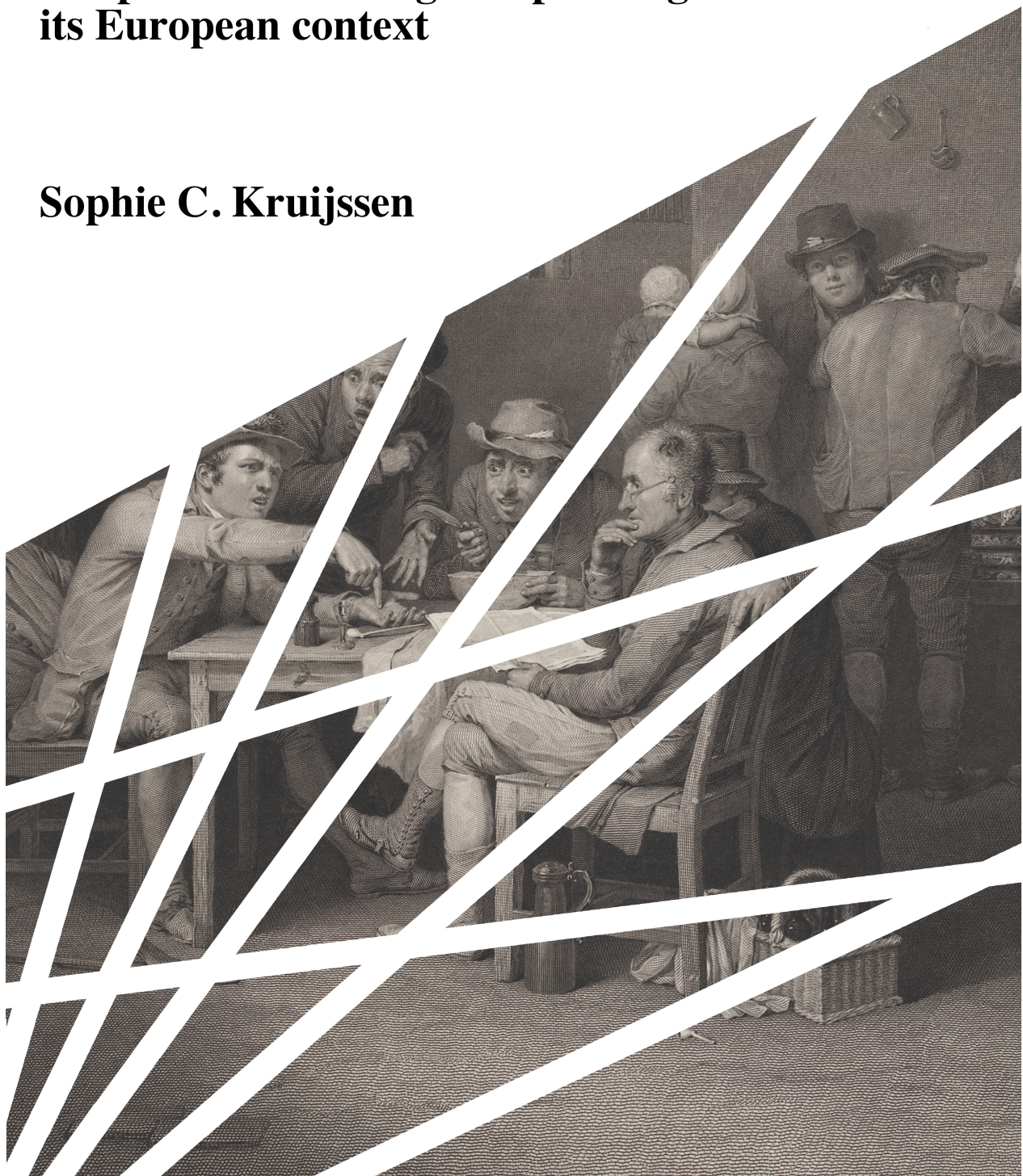# PATTERNS OF RECEPTION

The early nineteenth-century German reception of British genre painting in its European context

Sophie C. Kruijssen

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Cover design by the author (credit: *Village politicians*, 1814 (engraving by Abraham Raimbach after David Wilkie), Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection).

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PATTERNS OF RECEPTION

**The early nineteenth-century German reception of British genre
painting in its European context**

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In his *Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris* (1837-1839), the renowned nineteenth-century German art-historian Gustav Waagen (1794-1868) proclaimed the British genre painter David Wilkie (1795-1841) to be "der geistreichste und eigenthümlichste Meister der ganzen Englischen Schule".[1] Waagen expressed this opinion at the height of Wilkie's popularity in the German-speaking regions and it sums up at least two decades of German admiration of the painter's work. Wilkie was a genre painter: a painter of anecdotal scenes drawn from everyday life. His pictures were widely praised in the art literature, eagerly collected in original- and reproductive form and his status was no less than that of a celebrity in the German realm at the time. Today, however, one cannot help but wonder why precisely this British genre painter found such recognition in the German-speaking regions and why he was considered the most "spirited" and "original" master of the entire "English School".

The nineteenth-century German admiration for David Wilkie fits in a longstanding tradition of a German fascination with British art and culture, which stretches back to the eighteenth century. By 1800, British art had come to be seen on the continent as a synonym for modernity and a reflection of a politically liberal and progressive society.[2] Although genre painting seems to have played a key role in cementing this reputation, many British genre painters who were considered international celebrities at the time have now largely been pushed to the background of art-historical research in favour of artists from other fields in painting. This is not only the case in the scholarly realm. While in popular culture, the life of Britain's famous landscape painter and now national hero J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851) was recently translated into a critically acclaimed film, fewer people will have heard of Waagen's favourite Wilkie, despite the fact that the genre painter's stature surpassed that of his landscape-painting friend.

Today, nineteenth-century genre painting is hardly a field that garners interest from either the art-historian or the general public. Especially in Germany, the study of genre painting is considered rather archaic.[3] Instead, topics regarding transnational exchange between the

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[1] Waagen 1837-1839 vol. 1 p. 236.

[2] Payne *et al.* 2004 p. 30, note 9.

[3] For a brief assessment of the treatment of nineteenth-century genre painting by twentieth-century art historians see Memmel 2013 p. 7-10.

German realm and other countries, between schools of painting and among specific artists have become increasingly popular – especially when it comes to nineteenth-century art. However, this is exactly the context in which British genre painting played a prominent (but currently rather underexposed) role. Studying the German reception of British genre painting will provide a clear insight in the mechanisms and consequences of transnational artistic exchange in the early nineteenth century and will at the same time lead to a more complete understanding of the nineteenth-century German genre piece. To this end, the following chapters focus on tracing the history of the German reception of British genre painting, from contemporary literary sources, to the objects of art themselves and to the broader artistic patterns and infrastructures that lie at their basis.

1.1   German genre painting in its European context

The fact that the German reception of British genre painting is a relatively underrepresented theme in art-historical research may be the result of the stuffy reputation of the topic of nineteenth-century German genre painting. This reputation is reflected by a surprisingly small body of modern art-historical literature. A key publication on German genre painting is Immel's *Die deutsche Genremalerei im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1967).[4] Immel provided a first and very informative overview of German genre painters, identifying Munich, Vienna and Düsseldorf as the prime centres of activity at the time. Because of the inclusive nature of her work, it still functions as a work of reference on German genre painting and has had a defining value to the field. Following Immel's efforts, Teske's *Studien zur Genremalerei im Vormärz* (1976) adopted a more thematic perspective, exploring the early nineteenth-century motifs and character of the German genre piece.[5] This added a theoretical dimension to the study of German genre painting that would later be explored in more detail by others.

Recently, Landes' *Carl Wilhelm Hübner (1814-1879). Genre und Zeitgeschichte im deutschen Vormärz* (2008) added a welcome (re)visit to the topic of German genre painting through a focus on the nineteenth-century, social-critical genre pieces by Carl Wilhelm Hübner (1814-1879).[6] Her work demonstrates the prominent contemporary position of such works in the German realm, which she characterises as highly controversial. Memmel furthermore took up the topic of German genre painting in his dissertation *Deutsche Genremalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts: Wirklichkeit im poetischen Realismus* (2013).[7] Although he predominantly traced the German debate on genre painting in the late nineteenth-century and mainly adopted a theoretical perspective, he also addresses its early nineteenth-century developments. It should be emphasised that Landes and Memmel have not just provided overviews of artists or of works of art. Their attempt to dust off the topic of nineteenth-century German genre painting with a focus on specific aspects of its development demonstrate that this field of painting was much more layered than might appear at first sight: it was a field that fulfilled

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[4]See Immel 1967.
[5]See Teske 1976.
[6]See Landes 2008.
[7]This is a field that has also been explored by among others Doris Edler in *Vergessene Bilder, die deutsche Genremalerei in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 19. Jahrhunderts und ihre Rezeption durch Kunstkritik und Publikum*, Münster & Hamburg 1992.

an important function as an emphatically bourgeois art form in both contemporary society and art thinking. Therefore it is not surprising that the past years have seen an increase in the publication of monographs on particular German genre painters and schools, often on the occasion of exhibitions. [8]

The above-mentioned studies all have identified links between German genre painting and developments that were taking place elsewhere in Europe. The sheer amount of observations of such links, such as correlations between specific paintings or foreign excursions of German artists, indicate that a more international perspective on the German genre piece would be fruitful. As Gaethgens argued, and partially demonstrated, approaching the genre piece from a perspective that surpasses national boundaries is crucial to understand the development of this phenomenon and to comprehend the evolution of ideas and values concerning the genre piece in Europe. [9] She took a first step in this direction with *Genremalerei* (2002), which explores Western art-theoretical thinking about the genre piece from Antiquity to the nineteenth century. [10] This work has become a valuable anthology for the student of European genre painting and clearly demonstrates how attitudes towards the genre piece evolved across time and geography. It especially draws attention to the revaluation of the genre piece from the late eighteenth century onwards. By doing so, it marks this time frame – which coincides with the peak of the German interest in British genre painting – as a particularly important one for the genre.

