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“The only two men who ever rose to the level of great artists ... have sprung from the sole refuges ... of law and liberty”

International Rivalry and Collaboration in Nineteenth-Century
British Representations of Albrecht Dürer and Hans Holbein

1 Introduction

This article explores the opportunities nineteenth-century Britons had to see, collect, and read about the artworks and lives of two of the most iconic Renaissance artists of the German national school: Albrecht Dürer (b. 1471 Nuremberg; d. 1528 Nuremberg) and Hans Holbein the Younger (b. 1497/8 Augsburg; d. 1543 London). British artists and scholars spent significant energies reconstructing the lives of these masters, often either engaging with contemporary German research on their subjects, visiting key locations, undertaking their own documentary or visual research, or referencing historic artworks as source materials. While a growing field of scholarship exists upon foreign perceptions of German national culture,¹ for the first time, this article establishes the parameters for international

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1 John R. Davis, *The Victorians and Germany* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007); Jan Rüger, “Revisiting the Anglo-German antagonism”, *The Journal of Modern History* 83:3 (September 2011), 579–617; Philip Oltermann, *Keeping Up with the Germans: A History of Anglo-German Encounters* (London: Faber, 2012); Andrew Cusack and Barry Murnane (eds.), *Popular Revenants: The German Gothic and its International Reception, 1800–2000* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2012); Matthew C. Potter, *The Inspirational Genius of Germany: British Art and Germanism, 1850–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); and Richard Scully, *British Images of Germany: Admiration, Antagonism, & Ambivalence, 1860–1914* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Ritchie Robertson,

exchange around Dürer and Holbein. It examines the visibility of their artworks, the historicist techniques employed by British artists and art historians in approaching these, as well as the wider cultural conditions for their reception. These activities represent an important example of Anglo-German cultural exchange and collaboration, engaging with discourses and debates around Germany's collective cultural identity in light of the experiences of war (1800–1815), revolution (1848–49) and Unification (1871). The British case studies explored here reflect institutional frameworks, including the British art market, private and public collections and exhibiting organisations, as well as the central art educational institution of the day. Yet, exchanges were also personal, so the following account covers the individual responses of and key relationships between artists, curators, and critics, including George Richmond RA (1805–96), William Bell Scott (1811–90), Ralph Nicholson Wornum (1812–77), John Ruskin (1819–1900), Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–82), Michael William Rossetti (1829–1919), John Everett Millais RA (1829–96), John Evan Hodgson RA (1831–95), Mary Margaret Heaton (1836–83), and William Blake Richmond RA (1843–1921). Their varied activities bear witness to a deep and sustained British interest over the course of the century in the artworks and histories of Dürer and Holbein, as well as the role played by visits to Germany and friendships with German experts in an important and understudied series of cultural events.

2 Dürer and Holbein and the Historical Imagination in Britain and Germany

Visual culture became an important motor for engaging with the past during the nineteenth century.² The activities of artists and art historians were part of a wider

and Michael James White (eds.), *Fontane and Cultural Mediation: Translation and Reception in Nineteenth-Century German Literature* (Cambridge: Legenda, 2015); John Boening, *The Reception of Classical German Literature in England, 1760–1860: A Documentary History from Contemporary Periodicals* (London: Routledge, 2020); and James N. Retallack, *German Social Democracy Through British Eyes: A Documentary History, 1870–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022).

2 Roy Strong, *And When Did You Last See Your Father?* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978); Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clío: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Francis Haskell, *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993); Stephen Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995); Nicholas Chare and Mitchell B. Frank (eds.), *History and Art History: Looking Past Disciplines*

cultural phenomenon of ‘historical mindedness’ in a century that saw the professionalisation of historical research, following the archival and documentary drive of Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886). The challenge of presenting facts whilst articulating purposeful ideas of the past for contemporary society was obvious to many. Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–59), for example, believed in the centrality of the filtering process in his work of collecting, selecting, and interpreting historical facts.³ The emergence of historical genre within art and literature opened up academic developments to a wider middle-class audience. Speaking specifically of the historical understanding of Dürer and Holbein, their reputations in Germany must be understood before the British reception can be gauged. The personality cult surrounding Dürer was not a latter-day invention: his own self-promotional activities were augmented by his humanist friends during his lifetime.⁴ The circulation of relics was part of this, such as the lock of hair Dürer sent to Hans Baldung ‘Grien’ which entered the collection of the Vienna Academy in 1871.⁵

Dürer enjoyed a greater position within the art historical canon than Holbein, due to the efforts of Northern scholars, such as Karel van Mander (1548–1606), who emulated Vasari’s employment of Michelangelo to establish Dürer as an equivalent Renaissance inspirational genius.⁶ The duality of North and South, and the activities of critics and historians to demonstrate the equivalence of Northern and Southern artists naturally problematised national and international discourses around art history. These issues were especially complicated in the nineteenth century, given its status as the age of nationalism. Dürer’s afterlife was particularly affected by the redrawing of territorial boundaries. The Duchy of Franconia, in which Nuremberg lies, first came under Bavarian control in 1805, and subject to the Prince-Elector Maximilian IV Joseph’s policy of cultural sponsorship to stabilise his new territory, and then in 1871 it was further subsumed

(London and New York: Routledge, 2021); Matthew C. Potter (ed.), *Representing the Past in the Art of the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York and London: Routledge, 2021).

3 Matthew C. Potter, “An Introduction to Historical Art”, in *Representing the Past*, ed. by Potter, p. 7.

4 Paul Münch, “Changing German Perceptions of the Historical Role of Albrecht Dürer”, in *Dürer and his Culture*, ed. by Dagmar Eichberger and Charles Zika (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 182; Giulia Bartrum, “Dürer Viewed by his Contemporaries”, in *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist*, ed. by Giulia Bartrum et al. (London: British Museum Press, 2002), pp. 9–17.

5 Jane Campbell Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Guide to Research* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 4.

6 Andrea Bubenik, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer: The Appropriation of Art, 1528–1700* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 19.

within a United Germany.⁷ The abdication of Ludwig I (r: 1825–48) following the 1848 Revolution not only saw constitutional monarchy imposed under his son Maximilian II (r: 1848–64) but the continuation of a policy of cultural diplomacy fostered since the Napoleonic wars to forge a liberal consensus in Bavaria.⁸ Holbein's nineteenth-century reception was also affected by such changes. While Britain remained unchanged during the century, Swiss Unification (1848), and German Unification (1871) had cultural impacts on Augsburg and German-speaking Basel and by association Holbein. More immediately at the beginning of the century, the Napoleonic wars caused military, political and cultural crises of confidence in the German states, after which Dürer was a useful tool for rebuilding their national identity. 1817 witnessed the establishment of the Albrecht Dürer Verein, and three phases of reconstruction followed: firstly, the spiritual revival of the Romantic era; secondly, the domestic revival of the Biedermeier period; and, thirdly, the national revival, with the coincidence of German Unification (1871) with Dürer's 400th birthday, and the adoption of his design of the *Reichsadler* (the Double-Headed Eagle of the Holy Roman Empire) as an emblem for the modern German state.⁹ On a more local footing, 1828 saw Nuremberg commemorating three hundred years since Dürer's death: as part of this, the Milchmarkt was renamed as Albrecht Dürer Platz, the foundation stone was placed for Christian Daniel Rauch's monument to the artist (1828–40),¹⁰ and the *Dürerhaus* was acquired and restored by the city.¹¹

7 Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "Nuremberg and the Topographies of Expectation", *JNR – Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, vol. 1 (March 2009), p. 35.

8 Hans A. Pohlsander, *National Monuments and Nationalism in 19th Century Germany* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), pp. 87, 97–101, 129; Robin Lenman, *Artists and Society in Germany, 1850–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 7, 56, 110, 154, 130.

9 Münch, "Changing German Perceptions of Dürer", pp. 186f.; Ute Kuhleemann, "The Celebration of Dürer in Germany during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", in *Dürer and his Legacy*, ed. by Bartrum, et al., pp. 39–60 (pp. 39–51). See also Albrecht Dürer, *The Arms of the German Empire and the City of Nuremberg*, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/388802>, accessed 23 March 2023.

10 Pohlsander, *National Monuments*, pp. 113f., 130; Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "Performing Dürer: Staging the Artist in the Nineteenth Century", in *The Primacy of the Image in Northern European Art, 1400–1700*, ed. by Debra Cashion, Henry Luttikhuisen and Ashley West (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 329–343 (p. 331).

11 Smith, "Nuremberg and the Topographies of Expectation", pp. 12, 32, 35; Ursula Kubach-Reutter, "Nürnberg's Umgang mit seiner reichsstädtischen Vergangenheit: Die Kunstsammlung der Stadt Nürnberg um 1800", *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseum* (2002), 345–355 (pp. 346, 348–353): Following the renovation of the medieval townhall in Dürer's life (with decorations from him) this was the foundation of the nineteenth-century collection (following Enlightenment principles) which would include work by Cranach, Holbein, Wolgemut, Pencz, Paul

Art collecting unsurprisingly played an important part in the curation of the afterlives of Dürer and Holbein. However, the acquisition of the artworks of Dürer and Holbein was far from straightforward. The Nuremberg Rathaus, for example, possessed a collection of works by or attributed to Dürer, which were often copies. Holbein, meanwhile, was at the centre of a triangle of special interest that extended between Augsburg (where he was born and worked), Basel (where he worked), and London (where he worked and died). Many of Holbein's artworks were retained at the Tudor Court or collected by members of its circle, but Basel was equally well served by the collection of Basilius Amerbach (1533–91), with the Amerbach-Kabinett being purchased by the city for its new Kunstmuseum in 1661.¹² Due to his canonical status, Dürer's artworks were not only sought by Holy Roman Emperors but by other rulers and public galleries across Europe.¹³ Ludwig I, for example, bought Dürer's *Oswolt Krel* (1499) for Munich's Alte Pinakothek in 1812 as part of the previously mentioned diplomatic policy of sponsoring both Franconian and Bavarian cultural heritage.¹⁴

From the late eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century, German Romantics, including Wilhelm Wackenroder, Ludwig Tieck and the Nazarenes, recalibrated Dürer from an exemplar of humanist rationalism to a genius of deep feeling.¹⁵ Holbein was similarly placed in the writings of Tieck, Friedrich Schlegel, Gustave Waagen and David Johann Passavant, as well as the Swiss art historian Jacob Burckhardt later in the century.¹⁶ These developments were nurtured by Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) with his concepts of the *Volk* and the singularity of “wonderfully separated nationalities not only by woods and mountains, seas and deserts, rivers and climates, but more particularly by languages, inclinations and characters”.¹⁷ Under their influences Holbein was characterised as an essentially modern and middle-class German artist promoting individualist, naturalist, and Protestant values, as a suitable alternative to Dürer with his

Juvenell and Johann Kupezki; Anon., “Albert Durer's House”, *Art-Journal* N. S. 3 (1 November 1857), 358a.

¹² Elizabeth Landolt, „Das Amerbach-Kabinett und seine Inventare“, in *Sammeln in der Renaissance: Das Amerbach-Kabinett – Beiträge zu Basilius Amerbach*, ed. by Elizabeth Landolt and Alexander Ackermann (Basel: Kunstmuseum Basel, 1991), pp. 73–206.

¹³ Hutchison, *Dürer: A Guide to Research*, p. 5.

¹⁴ Reinhold Baumstark, *The Alte Pinakothek Munich* (London: Scala, 2002), p. 26.

¹⁵ Münch, “Changing German Perceptions of Dürer”, p. 183.

¹⁶ Haskell, *History and its Images*, pp. 432–437, 442.

¹⁷ Herder, *Ideen Zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* [1784–91] in *Herders Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. by Bernhard Suphan, 33 vols (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), XIII, p. 34.

sometimes problematic Italianate connections.¹⁸ Holbein's abandonment of Catholic religious subject matter following the Basel Reformation (1529) was key to making such narratives convincing. While Romantic scholars and artists were attracted to Gothic sources, such as the *Nibelungenlied* (c. 1200), they also prized Renaissance portraiture for the revelations it offered to the personalities and psychologies of figures from the past when the creative genius of individuals was also first being recorded.¹⁹ The Nazarenes also revived Dürer's silverpoint drawing techniques, recycled compositional devices used in his famous prints, such as *Melencolia I* (1514: Fig. 1), and also lifted skeletal motifs from Holbein's *Dance of Death* (1523-25: Fig. 2).²⁰ Furthermore, for those modern artists who were uninterested in quoting older styles and practices, the naturalism of Renaissance Humanist art provided reasons to hold them in esteem for it was compatible with nineteenth-century aesthetics of truth to nature.²¹ Holbein's portraits of celebrated figures, such as Erasmus and Thomas More, thus engaged with the historical imaginations and artistic tastes of modern Britons.²²

18 Mark Roskill, "Introduction", in *Hans Holbein: Paintings Prints and Reception*, ed. by Mark Roskill and John Oliver Hand (New York and London: Washington Art Gallery, 2001), p. 12; Till-Holger Borchert, "Hans Holbein and the German Romantics", in *Holbein*, ed. by Roskill and Hand, pp. 187–209 (pp. 190–95, 198, 201); Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "The Art Historical Shaping of Albrecht Dürer: From Wölfflin to Panofsky", in *El siglo de Dürero: Problemas historiográficos*, ed. by Mar Borobia (Madrid: Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2008), pp. 286–301 (p. 292).

19 Hinrich Sieveking, "German Draughtsmanship in the Ages of Durer and Goethe", *Master Drawings* 39:2 (Summer 2001), 114–142 (pp. 114–118).

20 Sieveking, "German Draughtsmanship", pp. 118, 126f.

21 Sieveking, "German Draughtsmanship", p. 116; see Potter, *The Inspirational Genius of Germany*, p. 151.

22 Haskell, *History and its Images*, pp. 53, 297; Erika Michael, "The Legacy of Holbein's *Gedankenreichtum*", in *Holbein*, ed. by Roskill and Hand, pp. 227–246 (pp. 240–244).



Fig. 1: Albrecht Dürer, *Melencolia I* (1514), engraving, 239 x 186 mm, British Museum, Hans Soane Bequest 1753, Registration number E,4.116, © The Trustees of the British Museum, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/22584001>



Fig. 2: Hans Lützelburger after Hans Holbein the Younger, *Der Ritter (The Knight)* (c. 1526), woodcut, 49 x 51 mm, British Museum, Registration number 1895,0122.814, © The Trustees of the British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1895-0122-814

Dürer and Holbein also benefitted from increased in-depth scholarship. Important early nineteenth-century German texts on Dürer included Adam Weise's *Albrecht Dürer und sein Zeitalter: Ein Versuch* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, 1819); Joseph Heller's *Das Leben und die Werke Albrecht Dürer's* (Bamberg: C.F. Kunz, 1827) and Friedrich Campe's *Reliquien von Albrecht Dürer seinen Verehrern geweiht* (Nürnberg: Campeschen Handlung, 1828), while major contributions for Holbein studies came with Ulrich Hegner's *Hans Holbein der Jüngere* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1827) and Carl Friedrich von Rumohr's *Hans Holbein der Jüngere, in seinem Verhältniss zum deutschen Formschnittwesen* (Leipzig: In der Anstalt für Kunst und Literatur, 1836). The burgeoning book market also facili-

tated the publication of previously inaccessible source materials, such as, Johann Neudörfer's *Nachrichten von Künstlern und Werkleuten* (*Account of Artists and Workmen*) (1547) which celebrated Nuremberg's Dürerzeit in 1875.²³ Biographical details would often be edited or ignored to ensure a cleaner fit to nationalist narratives, for example, in the downplaying of Dürer's Hungarian roots.²⁴ Initially aimed at cultural reconstruction these activities were apt to take on more sinister chauvinistic directions in the early twentieth century.²⁵ While xenophobic readings damaged Dürer's currency for some Germans, Holbein was able to benefit from these shifts. A sequence of interpretations placed him in contrast to Italian artists reaching from Hegner's 1827 monograph to the climax of Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld's hanging of the Dresden version of Holbein's *Meyer Madonna* (c. 1637: Fig. 3) alongside Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* (c. 1513) in the Zwinger in 1855.²⁶ This critical phenomenon was also not confined to Germany. Elizabeth Eastlake, for example, wrote of the distinctiveness of German artistic culture in contrast to Italy and Greece.²⁷ As learning German became an ever-more-popular pursuit for middle-class Britons during the century, many could read this German research first-hand, but much work nevertheless remained in translating and reviewing the constant flow of new German-language scholarship on Dürer and Holbein for those without language skills.

²³ Smith, "Nuremberg and the Topographies of Expectation", pp. 19–22.

²⁴ Münch, "Changing German Perceptions of Dürer", p. 189; Eastlake, "Dürer", p. 381.

²⁵ Keith Moxey, "Impossible Distance: Past and Present in the Study of Dürer and Grünewald", in *The Essential Dürer*, ed. by Larry Silver and Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), pp. 206–226 (pp. 206f., 210); Smith, "The Art Historical Shaping of Dürer", pp. 286–295.

²⁶ Pascal Griener, "Alfred Woltmann and the Holbein Dispute, 1863–1871", in *Holbein*, ed. by Roskill and Hand, pp. 210–225 (p. 212f.); Andreas Henning, "From Sacred to Profane Cult Image: On the Display of Raphael's Sistine Madonna in Dresden", in *Sacred Possessions: Collecting Italian Religious Art, 1500–1900*, ed. by Gail Feigenbaum, S. Ebert-Schifferer and Galina Tirnanić (Getty Publications, 2011), pp. 171–88 (p. 171).

²⁷ [Elizabeth Eastlake], "ART. III.–1. Dürer, Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst", *The Quarterly Review* 148:296 (October 1879), 376–407 (pp. 378, 404).



Fig. 3: Moritz Steinla, *The Virgin venerated by Jakob Meyer zum Hasen, the Mayor of Basle and his family; after the Dresden Version of the 'Madonna of the Burgermeister of Basel' [Bartholomäus Sarburgh (c. 1637)] after Holbein the younger. (c. 1841), engraving, 798 x 530mm, Registration number 1851,0712.15, © The Trustees of the British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1851-0712-15*

Regardless of the granular differences in their lives, artworks and historiographies, for British commentators such as Elizabeth Eastlake, the personal histories of Dürer and Holbein shared an important common denominator, in that they were inextricably linked to the cultural eminence and modern values of their home cities. In the “ruder times” of late medieval Germany, Eastlake argued,

Who can wonder [...] that the only two men who ever rose to the level of great artists should have sprung from the sole refuges, comparatively speaking, of law and liberty which existed in the country, namely, from the free imperial cities—Albert Dürer from Nuremberg, and Holbein from Basel and Augsburg?²⁸

For her, the freedoms offered by the Holy Roman Empire and Swiss Confederation contrasted strongly with the stultifying atmosphere of Germany’s feudal principalities.²⁹ Freedoms guaranteed by law and liberty not only celebrated the liberal ideals of the modern period but also the values of the British middle classes who were now taking interest in the art histories of Dürer and Holbein.

3 The visibility of Dürer and Holbein in British Collections

Obviously, the British reception of Dürer and Holbein depended on the ability of people to view their artworks. Whilst the nineteenth century saw ever-improving technologies for facsimile reproductions of historic artworks, authentic viewing still depended on access to original works. This demand was largely met by increased numbers of public exhibitions of historic artworks previously confined to aristocratic homes (see p. 35).³⁰ There was a singular disparity in the number of works of the two artists in Britain, however. The acquisition of Dürer’s artworks by Emperors Maximilian I (1459–1519) and Rudolf II (1552–1612) in Vienna and Prague, inhibited their later supply considerably. However, Holbein’s long stays in Britain (1526–28 and 1532–43) meant not only had the Tudor court and its entourage collected his works at the time but subsequent British collectors had

²⁸ [Eastlake], “ART. III.–1. Dürer, Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst”, pp. 380f.

²⁹ [Elizabeth Eastlake], “ART. VII.–1. Germany, Present and Past”, *The Edinburgh Review*, 152:312 (October 1880), 503–540: here Eastlake extended her critique of the peculiarities of German society.

³⁰ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 59, 68, 95; Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 34–37.

strong rationales for targeting his output.³¹ Holbein's works in the Royal Collection were rediscovered by Queen Caroline (1683–1737) and she was also most likely responsible for the purchase of Holbein's *Sir Henry Guildford* (1527: RCIN 400046).³² Frederick Hollyer's photographic reproductions of the works by Holbein at Windsor Castle allowed further dissemination of these images.³³

The relatively late date of the inauguration of London's National Gallery (established 1824) did not help matters, and its foundational collections reflected contemporary British interest in Italian and Dutch art.³⁴ Despite the interventions of Gustave Waagen and Prince Albert, it had little success in addressing its poor German art holdings.³⁵ Albert's circle was central in promoting medieval German arts and crafts in the first half of the nineteenth century in Britain, with influential writers including Frederick William Fairholt, Anna Jameson, Lord Lindsay and Henry Shaw.³⁶ Henry Hugh Armstead's *Frieze of Parnassus* (1863–76) on the Albert Memorial in Kensington Gardens, paid fitting tribute to the importance of both Dürer and Holbein to the Prince Consort. Albert was a key advocate for the

³¹ Hutchison, *Dürer: A Guide to Research*, p. 5.

³² *Hanoverians: Queen Caroline of Great Britain (1683–1737)*, <https://www.rct.uk/collection/people/queen-caroline-of-great-britain-1683-1737#/type/subject>, accessed 27 January 2023; Strong, *And When Did You Last See Your Father?*, pp. 14f.; Strong, *Painting the Past*, p. 12; see Lois Oliver, Victoria Button, Alan Derbyshire, Nick Frayling and Rob Withnall, "New Evidence Towards an Attribution to Holbein of a Drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum", *The Burlington Magazine*, 148:1236 (March 2006), 168–72 (p. 168) (citing J. Roberts, *Holbein and the Court of Henry VIII: Drawings and Miniatures from the Royal Library Windsor Castle* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1993), pp. 20f; K. T. Parker, *The Drawings of Holbein at Windsor Castle* (Oxford and London: Phaidon, 1945), pp. 7–20; S. Foister, *Drawings by Holbein from the Royal Library Windsor Castle* (London: 1983), pp. 4–12.

³³ Martin Barnes, "Frederick Hollyer", in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. by John Hannavy (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), p. 711.

³⁴ Till-Holger Borchert, "Collecting Early Netherlandish Paintings in Europe and the United States", in *Early Netherlandish Paintings: Rediscovery, Reception and Research*, ed. by Bernhard Ridderbos, Anne van Buren and Henk van Veen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), pp. 173–217 (p. 199); Christopher Whitehead, *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth Century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 18f.; Susanna Avery-Quash and Julie Sheldon, *Art for the Nation: The Eastlakes and the Victorian Art World* (London: National Gallery, 2011), p. 160.

³⁵ Whitehead, *The Public Art Museum*, pp. 128f., 135f., 142; Sinclair, "Nineteenth-Century British Perspectives on Early German Paintings", I, pp. 28–30.

³⁶ Wolfgang Lottes, "Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer", in *Künstlerische Beziehungen zwischen England und Deutschland in der viktorianischen Epoche / Art in Britain and Germany in the Age of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert*, ed. by Franz Bosbach and Frank Büttner (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1998), pp. 84, 87f.; Wolfgang Lottes, *Wie ein Goldener Traum: Die Rezeption des Mittelalters in der Kunst der Präraffaeliten* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1984), pp. 171f.

National Gallery's purchase of *Man with a Skull* (c. 1560: NG195; acq. 1845) which was bought as a Holbein.³⁷ Misattributions were common, especially in private collections where famous names were attached to artworks to boost their appeal and price. Wornum later reflected upon this phenomenon in relation to Holbein for "In this country the various portraits of Henry VIII. afford the most obvious illustration of the injustice that has been done to Holbein, in making him answerable for the short-comings of others".³⁸ He believed "that there is scarcely a portrait of this king in England which is not ascribed to Holbein; yet the great majority, or nearly all of them, were painted after his death" as the work of commercial copyists.³⁹ *Man with a Skull* was immediately contested and was an acute embarrassment for Charles Lock Eastlake as the Keeper (1843–47).⁴⁰ The furore did not die down quickly, and only after two years could Scott state sympathetically that "Eastlake has got over the attack of his detractors – surely an outcry without cause".⁴¹ German examples of modern museum management nevertheless provided important lessons to the National Gallery staff.⁴²

While the Krüger Collection purchase (March 1854) focused on German art,⁴³ the artworks bought (NG 250–266) were all by lesser-known masters,⁴⁴ and the

37 Potter, *Inspirational Genius of Germany*, pp. 42f. *Man with a Skull* (<https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/michiel-coxcie-a-man-with-a-skull>, accessed 30 August 2023) is now attributed to the Flemish artist Michiel Coxcie (1499–1592).

38 Ralph Nicholson Wornum, *Some Account of the Life and Works of Hans Holbein, Painter, of Augsburg* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1867), p. 35.

39 Wornum, *Some Account of the Life and Works*, p. 35.

40 David Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 84–87, 92, 95, 99, 131, 141, 245, 296; Nicola Sinclair, "Nineteenth-Century British Perspectives on Early German Paintings: The Case of the Krüger Collection at the National Gallery and Beyond", PhD University of York and National Gallery, London, 2 vols (2016), I, pp. 34–36, 63, 80, 142, 197. The Bowes Museum's seventeenth-century *Adam and Eve* (after Albrecht Dürer) bequeathed by the Founders, 1885: <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/adam-and-eve-45364/search/keyword:durer-referrer:global-search/page/4>, accessed 10 July 2023; Avery-Quash and Sheldon, *Art for the Nation*, 46: Charles Eastlake attempted to sell or trade it back.

41 National Gallery Archives, London (NGA): NGA02/4/4/4: William Bell Scott to Ralph Nicholson Wornum (15 April 1847).

42 Brandon Taylor, *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public 1747–2001* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 47; Whitehead, *The Public Art Museum*, pp. 19f.

43 Sinclair, "Nineteenth-Century British Perspectives on Early German Paintings", I, pp. 135f.: the paintings arrived 16 June 1854.

44 List of Krüger Collection pictures purchased and details from the catalogue, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/research/research-centre/archive/record/NG5/105/2>, accessed 15 February 2023; Anon., "Minor Topics of the Month", *Art Journal* (1 May 1857), 131; See also Martin Gammon, *Deaccessioning and its Discontents: A Critical History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018),

negative publicity they received no doubt reduced the internal support for further German acquisitions.⁴⁵ Ford Madox Brown, for example, complained to William Michael Rossetti about William Dyce's role in the Krüger affair, as advisor to W. E. Gladstone on the purchase of the "absurd old pictures".⁴⁶ In June of the same year the Joly de Bammerville sale brought the *Portrait of a Man* (1514: NG245) into the collection as a Dürer. However, following the discovery of the faked monogram, it was reattributed to Hans Baldung Grien.⁴⁷ The failures of the National Gallery over German art acquisitions have been blamed on Charles Eastlake's cautiousness as Director (1855–65),⁴⁸ and William Boxall's Teutophobia as his successor (1866–74).⁴⁹ Intriguingly, Eastlake's own personal collection included "two long Holbein Processions in grisaille", *The Triumph of Poverty* after Holbein which was reproduced in Waagen's edition of Kugler's *Handbook: German, Flemish and Dutch Schools* (1860), and Baron's copy of *Henry VIII Presenting the Diploma to the Barber Surgeons*, after Holbein.⁵⁰ It was not until Holbein's *The Ambassadors* (1533: NG1314: acq. 1890) that the National Gallery received its first good example from Longford Castle (and which Eastlake esteemed),⁵¹ and they would have to wait until the early twentieth century for the purchase of another putative Dürer, *The Painter's Father* (1497: NG1938: acq. 1904: reattributed to

p. 92: which defends the National Gallery and Eastlake from xenophobic anti-German deaccessioning.

⁴⁵ Sinclair, "Nineteenth-Century British Perspectives on Early German Paintings", I, pp. 177, 216; William Michael Rossetti, *Præraphaelite Diaries and Letters* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1900), p. 148; Ford Madox Brown to William Michael Rossetti (5 December 1854).

⁴⁶ Sinclair, "Nineteenth-Century British Perspectives on Early German Paintings", I, pp. 46, 102, 104, 106, 116–121, 128.

⁴⁷ Susan Foister, "Prince Albert's German pictures" (2012), pp. 2f: chrome-extension://efaid-nbmnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/<https://www.rct.uk/sites/default/files/V%20and%20A%20Art%20and%20Love%20%28Foister%29.pdf>, accessed 24 March 2024); Sinclair, "Nineteenth-Century British Perspectives on Early German Paintings", I, p. 151.

⁴⁸ Oskar Bätschmann, "Der Holbein-Streit: eine Krise der Kunstgeschichte", *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996), 87–100 (p. 91).

⁴⁹ Sinclair, "Nineteenth-Century British Perspectives on Early German Paintings", I, p. 217.

⁵⁰ Susanna Avery-Quash, "'A gallery of art': Fresh Light on the Art Collection of Sir Charles Eastlake (1793–1865)", *British Art Journal* 15:3 (2015), 11–37 (pp. 21, 23, 30); Avery-Quash and Sheldon, *Art for the Nation*, p. 77: Elizabeth Eastlake also flatteringly compared her future husband's draughtsmanship with Holbein in 1847, citing "Art of Dress", *Quarterly Review* 79 (March 1847), 372–99 (pp. 391f.).

⁵¹ Robertson, *Eastlake and the Victorian Art World*, p. 197. Holbein's *Erasmus* (1523) is on long-term loan from Longford Castle to the National Gallery: <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/hans-holbein-the-younger-erasmus>, accessed 10 July 2023.

“after Dürer”),⁵² and their second confirmed Holbein, *Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan* (1538: NG2475: acq. 1909), although that had been on loan to them since 1880.⁵³

Paintings attributed to Dürer and Holbein often came up for sale in the nineteenth century. With sale prices of 3s and £5.10s for ‘Holbein’ portraits at William Stewart’s auction house in 1807 it is clear that such works were often known to be copies.⁵⁴ A *Portrait of Sir Anthony Browne* on panel, attributed to Holbein, was similarly sold in 1897.⁵⁵ Such works were useful aide-memoires and curiosities for artists and collectors: Scott attempted to buy a copy of Dürer’s *Feast of the Rosary* (1506) in 1879.⁵⁶ Many of these were rendered around the time of the original productions, but in other cases more modern provenances exist for them. Like exhibitions, conservation was also important for allowing access to artworks usually

52 Potter, *Inspirational Genius of Germany*, pp. 41f.; Nicole Simpson, “Prints on Display: Exhibitions of Etching and Engraving in England, 1770s–1858”, PhD CUNY (2018), p. 146; the National Gallery suggests the original is lost: <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/after-albrecht-durer-the-painters-father>, accessed 10 July 2023; see C. J. Holmes, “The History of Our New Dürer”, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 5:17 (August 1904), pp. 426, 431–435, 437, for its reception at the time of the purchase; and Susan Foister, “Dürer’s Nuremberg Legacy: The Case of the National Gallery Portrait of Dürer’s father”, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/research_publications_series/research_publications_online/durer_and_his_legacy.aspx, accessed 10 July 2023.

53 D. S. MacColl (ed.), *Twenty-Five Years of the National Art-Collections Fund 1903–1928* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1928), p. 28; Ross Finocchio, “The One That Got Away: Holbein’s *Christina of Denmark* and British Portraits in The Frick Collection”, in *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response: Reflections Across the Pond*, ed. by Inge Reist (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 181–194; <https://www.artfund.org/supporting-museums/art-weve-helped-buy/artwork/70/christina-of-denmark-duchess-of-milan>, accessed 13 July 2023.

54 Anon., *A Catalogue of the Paintings ... of the Late Rev. John Brand* (London: [23 June] 1807), pp. 7, 11: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=gri.ark:/13960/t8rc2cf55&view=1up&seq=13&q1=holbein>, accessed 10 July 2023.

