

Victoria & Albert Art & Love

Mr Green and Mr Brown: Ludwig Grüner and Emil Braun in the service of Prince Albert

Jonathan Marsden

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In the Introduction to his last work, *The Ruins and Museums of Rome* (1854), which was not only published in English but dedicated 'To the English Visitors in Rome', the archaeologist Emil Braun (1809–56; **fig. 1**) wrote of the 'strictly German spirit' that would be found 'pervading' the text: 'The character of our [i.e. the German] education inclines us to look for that which lies beyond and above what is actually presented to us: whilst, in England, the mode of mental training is, from the first, directed exclusively upon the object itself'. Braun went on to declare his hope that 'the scientific treatment of art' should be brought, 'with the cooperation of England to the same height already attained by the natural sciences'.¹

Braun was well placed to write as he did. He had served since 1840 as Secretary of the Prussian Archaeological Institute in Rome, and during this time, and especially since his marriage in 1849 to his second wife, Anne Thomson, daughter of James Thomson of Clitheroe, he had become well known to English travellers and expatriates in Italy. Anne Thomson was also a scholar of ancient art, and a friend and correspondent of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. When the newly-weds passed through Florence in January 1850, Elizabeth found Dr Braun charming: 'He has a mixture of fervour – & simplicity which is still more delightfully picturesque in his foreign English'.²

Shortly before he published his guide to Rome, Braun had masterminded the production of the large-scale architectural casts in the Italian Court of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, South London.³ He also supplied the Crystal Palace Company with dozens of casts of antique statues and of the works of Canova, including the *Three Graces*. For our purposes it is important to mention that it was Emil Braun who, 15 years earlier, had conducted the 19-year-old Prince Albert through the 'Ruins and Museums' of Rome. The Prince had found modern Rome vexatious – there were too many foreigners, and he devoted much space in his letters home to ridiculing the rituals of the Catholic Church.⁴ But he liked his guide, of whom he wrote: 'He easily can obtain access everywhere, he is known all over the place, and thanks to his really profound knowledge of archaeology and ancient history he often called my attention to things which most foreigners either overlook or misunderstand'.⁵ In another letter Prince Albert describes Braun as 'an excellent fellow, but with one of the wickedest tongues I have encountered in a long while'.⁶

They had a certain amount in common, since both Braun's father and uncle had been in the ducal service at Gotha, the father as Head Forester and the uncle, Wilhelm Ernst

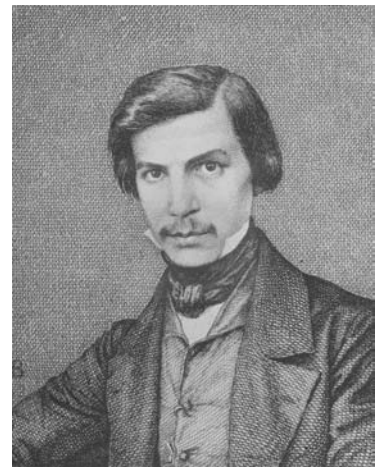


Fig. 1
Possibly after Johannes Riepenhausen
(1787–1860), *Emil August Braun*
(1809–1856), c.1840–45
Steel engraving
Rome, German Archaeological Institute

Braun, as Keeper of the ducal collections.⁷ It was Wilhelm Braun who purchased for Prince Albert's grandfather, Duke August, the wonderful lime-wood statuettes of Adam and Eve which are still in the collection at Gotha, then thought to be by Albrecht Dürer but now accepted as by Conrad Meit.⁸

So far we have encountered Emil Braun the archaeologist, *cicerone* and tutor in antiquity, and Emil Braun the undertaker of architectural casts. One might not be surprised to find that for many years he also supplied the London firm of Elkingtons with models for small-scale galvanic reproductions for the home,⁹ or that he corresponded with them in 1846 about the possibility of buying some of their apparatus for his Roman institute, with a 'competent workman' to provide training;¹⁰ but can it have been the same Emil Braun who arranged the sale to the Duke of Northumberland of the famous Cammuccini Collection, including not only Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* (Washington, National Gallery of Art) but also the *Madonna of the Pinks* by Raphael (London, National Gallery)? If so, was this the same Emil Braun who arranged the purchase of numerous Italian pictures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and a large collection of ancient vases for Baron Bernhard August von Lindenau, a collection which remains intact today in the remarkable museum at Altenburg?¹¹ Indeed it was.