1.2   The continental reception of British art

With her urge to adopt an international perspective on genre painting, Gaethgens' work adopts a type of research perspective that has recently grown in popularity in art history and which focuses on processes of transnational, artistic relationships and exchange. Britain appears quite often in this context. A prominent work that demonstrates this is *"Sind Briten hier?": Relations between British and continental art 1680-1880"* (1981), published by the Zentral Institut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich. [11] This collection of case studies made a crucial step in defining the theme of the continental reception of British art and culture during the modern period and demonstrated its relevance for the study of nineteenth-century art in general. Focusing on Anglo-French relationships, Noon *et al.* contributed a major study to this field with *Constable to Delacroix: British art and the French romantics* (2003). This publication renders an insightful picture of the lively exchange that took place between France and Britain in the early nineteenth century – even addressing the status of the genre painter David Wilkie in France. [12] Noon *et al.* was followed up by compelling conference proceedings by Payne *et al.*, who assembled an illustrative collection of case studies focusing on the

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[8]These concern among others the artists Josef Danhauser (1805-1845), see Grabner 2011; Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793-1865), see Feuchtmüller 1996 and Husslein-Arco 2009; Johann Peter Hasenclever (1810-1853), see Soiné 1990 and Geppert 2003; and the Düsseldorfer Malerschule, see Baumgärtel *et al.* 2011.

[9]Gaethgens 2003 pp. 40-59.

[10]See Gaethgens 2002.

[11]See Zentral Institut für Kunstgeschichte 1981.

[12]See Noon *et al.* 2003. This is expanded upon by Marcia Pointon in Pointon 1985. Significant work in exploring Anglo-French connections concerning collection forming has also been done by Meslay in Meslay 2003 pp. 3-19.

continent-wide reception of British art with *English accents: interactions with British art c. 1776-1855* (2004). Payne's publication is especially relevant to mention here because it attributes considerable attention to the German reception of British painting. [13] Forthcoming are the conference proceedings of a recent workshop which continues this tradition. [14]

The above-mentioned studies have emphasised that the position of British art was not at all that marginal in the early nineteenth-century art world. This was predicted already by Solkin in Allen *et al.*'s *Towards a modern art world* (1995). There, Solkin brings up the mainly French-dominated idea of modernity in art in this time period, stating:

> "To speak of 'the British' in conjunction with 'the Modern' is to suggest a linkage that goes against the grain of the narrative which dominates our understanding of the history of western art from the eighteenth century to the present day. Although works produced by British artists do occasionally appear in that story, as a rule they have featured as an insignificant other, or have simply been left out altogether." [15]

Solkin then continues arguing that "much stands to be gained by reopening the boundaries between modernist and other forms of painterly practice and from situating all of these practices more securely within the institutional and commercial mechanisms of the modern art world." [16] The present study of the early nineteenth-century German reception of British genre painting can contribute to this by disproving the "marginal" position of British art when it comes to matters of modernity in the early nineteenth century. How this is done is outlined below.

Despite the previous attempts to shed light on the continental reception of British art – however descriptive and rich in detail their specific case studies are – the German reception of British genre painting has received only little attention, and whenever it has, this attention is scattered over multiple specific studies. [17] Up to today, Risch's *Die Druckgraphik englischer Genremaler und die Düsseldorfer Malerschule 1820-1850* (1986) has remained the only study that attempts to present a more inclusive investigation of the links that can be found between British genre painting and its German counterpart. [18] By focusing on the reception of prints after British genre pictures by the Düsseldorfer Malerschule and addressing multiple literary sources, Risch demonstrates that there was a clear German interest in British genre painting by the early nineteenth century and concludes that reproductive prints played a profound role in this matter. [19] Her focus on Düsseldorf and on reproductive prints, however, has also left several questions regarding this reception process unanswered. For example, how did the Düsseldorfer interest in British reproductive prints relate to contemporary ideas concerning the German genre piece, was this interest driven by (theoretical) idea(l)s or rather

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[13] See Link 2003 pp. 29-50; Vaughan 2003 pp. 153-177 and Jobert 2003 pp. 125-151.

[14] "Cultural transfers between Britain and the continent", organised in Erlangen, 30-31 October 2015 by C. Strunck of the Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg.

[15] Allen *et al.* 1995 p. 1.

[16] Allen *et al.* 1995 p. 6.

[17] Next to the work by Vaughan and Jobert mentioned above, Busch's work on the reception of Hogarth is well-known, see Busch 1977 and Busch 1992.

[18] See Risch 1986.

[19] Further studies suggesting this are Clayton 1993, pp. 123-137; and Clayton 2008.

by commerce, by which infrastructures was it fostered, to what extent can one indeed identify the potential impact of British genre painting in German painting and, finally, what does this mean for the present perception of the German genre piece?

The questions listed above are just a few that have been left unanswered concerning the German reception of British genre painting, but that are essential in order to understand its underlying mechanisms. A few condensed thoughts on this topic have been published under the title of "The middle classes and contemporaries as dramatic personae: David Wilkie and the emancipation of genre scenes in Europe" in *Simiolus Netherlands quarterly for the history of art* (2013-2014), which traces the German reception of David Wilkie by considering compelling examples from predominantly literature and painting. [20] However, an encompassing analysis of both the correlations between British and German genre painting and the underlying process of intercultural exchange would truly cover the nineteenth-century German reception of British genre painting, bringing together the phenomena of genre painting and early nineteenth-century transnational exchange by studying the one through the other. What may seem like a rather specialised study at first sight may therefore have the potential to function as a window through which larger affairs concerning processes of reception and international artistic exchange can be addressed and understood. [21] This expands upon the efforts that have been made in the above-discussed previous studies regarding this topic.

1.3   This study and its methods

This study focuses on the reception of early nineteenth-century British genre painting in the German-speaking regions and intends to evaluate the influence of British genre painting on its German counterpart in its European context. In short, it aims to identify the role of British genre painting with respect to the nineteenth-century flourishing of the German genre piece, to explain the German genre piece, as well as to pinpoint the mechanisms behind this process of artistic exchange from a time in which national boundaries were crossed increasingly easily and frequently.

Studying a process of reception – especially when it is such a transnational one as the German reception of British genre painting – requires the acknowledgement and comparison of a variety of correlating areas of study. One should, for example, not only focus on painting itself, but also on art literature and on the more practical historical developments and affairs that may or may not have guided this process. This is inherent to the art-historical preoccupation with reception history. As summarised by Kemp, for example, the art-historical study of reception history can be explained by breaking it down into several approaches, of which the first and perhaps most relevant one deals with:

> "the migration and transformation of artistic formulas through different artistic
> contexts and historical periods. In its positivist applications, it procures data and
> establishes earlier influences. It researches the reasons that were decisive in the

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[20] Kruijssen 2013-2014, pp. 249-266.

[21] The term "reception history" is used here as described by Kemp in "The work of art and its beholder: the methodology of the aesthetic of reception", M. A. Cheetham *et al.*, The subjects of art history: historical objects in contemporary perspectives, Cambridge 1998, pp. 180-196.

      selection of certain motifs, and it analyzes the differences that inevitably come
      to exist between the 'original' and its later 'after-images'." [22]

As will become clear, this is the approach that is used throughout the most part of this study. However, this study involves more than the identification of "artistic formulas", "influences", "motifs" and "differences". The study of "the reasons that were decisive in the selection of certain motifs", for example, often requires more evidence (such as literary sources) than the actual objects of art to draw conclusions about matters of reception. Addressing this material overlaps with what Kemp distinguishes as a second approach to the study of reception history, which is also used here: a branch that "deals with the written (and, in a very restricted way, the oral) reactions of both beholders and users of works of art". [23] Finally, Kemp describes a third approach within the field of reception history that is also adopted in the present study: the analysis of "the factual reception of works of art by monitoring the art trade, the theft and destruction of art, and the enterprise of collecting." [24] All three distinguished approaches can hardly be detached from each other and adopting a combination of them may proof to be rewarding in penetrating the reception process under investigation here.

    It will have become clear that the present study addresses a wide selection of art-historical fields of study and it uses various methods to explore these. Rather than method-driven, however, this study should be described as highly question-driven. For this purpose, it also combines traditional art-historical methods with others that are relatively or even completely new to the discipline, but that are of use when studying a process of reception. This will become clear below, in a brief outline of this study.