55 Anon., *A Catalogue of the Whole of the Very Interesting and Historical Contents of Hengrave Hall Collected During Two Centuries by Members of the Kytson and Gage Families* (London: Hampton & Sons, 1897), p. 44: This work made its way into the National Portrait Gallery in 1978 although stripped of its attribution to Holbein. See “Sir Anthony Browne”, <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw00851/Sir-Anthony-Browne>, accessed 10 July 2023.

56 Christian Tico Seifert, “William Bell Scott: Spreading Dürer’s Fame in Victorian Britain”, in *The Challenge of the Object. Proceedings of the 33rd Congress of the International Committee of the History of Art*, ed. by G. Ulrich Großmann and Petra Krutisch (Nürnberg: Redaktion: Almuth Klein, 2013), pp. 1064–69 (p. 1068); William Bell Scott, *Autobiographical Notes of the Life of William Bell Scott* (London: Osgood, McIlvaine, 1892), II, pp. 295f. The original painting, *Rosenkranzfest* (1506) National Gallery, Prague: https://sbirky.ngprague.cz/dielo/CZE:NG.O_1552, accessed 10 July 2023.

hidden from public attention: Scott was, for example, notified by Brown that Lord Lothian's *Madonna with the Siskin* (1506) by Dürer had been moved from Newbattle Abbey, near Edinburgh, to Henry Merritt's shop in London for cleaning where it could now be studied more easily.⁵⁷ George Richmond predominantly worked as a portraitist from 1831, but was also heavily involved in restoration work for old paintings in aristocratic collections.⁵⁸ As a young artist Richmond's friendships with William Blake and Samuel Palmer led him to draw inspiration from Dürer's Virgin in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1511) woodcut for his pencil studies of *Hagar in the Wilderness* (1829).⁵⁹ His 1845 visit to Basel also no doubt saw him viewing the Holbeins there, and he viewed the Petworth Holbein in 1849.⁶⁰

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Charles Longley Cantuar, wrote in 1863 to thank Richmond for the work he had completed on Holbein's *Archbishop William Warham* (n. d.) at Lambeth Palace, for "The Holbein has returned and is in admirable condition" and was "more to be admired than ever".⁶¹ Richmond often engaged in connoisseurly and antiquarian discussions with his contemporaries about historical artworks, and Holbein was of special interest to him, no doubt due to his own portrait practice. He discussed with William Leslie Melville the history of the livery collar worn in Holbein's *Thomas More* (1527: The Frick, acq. 1912, Fig. 4), for example.⁶² Such exchanges evidence the excitement that rare occasions to scrutinise authentic works by Dürer and Holbein offered British artists and experts.

⁵⁷ Seifert, "Spreading Dürer's Fame in Victorian Britain", p. 1064; William Bell Scott, *Albert Dürer: His Life and Works* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1869), p. 273; see <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/british-picture-restorers-1600-1950-m>, accessed 9 August 2023.

⁵⁸ Raymond Lister, *George Richmond, a Critical Biography* (London: Robin Garton, 1981), p. 95.

⁵⁹ Lister, *George Richmond*, pp. 134–137. See also pp. 58–59, 62: Richmond's friendship with John Ruskin no doubt also involved discussion of the Old Masters.

⁶⁰ Lister, *George Richmond*, pp. 67, 72.

⁶¹ Royal Academy of Arts, Archives (RAAA): GRI/3/334: C. T. Cantuar, Lambeth Palace, to George Richmond, 11 July 1863. See also <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/Conservation/mw06595/William-Warham> and <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010062618>, accessed 12 April 2023: The original painting seems to have been sold following the death of Mathew Archbishop Parker eventually being purchased by Louis XIV and entering the Louvre collection, acq. 1671 (INV 1344; MR 752). Two copies were commissioned – one retained at Lambeth Palace and another being NPG 2094. Richmond would therefore have been conserving the Lambeth Palace copy in 1863.

⁶² RAAA: GRI/3/228: W. L. Melville, 21 Manchester Square, to George Richmond, 24 December 1855.



Fig. 4: Hans Holbein the Younger, *Sir Thomas More* (1527), oil on oak panel, 74.9 x 60.3 cm, Henry Clay Frick Bequest, Acc. no.: 1912.1.77, <https://collections.frick.org/objects/100/sir-thomas-more>

4 British access to the artworks on paper by Dürer and Holbein

Graphic works arguably played a greater role than easel paintings in the British reception of Dürer and Holbein. The connoisseur Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585–1646), commissioned Czech artist Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–77) to engrave Holbein's artworks in his collection.⁶³ From 1753 the British Museum steadily improved public access to Dürer's graphic artworks, from the drawings that were included in Hans Sloane's 1753 bequest,⁶⁴ to the engravings donated by Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode in 1799.⁶⁵ As the official draughtsman of the Society of Antiquaries, George Vertue engraved Remy van Leemput's copy of Holbein's wall-painting of Henry VIII's family in 1719, while John Chamberlaine's *Imitations of Original Drawings by Hans Holbein* (1792–1812) reproduced his portrait drawings for the first time.⁶⁶ The 1837 Sotheby, Leigh & Wilkinson's auction of William Young Otley's collection was another key event: bringing various proof states of Dürer's *Adam and Eve* (1504) into the British Museum's collection.⁶⁷

Dürer's graphic works and postcards of his works, monuments and house were viable patriotic keepsakes for middle-class Germans of varying financial means.⁶⁸ They also offered a cost-effective target for British collectors. Sotheby's was the principal forum for the purchase of Dürer prints in Britain, and annotated catalogues help demonstrate their market performances. Robert Balmano (1780–1861), the editor of the *London Literary Gazette*, sold his print collection in 1830 when he moved to New York.⁶⁹ It contained original and later copies of thirty five Dürer's works, including originals of *Adam and Eve Eating the Forbidden Fruit* (selling at £2.14s due to its rarity), four versions of *St. Jerome* (totalling £2.18s) the *Large Fortune* (at 11s), the *Knight and Death* and *Melencolia I* (at 18s).⁷⁰ It also

63 Otto Bätschmann and Pascal Griener, *Hans Holbein* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), p. 203.

64 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_SL-5218-114, accessed 10 March 2023.

65 Anon., "The Collection of Drawings and Prints by Albrecht Dürer in the British Museum", in *Dürer and his Legacy*, ed. by Bartrum et al., p. 8.

66 Strong, *And When Did You Last See Your Father?*, p. 61.

67 BM 1837,0616.72: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1837-0616-72, accessed 17 August 2023.

68 Münch, "Changing German Perceptions of Dürer", p. 181.

69 Jeffery W. Vail (ed.), *The Unpublished Letters of Thomas Moore. Letters 1797–1827* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), p. xxiv.

70 Anon., *Catalogue of a Very Valuable Collection of Prints, Drawings, Pictures, etc., the Property of a Collector, [Mr. R. Balmano] ...* (London: Sotheby, S. Leigh & John Wilkinson, 1830), pp. 63f.,

included reproductions by the British engraver, Thomas Anthony Dean, of works including Holbein's *Queen Mary* and *Henry VIII* (made in 1825 and 1827 respectively).⁷¹ Thirty four Dürers were in the 1847 William Durrant sale: with an *Erasmus* (at £6.15s), an "extremely fine" *Knight and Death* (at £8), and *St. Hubert* (at £16.10s),⁷² as well as Holbein copies by Bartolozzi, Sivier, Vosterman and Andrew Stock which went for between £3.5s and 7s depending on their rarity and quality.⁷³ The auction of the estate of stockbroker and art collector Charles Stokes (c.1784–1853) in 1854, showed the range of material available. Twenty-five original Dürer prints, including a *St. Jerome* (£3.9s) and *Erasmus* (£2.7s), as well as a Renaissance copy of his *Last Supper* (1514) and Hollar copies of Holbein's works,⁷⁴ were sold alongside nineteenth-century reproductions of self-portraits of Dürer (c.1822) by François Forster (1790–1872: for £1.14s as part of a double lot),⁷⁵ and Holbein (c.1830s) by Friedrich Weber (1813–82: for 14s).⁷⁶ Sotheby's sold prints by Dürer and Holbein in three sales of 1868, for example: including C. J. Palmer's *Adam and Eve* in "perfect condition" (at £39) and other important works from Baron Carlo Marochetti's collection.⁷⁷ Similar high prices were achieved in 1890

see https://archive.org/details/catalogueofveryv00soth_16/page/64/mode/2up?q=durer, accessed 16 March 2023.

71 Anon., *Catalogue of ... the Property of ... [Mr. R. Balmano]* (1830), pp. 67f; see <https://www.rct.uk/collection/601014/queen-mary> and https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1868-0822-4805, accessed 15 August 2023.

72 Anon., *Catalogue of the Very Select and Valuable Collection of Engravings, the Property of the Late Lieut. Colonel Durrant* (London: Sotheby, S. Leigh & John Wilkinson, 1847), pp. 19f., see https://archive.org/details/catalogueofveryv00soth_30/page/18/mode/2up?q=durer (American Numismatic Society), accessed 15 August 2023.

73 Anon., *Catalogue of the Very Select and Valuable Collection*, pp. 31, 44, 46, 52, 54.

74 Anon., *Catalogue of the Very Select and Valuable Collection*, pp. 11–13, see <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/361639>, accessed 16 March 2023; see Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 15.

75 See https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1842-0806-232, accessed 15 August 2023.

76 Anon., *Catalogue of a Portion of the Collection of Engravings, the Property of the Late Charles Stokes, Esq.* (London: Sotheby, S. Leigh & John Wilkinson, 1854), pp. 4, 11–13, see <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw76547/Hans-Holbein-the-Younger?LinkID=mp67869&role=art&rNo=0>; https://archive.org/details/catalogueofporti00soth_3/page/4/mode/2up?q=durer, accessed 15 August 2023.

77 Anon., *Catalogue of the Collection of Etchings & Engravings formed by the Late C. J. Palmer, Esq.* (London: Sotheby, S. Leigh & John Wilkinson, 1868), p. 5; <https://archive.org/details/b14806216/mode/2up?q=Albert>; Anon., *Catalogue of the Very Extensive and Exceedingly Choice Collection of Ancient Engravings & Etchings Formed by ... the Late Baron Marochetti* (London:

with a “very fine impression” of *Melencolia I* (£6.10s), a “fine impression and in good condition” of *Knight and Death* (£12.12s), and a “brilliant impression and in perfect condition” of *The Great Fortune* (£19).⁷⁸ Sales of prints and original drawings also occurred at other venues, such as Thomas King’s and Christie’s for the former,⁷⁹ and the Woodburn Gallery for the latter.⁸⁰

John Ruskin had a substantial collection of Dürer prints and by 1854 he had fine copies of *St. Eustace* (1499–1501),⁸¹ *Knight and Death* (1498), and *Melencolia I*, bought for 10, 14 and 12 guineas respectively, and inferior copies of *St. Eustace* (1499–1501), *Great Fortune* (1501–02) and *St. Jerome* (1514) amongst others.⁸² He used these as illustrations in lectures and in his teaching at the Working Men’s College in the 1850s, and gifted some of these to educational establishments, including St. Martin’s (1858), the Oxford Drawing School (1871), the Guild of St. George Museum, Walkley, Sheffield (1875), and Whitelands College, London (1881), commanding students to copy minute passages from Dürer’s prints in order to master precise control.⁸³ Ruskin also collected and gifted images by Hol-

Sotheby, S. Leigh & John Wilkinson, 1868), pp. 33, 43; Metropolitan Museum, NY, <https://archive.org/details/b1469574/mode/2up?q=durer>, accessed 16 March 2023.

78 Anon., *Catalogue of a Small but Important Collection of Engravings Formed at the Beginning of the Present Century* (London: Sotheby, S. Leigh & John Wilkinson, 1890), p. 4, see <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101067623627&view=1up&seq=224&q1=durer>, accessed 12 August 2023.

79 [Thomas King], *A Catalogue of a Collection of Prints* (London: [16 March] 1805), pp. 4f; Anon., *Catalogue of a Valuable Collection of Engravings* (London: Christie, Manson & Woods, 1897), pp. 6, 8: lots #55–62 were by Dürer.

80 Anon., *A Catalogue of One Hundred Original Drawings by Albert Durer, and Titian Vecelli, Collected by Sir Thomas Lawrence, Late President of the Royal Academy ...* (London: S. & A. Woodburn (Gallery), [May] 1836), pp. 9–17: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=gri.ark:/13960/t6k10483r&view=1up&seq=19&q1=durer>, accessed 9 August 2023.

81 Albrecht Dürer, *Saint Eustace*, <http://ruskin.ashmolean.org/collection/8979/object/14563>, accessed 9 August 2023; Ruskin believed it to be St. Hubert.

82 Stephen Wildman, *It Cannot Be Better Done: John Ruskin and Albrecht Dürer* (Lancaster: Ruskin Library and Research Centre, Lancaster University, 2016), pp. 2–4: Wildman speculates that Ruskin began acquiring Dürer prints as an Oxford undergraduate.

83 Wildman, *It Cannot Be Better Done*, pp. 2, 5, 7, 8, 10f.; John Ruskin, *The Library Edition of the Works of John Ruskin*, ed. by E. T. Cook & A. Wedderburn, 39 vols (London: George Allen, 1903–1912): *The Ruskin Art Collection at Oxford: Catalogues, Notes and Instructions*, XXI, pp. xxii, 16f.; see 12–14, on copies made at Ruskin’s command. Ruskin’s gifted works were as follows: Oxford Drawing School (as part of the Ruskin Art Collection): the *Knight, Death and the Devil and Adam and Eve* (1504) (which Ruskin praised for “perfect delineation by the school of chiaroscuro” and his “best plate in point of execution”); Guild of St. George Museum: five works (including *Knight and Death*) purchased from Colnaghi’s specifically; and Whitelands College: *Life of the Virgin* (1500–11) and *The Small Passions* (1511).

bein: he donated photographs of Holbein's drawings to the Ruskin Drawing School (1875),⁸⁴ and gave a Black Letter German Bible of the Sixteenth Century: *Die Gantze Bibel. Christoffel Forschouer, Zurich (1540)* which contained woodcut illustrations after Holbein and others to the St. George's Museum.⁸⁵

Dürer's prints were not beyond the reach of art students either. Ruskin offered to procure a Dürer for Lizzie Siddal in May 1856;⁸⁶ and loaned or gifted Dürer's *Knight, Melencolia I, St. Hubert* and *Adam and Eve* to Edward Burne-Jones in 1865.⁸⁷ Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Holman Hunt, meanwhile, purchased three Dürer prints themselves in Paris in 1849.⁸⁸ Rossetti had multiple points of access therefore: his own collection, those of Scott⁸⁹ and Ruskin, as well as the British Museum holdings. It is unsurprisingly, therefore, that these works provided inspiration for the Pre-Raphaelites. Although the names of German artists were missing from their list of immortals,⁹⁰ the stylistic impact of Dürer on the Pre-Raphaelites was traced at the time by the critic of the *Athenæum* who declared in May 1857 that the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition demonstrated that the Pre-Raphaelites "much more deserve the epithet of Ante-Dürerites or mem-lingers".⁹¹ Dante Gabriel Rossetti invoked Dürer's example when speaking of his ambitions to render *Dante's Dream* (1871) in an engraving to "really get one's brain into print before one died, like Albert Durer, and moreover be freed perhaps from slavery to 'patrons' while one lived".⁹² Ford Madox Brown's enthusiasms for Dürer may be seen in his *Christ Washing the Feet of the Disciples* (1852–56) which not only likely took inspiration from Dürer's depiction of the scene in *The Small*

84 Photograph of Holbein's Drawing of Saint Michael as the Weigher of Souls, <http://ruskin.ashmolean.org/collection/8979/object/14572>, accessed 19 July 2023.

85 Anon., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library and Print Room of the Ruskin Museum, Sheffield* (Orpington, Kent: George Allen, 1890), pp. 7, 35f; <https://www.ruskinatwalkley.org/object.php?hotspots=on&room=3&object=46&preview=no>, accessed 19 July 2023.

86 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters, with a Memoir by William Michael Rossetti* (London: Ellis and Elvey, 1895), p. 183.

87 Lottes, "Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer", p. 92; Wildman, *Ruskin and Dürer*, pp. 5f.

88 J.[ohn] W.[illiam] Mackail, *The Life of William Morris*, 2 vols (London: Longmans, 1899), I, p. 110.

89 Seifert, "Spreading Dürer's Fame in Victorian Britain", p. 1064.

90 Lottes, "Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer", p. 84.

91 Anon., "Art-Treasures at Manchester", *Athenæum* 1540 (2 May 1857), 564–569 (p. 567c).

92 Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters*, p. 283; Jane Langley, "Pre-Raphaelites or Ante-Dürerites", *Burlington Magazine* 137:1109 (August 1995), 501–508 (p. 508); see also: John Christian, "Early German Sources for Pre-Raphaelite Designs", *Art Quarterly* 36 (Spring–Summer 1973), 56–83; Jenny Graham, "Artistic Inspirations", in *The Cambridge Companion to the Pre-Raphaelites*, ed. by Elizabeth Prettejohn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 32–46.

Passion (c. 1508) but also involved Scott modelling for him.⁹³ Brown's enthusiasm for Holbein was even more extensive, travelling to Basel to see his masterpieces and emulating his manner in *The English Boy* (1860), for example.⁹⁴ Another artist in Pre-Raphaelite circles who drew upon German influences was the illustrator Frederick Sandys (1832–1904) whose *Until her death* (1862), which appeared in *Once a week*, quoted both Alfred Rethel's *Auch ein Todtentanz* (1830–59) and *Der Tod als Freund* (1851), recalling also Holbein's *Dance of Death* as well as the female figure in Dürer's *Melencolia I*.⁹⁵

Dürer's "Birth chamber" woodcut from the Life of the Virgin series (1502–03) informed the background for Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Mariana in the South* (1857), for example, and he referred to Burne-Jones' work on the Oxford Union Murals (1857) as being in "finish and imaginative detail" equal to "Albert Dürer's finest works".⁹⁶ In 1856, William Morris described the rooms he shared with Burne-Jones as "hung with brasses of old knights, and drawings of Albert Durer".⁹⁷ Meanwhile Scott's impressive print collection included eighty by Dürer.⁹⁸ Scott claimed that "after having been very useful" the prints "ceased to retain their interest" and he therefore sold them "to a gentleman who promised to keep them together" but allegedly passed them on at Sotheby's in July 1885 for £1260.⁹⁹ However, it seems that Scott was attempting to conceal the fact that he had auctioned them off himself in April.¹⁰⁰ He did retain some of his German renaissance prints,

⁹³ Potter, *Inspirational Genius of Germany*, p. 38.

⁹⁴ Potter, *Inspirational Genius of Germany*, pp. 22–24, 26f.

⁹⁵ Paul Goldman, *Victorian Illustration: The Pre-Raphaelites, The Idyllic School and the High Victorians* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp. 51, 59; Bartrum, "Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy", pp. 310–312, 277–279, see https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1992-0406-578; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1949-0411-40; and https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1949-0411-39, accessed 15 June 2023.

⁹⁶ Mackail, *William Morris*, I, p. 110. See <https://dams.birminghammuseums.org.uk/asset-bank/action/viewAsset?id=3176&index=17&total=107&view=viewSearchItem>, accessed 10 July 2023); Liana Cheney, *Pre-Raphaelitism and Medievalism in the Arts* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), p. 58; Lottes, "Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer", p. 85.

⁹⁷ Mackail, *William Morris*, I, p. 70f.

⁹⁸ Lottes, "Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer", p. 86: Lottes' claim for one hundred-and-twenty-one works by Dürer does not match the total in the two Sotheby sales catalogues (see footnotes 108 and 109).

⁹⁹ Scott, *Autobiographical Notes*, II, p. 125; Seifert, "Spreading Dürer's Fame in Victorian Britain", p. 1068, n. 20: quoting DULSC Add Mss 838/141: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 6 September 1885.

¹⁰⁰ Sotheby, *Wilkinson & Hodge, Catalogue of the Choice Collection of Engravings & Etchings, Formed by W.B. Scott ... the 20th day of April, 1885, and Four Following Days ...* (London: Dryden Press, J. Davy & Sons, [1885]), pp. 3–5, 8f., 13–20, 27–29, 32f., 39f., 42f., 47: this auction contained

as evidenced by the lots in the posthumous sale of 14 July 1892, perhaps choice examples he kept back from the 1885 auction or bought subsequently.¹⁰¹

A vibrant facsimile print trade was made possible by technological advances. The modern appeal of Holbein made his work ripe for commercialisation, but Dürer's prints were also affected by this phenomenon. Ruskin possessed reproductions of Dürer works in Amand-Durand's *Œuvre de Albert Durer* (Paris: 1877–80) and referred to Adolphe Braun's photographs of the Albertina's works (Vienna: 1867–69).¹⁰² Other reproductions of Dürer's artworks were offered by Friedrich Lippmann for the drawings (Berlin: 1883), Pieter Wilhelmus van de Weijer for the woodcuts (Utrecht: 1875), and Georg Hirth for pen and ink drawings and woodcuts (Leipzig: 1882–85). British commercial operations were also set up to supply the demand for such reproductions. The Arundel Society (1849–97) was formed with the intention of offering high quality reproduction of Holbein's work and employed the name of the important seventeenth-century patron.¹⁰³ The Holbein Society (1869–92) followed, producing volumes of facsimile reprints of his graphic work, and a similar Dürer Society (1897–1907) published annual volumes with introductory remarks by Campbell Dodgson, Gustav Pauli and S. M. Peartree. Scott criticised the low quality of some modern reproductions of Dürer's wood engravings in 1856: "you notice the cheap publication of Durer prints of the passion as actual casts from the originals. I have one of those an old impression (the last in the series) and find the new publication a very bad copy. There was

815 lots of German, Dutch and Flemish, Italian, French and British engravings: these included Henry Aldegrever (#20–46); Albert Altdorfer (#47–62); Hans Sebald Beham (#125–152); Hans Burgkmair (#200–204); Lucas Cranach (#247–277); Dürer (#302–375; 498–500); Hans Baldung Grün (#485–495); Lucas van Leyden (#534–574); Wencleslaus Hollar (#504–511); George Pencz (#658–669); Hans Schöufflein (#724–26); Martin Schongauer (#727–739); Michael Wohlgemuth (to whom Dürer was apprenticed) (#795); Martin Zagel (#798–805); and modern works by Daniel Chodowiecki (#234–239) and Alfred Rethel (#706–707).

101 Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of Engravings, Modern Etchings & Drawings, the Property of the Late William Bell Scott ... which will be sold by Auction ... on ... the 14th day of July, 1892* (London: Dryden Press, J. Davy & Sons, [1892]), pp. 3–9, 17, 18: including Aldegraver (#8–10); Altdorfer (#11–12); Hans Sebald Beham (#18–22, 64); Lucas Cranach (#30); Leyden (#44–47); Pencz (#49–51); Schongauer (#55–56); Wohlgemuth (#60); Zagel (#61); Cranach (#65–66); Dürer (#67–69); Sebald Grün (#70); Burgkmair (#81); drawing by Dürer (#196); and Leyden (#203).

102 Robertson, *Eastlake and the Victorian Art World*, p. 436; Wildman, *Ruskin and Dürer*, p. 9; W.[illiam] M.[artin] Conway, *Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889), p. vii.

103 Tanya Ledger, *A Study of the Arundel Society 1848-1897* (D.Phil. Oxford University, 1978): <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:b781808b-1560-4c80-8801-a052c71f9511/files/m53168da7bb0284cde268087fb64220eb>, accessed 15 August 2023; see also Victoria Button, "The Arundel Society: Techniques in the Art of Copying", *V&A Conservation Journal* 23 (1997), 16–19.

something suspicious in the phraseology of the title page”.¹⁰⁴ While Heller provided the first account and catalogue of later copies of Dürer’s autographic prints, later reproductions in the UK and beyond are harder to trace.¹⁰⁵ However, Scott’s reference to the “new publication” and its cheapness suggest that he was writing about John Allen’s *The Humiliation and Exaltation of our Redeemer* (1856). Allen referenced the inspiration offered by Henry Cole’s earlier edition, and how he had used “type metal copies” from the same British Museum prints, for his selection of “thirty-two, at the cost of a shilling”.¹⁰⁶ *The Last Judgement* (1511) was the final image of the Small Passion (#36) woodcut series,¹⁰⁷ although in Allen’s edition this featured penultimately, with *Jesus parting from his Mother before his Sufferings* coming last. Moreover Allen’s title page was a *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer* (1527), after Erhard Schön’s print and Matthes Gebel’s medal, rather than the more typical *Christ, Man of Sorrows* (no date [1511]).¹⁰⁸ Cole’s 1844 reproduction of the full thirty-six images included the *Christ, Man of Sorrows* as its title page and this edition also declared itself as from “actual casts from the originals” and “the fourth edition of the *genuine* blocks” which had found their way into the British Museum collection five years previously through their acquisition from Rev P. E. Boissier by Henry Josi, Keeper of Prints and Drawings (1836–45).¹⁰⁹ Cole had studied the prints of Dürer and Holbein in the British Museum,¹¹⁰ and compared their two sets of the Small Passion: the Nollekens-Douce set had an inferior title page that did not match the rest of the impressions in that series, while the Cracherode set “has no letter-press, and wants the title page”.¹¹¹ Both Allen and Cole therefore faced an issue regarding their choices of a title page. Cole sourced the title page

¹⁰⁴ DUULC: Add. Mss. 838/30: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 28 September 1856, pp. 3f.

¹⁰⁵ Adam von Bartsch and Walter L. Strauss, *Sixteenth Century German Artists: Albrecht Durer* (The Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 10 of 21, Commentary) (New York: Abaris Books, 1981), VI: referencing Heller, *Leben und Werke Dürers*.

¹⁰⁶ John Allen, *The Humiliation and Exaltation of our Redeemer: in 32 prints, Representing the Original Wood-Blocks of Albert Durer* (London: G. Routledge, 1856), p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ Bartsch and Strauss, *Albrecht Durer*, pp. 256, 317: *Title Page: Christ, Man of Sorrows* 1000.216 [B.16 (119)] and *The Last Judgment* 1000.252 [B.52 (121)].

¹⁰⁸ Allen, *The Humiliation and Exaltation of our Redeemer*, pp. 63f. Presumably either taken from the Nollekens-Douce (E,2.380: acq. 1834: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_E-2-380) or Hans Sloan (Registration Number: E,3.1: acq. 1753: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_E-3-1) versions in the British Museum, accessed 13 April 2023.

¹⁰⁹ Henry Cole (ed.), *The Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ Pourtrayed by Albert Durer* (London: Joseph Cundall, 1844), pp. 6, 9f.

¹¹⁰ Sinclair, “Nineteenth-Century British Perspectives on Early German Paintings”, I, p. 299; quoting Susanna Avery Quash, “‘Creating a Taste for Beauty’: Henry Cole’s Book Ventures”, PhD University of Cambridge (1997), p. 124.

¹¹¹ Cole (ed.), *The Passion of our Lord*, pp. 7f.

from a bound publication of the prints.¹¹² The text also matches that on the print acquired by the British Museum in 1834 from the collection of the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, however, the font differs slightly, and the image Cole produced is cleaner so the exact source remains elusive.¹¹³ Scott's opposition to the new version may have not only been about their selective nature and lower quality, but their derivation from Cole's earlier edition may also have affected his negative reception, given his personal animosity to the "Old King".¹¹⁴ Scott's reference to his possession of "an old impression" may even suggest that he was contrasting the new publication to an earlier nineteenth-century German reproduction or even an "original" sixteenth-century impression.

5 British Exhibitions and the display of artworks by Dürer and Holbein

With the growth of middle-class audiences in the nineteenth century, numerous initiatives were undertaken to exhibit the artworks of Dürer and Holbein. Holbein regularly featured in the British Institution's Summer Loans exhibitions between 1831 and 1859.¹¹⁵ The *Survey of Intaglio Printmaking* (1849) exhibition of Dürer's prints, organised by the print seller Francis Graves was another example. Meanwhile, the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition of 1857 provided an excellent opportunity to see artworks attributed to Dürer and Holbein. Inspiration came from Prince Albert's plans for the National Gallery, but Waagen's ideas and George Scharf's execution were responsible for the innovative (mostly) chronological hang that allowed for juxtaposition between national schools.¹¹⁶ Waagen outlined diametric oppositions of subjective and generic, ideal (Italian) and objective

112 Cole (ed.), *The Passion of our Lord*, p. 8.

113 See https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1834-0712-4, accessed 12 April 2023.

114 See Matthew C. Potter, "Opening Young Minds to Art and Knowledge: Art Training in Mid-Century London and Paris", in *Victorian Artists and their World*, ed. by Kate Herrington (Forthcoming: Boydell and Brewer).

115 Sinclair, "Nineteenth-Century British Perspectives on Early German Paintings", I, p., 77.

116 Francis Haskell, "The Growth of British Art History and its Debts to Europe", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 74 (1988), 203–224 (pp. 206–211); Giles Waterfield, "Art Galleries and the Public", in Royal Academy, *Art Treasures of England: The Regional Collections* (London: Merrell Holbertson, 1998), pp. 12–59 (pp. 29, 31); Melva Croal, "'The Spirit, the Flesh and the Milliner': Hanging the Ancient Masters at the Manchester Art-Treasures Exhibition", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 87:2 (2005), 53–62 (pp. 55f.).

(Northern), and individual and literal for viewing art in the *Art Journal* in the years before the Manchester exhibition, and these informed Scharf's curation.¹¹⁷ Scharf organised an "Ancient Masters" section following ten months of visiting private collections.¹¹⁸ His conscious use of copies, despite the frustrations of having to do so, demonstrated Scharf's dedication to art historical narratives over aesthetic values or connoisseurship. Saloon A was specifically designed to illustrate Waagen's contrast of the Italians (Giotto to Michelangelo) and the Germans (Van Eyck to Dürer).¹¹⁹ There were three works attributed to Dürer (#440, 462, 484), seven to Holbein (#396, 461, 469, 471, 488, 489 and 499), all to varying degrees subsequently reattributed, and one known copy of a Holbein by George Pencz (#492).¹²⁰ In the British Portrait Gallery of the same exhibition, there were fourteen further "Holbeins" – seven of which retain this attribution.¹²¹ Peter Cunningham, the civil servant who organised this section, was conscious of the contribution that the exhibition would make to debates on the National Gallery and national cultural identity, using biographies of historic individuals to inform the latter.¹²² Although its chronology was truncated and disrupted by curatorial lo-

117 Elizabeth, A. Pegram, *The Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857: Entrepreneurs, Connoisseurs and the Public* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 64f.

118 Croal, "The Spirit, the Flesh and the Milliner", pp. 53f.

119 Croal, "The Spirit, the Flesh and the Milliner", pp., 57f., 61.

120 Anon., *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom Collected at Manchester in 1857 (Provisional)* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1857), pp. 38, 41–44; Pegram, *Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition*, p. 45n. 91; <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw288885>; <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289085>; and <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw288885> and <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw288885/Scharf-Sketchbook-45-page-122-123?search=sp&sText=Scharf+sketch-book+45&firstRun=true&wPage=3&rNo=65>, accessed 10 May 2023; Gustave Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 3 vols (London: J. Murray, 1854), II, 236. See Appendix 1 for the artworks attributed to Dürer and Holbein in the "Ancient Masters" Gallery of Art Treasures Exhibition, Manchester (1857).

121 Anon., *Catalogue of the Art Treasures ... at Manchester in 1857*, pp. 111f., 114f., 121, 111–115, 132; *A Handbook to the British Portrait Gallery in the Art Treasures Exhibition* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1857), p. 11; Anon., *A Walk Through the Art-Treasures Exhibition at Manchester: Under the Guidance of Dr. Waagen: A Companion to the Official Catalogue* (London: John Murray, 1857); Edmund Lodge, *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain*, 12 vols (London: Harding and Lepard, 1835); Pegram, *Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition*, pp. 259, 267, 269, 278. See Appendix 2 for the artworks attributed to Dürer and Holbein in the "British Portrait Gallery" of the Art Treasures Exhibition, Manchester (1857).

