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Translation of the German version into English by Daniel Böckmann

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**Ludwig Gruner's Drawings after Raphael's Cartoons for the Tapestries in
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Ludwig Gruner's Drawings after Raphael's Cartoons for the Tapestries in the Vatican. A Discovery in the Kupferstich-Kabinett in Dresden*

In the exhibition “Raffael – Macht der Bilder. Die Tapisserien und ihre Wirkung” in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, (6 July - 30 August 2020), six tapestries after the famous Raphael Cartoons - now in the Victoria & Albert Museum - were exhibited for the first time after long and spectacular restoration. Drawings, engravings and sculptures from the holdings of the Dresden State Art Collections as well as from international collections introduced the visitor to the history of the creation of the tapestries and their reception, which experienced a Europe-wide renaissance in the 19th century.¹

Also on display were two large-format charcoal drawings after Raphael's cartoons “The Miraculous Draught of Fishes” and “The Death of Ananias”. The copies had been rediscovered “rolled up” in the Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden on the occasion of the preparations for the tapestry exhibition, together with 13 other detailed studies. They contain representations of individual figures or groups of figures after Raphael's cartoons “The Miraculous Draught of Fishes”, “The Death of Ananias”, “The Blinding of Elymas” and “The Healing of the Lame Man” in the size of the originals.

First observations of the drawings classified in the Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden as “German School, 18th century after Raphael” were presented by Petra Kuhlmann-Hodick in her catalogue contribution “*Kopien von Ludwig Gruner (?) nach den Kartons Raffaels und seiner Werkstatt*”.² The drawings are unsigned; information on the origin of the drawings could not be found in the archive documents so far. Since the tracing paper used by the draughtsman can only be dated to the beginning of the 19th century, and the originals of the drawings - the Raphael Cartoons in Hampton Court - were only made accessible to the public from 1804 onwards, a dating to the 19th century seems obvious. An attribution of the drawings to Ludwig Gruner,³ who was director of the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett from 1856 to 1882, was supported by the contemporary press: Ludwig Gruner had travelled

* For the convenience of the reader, the citations from documents in German have been translated into English throughout. The German quotes can be found in the original online version of the article <https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007168>

¹ A catalogue was published to accompany the exhibition entitled: “Raffael - Macht der Bilder. Die Tapisserien und ihre Wirkung”, 6. Juni – 30. August 2020, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, edited by Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Stephan Kojan in collaboration with Larissa Mohr, Dresden 2020.

² Petra Kuhlmann-Hodick, “*Kopien von Ludwig Gruner (?) nach den Kartons Raffaels und seiner Werkstatt*”, in: “Raffael - Macht der Bilder. Die Tapisserien und ihre Wirkung” (note 1), pp. 288-295, here p. 289.

³ Kuhlmann-Hodick 2020 (note 2), p. 289.

to England in 1841 “to make drawings after the Raphael Cartoons at Hampton Court in the size of the originals”⁴, and that the Prussian King Frederick William IV had “assured himself of the work by contract” during a visit to England.⁵ However, a thorough attribution of the Dresden drawings to Ludwig Gruner requires answering a number of questions that arose during the initial examination of the drawings. To clarify these questions, this article presents Ludwig Gruner's drawings after the Raphael Cartoons, analyses them by means of an example and tells their history based on documents. They were intended to serve as a model for an extensive engraving work, which, as will be shown, was never realised.

Ludwig Gruner's Engravings in the Manner of Marcantonio Raimondi

The Dresden engraver Ludwig Gruner (1801-1882), who was referred to as an “artist” in the contemporary press⁶ and who was also known as an expert due to his extraordinary connoisseurship of Raphael's works⁷, is today classified as a reproduction engraver whose name and work is largely unknown in Germany.⁸ Although contemporary reports have regularly mentioned Gruner's latest engravings after his arrival in Rome in 1837,⁹ German research contributions have been limited to his activities as an agent for drawings and paintings to the Royal Art Collections in Dresden¹⁰, and as director of the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett (1856 - 1882).¹¹ An evaluation of his graphic work in the context of contemporary Raphael reception has not been undertaken. In art-historical research in Britain, Gruner is esteemed as a Raphael expert¹², whose extraordinary knowledge in the

⁴ Kunstblatt (Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser, 1816-1849), no. 41, 3 September 1844, p. 300; see also “Allgemeine Deutsche Real-Enzyklopädie für die gebildeten Stände. Conversations-Lexikon”. Leipzig 1866, vol. 7, Gruner, Ludwig. pp. 474ff.

⁵ Kunstblatt no.41, 3 Sept. 1844, p. 300.

⁶ Kunstblatt no. 31, 20 April 1841, p. 222.

⁷ Kunstblatt no. 2, 7 January 1842, p. 6: “About the recent acquisitions of the Gemäldegalerie at the Royal Museum in Berlin: Raphael Sanzio: Maria holds the Christ Child on her lap (...). The author of this article has the satisfaction that three men who have devoted themselves particularly closely to the study of Raphael's youthful works, the late Mr. von Rumohr, as well as Messrs. Passavant and Gruner, have recognised this picture as originating from Raphael.”

⁸ Harald Marx, “Das Entstehen der Sammlung spanischer Gemälde in der Dresdner Galerie: Der Anteil von Ludwig Gruner“, pp. 67-84, in: “Dresden und Spanien. Akten des interdisziplinären Kolloquiums Dresden, 22-23 June 1998”, ed. by Christoph Rodick, Frankfurt am Main, 2000, p. 84: “His (Gruner's) name does not appear in the bibliographies of art history. Nor does he play a role in the representations of German painting and graphic art of the 19th century, since he was mainly a reproducing engraver, not a creative artist”.

⁹ Kunstblatt no. 78, 21. 8. 1838, p. 319; Kunstblatt no. 29, 9. 4. 1839, p. 115; Kunstblatt no. 46, 9. 6. 1840, p. 189ff. Kunstblatt no. 52, 1. 7. 1840, p. 221f; Kunstblatt no. 16, Jan. 1841, p. 51f; Kunstblatt no. 31, 20.4.1841, p. 222f.

¹⁰ Marx 2000, (note 8); Matthias Weniger, “Einführung”, in: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister: Bestandskatalog Spanische Malerei, 2012, pp. 15f. and p. 20 ff.

¹¹ Claudia Schnitzer, “Zwischen ‘Auszierung der Wände’ und ‘Stufengang der Kupferstecherkunst’, Grafik-Dauerausstellungen im Dresdener Kupferstich-Kabinett von 1728 bis 1882 und ihre Bezüge zu Klebeband, Sammlungsrecueil und Tafelmontage”, in: Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 2010, pp. 50-61.

¹² Tanya Ledger, “A Study of the Arundel Society, 1848-1897”. Phil Diss. Oxford 1978, p. 16f. <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:b781808b-1560-4c80-8801-a052c71f9511>

field of Italian decorative painting of the 16th century and in particular, his activity as art advisor to Prince Albert are acknowledged.¹³ However, here too, Gruner's graphic work has not been addressed except for Daniel Böckmann's catalogue raisonné of Gruner's works.¹⁴

The reports in the contemporary German press, however, testify to the assessment of Ludwig Gruner's artistic importance in a time of veneration and multiple reception of the works of Raphael and his school. In the circles of the Nazarenes and their followers, this veneration was extended to the engraver Marcantonio Raimondi, whose early continuing dissemination of Raphael's works in the medium of engraving shaped the image of the artist decisively until the 19th century.¹⁵



Fig. 1
„Moses Verteidigung der Töchter Jethros gegen die Hirten des Midian“, 1838
Ludwig Gruner after a drawing by Friedrich Overbeck
Private Collection Heidelberg

The *Kunstblatt* devoted a great deal of attention to Gruner's engravings, which were produced in Rome from 1837 onwards using the technique of line engraving propagated

¹³ Jonathan Marsden 2010, "Introduction", in: exhibition catalogue "Victoria & Albert. Art & Love", Royal Collection Publications, London 2010, pp. 12-53, here p. 18 and note. 35. Id.: "Mr. Green and Mr. Brown: Ludwig Grüner and Emil Braun in the Service of Prince Albert", in: Susanna Avery-Quash, ed. "Essays from a Study Day held at the National Gallery, London, on 5 and 6 June 2010, London 2012".
<https://www.rct.uk/sites/default/files/V%20and%20A%20Art%20and%20Love%20%28Marsden%29.pdf>

¹⁴ Daniel Böckmann, "Ludwig Gruner, Art Adviser to Prince Albert", MA Diss., University of East Anglia, Norwich, 1996. Appendix II, III und IV. <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2015/3292>, See also: Daniel Böckmann, Gruner Ludwig, in: AKL, Bd. 63, S. 477ff.