    This study focuses on a time frame that ranges from the late eighteenth century to roughly the third quarter of the nineteenth century. This is done because the eighteenth-century polemics revolving around genre painting strongly underpin its evolution in the early nineteenth century. Furthermore, various eighteenth-century British genre pieces have stood as examples to nineteenth-century German painters. The 1880's are defined as the upper limit of the chosen time frame, because around that time, the German art-theoretical stance towards genre painting changed in such a way that British genre painting was no longer considered the dominant model for German painting. [25]

    The present study is structured as follows. Part I – *Early nineteenth-century genre painting as paragon of modernity* engages in describing the status and properties of genre painting in the time frame in which the perceived German reception of British genre painting took place. This is done in order to introduce fundamental concepts for the further discussions in this study, to outline which art-historical and social developments and processes underpinned the reception of British genre painting and the works of art under investigation (and why), and to draw up a clear-cut picture of the context that underlies the reception of British genre painting. After all, a process of reception is intrinsically time- and location bound and guided among others by contemporary ideals and the development of taste. Therefore, the objects of study (genre pieces) need to be considered in their (socio-historical) context: as a product of this context, rather than detaching it from this context.

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[22]Kemp 1998 p. 181.
[23]Kemp 1998 p. 181-182.
[24]Kemp 1998 p. 182.
[25]Muther 1893 vol. 2 p. 87.

Part I first of all traces how the genre piece experienced a Europewide upgrading in art theory from the eighteenth century onwards, which saw genre painting evolve from the lower ranks of art into a category of painting that shared moralising and narrative qualities with history painting (Chapters 2). Subsequently, the practice and social context of genre painting are addressed by exploring and comparing among others the treatment of the genre piece in the art curriculum and the exhibition space, as well as its relation to bourgeois art societies such as the German *Kunstverein* (Chapter 3). A comparison of the situation of the German genre piece with its British and French counterparts serves to understand the specific German treatment of genre painting and to pinpoint correlations with British genre painting later on.

Part II – *The German reception of British genre painting in its European context* deals with describing and explaining the German attitude towards British genre painting and places it in its European context in order to appreciate its unique character. Firstly, it investigates the reception of British genre painting in literary sources, such as art journals and travel journals (Chapter 4), as well as art canons that reflect a certain opinion about it (Chapter 5). Secondly, it explores the history of collection forming, as well as the continental distribution of the image of British genre painting through reproductive prints (Chapters 6 and 7). Part II thus combines two types of art-historical sources: *literary* sources, which reflect the contemporary opinion about the British genre piece in written form, and the contemporary dispersion and treatment of *visual* sources, which may have served as works of reference for the public or as study options for artists. Part II forms the traditional, art-historical core of this study. It asks the following questions: through which channels did British genre painting reach the continent, how was it perceived there, and which ideas underpinned the German taste for British genre pictures and the qualitative judgement that was made about them?

Part III – *Patterns of reception in European genre painting* focuses on a close analysis of genre paintings and their correlations and on whether or not these correlations signify causal relationships. It serves to determine whether the reception of British genre painting studied in Part II is also reflected in German genre pieces, and to what extent a response was triggered in German art at all. In art history, it is often not difficult to provide written or circumstantial evidence in support of particular cases of artistic reception. It is another task, however, to pinpoint artistic exchange in the works of art themselves. One does not always need to be an art historian to recognise similarities between pictures, but to study them thoroughly and systematically can be a challenge, especially if one aims to learn more about the patterns connecting large numbers of pictures. For this reason, this study endeavors to apply a systematic method to not only pinpoint but also assess visible correlations between pictures. It applies methods from phylogenetic systematics, which is a methodology from evolutionary biology that is originally focused on inferring patterns of kinship between different species. In Part III, phylogenetic methodology is for the first time applied to a large variety of paintings in order to determine to what extent the German interest in British genre painting had a demonstrable effect on German art itself. This makes it possible to draw conclusions regarding the early nineteenth-century exchange between British and German genre painting based on a broad sample of paintings instead of a small number of case studies.

This study does not use phylogenetic methods as a replacement of the art historian's observational skills, or as a "generator" of truth. They are used as a systematic tool to assess art-historical observations, to help ordering these observations, to confirm or refute them,

to visualise them, to distinguish patterns (of reception) in art, and ultimately, to provide an insight into large artistic processes. This is useful not despite, but *because* of the complex fact that art is a product of human creativity and it bears many intertwined traces of different historical, cultural and artistic processes.

Part III first of all features an introduction to the application of phylogenetic methodology to art-historical matters of reception (focusing on the methods and algorithms of maximum parsimony, NeighborNet and neighbor-joining, see Chapter 8). This introduction not only explains several fundamental principles of phylogenetics, but also provides starting points for the future application of phylogenetic methodology in art history, as well as a quick-start tutorial to get a first impression of its workings in art history. Subsequently, the British impact on German genre painting is evaluated by focusing first on the artistic reception of works by David Wilkie (Chapter 9). The reception of Wilkie is put into a broader context by presenting a traditional art-historical study of the reception of Wilkie's work, followed by a phylogenetic analysis of works by him, his followers and several Dutch masters who are generally considered to have played a key role in the formation of nineteenth-century German genre painting. Finally, a similar course of action is taken with a large selection of works by multiple British, German, Dutch and French painters. This global analysis is made to reconstruct the overarching patterns that can be found in nineteenth-century European genre painting and specifically to identify the British role therein (Chapter 10).

Part IV – *The mechanisms behind the reception of British genre painting* determines what is learned from a combination of traditional art-historical methods (Part I and II) and the patterns found with phylogenetic analyses (Part III) and what the outcome tells us about the mechanisms that drove the German reception of British genre painting. Among others, Part IV evaluates what one can take away from the correspondences and differences between the results of traditional art-historical approaches and phylogenetic analyses, what this tells us about the British impact on German genre painting, and what is learned for future applications of the methodology to art-historical material (Chapter 11). Subsequently, the mechanisms are pinpointed that were essential for the transmission of British artistic motifs and concepts to German genre painting (Chapter 12). This is done by comparing trends within among others painting, reviews in art journals, the distribution of prints in the German realm, as well as the degree of bourgeois participation in the art scene through the German art institutions. In this way, the infrastructure is revealed that enabled the artistic exchange between Britain and the German-speaking regions and it is inferred how each of its aspects has been instrumental in triggering the German reception of the British genre piece.

As will have become clear from this introduction, the goals of this study are manifold. Firstly, it draws attention to the underexposed role of genre painting in the nineteenth-century art realm and aims to explain the reception of British role models in the German-speaking regions. Secondly, it ventures to theorise about the early nineteenth-century genre piece, while furthermore using the study of genre painting as a window to discuss the mechanisms that constituted the nineteenth-century, transnational process of reception of British genre painting that underlies it. Finally, with its application of phylogenetic methods, this study introduces and demonstrates a new type of methodology to art history for the inference and systematic assessment of relationships between (anecdotal) paintings and it employs it to pinpoint patterns of reception within art. Since this study is intended to serve as a first guide

and starting point for the application of phylogenetic principles and methods to painting, the concluding Part V not only discusses the conclusions that can be drawn regarding the German reception of British genre painting (Chapter 13), but also evaluates the significance of phylogenetic methodology for art history (Chapter 14).

Part I

Early nineteenth-century genre painting as a paragon of modernity

In order to understand why and how British genre painting functioned as a role model in the German-speaking art world and to be able to evaluate its influential position, it is essential to first establish what genre painting was and was thought to be at the time. As will become clear, the German reception of British genre painting was strongly rooted in a theoretical and socio-historical background that can hardly be ignored when trying to understand this phenomenon. Part I defines early nineteenth-century genre painting and analyses its position in contemporary art and society.

In this part the following questions are tackled: what is and was genre painting, focusing on the term and its definition, what was the reputation of genre painting in art theory and how did it develop over time and what was the position of genre painting in practice, focusing on the relationship between the genre piece and the art curriculum and exhibition space. Also the potentially shaping effect of socio-historical circumstances on the development of genre painting is addressed, especially with regard to bourgeois preferences and practices that revolved around the genre piece. In order to answer the above questions, Chapter 2 focuses on the written discourse about genre painting, while Chapter 3 concentrates on the position of the genre piece in the theory and practice of the art curriculum and the exhibition realm.

The image of genre painting rendered in this part is meant to serve as a backdrop and starting point for the study of the German reception of British genre painting in the next part and it therefore concentrates on aspects of its development that are relevant for this purpose. The following sections take on a comparative view of British, French and German developments revolving around the genre piece. They explore the relationships between the art theory, the art curriculum and the influence of the art public on genre painting around 1800. In this way, specific qualities can be attributed to the treatment of the genre piece at each geographical location, which will help explaining the particularities of the position of genre painting in the German realm and the reasons for the German interest in British examples later on.