Among Braun's acquaintances in Rome in the 1830s was a young engraver, Wilhelm Heinrich Ludwig Grüner (1801–82; **fig. 2**). He was born in Dresden and from an early age set his heart on a career as a decorative painter. He studied under Johann Gottlob Klingner, a fresco painter. But Grüner became very ill during 1815 and by the time he recovered he had decided instead to pursue engraving, enrolling at the Dresden Academy. He was clearly very talented and his early efforts attracted the attention of patrons who were prepared to send him abroad to study further. So he made for Italy, where he found work with Giuseppe Longhi and Pietro Anderloni, among the leading reproductive engravers of the time, in Milan.¹² Grüner was based in Italy between 1825 and 1840, but made lengthy visits during these years to England, Spain and France. For our story the important part comes next, for in 1841 he came to live permanently in England. Having impressed the young Prince Albert with his abilities as an engraver he was given an appointment, Adviser in Art to The Queen, in July 1845. This title had never existed before and it has not existed since he left London in 1856 to take up the Directorship of the Print Room in his native Dresden.

The title of this paper refers to Grüner and Braun *in the service of Prince Albert*, yet the form of their service was not the same: whereas Grüner was strictly speaking 'in the service' – he was paid a retaining fee and worked directly for the Queen and Prince Albert – Emil Braun was not. But their extraordinary careers are so intertwined as to admit of this imprecision, as we seek to discover what influence they had on the Royal Collection through Prince Albert. One might ask indeed whether Grüner and Braun succeeded in teaching the English to 'look for that which lies beyond', to bring 'the scientific treatment of art to the same height already attained by the natural sciences'.



Fig. 2
Friedrich Preller (1804–78),
Ludwig Grüner (1801–1882), 1828
Pencil
Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen,
Kupferstich-Kabinett, c.1937-1776

Let us learn a little more of Ludwig Grüner. He first came to England in 1832–3. He was here for a whole year, seeking out the works of Raphael in country houses in order to engrave them, for the most part as a contribution to J.D. Passavant's pioneering study, *Rafaël von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi* (2 vols, Leipzig 1839). Grüner was responsible for 14 of the illustrations. In 1833, while he was preparing his engraving of the Ansidei Madonna (London, National Gallery; **fig. 3**), Grüner spent six weeks living at Woodstock working on this and other pictures, and finding the time to paint the Duke of Marlborough's portrait.¹³ As well as working hard with his engraving tools, Grüner on this visit was working on his contacts. And this is clearly another of his great talents: he was an outstanding networker. Of course one could do no better in London in the 1830s than to attach oneself to the eminently sociable publisher John Murray, at whose table Grüner often managed to find himself.¹⁴ And he became friendly with the Eastlakes, Charles and Elizabeth, who would be very important and helpful to him in the future.

At the end of this first visit in England, in June 1833, Grüner made a very thorough visit to Windsor. He seems to have returned briefly to London at the end of 1835, and by now he seems to have become very familiar not only with this country but with the language. Back in Milan a few months later he wrote to John Murray in the following terms:

*Should you ever hear any thing of a high Personage that wants an artist as a companion on a far-far journey, pray think of me, you know my abilities which easily may be improved by opportunity to exercise them; I cannot master my passion for travelling and although I engrave the year long and with earnest and zeal too, I do not think it for all that an occupation worth to spend a life in it, nor that a man may say he has lived when he did nothing else.*¹⁵