122 Victoria Whitfield, "The Illustrious or Infamous Dead: The Portrait Gallery of the Manchester Art-Treasures Exhibition", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 87:2 (2005), 37–52 (pp. 39f., 42).

gistics, and commentators like Tom Taylor criticised its effectiveness,¹²³ one thing the British Portrait Gallery allowed for was the interweaving of elements formally separated by the school divisions otherwise employed in 1857. It thus offered “a functional and physical link between past and present, [and] between Continental Europe and Britain”.¹²⁴ Given the dubious quality and attribution of the easel paintings, the Manchester Art Treasures display arguably made a more meaningful contribution in the realms of the graphic art of Dürer at least, for its “Gallery of Engravings” was a “landmark in the chronicles of print exhibitions”.¹²⁵ Thomas Morris noted of Dürer, “His pictures are extremely scarce and valuable, but his engravings are far more numerous”.¹²⁶ It included five drawings (#133–136, and 138),¹²⁷ twenty six line engravings (#110–136),¹²⁸ and five etchings (#941–945) by Dürer,¹²⁹ and all of his principal works, *Knight, Death and The Devil*, *Melencolia I*, and the *St. Jerome* as well as complete sets of his woodcut series (#1374–1382) from the collections of Felix Slade, Richard Fisher, William Russell, amongst others.¹³⁰ In contrast, it included only two wood engravings after Holbein, of the *Dance of Death* (#1411) and *The Maze* (#1412).¹³¹

Along with his reflections on the excellent examples of eighteenth-century British art and nineteenth-century watercolours on display at Manchester in 1857, Scott was impressed by the art historical lessons to be learned about the continen-

¹²³ Whitfield, “The Illustrious or Infamous Dead”, pp. 44f., 47.

¹²⁴ Whitfield, “The Illustrious or Infamous Dead”, p. 49; Croal, “The Spirit, the Flesh and the Milliner”, p. 53.

¹²⁵ Simpson, “Prints on Display”, pp. 104f.

¹²⁶ Thos. Morris, *A Historical, Descriptive and Biographical Handbook to the Exhibition of the United Kingdom’s Art Treasures, at Manchester, 1857* (London: Houlston & Wright, 1857), p. 34: <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100782006?type%5B%5D=all&lookfor%5B%5D=manchester%201857&ft=ft>, accessed 10 May 2023.

¹²⁷ Anon., *Exhibition of the Art Treasures of United Kingdom. Manchester, 1857, Supplementary Catalogue. Drawings and Sketches of Old Masters, Engravings, Photographs* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1857), p. 11.

¹²⁸ Anon., *Exhibition of the Art Treasures ... Supplementary Catalogue*, pp. 27f.

¹²⁹ Anon., *Exhibition of the Art Treasures ... Supplementary Catalogue*, pp. 53f.

¹³⁰ Anon., *Exhibition of the Art Treasures ... Supplementary Catalogue*, p. 68; Simpson, “Prints on Display”, pp. 124, 131. See also H. Merritt, “Hans Holbein in England”, and Pre-Raph, “The Old Masters. Albert Durer”, in *The Art Treasures Examiner: A Pictorial, Critical, and Historical Record of the Art Treasures Exhibition, at Manchester, in 1857* (Manchester and London: Alexander Ireland & Co., and W.H. Smith and Son.), pp. 93–95; 118f.: illustrating Edouard Wattier’s drawing after Dürer’s *Melencolia I*, engraved by Andre Best Leloir, and the Holbein of *William Warham*: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=gri.ark:/13960/t6157cx37&view=1up&seq=134&q1=durer>, accessed 10 May 2023.

¹³¹ Anon., *Exhibition of the Art Treasures ... Supplementary Catalogue*, pp. 57, 69.

tal schools, for: “I can tell you the exhibition is magnificent. The early Italian & German pictures are surprisingly good”.¹³² Scott’s response indicates the success of the organisers of the exhibition in using private collections to illustrate the gaps in the National Gallery’s holdings. Indeed recounting a continuous history of British art was part of the motivation for the Art Treasures exhibition, and while this extended back to Hogarth, the comparisons it made between the British and continental schools was audacious.¹³³ Taylor praised the gallery of the “Ancient Masters” for allowing dialogues between the British, Italian and German School, yet, he did not develop that angle beyond stating the contrast between the “secular” art of the former, and the “religious” art of the other two nations.¹³⁴ Yet, even Taylor made a special link between Britain and the Continent in the area of portraiture for “if we may avail ourselves of the foreigners who have worked in England, we can make out something like an ancestry, by hooking ourselves on to Hans Holbein [...] Zuccherro, More, Vansomer, Mytens, Vandyck, Lely, and Kneller”.¹³⁵ William Michael Rossetti meanwhile reported on the lack of financial success of the Manchester exhibition compared to the Great Exhibition (1851), blaming the choice of “*locality and contents*”, for “the cotton metropolis is not, and could not be made, the art metropolis” for only in London could such “intellectual activities converge”.¹³⁶ He ignored the fact that the profits were better than anticipated, and that the enterprise was a concerted effort to alter perceptions of the regional capital’s philistinism,¹³⁷ and Scott complained of Rossetti’s “cold and snubbing” metropolitan prejudice.¹³⁸

These exhibitions helped fuel the demands of critics for the British Museum to exhibit their collection,¹³⁹ and they eventually responded by displaying Crachereode’s Dürers in 1858.¹⁴⁰ Important provincial loan exhibitions meanwhile

¹³² DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/35: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 6 July 1857, p. 3.

¹³³ Andrew Loukes, “‘The Most Esteemed Works of Deceased Artists’: Historic British Art at Old Trafford”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 87:2, 93–102 (pp. 93f., 99–101).

¹³⁴ [Tom Taylor], *A Handbook to the Gallery of British paintings in the Art Treasures Exhibition* (Manchester: Bradbury and Evans, 1857), pp. 5, 8f.

¹³⁵ [Taylor], *A Handbook to the Gallery of British paintings*, p. 18.

¹³⁶ [William Michael Rossetti], “Fine Arts. The Manchester Exhibition”, *Spectator* 1528 (10 October 1857), 1071f. (p. 1071).

¹³⁷ Giles Waterfield, “A Culture of Exhibitions: the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition in Context”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 87:2, 21–36 (pp. 23–25); Katy Layton-Jones, “Re-presenting Manchester: Printed and Ephemeral Images of the Art-Treasures Exhibition”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 87:2, 123–142 (pp. 123–127).

¹³⁸ DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/37: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 31 October 1857, p. 4.

¹³⁹ Simpson, “Prints on Display”, pp. 108f.

¹⁴⁰ Simpson, “Prints on Display”, pp. 109, 161–164.

showed German artworks, such as Leeds' "National Exhibition of Works of Art" (1868).¹⁴¹ The Burlington Fine Art Club did much to bring Old Master etchings from private collections before the London public. Their "Albert Durer and Lucas Van Leyden" (1869) exhibition included one-hundred-and-five etchings (#1–105), eighteen wood engravings (#106–123), and thirty-four drawings (#124–157).¹⁴² Their "Wenceslaus Hollar" (1875) exhibition, meanwhile, included Hollar's copies of Holbein's *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* (#1),¹⁴³ *Dance of Death* (#3), *Sir Thomas Chaloner* (#16), *Edward VI* (#17), *Ann Boleyn as St. Barbara* (#22), and *Henry VIII* (#23), *Catherine of Aragon* (#33), *Ann of Cleves* (#121) as well as five other engravings of Tudor courtiers (#34–35, 37, 44, 97), mostly from the Arundel Collection, and a further two works, the third and fourth plates of item #92, which were "after Dürer" (Bartsch 34 and 35).¹⁴⁴ Wornum was involved in organising that show and Scott promised to loan him some works by Dürer amongst others.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ Sinclair, "Nineteenth-Century British Perspectives on Early German Paintings", I, 309.

¹⁴² Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Albert Dürer and Lucas van Leyden* (London, Printed by Whittingham and Wilkins, 1869), pp. 3–18: from the collections of F. Seymour Haden, Alfred Morrison (1821–97), Richard Fisher (1809–1900), George Vaughan (d. 1875), St. John Dent (d. c. 1884) and the Earl of Warwick amongst others.

¹⁴³ Whitfield, "The Illustrious or Infamous Dead", p. 44: disputed by Waagen.

¹⁴⁴ Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of a Selection from the Work of Wenceslaus Hollar* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1875), pp. 15, 17f., 20–22, 30, 31, 36; Simpson, "Prints on Display", 187: many of these were by Haden and Morrison. See also: Stacey J. Pierson, *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London: The Burlington Fine Arts Club* (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 27–65.

¹⁴⁵ NGA02/4/4/10: W. B. Scott to R. N. Wornum, 16 January 1869, Notting Hill. Scott also offered artworks by Matthew Zatzinger who is mentioned in Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, p. 36.



Fig. 5: George Richmond after Hans Holbein the Younger, *Sir William Butts* (c. 1870–1880), oil on oak panel, 47 x 38.1 cm, Royal College of Surgeons, X225, gift from the artist, 1880, <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/sir-william-butts-14851545-192450>

Richmond used his aristocratic connections to explore other paintings by Holbein for potential inclusion in the Royal Academy's Winter Exhibition of 5 January to 13 March 1880. From Arundel Castle he wrote enthusiastically to his wife about his success in persuading the Duke of Norfolk to lend works: "The Holbein which I am especially for is an exquisite picture much beyond what I had hoped or expected – & there are other fine things that the Duke will kindly lend".¹⁴⁶ This no doubt referred to Norfolk's *Christina of Denmark*, although the Duke also lent his copy of *Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk* (the original in the Windsor collection was also in the Exhibition).¹⁴⁷ Norfolk's collection represented "a very considerable proportion of that artist's complete work outside his native city of Basel".¹⁴⁸ Richmond also secured the loan of Boughton's *Edward VI* from the Duke of Buccleuch then reputed to be a Holbein, but since downgraded to the 'English School'.¹⁴⁹ Richmond's expertise in portraiture and restoration often combined in the copies he made of original artworks by Holbein, such as his version of *Sir William Butts* (c.1879–80; Fig. 5). The original painting (1541–43),¹⁵⁰ along with its pendent piece, *Lady Margaret (Bacon) Butts* (1541–43),¹⁵¹ had been lent by the politician William Henry Pole-Carew to the 1880 Winter Exhibition, when the Royal College of Surgeons took interest in it, due to Butts' service as Henry VIII's private physician. On that occasion, therefore, "it was at the suggestion of Dr. John [William] Ogle that the owner permitted them to be left at the College for inspection by the Fellows – Holbein's portrait has been copied by George Richmond – the distinguished Academician and presented by him to the College".¹⁵² Richmond had an extensive practice in copying artworks by Holbein and other

146 RAAA: GRI/3/534: Duchess of Buccleuch, Bowhill, to George Richmond, 24 November [18]79; GRI/3/535: George Richmond, Arundel Castle, to Julia, 20 York St., 29 November 1879.

147 Royal Academy, *Exhibition of Works by Old Masters, and by Deceased Masters of the British School, including a Special Collection of Works by Holbein and his School* (London, 1880), pp. 36–38: #173, #177, #180.

148 Lionel Cust, "Notes on the Collections Formed by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, K. G.-V", *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 21:113 (August 1912), 256–258 (p. 256).

149 RAAA: GRI/3/536: James Horne, Bowhill, Selkirk, N. B., to George Richmond, 6 December 1879.

150 The original was purchased with the aid of Bernard Berenson by Isabella Stewart Gardner in 1889 from Colnaghi's, who in turn had acquired it from Reginald Henry Pole-Carew in 1888, see <https://www.gardnermuseum.org/experience/collection/11866?filter=artist%3A3279>, accessed 7 July 2023.

151 See <https://www.gardnermuseum.org/experience/collection/11867>, accessed 7 July 2023.

152 See <https://history.rcplondon.ac.uk/inspiring-physicians/sir-william-butts> and <https://history.rcplondon.ac.uk/inspiring-physicians/john-william-ogle>, accessed 7 July 2023.

old masters for patrons.¹⁵³ The letterpress for the 1880 Exhibition included reference not only to British writers, such as Horace Walpole, but also the German, Hegner.¹⁵⁴ The Fourth Gallery was devoted specifically to “Holbein and his School” which also lent itself as a subtitle to the exhibition, with thirty seven artworks attributed to Holbein.¹⁵⁵ The list of lenders demonstrates the continued appeal of collecting Dürer and Holbein amongst British artists (see p. 43): both Richmond and George Boyce lent works by artists in Holbein’s circle, and Boyce and Millais respectively exhibited Holbein’s *A Young Man* (#184) and *Portrait of a Man* (#170: now *Duke Anton the Good of Lorraine* (1489–1544)).¹⁵⁶ Richmond also petitioned for the purchase of copies of historic works for public galleries, presumably for their educational benefits. This was the case in 1887 when his copy of Holbein’s *Sir Thomas More* (the original was in the possession of Mrs. Henry Huth (Augusta Louisa Sophia von Westenholz)) came up for sale.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ Lister, *George Richmond*, p. 114.

¹⁵⁴ W. M. Statham, “Hans Holbein”, *Congregationalist* (February 1880), 9.

¹⁵⁵ Royal Academy, *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters ... Holbein and his School* (1880), pp. 4, 30–43, 49: exhibition numbers for artworks thought to be by Holbein at the time, with their lenders in brackets: #147, 150, 161, 169, 204, 205: *Head of an Old Man*; *Portrait of a Man* and *Portrait of Henry VIII*; and *The Wheel of Fortune*; Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex; and Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk (Duke of Devonshire); #149: *Lady Vaux* (Queen Victoria); #152: *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* (Charles Butler); #157: *Lady Heneage* (G. C. Handford); #162 *A Child* (Henry Ainslie Hoare); #162: *Edward VI, when Prince of Wales* (Duke of Northumberland); #167 and 181: *William West, 1st Lord Delawarr*; and *John Elector of Saxony* (?) (R. S. Holford); #168: *German Lady* (Earl Spencer); #170: *Portrait of a Man* (J. E. Millais); #171: *Lady Guildford* (Edward Frewen); #172: Derick Berck (Lord Leconfield); #173, 177: *Thomas Howard*; and *Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan* (3rd Duke of Norfolk); #174, 180, 183, 185, 187, 195: *Sir Henry Guildford*; *Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk*; *A Merchant of the Stahlhof or Steelyard*; *John Reskimer*; ‘*Noli Me tangere*’; *The Princess (afterwards Queen) Elizabeth* (Queen Victoria); #175, 178: *Sir William Butts*; and *Lady Butts* (W.H. Pole Carew); #179: *William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury* (Archbishop of Canterbury); #182: *Sir John More* (Earl of Pembroke); #184: *A Young Man* (George P. Boyce); #188: *Sir Brian Tuke* (Marchioness of Westminster); #190: *Anton Fugger of Augsburg* (Francis Cook); #191: *John Herbster* (Earl of Northbrook); #192, 237: *Sir Nicholas Carew*; *Edward VI on Horseback* (Duke of Buccleuch); #198: *A Young Man* (Duke of Marlborough); and, #203: *William Tell (an Imaginary Portrait)* (Sir Philip Miles).

¹⁵⁶ Royal Academy, *Winter Exhibition* (London, 1880), pp. 31, 32, 35, 39, 40; Arthur B. Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1902), p. 39; Millais’ painting was purchased by Wilhelm II who gifted it to the Picture Gallery of the National Museums in Berlin in 1897/98: <https://recherche.smb.museum/detail/869795/herzog-anton-der-gute-von-lothringen-1489-1544>, accessed 19 July 2023.

¹⁵⁷ RAAA: GRI/3/681: Memorandum signed by George Richmond, on Athenæum Club (1887). See also: https://www.frick.org/blogs/curatorial/mapping_provenance_holbeins_sir_thomas_more, accessed 12 April 2023: Henry Clay Frick purchased the original painting from Edward

Either despite or because of these frequent displays, the British public developed a discerning attitude regarding the varying quality of such work. The Royal Academy's Winter Exhibition of 3 January to 13 March 1881 included Mrs Huth's Holbein of *Thomas More* (#194: Fig. 4) and *A Portrait of a Lady* (#201) as well as Dürer's *Deposition* (#229).¹⁵⁸ In response Harry Quilter, who succeeded Taylor as art critic for *The Times*, wrote about how "Early German art, although often of interest historically, is, of course, rarely gifted with much charm or attractiveness. A few, a very few, great names – the Van Eycks, Dürer, and Holbein – carry us to the unsatisfactory attempts made by Germany and Flanders to catch the graces of the Italian Renaissance".¹⁵⁹ Despite the efforts of many, German art was still found to be treated unfavourably in certain quarters.

6 Royal Academy lectures and John Evan Hodgson

Perhaps unsurprisingly it was often artists who took the deepest interest in the work of Dürer and Holbein in Britain. Jonathan Richardson (1667–1745) gave certain details of Holbein's life in his catalogue of artists, but little more, and gave grudging credit to Dürer for his unbeautiful but accurate perceptions of nature.¹⁶⁰ Although Joshua Reynolds PRA (1723–92) owned one work by Dürer and two by Holbein,¹⁶¹ the latter did not feature in his *Discourses* (1769–90), while the former received only two references. In the *Third Discourse*, he deemed Dürer inferior to the Italian tradition (following Vasari's judgement), even if he argued that the Franconian provided "a rich mass of genuine materials" for students in the *Sixth Discourse*.¹⁶² Henry Fuseli RA (1741–1825) also touched on the pair in the lectures he delivered as Professor of Painting at the Royal Academy (1799–1805; 1810–25).

Huth (Henry's son) for £55,000 in January 1912. The £1000 Richmond felt acceptable 25 years earlier reflected that "The original picture includes the hands and is much larger than the copy".

158 Royal Academy, *Exhibition of Works by Old Masters, and by Deceased Masters of the British School, including a Collection of Drawings by John Flaxman, R.A.* (London, 1881), 42, 43, 49.

159 Anon., "Burlington-House Loan Exhibition", *The Times* 30080 (1 January 1881), p. 6a.

160 Jonathan Richardson, *Essay on the Theory of Painting* (London: A. C., 1725), p. 273; Lottes, "Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer", p. 84.

161 Roger Fry, "Introduction", in Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy* (London: Seeley, 1905), pp. vii–xxi (p. xii); Sam Smiles (ed.), *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Acquisition of Genius* (Bristol: Sansom and Co., 2009), p. 122.

162 Reynolds, *Discourses*: "The Third Discourse [14 December 1770]", p. 49.

Dürer was “a man of great ingenuity, without being a genius”, who failing to “invent a style [...] copied rather than selected the forms that surrounded him and sans remorse tacked deformity and meagreness to fulness, and sometimes to beauty”.¹⁶³ Fuseli doubted the claims for Dürer as “the father of the German School” for “he neither reared scholars, nor was imitated by the German artists of his or the succeeding century”.¹⁶⁴ He preferred Holbein for “the scrupulous precision, the high finish, and the tizianesque colour” evident in his works and as a master of “invention” who exhibited “a style of design, equally poised between the emaciated dryness of Albert Durer and the bloated corpulence of Golzius”.¹⁶⁵ Fuseli’s own nationality and itineracy, as a Zurich-born Swiss artist who had moved to Britain, may explain his personal preferences here.¹⁶⁶ Fuseli’s views on Dürer were not forgotten with Elizabeth Eastlake quoting them in 1879.¹⁶⁷ Thomas Lawrence PRA (1769–1830) was also part of this academic tradition of engaging with the German Renaissance masters. In his 1827 prize-giving address he drew attention to an alleged self-portrait by Dürer which he had seen days before in Christie’s salesrooms, “attir’d in the picturesque and rich habit of his time – and he holds in his hands a small plant!”¹⁶⁸ Lawrence praised Dürer as a Renaissance man, “The artist – the philosopher – the man of science” and noted “The pleasure which that Portrait gave me – the homage it conveyed from the greatest to the simplest work of nature, together with the knowledge that no strangers would be here to check the free expression of an artists [sic] feelings, tempted me to this digression”.¹⁶⁹ Interestingly Lawrence owned a Dürer drawing.¹⁷⁰

163 Henry Fuseli, *Lectures on Painting: delivered at the Royal Academy March 1801* (London: Printed for J. Johnson): “Second Lecture”, pp. 87–89.

164 Fuseli, *Lectures on Painting*, pp. 87–89.

165 Fuseli, *Lectures on Painting*, pp. 94f. Interestingly Fuseli footnoted that “Hans Holbein, of Bafil, died in London, 1544, at the age of 46” (see p. 69).

166 DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/61: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 6 April [1862], p. 4. Scott lamented Fuseli’s own fate in British art historiography: “Is it not a pity Fuseli is left out in the collected English School? To try for the sublime is damnation to an English artist”. Aesthetic ideals not national identities were key to explaining this for Scott.

167 Eastlake, “Dürer”, p. 402.

168 RAAA: LAW/6/3: Thomas Lawrence, Manuscript Discourse (10 December 1827), 2r–v: The described painting resembles that in the Louvre, which given its provenance, suggest that the Christie’s portrait was a copy of the original painting formerly in the Imhoff collection in Nuremberg <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010065609>, accessed 12 April 2023: RF 2382: *Portrait de l’artiste tenant un chardon* (1493: acq. 1922).

169 RAAA: LAW/6/3: Thomas Lawrence, Manuscript Discourse, pp. 2r–v.

170 Robertson, *Eastlake and the Victorian Art World*, p. 52: Woodburn’s purchased Lawrence collection (March 1835: one thousand drawings in total) and sold it off in parts in May to July.

Much had changed by mid-century so that when Solomon Alexander Hart (1806–81) lectured to the Royal Academy students as Professor of Painting (1854–63) he laboured upon the difference between portraiture and historical painting, for

Portraiture [...] [as] a form of historical presentment [...] is more immediately dependent upon its capacity of individualizing, while on the other hand, the great art of the historical painter consists in the power which he manifests of generalizing from the individual facts which come under his observation in nature

with the synthetic process of the latter (“embodying many distinct attributes, gathered from various sources”) contrasting with the “individual portrait” and its “prosaic exemplification”.¹⁷¹ With such a statement, Hart contrasted the precision of capturing a historic person in isolation in a portrait compared with the more discursive handling of multiple figures in grand historical paintings. Such thinking aligned with Thomas Carlyle’s views that “Universal history, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here” and that “The History of the World [...] was the Biography of Great Men”.¹⁷² Elsewhere Macaulay speculated on parallels between the practices of painting portraits and writing histories: rendering the facts in both cases gave the artist or historian “no opportunity for displaying his abilities” for capturing a likeness “is merely mechanical” but that there was also a higher potentiality in “portraits which condense into one point of time, and exhibit, at a single glance, the whole history of turbid and eventful lives”.¹⁷³ Hart signalled Erasmus’ crucial role in changing the course of British art history through influencing Holbein’s move to Britain, whose “acknowledged mastery in the delineation of individual character” was critical for the national school, as “before the time of Holbein with the exception of Mabuse [a. k. a. Jan Gossaert] there are few if any traces of the presence among us of any artist of recognized ability”.¹⁷⁴ Holbein gained a further boost when Richard Redgrave RA (1804–88) and his brother Samuel (1802–76) cemented his foundational position in the historiography of British art. They believed that his residencies at the Tudor Court “had an imme-

¹⁷¹ RAAA: record sheet #878 – lectures by Solomon Hart (undated), p. 8.

¹⁷² Thomas Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero-Worship and Heroic in History* (London: Robson and Sons, 1840), pp. 1, 12.

¹⁷³ Thomas Babington Macaulay, “Critical and Historical Essays: *The Romance of History: England*. By Henry Neele, London: 1828 (May 1828)”, in *Miscellaneous Works of Lord Macaulay*, ed. by Lady Trevelyan (London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1875), I, p. 161; see also Potter, “An Introduction to Historical Art”, p. 8.

¹⁷⁴ RAAA: Hart, record sheet #878 – lectures by Solomon Hart, p. 52.

diate and lasting effect upon the art of our country” despite not leaving behind any followers.¹⁷⁵ Coincidentally, the path this drew for British art historians echoed a wider point made by Herder when he declared over eighty years earlier that: “Compare England with Germany: the English are Germans, and even in the latest times the Germans have led the way for the English in the greatest things”.¹⁷⁶

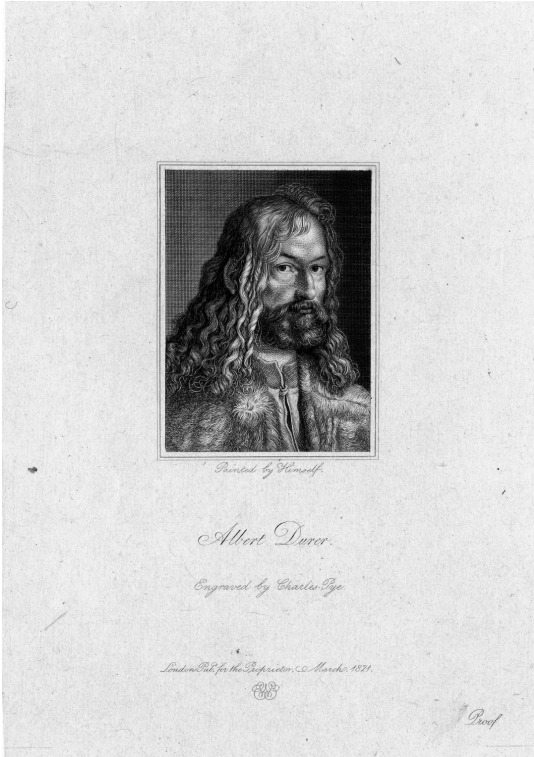


Fig. 6: Charles Pye, Jr., *Albrecht Dürer* (1821), Engraving with etching, printed on chine collé, 270 x 217 mm, British Museum, Bequeathed by Felix Slade, Registration number 1868,0822.1710 © The Trustees of the British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1868-0822-1710

¹⁷⁵ Richard and Samuel Redgrave, *A Century of Painters of the English School; with Critical Notices of their Works, and an Account of the Progress of Art in England*, 2 vols (London: Smith, Elder, and CO., 1866), I, pp. 25f.; Potter, *Inspirational Genius of Germany*, pp. 77, 154.

¹⁷⁶ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*, trans. T. Churchill (London: J. Johnson, [1784] 1800), p. 355.

Given its connection to the establishment and its position as a recipient of a Royal Charter, it is perhaps unsurprising that Holbein was taken up as subject matter for artists exhibiting at and working for the Royal Academy. Artistic depictions of German themes generally declined after 1860, as Will Vaughan has described, with only a few die-hard enthusiasts continuing such as William Cave Thomas, Scott, John Franklin, and Henry Courtney Selous.¹⁷⁷ The topics these Germanist artists chose often had direct connections to German publications, for example illustrations of scenes from works by Solomon Gessner,¹⁷⁸ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich Schiller, Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué, and the Brothers Grimm. Exhibited works also included picturesque subjects taken from anecdotes associated with famous Germans, such as Johannes Gutenberg, Martin Luther, George Frederic Handel, Frederick the Great, Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and Ludwig van Beethoven. However, examples of subjects taken from the lives of German artists were rare. Mostly working as a book-illustrator, Charles Pye (1777–1870) produced and exhibited ten portraits of historical printmakers from Albrecht Dürer (1821: Fig. 6) through to Hendrik Goltzius, displayed at William Bernard Cooke's 1821 exhibition of contemporary engravers.¹⁷⁹ Pye's historical mindedness via his engagement with Old Masters, was akin to the responses of J. M. W. Turner RA to Claude Lorraine and Raphael.¹⁸⁰

Depictions of Holbein's life in British nineteenth-century easel paintings coincided roughly with the 1843 tercentenary of Holbein's death. Despite Fuseli's early acknowledgement of this, in his lectures of 1799 to 1801, the accepted wisdom at the time was that Holbein had died in 1554 (see p. 69), so the "anniversary" must have been coincidental.¹⁸¹ Recorded representations of Holbein from this period included John Gilbert's *Holbein Painting the Portrait of Anne Boleyn*

177 William Vaughan, *German Romanticism and English Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), p. 249; see also pp. 66, 67, 99, 100, 117, 118, 142, 169–71, 233, 249, 262, 265: Vaughan helpfully audited exhibitions of German subjects in London between 1815 and 1860, and saw an increase from single figures annually between 1815–22 to a peak range of between twenty-one and fifty-six from 1838 to 1860.

178 Vaughan, *German Romanticism*, pp. 107–09, 259: Vaughan stresses that the inclusion of Adam and Eve in the scene must derive from Solomon Gessner's *Death of Abel*, first published in an English translation in 1761 and again with illustrations by Henry Richter in 1795 and Stothard in 1797.

179 Simpson, "Prints on Display", p. 82; Anon., *Exhibition of Engravings, by Living British Artists* (London: Apollo Press, 1821), p. 17; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1868-0822-1710, accessed 24 March 2023.

180 Michael Kitson, "Turner and Claude", *Turner Studies* 2:2 (1983), 2–15; Leo Costello, *J. M. W. Turner and the Subject of History* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 68f., 175.

181 Richardson, *Theory of Painting*, p. 273: gave his date of birth as 1498 and death as 1554.

(1841),¹⁸² Eyre Crowe's *Holbein drawing the Infant Son of Henry VIII and his Nurse, Mother Jack* (1849),¹⁸³ Frederick Cowie's *Henry VIII and Holbein "I can whenever I please make seven Lords of seven Ploughmen, but I cannot make one Holbein, even of seven Lords, etc."* (1858);¹⁸⁴ John Evan Hodgson's *Holbein's Studio* (1861), and Alphonse Legros' *Sir Thomas More showing some of Holbein's Pictures to Henry VIII* (1865).¹⁸⁵ Four of these examples are untraced. Gilbert's does however fit within the contexts of his wider oeuvre of historical genre painting of Tudor Court subjects, and his later depictions of *Rubens instructing the Younger Teniers* (1858) and *The Studio of Rembrandt* (1861).¹⁸⁶ Frederic George Stephens responded warmly to the imagined subject of the *Holbein* picture which: "had the great Augsburgers performed it, would no doubt have been eminently pictorial and fitted for the sumptuous art of John Gilbert".¹⁸⁷ It is clear, given the absence of other Germanist subjects in Gilbert's oeuvre, that Holbein was of interest as a 'British' phenomenon exclusively, i. e. as a member of Henry VIII's court. This would be in line with contemporary views of Gilbert, "whose English feeling and devotion to English landscape are their chief characteristics. For Sir John, England was always the England of St. George, Old, and Merrie, fertile mother of stalwart sons, rich soil of golden harvests",¹⁸⁸ as the Walter "Scott of Painting".¹⁸⁹ Holbein's *Edward VI as a Child* (1538) was possibly used as a source for Crowe's depiction of Holbein drawing Edward VII with his nurse.¹⁹⁰ Cowie's painting seems to have similarly called upon historical genre practices of illustrating anecdotes. It depicts an event when Holbein had pushed a nobleman down a flight of stairs in panic, and records the King's response to the Lord's petition for retribution, a

182 Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts; a Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work from its Foundation in 1769 to 1904*, 8 vols (London: H. Graves and Co., 1905), III, p. 234.

183 Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, II, p. 211.

184 Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, II, p. 185; Strong, *And When did you last see your Father*, p. 160.

185 Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, V, p. 24.

186 For example, *King Henry VIII., Act iii. Scene 2, Norfolk and Wolsey* (1845); *The Disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey* (1849); and *Wolsey and Buckingham* (1862).