Chapter **2**

From history to modernity: the emancipation of genre painting in art theory

2.1 Genre painting: term and definition

Today, art historians generally define genre painting as the category of painting that focuses on scenes from everyday life, featuring figures that are often anonymous and a-historical:

> "In twentieth-century lexicons, genre painting is generally described as a category of painting that presents scenes from everyday life." [26]

> "The position of genre painting in the eighteenth century is especially interesting, as it was essentially modern in its rejection of the elevated subject matter of history and mythology in favor of the interpretation of everyday life, albeit with varying degrees of realistic observation or imaginative invention." [27]

Although genre scenes in the modern sense of the word can already be found in Dutch and Flemish painting from the sixteenth and seventeenth century, today's concept of the term "genre painting" is a nineteenth-century invention. When the development of the term is traced back to its origins, it becomes clear that its definition has been strongly subjected to change over time and that its use has always been very ambiguous.

As Stechow and Comer argue "at some point [during the late eighteenth century] genre, a French word meaning 'kind' or 'type', underwent a curious metamorphosis, and began to characterise the sort of painting which depicts scenes of 'everyday life', but the exact moment of that transition is difficult to pinpoint." [28] Stechow and Comer appoint Diderot's 1766 *Oeuvres esthétiques* as the earliest source in which the term "genre painting" is used, [29] but

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[26] "Die Genremalerei wird in den Lexika des 20. Jahrhunderts übereinstimmend als eine Gattung beschrieben, die Szenen aus dem täglichen Leben wiedergibt", Gaethgens 2002, p. 13. Translations in the present study are by the author, unless stated otherwise.

[27] Conisbee 2003, p. 10.

[28] Stechow and Comer 1975-1976, p. 89.

[29] Stechow and Comer 1975-1976, p. 91.

as Bailey *et al.* have shown, earlier examples can be found in the work of the French critics
Étienne la Font de Saint-Yenne (1788-1771) and Dezallier d'Argenville (1680-1765), such
as the 1754 *Sentiments sur quelques ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure* and the 1762
Abrégé.[30] Yet none of these contemporary authors used the term "genre" to refer specifically
to scenes from everyday life, which is customary today. Instead, they understood "genre"
as a collective term for everything that was not history painting, incorporating still life and
landscape painting as well. The French theorist Quatreme de Quincy (1755-1849) seems to
have been the first to have used the term to refer specifically to "a scene of common or do-
mestic life", arguing that "genre properly so-called [is] that of bourgeois scenes" in his 1791
Considération sur les arts du dessin en France.[31] Like Diderot before them, however, Saint-
Yenne, d'Argenville and de Quincy did not reject the use of the term's broader traditional
definition.

Stechow and Comer furthermore illustrate that de Quincy's definition of genre painting as
the painting of scenes of common life lived on well into the nineteenth century, even crossing
the channel to Britain, but it still took a long time before it was used as the term to signify
scenes from everyday life. This changed when the term was introduced to the German-
speaking regions by the German art historian Karl Schnaase (1798-1875) in 1830, after which
it was further defined by his colleague Franz Theodoor Kugler (1800-1858) in his *Handbuch
der Geschichte der Malerei* (1837) as "the representation of everyday life".[32] It is illustrative
for the ongoing ambiguity of the term until the turn of the century that the British art critic
and Kugler's student Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897) deliberately chose not to provide the
term with a clear definition in his 1874 lecture On Netherlandish genre painting.[33] In the
present study, the term genre painting is used as described by Kugler – to refer to painting
that focuses on scenes from everyday life – unless stated otherwise. This is generally how the
term was used in the German-speaking regions in the early nineteenth century.[34]

Regardless of whether it was called "genre painting", images focusing on everyday life
and the visible world are found in Western painting as early as the fifteenth-century.[35]
As many art-historical handbooks argue, the Limbourgh Brothers already presented figures
performing daily agricultural tasks in their *Très riches heures du duc de Berry* (c. 1409-
16).[36] Their close observation of the natural world was roughly continued and expanded
upon in sixteenth-century Flanders, where Pieter Brueghel the Elder (1520-1569) introduced
a "panorama of human activities": themes of farmers, labourers and other simple figures
and their daily activities and amusements in landscapes and scenes of regional festivities.[37]

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[30]Bailey *et al.* 2003, p. 5.

[31]"le genre proprement dit, ou celui des scenes bourgeoises", original quote and English translation from Stechow
and Comer, Stechow and Comer 1975-1976, pp. 90-91, especially p. 91 and note 11.

[32]"die Darstellungen der gewöhnlichen Lebens", original quote and English translation from Stechow and Comer
1975-1976, p. 92 and note 22. As Stechow and Comer also indicate there, Kugler even distinguished genre painting
from landscape painting and still-life painting by discussing these categories in separate sections following that on
genre painting.

[33]Stechow and Comer 1975-1976, p. 94.

[34]Other terms for "genre painting" that are generally found in the German literature are among others "Gattungs-
malerei" and "Sittenbild" or "Sittenmalerei", which literally translates as "customs piece" or "painting of customs".

[35]Schneider 2004 pp. 21-23.

[36]See, for example, Kleiner and Mamiya 2005 pp. 427-428.

[37]W. Stechow, Pieter Brueghel the Elder, New York 1968, p. 35.

Brueghel's efforts led to the tavern interiors, peasant fairs and market scenes painted half a century later by among others David Teniers the Older (1582-1649) and his son the David Teniers Younger (1610-1690). Their variety of genre motifs, such as card players in tavern interiors (Illustration 1), finally managed to inspire artists until well into the nineteenth century. [38] Genre painting reached a height in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, with painters such as Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675), Gerard ter Borch (1617-1681) and Gerrit Dou (1613-1675) as only a few of its masters, before it went into decline and regained its popularity in the early nineteenth century – which is the focus point of this study. [39]

2.2   From Aristotle to Winckelmann: genre painting as a lower category of art

The development of the definition of "genre painting" crudely described above already provides a hint of the continuously transforming status of this category of painting in the Western art discourse preceding its nineteenth-century flourishing. Although genre painting was a type of painting widely found in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic and it draws vast amounts of tourists to Dutch museums today, it was not always appreciated by art theorists and critics. During the Golden Age of Dutch painting, genre painting was even hardly considered worth theorising at all. [40] As curious as this negative inclination towards genre painting may seem today, its origin is found in Antiquity and it runs as a common thread through the European discourse on art until well into the nineteenth century. A brief excursion into the theoretical development of genre painting is therefore essential in order to understand its nineteenth-century status and form, and particularly the influential position of British painting therein.

As Gaethgens' anthology on genre painting illustrates, art was conventionally urged to extract beauty from nature, instead of imitating it. Only then it could possess an elevating and educating quality. A logical consequence of this way of thinking was a division of painting into a higher and a lower category. Within this division, the historic and dramatic, which focused on beauty and the truth concealed within nature, held the highest position. Everything else was thought to merely reproduce the surface of nature and was thus deemed inferior. As Gaethgens illustrates, such thinking is already present in Aristotle's discussions of the Tragedy and the Comedy in his *Poetics*. [41] In later centuries, Aristotle's legacy led art theorists to condemn genre painting as a category of art lacking in invention, merit and morality – ultimately as a low type of art. [42] This reputation would prove to be difficult to overcome for

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[38]M. Klinge, exhib. cat. David Teniers the Younger, Antwerp (Koninklijk museum voor schone kunsten) 1991, p. 16.

[39]For the development of Dutch genre painting see for instance W. E. Franits, Dutch seventeenth-century genre painting, its stylistic and thematic evolution, New Haven 2004.

[40]Gaethgens 2002, p. 30.

[41]Gaethgens 2002, pp 47-53.

[42]This is expressed in, for example, the writings of the court historian André Felibien (1619-1695), who declared history painting as superior to all other genres. While he denied genre – in the seventeenth-century sense of the word – any artistic merit and considered the genre painter a craftsman and easy "imitator" of nature, he considered the history painter as an artist that was concerned with noble subjects, which required the admirable skill to "invent".

the genre piece and the polemics around the genre reached a height around 1800, just before a German interest in British genre painting started to take shape.

The denial of the merit of genre painting and the subsequent struggle of the genre piece to prove its worth was a phenomenon that occurred Europe-wide. In Britain, for example the philosopher and writer Anthony Ashley Cooper (1671-1713), The 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, made an Aristotelian distinction between history painting as the equivalent of Tragedy (which presents man as better than it is), and genre painting as the equivalent of Comedy (which shows man just as it is or worse). He condemned genre painting as an inferior art, bereft of morality. His judgement concerned not only scenes with drunken peasants in the style of Adriaen van Ostade's (1610-1685) *Men and women in a barn* (1635), which shows drunken figures falling on top of each other in the foreground (Illustration 2), but also ladies in painstakingly carefully detailed silk dresses like Dou's *The dropsical woman* (1663), which shows a well-dressed ill woman, her caretaker, and her doctor in a lavish interior (Illustration 3). The Earl attacked either the vulgar subjects of these pictures, or their highly detailed, "minute" style, which he thought prevented the artist from extracting pure beauty from beyond the detailed surface of nature.[43]