Now that passage is revealing, both of Grüner's ambition and of his method, for there were two reasons why foreign artists went to Italy at this time. The first, of course, was to study antiquity and the great masters of the Renaissance. The second, expressed so neatly here, was in order to entrap a patron. After Grüner moved to Rome in 1838 he seems to have been constantly on the alert for this sort of opportunity. There was a near miss: the 20-year-old Russian prince Alexander Nikolaevich passed through Rome in January and February 1839, accompanied by his tutor, the poet Vasily Zhukovsky. He commissioned works from Emil Wolff, John Gibson, Pietro Tenerani and Friedrich Overbeck (**fig. 4**). Zhukovsky's name appears three times in a few days in Grüner's journal,¹⁶ and it seems likely Grüner was moving in on the Tsarevich. One of those journal entries implies that Grüner and Braun met Zhukovsky together:

But there was no call to St Petersburg. What Grüner really needed was a Saxon, and it happened that just a few weeks later a young Saxon prince appeared in town (**fig. 5**), with his own party, Christian Friedrich, Baron von Stockmar (1787–1863) and Lieutenant Francis Seymour (1813–90). He was shown around the ancient city, as we have heard, by Emil Braun.



Fig. 3
Ludwig Grüner (1801–82) after Raphael (1483–1520), *Madonna and Child with Saints John the Baptist and Nicholas of Bari*, c.1839
Engraving and etching, 84.9 × 60.6cm
Royal Collection, RCIN 850684



Fig. 4
(Johann) Friedrich Overbeck (1789–1869), *Religion Glorified by the Fine Arts*, c.1840
Pencil and chalk on three pieces of cream paper, joined, 142 × 118cm
Purchased from the artist by Ludwig Grüner for Prince Albert, 1846
Royal Collection, RL 12090

It has often been said that Grüner and Prince Albert met for the first time in Rome, but neither of them says as much, and nor does anyone else. In any case, Grüner came to London again in 1841, no doubt with the intention of placing himself at Prince Albert's disposal. Grüner's manuscript journal is extensive but almost completely illegible. One of the few partly legible passages is the entry for 26 June 1841, when he was received for the first time by the Prince at Buckingham Palace. He found the Prince 'somewhat more reserved than in Rome, less full of life, but no less lovable I cannot deny'.¹⁷ Now those words 'than in Rome' seem to clinch it. If they did not actually meet, Grüner must at least have had the opportunity to observe the young Albert. What he noticed in June 1841 was the transition from the man in Wolff's bust of March 1839 to the man portrayed again by Wolff in the summer of 1841. Incidentally, it may come as no surprise to add that Grüner and Wolff had travelled together from Rome to London.¹⁸ So this interview, at which Grüner showed the Prince and the Queen some drawings he had made of Orvieto Cathedral, was the moment at which Grüner must have felt he had got his man. He began working for the Prince in 1843, and in 1845 things were formalised: he was appointed 'Adviser in Art' and granted an annual retainer of £200.¹⁹

By the time he came to England in 1841, Grüner was well known in the field of illustration, and it is striking how often his name appears against an engraved illustration in books on art and artists in the mid-nineteenth century. His first publication in his own right, *The Mosaics of the dome of the Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo*, appeared in Rome in 1839 and there followed half a dozen more works, of which the best known, *Specimens of Ornamental Art* of 1850 (with text by Emil Braun), is one of the most spectacular of all nineteenth-century books (figs 6, 7).