¹⁵ On Marcantonio Raimondi and his engravings after drawings by Raphael, see Corinna Höper, 'Mein lieber Freund und Kupferstecher: Raffael in der Druckgraphik des 16. - 19. Jahrhunderts. Das 'Raffael Team' in: Corinna Höper, "Raffael und die Folgen, Das Kunstwerk in Zeitaltern seiner graphischen Reproduzierbarkeit", Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, 2001, pp. 51-81. See also Anne Bloemacher, "Raffael und Raimondi. Produktion und Intention der frühen Druckgraphik nach Raffael", Berlin, 2016.

by Raimondi. The first sheet, which he engraved after a drawing by Friedrich Overbeck, “Mosis Vertheidigung der Töchter Jethros gegen die Hirten des Midian” (Moses Defence of the Daughters of Jethro against the Shepherds of Midian) (Fig. 1), was praised above all because Gruner had executed it “in the manner of the old masters with the burin without any further assistance”.¹⁶

A review of Gruner's first publication “I Mosaici della Cupola nella Capella Chigiana in S. Maria del Popolo in Roma”¹⁷, in 1839 states that Gruner had produced the engravings “from drawings by Nicola Consoni, a pupil of Minardi” and intended to reproduce these engravings “in the simple manner of Marcantonio”.¹⁸ “The beautiful Caryatids from the Vatican”, which the artist had accomplished “by very delicate and simple burin work with a consummate understanding of draughtsmanship” were mentioned as well. The first sheet after the ceiling paintings from the “Stanza dell’Eliodoro” was also considered to be “a beautiful, deeply felt drawing of simple, light perfection appropriate to the forms by Raphael.”¹⁹ “If Mr Gruner continues in this way to work on the lesser-known works of the great master, he will earn the highest plaudits.”²⁰ The extent to which Gruner's line engravings were also appreciated in collectors' circles can be seen in an assessment by the Scottish antiquarian and art dealer James Dennistoun, for whom Gruner worked in Rome as an agent for engravings after Raimondi that were particularly sought after at the time. Dennistoun mentioned Gruner in the same context as the most famous Nazarenes:

“Overbeck and Cornelius, Veit and Schnorr, Schwanthaler and Gruner, have effected an entire renovation of art, and have enshrined their names in a niche far higher than their British contemporaries, as yet, approached”.²¹

This extraordinary recognition may have inspired Gruner to tackle the greatest artistic challenge for an engraver of his time, to reproduce Raphael's cartoons for the tapestries in the Sistine Chapel in the form of engravings in the style of Marcantonio Raimondi.

Ludwig Gruner's Drawings after the Raphael Cartoons

Ludwig Gruner's career as a draughtsman has not been dealt with in previous research. As far as I know, almost all the drawings he made from paintings as models for his engravings are lost.²² For Gruner's line engravings after Raphael's mosaics and frescoes, the Italian

¹⁶ Kunstblatt 1838, no. 78, p. 319.

¹⁷ “I Mosaici della Cupola nella Capella Chigiana in Santa Maria del Popolo in Roma. Inventati da Raffaello Sanzio d’Urbino, incisi ed editi da Lodovico Gruner. Illustrati da Antonio Grifi. Roma, presso l’Editore. Dalla tipografia Salviucci”, 1839.

¹⁸ Kunstblatt 1838, no. 78, p. 319

¹⁹ Kunstblatt 1841, no. 52, p. 223.

²⁰ Kunstblatt 1840, no. 46, p. 190.

²¹ James Dennistoun, *Foreign Quarterly Review* 1845, p. 34. See: Winslow Ames, “*Prince Albert and Victorian Taste*”, New York 1968, p. 15.

²² Ludwig Gruner made drawings of several Raphael paintings, especially during his first trip to England. In his letter of 17 July 1833 he writes to Johann David Passavant: “*Before I proceed to your letter, I just want to let you know that I have diligently executed the Blenheim Raphael (“Ansidei Madonna”), the Dorotea there and the beautiful Panshanger Madonna of the year 1508 for the engraving.*” Ludwig Gruner to

painter Nicola Consoni²³ provided the drawings, which he in turn had made from existing “lucidi” or tracings.²⁴ A series of full-size studies on tracing paper for his large engraving after Raphael's “Ansidei Madonna” are kept in the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett.²⁵ There is also a collection of Gruner's watercolour landscape drawings,²⁶ as well as a series of portraits executed in black chalk.²⁷ Largely unknown are his more than 200 coloured pen and ink drawings of 16th-century interior decorations in Italian churches, monasteries and palaces, which are kept in the Victoria & Albert Museum.²⁸ They served Gruner as models for engravings and colour lithographs in his magnificent works “Fresco-Decorations and Stuccoes”²⁹ and “Specimens of Ornamental Art”.³⁰

Although Gruner had an extraordinary talent for drawing, he probably did not see himself as a creative artist producing drawings or paintings for their own sake. The Dresden drawings after the Raphael Cartoons therefore constitute an absolute novelty in Gruner's graphic oeuvre. Never before had he made tracings from monumental paintings by Raphael and never before had he transformed tracings in the size of the originals into works of art in their own right.

Five of Gruner's Dresden drawings after Raphael's cartoons consist of several details on tracing papers glued together³¹, laminated on paper and mounted on canvas; the other ten copies were transferred onto paper from tracings that no longer exist, which in turn are only partially mounted on canvas.³² These are evidently part of a much larger number of

Johann David Passavant. Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Frankfurt Main, Ms. Ff. J. D. Passavant.

²³ Nicola Consoni's drawings of Raphael mosaics and frescoes served Ludwig Gruner as models for his engravings, which he published in his magnificent volumes. Gruner's first publication appeared in Rome in 1839: “I Mosaici della Cupola nella Capella Chigiana di S. Maria del Popolo in Roma”, see note 17. On Nicola Consoni, see: Giovanna Capitelli, “Tutto presso Raffaele”. *Indagini sulle lettere di Ludwig Grüner a Nicola Consoni*. Londra, Dresda, Roma, 1842 - 1877, in: *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, 125, Rome 2018, pp. 37-49. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/328628136_All_after_Raphael_Investigations_on_the_letters_of_Ludwig_Gruner_to_Nicola_Consoni_London_Dresden_Rome_1842-1877.

²⁴ *Kunstblatt* no. 46, 9 Juni 1840, p. 189ff. “New Engravings: I Mosaici della Cupola nella Capella Chigiana in Santa Maria del Popolo in Roma”. (...) “Towards the end of the last century, the local painter G. Cades made sketches of the mosaics, which are in the Academy of S. Luca. These calcographs were used in the drawings which Mr. Consoni, a pupil of Minardi, made after these compositions for Mr. Gruner, and which are to be highly praised for their fidelity.”

²⁵ These are detailed studies of the individual persons depicted on the altarpiece. See <https://skd-online-collection.skd.museum/Home/Index?page=2&q=%C3%96lgem%C3%A4lde,%20Tafelbild>.

²⁶ SKD Kupferstich-Kabinett, inv. nos. C-1903-18 to 24.

²⁷ SKD Kupferstich-Kabinett, inv. nos. C 2840, 2849, 2877, 2899, 3158, 3167, 3197, 3500 (Singer Bildnisse).

²⁸ One of these drawings by Ludwig Gruner is described by Christopher Marsden in his article: “*Une espèce de monument socialiste moderne: Architektur für das South Kensington Museum*”, in: “Art and Design for All. The Victoria & Albert Museum”, Bundeskunsthalle Bonn, 2011, p. 162f.

²⁹ “Fresco Decorations and Stuccoes of Churches and Palaces in Italy, during the XVth and XVIth Centuries with Descriptions by Lewis Gruner, and a Comparison between the Ancient Arabesques & those of the XVIth Century by Mr J.J. Hittorff”, London, 1844.

³⁰ “Specimens of Ornamental Art. Selected from the best models of the classical epochs. Illustrated by eighty plates by Lewis Gruner with descriptive text by Emil Braun”, London, Thomas Mc'Lean, 1850.

³¹ See fig. 5: Ludwig Gruner, “The Miraculous Draught of Fishes”, detail, SKD, Kupferstich-Kabinett, C 1960-46.

³² See Kuhlmann-Hodick 2020 (note 2), p. 289.

copies, as Gruner, as we shall see, made drawings of all seven cartoons at Hampton Court. The detailed studies only reproduce individual figures or groups of figures from the respective Raphael Cartoons, the backgrounds are missing. The quality of the copies varies: the drawings executed on tracing paper - four from the “Death of Ananias”, and one from the “Miraculous Draught of Fishes”, appear more elaborately crafted than the copies that Gruner had transferred onto large sheets of paper.

In the following, one of the Dresden drawings – the “Sorcerer Elymas” - is presented and compared with Raphael's Elymas in his cartoon “The Conversion of the Proconsul” in order to show how Gruner translated the figure painted in gouache on Raphael's cartoon into a charcoal drawing.



Fig. 2

RAPHAEL (URBINO 1483-ROME 1520) The Conversion of the Proconsul c.1515-6
RCIN 912948 Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2020

In his composition of the “Conversion of the Proconsul” (Fig. 2), Raphael places two persons in the foreground according to the biblical passage on which his depiction is based. The apostle Paul, who stands like a statue near the front left edge of the picture, is highlighted by his red toga. The light coming from the left in Raphael’s cartoon, emphasises the figure of Paul, his raised arm and his hand with outstretched forefinger, to illustrate the words the disciple addresses to the sorcerer Elymas. The latter, who according to the Acts of the Apostles sought “to turn the deputy away from the faith”, forms the opposite of the

apostle on the right side of the depiction. His outstretched arms, his hands with extra-long, delicate fingers as well as his right leg placed forward, reflect the physical reactions of a person who, suddenly deprived of his sight, is struggling forward in search of a helping hand. The light coming from the left and falling on his right hand, the white sleeve of his left arm and the white trousers of his right leg emphasises the hesitant forward movement of the blind man. The horrified reaction of all those participating in this event is reflected in their facial expressions and especially in their gestures. As in many of Raphael's compositions, it is especially the “eloquent” hands that point to the drama unfolding before their eyes. The raised hands of the actual protagonist, the proconsul sitting on a pedestal in the background of the painting, also testify to his shocked reaction to the events taking place before him.³³

³³ The first engraving based on a design by Raphael for this depiction of the miracle of the punishment of Elymas described in the Acts of the Apostles was produced by Agostino Veneziano as early as 1516. A copy of this engraving is preserved in the Prints and Drawings Collection of the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (inv. no. A 23171). See Angelika Marinovic, “Die Bestrafung des Elymas“ in: “Raffael – Macht der Bilder“, note 1, p. 205. This engraving, however, was not made from Raphael's cartoon, but from a draft drawing by Raphael that has been preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (inv. no. RCIN 912750) and which differs in some details from the cartoon. See: Achim Gnann, “Raffaels Entwürfe für die Bildteppiche der Sixtinischen Kapelle“, in: “Raffael - Macht der Bilder” (note 1), pp. 31-51, here p. 44.