187 [F. G. Stephens], "Sir John Gilbert, R. A.", *Athenæum* 3650 (9 October 1897), 494f.

188 The Editor [Marrion Harry Spielmann], "Sir John Gilbert, R.A., P. R. W. S.: A Memorial Sketch", *Magazine of Art* (January 1898), 53–64 (p. 56).

189 The Editor [Marrion Harry Spielmann], "Sir John Gilbert", p. 60.

190 Hans Holbein the Younger: *Edward VI as a Child*, probably 1538, <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.71.html>, accessed 31 January 2023; Anon., *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts, MDCCCXLIX: The Eighty-First* (London: Cowes and Sons., 1849), p. 30, #588.

story which was commonplace in nineteenth-century publications,¹⁹¹ and one that was originally recounted by van Mander in 1604.¹⁹² Legros' composition of *Sir Thomas More showing some of Holbein's pictures to Henry VIII* was an outlier in his oeuvre as the only historical genre painting he showed at the Royal Academy.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, Cosmo Monkhouse stressed that "it would be difficult to exhaust the list of those Old Masters who have truly been masters to him",¹⁹⁴ citing the influence of ancient Greek sculpture, Michelangelo and Velasquez upon Legros, and stating that "To the Germans, especially Holbein and Albert Dürer, he turned naturally [...] teachers to whom his grave angel consigned him—teachers full of that 'scorn of delight' which is at once the noblest feature of his art and the greatest obstacle to its popularity".¹⁹⁵ These Teutonic sources inspired his macabre and melancholic depictions,¹⁹⁶ such as *Death in the Pear-tree* (1873), where Monkhouse found "it is clear that the inspiration is due to Holbein",¹⁹⁷ for "The aspirations of a human soul towards a life beyond have been the motive of his least melancholy, the fears of that life of his grimmest, imaginings".¹⁹⁸ Legros undertook a *Memory Copy of Holbein's Erasmus* (n. d.: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.),¹⁹⁹ but also passed on his enthusiasms to his students, such as William Strang who worked under Legros between 1876 and 1882, and who would go on to produce Holbeinesque works in the early twentieth century.²⁰⁰

191 Anon., *The Monthly Repertory of English Literature* (Paris, 1809), p. 453; Mrs Markham, *A History of England* (London: John Murray, 1863), p. 232.

192 Arthur B. Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein the Younger*, 2 vols (London: George Allen & Co., 1913), II, pp. 344f.

193 Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, V, p. 24, #461 (RA 1868).

194 Cosmo Monkhouse, "Professor Legros", *Magazine of Art* 5 (January 1882), 327–34 (p. 329).

195 Monkhouse, "Professor Legros", p. 330.

196 Monkhouse, "Professor Legros", p. 332.

197 Monkhouse, "Professor Legros", p. 333.

198 Monkhouse, "Professor Legros", p. 334.

199 Alphonse Legros, *Memory Copy of Holbein's Erasmus*, <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.43643.html#bibliography>, accessed 20 July 2023.

200 For example, *Death and the Ploughman's Wife* (1888–94), <https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/work-of-art/title-page-to-i-death-and-the-ploughmans-wife>; *The Doings of Death* (1901); *A Holbein Lady (Strang No. 615)* (1909), <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/32800/holbein-lady-strang-no-615>; and his chalk portrait of the art dealer *David Croal Thomson* (1905): https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/107805?search=william%20strang&page=12&search_set_offset=733, accessed 20 July 2023.



Fig. 7: John Evan Hodgson, RA, *Holbein's Studio* (1861), oil on canvas, 91.5 x 71 cm, OP537, gift, 1951, Wolverhampton Art Gallery, image courtesy of Wolverhampton Art Gallery, <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/holbeins-studio-19184>



Fig. 8: British School, *The Family of Henry VIII*, (c. 1545), oil on canvas, 144.5 x 355.9 cm, RCIN 405796, Hampton Court Palace, <https://www.rct.uk/collection/405796/the-family-of-henry-viii>

Securing a place in a public gallery at a later date ensured Hodgson's painting, *Holbein's Studio* (1861: Fig. 7), remains accessible. Probably coincidentally it took a similar theme to the Swiss artist, Ludwig Adam Kelterborn's *Holbein's Studio* (c.1842).²⁰¹ Hodgson did study German at Rugby School, so may have kept abreast of such foreign art affairs, and accessed German-language scholarship on Holbein.²⁰² It is similarly reported that Frederic Leighton, a confirmed Germanist, admired both Hodgson's works and intellect.²⁰³ According to Taylor, "in his pictures from English history and past life, Mr. Hodgson has never deviated from the "lines" of honest workmanship, sober colour, and unaffected, earnest conception".²⁰⁴ Such was typical for "the St. John's Wood School" to which Hodgson belonged, but compared to Philip Hermogenes Calderon's dramatic excesses, Hodgson possessed "modest honesty and a conscientiousness, pushed to what some might call timidity and tameness".²⁰⁵ It is unclear how many of More's daughters were depicted in *Holbein's Studio* when it was exhibited in 1861. *The Times* suggested that it showed only Margaret Roper but the *Athenæum* described how "The

201 Griener, "Woltmann and the Holbein Dispute", p. 213.

202 George Dunlop Leslie, *The Inner Life of the Royal Academy* (London: John Murray, 1914), p. 190.

203 Leslie, *The Inner Life of the Royal Academy*, p. 193.

204 Tom Taylor, "English Painters of the Present Day. XIX – J. E. Hodgson", *The Portfolio: an Artistic Periodical*, 2 (1871), 17–19 (p. 17).

205 Taylor, "English Painters of the Present Day", p. 17.

charmed daughters stand by, lost in admiration”.²⁰⁶ Given his interest in history, art history and artefacts, which no doubt informed his work as the Royal Academy’s Librarian and Professor of Painting (1882–95), it is perhaps unsurprising that Hodgson used art historical sources for the objects with which he populated his picture. The tradition of mining source material from art history was long established, and artists used Dürer and Holbein in such ways from the sixteenth century onwards.²⁰⁷ The success of a historical genre painting depended also on its ability to conjure up a convincing environment in which the anecdotal events could take place. Hodgson’s antiquarian exploits aligned with nineteenth-century historical mindedness, and his composition constituted a bricolage of forms amalgamated in a complex and creative mental process of inspiration, emulation and modification. Hodgson drew upon Tudor interior designs, possibly copying the background of a painting of *The Family of Henry VIII* (c. 1545: Fig. 8) which depicts the gilded foliated decorative designs within wooden panels or embossed leather wall hanging (wrought leather or cordwain) at Whitehall Palace.²⁰⁸ The glass decanter on the window ledge to the right of Hodgson’s composition is a replication of that on the shelf to the upper right in the Longford Castle *Erasmus* (1523: Fig. 9), for example.²⁰⁹ This has been explained as a symbol of Erasmus’ habitual and enthusiastic consumption of Beaune (Burgundy), and his belief in its restorative powers.²¹⁰ Additionally, the vase of flowers which stands on the furniture on the left was a common device in Holbein’s own portraits. Not only do they feature in *The Merchant Georg Gisze* (1532) and the *Vanity* (1543), but also in Rowland Lockey’s *The Family of Thomas More* (c. 1594, Nostell Priory, nr. Wakefield, West Yorkshire, England: Fig. 10). While there are several incidences in the last of these, these components are intriguingly missing from the surviving

206 Royal Academy of Arts, *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts. MDCCCLXI. The Ninety-Third* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1861), p. 30: gives #608 as “A Visit to Holbein’s studio – Sir Thomas More and his daughters looking at his portrait”; Anon., “Exhibition of the Royal Academy. (Second Article)”, *The Times* 23931 (13 May 1861), p. 6; Anon., “Royal Academy”, *The Athenaeum*, 1751 (18 May 1861), 665–668 (p. 667a). That More’s other daughters may have originally been included but later removed seems unlikely given the general reliability of the critic of *The Times*.

207 Kayo Hirakawa, *The Pictorialization of Dürer’s Drawings in Northern Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009).

208 William Morris and J.[ohn] H.[enry] Middleton, “Mural Decoration”, *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Edinburgh: 1884), XVII, pp. 34–48 (pp. 38f., 47).

209 My thanks to Till-Holger Borchert (Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen) for directing my attention to the glass decanter.

210 Craig R. Thompson, trans. and annotated, *Collected Works of Erasmus: Colloquies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 155.

1527 sketch of the work in Basel.²¹¹ Even if Hodgson had not visited Nostell Priory, he would have been able to access the image via illustrations, such as that which appeared in *The Bijou*, which was also accompanied by a detailed textual description of the component parts of the composition.²¹²



Fig. 9: Hans Holbein the Younger, *Erasmus* (1523), oil on wood, 73.6 × 51.4 cm, National Gallery, London, on loan from Longford Castle collection, L658, © Longford Castle Collection, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/hans-holbein-the-younger-erasmus>

211 Kupferstich Kabinett, Öffentliche Sammlung, Basel, see <https://www.rct.uk/collection/659104/the-family-of-thomas-more: the 1787 print after the drawing in Basel Museum does not show the flowers in the vases so was not part of Hodgson's reconstructive process, accessed 20 April 2023>.

212 Anon., "The Family of Sir Thomas More", *The Bijou, or Annual of Literature and the Arts*, vol. 2 (London: William Pickering, 1829), pp. 193–223 (the illustration appearing between pp. 192 and 193).



Fig. 10: Thomas Anthony Dean (1829), etching of Rowland Lockey (?), after Hans Holbein the Younger, *Sir Thomas More and his Family* (c.1592–1620), etching, engraving and stipple on chine collé, 117 x 177 mm, British Museum, Registration Number 1868,0822.1172, @ Trustees of the British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1868-0822-1172



Fig. 11: Hans Holbein the Younger, *Self-portrait* (c. 1542–43), coloured chalks and pen, heightened with gold, 23 x 18 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Acc.no. 00287056, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hans_Holbein_d._J._-_Self-Portrait_-_WGA11609.jpg



Fig. 12: Félix Bracquemond after Hans Holbein the Younger, *Erasmus* (1863: after Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv.no.1345), etching, 320 x 250 millimetres, Gift of Campbell Dodgson, Registration number 1923,0714.150, British Museum, © The Trustees of the British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1923-0714-150

Hodgson later observed that “the tendency of modern art has uniformly been towards individualisation” and that Holbein’s portraits were “instances of great individualisation”.²¹³ Consistent with such beliefs, he similarly took inspiration from art historical sources for the people he depicted. The most important portrait within Hodgson’s picture was of Holbein himself. Holbein’s *Self-portrait* (c. 1542–43: Fig. 11) in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, provides a close parallel to Hodgson’s depiction of the artist. There are two principal options for the source of the picture shown as resting upon the easel. The first option is Holbein’s *Sir Thomas More* (1527; © Frick Collection, New York: Fig. 4). The 1527 portrait came to England in the Orléans sale of 1793, and was in the possession of the Huth family during the nineteenth century.²¹⁴ The second likely option is the lost portrait by Holbein of the same year which was known by numerous British copies.²¹⁵ Stephens suggested that the Nostell Priory picture was partly based on that work, but that other hands had finished the portraits of all but More and the animals, due to the lack of beauty, finesse, and harmony in those parts.²¹⁶ The composition of that group portrait seems to have been inspired by a letter from Erasmus.²¹⁷ Hodgson perhaps intentionally wished to emulate the intimacy captured in that painting. A further art historical reference was the facsimile of the Louvre’s *Portrait of Desiderius Erasmus* (1523: Fig. 12)²¹⁸ by Holbein, which hangs on the wall in the background. It is unclear why Hodgson chose this instead of the Longford Castle version (Fig. 9) from which he took the decanter, but he perhaps wanted to reference the breadth of the artist’s oeuvre. The latter painting had still not arrived at the National Gallery when Hodgson undertook his painting, but it was nevertheless

213 J. E. Hodgson, *Fifty Years of British Art: As Illustrated by the Pictures and Drawings in the Manchester Royal Jubilee Exhibition, 1887* (London: John Heywood, 1887), p. 186.

214 John Rowlands, *The Paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1985), p. 132.

215 David R. Smith, “Portrait and Counter-Portrait in Holbein’s ‘The Family of Sir Thomas More’”, *The Art Bulletin* 87:3 (September 2005), 484–506; Anne T. Woollett, “The Pictorial Eloquence of Hans Holbein the Younger”, in *Holbein: Capturing Character*, ed. by Anne T. Woollett (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2021), pp. 1–25 (p. 8); see also <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw01734/Sir-Thomas-More-his-father-his-household-and-his-descendants> for a 1593 copy (NPG 2765: acq. 1935) also by Lockley, accessed 20 April 2023; which in the nineteenth century was owned by the Lenthall family at Burford Priory (until 1833); then Walter Strickland, and C. W. Dormer, before being bought by Sir Hugh Lane at Christie’s, and then Viscount Lee of Fareham. See Lesley Lewis, *The Thomas More Family Group Portraits After Holbein* (Leominster: Gracewing, Fowler Wright Books, 1998), p. 32; see Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein the Younger*, II, p. 295: the Nostell Priory copy was previously in Margeret Roper’s possession.

216 Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein the Younger*, II, pp. 295–297.

217 Smith, “Portrait and Counter-Portrait”, p. 484.

218 Rowlands, *Holbein’s Paintings*, p. 129.

well-known. Waagen commented upon it on his 1835 tour as “the most spirited and true to nature, and probably one of those which Erasmus sent to Sir Thomas More before Holbein’s journey to England” and how it was “painted in the bright, yellowish, yet clear tone of the flesh, which Holbein had adopted from his father”.²¹⁹ Thirty years later Wornum conducted correspondence with the Longford Castle staff over the painting and its inscriptions.²²⁰ A draft of a letter from Wornum to Lord Longford reveals his views that the portrait was likely Erasmus’ gift, due to its similarity to More’s description of the picture, but that the *Aegidius [Quiniet]* was not by Holbein (suggesting Quentin Matsys instead).²²¹ Alfred Woltmann (1841–80) also wrote to Wornum about the picture.²²²

Hodgson’s depiction of More’s daughter, Margaret Roper (1505–44), was not unusual for British artists, who took special interest in her as an inspirational heroine from the pages of history books. Perhaps the recent fifth centenary of her death stimulated Hart’s *The Parting of Sir Thomas More and his Daughter Margaret Roper* (1847) and John Rogers Herbert’s *Sir Thomas More and his Daughter Margaret Roper, both standing in front of a Window on the left, in his Room in the Tower of London* (1849).²²³ Literature may also have played a significant promotional part. Roper was invoked by Tennyson in his *A Legend of Fair Women* (1833) which was revised, retitled, and republished as the *Dream of Fair Women* in 1842. The Catholic writer Agnes M. Stewart’s novel, *Margaret Roper: or, The Chancellor and his Daughter* (1874),²²⁴ perhaps likewise fuelled the later artistic interventions of Lucy Madox Brown’s *Margaret Roper rescuing the Head of her Father Sir Thomas More* (1873) and William Frederick Yeames’ *The Execution of Sir Thomas More* (1875).²²⁵ Hodgson’s artwork did not coincide with these two literary inter-

²¹⁹ Gustave Friedrich Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists in England*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1838), III, pp. 52f.

²²⁰ NGA02/4/2/35: Rochesland [?] to Wornum, 8 October 1865; Amelia Lucy Rose Smith, “Acquisition, Patronage and Display: Contextualising the Art Collections of Longford Castle during the Long Eighteenth Century” PhD University of London, 2 vols (2017), I, p. 368.

²²¹ NGA02/3/2/14/28: Draft of a letter from R. N. Wornum to Lord [Longford?], 10 October 1865. See Claude Phillips, “The Collection of Pictures at Longford Castle”, *Art Journal* (April 1897), 97–104 (pp. 100–102).

²²² NGA02/4/2/243/6: Dr Alfred Woltmann to R. N. Wornum, 25 June 1868.

²²³ Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, IV, p. 12; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1863-0509-537 and https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1872-1012-1987, accessed 28 April 2023.

²²⁴ Agnes M. Stewart, *Margaret Roper: or, The Chancellor and his Daughter* (London: Burns and Oates, [1874]), p. v.

²²⁵ See https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_2009-7022-30, accessed 28 April 2023.

ventions, and he may well have synthesized numerous sources for his depiction of Roper as visual sources were scant. It has been argued that the *More Family Portrait* alone offers an authentic image of her,²²⁶ and this was replicated in the Knole portrait.²²⁷ A copy of Holbein's portrait of *Catherine of Aragon* (1652) by Hollar, previously mis-attributed as a portrait of Margaret or Anna Roper, is also a possible source Hodgson might have used.²²⁸ Another drawing formerly in George Salting's collection shows similar features to the Nostell *Family Portrait* but is inconclusive in its attribution as a portrait of Roper,²²⁹ as is a drawing of Lady Heveningham [Henegham].²³⁰ There is a general resemblance between the facial features in Hodgson's painting and those in Holbein's *Portrait miniature of Margaret Roper* (c. 1535–36: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Fig. 13),²³¹ the gable headdresses with red lappets are nearly identical as well, even if other parts of her costume deviate: the black gown, fur tippet and crimson pleated sleeves gave way to a lighter dress, golden bodice and brown cuffs and light yellow sleeves in Hodgson's painting.²³² In the middle of the nineteenth century, that miniature was still in the possession of the Roper family, so it is unclear if or how Hodgson could have come across it, unless it was available as a reproduction.²³³ The *More Family Portrait* likewise shows Roper in a different gown, and, moreover, the headdresses do not match. Alternatively, he may have drawn upon one of the many available copybooks of historic costumes, such as Charles Martin's *Civil Costume of England from the Conquest to the Present Period* (London: Henry Bohn, 1842).²³⁴ The history of Tudor costumes was of particular interest to James Robinson Planché and he directed his readers to the prints of Holbein's works as valu-

²²⁶ Roy Strong, *National Portrait Gallery: Tudor & Jacobean Portraits* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1969), I, p. 269; Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein the Younger*, II, p. 303.

²²⁷ Chamberlain, *Holbein*, II, p. 307, <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/margaret-more-15051544-mrs-william-roper-218937>, accessed 30 April 2023.

²²⁸ Chamberlain, *Holbein*, II, pp. 307, 308, <https://www.rct.uk/collection/421499/katherine-of-aragon-1485-1536> RCIN 421499, accessed 30 April 2023.

²²⁹ Chamberlain, *Holbein*, II, p. 309, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1910-0212-105, accessed 30 April 2023.

²³⁰ Chamberlain, *Holbein*, I, p. 309, II, pp. 248, 252, <https://www.rct.uk/collection/912227/mary-lady-heveningham-151015-157071> RCIN 912227, accessed 30 April 2023.

²³¹ Elizabeth Cleland, Adam Eaker, Marjorie E. Wieseman and Sarah Bochicchio, *The Tudors: Art and Majesty in Renaissance England* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2022), pp. 222f.

²³² Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 238.

²³³ Paul Ganz, *The Paintings of Hans Holbein* (London: Phaidon Press, 1950), p. 258.

²³⁴ Potter, "An Introduction to Historical Art", p. 14.

able guides.²³⁵ Antiquarian accuracy was also possible thanks to the efforts of artists like Joseph Strutt who gave verbal descriptions of Tudor costumes.²³⁶ Hodgson's Roper lacks the blanched facial skin tones of Tudor lead-based make-up which are notable in the Nostell Priory version of the *More Family Portrait* (compared with the men and Lady Alice Middleton, Roper's stepmother on the far right of the composition, who all exhibit rosier flesh tones).²³⁷ Roper's features as rendered by Hodgson actually match those of Hollar's *Catherine of Aragon* much better, again reinforcing the potential synthetic interpretation of his process.



Fig. 13: Hans Holbein the Younger, *Margaret Roper* (1535–36), vellum laid on playing card, diameter 45 mm, Acc.No.:50.69.2, Rogers Fund, 1950, Metropolitan Museum, New York, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/436662>

²³⁵ J. R. Planché, *British Costumes: A Complete History of the Dress of the Inhabitants of the British Isles* (London: M. A. Nattali, 1834), p. 250.

²³⁶ Joseph Strutt, *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England*, 2 vols (London: Printed by J. Nichols, for J. Edwards, 1799), II, p. 345.

²³⁷ Chamberlain, *Holbein*, II, p. 307. General Lord Methuen loaned a portrait of Margaret Roper that Chamberlain believed was Alice Middleton based on comparisons to the *More Family Portrait* version at Nostell Priory.

William Blake Richmond, RA, seemingly inherited his interest in German art from his father. He visited Germany in 1887 and 1890, and exhibited five works at the Berlin Jubilee Exhibition of 1886, winning a gold medal.²³⁸ His work as a portraitist took him to Berlin to paint the British Ambassador Edward Malet and his wife, as well as the *Ministerpräsident* Otto von Bismarck (1888),²³⁹ and he socialised with Friedrich Lippmann of the Berliner Kupferstichkabinett, the academic Theodor Mommsen, and the politician Alexander von Schleinitz.²⁴⁰ Given the rich collection of prints by Dürer and Holbein in the Kupferstichkabinett it is likely that his conversations with Lippmann touched upon these works, as he noted: “Every day I go to the museum to see more & more lovely things. I am going carefully through all their drawings. Flemish, Italian, German, etc. And feel so shamed how great the old artists were as compared to me”.²⁴¹ On his return to England, he wrote to his daughter, “I’ve just come from Germany where Holbein has been my joy and I am writing about him for the R. A. students”.²⁴² He seems not to have delivered the Holbein lecture immediately, for a note in the typescript of the lectures suggests it may have finally been integrated into the series of talks he delivered later as Professor of Painting (either between 1894 and 1895 or 1910 and 1912, for he occupied that role twice).²⁴³ Dürer featured in his first lecture on “design and drawing”, for to develop a “clear appreciation of form [...] In his early years the student would be better to follow Van Eyck or Dürer, rather than Velasquez or Gainsborough” for “They could command nature only after having followed her. There is no short cut”.²⁴⁴ Again Dürer’s scientific naturalism was the object of esteem here. In his third lecture on “Great portrait artists”, W. B. Richmond

238 RAAA: RI/2/23: James Fergusson, Foreign Office, to W. B. Richmond, 26 April 1887: sending the Gold medal awarded on 10 September 1886; Akademie der Künste, “Zur Chronik der Akademie, vom April 1. 1886 bis Ende März 1887”, *Illustrierter Katalog: Jubiläums-Ausstellung der Kgl. Akademie der Künste im Landes-Ausstellungsgebäude zu Berlin, 31. Juli bis Mitte October 1887* (Berlin: Emil Dominik, 1887), p. xviii; Simon Reynolds, *William Blake Richmond: An Artist’s Life, 1842–1921* (Norwich: Michael Russell, 1995), p. 207.

239 Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, VI, p. 294.

240 Reynolds, *William Blake Richmond*, pp. 208–211, 236f.; RAAA: RI/1/76: W. B. Richmond, [British Embassy, Berlin] to Helen Richmond [November/December 1887].

241 RAAA: RI/1/76: W. B. Richmond, [British Embassy, Berlin] to Helen Richmond [November/December 1887].

242 RAAA: RI/1/77: W. B. Richmond, Beavor Lodge, Hammersmith, to [Laura Richmond] [1887–1888].

243 RAAA: RI2/36, a typescript of his final Royal Academy lectures from 1910–12, p. i: this officially represents the lectures from his second term as Professor of Painting but they likely had not substantially changed from the 1894–95 lectures, as was common practice.

244 RAAA: RI2/36, p. 8: “Lecture 1: Design and Drawing”, p. 8.

exclaimed that “Historically it is, perhaps, the most enlightening and interesting branch of our Art”.²⁴⁵ In contrast to the flamboyance and panache of Velazquez, this time Holbein was praised for the lesson he learned from his father that “in order to express ideas or delineate facts, drawing must become second nature”.²⁴⁶ W. B. Richmond was not unique in highlighting the centrality of Holbein to British art in his RA lectures, as Hart and the Redgraves had done before him (see p. 45), and he reflected upon the merits of Holbein’s *The Merchant Georg Gisze* (1532) in the Berlin gallery, which he had no doubt seen in 1887. The tangibility of Holbein’s style was captivating for him for not only was it “right and noble in tone and colour, and every detail [...] done to perfection” but “We almost feel we could handle the coins on the table, on each of which is an inscription and date; open the books, of which the titles can be read; and smell the scent of the Persian Pink standing in a Venetian glass of inimitable workmanship”.²⁴⁷ Not content with transforming Gisze into an Englishman, he did the same for the sitter in the other masterpiece he identified as being from Holbein’s hand, *The Portrait of Charles de Solier, Sir de Morett, French Ambassador to London* (1535) also in Germany, in the Dresdener Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, which he contended actually depicted an “English merchant”.²⁴⁸ He also recounted Holbein’s use of preparatory drawings for his portraits, which may have been a later supplement to the 1895–96 lectures following visits to the Windsor Castle collection in 1908.²⁴⁹ He observed that “The great quality of Holbein’s portraiture is his distinct and unmistakable rendering of character” and that “His art is not only accurate but penetrating; he gives us the minds of his sitters; witness, particularly, his portrait of Erasmus”.²⁵⁰ The psychological perceptiveness of Holbein here equalled the accuracy of his skills of natural observation.

Discussing the paintings by Holbein in London’s National Gallery, W. B. Richmond felt *The Ambassadors* and *The Duchess of Milan* were both lesser works, and did not seem to have kept up with latest scholarship for “who the

²⁴⁵ RAAA: RI2/36, p. 34: “Lecture 3: Great portrait artists”, p. 1.

²⁴⁶ RAAA: RI2/36, p. 43: “Lecture 3: Great portrait artists”, p. 10.

²⁴⁷ RAAA: RI2/36, p. 44: “Lecture 3: Great portrait artists”, p. 11: W. B. Richmond called it the *Englishman with the Pink* (it features a pink carnation) in the King’s Gallery (now the Gemäldegalerie), Berlin.

²⁴⁸ RAAA: RI2/36, p. 44: “Lecture 3: Great portrait artists”, p. 11.

²⁴⁹ RAAA: RI2/36, p. 45: “Lecture 3: Great portrait artists”, p. 12. See also: RAAA: RI/1/97: W. B. Richmond, to [Ernest Tatham Richmond: his son], 14 June 1908: where he discusses visiting “the Holbein’s and Leonardo’s” in Windsor Castle with John Fortescue.

²⁵⁰ RAAA: RI2/36, p. 45: “Lecture 3: Great portrait artists”, p. 12.

Ambassadors were is not known with certainty”.²⁵¹ In his fifth lecture, he reflected upon the importance of portrait painting for posterity: “The purpose of great portrait painters has always been to give the whole man; his mind, as well as his body; everything of detail, as well as of mass. The man was to live for coming generations”, and how it was crucial to capture the sitter in characteristic mental activity for “The human countenance is noblest when the mind is active, and the features at rest”. W. B. Richmond again noted the excellence of the Berlin and Dresden examples of Holbein’s balance of appropriate levels of detail, suggesting that such artists managed to mentally engage their sitters “to find points of contact and mutual interest” with them and “by the exercise of his powers of sympathy [...] he is enabled to present his sitter and reveal his mind” with “the visible counterpart of the soul and presents the incarnation of the spirit” for “When portraiture is handled by the greater Artists, it can pass on to futurity, not only the outer semblance of the prime movers in History, but also the immortal part of them”.²⁵² W. B. Richmond saw portraits as powerful repositories of history, just as Carlyle, Macaulay and Hart did before him.

Within Academic circles, therefore, Holbein enjoyed a more privileged position than Dürer. The Royal Academicians who lectured on these artists were invariably drawn to their portraits, no doubt due to the natural affinities formed by their own portraiture practices in the case of Reynolds, Lawrence, Hart and W. B. Richmond. Dürer’s art historical importance as a leader of the Northern Renaissance made for little leverage against such personal interests despite the academic and art educational contexts of these lectures.

7 Woltmann, Wornum and Holbein

Scholars at the National Gallery were also instrumental in the reception of the German Renaissance in Britain and this section explores the part played by Wornum in the 1860s and 1870s via previously untapped correspondence. As previously mentioned, internationalism and naturalism played important roles in negotiating Holbein’s art historical position in the nineteenth century. It was not solely a German enterprise as international scholars made significant contributions. Léon de Laborde, for example, helped to categorise the quintessential style

²⁵¹ RAAA: RI2/36, p. 46: “Lecture 3: Great portrait artists”, p. 13: the 1909 acquisition date of *The Duchess of Milan* suggests that this observation was added for the 1910–12 delivery of the lecture series.

²⁵² RAAA: RI2/36, pp. 75, 77: “Lecture 5: Portraits”, pp. 1, 9, 11.

of Holbein in 1849.²⁵³ Arguably the next major contribution by an international scholar came from Wornum. This centred on the debate over which of the two versions of the *Madonna of Jakob Meyer zum Hasen* was authentic – either that in the Schlossmuseum Darmstadt (Fig. 14) or that in the Staatlichen Gemäldegalerie im Zwinger zu Dresden (Fig. 3). Artistic attributions were hotly contested before the era of material art history and professional connoisseurship.²⁵⁴ The continued importance of the Old Masters within the growing nineteenth-century art market meanwhile encouraged the development of better methods of attribution.²⁵⁵ As rival scholars in Britain, Italy, and Germany jostled for position the issue of national prestige also hovered over these debates.²⁵⁶ The *Holbeinstreit* (Holbein dispute) is a classic example of such activities. In 1865 Albert von Zahn declared that the Darmstadt version, recently arrived from Berlin, was the earlier version, but that the Dresden copy was also by Holbein.²⁵⁷ By the end of that decade German scholars agreed with this chronological order, including Woltmann,²⁵⁸ however, no definitive evidence supported this consensus. Wornum's thorough iconographical analysis ultimately provided the evidence needed to persuade scholars that the Dresden version was no longer an autographic work when the two versions were displayed together at the *Holbein-Ausstellung* (15 August to 15 October 1871).²⁵⁹ The Darmstadt version had been reproduced numerous times, for example, by Franz Hanfstängl (1837) and Moritz Steinla (c. 1841), but the occasion of the centenary led to the Arundel Society commissioning Christian Schultz's 1868 watercolour from which they made the first British colour lithograph in 1871 (Fig. 14).²⁶⁰

²⁵³ Haskell, *History and its Images*, p. 440; Léon de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris: Plon frères, 1849), I, p. lxxi.

²⁵⁴ Helen Rees Leahy, "'For Connoisseurs': The Burlington Magazine 1903–11", in *Art History and its Institutions: Foundations of a Discipline*, ed., Elizabeth Mansfield (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 231–245 (pp. 231, 242); Potter, *Inspirational Genius of Germany*, p. 220.

²⁵⁵ Alison Clarke, *Spaces of Connoisseurship: Judging Old Masters at Agnew's and the National Gallery, c. 1874–1916* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), p. 221.

²⁵⁶ Jaynie Anderson, "The Political Power of Connoisseurship in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Wilhelm von Bode versus Giovanni Morelli", *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 38. Bd., Beiheft. „Kenntenschaft“. *Kolloquium zum 150sten Geburtstag von Wilhelm von Bode* (1996), 107–119 (pp. 107f).

²⁵⁷ Bättschmann, "Der Holbein-Streit", pp. 90, 92; Erika Michael, *Hans Holbein the Younger: A Guide to Research* (New York and London: Garland, 1997), pp. 347, 349; items #905 and #913.

²⁵⁸ Borchert, "Hans Holbein and the German Romantics", p. 187.

²⁵⁹ Griener, "Woltmann and the Holbein Dispute", p. 219; Bättschmann, "Der Holbein-Streit", p. 90.

²⁶⁰ *Copy after the painting Virgin and Child*, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O206115/copy-after-the-painting-virgin-watercolour-painting-christian-schultz/>, accessed 22 August 2023.