Meanwhile in France, a type of genre painting had started to flourish that is represented by painters such as Antoine Watteau (1648-1721) and François Boucher (1703-1770).[44] Their light-hearted work does not exactly show scenes from everyday life in the sense of Brueghel's farmers or peasants – or even Ter Borch's bourgeois ladies in silk dresses – but rather playful and theatrical depictions of non-historic, aristocratic occupations instead. Nevertheless, this work is often classified as genre painting too – especially at the time – and it was just as much thought to stand in direct opposition with the moralising scenes of history painting.[45] Illustrative for this is how the antiquarian and man of letters Anne Claude Comte de Caylus (1692-1765) denied that pictures like Watteau's had any moral significance at all during a lecture on Watteau in 1748:

> "...[Watteau's] compositions have no precise object. They do not express the activity of any passion, and are thus deprived of one of the most affecting aspects of the art of painting, that is, of action. Action alone... may animate your compositions, particularly in the heroic vein, with that sublime fire which speaks to the spirit, takes possession of it, transports it and fills it with wonder and admiration."[46]

The Comte presented Watteau as a counter example for academic students, urging them to avoid his uneducated style, mannerist figures and lack of intellectual compositions and to focus on Antique Models instead. [47] However, this way of thinking did not mean that categories of painting other than history painting were altogether absent from the Académie; students could be accepted as genre painters or even animal painters, but this was often to their dismay because of the much lower status of these ranks. [48]

In the German realm, a greatly influential example of the originally Aristotelian polemic against genre painting was the work of Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768), who promoted the timeless and ideal Antiquity as the only right example for contemporary art. According to him, the imitation of "nature" by contemporary artists was only a waste of time; since the imitation of nature had already reached an ideal and harmonious pinnacle in the works of Greek masters, these works should be the point of focus of the contemporary art student, instead of visible nature. [49]

2.3 From Diderot to Hogarth: upgrading the genre piece with moral purpose

Although the early eighteenth-century theoretical disapproval of genre painting was detrimental to its status in the art world, it also provided the genre with exposure in the art discourse. A noticeable turn in the appreciation of genre painting took place when various critics and theorists started to discuss the genre in a more positive light and provided a starting point for its later development into a category of painting with its own appreciated function and value; at the Paris Salon exhibition of 1763, the French philosopher and art critic Diderot encountered a picture by Jean-Baptist Greuze (1725-1805), which compelled him to reconsider the traditional role of the genre piece. The picture he saw was *Piété filial* (1763) (Illustration 4), which shows a disabled man who is being cared for by his family. It moved him to remark the following:

> "First, genre pleases me; it is moral painting.... Shouldn't we be satisfied to finally see it compete with dramatic poetry, reach out to us, instruct us, correct us and invite us to virtue? Have courage, my friend Greuze, paint morally, and always do so!" [50]

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d'admiration," E. and J. de Goncourt, *L'art du dix-huitième siècle*, Paris 18803, vol. 1, p. 25. Translation from Harrison *et al.* 2000, p. 362.

[47]Gaethgens 2002, p. 259.

[48]A famous example is the polemic around Jean-Baptiste Greuze's picture *L'Empereur Sévère reproche à Caracalla* (1769). With this picture Greuze had among others wanted to prove his proficiency in history painting, but it caused him to be condemned by the strict Academicièns as a painter of genre instead, Ledbury 2000, pp. 160-186.

[49]Winckelmann's ideas on contemporary art, in relation to Greek examples, were outlined in his *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Mahlerey und Bilhauer-Kunst* from 1755, see K. Ju. Lappo-Danilevskij, *Gefühl für das Schöne, Johann Joachim Winckelmanns Einfluss auf Literatur und ästhetisches Denken in Russland*, Cologne, Vienna, Weimar 2007, p. 2. For a discussion of Winckelmann's ideas on the imitation of Greek examples see for example R. M. Fridrich, *Sehnsucht nach dem Verlorenen, Winckelmanns Ästhetik und ihre frühe Rezeption*, Bern 2003, pp. 17-34.

[50]"D'abord le genre me plaît; c'est la peinture morale. ...Ne devons-nous pas être satisfait de le voir concourir

With these words, Diderot did something extraordinary for his day: he attributed traits to genre painting that were normally reserved for history painting. These traits were morality, drama and an educational capacity.

Although Diderot did not intent to attack, let alone alter the conventional distinction between history painting and genre painting, he emphasised, however, that genre painting was no less valuable for society than history painting and that they could exist alongside of each other:

> "genre painting has almost all the difficulties of historical painting, it requires as much spirit, imagination, even poetry, just as much knowledge of drawing, perspective, colour, shadows, light , characters, emotions, expressions, drapes, composition; a stricter imitation of nature, more attention to detail; showing us things that are better known and more familiar, it has more judges and better judges."[51]

Diderot was convinced that the primary task of the arts was to educate and correct its beholders and that the form and content of a painting had to fit its audience to carry out this task. Therefore, he thought the recognisability of the picture's scene was essential. Since the contemporary French art audience consisted for a great part of a rapidly growing bourgeoisie, Diderot saw an important role reserved for genre pictures that focused on scenes from everyday life, which the bourgeois audience would be able to recognise and relate to.

Although Diderot's line of reasoning may seem revolutionary for his day, it was not entirely new. Already in his *Groot Schilderboeck* of 1707, the Dutch painter and art theorist Gerard de Lairesse (1640-1711) had presented a theory of genre painting – "the Modern", as he calls it – in which the genre piece was potentially more than just a vulgar imitation of nature. De goal of the Lairesse's *Schilderboeck* was to reform and improve the art of painting, all the way from history painting to the lower regions of genre painting.[52] When he comes to speak of the relationship between "the Modern" and "the Antique", in his third book, he argues that to depict human reactions and emotions was no less difficult and admirable in the Modern than in the Antique.[53] As a prerequisite, however, contemporary scenes were to do more than just imitate nature. Modern painters were to improve upon nature by ennobling it with originally "antique" virtues, such as "decorum", "grace" and "agreeableness". In this way, the "Modern" would be imbued with moral significance and could become more than a vulgar imitation of nature.[54]

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enfin avec la poésie dramatique à nous toucher, à nous instruire, à nous corriger et á nous inviter à la vertu? Courage mon ami Greuze, fais de la morale en peinture, et fais-en toujours comme cela!", Diderot's *Salon de 1763*, original quote from Gaethgens 2002, p. 273. For the picture, see Barker 2005 plate II.

[51]"la peinture de genre a Presque toutes les difficultés de la peinture historique, que' elle exige autant d' esprit, d'imagination, de poésie meme, égale science du dessin, de la perspective, de la couleur, des ombres, de la lumière, des caractères, des passions, des expressions, des draperies, de la composition; une imitation plus stricte de la nature, des détails plus soignés; et que, nous montrant des choses plus connues et plus familiâeres, elle a plus de juges et de meilleurs juges", D. Diderot, *Essai sur la peinture, pur faire suite au Salon de 1765*, Paris 1766, cited from J. Assézat and M. Tourneuz, *Oevres complètes de Diderot*, 20 vols, Paris 1875-1877, vol. 10, pp. 505, 507-509, taken from Gaethgens 2002, p. 279 and p. 281-288, see especially 282.

[52]De Lairesse 1712, vol. 1, p. vi.

[53]De Lairesse 1712, vol. 1, p. 189.

[54]De Lairesse 1712, vol. 1, pp. 177, 182 and 189, speaks of "gemanierdheid" (decorum), "gracelykheid" (grace) and "bevalligheid" (agreeableness). See also C. Kemmer, "In search of classical form; Gerard de Lairesse's 'Groot

English, French and German translations of De Lairesse's *Groot Schilderboek* were distributed throughout Europe quickly after its original publication. [55] Its intellectual heritage can be found in the work of many of De Lairesse's successors. Diderot's response to Greuze's *Piéte filial* is only one example of this. In the German-speaking regions, Ludwig von Hagedorn's (1712-1780) chapter about *Gesellschaftsgemählde* in his 1762 *Betrachtungen über die Malerei*, is another example. Hagedorn describes *Gesellschaftsgemählde* as a category of painting that focuses on recognisable affairs drawn from modern, bourgeois society, as opposed to the heroic passions depicted in history painting. [56] Meanwhile, he emphasises that genre painting is not simply inferior to history painting by explicitly quoting De Lairesse about Franz van Mieris and Raphael:

> "It is much more praiseworthy, says Lairesse, to equal a good Franz Mieris in the Modern than a poor Raphael in the Antique.... If only the younger Teniers had stayed with his villages, like Terborg!" [57]

Hagedorn's *Gesellschaftsgemählde* can be seen as a prelude to the more accommodating German theories about genre painting that were to follow in the nineteenth century and that stand at the theoretical basis of the pictures discussed in this study.

While de Lairesse's way of thinking about genre painting started to take hold in France and the German-speaking regions, in Britain more rapid developments towards a revaluation of genre painting were already taking place that would resonate in the German-speaking regions shortly after. For example, the British painter and print maker William Hogarth was not only theorising about a "modern moral" type of painting, he also actively tried to establish such a new kind of painting. This took place a few years before Hagedorn published his *Betrachtungen über die Malerei*. During the eighteenth century, British reservations regarding genre painting were not without exception. In the course of the century, many British critics and art collectors developed a certain appreciation towards "low-life" subjects, provided that they were represented in a sympathetic or moral manner. [58] As an artist, Hogarth greatly benefited from this tendency. As becomes clear from his 1760 *Autobiographical Notes*, he aimed at creating a new, mixed category of painting in which the "Comic" was equipped with historical elements to bridge the gap between the widely separated fields of history painting and genre painting. Enriched with moral meaning by focusing on the actions of their protagonists and the consequences of these actions, Hogarth's "modern moral subjects" were to achieve an educating potential that was similar to that of history painting. [59]

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schilderboek' and seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting", *Simiolus* 26 (1998), pp. 87-115, especially p. 93, L. de Vries, *How to create beauty: de Lairesse on the theory and practice of making art*, Leiden 2011, pp. 116-117.