Fig. 3

Ludwig Gruner (Dresden 1801 – Dresden 1882) *The Conversion of the Proconsul*, detail
© Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, C 1960-46, photo: Herbert Boswank

The drawing by Ludwig Gruner shown here is a detailed study of the “Sorcerer Elymas” (Fig. 3), who is punished with blindness.³⁴ The drawing, which is the same size as the original, was transferred to a sheet of paper and mounted on canvas. Only Elymas and the man standing to his right are shown. Gruner’s drawing ends directly above the turban-like headdress of Elymas, the background figures of the cartoon are not depicted. On the right side of the drawing, the robe of the person standing behind Elymas in Raphael’s cartoon is missing. Gruner has, however, adopted one important architectural element, the stone floor on which Elymas and the person behind him are standing. On the left side, the drawing seems to be cut off. Part of Elymas’ right hand is missing, as is that of the man standing behind him. A tracing on transparent paper corresponding to this drawing and taken directly from Raphael’s cartoon, has probably not survived.

Gruner does not reproduce Raphael’s entire composition in his drawing, thus reducing the drama inherent in the depiction. Instead he concentrates on the figure of Elymas, the sorcerer who has just gone blind (Fig. 4). In his charcoal drawing, Gruner translates this person, who was also emphasised by Raphael through the colours and lighting, into a no less lively human being by using a subtle system of hatching to achieve chiaroscuro effects that, if not the colourfulness, at least reproduce the plasticity and liveliness of the original. Since Gruner’s study of Elymas measures 2.12 m x 1.46 m, every single stroke drawn with the charcoal pencil, every part of the complex hatching, can be precisely detected. Gruner pays particular attention to the facial expression of the man who has just gone blind. The closed eyes, the slightly open mouth, the detailed drawing of the whiskers, the reduced facial expression, the deep wrinkles on the forehead all reflect the way in which Raphael intended the beholder to concentrate on the despair of a man literally seeking a helping hand. The puffy upper garment of Elymas, painted by Raphael with extraordinary richness of detail, is traced by Gruner with the charcoal pencil, fold by fold, furrow by furrow, with the help of extremely differentiated hatchings.

³⁴ Acts 13:4-12: “Then Saul (who also is called Paul), filled with the Holy Ghost, set his eyes on him, and said, O full of all subtlety and all mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord? And now, behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thee and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season. And immediately there fell on him a mist and a darkness; and he went about seeking some to lead him by the hand. Then the deputy, when he saw what was done, believed, being astonished at the doctrine of the Lord.”



Fig. 4

Ludwig Gruner (Dresden 1801 – Dresden 1882) *The Conversion of the Proconsul*, detail
© Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, C 1960-46, photo Herbert Boswank

Gruner's drawings, mainly executed with a charcoal pencil³⁵, were designed to serve as models for his engravings in the style of Marcantonio Raimondi. However he did not just produce simple tracings. In his studies of individual figures or groups of figures from Raphael's cartoons, he attempted to recreate the vivid depiction of the respective protagonists and their emotions, which Raphael expressed in his cartoons in a unique way. Accordingly, converting a painting into a drawing, which in turn was to serve as a model for later engravings, initially meant for Gruner an intensive study of Raphael's compositions in the size of the originals.³⁶ To transfer the colour values of the original into corresponding shades of grey, and to emulate Raphael in modelling his figures, and here in particular their facial expressions and gestures, Gruner, like Raphael, used strokes and hatchings in his drawings. However, with regard to the transfer into a line engraving executed with the burin, he succeeded in producing tonal gradations and blurring with the help of a complex system of lines with several layers of superimposed internal hatchings and minutely small groups of lines. Gruner's drawings therefore look like gigantic engravings already containing every single line, every hatching, and every superimposition of strokes and hatchings, to be carried out with the burin when translating the drawing into an engraving.

However, there is another reason for the extraordinary elaboration of Gruner's tracings. According to contemporary press reports, they were to become the property of the Prussian King Frederick William IV after their planned use as models for engravings.³⁷

The history of the creation of Ludwig Gruner's drawings after the Raphael Cartoons

Previous research on Ludwig Gruner has not dealt with his drawings after the Raphael Cartoons, apparently because their existence was unknown. My search for a mention of the drawings after the Raphael Cartoons in Gruner's diaries³⁸ has so far been unsuccessful. For the time when he travelled to London to make drawings based on the Raphael cartoons³⁹, the artist's small notebooks contain notes which are mostly sketchy and

³⁵ The results of the still outstanding technical investigations of the Dresden drawings is planned to be published in due course. See Kuhlmann-Hodick 2020 (note 2), p. 290, note 7.

³⁶ Gruner's detailed drawings actually correspond exactly in size to the originals. See Kuhlmann-Hodick 2020 (note 2), p. 289, fig. 4, "Überlagerungen von Raffaels Karton ‚Der Tod des Ananias‘ mit den Ludwig Gruner zugeschriebenen Detailkopien."

³⁷ Kunstblatt 1844, Nr. 71, p. 300: "The copy of Raphael's cartoons at Hampton Court mentioned in Kunstblatt no. 37, p. 155, was made by the German engraver Ludwig Gruner, in the same size but without colour. He had begun the undertaking for its own sake, but the King of Prussia had secured the work for himself by contract during his visit to England".

³⁸ Sächsische Landesbibliothek Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Nachlass Gruner, Mscr. Dresd. App.1. Researchers owe the reference to Gruner's diaries to Tanya Ledger 1978 (note 12), pp. 16f.

³⁹ In his diaries Gruner does not mention plans for a trip to England in connection with a commission until mid-August 1840, and after this date no entries exist until 15 April 1841. Only from April 15 to August 30, 1841, i.e. in the first months of his stay in London, did Gruner write detailed reports, but here again he does not mention his work on the drawings at all. From 30 August 1841 to 3 November 1843 and from 7 September to 2 December 1844, no diary entries have survived.

extraordinarily difficult to decipher.⁴⁰ Even in the letters Gruner sent to his friend John Murray, the Scottish publisher in London⁴¹ before his departure from Rome, the drawings are not mentioned.⁴² However, in a number of letters written by Gruner to business partners and friends during the period in question, which have so far gone unnoticed by researchers, I have found references to his work on the Raphael Cartoons at Hampton Court. These are letters to the painter and art historian Johannes David Passavant⁴³, to the secretary of the Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica in Rome, Dr. Emil Braun⁴⁴, and to the Nazarene artist Friedrich Overbeck also in Rome.⁴⁵ Some of Gruner's remarks in these letters enable us to at least partly reconstruct the genesis of the Dresden drawings.

Gruner's relations with the famous Raphael Cartoons at Hampton Court began as early as 1832 on his first trip to England, Scotland and Wales⁴⁶ in the footsteps of the Raphael expert Johann David Passavant.⁴⁷ During this first stay, Gruner made friends who appreciated and shared his artistic interests, especially his enthusiasm for Raphael, and who supported his projects financially. His friendship with John Murray in London⁴⁸, as well as with William Jones of Clytha⁴⁹, for whom Gruner worked as an art adviser in Milan lasted all his life.⁵⁰ From a letter written by Gruner to Johann David Passavant⁵¹ we learn that he was able to move from Milan to Rome in April 1837 due to the "kind offer of a friend from England".⁵² From Gruner's dedication in his first publication "I Mosaici nella Cupola della

⁴⁰ Only five of Gruner's about 90 small notebooks kept at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek-Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden are digitized: <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/59403/>.

⁴¹ Ludwig Gruner's letters to John Murray are held at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Murray Archives, under the MS numbers: MS 40 494, MS 40495 and MS 40496. See Jonathan Marsden 2010 (note 13).

⁴² Ludwig Gruner to John Murray, 6 April 1841, MS 40494, fol. 42/43. In this letter there is no reference to his professional plans in England. This is his last letter to Murray in 1841. No letters between 1841 and 1845 have survived.

⁴³ Ludwig Gruner to J.D. Passavant. Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Frankfurt am Main; Nachlass Johann David Passavant. Ms Ff. J. D. Passavant.

⁴⁴ Ludwig Gruner to Emil Braun. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Archiv, Gelehrtenbriefe, D-DAI-A-A II-GruL-BraE-001 bis 009.

⁴⁵ Ludwig Gruner to Friedrich Overbeck. Hansestadt Lübeck, Overbeck IV, 105.5 (18 Oct. 1841) and Overbeck IV, 105.6 (01 March 1842).

⁴⁶ Ludwig Gruner's diaries from this period contain only a few clues for the reconstruction of this journey. Much more detailed are Gruner's letters to John Murray. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; John Murray Archives NLS, MS 40 494.

⁴⁷ Johann David Passavant, "Kunstreise durch England und Belgien", Frankfurt, 1833.

⁴⁸ Mscr. Dresd. App.1, 5, 21. August 1832. "Mr Murray Jr. paid my respects. Very kind young man, gave me a Byron (...) to remember him by."

⁴⁹ Gruner met William Jones of Clytha during his first trip to England in 1832. In his diary he notes on 23 August 1832: "Written to Mr W. Jones". A day later Gruner reports on his first meeting with John Murray: Mscr. Dresd. App. 1.5. and App, 1.8. On 7 November 1832 he visits "the estates of my dear Mr. W. Jones" and his new "Clytha House in Ionic order (...) at Llannarth Court."