Fig. 14: Christian Schultz after Hans Holbein, *Saint Mary (the Blessed Virgin) with the Christ Child and Members of the Meyer family as Donors* (London: The Arundel Society, 1871), Colour lithograph, <https://iiif.wellcomecollection.org/image/V0034117/full/full/0/default.jpg>

The collaborative network that then existed is evidenced by the friendly correspondence between Woltmann and Wornum in the years around their respective publications. Wornum had been appointed as a lecturer for the Government Schools of Design in 1848, and in 1852 became their Librarian, before being appointed Keeper of the National Gallery (1855–77).²⁶¹ The much younger Woltmann had produced the first volume of his pioneering biography, *Holbein und seine Zeit*, in 1866, which is regarded as “the most important nineteenth-century German scholarly monograph on Holbein”, and no doubt assisted him in securing tenure at the Karlsruhe Polytechnicum (1868).²⁶² When Woltmann discovered their common research interests, he declared jocularly “So we are rivals. And to be quite frank, I was not exactly surprised when I found out about this from your letter”, declaring the abandonment of his plans for an English edition of his book and suggesting that Wornum feel free to use his publication to assist in his own book project.²⁶³ Despite Woltmann’s declaration an English translation nevertheless appeared in 1872,²⁶⁴ and Cundall also excerpted it in his 1879 publication.²⁶⁵ Their mutual confidence in each other was considerable as Woltmann shared his experiences freely. He declared that he had “been working on Holbein continuously for 3 years, I think I have complete command of the material in Germany and Switzerland, in documents (from the archives of Basel, Bern and Augsburg) as well as in paintings and drawings”,²⁶⁶ shared his desire to produce an illustrated album of Holbein’s works,²⁶⁷ and confided in Wornum his

261 Thomas Seecombe, “Wornum, Ralph Nicholson,” in *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1900), LXIII, pp. 31f.; NGA02/4/4/7: W. B. Scott to R. N. Wornum, 6 January 1855: Scott asked whether he might move back to London to take over his friend’s former employment at Marlborough House. The two were friends as evidenced by letters (DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/15: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti (7 March 1853) where Scott referred to Wornum’s week-long visit and described him acerbically as Henry Cole’s “chief fiddler” due to his work in assisting Scott’s nemesis at the Government Schools of Design) and his *Life Drawing of R. N. Wornum* (n. d.): https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/17915?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=5&search_set_offset=309, accessed 7 July 2023.

262 Michael, *Holbein Guide to Research*, p. 233, item #478.

263 NGA02/4/2/243/2: A. Woltmann to R. N. Wornum, 27 November 1865, p. 1; my translation from the German.

264 Alfred Woltmann, *Holbein and his Times*, trans. by F.[anny] E.[lizabeth] Burnett (London: R. Bentley and Son, 1972).

265 Joseph Cundall, *Hans Holbein; from “Holbein und seine Zeit”* (London: S. Low Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1879).

266 NGA02/4/2/243/2: A. Woltmann to R. N. Wornum. 27 November 1865, p. 1; my translation from the German.

267 NGA02/4/2/243/2: A. Woltmann to R. N. Wornum. 27 November 1865, p. 1; my translation from the German; Michael, *Holbein Guide to Research*, p. 201: item #339.

decision to reduce the projected size of *Holbein und seine Zeit* from eight to two volumes. He also discussed his discoveries since going to press, the various corrections he had made, his preference for the portrait of “Gysen” (i. e. Gisze) over that of Morett, as well as his opinions of artworks by Holbein in the possession of the German and Swiss galleries.²⁶⁸

Woltmann also noted the scant research on Holbein in England, citing his reliance upon Waagen’s commentaries due to his own inability to access these artworks: he thus felt that Wornum’s forthcoming publication would be a valuable addition to Waagen who had “taken the first step”.²⁶⁹ Much art historical writing on Holbein prior to the 1860s was, however, crucially distorted by the Augsburg-based artist and restorer, Andreas Eigner (1801–70), who not only forged documents but also added inscriptions on artworks.²⁷⁰ Woltmann had worked closely with Eigner, and was shocked and embarrassed about his mentor’s wilful deceptions. He shared an example of Eigner’s counterfeit documents which he had checked himself in the Frauenkloster St. Katharina in Augsburg, and warned Wornum about Eigner’s proclamations, for “he likes to tell stories about which you have to be very careful. I treasure him personally very much, recognize him as a restorer, and especially his excellent varnish, about which I also think I wrote. Nevertheless, I have to warn you concerning other respects” but “not to tell anyone anything about this and to regard it as a matter of trust”.²⁷¹ After Eigner’s death, Woltmann wrote again to Wornum instructing him to disregard an earlier essay he had sent him which was dependent upon the restorer’s misleading work on a painting: “The inscription is a forgery. It has been proved some days ago. It has gone away being touched with turpentine – Old Eigner, who died some month’s [sic] ago, has made it – he was a dangerous fellow! And we have been what they call in Berlin ‘auf den Leim gehen’ [hoodwinked]”.²⁷² The essay to which Woltmann was referring may have been that which he published in the

268 NGA02/4/2/243/2: A. Woltmann to R. N. Wornum, 27 November 1865, p. 2; my translation from the German.

269 NGA02/4/2/243/3: A. Woltmann to R. N. Wornum, 18 December 1865, p. 1; my translation from the German.

270 Griener, “Woltmann and the Holbein Dispute”, p. 213; see also Michael, *Holbein Guide to Research*, pp. 83f., 145, 220, 305, 308–10: Woltmann explored the forgeries (without naming his previous mentor) in articles from July 1863 and 1871.

271 NGA02/4/2/243/2: A. Woltmann to R. N. Wornum, 27 November 1865, pp. 3f.; my translation from the German.

272 NGA02/4/2/243/7: A. Woltmann to R. N. Wornum, 17 June 1871. I thank Dr Daniel Laqua for assistance with the German idiom.

Fine Arts Quarterly Review in 1864–65.²⁷³ The repercussions of such falsehoods were transformative for understanding Holbein's oeuvre for

The early years of Holbein's birth is to be sacrificed, the so called youth pictures must be works by the father. And the bearing of the cross at Carlsruhe, signed and dated HH 1515, given by myself through the later time [to] the father as the last essay, seems to be the first picture by the son.²⁷⁴

Woltmann was trying to compensate for previous errors made in good faith, and his candidness with Wornum is both revealing and warming. His high regard for his English colleague led him to encourage Wornum to travel to see the double hang: "I hope you will come to the Holbein Exhibition in Dresden? I shall be there at the middle of August, and I should be very glad to see you".²⁷⁵ For all of their friendliness, Woltmann nevertheless did not mention the *Holbein Kolloquium* (5 September 1871) that was planned and in which he participated.²⁷⁶

Despite exposing Eigner's fakes through diligent examinations, Woltmann's nationalistic leanings nevertheless prohibited him from rejecting the Romantic position.²⁷⁷ In *Holbein und seine Zeit*, Woltmann outlined the evidence for more medieval Gothic elements in the Darmstadt composition but could not dismiss the Dresden version as from the hand of the master: he maintained them as free-standing autographic versions, albeit dating the Darmstadt as pre-1526 and the Dresden version as post-1539.²⁷⁸ He thus sustained the idea of a German Renaissance type in the Dresden *Madonna* which constituted a national treasure.²⁷⁹ Eigner's Nazarenish restoration work (on other artworks not the Dresden *Madonna*) supported Woltmann in arriving at such aesthetic conclusions.²⁸⁰ Without naming Eigner, Wornum blamed the Germans who had been duped (principally

²⁷³ Michael, *Holbein Guide to Research*, p. 233, item #475: Alfred Woltmann, "The Year of Holbein's Birth", *Fine Arts Quarterly Review* 3 (October 1864–January 1865), 112–17.

²⁷⁴ NGA02/4/2/243/7: A. Woltmann to R. N. Wornum, 17 June 1871.

²⁷⁵ NGA02/4/2/243/7: A. Woltmann to R. N. Wornum, 17 June 1871.

²⁷⁶ Lena Bader, "'The Holbein Exhibition of 1871 – an Iconic Turning Point for Art History'", in *Monographic exhibitions and the history of art*, ed. by Maia Wellington Gahtan and Donatella Pegazzano (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 129–142 (p. 135). In addition to Woltmann other participants included Adolph Bayersdorfer, Wilhelm Lübke, Carl von Lütow, Moritz Thausing, and Karl Woermann.

²⁷⁷ Bätschmann, "Der Holbein-Streit", p. 89; Griener, "Woltmann and the Holbein Dispute, 1863–1871", pp. 214–17.

²⁷⁸ Bätschmann, "Der Holbein-Streit", pp. 90, 92.

²⁷⁹ Bätschmann, "Der Holbein-Streit", pp. 88f.

²⁸⁰ Michael, *Hans Holbein*, pp. 63, 95f., 747; Ulrike Vogelsang, "Gemälderestaurierung im 19. Jahrhundert am Beispiel Andreas Eigner", PhD University of Cologne (1985).

Waagen and Passavant) into distorting Holbein's historiography.²⁸¹ The archival research of William Henry Black and Augustus W. Franks was crucial in finally setting Holbein's date of death at 1543, which, as with the revelation of the Eigner forgeries, necessitated reattributions of previously-deemed 'late works' to other artists.²⁸² Franks was in correspondence with Scharf and Wornum, and sent copies of his article to the latter.²⁸³ Wornum was confident in the veracity of Franks' discovery, and believed that Waagen dismissed it due to the damage it caused to his own theories: "The D^r no doubt finds it very unpleasant after his discovery of Holbein's later style – But if he could, after seeing it, pronounce that Bridewell picture a Holbein, anything might pass as a Holbein with him".²⁸⁴ Waagen discussed *Edward VI granting the Royal Charter to Bridewell Hospital* (c. 1553) and based on viewing it from a distance declared it an original Holbein but poorly maintained.²⁸⁵ Wornum confidently dismissed that work following his own examination and the de-attribution stands.²⁸⁶ He shared the results of his fieldwork (see p. 74) with Woltmann and their repercussions for attributions:

I have been lately on a Holbein tour. There are several pictures which have till quite recently been considered the father's work which are certainly the son's, and the "Life of Christ" at Basel, now called the son's, is, I am quite satisfied, the work of the father. I am equally convinced that the two portraits of a lady, these are known as Lais Corinthiaca, are not the work of Holbein. Waagen's theory about these portraits seems to me quite absurd.²⁸⁷

281 Wornum, *Some Account of Holbein*, pp. 44, 50, 87, 94.

282 William Henry Black, "I. Discovery of the Will of Hands Holbein, by William Henry Black, Esq. FSA., with Remarks on the same by Augustus W. Franks, Esq., Director ... read February 26 1862", *Archaeologia*, 39 (January 1863), 1–18; Michael, *Holbein Guide to Research*, p. 134: Frank's article triggered John Gough Nichols' "Notices of the Contemporaries and Successors of Holbein", *Archaeologia* 39 (1863), 18–46. This responded to Black and Frank's discovery by offering suggested reattributions to other artists of the works between 1843 and 1854 previously attributed to Holbein. Wornum, *Some Account of Holbein*, pp. 18, 22f.: identified the source of the incorrect death date of 1554 as Carel van Mander, *Het Schilder-boek* (Amsterdam: 1604).

283 NGA02/4/2/67: Augustus W. Franks to Wornum, 28 August 1865.

284 NGA02/3/2/14/27: Copy of a letter from Wornum to an unknown person, 4 September 1865; Michael, *Holbein Guide to Research*, pp. 358f., item #954: Alfred Woltmann, "Holbein's 'Lais Corinthiac', Gestochen von F. Weber", *Kunst-Chronik* 2 (1867), 137–39: claimed the work as an authentic Holbein.

285 Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, II, p. 328.

286 *The Presentation of the Royal Charter by Edward VI*, <https://artuk.org/discover/art-works/the-presentation-of-the-royal-charter-by-edward-vi-69858>, accessed 31 August 2023.

287 NGA02/3/2/14/27: Wornum to an unknown person, 4 September 1865.

He disputed Waagen's logic for the attribution as it was based on the Amerbach Catalogue which "was made sixty years after Holbein left Basle".²⁸⁸ After debating the veracity and interpretations of the inscription at the heart of Waagen's interpretation, Wornum declared that "Your paper will be very useful to me in the preparation of an article on Holbein" and his belief that "The great picture at Dresden is to me a copy of that at Darmstadt which I saw for the first time, the other day".²⁸⁹ Woltmann was largely blameless for not only had he discovered Holbein's place and date of birth but by *Holbein und seine Zeit* Wornum had been "spared falling into the same errors respecting these Augsburg pictures".²⁹⁰ Wornum's assaults on Waagen were not restricted to his correspondence with Woltmann: he censured in print the various errors of attribution he perceived Waagen to have made.²⁹¹ Wornum's attitude to Waagen was obviously vastly different from that of Woltmann who had studied under the latter and dedicated *Holbein und seine Zeit* to his former tutor.²⁹²

In relation to the *Holbeinstreit*, Woltmann announced his discoveries in letters to Wornum. In 1867 Woltmann noted about the Dresden version that "the history of which can not [sic] be traced farther back than Venice".²⁹³ The next year he drew Wornum's attention to the annex he produced for the second volume of his biography: "Did you see in the catalogue of Works in my supplements the interesting discovery about the picture at Darmstadt? It is entirely proved now that this one and not the picture at Dresden is the work purchased by Le Blon. And quoted by Sandrart".²⁹⁴ Woltmann proclaimed the Darmstadt version the original in the second volume of *Holbein und seine Zeit*,²⁹⁵ and in the supplement related it to three drawings of heads (#12–14) in the Basel Museum, providing further rationale for the provenance of the two works which supported his conclusions on their status as original and copy.²⁹⁶ In 1871 he referred back to his supplement to the second volume in discussing the matter with Wornum, for "All that relates to the Darmstadt picture has been published in my second volume

288 NGA02/3/2/14/27: Wornum to an unknown person, 4 September 1865.

289 NGA02/3/2/14/27: Wornum to an unknown person, 4 September 1865.

290 Wornum, *Some Account of Holbein*, pp. 40, 44.

291 Wornum, *Some Account of Holbein*, pp. 29–33.

292 Woltmann, *Holbein und seine Zeit*, 2 vols (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1868), I, p. v.

293 NGA02/4/2/243/5: A. Woltmann to R. N. Wornum, 23 December 1867.

294 NGA02/4/2/243/6: A. Woltmann to R. N. Wornum, 25 June 1868.

295 Woltmann, *Holbein und seine Zeit*, II, p. ix.

296 Alfred Woltmann, *Holbein und seine Zeit: Supplement Verzeichniss der Werke* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1868), p. 452.

from Holbein. U. seine Zeit, p. 452".²⁹⁷ Woltmann's analysis was firmly focussed on the archival traces and provenance histories, rather than style.

In *Some Account of the Life and Works of Hans Holbein* (1867), Wornum dedicated a section on "New Discoveries" outlining the latest research on the artist. While "Documentary evidence is generally the only evidence that sound criticism can spring from", Wornum cautioned his readers that "documents are only positive, not negative evidence; they show certain works to be by a certain master, but nothing more; they do not prove that others are not by the same master". Documents thus helped Woltmann to have greater confidence over the Darmstadt version but not to remove the Dresden copy from Holbein – visual analysis was needed to do that. "The characteristics of a master's style are founded on analysis and synthesis, applied to his works, not on documents; and it is this analysis and synthesis which constitute the special province of the critic" and the solution to the Meyer Madonna problem would only come through historians availing themselves of the critic's expertise with "the proper weighing of the documents belonging to the historian's province. But documents themselves require as careful a testing as opinions".²⁹⁸ He also noted the peculiar challenges Holbein presented, for, unlike other famed portraitists, the signature hand of this artist was misleading for "the vast comprehensiveness of his powers of observation" meant that "he added nothing of himself to the representation of the object to be reproduced". Of the Darmstadt *Madonna*, Wornum was clear from the outset that this was the original,²⁹⁹ and provided deeper visual assessment based on the theory of style of his friend, Gottfried Semper.³⁰⁰ In the Darmstadt version he identified "his more finished early manner, with the elaborate drawing, and the rich colouring of the portrait of Boniface Amerbach" and rejected a later date, after Holbein's return to Basel (1529) due to the Reformation for "This picture though as rationally treated as such a subject could possibly be, is still as a composition quite within the forbidden province of Mariolatry, and would probably not have been tolerated at Basel immediately after the religious riots of that year".³⁰¹ When critiquing Wornum and Woltmann's works, the critic for the *Edinburgh Review* found the German more scholarly, criticised the Briton for his Protestant-bias, and his rejection of the Dresden version.³⁰² Germans were likewise not imme-

297 NGA02/4/2/243/7: A. Woltmann to R. N. Wornum, 17 June 1871.

298 Wornum, *Some Account of Holbein*, p. 39.

299 Wornum, *Some Account of Holbein*, pp. 36f., 41.

300 Griener, "Woltmann and the Holbein Dispute", pp. 219f.

301 Wornum, *Some Account of Holbein*, p. 164.

302 Michael, *Holbein Guide to Research*, p. 180, item #255: Anon., "Life and Works of Holbein", *Edinburgh Review* 125 (April 1867), 410–39.

diately convinced by Wornum's views.³⁰³ However, over the next two years and even before the *Holbein Ausstellung* brought the works into the same exhibition space, Woltmann had relented and declared in August 1869 that he believed the Dresden copy to no longer be by Holbein's hand.³⁰⁴

Wornum provided a thorough explanation of the compositional and qualitative variations between the Darmstadt and Dresden versions (notably in the superior characterisation of the faces, browner colouring, and greater details of the former compared to the simpler execution and "weakly idealized" Madonna in the latter), and an account of the provenance histories of the two works,³⁰⁵ which to him suggested a date of 1530 or later for the copy. He also had the confidence to correct an orthodoxy in German thinking encouraged by the assumption of the inferior work being the authentic one,

The idea of death and sickness connected with this work [...] first suggested by Ludwig Tieck and Friedrich Schlegel, has arisen I imagine mainly from the imperfect execution of the head and countenance of the infant in the Virgin's arms when compared to the Darmstadt picture, in which the expression is lively and cheerful.³⁰⁶

Quite simply, for Wornum, the Romantic interpretation of Holbein was wrong as it had been based on looking at an inferior copy. This nationalistic context came out in Wornum's reference to Woltmann's book as "quite German in its view and treatment". Implying a contrast, he described his own methodical approach as aimed at producing a "critical review of the painter's works [...] without reference to his nationality or the school that produced him. Holbein belongs to Europe, not to Germany".³⁰⁷ This strategy not only undermined the efforts of German nationalists, and corrected Woltmann's mistaken attempts to paper over the cracks (see p. 68), but it also established Wornum as an exemplar of internationalism. Woltmann was painfully aware of the damage done in the years before 1871 when the German art historical field was divided over the two versions in contrast to the recent unity over the military defeat of France: "the nation, which had put all its energy into the destruction of the enemy, and into the creation of its existence as a state, divided itself into two parties, fighting for and against the Darmstadt

303 Michael, *Holbein Guide to Research*, p. 328, item #840: Ernst Joachim Förster, *Beilage zur Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, 29 August 1869, pp. 241, 3729.

304 Michael, *Holbein Guide to Research*, pp. 187, 347, item #906: Alfred Woltmann, *National-Zeitung* [Berlin] (4 August 1869), item #284: Gottfried Kinkel, "Zur Holbein-Literatur", *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 4 (1869), 167–75, 194–203.

305 Wornum, *Some Account of Holbein*, pp. 166f., 168–172.

306 Wornum, *Some Account of Holbein*, p. 174.

307 Wornum, *Some Account of Holbein*, p. 45.

or the Dresden version of the Holbein Madonna".³⁰⁸ Neither the *Holbein Ausstellung* or *Kolloquium* were designed to serve nationalist purposes and rather had been planned long before the Franco-Prussian war or the declaration of German Unification (January 1871): in fact, the conflict caused major disruption and delays.³⁰⁹ The irony that Wornum had used modern German art historical techniques to topple the structures built upon German Romantic foundations was obvious.³¹⁰ However Wornum's work may also be linked to another aspect of nationalism in two aspects: not only did his celebration of Holbein as international serve British art historical imperatives (preserving him as a foundational stone for the national school), but it also served the modern state. As an employee of the National Gallery, London, Wornum's authenticating mission was aligned to the museum's failed attempts to acquire the Darmstadt version in 1874.³¹¹ Such activity puts the lie to suggestions of Boxall's disinterest in acquiring German art (see p. 24) and their activities must have been sufficiently well known for the artist, J. F. Bird, to write and offer him a painting by Holbein.³¹² When Boxall contemplated resignation in 1871, Gladstone attempted to persuade George Richmond to become Director of the National Gallery, but he declined the offer due to the profitability of his practice.³¹³ One wonders what successes might have resulted in the way of German acquisitions had this occurred. Elizabeth Eastlake meanwhile came to the same conclusions as Wornum when she visited the *Holbein-Ausstellung* in September 1871, and while she did not mention him she no doubt was aware of his work given the circles in which she moved.³¹⁴ Joseph Beavington Atkinson, however, openly praised Wornum's contributions to the debate.³¹⁵

In addition to his innovative application of Semper's techniques to the Holbein case study, Wornum undertook archival and visual analytical fieldwork in

308 Griener, "Woltmann and the Holbein Dispute", p. 221, quoting Alfred Woltmann, "Die beiden Hans Holbein", *Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte* 32:187 (April 1872), 79–99 (p. 79).

309 Anon., "The Proposed Hans Holbein Exhibition", *The Times* 26817 (1 August 1870), pp. 4f.

310 Griener, "Woltmann and the Holbein Dispute", p. 220.

311 Bätschmann, "Der Holbein-Streit", pp. 90f.; see also Clarke, *Spaces of Connoisseurship*, p. 125, for Wornum's 1874 trip to Germany and other European galleries.

312 NGA02/3/5/11: J. F. Bird to Sir William Boxall, 20 June 1872. Wornum likewise received authentication inquiries: NGA02/4/2/74/1-2: Lord Ronald Gower to Wornum, 5 May 1873 and 20 May 1873.

313 Lister, *George Richmond*, p. 99.

314 Charles Eastlake Smith (ed.), *Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1895), II, pp. 221–23.

315 J. Beavington Atkinson, "Holbein's Rival Madonnas of Dresden and Darmstadt", *Art Journal* (February 1872), 37–39.

preparation for his 1867 book. His first trip to Germany took place in April 1834 as part of a six-year long ‘grand tour’ of Continental art galleries which lasted until 1840,³¹⁶ and the detailed notes about, and sketches of, works by Holbein in British and German collections indicate he visited Basel, Augsburg, and Berlin in 1866.³¹⁷ It was no doubt these trips that enabled him to develop his German language skills.³¹⁸ Such practices were common amongst his colleagues, necessitated in the age before mass illustration.³¹⁹ Other art experts also wrote to Wornum with new intelligence. Wornum asked Richard Rivington Holmes, assistant in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum (1854–67) for assistance with inscriptions on Holbein portraits.³²⁰ Scharf also wrote to Wornum from Hardwick Hall on his discovery of a new Holbein Cartoon, which differed from Lemput’s copy (with the head of Henry VIII closer to the Althorp version) and noting pin pricks for the pouncing transferral process, while inspecting potential exhibits for the South Kensington Museum Portrait exhibition (1866).³²¹ Questions of propriety were triggered by the sharing of knowledge, as Scharf, thanking Wornum for the copy of his book he had sent, complained on discovering that Wornum had provided insufficient recognition of his own efforts regarding his discovery of “the smaller picture of the Duchess of Milan at Windsor Castle” and the State Papers, which featured in the *Athenæum*: “I only mention these facts in support of my claim of

316 Wornum, *Some Account of Holbein*, p. 37; Seccombe, “Wornum”, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Lee, pp. 31f.

317 NGA02/2/22: Research for “Life of Holbein” (1865–66), pp. 1–5, 11–23, 35, 36, 39, 44, 49, 62, 64f., 74–76, 82–84: dated visits include Longford Castle (13 October 1865), Windsor (14 March and 19 October 1865), Nostell Priory, Colnialghi’s (28 November [1865?]), South Kensington Museum (February 1866), Basel, Augsburg, Berlin, Syon House (18 July [1866?]), Petworth (16 August [1866?]).

318 Part of the correspondence between Wornum and Woltmann was conducted in German and English, in fairly equal parts. See NGA02/4/2/243/2–4 for the German letters.

319 Croal, ““The Spirit, the Flesh and the Milliner””, pp. 53f. Scharf used his notebooks to sketch works as aide memoires from his visits to UK country houses in preparation for the Manchester exhibition, for example.

320 NGA02/4/2/94: Richard P. Holmes, British Museum, to Wornum, 15 May 1866.

321 NGA02/4/2/189/1: George Scharf to Wornum, 25 October 1865. Hardwick Hall: See Anon., “National Portrait Exhibition”, *Art Journal* (November 1865), 347c; Anon., “Intended Exhibition Of National Portraits”, *Athenæum* 1969 (22 July 1865), 116a; Anon., “ART. II.-Catalogue of the Second Special Exhibition of National Portraits, Commencing with the Reign of William and Mary, and ending with the year 1800”, *Christian Remembrancer* 54:138 (October 1867), 286–302 (p. 287); see also NGA2/4/2/243/5: A. Woltmann to R. N. Wornum, 23 December 1867: The South Kensington Portrait exhibition offered a research opportunity for Woltmann who asked Wornum which part would feature works by Holbein and when it would be on so he could arrange his trip to London to coincide and view these artworks.

originality and because the volume of *Archaeologia* in which my Essay on the Duchess of Milan appears is not yet published”.³²² Wornum was rather spiky in his response and the dispute carried on for the next three years at least.³²³

In the foreword to the second volume, Woltmann stated that “For kind personal encouragement in my studies I am indebted to Mr. George Scharf, Mr. B. B. Woodward and Mr Wornum in London” as well as other scholars in Paris, Hanover, and Aachen.³²⁴ By the time of the 1872 translation this dedication had been expunged, and reference to Wornum was more cursory: “And when my task had reached so far that the first part of my book had been given to the public, I heard that a work upon Holbein was about to appear by an English art-scholar, Mr. Wornum, Director of the National Gallery in London”.³²⁵ The closeness of their prior correspondence, and its chronological parameters, suggest that sometime after June 1871, their relationship had soured just as it had done between Wornum and Scharf. This development may have had something to do with the appearance of Wornum’s *Hans Holbein and the Meier Madonna* that year. However, that publication was largely a truncated version of the 1867 work (at 38 pages compared with 426), produced for the Arundel Society, presumably to tie in with the Zwinger’s *Holbein-Ausstellung*. Wornum gave several references to Woltmann’s work in that volume,³²⁶ so provided little scope for offence in contrast to the circumstances that drove the Scharf contretemps.³²⁷

When Woltmann’s volumes were translated into English, a more extensive account appeared in the place of the short entry from the *Supplement*. This involved a form of editing, perhaps with Woltmann’s involvement in preparation

322 NGA02/4/2/189/3: Scharf to Wornum, [11 December 1866]: Presumably Wornum had sent Scharf an advanced copy at the end of 1866; Wornum, *Some Account of Holbein*, pp. 32, 34, 42, 313: Mention of Hardwick Hall cartoon and the Windsor *Duchess of Milan* without reference to Scharf; although the latter is name-checked at 40 (for his contribution to the Holbein Will debate); 85 (for providing information on Charles I’s catalogue), and 388 (re: identifying the *Prince Albert* portrait at Windsor); see also George Scharf, “An Original Cartoon by Holbein”, *Athenæum* 1985 (11 November 1865), 653a–c; George Scharf, “Remarks on a Portrait of the Duchess of Milan, recently discovered in Windsor Castle”, *Archaeologia* 40 (January 1866), 107–112 (p. 112): The letter this published was cited as having been read to the Society of Antiquarians of London on 19 November 1863.

323 NGA02/4/2/189/4: Wornum to Scharf, [8 December 1869].

324 Woltmann, *Holbein und seine Zeit*, II, p. v.

325 Woltmann, *Holbein and his Times*, p. vi.

326 Ralph N. Wornum, *Hans Holbein and the Meier Madonna* (1871), pp. 5f., 37.

327 Bätschmann, “Der Holbein-Streit”, p. 98.

for the second edition (1874–76),³²⁸ to integrate and update the contents of the three previously separate parts of *Holbein und seine Zeit* into one seamless whole. In that version Woltmann openly declared the Darmstadt version the original noting the stylistic characteristic it shared “strikingly both as regards painting and execution” with Holbein’s artworks in the Basel collection, while “The Dresden picture, although well painted, still lacks much of that freshness and harmony of colour which the Darmstadt picture exhibits”.³²⁹ He had switched his position to accept Wornum’s stylistic conclusions and declared that the “copy at Dresden was not executed at the time of the painter himself or even in his atelier, but was produced at a later period”.³³⁰ The bitterness of Woltmann’s realisation that his rival had won, was no doubt a large contributing factor in the cooling of his personal relationship with Wornum. However, for all of the importance of his research for Holbein scholarship, Wornum’s book was a commercial failure: his publishers reported no sales after a couple of years, and it was remaindered in 1875.³³¹ He should perhaps have expected this as he was warned by Woltmann: “If my publisher in Leipzig could ask for the book as high a price as yours in England, he would be very satisfied. But it doesn’t work for us. People don’t want to spend money on books”.³³²

Regardless of their successes or failures in publishing terms, the correspondence between Wornum and Woltmann demonstrates the “republic of letters” that existed in the nineteenth-century scholarly community surrounding Holbein studies. Wornum’s work utilised German scholarship to short-circuit the limits of “positive” arguments based on documentary evidence as well as the distorting inductive reasoning of the nationalistic Romantic interpretation of his works. His combination of critical readings of texts and documents with a German methodology for the comparative visual analysis of style enabled Wornum to identify the authentic version of the Meyer Madonna.

328 Michael, *Holbein Guide to Research*, pp. 199, 202, item #332: S.[alomon] V.[ögelin], *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 12 (1877), 384–86, item #342: Burnett translation “revised and somewhat abridged”.

329 See Woltmann, *Holbein and his Times*, p. 149.

330 Woltmann, *Holbein and his Times*, p. 150.

331 NGA02/4/2/33/1: Frederick Chapman to Wornum, 18 January 1869: “We don’t sell a copy of the book and it will spoil by keeping”; Wornum to Frederick Chapman, 5 July 1875: NGA02/4/2/33/4: Wornum accepting £150 as the lowest amount for which he was prepared to sell the remaining thousand copies.

332 NGA02/4/2/243/3: A. Woltmann to R. N. Wornum, 18 December 1865, p. 4: my translation from the original German.

8 William Bell Scott and Mary Heaton on Dürer

Scholarship on Dürer in Britain was arguably slower to develop, lacking the spur of residence that Holbein enjoyed. However, the resurgence of national cultural activity in Germany surrounding the 1848 Revolution and German Unification prompted British interest in that artist. Nineteenth-century British publications on Dürer were numerous and consisted of reproductions of his graphic works, essays, translations and reviews of German scholarship.³³³ The British publications inevitably drew heavily upon the latter which was initially influenced by Romanticism in the early part of the nineteenth century (see p. 15). However, just as Woltmann revolutionised Holbein studies after the mid-century point, so August von Eye did the same für Dürer studies with his *Leben und Wirken Albrecht Dürer's* (Nördlingen: C. H. Beck, 1860). However, it was perhaps anticipation of the 500-year centenary of the artist's birth that encouraged the publication of the two most important English monographs on Dürer: the *Life of Albrecht Dürer* by Margaret Heaton and *Albert Durer: His Life and Works* by William Bell Scott, both published at the end of 1869 (despite 1870 featuring in the flyleaves of Heaton's book).³³⁴ Heaton's biography came out first, and Scott remarked on this in his Preface. He noted the advertisement that appeared in the *Athenæum* on the previous Saturday to William Michael Rossetti, remarking that "She is a very good German, so will have the advantage of me".³³⁵ However, Heaton was in fact English: her father James Keymer was a silk-printer, and previous scholarship has unfairly deemed her dependent upon "Romantic-era German historians, her biography of Dürer reflects the biases toward Nationalism and idealism of con-

333 William Young Ottley, William Bromley, Albrecht Dürer and John Swaine, *An Inquiry into the Origin and Early History of Engraving* (London: J. and A. Arch, 1816); Henry F. Holt, *Allegorical Engravings of Albert Durer* (London: Bradbury Evans & Co., 1866–67); Leopold Schefer, *The Artist's Married Life; being that of Albert Dürer*, trans. by Mrs. J. R. Stodart, (London: John Chapman, 1848); Richard Ford Heath, *Albrecht Dürer* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1881); Moritz Thausing, *Albert Dürer: His Life and Works*, trans. and ed. by Fred. A. Eaton (London: John Murray, 1882); William Martin Conway, *Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889); Charles H. Middleton-Wake and Fitzwilliam Museum, *Catalogue of the Engraved Work of Albert Dürer* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 1893); Lionel Henry Cust, *The Engravings of Albrecht Dürer* (London: Seeley & Co., 1894); H. Knackfuss, *Dürer*, trans. Campbell Dodgson (Bielefeld & Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1900).