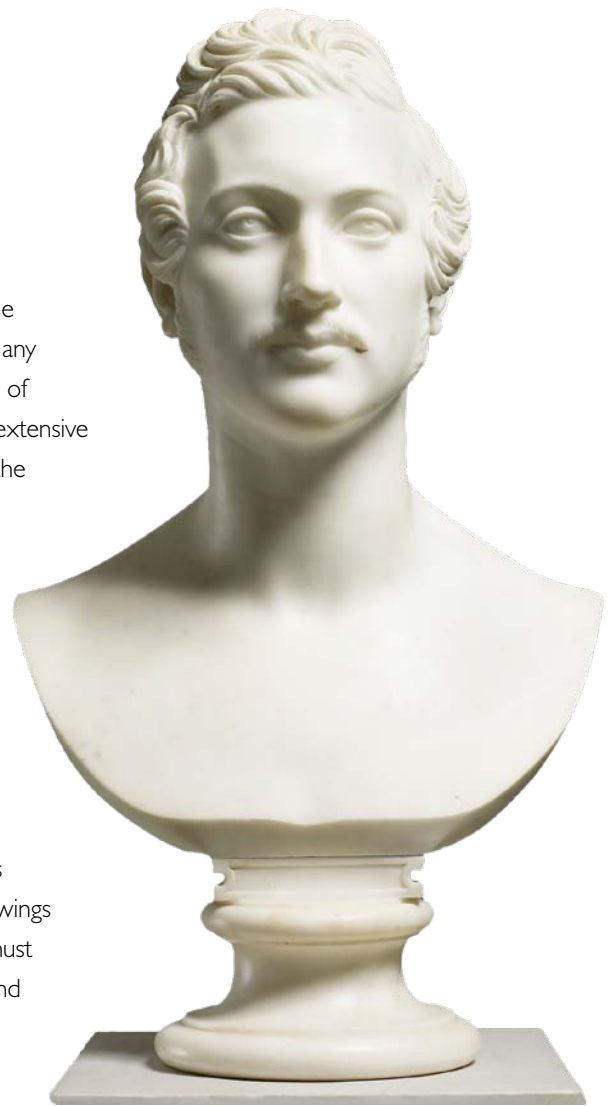


Fig. 5
Emil Wolff (1802–79),
Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, 1839
Marble bust, height 59cm
Royal Collection, RCIN 1527

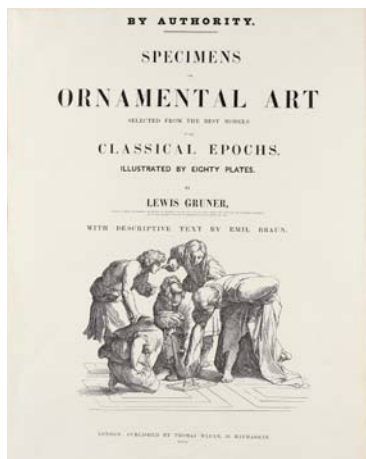


Fig. 6 (far left)
Title page from Ludwig Grüner (1801–82),
*Specimens of Ornamental Art selected from
the best models of the classical epochs ...
with descriptive text by Emil Braun, T. McLean*,
London 1850
Royal Collection, RCIN 1192825

Fig. 7 (left)
Ludwig Grüner (1801–82),
*Part of a Carved Ceiling in the
Palazzo Vecchio at Mantua*
Chromolithograph from *Specimens
of Ornamental Art*, 1850
Royal Collection, RCIN 1192825

He established himself at a nice address, 12 Fitzroy Square, close to his good friends the Eastlakes (no. 7), and Dr A.W. Hoffmann (no. 9), whom Prince Albert had brought over from Germany as first Director of the Royal Society of Chemistry. Another neighbour was the architect A.J. Humbert, with whom Grüner would eventually collaborate (albeit from a distance, since by then he had returned to Germany) on the Royal Mausoleum at Frogmore. Thus established, Grüner had himself painted (fig. 8) by the redoubtable Emma Gaggiotti Richards (1825–1912).²⁰

So far as their influence on the Royal Collection is concerned, Grüner and Braun occupied different spheres of activity, Grüner covering the fields of decoration, decorative design and picture buying, and Braun, it seems, confined to those of ancient art and its reproduction. We have seen them collaborating on publications, with Braun contributing the words and Grüner the pictures, but their careers were probably more closely linked than has so far been established. When they were both in Rome in the 1830s Braun's name appears regularly in Grüner's journal. Among numerous entries in the early months of 1839 we find, on 10 March: 'Dr Braun kam: er braucht Geld'.²¹ Some years later, in February 1851 there was a sale of antique vases at Christie's in London, from the collection of Emil Braun²² – we should remember the significant and large collection that he put together for Lindenau. In the auctioneer's copy the name of the vendor frequently appears as 'Gruner'. Perhaps this was also in settlement of a debt.