⁵⁰ Ludwig Gruner to Carl Gustav Börner, Mscr. Dresd. App.184, 25.2 dated 28 July 1836, Mscr. Dresd. App. 184, 26.2 dated 4 March 1837, as well as Mscr. Dresd. App.184, 26.3. dated 16 March 1837.

⁵¹ Between 1835 and 1837 Ludwig Gruner supplied seven engravings after paintings by Raphael and one engraving after a painting by Giovanni Santi for Johann David Passavant's Raphael monograph "Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi", Leipzig, 1839.

⁵² Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Frankfurt/M., Nachlass J. D. Passavant, Ms Ff. J. D. Passavant, 246/439, 3 April 1837. Ludwig Gruner to Johann David Passavant. "It will be very surprising for you to hear from me in Rome, but it was most necessary for me to undertake a journey, for I have felt for

Capella Chigiana in Santa Maria del Popolo in Roma” it can be deduced that this friend must have been William Jones of Clytha.⁵³ Jones introduced him to the English society in Rome, to whom he conveyed works by the Nazarenes, especially by Friedrich Overbeck.⁵⁴ In Friedrich Overbeck, Gruner found an artist friend who shared his enthusiasm for Raphael⁵⁵ and who encouraged him to produce his engravings in the line engraving manner of Marcantonio Raimondi.⁵⁶ At the Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica, Gruner became friends with Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen, the Prussian envoy to the Holy See in Rome⁵⁷, and with Dr Emil Braun, the secretary of the Institute, whom he accompanied on excavations and for whose publications he supplied engravings.⁵⁸

In the autumn of 1840, Gruner had already met James Hope-Scott, a parliamentary barrister and a member of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) in the circle of the Nazarene community in Rome. Hope-Scott was looking for an artist who could produce “inexpensive prints” for the S.P.C.K. based on Raphael's biblical scenes in the loggias of the Vatican. Gruner was initially asked to make copies after Raphael's frescoes and was able to enlist his friend Nicola Consoni for this task.⁵⁹ For the planned reproductions, Gruner proposed a lithographic imitation of the woodcut in the chiaroscuro style used by Ugo da Carpi.⁶⁰ However, the specifications for the extensive commission had to be negotiated first with the S.P.C.K. in London. This is probably the “honourable call to London” that Gruner received in January 1841,⁶¹ and which gave him the opportunity to

too long that I had been exerting myself, so I accepted all the more easily the friendly offer of a friend from England, who made my journey to Rome considerably easier.”

⁵³ “I Mosaici della Cupola nella Capella Chigiana di S. Maria del Popolo in Roma” 1839. See note 17. Alfred Reumont in *Kunstblatt* no. 46, Tuesday, 9 June 1840 wrote a detailed review. On William Jones of Clytha as Gruner's patron, see also Marsden 2010 (note 13), p. 51, note 34.

⁵⁴ In her biography of Friedrich Overbeck, Margaret Howitt refers to Ludwig Gruner's role as a mediator of artworks by Friedrich Overbeck “to English art lovers”. See: “Overbeck. Sein Leben und sein Schaffen. Nach seinen Briefen und anderen Dokumenten des handschriftlichen Nachlasses, geschildert von Margaret Howitt“, ed. Franz Binder, Freiburg/Br. 1886, vol. 1, p. 147.

⁵⁵ Böckmann 1996 (note 14), p. 2. First mention of Friedrich Overbeck in Gruner's diary of 9 Aug. 1838: *Mscr. Dresd. App.1*, 16.

⁵⁶ Böckmann 1996 (note 14), p. 3.

⁵⁷ Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen was Prussian envoy to the Holy See in Rome and Prussian envoy to London until 1841. Von Bunsen was one of the co-founders of the “Instituto di Correspondenza Archaeologica” in Rome.

⁵⁸ Böckmann 1996 (note 14), p. 2f. On Emil Braun, see Wiebke Fastenrath Vinattieri, “*Der Archäologe Emil Braun als Kunstagent für den Freiherr Bernhard August von Lindenau. Ein Beitrag zur Sammlungsgeschichte des Lindenau-Museums und zum römischen Kunsthandel in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*”, Lindenau Museum Altenburg, 2004. See also: Helga Schmidt, Paul Gerhard Schmidt, “*Emil Braun 'ein Mann der edelsten Begabung von Herz und Geist'*. Archäologe, Kunstagent, Fabrikant und homöopathischer Arzt”, Lindenau Museum Altenburg, 2010. On Emil Braun's stay in London see Jonathan Marsden 2010 (note 13), p. 18. Id. “*Mr. Green and Mr. Brown: Ludwig Grüner and Emil Braun in the Service of Prince Albert*”, in: Susanna Avery-Quash, ed. “*Essays from a Study Day held at the National Gallery, London, on 5 and 6 June 2010, London 2012*”.

<https://www.rct.uk/sites/default/files/V%20and%20A%20Art%20and%20Love%20%28Marsden%29.pdf>

⁵⁹ Ledger 1978 (note 12), p. 18.

⁶⁰ Böckmann 1996 (note 14), p. 3 and n. 24: *The Athenaeum*, 25 Sept. 1841, p. 750. See also: *Kunstblatt* Nr. 31, April 1841, p. 222. On Ugo da Carpi see Bloemacher 2016 (note 15), p. 16f.

⁶¹ Böckmann 1996 (note 14), p. 3: *Kunstblatt* Nr. 16, p. 63, Jan. 1841.

begin the drawings after the Raphael Cartoons at Hampton Court that he had probably planned for some time.

From today's perspective, it is difficult to understand why a Raphael expert like Ludwig Gruner who knew that Raphael's famous cartoons for the tapestries in the Sistine Chapel had already been copied hundreds of times⁶², should have decided nevertheless to produce original size tracings of this national shrine in the possession of the Crown in order to translate them into engravings. The appreciation of engravings that still existed in his time, and especially, in keeping with the spirit of the age, of engravings in the style of Marcantonio Raimondi, may have prompted him to do so. One explanation for the reason why Gruner made the tracings for the planned engravings himself can be seen in the fact that drawings for engravings based on the Raphael Cartoons were either not available or did not meet his requirements. The difficult task of the engraver consisted in transferring the colour values of the original into strokes and line groups as well as reducing the dimensions.

The fact that his friends in England supported Gruner in this venture will have made his decision easier.⁶³ As early as May 1840, he reports to his friend John Murray that he will come to London soon and is looking forward to seeing him again.⁶⁴ Gruner used his trip to England to prepare for the task he had set himself. Shortly before arriving in London in April 1841, he writes from Calais to Friedrich Overbeck that he has visited Florence, Turin and Paris "in order to become acquainted with Raphael's drawings".⁶⁵

Gruner arrived in London at the beginning of April 1841.⁶⁶ First negotiations with the S.P.C.K. took place at the end of April.⁶⁷ He moved into a flat in Rutland Gate, where he worked on engraving commissions.⁶⁸ Apart from his friend John Murray, he was in contact with famous English art scholars and collectors such as Charles Eastlake, Samuel Rogers,

⁶² For copies after the Raphael Cartoons see among others: Arline Meyer, "Apostles in England. Sir James Thornhill and the Legacy of Raphael's Tapestry Cartoons", New York 1996, p. 22ff, and Corinna Höper, "Raffael und die Folgen. Das Kunstwerk in Zeitaltern seiner graphischen Reproduzierbarkeit", Stuttgart 2001, p. 481- 496: "Druckgraphik nach Raffael – H Teppiche". See also the copies collected in "The Prince Consort's Raphael Collection": <https://albert.rct.uk/collections/raphael-collection/tapestries>, Portfolio Collections 31, 32, 33, 33a, and: An Van Camp, "A Collection of Tapestry Cartoons at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford", in: *Studia Bruxellae* 2019/1 (N° 13), p. 345 – 386. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-studia-bruxellae-2019-1-page-345.htm#>.

⁶³ His English friend F.W. Jacob provided the studio at 183 Regent Street: Ludwig Gruner to Emil Braun, D-DAI-ROM-A-AA-II-GruL-BrauE-001. Gruner moved into a flat in Rutland Gate owned by his friend William Jones of Clytha: Diary entry, 30 April 1841. Mscr. Dresd. App.1, 22.

⁶⁴ Ludwig Gruner to John Murray, 11.May 1840, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Murray Archives, MS 40494, fol. 40.

⁶⁵ Letter by Ludwig Gruner to Friedrich Overbeck, 31 March 1841, Hansestadt Lübeck, Overbeck IV, 105.1. "On this trip, I am taking the path I have already decided on, especially to get to know the Raphael hand drawings. I saw them in the Uffizi in Florence, then the just purchased collection of the King of Sardinia; finally the almost unrivalled collection in the Louvre (...)."

⁶⁶ Letter from Ludwig Gruner to John Murray, 6 April 1841. NLS, Murray Archives, MS 40494, fol. 42/43. No letters from Gruner to John Murray between 1841 and 1845 have survived.

⁶⁷ Mscr. Dresd. App. 1, 22; 10 June 1841.

⁶⁸ Böckmann 1996 (note 14), p. 3, n. 28: Mscr. Dresd. App. 1, 22, 30 April 1841.

