cf. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Klenzeana XIII, 12, no. 6 (undated); Buttler 1999 (n. 30), 78.

48 For the disposition of the works compared to that in other collections, including Paris, cf. Alexander D. Potts, 'Die Skulpturenaufstellung in der Glyptothek', in: Vierneisel/Leinz/Sembach 1980 (n. 35), 258-283. Cf. also Daniela Gallo's contribution to this volume.

49 Letter from Wagner to Crown Prince Ludwig, 30 September 1814, in: Winfried von Pölnitz (ed.), *Ludwig I. und Johann Martin von Wagner. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kunstbestrebungen König Ludwigs I.*, Munich-1929 (Reprint Munich: Scientia-Verlag 1974), 231-233.

50 'Reports from the Select Committee on Arts and their Connexion with Manufactures with the Minutes of Evidence', in: *House of Commons - Parliamentary Papers*, ix, London 1836, iii-xi and 193-194 (2251-2258). Buttler 1999 (n. 30), 360-362.

51 'Die Liebe für Maß und Schicklichkeit, welche die Kunst einflößt, geht endlich auf das Leben über (...) Die Wichtigkeit der Architektur für das öffentliche Leben, die nahe Beziehung, die sie auf den Geist und Geschmack einer

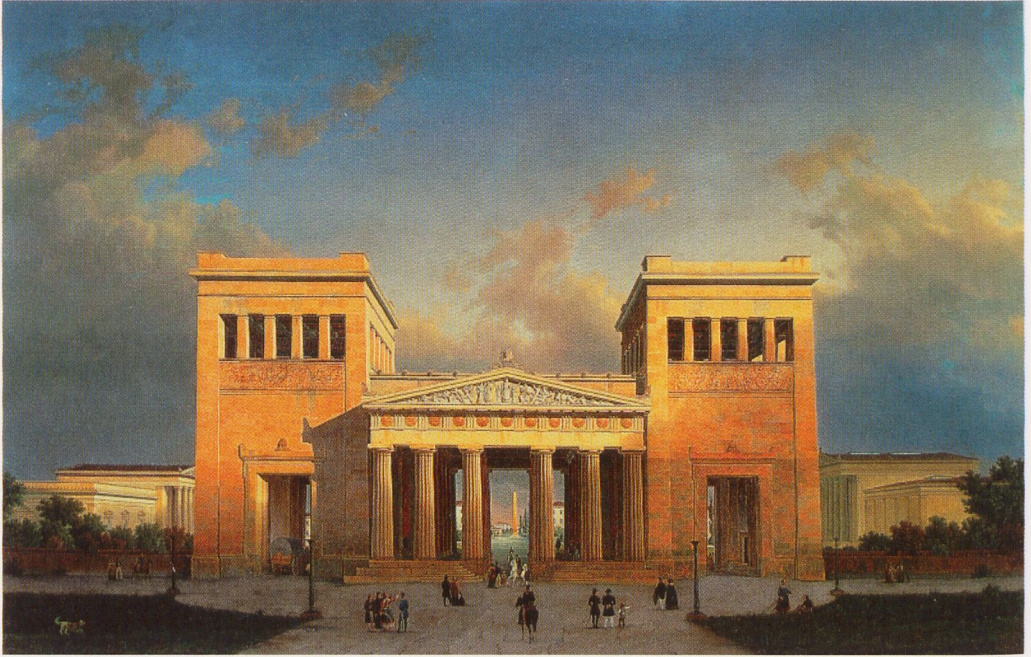


Fig. 7 Leo von Klenze, *View on the Propylaeum and the Königsplatz from the west*, 1848, nr. P 13682, Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich

Following the Wars of Liberation, according to the Constitution of 1818, Bavaria was governed as an enlightened and patriotic monarchy. Nevertheless, unlike the Pinakothek, the Glyptothek was still privately financed by the crown prince. The sculpture collection as well as the modern paintings remained in his possession; only once, after the revolutionary riots and his abdication in 1848, did King Ludwig caution his subjects that all the works of art in the Glyptothek and the newly opened museum for contemporary art, called the Neue Pinakothek, belonged to him and that his generosity in sharing them with the public should not be taken for granted.⁵²

As was the case in Berlin, the Glyptothek was embedded in the new patriotic iconology of the

ganzen Nation hat (...) bewegen uns zu verordnen, daß dem Unterricht in derselben eine größere Ausdehnung gegeben werden sollte', *Konstitution der Kgl. Akademie der Künste*, Munich 1808, 1, 8.

52 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Klenzeana XIV, 1, Ludwig I to Leo von Klenze, 7 August 1854.