Let us start our consideration of the influence of these two gentlemen on the Royal Collection with Mr Green. His involvement with the Garden Pavilion at Buckingham Palace, where he took over from Eastlake the role of co-ordinating the eight artists, contributed designs himself and then prepared the publication with text by Mrs Anna Jameson, is very well known.²³ He proceeded in the mid-1840s to direct the new decorations that Prince Albert put in hand in Buckingham Palace, the work on the staircase perhaps recalling his studies from the Palazzo del Te in Mantua,²⁴ and an extraordinary range of designs for decorative objects. These included carpets for Osborne and Windsor (fig. 9); the jewel casket (fig. 10), which the Queen herself states in her Journal to have been Grüner's work; and a pair of marble mosaic tables by Woodruff of Derbyshire, which are stated in the *Illustrated Catalogue* to have been made 'after designs by Lewis Gruner'.²⁵ A pair of reverse-painted glass vases²⁶ were described in the *Art Journal* of June 1856 as 'executed ... from designs by Mr Lewis Gruner'. Ten huge candelabra were commissioned in 1855 for the Ballroom at Buckingham Palace (see fig. 11) from the firm of Barbedienne, and Grüner spent several weeks at the factory in Paris overseeing their production just in time for the inaugural ball. Few artists whose real trade was engraving after the Old Masters could have turned their hand to designing in three dimensions in such a bewildering range of materials.

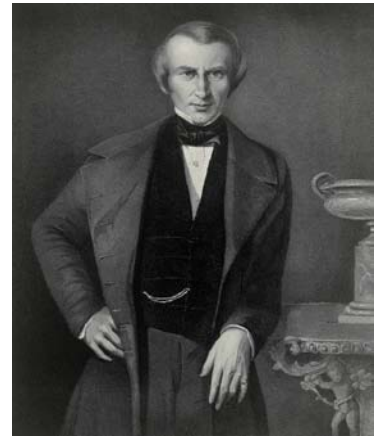


Fig. 8
L.B. Halle, after Emma Gaggiotti Richards (1825–1912), *Ludwig Grüner*, c.1853
Engraving
Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett

The painting (current whereabouts unknown) was probably the *Portrait of a Gentleman* exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1853.



Fig. 9
'Extra Superfine Axminster' carpet woven by Blackmore Brothers for the Green Drawing Room, Windsor Castle, 1851 and shown at the Great Exhibition
Royal Collection, RCIN 44186

The manufacturer's bill states that it was woven 'to particular design by Mr Gruner'.



Fig. 10
Elkington, Mason & Co. (1842–61),
manufacturer; Ludwig Grüner (1801–82),
designer, *Jewel casket*, 1851
Electro-plated white metal, gilt bronze,
enamelled copper; porcelain and oak,
97 × 132 × 81 cm
Shown at the Great Exhibition
Royal Collection, RCIN 1562

The Ball and Concert Room at Buckingham Palace ([fig. 11](#)) and its connecting galleries, completed in 1856, can be considered Grüner's finest works in interior design. Sir James Pennethorne (1801–71) provided the architectural designs, and Grüner's magnificent decorative scheme, which is sadly no longer visible, included silk hangings incorporating the national flowers. Above them were panels of the *Hours of the Day* which Grüner, and everyone else at the time, thought were based on designs by Raphael for the Vatican *Stanze*, but no longer extant. In fact they were invented in the eighteenth century. The cartoons for these panels were prepared in Rome by Nicola Consoni (1814–84), a painter and mosaic artist whom Grüner had often employed for his publications.