James Dennistoun, Samuel Woodburn, Anna Jameson and Revd. Henry Wellesley.⁶⁹ Three months after his arrival in London, he manages to see Raphael's hand drawings in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle.⁷⁰ The most important source of his studies, however, is Samuel Woodburn's collection, which had not yet been sold in April 1841. In a diary entry, Gruner notes that Woodburn wanted to "make him a negotiator with the Prussian king". However, there are no documents showing that Gruner was involved in Woodburn's negotiations with Berlin.⁷¹

From Gruner's diary entries in June 1841 we learn that it was not the Prussian envoy Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen who introduced the artist to Prince Albert. Gruner himself asked the Austrian envoy Prince Esterhazy⁷² to address his request for an audience to Dr. Eduard Praetorius, Prince Albert's private secretary.⁷³ The audience finally took place on 26 June 1841.⁷⁴ Gruner wrote about this meeting in his diary:

"At 12 o'clock to Buckingham Palace, where I presented my things to Prince Albert. Unfortunately the Queen soon sent for him (...).He liked the engravings and took them all and from Eliodoro and from Duomo d'Orvieto he signed. The Prince is a little more reserved than in Rome, less lively, less fresh, but just as amiable (...)"⁷⁵

Two days earlier, on 24 June, Gruner had noted that Bunsen had arrived in London.⁷⁶ Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen had been summoned by the Prussian king on a new mission as royal envoy from Rome to London to found an Anglican-Prussian bishopric in Jerusalem.⁷⁷ As we shall see, von Bunsen, whom the artist had already befriended in Rome, promoted Gruner's relations with the Prussian king.⁷⁸

⁶⁹ Mscr. Dresd. App. 1, 22; 15 April –30 August 1841.

⁷⁰ Mscr. Dresd. App. 1, 22; 23 June 1841: "He (Dr Praetorius, Prince Albert's secretary) went out with me to introduce me to Mr. Glover, the Queen's librarian, who has the Raphael drawings under key at Windsor. Mr. Glover (...) has fixed the Wednesday after next to show the things (sic) at Windsor."

⁷¹ Mscr. Dresd, App. 1, 22; 20 April 1841. Negotiations for the sale were conducted with the Director General of the Royal Collections in Berlin, Ignaz von Olfers, who, however, declined the purchase. See below n. 105.

⁷² Paul III Anton Prince Esterhazy de Galantha, Austrian envoy to the Court of St James's until 1842.

⁷³ Mscr. Dresd. App.1, 22; 23 June 1841: "(...) Then went to see Dr. Praetorius at Buckingham Palace. Delivered Prince Esterhazy's letter, found a young man who may become even more than he promises. I immediately brought up the noble matter of which he knew nothing."

⁷⁴ Mscr. Dresd. App. 1, 22; 24 June 1841: Mscr. Dresd. App. 1, 22; 24 June 1841: "Dr. Praetorius with answer from the Prince, who will be glad to see my things, which I am to bring to Buckingham Palace on Saturday noon".

⁷⁵ Mscr. Dresd. App. 1, 22, 26 June 1841. See also Marsden 2010 (note 13), p.18. The sheets from "Eliodoro" and "Orvieto" mentioned by Gruner refer to his works published at a later date: "Frescoes by Raphael on the ceiling of the Stanza dell'Eliodoro in the Vatican", London 1876, and "Die Basreliefs an der Vorderseite des Domes zu Orvieto", Leipzig 1857.

⁷⁶ Mscr. Dresd, App. 1, 22, 24 June 1841.

⁷⁷ Marsden 2010 (note 13), p. 18.

⁷⁸ This also emerges from a letter from Alexander von Humboldt to the Prussian king. See Conrad Müller (ed.), "Alexander von Humboldt und das preußische Königshaus. Briefe aus den Jahren 1835-1857", 2010, p. 142: 12 July 1844, "I dare to inform Your Royal Majesty most humbly that the editor of Raphael's cartoons in Hampton Court, Gruner, so recommended by von Bunsen, infinitely wished to present his now finished magnificent work on the ornaments with all architectural additions, like a Bible work after Raphael (...)."

Gruner's diary entries of the first months in London end on 30 July 1841. According to Gruner's notes of 17 June 1841, a contract with the S.P.C.K. regarding the publication of the "Raphael Bible"⁷⁹ had not yet been concluded.⁸⁰ On 21 September 1841 he wrote to his friend Emil Braun in Rome that a first lithograph for the S.P.C.K. based on a scene from Raphael's frescoes in the loggias of the Vatican, "Abraham and the Three Angels", was nearing completion and that he was therefore thinking of returning to Rome.⁸¹ Finally, in the same letter, the first reference to his drawings after the Raphael Cartoons at Hampton Court is made:

"Wolff,⁸² with whom I have become very familiar here and whose closer acquaintance has made him very valuable to me; if it comes about that I later undertake a larger work of the Cartoons, it is particularly due to his advice and even the assistance he has offered me, **I will begin to work on the Cartoons tomorrow**".⁸³

Gruner seems to have had an interview with the author of an article that appeared in the journal "The Athenaeum"⁸⁴ four days after his decision to begin "work after the Cartons". The author reports not only on Gruner's engravings produced with the burin, which "he engraves from two painters alone – Raffael and Overbeck" but also on his commission for the S.P.C.K. where he "has also applied what he calls a lithographic imitation of wood engraving, to produce very faithful and fine chiaroscuro plates." (...) "However, a series we desire yet more to be executed by some adequate line-engraver is that which may well inflame M. Gruner's ambition – the Cartoons. These, the noblest of all Raffael's inspirations, unless we are to except his frescoes, have never been graven in their own pure and elevated spirit". (...) "Some few among the Cartoons have been done on copper by Marc Antonio and other first-rate hands, but a whole uniform set in the highest style of art is still extremely needed".

This was the challenge for Ludwig Gruner: to reproduce all seven of Raphael's Cartoons in the "pure" style of Marcantonio Raimondi, i.e. in line engraving.

Gruner informed Friedrich Overbeck on 18 October 1841 that he had actually started work on the drawings after the cartoons:

"In the meantime I am busy at Hampton Court, where I have quite finished a drawing after Raphael's wonderful cartoon, the Miraculous Draught of Fishes (Fig. 5); what use I will make of it is still uncertain. The cartoons are incomparably beautiful and much better preserved than one usually believes - but more about that orally and hopefully soon".⁸⁵

⁷⁹ The lithographs, which appeared between 1844 and 1866, were published by Ludwig Gruner in a volume entitled "Scripture prints from the frescoes of Raphael in the Vatican". Edited by Lewis Gruner. With an introductory preface by the Rev. Charles H.H. Wright', London 1866.

⁸⁰ Mscr. Dresd, App.1, 22, 17 June 1841.

⁸¹ Ludwig Gruner to Emil Braun, 12 Sept. 1841. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Abteilung Rom, Archiv. Gelehrtenbriefe, D-DAI-A-All-GruL-BraE-001: "(...) although the stones for the Angel with Abraham have not yet arrived, they are expected daily, and after they are printed I will leave, which will be about the end of October."

⁸² Marsden 2010 (note 13), p. 18. The sculptor Emil Wolff had made a bust of Prince Albert in Rome in 1839 and had travelled to London with Ludwig Gruner in April 1841.

⁸³ Ludwig Gruner to Emil Braun, 12 Sept. 1841. D-DAI-A-All-GruL-BraE-001-01. Author's emphasis.

⁸⁴ Böckmann 1996 (note 14), p. 3 and n. 30. The Athenaeum, 25 Sept. 1841, p. 750.

⁸⁵ Ludwig Gruner to Friedrich Overbeck, 18 Oktober 1841. Hansestadt Lübeck, Overbeck IV, 105.5.



Fig. 5

Ludwig Gruner (Dresden 1801 – Dresden 1882), “The Miraculous Draught of Fishes”, detail
 © Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, C 1960-46, photo Herbert Boswank

From this letter we learn that Gruner was still uncertain what use he would make of his drawings after the Raphael Cartoons. The negotiations with S.P.C.K. had not yet led to a decision. However a sample lithograph was printed.⁸⁶ Five months later, Gruner was still busy on the drawings at Hampton Court, for he wrote to Overbeck on 1st March 1842:

“It is still difficult for me to say anything with certainty about my return to Rome, my heart is always there and I am particularly close to you, but the completion of the small drawings and large studies after the cartoons in Hampton Court is progressing only slowly, although I have found a clever assistant“.

In this letter, Gruner mentions again, as in his letter to Emil Braun, that he intended to produce “a larger work” in engraving after his drawings:

"But to return to the cartoons, I am already preparing the primer to show the main figures as large as the originals where my drawings of the tapestries in Rome⁸⁷ are still surpassed here and there.

⁸⁶ Ibid. “As regards the illustration of the Bible, in which Mr. Hope was so interested, no decision has yet been reached, except that we have now managed to publish the first sheet, ‘The Angels before Abraham’, for the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.”

⁸⁷ With his “drawings of the tapestries in Rome”, Gruner is referring to his drawings after the three tapestries in the Vatican for which Raphael’s cartoons are lost: “The Conversion of Saul”, “The Stoning of Stephen” and “Paul in Prison”. However, these drawings did not serve him as models for the two engravings he executed for the Arundel Society. Here Nicola Consoni is named as the draughtsman. Gruner lists two of the engravings “after Raphael’s tapestries in the Vatican” in his own catalogue raisonné. See Böckmann 1996 (note 14), Appendix IV, p. 21.

The originals are unattainable and new and more beautiful every day. I can hardly guess what I will achieve in the engraving, but I would like to make a larger work out of it".⁸⁸

Did Gruner's decision to continue working on the drawings result from his first meeting with the Prussian king? Frederick William IV came to London at the end of January 1842 and visited the Raphael Cartoons at Hampton Court. His companion was "a German artist, Mr Gruner, who has been engaged for several months in drawing and engraving the cartoons".⁸⁹ It can be assumed that the Prussian envoy Karl Christian Josias von Bunsen had arranged Frederick William IV's visit to Hampton Court and the exchange with Ludwig Gruner, and had drawn the King's attention to Gruner's drawings after the Raphael Cartoons.⁹⁰ Von Bunsen knew of Frederick William IV's predilection for Raphael and may have advised him to secure the rights to the drawings.