[55]The English translation first appeared in 1738, the French in 1787 and the German in 1784. Book 3 in the German edition of 1784 is an almost literal translation, see G. de Lairesse, *Großes Mahler Buch*, 3 vols., Nuremberg 1784, vol. 2, pp. 3-40.

[56]Gaethgens 2003, pp. 52-53.

[57]"Es ist viel rühmlicher sägt Lairesse einem guten Franz Mieris in dem Modernen als einem schlechten Raphael in den Antiken zu gleichen.... Möchte doch wie Terborg der jüngere Teniers bey seinen Dörfern geblieben sein!" C. L. von Hagedorn, *Betrachtungen über die Mahlerey*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1762, vol. 1, p. 404.

[58]Mount 1991, pp. 59-65

[59]Gaethgens 2002, p. 34 and pp. 269-270. See Section 10.1 for a discussion of Hogarth's work, including references to relevant art-historical studies on this topic.

Hogarth was not alone in his venture. The English novelist and dramatist Henry Fielding (1707-1754) had already expressed similar ideas in his *Author's Preface* to his novel *Joseph Andrews* (1742). Fielding considered genre painting within the traditional framework of the Aristotelian theory of Comedy and Tragedy. However, where others attributed inferior features to the Comic such as ugliness and exaggeration (to the despicable), Fielding argued that the Comic should be interpreted as the exact representation of the everyday and although this "everyday" could be amusing, it was not necessarily despicable. He found an example of this in the work of Hogarth, which he described in his *Author's Preface* as "comic history painting", in which "a realistic representation of the everyday was combined with a satirical note and a moral content".[60] During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, this British attitude towards genre crossed the channel and especially Hogarth's and Fielding's ideas resonated there – predominantly in the German-speaking regions.

2.4   From Hegel to Thoré: genre painting as a form of bourgeois drama

With the acknowledgement of the merits of genre painting in eighteenth-century art theory genre painting entered a new era. This becomes particularly clear when focusing on the German realm, the *Heimat* of Romanticism, where the simple and genuine in nature were appreciated and glorified just as much as the less tangible sublime. Driven by their pursuit of such values and concepts as the fatherland, the character and folklore of the own people and the particular in visible nature, German Romantic thinkers provided a theoretical justification for the emancipation of genre painting. For example, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) emphasised not the value of the depicted subject itself, but the way in which the subject was depicted. According to him, not just history painting but any type of picture could express certain inner values. Examples of these were innocence and happiness. Against this background, genre painting became more than just a mechanical reproduction of nature – it could even become a spiritual achievement. The way in which Hegel considered Dutch genre painting as an expression of the self-consciousness of a liberated Dutch bourgeoisie illustrates this philosophy.[61]

Following the philosophically inspired thoughts on genre painting described above, the early art historian Kugler provided a more practical guideline for genre painters in his *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (1842). His ideas connect very clearly to the genre paintings that are addressed within the next chapters and they can again be traced back to Gerard de Lairesse. Following De Lairesse's example, Kugler distinguished two categories of genre painting, in which the first and lower ("niedere") category remained only comical, while the

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[60]See H. Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, ed. Humphries, London 1965, pp. XVII-XIX, discussed in Gaethgens 2002, pp. 237-244.

[61]Gaethgens 2002 pp. 359-365, especially pp. 362-363. Hegel expressed these ideas in his university lectures from 1820-1829, which were published by his pupil Heinrich Gustav Hotho (1802-1873) as *Vorlesung über die Ästhetik* (1835). It would go to far for the scope of this study to trace the effects of Hegel's thinking on German art theory further. His line of reasoning was continued and elaborated upon by many of his students, such as Karl Julius Ferdinand Schnaase and Theodoor Vischer, see Gaethgens 2002, pp. 378-383, pp. 418-423 and F. T. Vischer, *Aesthetik oder Wissenschaft des Schönen* (3 vols.), Stuttgard 1854. vol. 3 p. 664.

second and higher ("höhere") category managed to outgrow this level of superficiality and accomplished a poetic form of decency. [62] Kugler recognised the lower type of painting in the works of Dutch artists such as Adriaen Brouwer (1605-1638) and Ostade, while he identified the higher form in the works of such *fijnschilders* as Ter Borch and Dou. Kugler encouraged contemporary genre painters to aim for the "higher" category of genre painting. As is discussed in the next chapters, many contemporary German genre painters put these guidelines into practice.

Soon after the publication of Kugler's work, theorists from neighbouring France turned his example into a more extreme argument, which concludes this excursion into the realm of art theory. By 1858, Théophile Thoré (1807-1869) identified Dutch genre painting – in all its forms – as the only true form of modern painting. Under the pseudonym of Willem Bürger, he rendered an image of Dutch art in his *Museés de la Hollande* as the socially-engaged republican art he desperately (but unsuccessfully) sought after in the contemporary art of his own nation. According to Thoré, Dutch art was drawn purely from life, showing its contemporary reality without the urge to idealise. This natural representation of "man of his time and of all times" he considered the key to the future of art. Against the background of this conviction, Thoré urged contemporary painters to draw inspiration from the Dutch school of (genre) painting and create a national kind of painting that presented an art *of* the people *for* the people, instead of the "l'art pour l'art" that he found at the Salon exhibitions at the time. [63] Thoré's work on the Dutch School of painting can be seen as the nucleus of the mid-nineteenth-century stance towards the painting of everyday life, which eventually reached a new level in French Realism. This tendency would in later years have a strong influence on the German art scene too, but that is beyond the realm of the present study. [64]

The theoretical thoughts on genre painting outlined above demonstrate that a profound change in attitude towards genre painting took place at the dawn of the nineteenth century. This was a change that could perhaps reignite the golden times that the genre had known during the seventeenth century, but this time with a theoretical justification. The above-discussed developments in art-theoretical thinking about the genre piece from the early eighteenth century until the second half of the nineteenth century should not be seen as a mere revaluation of the genre piece, but rather as an upgrade. After all, genre painting had never before been considered as a category of painting with an educative or moralising function until de Lairesse and later Diderot endowed it with such a purpose. The outlined evolution of genre painting in

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[62]F. Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgard 1842, pp. 826-30, in Gaethgens 2002, pp. 384-390. According to Stechow and Comer, this distinction is first found in the work of Schnaase, Stechow and Comer 1975-1976, p 93.

[63]"L'homme de son temps et detous les temps", Bürger 1858-1860, pp. 319-326, in Gaethgens 2002, pp. 425-434, see especially pp. 430-434 and P. Hecht, Peter, "Rembrandt and Raphael back to back: the contribution of Thoré", *Simiolus* 26 (1998), pp. 162-178, especially pp. 167-169.

[64]From the 1850's onwards, many German artists traveled to France to study the new artistic tendencies that emerged there. Among them were Eduard Schleich and Carl Spitzweg in 1851, and Wilhelm Leibl, Otto Scholderer and Hans Thoma, who traveled to Paris in the 1850's and 1860's, H. Keller, *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte; die Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1990, p. 353. Also see G. Czymmeck, H. K. Aurisch *et al.*, exhib. cat., *German Impressionist landscape painting, Liebermann, Corinth, Slevogt*, Houston (Museum of Fine Arts), Cologne (Wallraf-Richards Museum) 2010, especially pp. 11-13, and H.R. Leppien *et al.*, exhib. cat. *Courbet und Deutschland*, Hamburg (Hamburger Kunsthalle) & Frankfurt (Städelsches Kunstinstitut) 1978, esp. pp. 364 and 391 for discussions of these Franco-German relations in art.

the art-theoretical discourse demonstrates that the eighteenth century marked a turning point for genre painting. This turning point went much further than a shift in taste or trends. Its consequences would reach their full potential a century later, when a change in the status and position of genre painting was realised in the international art world.

Although genre painting had reached a new level in the minds of the art theorists by the nineteenth century, the question is whether the theoretical discourse had a noticeable effect on the practical position of the genre piece in the contemporary art curriculum and the exhibition space. For example, how did the art market and the art public respond to the developing theoretical status of genre painting and on which timescales and how did this practical realm interact with its theoretical counterpart? Furthermore, how do the theoretical and practical developments relate to the German fascination with genre painting and British art in particular? These topics are treated in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

From academy to exhibition: the early nineteenth-century status of genre painting in practice

3.1 Genre painting and the academic curriculum around 1800

3.1.1 The Royal Academy and artistic freedom in Britain

In the previous chapter, the theoretical discourse on genre painting until the second half of the early nineteenth century has been discussed. Here, an analysis of the practical development of the genre piece is to shed more light on its contemporary meaning and stature. Based on the art-theoretical ideas discussed in the previous chapter, a new golden age for the genre piece may be expected to have followed shortly after its theoretical revaluation in the eighteenth century. However, the new theoretical impulses took time to mature and become rooted in the practice of art life. While ground-braking ideas on genre painting had indeed taken shape, the conventional art discourse was still dominated by an imbalanced hierarchy of genres. This is reflected in the official curriculums at the art academies at the time.