Fig. 11
Louis Haghe (1806–85),
Buckingham Palace: the new Ballroom, 1856
Watercolour and bodycolour over pencil,
31.7 × 47.7 cm
Royal Collection, RL 19910



At the time when the Ballroom wing was being decorated, Consoni was employed on the mosaic decoration of the new church of S. Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome, and his designs for the Palace were executed by Roberto Bompiani (1821–1908). Consoni also provided the designs, based on engravings after Raphael, for the grisailles that can still be seen in the East or Promenade Gallery ([fig. 12](#)). Beneath them the walls were painted with colossal vases of flowers framed by fictive arcading, which must have given the impression of walking along a raised colonnade or loggia.

It was of course Grüner who directed the decoration of the interior of Osborne ([fig. 13](#)). He designed the Minton tiled floor in the sculpture gallery, and the walls of all the circulation spaces are punctuated by pilasters and panels of grotesque ornament. Upstairs, in Prince Albert's Dressing Room ([fig. 14](#)), were to be found the results of Grüner's other job, which is what led the painter August Becker to describe him as an engraver and 'quasi-picture dealer'.²⁷

Fig. 12 (above left)
Buckingham Palace, the East (Promenade) Gallery, designed by Sir James Pennethorne with decorations by Ludwig Grüner and grisaille frieze panels by Nicolá Consoni Photograph by A. Debenham, 1870 Royal Collection, album RCIN 1114809

Fig. 13 (above)
James Roberts (c.1800–1867), *Osborne: the Marble Corridor*, 1852 Watercolour and bodycolour over pencil, 26 x 36.5cm Royal Collection, RL 23463



Fig. 14 (left)
James Roberts (c.1800–1867), *Osborne: the Prince's Dressing and Writing Room*, 1851 Watercolour and bodycolour with touches of gum arabic over pencil, 24.3 x 36.8cm Royal Collection, RL 26224



Fig. 15 (far left)
Bernardino da PARENZO, called Parentino
(c.1450– after 1498), *Saint Sebastian*, c.1480
Oil on panel, 51.4 x 34.1 cm
Royal Collection, RCIN 403487

Fig. 16
Dancing Faun ('Medici Faun'), ?c.1839
Alabaster; height 30cm
Royal Collection, RCIN 34093

Possibly one of the alabaster reductions
purchased by Prince Albert in Florence
in February 1839.

When we consider that Emil Braun was so busy as a picture-dealer too, on behalf of Baron von Linenau, Gustav Waagen and the Duke of Northumberland among others, it is surprising that he does not seem to have acted in such a way for Prince Albert. For Lindenau, and indeed for the Duke of Northumberland, he tended to deal in whole collections, buying a dozen pictures at a time for Lindenau, or the whole of the Cammuccini Collection for the Duke of Northumberland. Grüner, on the other hand, bought in ones and twos, from dealers like Metzger in Florence, or artist/dealers – 'quasi-dealers' [needs a dash] like the Roman Nazarene Tomaso Minardi (1787–1871), from whom he bought the Parentino *St Sebastian* ([fig. 15](#)) for Queen Victoria as a birthday present for Prince Albert in 1847. Minardi also supplied Braun with pictures,²⁸ and it seems hardly possible that Braun and Grüner never did any business together as picture dealers.

As has been said, Emil Braun never worked directly for Prince Albert, but they corresponded and Braun sold the Prince a number of things. Indeed, an area of the Prince's collecting that has not been much discussed is his interest in the Antique – did Braun's tutelage in March 1839 impart a desire to collect antiquities? Incidentally, Emil Braun's reaction to the announcement at the end of 1839 that Prince Albert was to marry Princess Victoria was to seek to have him named President of the Prussian Archaeological Institute in Rome.²⁹ The answer to our question has to be affirmative. On 19 February 1839 the Prince wrote from Florence to his brother of having purchased some little alabaster souvenirs of the most famous ancient statues in the city: 'I have bought here some very beautiful little statues, they are copies of the most famous works of Antiquity, done by really good artists.'³⁰ A group of such works, perhaps these very ones, survives at Osborne ([fig. 16](#)).