Gruner's return journey to Rome was delayed once again because of his work at Hampton Court. On 15 July 1842 he wrote to Overbeck:⁹¹

"I dare to hope, if we are masters of our will that I shall spend next winter near you, for in order to remain entirely in Rome, my studies at Hampton Court would first have to be finished, which will not come about this year."(...) "These cartoons, Raphael's most precious works, increase daily in beauty but also in the difficulty of fulfilling the expectations; may heaven give its blessing to this enterprise, I cannot deny that I begin it with awe."

On 8 December 1842, Gruner is on his return journey and announces to Emil Braun his imminent arrival in Rome.⁹²

In the time between the first audience with Prince Albert and his return to Rome at the end of 1842, Gruner must have been commissioned to compile and publish a new, more comprehensive work based on the plates for the work published by G.G. Gutensohn and J. Thürmer, "Sammlung von Denkmalen und Verzierungen der Baukunst in Rom aus dem 15. und 16. Jahrhundert".⁹³ Short passages from Gruner's letters to Emil Braun⁹⁴ can be used to reconstruct Gruner's subsequent time in Rome after January 1843. In none of these letters, however, does Gruner speak directly of this large volume entitled "Fresco Decorations and Stuccoes". It was presented to Queen Victoria in July 1843⁹⁵ and was published in London in 1844 by his friend John Murray with a dedication to "His Royal Highness Prince Albert, and the Members of the Royal Commission of the Fine Arts".⁹⁶ On

⁸⁸ Ludwig Gruner to Friedrich Overbeck, March 1st 1842. Hansestadt Lübeck, Overbeck IV, 105.6.

⁸⁹ Regensburger Zeitung 1842, I, S. 143: London, January 28th 1842.

⁹⁰ As reported in the Regensburger Zeitung, it is "Ritter" Bunsen who presents the entire Prussian diplomatic corps to the Prussian king in London on the occasion of an audience.

⁹¹ Ludwig Gruner to Friedrich Overbeck, 15 July 1843. Hansestadt Lübeck, Overbeck IV, 105.7.

⁹² Ludwig Gruner to Emil Braun, 8 Dec. 1842. D-DAI-A-A-II-GruL-BrauE-007: "Dearest friend, I am now close to you again and will be with you soon."

⁹³ Böckmann 1996 (note 14), p. 5f.

⁹⁴ Ludwig Gruner to Emil Braun: D-DAI-A-A-II-GruL-BrauE-003 and 004.

⁹⁵ Böckmann 1996 (note 14), p. 5, n. 45. The Athenaeum, 22 July 1843, p. 675.

⁹⁶ "Fresco Decorations and Stuccoes of Churches and Palaces, in Italy" (note 29). See review in the "Literatur- und Anzeigeblatt für das Baufach", supplement to the Allgemeine Zeitung, vol. II, year 1845, no. 14, in which it is noted that "The editor, Herr Gruner" (...) "is currently busy with the copies of Raphael's

23 May 1843, Emil Braun wrote to Eduard Gerhard⁹⁷ in Berlin that Gruner intended “to return to England via Vienna and Dresden early next week.”⁹⁸ In the *Kunstblatt* of 30 June 1843 Alfred von Reumont reports on Gruner's return to London and the resumption of work on the drawings.⁹⁹ Gruner's diary entries do not begin again until November 1843. On 1 December, he notes on the occasion of a visit to the Prussian king in Berlin:

“At 5 o'clock to the King, where His Majesty devoted 1 ½ hours of his precious time to me. He was very well, very friendly and very lively. All sorts of questions and jokes, as he often spoke in Berlinish”.¹⁰⁰

The content of the long conversation he had with the Prussian king is not mentioned by Gruner.

From a letter dated 30 April 1844 we learn that Gruner was called upon by the Prussian court as an expert witness.¹⁰¹ On the occasion of the offer of nine tapestries based on the Raphael cartoons the Director General of the Royal Museums in Berlin, Ignaz von Olfers, asks Ludwig Gruner for his “opinion”:

“You are certainly familiar with the nine tapestries based on Raphael's cartoons, which are now on display and for sale in Gallery N° 213 Piccadilly. Since you are now more familiar with these compositions than anyone else, and certainly still have fresh memories of the Vatican tapestries, I would be very interested to hear your opinion on how the tapestries now in London compare with the cartoons and the Roman specimens in terms of their technical execution, good preservation, etc. If you could let me know your opinion as soon as possible with a few lines, I would be very grateful”.¹⁰²

In a letter dated 20 April 1844, Ignaz von Olfers was informed by the Prussian Consul General in London, Bernhard Hebel, that he had been offered nine tapestries after Raphael's designs in London and that he should bring this offer to the attention of the Prussian King. From von Olfers's remark “*since you are now more familiar with these compositions than anyone else*”, it is clear that he was aware of Gruner's work on drawings

cartoons at Hampton Court in order to engrave them later. (These copies have been purchased by His Majesty the King of Prussia).”

⁹⁷ Friedrich Wilhelm Eduard Gerhard (1795 - 1867), classical archaeologist and co-founder of the “*Instituto di Correspondenza Archaeologica*” in Rome.

⁹⁸ Emil Braun to Eduard Gerhard, 23 May 1843: D-DAI-ROM-A-A-II-BraE-GerE-302.

⁹⁹ *Kunstblatt*, 30 June 1843, London: “*L. Gruner has completed a few small things during his short stay and has returned to England, where he is continuing with the drawings for the Hampton Court cartoons*”.

¹⁰⁰ Mscr. Dresd. App. 1, 23. Diary entry 1 December 1843.

¹⁰¹ See Alexandra Enzensberger, “*Apostel in Preußen*”, “*Die Präsentation der Raffael-Tapisserien in der Rotunde des Königlichen Museums Berlin (1844-1904)*”, in: “*Apostel in Preußen. Die Raffael-Tapisserien des Bode-Museums*”, Berlin 2020, p. 75ff. Enzensberger's publication appeared in connection with the exhibition on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of Raphael's death in the *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, “*Raphael in Berlin. Die Madonnen der Gemäldegalerie*”, 12 May – 14 June 2020. It is dedicated to the precious tapestries based on the Raphael cartoons from the workshop of Pieter van Aelst, which the Prussian King Frederick William IV purchased in 1844 and which were among the most important works in the Prussian collections. They were stored in the Flak-Leitbunker Friedrichshain in 1942 and probably burnt shortly after the bunker was seized by Soviet troops in 1945. See Enzensberger 2020, p. 117ff. with reference to Regine Dehnel, “*Zum Schicksal der Kunstwerke an den Berliner Bergungsorten*”, in the exhibition catalogue: “*Das verschwundene Museum*”, Bode-Museum, Berlin 2015, pp. 14-22.

¹⁰² Ignaz von Olfers to Ludwig Gruner, 30 April 1844, in: *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Zentralarchiv: SMB-ZA, I-GG 190, fol. 4 r.*

after the Raphael Cartoons. It is therefore evident that, before submitting the offer to the Prussian king, he should first approach the Raphael expert Ludwig Gruner for an expert opinion on the tapestries on offer. Gruner expressed his “*opinion*” in two letters to Ignaz von Olfers, in which he emphasised,

“that the tapestries (...) come closest to the Vatican tapestries in terms of their ingenious execution and preciousness of material, but surpass them in terms of preservation” and that “the price of £ 6000, high as it may seem, (...) is moderate in view of the intrinsic value”.¹⁰³

Gruner's expert opinion does not seem to have convinced the Director General Ignaz von Olfers, for he wrote to Consul General Bernhard Hebel on 3 July:

“Your kind notification concerning the 9 tapestries for sale based on Raphael's compositions has interested me keenly; the closer enquiries about the technical execution and the preservation of the same, which I obtained from Mr Gruner, speak in their favour; but I have not been able to obtain permission from His Majesty to make even an approximate bid on the price demanded, and must therefore relinquish possession of these treasures for the collection”.¹⁰⁴

The purchase of the tapestries, which “*like the Roman tapestries, are woven with gold and silver threads*”,¹⁰⁵ would probably not have been accomplished¹⁰⁶ had it not been for the Prussian envoy in London, Josias von Bunsen, who acquired them without the King's prior consent.

We can assume that Baron von Bunsen had obtained the “*ratificatione regis*”¹⁰⁷ directly from the Prussian king after his spectacular purchase, for he arranged for the transport of the tapestries to Potsdam and chose Ludwig Gruner to accompany them. We learn this from a letter of 19 September 1844 from the Prussian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Heinrich von Bülow, to the Prussian Court Marshal Richard von Meyerinck:¹⁰⁸

“By way of a report of the second of this month, the Royal Envoy in London informs me that, in order to convey the enclosed dispatches to His Majesty the King, together with other reports to the Ministry and dispatches for His Majesty and His Royal Highness the Prince of Prussia, he is enlisting the services of Mr Gruner, the engraver and draughtsman, commissioned by the King to draw Raphael's cartoons at Hamptoncourt. The Royal Envoy remarks that he chose this very man, to whom, incidentally, he had promised the honour of a courier journey as compensation for the costs

¹⁰³ See quote in Enzensberger 2020 (note. 101), S. 76f. Ludwig Gruner to Ignaz von Olfers, in: SMB-ZA, I-GG 190, fol. 9 r / v, and fol. 10 r: London, 21 May 1844; fol. 11 r / v and fol. 12 r / v Hampton Court, 3 June 1844. The text of Gruner's two letters is largely quoted in Enzensberger 2020 (note 100), p. 76f.

¹⁰⁴ Ignaz von Olfers to Bernhard von Hebel, 3. July 1844, in: SMB-ZA, I-GG, 190, fol. 3r. See also Enzensberger 2020 (note 101), p. 75.