Königsplatz as a whole.⁵³ The 1812 project for a (pro-Napoleonic) hospice and army memorial was replaced by an (anti-Napoleonic) project for a church dedicated to the twelve apostles in 1816. This basilica, which Ludwig felt should imitate San Paolo in Rome, was given a site and realized by Klenze's colleague, Georg Friedrich Ziebland. While the northern side was graced with the arts and the southern side with religion, the western side of the square was destined to have a Doric city gate representing the military strength of Bavaria, in 1817. Iconographically, the original scheme was thus comparable to Berlin's new Lustgarten.

In the end, the church's site was used for a building for exhibitions of modern art based on Klenze's sketches and carried out by Ziebland (1838-1845), while Klenze's city gate - modelled on the idea of the Propylaeum in Athens

53 Eckart Bergmann, 'Der Königsplatz – Forum und Denkmal', in: Vierneisel/Leinz/Sembach 1980 (n. 35), 296-307; Buttler 1999 (n. 30), 132-139.



Fig. 8 Alte Pinakothek Munich, postcard c. 1900 (source: google-Bilder, Bibliothek des US-Kongresses)

and modified in 1846 - was built with private funds after Ludwig's abdication between 1854-1861.⁵⁴ The public space's anti-Napoleonic concept is still inherent in Klenze's painting of 1848 (fig. 7), which anticipated the prospect a traveller would see upon entering Munich via the Königsplatz. The vista is now focused on Klenze's obelisk in the far background, which was erected on the Karolinenplatz in 1833 as a memorial to the Bavarian soldiers of 1812 (now regarded as victims of Napoleon), while the neighbouring streets were named after the battlefields of 1813/1815. The obelisk, moreover, was made from the bronze of French cannons captured in the Wars of Liberation. The Propylaeum in the foreground was ultimately conceived as a

54 Hans Lehbruch, 'Propyläen und Königsplatz in München 1816-1862', in: Winfried Nerdinger (ed.), *Romantik und Restauration. Architektur in Bayern zur Zeit Ludwigs I. 1825-1848*, Architektursammlung der TU und Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich: Hugendubel 1987, 126-133; Buttlar 1999 (n. 30), 398-407.

memorial to the freedom of Greece and the heroes of the Greek Wars of Liberation 1821-1830 (also politically linked to Bavaria, because Ludwig's son, Prince Otto, had been elected king of liberated Greece in 1833).⁵⁵ It, too, underscores the connection between righteous defence, freedom, and high culture, as represented by the two buildings dedicated to the arts at the right and left.

It will not have been a coincidence that Klenze's visionary painting was presented to Ludwig on 18 October 1848, the day of Napoleon's defeat at the Battle of Leipzig. A revealing indication of the role of culture in the State of Bavaria during the reign of Ludwig I is the fact that he favoured the date of 18 October or 18 June (the latter date referring to Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo) when laying the foundation stones or inau-

55 Cf. Reinhold Baumstark (ed.), *Das neue Hellas. Griechen und Bayern zur Zeit Ludwigs I.*, Munich: Hirmer 1999 (exh. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich).



Fig. 9 Wilhelm von Kaulbach, *Ludwig Ist surrounded by artists and scientists*, 1848, Neue Pinakothek, Munich

guring his monumental buildings.⁵⁶ It was not the political nation of Germany – as yet unborn – but rather the cultural nation that arose in reaction to Napoleon's enterprises, as suggested by historian Thomas Nipperdey.⁵⁷

King Ludwig initiated the building of the picture gallery, given the Greek name Pinakothek (1826-1836),⁵⁸ guided by the same convictions of the public role of the fine arts. From the start, this project was financed by the State because a public gallery, the Hofgartengalerie, designed by Karl Albrecht von Lespilliézy at the far side of the royal residence and which had been open to the public since 1784, could no longer meet modern demands.⁵⁹ After lengthy discussions cover-

ing a variety of topics, including air pollution and fire safety, Klenze's new building rose on a wide plain (fig. 8) occupying an entire quadrangle in the newly planned district and set fairly close to the Glyptothek. Munich's museum quarter, from the Neue Pinakothek, the first museum built exclusively for modern (presently nineteenth-century) art,⁶⁰ to Stephan Braunschweig's Pinakothek der Moderne, which opened in 2002 and exhibits twentieth-century and contemporary art, still embodies King Ludwig's ideal.

Praised for its functional design from the beginning,⁶¹ the Alte Pinakothek is a very long gallery conceived in the architectural forms of the North Italian Renaissance which, according to Klenze, derived from the Greeks and was the most appropriate style for exhibiting paintings from the late medieval to the late Baroque, culminating in the period of Raphael, Dürer and Rubens, while the Greek origins of this art as known in the form of vase painting were presented in the basement rooms.