After his arrival in England, Prince Albert steadily built up a collection of antique sculpture. The highlight is the first-century AD *Marine Venus* which the Queen bought for her husband through Grüner at the Stowe sale in 1848, and which was set in such a place of honour at Osborne (**fig. 13**). There were also *presumed* antiquities like the grey marble *Antinous* (visible in the same view, on the left), actually a French work commissioned in around 1800 by Napoleon, and there were numerous casts in plaster, bronze and zinc. On the strength of his early contact with Elkingtons, Braun established his own 'galvanoplastic' workshop, with a showroom in the Piazza di Spagna,³¹ and he seems to have supplied Prince Albert with a not insignificant number of its products (**fig. 17**) and (**fig. 18**). Further 'Antiques' came in the form of the six marble copies, which Grüner commissioned from William Theed, for the Promenade Gallery at Buckingham Palace (see **fig. 12**).

It is hoped that this short paper has shone some light into the shadowy world of the remarkable Messrs Grüner and Braun. Certainly there is a great deal more to be discovered about them. Perhaps it has also illuminated areas of the collecting and patronage of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert that have not so far attracted much attention. Perhaps also, by concentrating on these areas of Renaissance-inspired decorative design, on the remarkable collection of 'difficult' early Italian pictures on a perhaps under-appreciated taste for the antique, it has demonstrated a fair degree of success on the part of these three 'Germans' in their quest to bring a German outlook to the English, 'to look for that which lies beyond and above what is actually presented to us'.

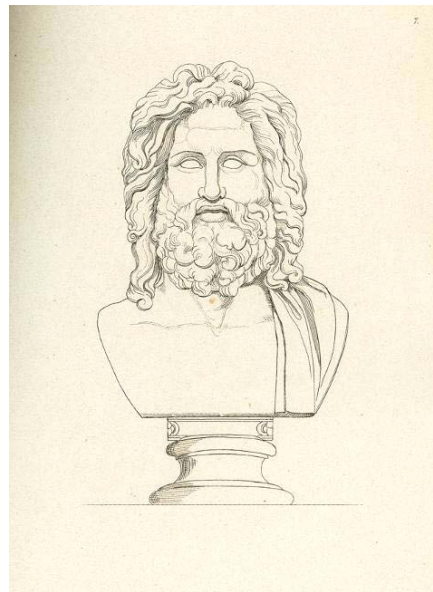


Fig. 17 (far left)
Emil Braun (1809–56), *Head of Jupiter*, 1847
Electrocast in bronze, height 97cm
Royal Collection, Osborne House,
RCIN 41489

Fig. 18
'Jupiter von Otricoli: Vatic. Rom', from E. Braun,
Vorschule der Kunstmythologie, Gotha 1854,
plate 7