334 Lottes, "Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer", p. 90.

335 DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/102: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 27 [September 1869], p. 3; Anon., "Our Weekly Gossip", *Athenæum* 2187 (25 September 1869), 404b.

tinental scholarship”.³³⁶ Cosmo Monkhouse’s obituary for Heaton celebrated her as a constant contributor to *The Academy* since 1874, proclaimed her “thorough knowledge of German” and noted that the publication of her biography of Dürer alongside Scott’s did not lead to acrimony, rather “it is pleasant to record that, instead of rivalry, this chance led to an immediate and warm friendship, which lasted till her death”.³³⁷

Heaton undertook due diligence in her research and wrote to experts like Wornum for intelligence on the location of works in England, trying to track down Dürer’s painting of *The Death of the Virgin* (1518), for example. Von Eye had located the artwork in the Fries Collection,³³⁸ but that was disbanded in 1822 so Heaton needed to track it down. She rejected the candidacy of an artwork in the Duke of Sutherland’s possession,³³⁹ and after dismissing another painting in Austria, ultimately admitted defeat.³⁴⁰ Regarding her research, she confided in Wornum that she was “particularly anxious about it, because, to speak openly to you, I am writing a life of Albrecht Durer with translations of his letters & journal & any new knowledge I can obtain respecting his works in this country is especially valuable, as German writers on the subject know very little about them”.³⁴¹ Heaton was aware that her geographical location gave her a unique opportunity over German scholars to exploit an undeveloped aspect of Dürer studies, and this paralleled the views Woltmann had expressed over research on Holbein in Britain (see p. 67). In the preface to her book Heaton also thanked several British Museum employees (John Winter Jones (Principal Librarian, 1866–78), William Wright (Assistant in the Department of Manuscripts, 1861–69) and George William Reid (Keeper of the Department of Prints and Drawings 1866–1883)) for their assistance.³⁴²

336 Dictionary Of Art Historians, <https://arthistorians.info/taxonomy/term/411?page=6>; <https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/name/mary-margaret-heaton>, accessed 12 March 2023.

337 Cosmo Monkhouse, “Obituary: Mrs. Charles Heaton”, *Academy: A weekly Review of Literature, Science and the Arts* 23:579 (9 June 1883), 408c–9a.

338 Eye, *Leben und Wirken Albrecht Dürer’s*, pp. 390f.

339 NGA02/4/2/88: Mary M. Heaton to Ralph Nicholson Wornum (1869); Anon., *Archaeology: Portfolio, or Selection, of Curious and Quaint Designs of Art, and of Interesting Ornamental Subjects in Twenty-five Plates* (London: John Weale, 1858–59), p. 10; see <https://www.bonhams.com/auction/26672/lot/135/after-albrecht-durer-17th-century-the-death-of-the-virgin/>, accessed 18 August 2023, for a copy of the work.

340 Mrs. Charles Heaton, *The History of the Life of Albrecht Dürer of Nürnberg: with a Translation of His Letters and Journal, and some Account of his Works* (London: Macmillan, 1870), p. 230.

341 NGA02/4/2/88: Heaton to Wornum (1869).

342 Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. viii.

Heaton thought it strange that no work in English had existed on Dürer “for the works – at any rate the engraved works – of Albrecht Dürer have for many years been held in high estimate in this country by a certain class of thoughtful students of art and literature”.³⁴³ Recent advances in art appreciation now made it profitable for her to offer her a perspective on a complex artist, for Dürer’s art “requires more of an intellectual and imaginative effort in its study than that of any of the Italian masters”.³⁴⁴ Heaton made no claims on new theories or revelations, but rather aimed to tell Dürer’s life through his own words from his letters and journals, but did adopt an unusual format with three major parts – the first, a chronological survey of Dürer’s life (pp. 29–102), the second, a survey of his works (pp. 105–240), and the third, transcriptions of his journals (pp. 255–329) – with shorter sections contextualizing “Nürnberg in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries” (pp. 1–25) and surveying his literary works (pp. 241–251).

Heaton invoked Holbein more than once in her account. She contrasted his decision to travel with Dürer’s resolution to remain in Germany, for example, and noted Erasmus’ desire that both he and Dürer should paint his portrait.³⁴⁵ She retold the story about Maximilian I rebuking a nobleman for complaining about Dürer, with a declaration about his ability to make lords out of ploughboys but not a Dürer.³⁴⁶ Heaton drew attention to how this device was recycled for different rulers and artists (see p. 48), acknowledging its status as a rhetorical device lacking historical value, and also observed that “every portrait of Maximilian or Charles V. is by Albrecht Dürer, in the same way that every villainous portrait of Henry VIII is by Holbein” (see p. 23).³⁴⁷ Ultimately she saw Dürer as Holbein’s equal even in portraiture, perhaps countering fashions of the time: “For, even in his very earliest works, there is always some originality of thought, some power of expression, that distinguishes them from the crude productions of most of the other German masters of his time”.³⁴⁸ She referenced his *Portrait of his Father* (c. 1497) and declared that “It is as powerful as many of Holbein’s, or even Rembrandt’s portraits, and yet we should never think of mistaking it for a Holbein or a Rembrandt, so marked is its individuality”.³⁴⁹

³⁴³ Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. v.

³⁴⁴ Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. v.

³⁴⁵ Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, pp. 92, 319.

³⁴⁶ Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. 148.

³⁴⁷ Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. 162.

³⁴⁸ Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. 202.

³⁴⁹ Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. 202.



Fig. 15: Albrecht Dürer, *Knight, Death and the Devil* (1513), engraving, 245 x 190 mm, bequeathed by Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, 1799, Registration number E,4.139, © The Trustees of the British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_E-4-139

As already noted, a large section of Heaton's book was dedicated to her views on Dürer's artworks, and much of that commentary related to her perceptions of the distinct national character of his time – its Gothic, chivalric and Northern values – and summaries of the observations of German experts on this matter. Of *Knight, Death and the Devil* (1513: Fig. 15), for example, she noted von Eye's conclusion that Dürer was intending to capture the nobility of "upright German man", as well as Kugler's declaration that it represented "the most fantastic spirit of German art".³⁵⁰ In her discussion of the *Great Fortune* she speculated on the possibility of this being the unlocated *Nemesis*, approving of Robert Naumann's theories on this as following antique forms (see also p. 96), and described the winged main figure whose "ugliness is perfectly repulsive".³⁵¹ Heaton also speculated on the meaning of *Melencolia I*: "We gaze at that mystic woman until our thoughts lose themselves in the same dark abyss into which hers are plunged", and preferred the evidence of visual analysis over the readings influenced by German art historical theories, as Wornum had before her, referring to the fact that "all interpretations [...] and all hypotheses that have been framed respecting it fall to the ground when we once attentively study it".³⁵² She also returned to the theme of beauty and Dürer in her discussion of *Melencolia I*, which she had touched on in relation to the *Great Fortune*:

Beauty in the ordinary sense of the term is not, it is true, one of the distinguishing characteristics of Dürer's art. We cannot predicate of one of Dürer's Virgins that she is necessarily beautiful of face and form as we can of one of Raphael's, and yet beauty of some sort is to be found, if we look for it, in every one of his representations of her. The strange figure of "Melencolia" is certainly not beautiful, according to our preconceived notions of beauty; yet if you look long enough at that grand winged woman, she awes you with a solemn sphinx-like beauty of her own, which is something apart from mere sensuous loveliness.³⁵³

Spiritual meaning, truth of character and correctness of form were here differentiated. She had seen his early subjects as having "no classic beauty to recommend them, but rather a Grim German ugliness".³⁵⁴ In Dürer's work she found an "independent originality of German thought" unaffected by the Italian aesthetic which

³⁵⁰ Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. 169.

³⁵¹ Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, pp. 196f.; Robert Naumann (with advice of O. Bernhard Hausmann of Hannover), "Welcher Kupferstich von Albrecht Dürer ist die Nemesis? Von Ebendemselben", *Archiv für die zeichnenden Künste mit besonderer Beziehung auf Kupferstecher- und Holzschnidekunst und ihre Geschichte*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel, 1856), pp. 92–94.

³⁵² Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, pp. 191, 193.

³⁵³ Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. 167, see also p. 220.

³⁵⁴ Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. 60, see also p. 165.

otherwise had “such a powerful denationalising influence upon Flemish and German Art” in the seventeenth century.³⁵⁵ Heaton thus rejected the section of German art historiography that deemed him too heavily influenced by the Italians. The particular power of the print, moreover, was located in its ability to sustain psychological reflection, for while “Some people [...] see in it only a strange, ugly woman [...] others look into those far-seeing eyes of Melencolia until they themselves become affected by the madness, melancholy, or as the Germans style it, *Weltschmerz*, to which she is the prey”.³⁵⁶ The indexicality of German world-weariness was clear to her.

In her concluding remarks, Heaton nevertheless made her claim for Dürer’s widespread appeal, perhaps aware of the superiority of Holbein in this regard:

But so long as the German tongue endures, the name of Albrecht Dürer will be a household word in every home of the Fatherland, and will awaken feelings of love, reverence, and admiration in every heart; and to Englishmen likewise, who belong to the same great Teutonic race, there will come with greater knowledge greater love, for Albrecht Dürer belongs not to Nürnberg, or to Germany only, but to all the world; and his works are the inheritance of mankind.³⁵⁷

Once again, a British scholar could be found making the claims for a German artist as part of a universal world cultural heritage. Whether this was inspired by a pan-Anglo-Saxon sentiment, or a genuine Humanistic agenda, may be debated. Meanwhile Heaton kept up her research on Dürer, reviewing the latest offerings on his life and artworks in *The Academy*, for example, G. W. K. Lochner’s *Die Personen-Namen in Albrecht Dürer’s Briefen aus Venedig* (1870) and Thausing’s *Dürer’s Briefe* (1872), remarking that “Considering the length of time that the Dürer-mine [...] has been worked, and the immense number of workers that there have been in it, it is surprising to find that it is still capable of yielding fresh material [...] several new shafts have been let into this mine, and two or three new facts dug out”.³⁵⁸ This work enabled her to produce a revised second edition in 1880 including references to the new research other scholars had conducted and which she had tracked in her journal articles.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁵ Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. 14.

³⁵⁶ Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. 193.

³⁵⁷ Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. 329.

³⁵⁸ Mary M. Heaton, “Fine Art: Recent Contributions to Dürer Literature”, *The Academy* (4 July 1874), 20a–22b.

³⁵⁹ Mary M. Heaton, “Researches related to Albrecht Dürer. *Untersuchungen über Albrecht Dürer*. Von Dr. Alfred von Sallet”, *The Academy* (29 July 1876), 117a–c; Anon., “Minor Notices”, *Academy* (22 January 1881), 124a.

Scott's early interest in Dürer was stimulated by his family's engraving practices. He described his father, Robert, as the best engraver in Scotland, and both he and his brother, David, followed in his footsteps into the family business.³⁶⁰ Scott described his father as "the latest descendant of the mixed trade certainly carried on by Albert Dürer in the great house still standing near the Tiergarten Gate of Nürnberg", although also perhaps reluctantly he admitted that "My father, indeed, was not a Dürer. He cared little for painting".³⁶¹ The drudgery of the work, his lack of success in the trade, and possibly his own preference for painting, caused Scott to look elsewhere for fulfilment, but his apprenticeship nevertheless generated in him a familiarity with historic prints and the importance of graphic art.³⁶² His interest in historic prints and his engraving practice adeptly overlapped in 1876 when Scott produced a facsimile reprint of Albrecht Altdorfer's *Fall of Man* (c. 1513) for the Holbein Society, of which Scott was a council member.³⁶³ Meanwhile his predisposition to melancholy was no secret. The future Goethe biographer, George H. Lewes noted of Scott in *The Leader* (5 July 1851): "Nature had given him a melancholy soul, which made him incline to the mystic thinkers".³⁶⁴ Scott himself meditated upon such matters in correspondence with William Michael Rossetti, reflecting upon the definition of melancholy as a "sad thoughtfulness".³⁶⁵

Scott built up his own print collection largely around the Little Masters of Germany, and he wrote two articles for *Fraser's Magazine* and a book on *The Little Masters* (London: Sampson and Low, 1879).³⁶⁶ The first article focused on Martin Schöngauer and his contemporaries, Hans Baldung Sebald, Master M. Z. (Martin (or Matheus) Zatzinger (or Zazinger or Zeyzinger), George Pencz, and Dürer who he held in "the very highest consideration, especially for the Germa[n] school, as the most elaborated expression of the noblest artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, whose invention was still serious and ingenious, though the Egyptian

360 Vera Walker, "The Life and Work of William Bell Scott, 1811–1890", PhD Durham University (1951), pp. 3–13, 173, 183, 283f; Scott, *Autobiographical Notes*, I, p. 99.

361 Potter, *Inspirational Genius of Germany*, p. 38; Scott, *Autobiographical Notes*, I, p. 45.

362 Walker, "The Life and Work of William Bell Scott", pp. 30, 42, 319f.

363 Walker, "The Life and Work of William Bell Scott", p. 350; The Holbein Society, *Fac-Simile Reprints: The Fall of Man by Albrecht Altdorfer*, ed. by Alfred Aspland, intr. by William Bell Scott (1876).

364 Walker, "The Life and Work of William Bell Scott", p. 66.

365 DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/97/1-2: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 16 June [1869], p. 2.

366 Walker, "The Life and Work of William Bell Scott", p. 350.

bondage of the Church had been loosened from their shoulders”.³⁶⁷ Such sentiments recalled the views of Taylor in 1857 (see p. 38) and Wornum in 1871 (see p. 71). Scott saw the Little Masters as living to see the high point of Dürer and Leyden, who, by contrast, “extended the field of art by designs not only in *genre* and history, but of a purely imaginative and symbolic class never before thought of” while “Dürer’s interpretation of allegory was new and original, the allegory being borne out in a naturalistic manner with accessories studied from realities about him. Such are the ‘Melancholy,’ the ‘Temperancia,’ ... ‘The Knight with Death and the Devil’”.³⁶⁸ All the major works cited in this article were in Scott’s personal collection (see pp. 31–33 for discussion of his print collection).³⁶⁹ The second article touched on Altdorfer, Holbein’s *Dance of Death*, Aldegrever, Hans Baldung Grien, and pictures of witches.³⁷⁰ Again the major works reviewed were in his collection.³⁷¹ Seifert sees Scott’s print collection as a key stimulus for the 1869 biography of Dürer, which it was, but it relates more broadly also to his eclectic enthusiasms for Germanism and his own training.³⁷²

367 William B. Scott, “A Portfolio of Ancient Engravings,” *Fraser’s Magazine* 19:110 (February 1879), 256–263 (pp. 257f.), <https://www.oxfordartonline.com/benezit/benezit/abstract/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.001.0001/acref-9780199773787-e-00201131>, accessed 17 July 2023.

368 Scott, “A Portfolio of Ancient Engravings”, pp. 260f.

369 Scott, “A Portfolio of Ancient Engravings”, pp. 259, 261–263. The artworks it cited were as follows: Sotheby’s, *Catalogue of the Collection of W. B. Scott* [1885], pp. 17f., 20, 40, 43, 47: Hans Sebald Beham’s *Bath of Youth* (#150); Dürer’s *Adam and Eve* (#302, 366), *Melancholia* (#320), *Great fortune “nemesi”* (#324), *Knight with Death and the Devil* (#328), and *Group of Four Naked Women* (#321); George Pencz’s *Virgil Suspended from a Window in a Basket* (#667) and *The Punishment of the Courtesan* (#663) [see <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/77508/virgil-the-magician-hanging-in-the-basket>]; Martin Schongauer’s *Passion of our Lord* (#727–732): *Death of the Virgin* (#732) and *The Fourth Foolish Virgin* (#737); and, Matheus Zazinger’s (Martin Zagel or Matthew Zasinger), *The Great Ball* (#803) and *Great Tournament* (#804 and 805); Sotheby’s, *Catalogue of the Property of the Late William Bell Scott* [1892], 5: Dürer’s *Melancholia* (#35), *Knight with Death and the Devil* (#36), and *Dream or Idleness* (#322).

370 William B. Scott, “A Second Portfolio of Ancient Engravings”, *Fraser’s Magazine* 19:111 (March 1879), 289–297.

371 Scott, “A Second Portfolio of Ancient Engravings”, pp. 290, 291, 293, 296. Cited works as follows: Sotheby’s, *Catalogue of the Collection of W. B. Scott* [1885], pp. 3, 5, 9, 45: Henry Aldegrever’s *Adam and Eve* (#20), *Histories of Lot* (#21–22), *Amnon and Tamar* (#23) and *Good Samaritan* (#25); Albert Altdorfer’s *Cloister of the Jewish Synagogue* (#62); Hans Sebald Beham’s *Three Sorceresses and Death* (#137) and *The Village Nuptials* (#138); and J. van de Velde, *Witches Incantation* (#761); Sotheby’s, *Catalogue of the Property of the Late William Bell Scott* [1892], 3, 4, 8: Henry Aldegrever’s *Procession at the Wedding* (#8), *Dives and Lazarus* (#10); and, Hans Baldung Grien, *The Horse, the Sleeping Groom, and the Sorceress* (#70).

372 Seifert, “Spreading Dürer’s Fame in Victorian Britain”, p. 1065.

Scott entertained antiquarian interests for his whole life. In 1847 he wrote to Wornum “I have been lately one or two excursions to Durham, &c. The library there is a very scholastic looking one, all of the big books class are the books there. St. Cuthberts [sic] remains are there – that is to say the remains of his mantle [a liturgical vestment] &c. his bones were reinterred, and a number of priests copes &c. are kept there which are curious to the antiquarian or the artist”.³⁷³ Scott was intending to write and illustrate an article on St. Cuthbert, but this never materialised, although there are drawings in the Scottish National Galleries that are contemporary to this activity and most likely relate to this (e. g. Scott’s *Saint Cuthbert Preaching from his Hermitage* (n. d.), *Copy after a Shoe from a Wall Painting in Durham Cathedral* (n. d.), and *Copy after Norman Leather Book Binding in Durham Cathedral* (1847)).³⁷⁴ Scott would return to Saxon monastic history both with his *King Egfrid and Bishop Trumwine persuade Cuthbert to be made Bishop* (1856) at Wallington, Northumberland, presumably utilising this earlier work, as well as with his *The Death of the Venerable Bede in Jarrow Priory* (1857) undertaking similar antiquarian and architectural sketches of historic sources for these, including *A Chair at Jarrow said to belong to the Venerable Bede* (n. d.), *The Church at Jarrow* (n. d.), *Copy after a Carved Capital from the Monastery at Jarrow* (n. d.), and *Antiquities at Jarrow, County Durham* (n. d.).³⁷⁵ Scott employed historicist methods for the production of his Wallington murals. He asked for Gabriel Dante Rossetti’s assistance in sourcing the badge of the city of Florence and medieval costumes (armour and flannel shirts),³⁷⁶ and he sketched costumes from

373 NGA02/4/4/4: W.B. Scott to R.N. Wornum (15 April 1847).

374 William Bell Scott, *Saint Cuthbert Preaching from his Hermitage*, <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/17795/saint-cuthbert-preaching-his-hermitage>; https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/13466?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=15&search_set_offset=947; https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/13471?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=15&search_set_offset=935, accessed 13 Apr 2023; D 4715.13 C.

375 William Bell Scott: *A Chair at Jarrow said to belong to the Venerable Bede*, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/13481?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=15&search_set_offset=938; William Bell Scott, *The Church at Jarrow*, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/12013?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=18&search_set_offset=1092; William Bell Scott, *Copy after a Carved Capital from the Monastery at Jarrow*, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/12177?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=16&search_set_offset=1001, accessed 22 August 2023.

376 DUULC: Add. MSS 838/5/2: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 1 November 1851: The badge was presumably for Scott’s painting of *Boccaccio’s Visit to Dante’s Daughter* (n. d.) where the device appears on a satchel of Boccaccio’s associate (see Scott, *Autobiographical Notes*, I, p. 305); see <https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/BOCCACCIO-S-VISIT-TO-DANTES-DAUGHTER/BC944AF2B1708B48> (accessed 9 August 2023); DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/36: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti (9 August 1857), pp. 3f.

medieval manuscripts.³⁷⁷ He also asked for William Michael Rossetti's aid in consulting the *Works of Alcuin* in the British Museum for a reference to the Abbott's verses that he inscribed on the wall of the monastery of St. Martin of Tours, for his *Bede Finishes his Works and Life* (1857: Wallington), and a portrait of Alcuin which Scott wished to use to inform his depiction of the clergyman in the span-drils of the Great Hall at Wallington, for "Sir Walter [Trevelyan] won't stand any heads coined without some authority".³⁷⁸ Scott's antiquarian activities extended to the Scottish countryside around Penskill Castle, where he stayed with his former student and lover Alice Boyd from the 1860s. He described the ruined church of the village of Dailly as "a problem to the antiquary" and referenced Walter Scott and Thomas Carlyle.³⁷⁹ Scott praised the "The parish clergy of Scotland" who "feel an antiquarian and patriotic interest in their localities",³⁸⁰ and mused over the seductive materiality of the Kirk Sessions Book, a "curious fragmentary note-book [...] lined with transparent paper and carefully bound" with its difficult-to-decipher script", and entertaining historical contents.³⁸¹

Scott's desire to better understand the German art world he cherished no doubt inspired him to undertake German lessons in preparation for a five-week trip to Germany.³⁸² On his return to Newcastle, Scott asked his friend William Michael Rossetti, "Was I not under promise to write you from Germany?", confessing that if he had he "should have laboured under a huge difficulty of ideas" unable to discern what was "worth description" or which experiences had left the deepest impressions.³⁸³ More importantly though he pleaded forgiveness for "I was very busy – I did paint a picture, or at least nearly so, and bought it home in a box, never losing temper once at having it weighed and charged half as much

377 See, for example, William Bell Scott, *Heads. Copy after Manuscript Illustration to the 'Roman de la Rose' in the British Museum*, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/12032?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=18&search_set_offset=1098; and William Bell Scott, *A Copy after the Manuscript Illumination to Occleves' Poems*, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/12036?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=18&search_set_offset=1102, accessed 4 July 2023.

378 DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/37: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 31 October 1857), pp. 2f.

379 DUULC: Add Ms 339: MS of A Scottish Kirk Session Book, pp. 1, 3, 8. This manuscript was published as William Bell Scott, "A Scottish Kirk Session Book, 1691", *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* 14:79 (July 1876), 63–71 (pp. 63, 64, 66).

380 DUULC: Add Ms 339: 4–5; Scott, "A Scottish Kirk Session Book, 1691", pp. 64, 66.

381 Scott, "A Scottish Kirk Session Book, 1691", p. 67.

382 Walker, "The Life and Work of William Bell Scott", p. 261; Seifert, "Spreading Dürer's Fame in Victorian Britain", p. 1065; NGA02/4/4/7: W. B. Scott to R. N. Wornum, 6 January 1855.

383 DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/20/1-2: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 1 August 1854, pp. 1f.

as my own carriage, nor at the customs house officers chiselling and hammering at it at all hours of the day and night”.³⁸⁴



Fig. 16: William Bell Scott, *Albrecht Dürer at Nuremberg* (1854), oil on canvas, 60.4 x 73 cm, National Galleries Scotland, purchased 1909; Acc. No.: NG 969, <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/5417>

Scott assembled seven sketches from his 1854 trip in June and July to Nuremberg, intended for “documentation of monuments, architecture, costumes, and other objects rather than [...] works of art [...] in their own right”.³⁸⁵ These might have included his surviving sketches of the *View of the City Wall at Nuremberg* (n. d.), as well as two details of *Wall Towers at Nuremberg* (n. d.),³⁸⁶ and numerous

³⁸⁴ DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/20/1-2: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 1 August 1854, pp. 1f.

³⁸⁵ Seifert, “Spreading Dürer’s Fame in Victorian Britain”, p. 1064.

³⁸⁶ William Bell Scott, *View of the City Wall at Nuremberg*, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/15038?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=8&search_set_offset=

sketches of the Franconian people of the city.³⁸⁷ The single most important outcome of the German trip was, however, Scott's *Albrecht Dürer at Nuremberg* (1854; Fig. 16) which he exhibited at the Portland Gallery (1854) and the National Institute (1855).³⁸⁸ The absence of any centenary seems to suggest Scott's choice of the subject was rather motivated by his family's engraving connections and the inspiration of his visit to Nuremberg. Anna Howitt's review emphasised the authenticity of the painting: it invoked the sights and smells of the place, imagining that she had been "instantly transported in spirits into mediaeval Nürnberg".³⁸⁹ The iconography of this artwork is particularly intriguing given Scott's decision to depict Dürer in the guise of Renaissance painter rather than engraver, again echoing Scott's own preferences perhaps,³⁹⁰ and the inclusion of a mysterious version of *Adam and Eve* on the sidewall of the balcony, on which Dürer was working. The morphology of the latter neither matches the *Fall of Man* (*Adam and Eve*) (1504) nor *Eve* (1507). Scott's methods of iconographic research suggest that this cameo referenced a lost or subsequently reattributed work, rather than being a pure fantasy. In 1786 Herder viewed an *Adam and Eve* that was allegedly a copy by Dürer after Juveneel, for example.³⁹¹ Numerous references to versions of the work exist throughout Scott's later book on Dürer. When the Holy Roman Emperor, Rudolph II, removed the *Adam and Eve* (1507) that was originally in Nurn-

504; William Bell Scott, *Wall Towers at Nuremberg*, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/15041?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=8&search_set_offset=507; accessed 5 July 2023.

387 See sketches of *Townspeople of Nuremberg* (1854) https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/15018?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=8&search_set_offset=496; https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/15017?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=8&search_set_offset=495; https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/15019?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=8&search_set_offset=497; and https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/15020?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=8&search_set_offset=498; as well as *A Street in Nuremberg* (n. d.): https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/15039?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=8&search_set_offset=505, accessed 5 July 2023.

388 William Bell Scott, *Albrecht Dürer in Nurnberg*, <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/5417>, accessed 20 July 2023; Seifert, "Spreading Dürer's Fame in Victorian Britain", p. 1064, 1068n15: Seifert believes that this must have been the work to which Scott alluded in his letter from 1 August 1854, but there is only circumstantial evidence to support this conclusion.

389 Potter, *Inspirational Genius of Germany*, p. 42.

390 Potter, *Inspirational Genius of Germany*, pp. 41–45; Letter quoted in Scott, *Autobiographical Notes*, I, p. 323.

391 Hutchinson, *Dürer Guide to Research*, p. 10. See also Heinz Lüdecke and Susanne Heiland, *Dürer und die Nachzeit* (Berlin: Rütten and Loehning: 1955), p. 332. See also Jean Philippon, "Dürer et les romantiques allemands", in *La Gloire de Dürer*, ed. by Jean Richer (Paris: Klincksieck, 1974), pp. 153–171 (p. 155).

berg's Rathaus, he replaced it with a copy, meaning that the image remained synonymous with the city.³⁹² Napoleon confiscated that copy, so in 1822 it was in the Provincial Gallery of Mayence.³⁹³ Whether the copy of *Adam and Eve* in the Nürnberg Rathaus in 1869 was the same is difficult to tell.³⁹⁴ Furthermore, Scott recorded: the destruction of another *Adam and Eve* in the "tumults in Leipsig in 1593 [...] cut to pieces with a hatchet";³⁹⁵ a probable copy of an Adam and Eve in the Bueno Retiro Palace in Madrid, in 1782;³⁹⁶ a differently-configured version in Bamberg in the eighteenth century referenced by Christophe Gottlieb von Murr;³⁹⁷ a version on two panels in Florence (now in the Pitti Palace) but which he thought more likely to be by Cranach;³⁹⁸ and another *Adam and Eve* in the collection of W. H. Campe (the Royal Bavarian Consul General to Leipzig) in 1821.³⁹⁹ Scott also etched William Blake's *Eve Eating the Forbidden Fruit* (1808) in 1878, so his interest in this creation myth extended beyond Dürer.⁴⁰⁰

More certainty surrounds the sources for his reconstruction of Dürer in the painting. Suggestions that Scott based his portrait on a sixteenth-century posthumous commemorative medal (after Hans Schwarz) seem spurious.⁴⁰¹ That work was based on other art historical sources, which Scott more likely accessed directly himself. Scott based the costume on Dürer's *Self-Portrait with Fur-Trimmed Robe* (1500) in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, which he later reproduced in the biography,⁴⁰² and Dürer's self-portrait in the *Adoration of the Holy Trinity* (1509–11) altarpiece which was also the primary source used by Rauch (see p. 14). The red sleeves in Scott's work may relate to the pink sleeves in the altarpiece, and so too the three-quarter turn of the figure. The fur-trimmed coat is coloured

392 Klinksieck, *La Gloire de Dürer* (1963), p. 287; Bubenik, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer*, pp. 39, 40, 58, 61. Later in the possession of the Bishop of Wrocław, and subsequently acquired by the Prado, Madrid.

393 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, p. 281.

394 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, p. 284.

395 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, p. 279; Anon., *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (5 October 1824), p. 746.

396 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, p. 280.

397 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, pp. 264f.

398 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, p. 274.

399 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, p. 279; Anon., *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (5 October 1824), p. 746.

400 Blake's watercolour: <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/36627/the-temptation-and-fall-of-eve-illustration-to-miltons-pa?ctx=0ff1d0f6-570c-469c-aa56-edd338d63be0&idx=10>; and Scott's etching: https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/162782?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=20&search_set_offset=1224, accessed 10 August 2023.