¹⁰⁵ See Gruner's letter quoted in Enzensberger 2020 (note 101), p. 76.

¹⁰⁶ Ignaz von Olfers seems to have had his own collecting priorities. In 1841 he had prevented the purchase of Sir Thomas Lawrence's precious collection of Raphael and Michelangelo drawings offered to the Prussian king by Samuel Woodburn, “*the world's largest and most important collection of drawings by Raphael*”, because von Olfers used the available funds to expand a plaster cast collection. See Dagmar Korbacher, “Raffael im Kupferstichkabinett”, in: “Raffael in Berlin. Die Madonnen der Gemäldegalerie. Die Meisterwerke aus dem Kupferstichkabinett”, Staatliche Museen Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, ed. Dagmar Korbacher, Berlin 2020, p. 18.

¹⁰⁷ See Enzensberger 2020 (n. 101), p. 10.

¹⁰⁸ Heinrich von Bülow to Richard von Meyerinck, in: SPSG Hist. Akten, no. 166, fol. 91r/v and fol. 92 r., I owe the reference to this document to Claudia Sommer, Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Potsdam.

of the same, because the task in question was to accompany the nine original Raphael tapestries, the former property of the British Kings from Henry VIII to Charles I, purchased for His Majesty, here, as the place of their destination, and also to arrange for their unpacking and first installation in the Royal Palace (...)'".

Ignaz von Olfers, who confirms the arrival of the tapestries to von Bunsen on 22 September 1844,¹⁰⁹ does not mention Ludwig Gruner. Von Bunsen's order that Gruner should "*arrange for the first installation of the tapestries in the Royal Palace*" was not adhered to in Potsdam. Von Olfers wrote that the tapestries had been "*unpacked safely*", but that the King had entrusted him with their installation.¹¹⁰

The letter from Ignaz von Olfers to Ludwig Gruner quoted above, in which he asks the artist for his "*opinion*" of the tapestries on offer, contains the following "*postscript*"¹¹¹ (Fig. 6):

"I have consulted the Privy Councillor Bunsen about the payments in respect of **the drawings**¹¹² after the cartoons, and hope to be able to report something definite about this soon.

(signed) von Olfers"

¹⁰⁹ See Enzensberger 2020 (note 101), p. 77 and fig. 2, letter by Ignaz von Olfers to Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen, 22 Sept. 1844, in: SMB-ZA, I/GG 190, fol. 15.

¹¹⁰ See Enzensberger 2020 (note 101), p. 77.

¹¹¹ Author's emphasis.

¹¹² See note 114. Author's emphasis.

The list attached to this postscript is not, however, as is misleadingly noted in the Findbuch II of the Zentralarchiv Berlin, a “Rechnungszusammenstellung für L. Gruner zur Anfertigung von **Kupferstichen** ¹¹³ nach den Kartons von Raffael” (a “list of invoices for L. Gruner for the production of **engravings** after the Raphael Cartoons”)¹¹⁴ Instead, it is a record of payments Gruner received for **drawings** already made after the cartoons, as well as a list of Gruner's claims for “parts to be delivered subsequently” for drawings already begun or yet to be executed:

“As far as the payment is concerned, Ez. Gruner received £ st. 27 too much in the previous year, contrary to the original Highest Order (until now unchanged), and were supposed to be deducted from him in the current year. This has not happened; instead, he has again received 500 Reichsthaler instead of £ st. 80 (i.e. about £ st. 7 too much), i.e. £ sterl. 34 more (...) than he should have received in accordance with the King’s Highest Order. The latter payment (500 Reichsthaler), however, has been paid in advance from the sculpture fund, and has therefore not yet been reported.

With regard to the claim for the parts to be delivered subsequently, it is to be noted (...) that the same amounts to:

1. to the Draught of Fishes

a) for the completion of the given and for the following parts	£ 3	
b) for everything else (landscape, boats, cranes etc.) in good outline	£ 5	
	together	£ 8

2. to: Paul and John

For the accomplished study of the unclothed boy (the two half-heads he would add free of charge; the architecture he wishes only to sketch in).

£ 5

3) To: Paul and Elymas

for the upper part of Sergius and the 2 bystanders

£ 8

4) To Paul in Athens

a) Two figures behind Paul completed	£ 6	
b) Everything else omitted in outline	£ 3	
	together	£ 9

5) To The Donation of the Keys

To finish what is missing	£ 6	
	together	£ 36

However, apart from these demands for the proposals made to him, Ez. Gruner also still claims in addition

a) for greater execution of <u>The Death of Ananias</u>	£ 8	
b) for what was omitted from <u>The Sacrifice at Lystra</u>		£ 7
	together	£ 15

in addition		£ 36
	<u>sum total</u>	£ 51

Berlin, 20/5 44
J. Dielitz”

This document provides evidence that Ludwig Gruner had made detailed drawings of all seven Raphael Cartoons then at Hampton Court by April 1844. Of the “parts to be supplied

¹¹³ Author’s emphasis. See note 114.

¹¹⁴ Jörn Grabowski, Die Akten des Kaiser Friedrich Museums, Findbuch-Teil II, Zentralarchiv, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin 2008: “Gemäldegalerie 1830 – 1945, Ankauf und Aufstellung der Teppiche nach Kartons von Raphael. Enthält u.a.” (...) “Rechnungszusammenstellung für L. Gruner **zur Anfertigung von Kupferstichen nach d. Kartons von Raffael**”. (Gemäldegalerie 1830 - 1945, purchase and installation of the tapestries after cartoons by Raphael. Contains, among other things, (...) “Compilation of payments for L. Gruner **for the production of engravings after Raphael's cartoons**”. (Author’s emphasis).

subsequently”, “the accomplished study of the unclothed boy” and the “larger version of the Death of Ananias” (Fig. 8) are among the drawings found in Dresden.



Fig. 7

Ludwig Gruner (Dresden 1801 – Dresden 1882), “The Healing of the Lame Man”, detail
© Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, C 1960-46, photo: Herbert Boswank



Fig. 8
Ludwig Gruner (Dresden 1801 – Dresden 1882), “The Death of Ananias”, detail
© Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, C 1960-46, photo: Herbert Boswank

The studies by Gruner mentioned in the document for three of the seven cartoons – “Paul in Athens”, “The Donation of the Keys” (“Christ’s Charge to Peter”) and “The Sacrifice at Lystra” – are not however part of the Dresden drawings.

That Gruner made detailed studies of all seven cartoons was also claimed in the *Kunstblatt*. The artist is said to have exhibited three drawings in the “Kaulbach's Cartonsaal” in Berlin in November 1850, namely “Paul Preaching at Athens” and “two quarters of the so called Beautiful Gate” (“The Healing of the Lame Man”). At an earlier date, the artist was said to have already copied five out of seven of the compositions at Hampton Court in the size of the originals and to have begun the engraving on a smaller scale. The *Kunstblatt* also claimed that Gruner intended to add to these engravings three other engravings from the tapestries in the Vatican for which the cartoons were missing. After the completion of this work, the whole series of the magnificent cartoons would be available in engraving for the first time as Dorigny and others had only delivered engravings after the seven cartoons in Hampton Court.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ *Kunstblatt* 1850, p. 391. The remark that Gruner had already begun with his engravings from his drawings at this time (1850) is incorrect. His three engravings after the three tapestries in the Vatican, for which the cartoons are lost, were executed much later. See further below note 124. In 1845, Richard Cattermole published “The Book of Raphael's Cartoons, with steel engravings after all seven of Raphael's cartoons at Hampton Court”. However, the book was not mentioned in German art reviews.

After completing his commission in Potsdam, Gruner returned to London, where a new task awaited him. Through the mediation of Charles Eastlake¹¹⁶, Gruner had been invited to the “Garden Pavilion” by Prince Albert in February 1844 to give his opinion on the decorations being made in the octagonal main room. In May 1844, he was put in charge of the decorations. A month later, Prince Albert commissioned him to provide designs for the decorations of the two side rooms of the pavilion.¹¹⁷

Thus, at the time when Ignaz von Olfers, Director General of the Royal Museums in Berlin, asked him for his “view” of the tapestries after Raphael's cartoons up for sale in London, Gruner already held a position that would bind him to London and keep him there for years. In July 1845 the fresco work in the pavilion was finished. To document them, he was commissioned to produce a book entitled “The Decoration of the Garden-Pavilion in the Grounds of Buckingham-Palace”¹¹⁸. In the same month, Queen Victoria appointed him her “adviser in art”.¹¹⁹ This appointment not only helped him gain social recognition, but also secured him a regular income and further commissions that were far more in keeping with his original career choice, that of decorative painting.¹²⁰

It is reasonable to assume that in his capacity as “art adviser” to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, Ludwig Gruner was unable to continue his work on the drawings after the Raphael Cartoons. In 1856 he moved with his family to Dresden to take up the post of director of the Kupferstich-Kabinett. In a letter to his friend John Murray, he reported that his drawings after “my cartoons”, which he had packed “in a large tintube”, had been lost during the move:

“I fear I have sustained an other great loss although of a different kind - at the last day of my stay in England I packed up myself and sent it down to the courtyard to be cased **a large tintube**¹²¹ containing **my cartoons from Hampton court** - well this tube has never arrived here nor it is to be found in London, and yet all cases delivered to the shipping agent have been safely delivered – these

¹¹⁶ On Charles Eastlake, see David Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World*, Princeton 1978. See also Marsden 2010 (note 13), p. 19. Charles Eastlake, Secretary of the Royal Commission on the Fine Arts, was commissioned in early 1844 with the direction of the decorations of the “Garden Pavilion”, and executed one of the frescoes for the lunettes in the “Octagon”, the main room of the pavilion. In May 1844 the commission to oversee the decorations in the pavilion was given to Ludwig Gruner.