Even in Hogarth's fatherland, the first director of the Royal Academy of Arts (1768) Sir Joshua Reynolds continued to condemn genre painting in favour of history painting. Describing painting as a "liberal art", Reynolds argued that an art that imitated – the lower genres of art – could not be considered "true" art. [65] Like the Earl of Shaftesbury before him, Reynolds does not make the distinction between high and low genre that was proposed by De Lairesse: Reynolds attacked both forms of genre painting. While he considered the subject of De Lairesse's "low" type of genre painting to be downright crude, the minuteness

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[65] Mount 1991, p. 98-99. In his third Discourse, Reynolds praises artists such as Brouwer, Ostade, Teniers and Hogarth as painters of "their kind", but condemns their work as vulgar, Reynolds 1778, vol. 3, lines 313-326, in Wark's edition, see J. Reynolds (ed. Wark), *Discourses on art*, London, New Haven 1997 (1797[1]), p. 51.

of its "high" variant he thought had no value because it was merely ornamental. Only the intellectual *Grand Style* could provide contemporary British art with universal merit. [66]

As discussed by Mount, Reynolds' journey to the Netherlands in 1781 triggered a genuine appreciation and understanding of Dutch art. [67] On location, Reynolds realised that the Dutch paintings he reproved had been made under vastly different social circumstances than the large Italian history pieces he promoted: the Dutch pictures had been made for domestic interiors instead of churches or other public buildings and Reynolds had to acknowledge that their content only conformed to their original environment. However, Reynolds' new awareness did not move him to revise his conventional attitude towards the hierarchy of genres. Thus, an imbalanced relationship between genre and history continued to exist at the Royal Academy and Reynold's successors James Barry (1741-1806) and Henry Fuseli (1741-1825) did not bring about much change in this situation. [68] A glimpse into the academy's curriculum confirms this.

Up until the early nineteenth century, in all so-called "Schools" of art at the Royal Academy – sculpture, painting and architecture – a strong focus on antique examples determined what students were taught and what they were expected to produce. This started already with the student's application procedure, as illustrated by the following summary drawn up by the Victorian artist George Dunlop Leslie (1835-1921), son of the genre painter Charles Robert Leslie (1794-1859) who, like his father, was elected as a member of the Royal Academy:

> "a probationer in 1813 had to pass. . . a drawing in chalk from an antique figure, a drawing of an anatomical figure, and a drawing from the skeleton; these had to be sent in for the approval of the Council, together with a letter, from some responsible member of society, testifying that the candidate was a young man of strict morals and good character. . . . The probationer on entering the Schools had to execute another drawing, from an antique figure, in order to prove that he had not been unduly assisted whilst making the one he had sent in. If the Council were satisfied in this respect the candidate was admitted a student of the Royal Academy and received a circular ivory ticket with his name and the date of his admission engraved upon it." [69]

Leslie furthermore illustrates that, as soon as the student was admitted, his teaching consisted mostly of life-classes revolving around Antique examples. Some teachers were more particular about this than others. For example, Leslie remarks that Fuseli "was only answerable for the instruction in the Antique School". [70]

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[66] Mount 1991, p. 102.

[67] He reported of his experiences in his *A journey to Flanders and Holland* in *The works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, London, 2 vols. 1797, vol. 2, pp. 1-124.

[68] Mount 1991, pp. 107-112. See Reynold's *Discourses* 11-15, for a detailed account of the practice, guidance and curriculum of the Royal Academy, and see Leslie 1914 for an illustration of the Academy's curriculum in the early nineteenth century.

[69] Leslie 1914, pp. 4-5. According to his introduction, George Dunlop Leslie had compiled his account of *The inner life of the Royal Academy* largely on writings and recollections of his father, and conversations he had with him and his friends, Leslie 1914, p. V.

[70] Leslie 1914, p. 9.

Looking at the various Royal Academy students that harvested success at the time, however, shows that despite the traditional curriculum, the activities and choices of the students were not strictly bound by its Antique standard. The ultimate example of this is the genre painter David Wilkie, who rose to fame as an academy student painting peasant scenes and bourgeois interiors in the early decades of the nineteenth century and who was elected a Royal Academy member in the 1830's. He was not the only one of his kind. More artists were painting in a similar fashion at the time, such as William Mulready (1786-1863) and Edward Bird (1772-1819). Clearly, the curriculum did not limit the student's artistic freedom at the Royal Academy.

3.1.2 Genre painting and the art curriculum in France and the German-speaking regions

The example of the British Royal Academy suggests that, despite the traditional curriculum, genre painting was not at all officially banned. This will be discussed in more detail below, with a discussion of the work of some of the most prominent Royal Academy's students at the time. In France the situation was slightly different. The pre-revolutionary French art curriculum shared the British Royal Academy's official focus on the Antique, but this focus was not ignored as easily as in Britain. The downfall of the pre-revolutionary hierarchies in the post-revolutionary French society brought about only little change in this situation. When the Académie Royal de Peinture et de Sculpture was broken up and replaced by the Institut National under the leadership of Jacques Louis David (1748-1825), for instance, (foreign) non-academics were also invited to exhibit their works at the Salon (from 1791 onwards), a privilege that had previously been restricted to members of the Académie. The traditional hierarchy of genres, however, was not changed.

Despite the fact that the traditional hierarchy between history and genre painting continued to exist, the moralising potential of genre painting became a topic of discussion among policymakers.[71] This is demonstrated by a letter from the Interior Minister Nicolas-Marie Quinette (1762-1821) concerning the distribution of honorary prices and financial support for artists, which is adopted and discussed in Gaethgens' anthology with reason. Since the Revolution had turned art into a state matter, Quinette considered it his responsibility to write a letter to the president of the Institut National in 1799, stressing the value of genre painting as a patriotic-sentimental category of painting based on bourgeois drama, genuine nature and the depiction of emotions. Because of these properties, it could fulfil a great purpose concerning the morality and welfare of the state. According to Quinette, painters of the "drame domestique" were therefore just as much entitled to financial support in the form of honorary awards and stipends as history painters who, in his eyes, sometimes did little more than telling mere heroic stories. The fact that Quinette's letter was included in the Institut's protocols testifies of its impact.[72] Nevertheless, genre painting kept a marginal position in the academy's hierarchy, as will become clear below.

In the German-speaking regions, the art curriculum was somewhat different from both Britain and France. As has been described in depth by Mai, the German-speaking regions

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[71] Gaethgens 2002, p. 340.
[72] Gaethgens 2002, pp. 336-343, especially 343.

lacked a centralised art scene in the eighteenth century due to the cultural, political and also religious fragmentation that had followed the Thirty Year's War. [73] Early forms of academies had sprung up already in seventeenth-century Vienna, Augsburg and Berlin, followed by the foundation of numerous academies around and after 1800. [74] As was the case in France and Britain, history painting was considered the most elevating category of painting, while genre painting received much criticism. In 1824, for example, Peter von Cornelius (1783-1867), director of the Munich Akademie der Bildenden Künste, condemned genre painters as:

> "the class of painters to whom art does not appear in its totality and unity, but who specialise in one field and work for that field alone. They are always a sign of the decline of art and are only of value insofar as they base themselves on true, all-encompassing art like the Dutch did, otherwise they are always boring." [75]

However, Cornelius' stance did not discourage genre painters; perhaps stimulated by among others Hegel's thinking, the genre piece rapidly gained ground among early nineteenth-century German painters. An important source of inspiration to them was the naturalist Dutch-Flemish tradition of genre painting, which they set out to imitate and improve. As Anton Fahne (1805-1883) argued in the 1830's, the Düsseldorf School of painting had even managed to emulate the Dutch tradition in genre painting:

> "Our Dusseldorf School is an ennobled Dutch school and cannot be anything else than that... Its products are drawn from sheer observation from nature. It is a school that creates all-surrounding reality, and what it creates is just as characteristic as what the old Dutch school offers; but it is more noble and worthy." [76]

The state of affairs regarding genre painting in the German-speaking regions marks a striking difference with France. As insightfully rendered by Ten Doeschate Chu, in France the described German attitude towards genre painting seems to have been much less prevalent. She illustrates that, although French painting is often considered to have been strongly influenced by Dutch (genre) painting, the French interest in this field actually decreased during the Romantic era. [77] The German interest in genre painting corresponds better to the British climate in which genre painters such as Wilkie and Mulready were able to make a name for themselves among the many history painters who dominated the walls of the Royal Academy.

By the 1830's, German academies even started to introduce a more substantial level of artistic freedom to their strict curricular schemes by also admitting students in the field of

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[73]Mai 2010, p. 28.

[74]Mai 2010, pp. 40-59 and pp. 79-120.