401 Bartrum, et al., *Dürer and his Legacy*, pp. 84, 293, 294, n. 2.

402 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, p. 41.

differently in all three but ubiquitously present. The painting was reviewed at the National Institution as “slight, [...] brown and unpleasing in colour” and its depiction of Dürer “not very like his portrait” so that “We regret that Albert Dürer’s head should be so feebly painted, so lost in outline, and so foggy in colour” regardless of the “originality” of the subject matter.⁴⁰³ The critic also, however, remarked upon the “minute poetry of observation” apparent in the painting,⁴⁰⁴ and such commentary spoke to Scott’s naturalistic artistic agendas and his wider interpretation of the German school, which was at odds with the Roman Catholicism of the Nazarenes and more in tune with contemporary post-1848 readings of German Romanticism.⁴⁰⁵ Scott tried to steer Dante Gabriel Rossetti away from the dual influences of the Italian Renaissance and Mariolatry on his friend’s early Brotherhood works, *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin* (1849) and *Ecce Ancilla Domini!* (*The Annunciation*) (1849–50) (concerns which he shared with Wornum, see p. 71).⁴⁰⁶ Dürer’s hard-edge realism provided the potential antidote.⁴⁰⁷

While Scott’s painting was a rare example of a British depiction of Dürer it was not unique. J[ames?]. Noble’s untraced *Dürer presenting a Picture to Luther* (1858) was taken from a scene in the *History of the Great Reformation* of Jean-Henri Merle D’Aubigne, the Swiss Protestant minister and historian of the Reformation.⁴⁰⁸ As such it functioned as an illustrative and religious painting rather than a more fanciful product of historical genre painting from a Germanist imagination.⁴⁰⁹ Scott considered painting further scenes from Dürer’s life inspired by his Nuremberg trip: one about his marriage to Agnes,⁴¹⁰ and another of Dürer with Williband and Caritas Pirckheimer, although neither resulted in easel paintings.⁴¹¹ Without a date for one of his two pen and ink sketches of *Dürer talking with Pirckheimer and his Sister* (n. d.) and (1868: Fig. 17) it is impossible to prove

403 Anon., “National Institution for Fine Arts”, *Athenæum*, 1429 (17 March 1855), 327b–328b (p. 327b).

404 Lottes, “Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer”, p. 86.

405 Potter, *Inspirational Genius of Germany*, p. 75; Mitchell B. Frank, *German Romantic Painting Redefined: Nazarene Tradition and the Narratives of Romanticism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 143–51.

406 Lottes, “Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer”, p. 85.

407 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, p. 86.

408 Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, V, pp. 375f.: possibly James Noble, who exhibited twenty-four works at the Royal Academy between 1829 and 1855.

409 Potter, *Inspirational Genius of Germany*, p. 39; Vaughan, *German Romanticism and English Art*, pp. 120, 263.

410 Seifert, “Spreading Dürer’s Fame in Victorian Britain”, p. 1064.

411 Seifert, “Spreading Dürer’s Fame in Victorian Britain”, p. 1066; Lottes, “Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer”, p. 87; Scott, *Autobiographical Notes*, II, p. 249.

whether he toyed with that theme from 1854, but the existence of a later water-colour from 1882 evidences the fact that the impact of his trip was long-lasting, with a chronological distance of almost three decades separating the oil painting from the sketch with the latest date.⁴¹²



Fig. 17: William Bell Scott, *Durer Talking with Pirckheimer and his Sister* (1868), pen and ink over pencil on paper, 12.6 x 17.6 cm, National Galleries Scotland, purchased 1950, Acc. no. D 4714.43 VERSO A, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/15036?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=18&search_set_offset=1081

⁴¹² William Bell Scott, *Durer Talking with Pirckheimer and his Sister*, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/15037?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=18&search_set_offset=1082, 12.50 x 17.70 cm, D 4714.43 VERSO B, purchased 1950, accessed 10 April 2023; William Bell Scott, *Albrecht Durer in Nuremberg*, <https://www.leicestergalleries.com/browse-artwork-detail/MTcwNDQ=>, accessed 12 April 2023, watercolour on paper, 12.9x18 cm, Theodore Watts Dunton, The Pines, Putney. By descent through the family, Maggs Bros. Ltd.; Watts Dunton was a friend and member of Scott's Chelsea social circle. See James Douglas, *Theodore Watts-Dunton: Poet Novelist Critic* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904), p. 187.

Scott was no adherent of the ‘truth to nature’ principles of Ruskin, and to obtain his authentic historical visions he was open to using other sources. As Seifert notes, he took Georg Christoph Wilder’s *View from A. Dürer’s House towards Nuremberg Castle* (1838) as the inspiration for the illustration which appeared in his biography of Dürer.⁴¹³ Interestingly, this is not a straightforward copy, but rather involved Scott embellishing Wilder’s artwork: he added Dürer’s monogram on an easel on the left, annotations to identify the key buildings in the background, and directions for the “way to Dürer Platz and Rauch’s statue”.⁴¹⁴ Scott noted to William Michael Rossetti his unrealised wish to have carried numerous “little books and etchings of the stone-carvings, architectural features & so forth” back from his trip, “although your atheistical lip curled incredulously when I hinted my intention of so doing”, and nevertheless resolved to send the *Art-Journal* “a page or two of sketches of locks and other stuff”.⁴¹⁵ The article was duly published and is a further example of Scott’s close scrutiny of the visual and material culture he experienced in Germany. He effused about the “delightful” and “instructive” sights of “the ancient city of Nuremberg” with the crafts of workers in wood and iron “vividly recalling the middle ages”.⁴¹⁶ The idiosyncrasies of the city had particular charm, for “In Nuremberg [...] the difficulty is to find two houses alike [...]. Every doorway is peculiar, every staircase curious [...] and every *brunnen* [fountain] and *thör* [sic: door], every church and great mansion, are worthy of detailed study both by the antiquary and the artist”.⁴¹⁷ Scott also wrote of the city’s fourteenth-century fountain, the Schöner Brunnen, and provided a brief account of artisans, metalworkers and sculptors, such as, Adam Kraft, Paul Köhn, Sebastian Lindenast, Fritz Rupprecht, Sebald Schonhofer, Veit Stoss, and Peter Vischer, and their work on the foliated Gothic locks and door-knockers, such as the “Two small scutcheons and handle on Albert Durer’s house. The design on the round plate in which the handle is fixed is very rude although still curious; it is rather engraved than relieved”.⁴¹⁸ His sketch of *Copy of Door Plates and Key Plates from Nuremberg. Drawn for the Scottish Society of Arts* (n. d.) may have been part of this

⁴¹³ Seifert, “Spreading Dürer’s Fame in Victorian Britain”, p. 1066.

⁴¹⁴ Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, pp. 168f.; and <https://www.nuremberg.museum/projects/show/430-view-from-a-durer-s-house-towards-the-castle-nuremberg>, accessed 21 March 2023.

⁴¹⁵ DUULC Add. MSS. 838/20/1-2: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti (1 August 1854), pp. 2f.

⁴¹⁶ [William Bell Scott], “Nuremberg Iron-Work”, *Art Journal* 6:70 (October 1854), 306a–308b (p. 306a).

⁴¹⁷ [Scott], “Nuremberg Iron-Work”, p. 306a.

⁴¹⁸ [Scott], “Nuremberg Iron-Work”, p. 307c.

work,⁴¹⁹ although it was not used as an illustration in the *Art Journal* article. Again, demonstrative of the intertwined nature of his various activities, Scott prepared the design for the mosaic portrait of Vischer (c. 1868–70) as part of the Victoria and Albert Museum’s decorative scheme.⁴²⁰

Scott asked William Michael Rossetti whether he knew of Carl Alexander Heideloff’s *Ornaments of the Middle Ages* as he had visited and sketched him in his home during his German trip: *Dr Heideloff. Professor and Director, Nürnberg* (1854).⁴²¹ It is interesting to speculate whether Scott used Heideloff’s book in preparation for his own work on the German Renaissance. It contained numerous architectural engravings that would have appealed to Scott’s historicist interests in artistic reconstruction, for example, column pedestals and keystone ornaments from St. Sebald’s Church in Nuremberg.⁴²² Scott was acutely aware of the difficulties involved in international cultural exchange especially about forming accurate opinions and appreciations of foreign works. Scott recalled that, during his visit, Heideloff produced “a book sent by S. C. Hall the illustrious [...] editor” of the *Art Journal*.⁴²³ As with other perceived competitors who he felt enjoyed undue success, Scott obviously harboured jealousies for Hall. On another occasion he bemoaned the “length of dreariness” of that Journal’s writers.⁴²⁴ Perhaps unusually, Scott excused Heideloff’s lack of judgement for “Curious, is it not, you meet a really great man and he shows you something English that a cabinet maker might creditably fight shy of at home. It is so very difficult to judge of the arts, letters, or men of any country but one’s own”.⁴²⁵

419 William Bell Scott, *Copy of Door Plates and Key Plates from Nuremberg. Drawn for the Scottish Society of Arts*, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/13453?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=15&search_set_offset=941, accessed 21 March 2023.

420 Peter Vischer, *Design for a Mosaic in the Museum (the ‘Kensington Valhalla’)*, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O132525/peter-vischer-design-for-a-oil-painting-scott-william-bell/>, accessed 5 July 2023.

421 William Bell Scott, *Dr Heideloff*, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/17919?search=william%20bell%20scott&page=5&search_set_offset=310, accessed 5 July 2023.

422 Charles Heideloff, *Collection of Architectural Ornaments of the Middle-Ages: In the Byzantine and Gothic Style*, 3 vols (London: Hering and Remington, 1844), I, pp. 3f.: this included architectural detail drawings from the churches of St. Jobst, St. Martha, St. Sebald, and St. Lawrence in Nuremberg. Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. 19: cited Heideloff’s authority on the tomb of Veit Stoss.

423 DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/20/1-2: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 1 August 1854, pp. 3f.

424 DUULC: Add. MSS 838/6/1: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti (Christmas Evening [24 December] 1851).

425 DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/20/1-2: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 1 August 1854, pp. 3f.



Fig. 18: Albrecht Dürer, *Nemesis, or the Large Fortune* (c. 1502), engraving, 333 x 230 mm, bequeathed by Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode (?) 1799 (?), Registration number E,4.138, © The Trustees of the British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_E-4-138

Scott remarked in his preface, as Heaton had done, “That no English book about Albert Durer, no complete translation of his Journal, Letters, and other pieces, no catalogue; or critical account of his works, should have yet appeared, is somewhat remarkable”.⁴²⁶ Scott supplied this deficiency with catalogues of Copper and Wood Engravings, Pictures, Sketches and Drawings, Carvings, Medals and Architectural works.⁴²⁷ Scott began work on his book during 1868 and 1869 by translating Dürer’s journal, transcribing it at Penkill with the help of a neighbouring Catholic priest who spoke fluent German.⁴²⁸ Despite his 1854 trip and the language courses he had attended, it is clear that Scott was not wholly comfortable working with German sources in detail, although he was obviously able to understand the general content of modern German scholarship.⁴²⁹ He had a list of key terms pasted into his copy of his Dürer biography.⁴³⁰ Scott was highly conscious of the challenges involved in writing about German material, catching misspelled German names such as the first ‘g’ missed out of Wolfgang in one instance: “every time I have sat down to these proofs I have given myself a punch on the ear to emphasize the determination to see to the proper names, and yet I believe some have escaped”.⁴³¹ William Michael Rossetti gave further assistance in proof-reading,⁴³² and for other sections Christina Rossetti provided additional language support.⁴³³ Concerned that a “passage was very queer”, Scott tried to iron it out: “on

426 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, p. v.

427 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, pp. 197–323.

428 Walker, “The Life and Work of William Bell Scott”.

429 Seifert, “Spreading Dürer’s Fame in Victorian Britain”, pp. 1065, n. 32, 1068. William Bell Scott, “Manuscripts of Albrecht Dürer in the Library and Print-Room of the British Museum, and Elsewhere”, *Art Journal*, N. S. 7 (1861), 106f.

430 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works* (British Library: C.61.B.8): ms notes, pp. 324f.

431 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works* (British Library: C.61.B.8): ms notes, p. 3: referring to page 108 of the manuscript, which probably relates to page 117 of the final publication and would be a reference to Peter Wolfgang.

432 Walker, “The Life and Work of William Bell Scott”, p. 261; Seifert, “Spreading Dürer’s Fame in Victorian Britain”, p. 1065.

433 DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/97/1-2: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 16 June [1869], pp. 1, 3, 4: Scott noted the typographical error as 1055 for the foundational date of the Antwerp branch of the Fugger family instead of the correct 1455. Rossetti corrected this but the earlier erroneous date appeared in print nevertheless (see Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, p. 121). Meanwhile in the letter Scott declares “one takes trouble about a fact and a d[amne]d misprint makes a fool of me.” See also reference to proofs in further letters: DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/100: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 6 September [1869], pp. 1f; Add. MSS. 838/101: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 15 September [1869], pp. 3f.; Add. MSS. 838/102: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 27 September [1869], pp. 1f.; Add. MSS. 838/103: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 1 October [1869], pp. 1f.; Add. MSS. 838/104: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 11 Oct. [1869], p. 1.

the day I wrote the remarks on the 'Knight and Death' [Fig. 15] wrote to Euston sq^{re} for the exact words and their exact English, I have not Christina's reply here, but that note embodied what I received from her. I have alluded to the matter since your letter, but she does not remember".⁴³⁴ The process was obviously hard work, and his linguistic shortcomings made it all the more demanding. Yet, Scott persevered as the texts were vital for his critical analysis, for "All I want is the true meaning of the design, not the least to warp the argument, or hold out for a new interpretation", understanding the print as a morality-lesson where Death and the Devil gave the meaning rather than the Reformation or Christianity.⁴³⁵ The discussion here showed parallels to the account he gave in the *Portfolio* articles (see p. 83), which suggests a repetitive process and the relation of the earlier work to his later scholarship on the subject of the graphic works of Dürer.

Correspondence, footnotes, and marginalia demonstrate the dependence Scott had upon his network of friends to work out points of interpretation of Dürer's iconography. He was heavily reliant upon William Michael Rossetti, who convinced him of the veracity of the theory that the *Great Fortune* was the lost *Nemesis* (c. 1502: Fig. 18), a notion which he had previously rejected, altering the proofs of his book accordingly. Rossetti had sent him an "extract from [John] Lempriere" that supported the claim, and Scott noted that "the helm and wheel seemed to have been dropt [sic] when the wings were added, and the more so that Durer uses the feminine *nemesis*, showing he knew the emblem to be female".⁴³⁶ However, he still had doubts and alternative authorities to consider: "But then the bridle is the usual insert and agent of the emblem of temperantia, and there is no doubt of that. Besides Vasari calls it so".⁴³⁷ Perhaps frustrated by what conventional iconographical analysis could offer him, Scott developed his own theory for the work: "But Durer may have had an additional meaning in this design – The figure is far removed from the perfect or most lovely female form, such as he could draw and did when he had occasion, as in the Eve, in his exquisite en-

⁴³⁴ DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/97/1-2: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 16 June [1869], p. 4.

⁴³⁵ DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/97/1-2: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 16 June [1869], pp. 4f.

⁴³⁶ DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/98: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 3 July [1869], pp. 1f.; John Lempriere, *Bibliotheca Classica; or A Classical Dictionary* (London: Thomas Tegg, [1788] 1840), p. 480: "represented with a helm and a wheel" and also "The people of Smyrna were the first who made her statue with wings".

⁴³⁷ DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/98: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 3 July [1869], pp. 1f.; John Lempriere, *Bibliotheca Classica; or A Classical Dictionary* (London: Thomas Tegg, [1788] 1840), p. 761: the globe and bridle, however, were associated rather with the virtues of Prudence and Temperance respectively.

graving, or the Magdalene in the woodcut of her vision, done near his end”.⁴³⁸ Scott’s belief that Dürer could render female beauty when he wished contradicts the views expressed by Fuseli, William Michael Rossetti and Ruskin regarding Dürer’s perpetual failures to capture it (see pp. 44, 100 and 104) but instead aligned with Heaton (see p. 81). Further discursive correspondence between Scott and William Michael Rossetti occurred over the *Triumphal Car* (1523), where Scott contended Dürer’s claims to have originated the design.⁴³⁹ Scott’s implication that the imperfection in the *Great Fortune* was a self-conscious decision on the part of Dürer, was consistent with his interpretation elsewhere. He saw Dürer’s Madonna as an example of the master’s naturalistic interests and a depiction of a human mother rather than a transcendental spirit, and his negativity towards Agnes may have been a reflection of his troubled relationship with his own wife, Letitia (his solution was to form a ménage-à-trois with his former pupil, Alice Boyd, in 1860).⁴⁴⁰ Heaton was more equitable in her treatment of Agnes. She not only noted the recognition of the sacrosanct nature of marriage in medieval Germany by German scholars, but suggested that the wife’s conduct as a controlling matriarch was perhaps normal and desirable for Dürer, if not for Pirckheimer (at whom she levels all the blame for her ill-reputation), as “Dürer himself [...] is ever silent concerning his domestic unhappiness”.⁴⁴¹ As Elizabeth Eastlake also noted, Pirckheimer and Sandart’s slanders against Agnes meant misogyny was part of the historiographical record of Dürer’s marriage since the Renaissance.⁴⁴² Meanwhile Eastlake believed Dürer’s “homely, grotesque and exaggerated” renderings and his “deficiency in taste” for beauty resulted in disaster for his representation of the Virgin Mary, for “It cannot be doubted that Albert Dürer did his best in the conception of the Madonna, nevertheless she is always a big-headed, double-chinned, most clumsy woman, with no pretensions to the tender youth and grace assigned by feeling and art to the Virgin Mother of the Divine Babe” – the result of his imperfect balancing of real and ideal parts.⁴⁴³

438 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, p. 97.

439 DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/99: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 8 August [1869], pp. 1f.; Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, p. 182 (see also pp. 102, 284); <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/adam/25804757-ea25-4aba-903b-eaced6859754> and <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/eve/930c0fdf-fcfc-47df-b216-e375f5719084> (accessed 10 August 2023).

440 Lottes, “Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer”, p. 89.

441 Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, pp. 55–57: see also p. 53, where she noted the match between Albrecht and Agnes was not romantic but arranged for financial reasons by their fathers; also pp. 326f.: where she transcribes Pirckheimer’s letter blaming Agnes for Dürer’s death.

442 Eastlake, “Dürer”, pp. 390f.

443 Eastlake, “Dürer”, pp. 398f.: see also p. 403.

Like others (see pp. 79 and 106), Scott compared the portraits of *Erasmus* by Dürer and Holbein. He noted that “This is not the happiest work of Durer” and “a few years later he sat many times to Holbein, who was a much more individualizing portrait painter than Durer”.⁴⁴⁴ It is interesting that Scott here was treading on ground already covered by his friend Wornum. The latter had briefly touched on Dürer in describing his portraits of Erasmus in contrast to those of Holbein.⁴⁴⁵ It is fanciful to suppose that Wornum and Scott had a conversation during their time in London (1837–43) where they divided up their territories neatly, but that remains a possibility, nevertheless.

That Scott annotated his personal copy of his book proves that his research on Dürer continued beyond 1869.⁴⁴⁶ These were typographical corrections and additions based on his subsequent readings and discoveries,⁴⁴⁷ suggesting he was preparing for a second edition of his book that never came to fruition. Examples of comments reflect his positive response to the work of his ‘rival’. On the relationship between Dürer and his brother, Biliband, Scott cited Heaton’s work, remarking on how she “dwelt with pleasure on the picture of the two boys”.⁴⁴⁸ Elsewhere he noted how “Mrs Heaton mentions on good authority that the three small silver shields on a blue field were granted not to Durer personally but to the guild”.⁴⁴⁹ Scott noted how F. T. Palgrave had drawn his attention to Dürer’s hand-written monogram on a *Standing Figure of Christ* in the British Museum allegedly by Walsh (Jacob Walch?).⁴⁵⁰ He also revised his previous conclusions on occasion with these notes: he reversed, for example, his prior adherence to the traditional belief that the picture for St. Bartholomew’s Church, Prague, was the artwork Dürer went to Venice to produce.⁴⁵¹ The reviewer for *The Architect* noted how Heaton

444 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works* (British Library: C.61.B.8), p. 127: Ms note in margins.

445 Wornum, *Some Account of Holbein*, p. 141.

446 Seifert, “Spreading Dürer’s Fame in Victorian Britain”, p. 1066.

447 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works* (British Library: C.61.B.8), pp. 184, 186, 188f., 228, 259, 265, 274, 285, 308: m. s. note in margins include German texts by Förstermann and Bindseil (eds.), *Luthers Tisch-Reden* (Berlin: 1848), articles in the *Kunstblatt* (1828); Gottfried Schadow’s *Polyclat, oder, von dem Maassen des Menschen – nach dem geschlechte und alter* (Berlin: 1834); Thausing’s *Annuaire de l’Histoire de l’art* (Leipzig: Seeman, 1870); a note to look up Passavant on *The Man suffering under Disease*; Waagen’s catalogue of the *Königliche Museum* (Berlin: 1857); and von Eye and Heller were also referenced.

448 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works* (British Library: C.61.B.8), p. 24: Ms note.

449 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works* (British Library: C.61.B.8), p. 68: Ms note.

450 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works* (British Library: C.61.B.8), p. 49: Ms note: see: 1853,0813.32: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1853-0813-32, accessed 14 August 2023; Eastlake, “Dürer”, p. 386.

451 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works* (British Library: C.61.B.8), 64: Ms note.

and Scott were at odds over this point, and that Heaton rather thought the *Rosenkranzfest* was the picture produced in Venice.⁴⁵² Scott also continued to make notes on the *Great Fortune* (see p. 96), suggesting both the importance he assigned to it in Dürer's oeuvre and his failure to resolve its true meaning.⁴⁵³

The Portfolio (1870) reviewed the biographies by Heaton and Scott. They praised the former as a perfect adornment for the drawing room due to its illustrations and binding, and the latter as a prop for students, concluding that "Indeed there appears to be little danger that Dürer's fame will ever diminish in this country, or that we shall ever be behind other nations in hearty and intelligent admiration of his most noble and original genius".⁴⁵⁴ The reviewer congratulated Scott on dispelling myths popular amongst the Victorian middle-class about Dürer's poverty, for instead "Dürer was a prosperous and successful man, who left behind him a comfortable fortune, the reward of his industry and substantial consequence of his fame. He was heartily admired during his own lifetime, and his prints had a most extensive sale" such that he was accepted in high society.⁴⁵⁵ Scott had meditated upon this point in discussion with William Michael Rossetti before going to press, and had felt his was an important contribution in revising public understanding of Dürer's career:

Don't you think my view of Durer's print business and money success quite correct? Of his success in life indeed altogether? Curious how an impression or a statement is repeated from man to man, in spite of documents and facts transpiring. Did you observe I give Waagen a pink [i. e. a black eye] – and don't you think the passage I quote warrants me in doing so. He must have had the 'journal' lying before him and all the other documents relating to Durer, when he wrote that last book of his.⁴⁵⁶

Scott had perhaps been affected by Wornum's negativity towards Waagen. Scott felt Waagen's interpretations were based on a deficient scholarly zeal and questioned the latter's interpretation of Dürer's travels on "humble footing" when his entourage of his wife and her maid suggested otherwise.⁴⁵⁷

452 A. D. A. "Albert Durer", *Architect* (11 December 1869), 284f. (p. 285a).

453 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works* (British Library: C.61.B.8), p. 96: Ms note. Ref to William Michael Rossetti on *Nemesis* – see also pp. 99 and 269 for further references to Rossetti's remarks.

454 Anon., "Albert Dürer", *Portfolio* (1870), pp. 111f.

455 Anon., "Albert Dürer", *Portfolio* (1870), p. 112.

456 DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/97/1-2: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti, 16 June [1869], p. 5.

457 DUULC: Add. MSS. 838/98: W. B. Scott to W. M. Rossetti. 3 July [1869], p. 3.

Ruskin's sour relationship with Scott meant that when he cited works it was Heaton that he turned to and not Scott.⁴⁵⁸ Ruskin's statement that "It is very curious that Durer, the least able of all great artists to represent womanhood, should of late have been a very principal object of feminine admiration" was possibly an oblique reference to Heaton.⁴⁵⁹ For all of Ruskin and Scott's differences they were united in their self-confidence and misogyny, however. Scott felt that the biography part of Heaton's book was better than his but that her lack of practical artistic experience and tendency for emotional judgements undermined it, for "Mrs Heaton's is much more complete in the 'Life', but as she knows little or nothing of art, and writes at feminine length and with feminine gush of sentiment, it is a popular book only, and has, I fear, been much damaged by mine".⁴⁶⁰

Moritz Thausing's joint review of the books of Heaton and Scott was more damning than that which had appeared in *The Portfolio*.⁴⁶¹ He suggested that both works had been inspired by Narrey's 1866 text, due to their inclusion of Dürer's Venetian and Netherlandish diaries.⁴⁶² The level to which either actually directly used Narrey for their translations is debatable, as translating from French offered little advantage over translating from German. Heaton stated explicitly that she had used the "original German" and complained of a "French translator [...] who sometimes supplies their places with neat phrases of his own; phrases which Dürer might perhaps or ought to have used, but which assuredly he did not",⁴⁶³ while Scott cited Narrey's text in his preface (where he admitted candidly "I have availed myself, especially by adopting many of Narrey's Notes on the Journal") and four footnotes.⁴⁶⁴ Heaton mentioned Heller and von Eye as her main sources,⁴⁶⁵ while Seifert suggests that Scott's book was "mainly based on Friedrich Campe's *Reliquien von Albrecht Dürer* (1828)" as that work also contained translations of the family chronicle, his correspondence from Venice, and his

458 Wildman, *Ruskin and Dürer*, p. 12; Ruskin, *Library Works: The Ruskin Art Collection* (1870–72), XXI, pp. 24f: quoting a section from Heaton's book recounting Giovanni Bellini's visit to Dürer (p. 73); Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina* (1876), XXII, p. 478.

459 Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina* (1876), XXII, p. 478.

460 Seifert, "Spreading Dürer's Fame in Victorian Britain", quoting DULSC, Add Mss 841/3/1-2 (15 June 1870): Scott to William James Linton; Scott, *Durer: Life and Works* (British Library: C.61.B.8), p. 221: Ms marginal note: Scott looked at British Museum wood engravings with Linton.

461 Hutchison, *Dürer: A Guide to Research*, p. 135.

462 M.[oritz] Thausing, "Englische Dürer-Literatur", *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 5 (1870), 157; C.[harles] Narrey, *Albert Durer à Venise et dans les Pays-Bas, Autobiographie, lettres, journal de voyages, papiers divers* (Paris, 1866).

463 Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. vi.

464 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, pp. x, 57, 112, 118, 130.

465 Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, p. vii.

Netherlands journal.⁴⁶⁶ Again Scott freely acknowledged Campe as the “principle authority for the text of Dürer’s own writings”, however, the five references to Campe’s scholarship demonstrate the limit to which he was dependent upon the German for the more discursive elements of his own text.⁴⁶⁷ Thausing felt that the contribution of Heaton and Scott with their presentation of the travel diaries was negligible, for: “What else is added to these translations as a version cannot lay claim to original or even scientific value, but it is nevertheless a welcome sign for Dürer’s appreciation abroad that two of the first English publications seem to meet an obvious need in such a brilliant way”.⁴⁶⁸ Thausing was primarily concerned to highlight the inferiority of these works to those of the German scholars, with August von Eye (1860) rated as “our best work on Dürer”.⁴⁶⁹ Heaton and Scott’s numerous errors were listed: her use of the text of von Murr (1840) rather than the improved versions of Campe (1828) or von Eye, her miscomprehension of words in Dürer’s old German dialect lexicon, the poor quality of the mechanical reproductions of images, her choice of illustrating familiar works rather than inaccessible and less well-known examples in British collections, and his “presumptuous ignorance” in giving the name of Dürer’s wife as Augusta instead of Agnes, his geographical mistake in placing Bayreuth in Prussia, and his general ignorance of Dürer’s oeuvre (including the *Rosenkranzfest*) gain specific mention in the review.⁴⁷⁰ Thausing nevertheless praised Heaton over Scott. Her “honest effort to use the German art literature in her area and to get clarity on this and that point” explained her greater discrimination in ascribing authentic attributions to Dürer (within the limits of her capacity and expertise) all of which meant that “the performance of the Englishwoman far surpasses that of her competitor’s

466 Seifert, “Spreading Dürer’s Fame in Victorian Britain”, p. 1065.

467 Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, pp. ix, 45, 64, 70, 127, 164.

468 Thausing, “Englische Dürer-Literatur”, p. 157.

469 Thausing, “Englische Dürer-Literatur”, p. 157.

470 Thausing, “Englische Dürer-Literatur”, pp. 157f.; Birgit Ulrike Münch, “Dürer as an icon in Nineteenth-Century Belgium”, in *Dürer’s Journeys Travels of a Renaissance Artist: Catalogue Supplement*, ed. by Susan Foister and Peter van den Brink (London: National Gallery, 2021), p. 39. Perhaps ironically Thausing’s works were equally harshly treated by Elizabeth Eastlake who questioned his theories and also identified factual errors perpetrated by him: see Eastlake, “Dürer”, pp. 380, 385–388, 391, n. †, 399, 400f.: her review was not only of Thausing’s *Dürer, Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Künste* (Leipzig, 1876) and his *Dürer’s Briefe, Tagebücher und Reime* (Vienna, 1872) but also Gustavo Frizzoni’s *Alberto Durerò; e sue relazioni coll’ arte Italiana e coll’umanismo dell’ Epoca* (Venice?: 1878) and Anton Springer’s *Meister W.* (n. d.) although the latter two get scant reference in what essentially was taken by Eastlake as an opportunity to give her own views on Dürer.

book”.⁴⁷¹ By contrast Scott was one of the “hybrid talents who compensate the sins of their pen by the merits of their brush, and hope to explain the infirmities of their artworks by excessive theoretical explanation – both without reason and without success”.⁴⁷² As a ‘Renaissance man’ Scott was not praised here for spreading his talents broadly. Scott’s use of German scholarship was still extensive if nevertheless narrower than Heaton’s.⁴⁷³ Overall, “The inadequacy of such books stands in a deplorable mediocre relation to the respect that Dürer now enjoys abroad” lamenting their lack of a true appreciation of his works (which is ironic given what Scott had to say about Heideloff: see p. 93), in part Thausing blamed this on the insufficiently celebratory nature of much of the German art literature on the artist, but praised the work of Marie Frédéric Eugène de Reiset as an exemplar of foreign enthusiasm and scholarship in contrast to Heaton and Scott.⁴⁷⁴ Scott concluded that: “my ‘Life and Works of Albert Dürer’ — [was] a book good for the English public at the time, but now antiquated by the rapidly-developed Dürer literature in Germany, which has culminated in the thoroughly-studied ‘Memoirs’ by Dr. Thausing”.⁴⁷⁵ Given Thausing’s verdict on Scott, and the latter’s tendency towards prickliness, it seems unlikely that he had read the German scholar’s review of his book, for he would have been unlikely to have been so gallant if that were the case. When Thausing’s *Life of Dürer* was translated into English *The Athenæum* noted how Heaton’s account of Agnes Frey corrected that of Thausing, and it also defended her “careful and intelligent book” as “something more than the useful and ‘popular summary’ it is here said to be” in Thausing’s book.⁴⁷⁶ R.F. Heath agreed, and his 1883 comparative study of the two lives of Dürer written by Heaton and Thausing represented their relative and more

471 Thausing, “Englische Dürer-Literatur”, pp. 157f.

472 Thausing, “Englische Dürer-Literatur”, p. 158.

473 Heaton, *Life of Dürer*, pp. vii, 4, 29, 31f., 35, 46f., 49, 50, 53f., 64, 67, 69, 70, 74, 78, 85–87, 99–101, 105f., 116, 122, 124, 127, 130, 132–134, 137f., 145, 150, 154, 161f., 169, 170, 173f., 177f., 186–188, 192, 197f., 208, 215, 225, 230, 239, 262, 277f., 280, 309, 321. Scott, *Durer: Life and Works*, pp. viii, ix, x, 20f., 24, 37–39, 45, 64, 70, 127, 135, 164, 200, 207f., 226, 235, 244, 251f., 259, 261f., 264, 266–274, 286, 288f.. The number of pages with references to the following German scholars in Heaton and Scott were, respectively: Campe (12 and 6); Eye (24 and 2); Joseph Heller (35 and 19); G. W. K. Lochner, 1845 (1 and 0); Hirsching and Huber, 1789 (0 and 11); Murr, 1777 (9 and 5); and G. C. Nagler, 1837 (1 and 9). Scott used fewer scholarly texts and more from early dates.

474 Thausing, “Englische Dürer-Literatur”, pp. 158; F. Reiset, *Notice des tableaux du Musée Napoléon III, exposés dans les salles de la colonnade au Louvre* (Paris: C. de Mourgues frères, imprimeurs, and Musée du Louvre, 1865).