Notes

1. Braun 1854, pp. viii–ix. A second edition, entitled *Handbook of the Ruins and Museums of Rome*, was published in Brunswick and Rome in 1856.
2. Letter from Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Mary Russell Mitford, dated 9 January 1850; see Kenyon 1898, vol. 1, p. 431.
3. *Crystal Palace* 1854, pp. 5–6; Phillips 1858, p. 37.
4. Marsden 2010, p. 17.
5. Royal Archives, VIC/MAIN/M/34/51, letter from Prince Albert to his stepmother, the Dowager Duchess of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, dated 22 March 1839.
6. Royal Archives, Add A6/18, letter from Prince Albert to his tutor, Christoph Florschütz, dated 18 March 1839.
7. For Braun's antecedents, see Schmidt and Schmidt 2010. This invaluable work was published in connection with the second of two exhibitions held at the Lindenau Museum, Altenburg, to celebrate Braun's bicentenary. The book draws on a previously unknown body of letters from Braun to his first wife, Louise Purgold, until recently in the possession of her descendants in Gotha. I am grateful to the authors for much information in correspondence, and for a copy of the book, which appeared after this paper was delivered.
8. Munich 2006, no. 1, pp. 68–71.
9. Victoria and Albert Museum, Archive of Art and Design, Elkington ledgers, AAD-3-1979 PL12: 'Book of models &c. received of Dr Emil Braun for sale or reproduction on Royalty'. The list is very lengthy.
10. Victoria and Albert Museum, Archive of Art and Design, Elkington papers, AAD-3-1979 PL8, letter from Braun, dated 18 May 1849.
11. For this aspect of Braun's activity, see Vinattieri 2004, *passim*.
12. *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon* (article by Daniel Böckmann); D. Böckmann, 'Ludwig Grüner, Art Adviser to Prince Albert', MA dissertation, University of East Anglia, 1996. Mr Böckmann is working on a more substantial monograph on Grüner. During his time in England, Grüner tended to do without his umlaut. His bank manager knew him as Lewis Gruner Esq. The main sources for his life are his own papers in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden (henceforth SLUB), a quantity of letters to the publisher John Murray preserved in the National Library of Scotland, and his bank account with Messrs Coutts.
13. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, ACC 12604/1494. Letter from Ludwig Grüner to John Murray, dated 9 April 1833.
14. The correspondence between Grüner and John Murray, his associates and successors (see previous note) extends from January 1833 until January 1882.
15. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, ACC 12604/1494. Letter dated 22 February 1836.
16. Dresden, SLUB, Mscr. Dresd. App. 1.17, entries for 12 January, 9 and 11 February 1839.
17. Dresden, SLUB, Mscr. Dresd. App. 1.22: 'Der Prinz ist etwas zuruckhaltende als in Rom, weniger lebhaft, weniger ... aber ebenso lebenswürdig, ich kann es mir aber nicht leugnen'.
18. Vogel 1995, no. 83.1–2.

19. Windsor Castle, Royal Archives, Y204/122.
20. This portrait was exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1853, no. 437. In the following year, 1854, the address for Mrs Richards in Graves's list of exhibitors is identical with Grüner's: 12 Fitzroy Square.
21. Dresden, SLUB, Mscr. Dresd. App. 1.17.
22. Christie and Manson, 8 King St, London, 13–14 February 1851, *Catalogue of a valuable collection of Etruscan vases, many of them of the fine archaic period, co.. by E. Braun, during his antiquarian researches in the cemeteries of Etruria*.
23. Gruner and Jameson 1845.
24. Marsden 2010, p. 20, fig. 10.
25. Ibid., pp. 254–5, no. 175.
26. Ibid., p. 258, no. 177.
27. Hoffmann-Kuhnt 2000, p. 270.
28. Vinattieri 2004, pp. 26–8.
29. Thomas Fröhlich, Librarian of the German Archaeological Institute, kindly informed me of this idea, evidently never pursued, which was mentioned in a letter from Braun to Eduard Gerhard, dated December 1839, preserved in the Library.
30. Coburg, Staatsarchiv Coburg, LA A, 6969. Letter from Prince Albert to his brother Ernst, from Florence, dated 19 February 1839: 'Hier habe ich sehr schöne Statuen an mich gebracht, es sind sehr gute Kopien in Alabaster (en miniature) der berühmtesten Meisterwerke der Sculptur, von recht guten Künstlern gefertigt.'
31. Schmidt and Schmidt 2010, p. 50.

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Crystal Palace 1854

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L. Gruner and A.B. Jameson, *The Decorations of the Garden Pavilion in the grounds of Buckingham Palace*, London

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Marsden 2010

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Munich 2006

Conrad Meit: Bildhauer der Renaissance, exh. cat. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich

Phillips 1858

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Schmidt and Schmidt 2010

H. and P.G. Schmidt, *Emil Braun, 'Ein Mann der edelsten Begabung von Herz und Geist'*, Altenburg

Vinattieri 2004

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