¹¹⁷ On the “Garden Pavilion” and its decorations, see Böckmann 1996 (note 14), p. 10ff.

¹¹⁸ “The Decorations of the Garden-Pavilion in the Grounds of Buckingham-Palace”. Engraved under the superintendence of L. Grüner, (...) with an introduction by Mrs. Jameson, London, John Murray, Longman, Colnaghi, etc., 1846.

¹¹⁹ Böckmann 1996 (note 14), p. 13.

¹²⁰ Gruner notes in his autobiography (Mscr. Dresd, App. 184, 63) that he was initially trained in decorative painting, but was unable to continue his training because “*after one year of life-threatening illness, a blow to the chest from a Russian soldier made me unfit for it. I chose the other extreme and began my studies as an engraver (...)*.” See Böckmann 1996 (note 14), Appendix IV, p. 19.

¹²¹ Gruner's comment that he packed his “cartoons” in a “large tintube” may explain why the drawings found in Dresden were “rolled up”.

cartoons may bring me to England sooner as I should have expected but I cannot be quiet until I have them again – **for the moment it is essential they should know nothing of the loss at Berlin.**”¹²²

From Gruner's remark that nothing should be said in Berlin about the loss, it can be deduced that even in 1856 he had not yet handed over the drawings to the Prussian king. In May 1857, he wrote to Murray that they were in a safe place and that he was now preparing his journey to England:

“I had some time ago the good news about the Cartoons and although I never could believe in their loss, I was glad to hear that they were so safely lodged. I am now preparing for my trip to England, in fact I hope to be off before the end of this month.”¹²³

His duties as director of the Kupferstich-Kabinett and as professor of engraving at the Royal Academy in Dresden, his obligations to the English royal family and other patrons¹²⁴, and finally the new commitments Gruner had entered into for the Arundel Society¹²⁵, evidently left him no time - and no opportunity - to complete the work on the drawings at Hampton Court. In 1861 Frederick William IV died. It seems that Gruner did not hand over his drawings after the Raphael Cartoons to the Prussian king. My investigations in Berlin and Potsdam revealed that no large-scale drawings after Raphael's cartoons are listed in the inventories.

It is true that in his capacity as professor of engraving at the Dresden Academy, Gruner became so enthusiastic about working with the burin again that finally in 1864 he worked on an engraving after one of the tapestries in the Vatican based on Raphael's designs – “The Conversion of Saul”¹²⁶ (Fig. 9) – which he completed for the Arundel Society. He was so pleased with the result of this work that he decided to “return to Raphael’s Cartoons”, for he reported to his friend Murray in London:

“I have lately finished a plate for the Arundel S. “The Conversion of Saulus” which has given me great pleasure, I have got so much again in the engraving line that I shall not leave off again. I am now retouching the 42 plates I had engraved from Maclises’s Norman Conquest¹²⁷ and **after that I shall return to Raphael’s Cartoons.**”¹²⁸

¹²² Ludwig Gruner to John Murray, Dresden, 09.11.1856. NLS, Murray Archives, MS 40495, fol. 71. (Author’s emphasis)

¹²³ Ludwig Gruner to John Murray, Dresden, 25 May 1857. NLS, Murray Archives, MS 40495, fol. 72.

¹²⁴ Ledger 1978 (note 12), p. 87.

¹²⁵ Ledger 1978 (note 12), p. 87ff.

¹²⁶ See above, note 86.

¹²⁷ “The Story of the Norman Conquest”. By Daniel Maclise, 1866 - London - Art Union. (42 tinted wood-engraved plates by L. Gruner after Maclise.)

¹²⁸ Ludwig Gruner to John Murray, Dresden, 19 May 1864. NLS, Murray Archives, MS 40495, fol. 101,102. (Author’s emphasis).



Fig. 9
 LUDWIG GRÜNER (1801-82) The Conversion of Saul dated 1864
 Engraving after Raphael's tapestry in the Vatican.
 RCIN 912948 Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2020

In 1867, a second engraving was published for the Arundel Society – “The Stoning of Stephen”, and finally, in 1872, the last engraving after the tapestries in the Vatican, “Paul in Prison”. Gruner thus finally succeeded in realizing a longstanding desideratum: to produce engravings after the three tapestries in the Vatican, of which the cartoons had been lost. However, he was no longer able to realize his ambition to produce a new series of line- engravings after all ten of Raphael's cartoons for the tapestries in the Vatican.

I assume that Gruner did not want to part with his “cartoons” during his lifetime.¹²⁹ It has not yet been possible to find out when and by whose agency some of his drawings found their way to the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett.¹³⁰ Since they are unsigned and no member of the Kupferstich-Kabinett seems to have known at the time of their receipt that the former director Ludwig Gruner had made drawings after the Raphael Cartoons, they remained unidentified for over 100 years. It is a fortunate coincidence that they were rediscovered on the occasion of the preparations for the exhibition “Raffaël – Macht der Bilder” marking the 500th anniversary of Raphael's death and assigned to Ludwig Gruner subject to the clarification of some important questions. Most of these questions have

¹²⁹ Perhaps Gruner's diaries, which he kept meticulously after his return to Dresden in 1856, contain references to his drawings after the Raphael Cartoons. My perusal of the entries, written in English has been only cursory and so far unsuccessful.

¹³⁰ Kuhlmann-Hodick 2020 (note 2), p. 290.

been answered in this article. However the question why the drawings discovered in Dresden represent only part of a much larger number of Gruner's copies after Raphael's cartoons, remains unanswered, as does the question of the whereabouts of the remaining drawings. Perhaps the history of the Dresden drawings presented here will lead to the discovery of further parts of Ludwig Gruner's originally much larger collection of detailed studies, which can legitimately be regarded as **works of art in their own right that are probably unique in the long history of copies after the Raphael cartoons.**

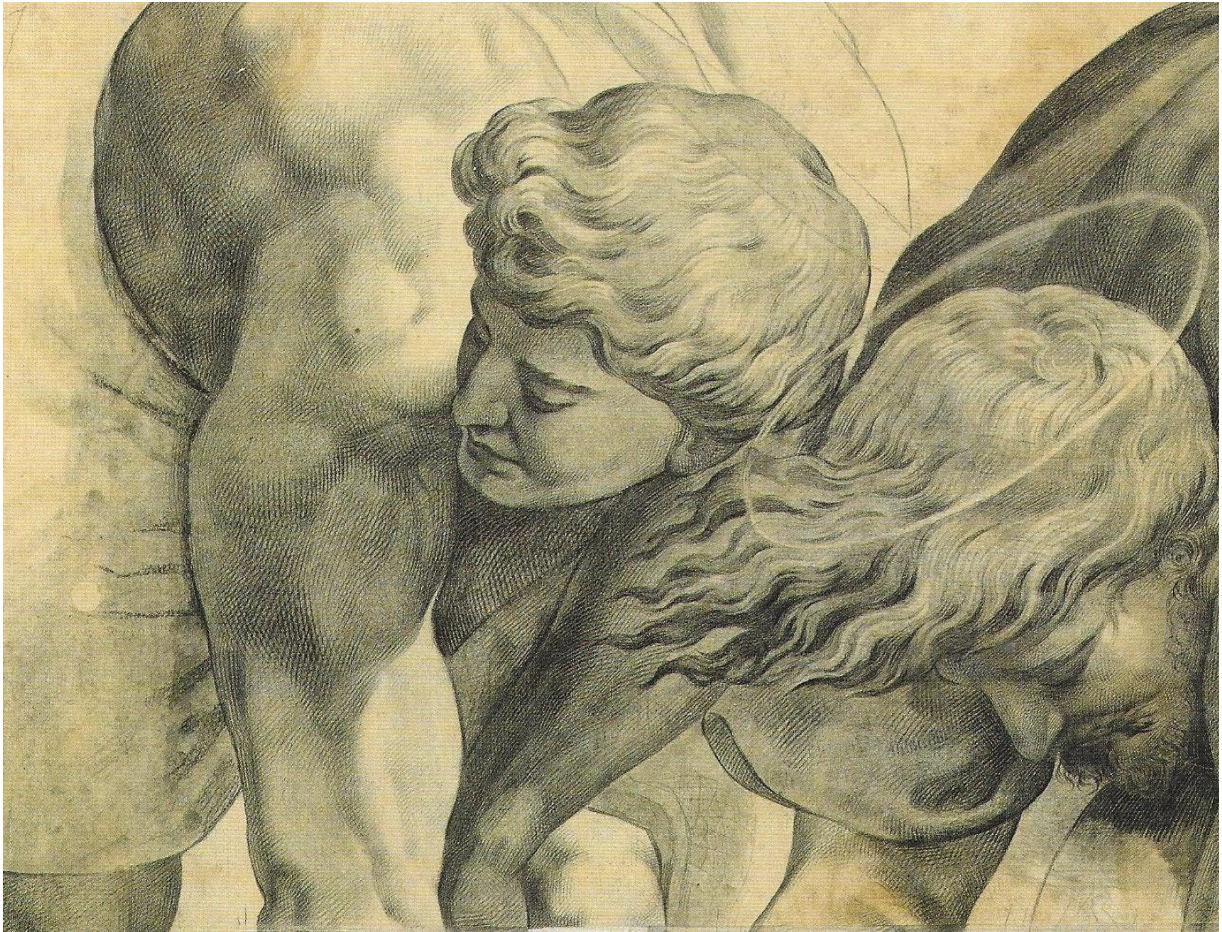


Fig. 10

Ludwig Gruner (Dresden 1801 – Dresden 1882), "The Miraculous Draught of Fishes", detail
© Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, C 1960-46, photo: Herbert Boswank