56 Walhalla: 18 Oct. 1842; Festsaal of the Residenz: 18 Oct. 1832; Königsbau: 18 June 1825; viewing of the Propylaeum painting: 18 Oct. 1848; laying of foundation stone: 19 Oct. 1842; dedication of the Befreiungshalle: 18 Oct. 1863, etc.

57 Thomas Nipperdey, 'Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland', in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 206 (1968), 529-585.

58 Peter Böttger, *Die Alte Pinakothek in München*, Munich: Prestel 1972 (*Studien zur Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* 15); Konrad Renger, 'Ihm, welcher der Andacht Tempel baut...' *Ludwig I. und die Alte Pinakothek. Festschrift zum Jubiläumsjahr 1986*, Munich: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen 1986; Buttler 1999 (n. 30), 247-265.

59 For the Hofgartengalerie, see: Juliane Granzow, 'Die Hofgartengalerie zu München', in: Savoy 2006, (n. 2), 333-348.

60 Werner Mittlmeier, *Die neue Pinakothek in München 1843-1854. Planung, Baugeschichte und Fresken*, Munich: Prestel 1977 (*Studien zur Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* 16).

61 For example: *Zeitschrift für das Allgemeine Bauwesen* 2 (1837), 66-68.

The interior disposition consists of seven monumental exhibition rooms lined up on the main floor and lit by glazed skylights, which brought out the brilliancy of the colours in the works of art. An identical system was used for the New Hermitage in St. Petersburg, which opened in 1852.⁶² On the south side, which never has direct lighting, a long passage inspired by Raphael's Loggia allowed for a separate entrance to each room. The north side would have cabinets connected to the main rooms for displays of cabinet pictures belonging to the same school. The gallery, which one entered from the short side of the east wing, was organized historically, by artistic schools, moving from the German School to the Italian School at the far western end, which still occupied a place of honour (the gallery was opened on Raphael's birthday). The Flemish paintings, especially the unique Rubens collection, was found in the most distinguished central halls.⁶³ Variants of this functional system and display policy were adopted in the Neue Pinakothek and the picture galleries in Dresden, St. Petersburg, Budapest, Kassel, Braunschweig, Frankfurt, Kiel, etc., and have been partly revived in twentieth-century museum architecture.

Summing up, Schinkel and Klenze contributed to the growing importance of an autonomous civic culture, not only by physically separating the museum buildings from the royal residence, but also by means of an architectural language, functional planning and symbolic iconography. Napoleon's legacy was a source of inspiration. However, as we have seen, it also represented a challenge to surpass or counteract the French models and institute genuine concepts of *Bildung* and 'History' for the public museum in Germany, in part based on the enlightened tradition of the princely galleries of the eighteenth century. After the masterpieces were reclaimed from Paris, the reputation of these collections

grew among the experts and they enjoyed increased popularity among the public, thereby contributing to the nation's sense of cultural identity. The initiative for the new museum buildings, so crucial to this process, was still taken by the competing princes of the German territories. However, civic society would soon match these princely privileges and begin to establish its own museums after 1848.⁶⁴

The somehow outdated role of the monarch as a ruler in this cultural realm is best expressed by Wilhelm von Kaulbach's 1848 *bozzetto* (fig. 9) for one of the monumental murals on the exterior of the Neue Pinakothek. King Ludwig is depicted in a black costume known as *Altdeutscher Rock* (old German dress), symbolizing the anti-French and nationalist students' attire during and after the Wars of Liberation. Like a film star, he descends the stairs before a *pasticcio* uniting his three most significant cultural buildings – the two museums and the State Library – while his agents, scholars, and artists present works from his collections to him. What to us (and probably his contemporaries as well) seems somewhat ironic, but does express Ludwig's feelings after his abdication very accurately, is the notion that unlike politics, the ideal realm of art will last forever.⁶⁵ Despite the historical approach and being vilified in the uproar of the moderns and the futurists, this idea became essential for civic culture, and it would seem to have held its own right up to the museum boom of the twentieth century.

62 Buttlar 1999 (n. 30), 369-391.

63 Gisela Goldberg, 'Ursprüngliche Ausstattung und Bilderhänger in der Alten Pinakothek', in: Renger 1986, (n. 58), 140-175.

64 Cf. Plagemann 1967 (n. 3), 150-195.

65 Cf. Hermann Bauer, "'Der Herrschaft Größe vor der Kunst verschwindet'". Die Bedeutung der Kunst bei Ludwig I', in: Klaus Ertz (ed.), *Festschrift für Wilhelm Messerer zum 60. Geburtstag*, Cologne: DuMont 1980, 315-324.