475 Scott, *Autobiographical Notes*, II, p. 193; Lottes, “Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer”, p. 90.

476 Anon, “Albert Durer: his Life and Works. By M. Thausing. Edited by F. A. Eaton ... Second Notice”, *Athenæum* 2887 (24 February 1883), 253b–254a (p. 253c).

equal merits.⁴⁷⁷ This position endured in Britain at least, for when Monkhouse reviewed Conway's later 1890 biography, he declared Heaton's book to have "fully deserved its success" without the assistance of German scholars and undertaking the task of translating Dürer's diaries and manuscripts into English for the first time, and further found that subsequent researchers "have added little to Mrs. Heaton's fine clear outline of the man and his work".⁴⁷⁸

Heaton and Scott thus provided invaluable contributions to the British reception of Dürer, even if their input into Dürer studies itself is debatable. Their command of the available German scholarship demonstrated a genuine desire to represent the state of the field to their readers, and in Scott's attempts particularly, art and scholarship united in order to give visual form to historical concept. German Unification no doubt spurred these authors into activity in their work but in both cases their biographies were no flashes in the pan, but rather the result of sustained interest in Dürer as a figure representing universal values of the German Renaissance about which modern British readers were interested in finding out more.

9 John Ruskin on Dürer and Holbein

Like Scott before him Ruskin's collection of German prints and illustrations (see p. 30) led him to write about Dürer and Holbein. Ruskin's pronouncements on Dürer were dispersed over many different publications and across time, making for less coherency overall.⁴⁷⁹ His early enthusiasms for and advocacy of Dürer to the Pre-Raphaelites and working-class art students (for example in *The Elements of Drawing*, 1857) gradually faded in the 1860s.⁴⁸⁰ Ruskin's general Teutophobia has been well mapped,⁴⁸¹ yet his positivity towards the graphic arts drove a more nuanced appreciation of German visual culture. Wildman notes how Ruskin downgraded Dürer "from a representative of great art to a good, but mere, craftsman" due to his increasing belief in the overriding presence of grotesque distortion in Dürer's works.⁴⁸² Ruskin experienced frustration when assessing Dürer's

⁴⁷⁷ Anon., "Fine Arts", *Athenæum* 2835 (25 February 1882), 256b–257b (p. 257a).

⁴⁷⁸ Cosmo Monkhouse, "Fine Art: *Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer*. By William Martin Conway", *Academy* 958 (13 Sept 1890), 227–228a.

⁴⁷⁹ Lottes, "Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer", p. 90.

⁴⁸⁰ Lottes, "Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer", pp. 91, 93.

⁴⁸¹ Potter, *Inspirational Genius of Germany*, p. 58; Wildman, *Ruskin and Dürer*, p. 1.

⁴⁸² Wildman, *Ruskin and Dürer*, p. 19.

symbolism, and consulted Thomas Carlyle and William Kingsley for assistance.⁴⁸³ In *Modern Painters 3* (1848) Ruskin expressed his partial admiration for Dürer, noting his “grotesque idealism”,⁴⁸⁴ which was powerful when kept in check,⁴⁸⁵ and examined the grotesque qualities of *Knight, Death and the Devil* further in *The Stones of Venice* (1851–53).⁴⁸⁶ Such commentary was echoed in the work of Stephens within the Pre-Raphaelite circle.⁴⁸⁷ Ruskin labelled the predisposition to metaphysical thought and melancholy as a weakness and found it in many creative geniuses, not all German,⁴⁸⁸ however, the melancholic spirit of Nuremberg was responsible for this aspect of Dürer’s personality.⁴⁸⁹ The dismissal of Dürer’s abilities to conjure beauty was commonplace, as has been seen. William Michael Rossetti wrote to Hunt in 1870 “one naturally demands Beauty in a work of art; but [...] some artists (Dürer for example) have been very great with a scanty sense of Beauty, but a profound sense of Character in the objects of sight”.⁴⁹⁰ While Ruskin, in 1875, declared Dürer’s *The Virgin and Child crowned by two Angels* (1518) “as an example of his best conception of womanhood”.⁴⁹¹ Ruskin felt ugliness was an attendant characteristic of “Old German art”,⁴⁹² and consistently failed to find beauty in Dürer’s works.⁴⁹³ Woltmann also added to these ideas with his contrasts: “Holbein has freed himself utterly from the repulsive, and caricatured figures at that time prevalent, and which appear in representations of a similar kind even by Durer. His realistic tendency aided him in this”.⁴⁹⁴

483 Wildman, *Ruskin and Dürer*, p. 18.

484 Wildman, *Ruskin and Dürer*, pp. 14f.; Ruskin, *Library Works: Modern Painters 1* (1843), V, p. 189.

485 Wildman, *Ruskin and Dürer*, p. 17.

486 Ruskin, *Library Works: The Stones of Venice* (1851–53), XI, pp. 171f.

487 Lottes, “Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer”, p. 91.

488 Ruskin, *Library Works: Art of England* (1883), XXXIII, p. 334: “gloomy fantasy, natural [...] to men of real imagination [...] to men like Orcagna, Durer, Blake, and Alfred Rethel, – and dwelt upon by them, in the hope of producing some moral impression of salutary awe by their record – as in Blake’s Book of Job, in Durer’s Apocalypse, in Rethel’s Death the Avenger and Death the Friend”.

489 Lottes, “Die Präraffaeliten und Dürer”, pp. 90f.

490 Roger W. Peattie, *Selected Letters of William Michael Rossetti* (University Park, Penn.: Penn State Press, 1990), p. 265: citing W. M. Rossetti to William Holman Hunt, 28 August [1870].

491 Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina*, XXII, p. 478.

492 Wildman, *Ruskin and Dürer*, pp. 1f.

493 Wildman, *Ruskin and Dürer*, pp. 14–16.

494 Woltmann, *Holbein and his Times*, p. 131.



Fig. 19: Albrecht Dürer, *Desiderius Erasmus* (1526), engraving, 249 x 189 millimetres, British Museum, bequeathed by Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode 1799, Registration number E,3.30, © The Trustees of the British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_E-3-30

Ruskin compared the sketchiness of Reynolds and Gainsborough, with their “charm of grace and power”, to Holbein’s “calm entireness of unaffected resolution”, for “Holbein is complete in intellect: what he sees, he sees with his whole soul: what he paints, he paints with his whole might. Sir Joshua sees partially, slightly, tenderly”.⁴⁹⁵ Holbein was “the greatest master of the German, or any northern, school”.⁴⁹⁶ As with other nineteenth-century commentators a comparison of the two great German artists was inevitable, and it was their portraits of Erasmus⁴⁹⁷ that also offered Ruskin an opportunity for counterpoint for “affectionate self-forgetfulness protects Holbein from the chief calamity of the German temper, vanity, which is at the root of all Dürer’s weakness”.⁴⁹⁸ Like Scott before him (see p. 98), Ruskin compared the Louvre version of Holbein’s painting (Fig. 12) to Dürer’s engraving (Fig. 19). Ruskin felt that: “In Holbein’s, the face leads everything; and the most lovely qualities of the face lead in that. The cloak and cap are perfectly painted, just because you look at them neither more nor less than you would have looked at the cloak in reality”.⁴⁹⁹ Comparing it to the responses to Rembrandt’s virtuoso painterly touch, Gainsborough’s gracefulness, Leonardo’s chiaroscuro, or Titian’s composition, realism was what Holbein offered:

You say only, ‘Erasmus is surely there; and what a pleasant sight!’ You don’t think of Holbein at all But now, look at Dürer’s. The very first thing you see, and at any distance, is this great square tablet with ‘The image of Erasmus, drawn from the life by Albert Dürer, 1526,’ and a great straddling A.D. besides. Then you see a cloak, and a table, and a pot, with flowers in it, and a heap of books with all their leaves and all their clasps, and all the little bits of leather gummed in to mark the places; and last of all you see Erasmus’s face; and when you do see it, the most of it is wrinkles. [...] All egotism and insanity, this, gentlemen. Hard words to use; but not too hard to define the faults which rendered so much of Dürer’s great genius abortive, and to this day paralyze, among the details of a lifeless and ambitious precision, the student, no less than the artist, of German blood. For too many an Erasmus, too many a Dürer, among them, the world is all cloak and clasp, instead of face or book; and the first object of their lives is to engrave their initials.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁵ Ruskin, *Library Works: Sir Joshua Reynolds and Holbein* (1860), IXX, pp. 3–15 (pp. 9–11). Ruskin followed the view at the time that the Dresden version was authentic.

⁴⁹⁶ Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina*, XXII, p. 305.

⁴⁹⁷ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1853-1008-139 and https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1868-0822-202, accessed 12 April 2023.

⁴⁹⁸ Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina*, XXII, pp. 418f.

⁴⁹⁹ Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina*, XXII, pp. 418f.; see also Wildman, *Ruskin and Dürer*, p. 21.

⁵⁰⁰ Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina*, XXII, p. 419.

Ruskin damned Dürer with a comparison to the modern Prussian state: overly precise, machine-like, and sterile. In the fifth lecture of *Ariadne Florentina*, he declared that Dürer's real power was scientific citing his knowledge of anatomy, writing books on "proportions of the human body" and having a "taste for optics", such that the *Great Fortune*, and *Adam and Eve* should be counted as his principle works rather than engravings like *Melencolia I* or *Knight, Death and the Devil*.⁵⁰¹ As Ruskin continued: "Holbein is right, not because he draws more generally, but more truly, than Durer. Durer draws what he knows is there; but Holbein, only what he sees",⁵⁰² before waxing lyrical about the great contribution of the "ignorant Holbein" to "the Story of England under Henry and Elizabeth".⁵⁰³ The juxtaposition of a lower "literal" with a higher "poetical" science parallels the duality to be found in Ruskin's advocacy of Turner's grand landscapes as history painting in *Modern Painters 1* (1843).

Earlier, in his second lecture, Ruskin had continued the tradition of contrasting Northern and Southern Renaissances: he placed Holbein and Dürer as the preeminent engravers of the north, and Botticelli and Mantegna as their equivalents in the south.⁵⁰⁴ but there was a qualitative difference between the first and second in each pairing. For Ruskin, Holbein's engravings were only equalled by those of Botticelli, and he compared his work to Martin Luther as a "Northern Reformer".⁵⁰⁵ Holbein and Botticelli demonstrated the differences between the two schools best and offered archetypes: "Holbein is a civilized boor; Botticelli a reanimate Greek".⁵⁰⁶ In his second appendix to *Ariadne Florentina* of 1873, Ruskin returned to his dichotomised view of the two artists. He lamented the distorted vision of Dürer enthusiasts, and in his "Fragments on Holbein and others" reiterated his proclamation on the higher truth revealed by Holbein's eye and hand: "Yet that intense veracity of Holbein is indeed the strength and glory of all the northern schools. They exist only in being true. Their work among men is the definition of what is, and the abiding by it. They cannot dream of what is not. They

501 Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina*, XXII, p. 413; Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters, with a Memoir by William Michael Rossetti* (London: Ellis and Elvey, 1895), p. 99: W. M. Rossetti noted Holbein's error in giving one bone instead of the correct two in the lower legs of his *Dance of Death* (1538).

502 Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina*, XXII, p. 414.

503 Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina*, XXII, p. 415.

504 Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina*, XXII, pp. 345f.: "Botticelli and Mantegna in the south, Durer and Holbein in the north [...] above and beneath those [...] three mighty painters, Perugino the captain, Bellini on one side – Luini on the other".

505 Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina*, XXII, p. 436.

506 Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina*, XXII, pp. 390f., 400.

make fools of themselves if they try”.⁵⁰⁷ Despite all his animosity to Germany, his appreciation for the graphic arts and Holbein’s noble naturalism enabled him to forego his usual prejudices and quote from Woltmann’s scholarship, even.⁵⁰⁸ Interestingly, Ruskin found parallels to modern graphic artists, such as those between John Tenniel and Holbein particularly, which related to his broader critique of contemporary British graphic artists.⁵⁰⁹

Ruskin’s writings on German prints were continued to some extent by other writers around this time. In 1879 Elizabeth Eastlake noted how, despite Dürer’s charms as a “colourist”, it was in his graphic work as a designer and an engraver that he was “surpassing excellence”, and in works like the *Apocalypse* (1498) “His lines never hesitate as to what they mean; and any true eye and practised hand could follow them” providing “a new revelation to the artist world both in style and power” or “‘la maniera moderna,’” which was “far from beautiful, nor as yet correct, but they were set in motion as never before by a German engraver”.⁵¹⁰ With such modern credentials, Dürer’s engravings could arguably rival Holbein’s artworks. In the same year, the artist Henry Holiday wrote about the inferiority of Dürer’s woodcuts when produced by others from his drawings, when compared to the excellent autographic engravings on copper.⁵¹¹ Holiday illustrated Dürer’s *Joachim and the Angel (The Life of the Virgin)* (c. 1504) and described it as “a fairly typical specimen of Dürer’s woodcut style”.⁵¹² Ruskin’s views of Dürer’s unworthiness as an educational model were reiterated four years later, when P. G. Hamerton also dismissed the artist as an exemplar for copying.⁵¹³

Ruskin also used Dürer and Holbein as yardsticks for excellence in his critiques of contemporary British art. He compared Dürer’s greater draughtsmanship and imagination with those of William Mulready, for example, although the latter was superior as a colourist.⁵¹⁴ The artistic influence of the Renaissance Germans on the Pre-Raphaelites (see p. 31) could be problematic for Ruskin, however, in his celebrated letter to *The Times* he positively assessed John Everett Millais’s *Mariana* (1851) “as studies both of drapery and of every minor detail, there has been nothing in art so earnest or so complete as these pictures since the days

507 Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina*, XXII, pp. 478, 485f.

508 Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina*, XXII, pp. 326f., 354, 401, 412, 439.

509 Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina*, XXII, pp. 352–354, 357f., 361.

510 Eastlake, “Dürer”, pp. 393f.; see also pp. 396f., regarding the significance of Dürer’s mark-making processes.

511 Henry Holiday, “Wood Engraving. III”, *Magazine of Art* (January 1879), 105–108 (pp. 107f.).

512 Holiday, “Wood Engraving. III”, p. 108.

513 Philip Gilbert Hamerton, *The Graphic Arts* (London: Seeley and Co., 1882), pp. 316–318.

514 Ruskin, *Library Works: Modern Painters 2: Addenda* (1848), IV, p. 336.

of Albert Durer” pointing to the perspectival correctness in the works.⁵¹⁵ He also expressed the appropriateness of Holbein as a model for portraitists in 1859, when reviewing Lowes Cato Dickenson’s portrait of *Frederick Denison Maurice*.⁵¹⁶ Ruskin declared that “portraiture may be divided into three great schools” with three associated sets of characteristics: Titian and the Venetians were “entirely right”; “the German school, headed by Holbein, erring slightly on the side of intenseness and force of definition”; and the English school, headed by Sir Joshua, which was “erring slightly on the side of facility and grace of abstraction”.⁵¹⁷ While Ruskin felt that the Venetians and Reynolds could not be copied, he ironically advocated that “Holbein is imitable, and is the best model for us”,⁵¹⁸ and, by contrast, “You have only three portraits, by Dürer, of the great men of his time, and those bad ones”.⁵¹⁹ Elsewhere Ruskin could be found preferring Erasmus or Melancthon, to Dürer and Holbein, for his “ideal of a tutor”.⁵²⁰ Over subsequent decades other critics invoked the medieval German artists in a similar way to Ruskin. In 1886 Stephens referred to Dürer in relation to Millais’ rendering of “Every detail, tint, surface, texture, and substance, all the flesh, all the appointments of the table, the food and wine set before the company, and all the minutiae of the accessories” in his *Isabella* (1848–49: WAG 1637, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool), for “Such tenacity and technical powers were never, since the German followers of Dürer adopted Italian principles of working, exercised on a single picture”, with Millais outdoing even Van Eyck.⁵²¹ In his 1898 account, following the artist’s

⁵¹⁵ John Ruskin, “The Pre-Raffaellites”, *The Times* 20,800 (13 May 1851), pp. 8f–9a (pp. 8f).

⁵¹⁶ Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, II, p. 321; #492 (1859): “The Rev. F.D. Maurice, M.A., Chaplain of Lincoln’s Inn”; The National Portrait Gallery, London, suggests that this was a drawing: <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/personExtended/mp03026/john-frederick-denison-maurice?tab=iconography> (presumably citing Richard Ormond, *National Portrait Gallery Collection Catalogue: Early Victorian Portraits* (Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1973) which would relate to <https://archives.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/calmview/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=MSS%2F4818> (Lambeth Palace: Charcoal and white chalk, 345 x 250 mm) and <https://kingscollections.org/exhibitions/archives/maurice/> (with a further copy at Trinity College, Cambridge, <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/reverend-frederick-denison-maurice-18051872-professor-of-moral-philosophy-1866-christian-socialist-134692>), accessed 22 August 2023); Anon., “Art Exhibitions of 1859 [Review of Ruskin’s RA Notes, No. 5]”, *Bentley’s Quarterly Review* II (July 1859), 582–628 (p. 602).

⁵¹⁷ Ruskin, *Library Works: Academy Notes* (1959), XIV, p. 232.

⁵¹⁸ Ruskin, *Library Works: Academy Notes* (1959), XIV, p. 232.

⁵¹⁹ Ruskin, *Library Works: Ariadne Florentina* (1876), XXII, p. 414.

⁵²⁰ Wildman, *Ruskin and Dürer*, p. 3; quoting Ruskin, *Library Works: Praeterita* (1886–89), XXXV, p. 202.

⁵²¹ Frederic George Stephens, *Exhibition of the Works of Sir John E. Millais, Bt., R.A., the Grosvenor Gallery, London, 1886* (London: The Gallery, 1886), p. 73.

death, Marion Harry Spielmann reiterated Ruskin's assessment of Millais' *Mariana* in relation to Dürer.⁵²²

For all his antipathy towards German art, Dürer and Holbein remained key art historical points of reference for Ruskin in his educational work and art criticism. The naturalism of Holbein privileged him in terms of his compatibility with Ruskin's worldview while the awkward afterglow of the gothic in Dürer's prints, particularly with their melancholic associations, left the critic ill at ease despite their art historical importance. While he drew upon Heaton's scholarship, the personal animosity between him and Scott and Elizabeth Eastlake meant they were unable to meet eye to eye on their assessments of Dürer, thus a Victorian consensus on his capacity to render beauty was elusive.

10 Conclusions

German Unification and the quadricentennials of the births of Dürer and Holbein, did little to change the direction or nature of Anglo-German discourses on and discussions of the two artists in Britain in the nineteenth century. A coterie of Dürer enthusiasts had established itself in London by the close of the century. Given Lionel Cust's employment in the Prints and Drawings Room of the British Museum, his *A. Dürer, A Study of his Life and Works* (London, 1897) unsurprisingly focused upon the graphic works. Another key individual, Campbell Dodgson, was similarly based at the British Museum: he was their Librarian from 1893, but went on to replace Sidney Colvin as Keeper of Prints of Drawings in 1912. Meantwhile the arrival of Holbein's *Ambassadors* at the National Gallery triggered renewed interest in that work. Colvin played a role in the identification of Jean de Dinteville as one of the Ambassadors in a letter to *The Times* (11 September 1890).⁵²³ This was subsequently confirmed by further research by Mary Hervey which she published in another letter to *The Times* (7 December 1895) and her *Holbein's Ambassadors: The Picture and the Men* (1900).⁵²⁴ While

522 M.[arion] H.[arry] Spielmann, *Millais and his Works: With Special Reference to the Exhibition at the Royal Academy 1898* (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1898), p. 105.

523 Michael, *Holbein Guide to Research*, pp. 71, 392, 400, citing Carl Georg Heise, *Hans Holbein. Die Gesandten (Der Kunstbrief)* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1946); Sidney Colvin, "The Longford Picture at the National Gallery", *The Times* (11 Sept 1890), p. 6.

524 Michael, *Holbein Guide to Research*, pp. 71f; Mary F. S. Hervey, "Holbein's 'Ambassadors' – The Solution", *The Times* (7 December 1895), p. 13; Sidney Colvin, "Holbein's 'Ambassadors'", *The Times* (10 December 1895), p. 12; Mary F. S. Hervey, *Holbein's Ambassadors: The Picture and the Men: An Historical Study* (London: George Bell, 1900).

the Holbein Society folded in 1892, this was not due to any decline in Holbein studies in Britain. Dodgson translated Hermann Knackfuss's *Holbein* (1899). The last decade of the nineteenth century thus saw work that was closer in nature to the expert activities of the critics of the Burlington Magazine at the dawn of the next century. It also shared much with Wornum's approach, but was a qualitative step onwards from the popularist work of Hodgson, Heaton and Scott.

As the foregoing pages demonstrate, the depth of the cultural exchange that took place between Britain and Germany over the afterlives of its principal Renaissance artists in the nineteenth century was considerable. The growth of a middle-class readership and gallery-going public produced the perfect conditions for these developments, and British scholars of Dürer and Holbein captured the zeitgeist in arguing for them as the cultural property of all nations and not just Germany. Not only do Scott's *Albrecht Dürer at Nuremburg* (1854) and Hodgson's *Holbein's Studio* (1861) exemplify the historical mindedness about Renaissance Germany that infiltrated the work of artists, but also how art history could be used to create authentic images of past artistic lives. The individualizing power of Holbein was appreciated for the accurate images it gave modern Britons of their historic forebears and also as an example for modern British artists to follow. While Scott's work demonstrates his genuine attempts to better understand a foreign national culture he esteemed, Hodgson's painting arguably evidences a narrower Academic spirit, presenting a specifically 'British' version of Holbein.

While institutional practices framed much of this activity, collecting and exhibition practices ensured that the wider British public could develop ever greater knowledge about Dürer and Holbein. Royal Academicians throughout the century gleaned important lessons for their students from the works of both Dürer and Holbein in their lectures. Contemporary British scholarship further contextualised these interventions, variously aimed at experts (such as was the case with Wornum's contribution to the *Holbeinstreit*) or the general public (in the case of the Dürer biographies of Heaton and Scott). Regardless of the accusations of shortcomings in the work of British scholars levelled at them by their German colleagues, the correspondence between Wornum and Woltmann, and Scott's acquaintance with Heideloff, reveal the higher truth of a collaborative moment that extended across the North Sea. An important level of trust and respect existed between British and German scholars on German art at the time. Furthermore, the friendships and courteous relations between Heaton, Scott and Wornum demonstrate the closely interwoven connections that formed between the British artists and scholars in a genuinely collaborative effort. Their books demonstrate a genuine attempt to help British audiences to better understand the artworks of Dürer and Holbein.

As the critical reception of both artists show, the individual or communal meanings that the British critics found in the works of Dürer and Holbein were often more important than the historical facts connected with them. Whether it be Scott or Heaton's positive approach to the melancholy in German art, or Ruskin's alternative negative response, British artists and authors found important lessons about humanity, nature and society in the artworks of Dürer and Holbein and stressed through their interventions the great relevance of this art to modern society and its concerns. This involved navigating the often-complex relationship between naturalism and beauty in German works. The British writers also played an important part for their audience in liberating the historiography of the German Renaissance from the distorting influence of German Romanticism. Moreover, in the British analysis, the relationship that emerged between Dürer and Holbein was often a symbiotic one: their reception often did not take place in isolation but rather knowledge of the one and the values that their artworks represented was used to inform the interpretation and understanding of the other. As this article has shown, not only did the two greatest artists of Renaissance Germany represent the historic ideals of 'law and liberty', naturalism and individualism evident in the visual cultures of the free imperial cities in which they lived, but they also spoke effectively to the modern cultural and aesthetic mores of liberal bourgeois Britons in the nineteenth century.

Appendix 1

Artworks attributed to Dürer and Holbein in the “Ancient Masters” Gallery of the Art Treasures Exhibition, Manchester (1857)

The artworks attributed to Dürer were: i) *Madonna and Child with Saints* (c. 1535: Royal Collection, Windsor: reattributed to Jan Provoost), ii) *Portrait of his Father* (c. 1497: Syon House, Duke of Northumberland: reattributed as a copy by Richard Greenbury: see (<https://rkd.nl/en/explore/artists/33570?langen=>), and iii) *Birth of the Virgin* (late sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries: Liverpool Royal Institution; now Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (WAG1224) after Dürer). The “Holbein” artworks were: i) *Portrait of a Young Man holding a Book* (c.1493–1519: Lord Ward; now Ambrosius Holbein), #395; ii) *Portrait of Francis I* (c. 1530: Royal Collection, Hampton Court, RCIN 403433: now after Joos van Cleve) #461 “considered by some to be a Janet”: see <https://www.rct.uk/collection/403433/francis-i-king-of-france-1494-1547>; iii) *Prodigal Son* (sixteenth century: Liverpool Royal Institution; now Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (WAG818), listed as “Netherland School”), #469: Waagen, p. 20: “Full of life and spirit; of his earlier time.”; iv) *Henry VIII* (c.1542: Earl of Warwick, Warwick Castle; now Peter Paul Rubens, Priv. Coll.: #471: see: <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2015/old-master-british-paintings-evening-sale-l15036/lot.8.html>) and <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/108MGC>; v) *A Male Portrait* (1524: Duke of Newcastle: now Anonymous Antwerp Painter/ Quentin Massys(?), *Portrait of a Man with a Rosary* (Kunstmuseum, Basel (inv. G 1958.26))), #488 (see: <https://www.rct.uk/collection/403433/francis-i-king-of-france-1494-1547>), vi) *Dr. Stokes (Bishop of London)* (c.1520–60: Royal Collection, Windsor Castle: RCIN405688: now “previously attrib. to Holbein”, *Portrait of a Divine (possibly portrait of John Stokesley, c. 1520–60)*), #489, and, vii) *Portrait of Francis I* (c. 1525–50: Lord Ward) #499: annotated in Scharf’s sketchbook #45 as “Waagen vol. 2. p.236”: Waagen’s attribution of this portrait was to Jean Clouet. Presumably the displayed work was a copy of the painting in the Louvre: https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl0100_62204). George Pencz’s copy of Holbein’s *Portrait of Erasmus* (1537: #492) (see: <https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/6/collection/406202/desiderius-erasmus-1466-1536>). All websites accessed 24 and 26 March 2023.

Appendix 2

Artworks attributed to Dürer and Holbein in the “British Portrait Portrait” Gallery of the Art Treasures Exhibition, Manchester (1857)

The artworks were: i) *Queen Katherine Parr* (n. d.: Full length, Earl of Denbigh: now ‘After Master John, *Portrait of Lady Jane Grey*’), #16: see <https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-after-master-john-portrait-of-lady-jane-5985968/?>; ii) *Earl of Surrey (Henry Howard)*, the poet in a red habit (c. 1530–50: Royal Collection, Hampton Court: now German/Netherlandish School, 16th Century, *Portrait of a Man in Red*, RCIN 405752), (*Handbook to the British Portrait Gallery*, p. 10: quoting Horace Walpole’s view of its authenticity), #17: see: <https://www.rct.uk/collection/themes/exhibitions/in-fine-style/the-queens-gallery-buckingham-palace/portrait-of-a-man-in-red>; *Walk through [with] ... Waagen*, p. 45: “Too weak in the drawing, and too poor in the landscape, for this great painter”; iii) *Sir Nicholas Carew, K. G. in Armour* (1539: Duke of Buccleuch) #26: *Walk through [with] ... Waagen*, 45: “carried out in a masterly manner”; Lodge, *Portraits of Illustrious Personages*, p. i:2: provides date. See: <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/26085>; iv) *Henry VIII* (n. d.: Duke of Manchester), #48: *a duplicate of* #471 in the Ancient Painting section, *Walk through [with] ... Waagen*, p. 46: “head very fine” but overcleaned; p. v) *Queen Jane Seymour (Wife of King Henry VIII., and Mother of King Edward VI.)* (1537: Duke of Bedford, Woburn Abbey) #50: Lodge, *Portraits of Illustrious Personages*, i:2: provides date. See <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/33086/jane-seymour-1509-1537-3rd-queen-henry-viii-mother-edward-vi>; vi) *The Father of Sir Thomas More (Lord Chancellor), holding a Legal Document and pronouncing Judgment* (1523: Earl of Pembroke) #51: *Walk through [with] ... Waagen*, p. 46: “tone and the hardness of the forms” provided his evidence for the dating; p. vii) *Sir Henry Guildford, Master of the Horse to Henry VIII* (1527: Royal Collection, Windsor Castle: RCIN 400046), #52: *Handbook to the British Portrait Gallery*, 11: “a noble work of the master”; *Walk through [with] ... Waagen*, 46: “masterly drawing”; viii) *Lady Grey (Margaret Wootton), Wife to Sir Thomas Grey, K. G., and Grandmother to Lady Jane Grey* (n. d.: Duke of Portland: Previously at Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire, present whereabouts unknown, now “After Holbein”), #53: Cavendish-Bentinck & Fairfax Murray, *Catalogue of the Pictures belonging to His Grace the Duke of Portland, at Welbeck Abbey, and in London* (London: Chiswick Press, 1894), pp. 139, ix) *King Edward VI. A knee piece. Distant view of a Royal Manor* (1546–47: Royal Collection, Windsor Castle: RCIN 404441, now attributed to William Scrots), #54: *Walk through [with] ... Waagen*, p. 46: thought it original “Of the latest time of the

master". See: <https://www.rct.uk/collection/themes/exhibitions/in-fine-style/the-queens-gallery-buckingham-palace/edward-vi-1537-53>; p. x) *William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury* (c. 1538: Archbishop of Canterbury: now after Holbein, Lambeth Palace: now circle of Holbein), #66: *Handbook to the British Portrait Gallery*, pp. 10, 115: "purports to be a work of Holbein's, and is an inferior repetition of the head in the Louvre" and "duplicate in the Louvre"; *Walk through [with] ... Waagen*, p. 47: "An old copy from the picture in the Louvre". See: <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/william-warham-c-14501532-archbishop-of-canterbury-87124>. This may be a copy of the version in the Louvre: <https://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/97-021098-2C6NU0SFDS B0.html>; p. xi) *The Princess Elizabeth* (c. 1546: Royal Collection, Hampton Court: RCIN 404444, Now "Previously attributed to Flemish School, 16th Century"), #67: *Walk through [with] ... Waagen*, p. 47: felt it a signature work. See: <https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/1/collection/404444/elizabeth-i-when-a-princess>; xii) *Sir Thomas Gresham* (c. 1577–79: Earl of Stamford and Warrington: NT DUN/P/102), #67a: presumably a copy of the original that was at Gresham College in the nineteenth century: Anon., "Portrait of Thomas Gresham", *The Art Journal* (1 January 1862), pp. 13b, 14a; *Walk through [with] ... Waagen*, p. 47: 'Sir Anthony More' (not Holbein, as stated in the Catalogue); p. xiii) a miniature of *Henry VIII* (c. 1539: Col. Meyrick, Goderich Court), #57; and, xiv) a miniature of *Ann of Cleves* (1539: Col. Meyrick, Goderich Court), #58: Alfred Woltmann, *Holbein and His Time* (London: R. Bentley and Son, 1872), 438. See <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O18966/portrait-miniature-of-anne-of-portrait-miniature-hans-holbein/> and <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282840/Scharf-Sketchbook-48-page-2>. Five artworks were incorrectly catalogued as by Holbein (see <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289037>): these were *Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland* [1610–43] #173; *James, Duke of Monmouth and Ferguson* [1649–85] #174; *Earl of Clarendon (Lord Chancellor)* [1608–74], #175; *Chief Justice Bramston* [1577–1654] #176; and *Denzil Holles, Lord Holles, Younger Son and Younger Brother of the Earls of Clare* [1598–1680], #177. All websites accessed 24 and 26 March 2023.