[75]"die Fächler, die Classe von Malern, denen die Kunst nicht in ihrer Allheit und Einheit erscheint; sondern die sich in ein Fach auslesen und dafür allein arbeiten. Sie sind immer ein Zeichen des Verfalls der Kunst und behalten nur einigen Werth, insofern sie sich auf die wahre, allumfassende Kunst stützen, wie die Niederländer; sonst sind sie immer langweilig," E. Förster, P. von Cornelius. *Ein Gedenkbuch aus seinem Leben und Wirken*, Berlin 1874 vol. 1 p. 274 (*Gespräch in der Glyptothek* (München 1823)), cited in Immel 1967, p. 18, note 37.

[76]"Unsere Düsseldorfer Schule ist und kann nichts anderes sein, als eine veredelte niederländische.... Ihre Producte sind der reinen Naturanschauung abgewonnen. Die umgebende Wirklichkeit schafft, und was sie schafft ist ebenso picant und charakteristisch wie es die alte holländische Schule darbietet; aber es ist edler es ist würdiger", A. Fahne, *Die Düsseldorfer Maler-Schule in den Jahren 1834, 1835, und 1836; eine Schrift voll flüchtiger Gedanken*, Düsseldorf 1837, p. 26, cited in Immel 1967, p. 59, note 137.

[77]P. Ten Doeschate Chu, *French Realism and the Dutch masters: the influence of Dutch seventeenth-century painting on the development of French painting between 1830 and 1870*, Utrecht 1974, pp. 32-48.

genre painting. The Akademie der Bildende Künste in Munich, for example, appointed its first member in this field in 1829, which interestingly was the British genre painter David Wilkie (appointed as honorary member on 24 October 1829). Apart from the fact that this is a very clear expression of the admiration of British genre painting in the German-speaking regions, which will be discussed in Part II, it also indicates that in practice the attitude towards genre painting had radically changed in comparison to the late eighteenth century.

The above discussion of the European art curriculum until and around 1800 illustrates that the institute of the academy initially refrained from actively supporting and stimulating genre painting. This raises the question how a type of bourgeois, "low-life" domestic scenes managed to flourished so distinctively around 1800, notably in Britain and later in the German-speaking regions.[78] What brought artists to ignore the theoretical conventions and their academic training and commit themselves to painting scenes from everyday-life instead of the respected historic form of drama? The answers to these questions become clear when taking a step back from the realm of the art theory and the academic curriculum to observe the position of the genre piece in its social context. It appears that the relevant stimuli and actors in the development of early nineteenth-century genre painting were not found within the traditional art establishment, but rather in public art exhibitions and the art market, which were populated by a growing group of bourgeois art spectators, buyers and enthusiasts by the turn of the century.

3.2   Genre painting as a bourgeois affair

3.2.1   Genre painting as an integral part of a modernising art scene in Britain

Although the described subordinate position of genre painting in the hierarchy of painting runs like a common thread through the traditional art discourse in Britain, France and the German-speaking regions, the practical circumstances regarding genre painting diverged between each of these regions. Studying and comparing these local developments makes it possible to single out the stimuli that have been crucial for the early nineteenth-century growth of genre painting in each of these regions and to put the German interest in British painting into perspective later on.

From a socio-historical perspective, the late eighteenth century was a time of political and social unrest in Europe, characterised by Enlightenment ideas on man and his role in society, a time of scientific and technological innovation and of expansionism. In this context, Britain took up a leading role, developing into an economically and politically dominant world power. While Britain took control over the seas and was swift in guiding its society into the Industrial Revolution, other European countries were weakened by war and struggling to keep up with Britain's pace. Meanwhile, the emergence of new, lucrative fields of business

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[78]See for example Immel 1963, especially pp. 72-85; S. Sitwell, *Narrative pictures, a survey of English genre and its painters*, New York 1972, pp. 40-54; and D. Solkin, *Painting out of the Ordinary; modernity and the art of everyday life in early nineteenth-century Britain*, New Haven, London 2008 in general.

in commerce and manufacturing enabled the development of a prosperous British middle class. [79]

Against the background of the described socio-historical climate, the British art scene developed a certain affection towards genre painting. While wealthy collectors could enhance their collections with reasonably-priced pictures coming from the continent, art also came within reach of social groups that extended far beyond elite patrons or educated minds and that for the first time could enjoy the luxury of collecting and appreciating art. [80] Middle-class citizens started to earn money they could spend on small, but agreeable pictures, a booming print market provided for a wide distribution of art reproductions and art became widely accessible through public exhibitions. As fascinatingly described by Solkin, towards the beginning of the nineteenth century, this led the academic exhibition venue of Somerset House to become the scene of pushing crowds that all tried to catch a glimpse of the paintings exhibited inside. This situation can be seen as an instigator for, as well as an illustration of the transformation of the British art world at the time. By far the most prominent group of people in the crowd of art enthusiasts was the bourgeoisie, and their interest went out mainly to genre pictures. [81]

As Mount has extensively illustrated, the eighteenth-century practice of displaying and collecting art in Britain had largely been dominated by an academically driven taste for Italian master paintings – history paintings. As time progressed, however, such pictures became increasingly expensive and scarce on the art market. Much easier to find and cheaper to acquire were Dutch pictures, which could be snapped up in vast amounts on the continent at the time due to the political and economical circumstances. Art dealers made use of this situation by praising the formal qualities and private appreciation of these Dutch pictures and by stimulating the emergence of a connoisseurship that promoted an aesthetic judgement of painting based primarily on its execution instead of its moral value. [82] In this way, skilfully painted and highly detailed Dutch genre pieces turned into a new collecting fashion. Among others the Prince of Wales, Lord Mulgrave and the Marquis of Stafford became fervent collectors of Dutch pictures. Their connoisseurship also stimulated the contemporary production of highly detailed, Dutch-like paintings, such as the picturesque rural scenes by George Morland (1763-1804), playing children by Wiliam Redmore Bigg (1755-1828) and the bourgeois interiors by David Wilkie. By anticipating the fashion for Dutch pictures, contemporary artists were hoping to attract patrons and since many of these artists were academic students who were allowed to exhibit at Somerset House, an increasing flow of Dutch-inspired genre pictures found its way to the walls of Britain's best-visited art exhibition. Wilkie's *Village politicians* (1806) (Illustration 6) is an early example of this development. [83] Also illustrative

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[79] See Craske 1997, pp. 12-21 for a discussion of these developments with respect to art.

[80] See for example Haskell 1976, pp. 44-45.

[81] Solkin 2001, pp. 157-172.

[82] Mount 1991, pp. 114-120.

[83] For an overview of Dutch genre pictures that came to Britain and their influence on British art, see Mount 1991 and the appendix there. Mount also identifies the decline of Britain's "culture of politeness" – which had imposed a certain emotional decorum on its art life for decades – as an important incentive to genre painting. He explains how this culture had earlier prevented painting from displaying "transgressive" behaviour, urging it to always possess a certain morality instead, Mount 1991, p. 33. With Burke's 1757 *Philosophical.... Sublime and the Beautiful*, which went against the values of *bon sens* and *bienséances*, this decorum was slowly torn down, providing that art no longer

of the growing taste for genre are British sales catalogues from the 1780's to 1840's that reveal, for example, over 4000 sales of genre pictures by, or ascribed to Morland and of copies of his work. [84]

The efforts made by contemporary British genre painters to attract patrons was highly successful: genre pieces found at Somerset House charmed wealthy connoisseurs and generated commissions, but they also – and perhaps even more so – attracted the bourgeois visitor to the exhibitions. As argued by Solkin, this introduced a completely new mode of "spectatorship" at Somerset House, one in which an academic knowledge of art was not necessary anymore in order to enjoy the exhibits. [85] Solkin has furthermore shown that the enormous bourgeois publicity generated by genre pictures quickly turned the genre piece into a commercial art form that could provide instant success for artists. [86] The following journal entry reveals just how strong this effect was:

> "When the exhibition at Somerset House opened in May, 1806, and the *Village Politicians* was seen by the public, Wilkie's reputation was at once established; the effect was electrical, and it might be compared without exaggeration to that produced by Byron's *Childe Harold*. It was well placed, though not centrically, in the great room, and was from the first day constantly surrounded by a group of gratified spectators." [87]

The British success of the genre piece was so overwhelming that even Wilkie himself at some point wondered whether the hype around his Dutch-like pictures at Somerset House had not become too hysterical to attract the kind of patrons he had wished to attract in the first place. All he had wanted was the certainty of the support of wealthy patrons, whose commissions could economically provide for his artistic freedom. Soon, however, the only thing the public liked about him and *expected* from him, were Dutch-like genre pictures. [88]

Of course, the growing presence of genre painting in the British exhibition space was also met with criticism. Many traditional critics and artists vented their bad moods regarding the contemporary craze around the genre piece because in their eyes it was an art that stood too far from academic "good" taste. Although their criticism was in vain, the following quote by Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786-1846) is very illustrative in this respect:

> "uneducated persons might be forgiven, but to see the expensively instructed and refined classes wedging their noses together against a picture as if it were something to be smelled, and then to hear them uttering exclamations of rapture, over what? The character, the mind which is shown? Nothing of the sort – over the Dutch part only – the hair and feathers, the blades of grass, the pattern of

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had to be 'agreeable': "lofty and unstrained emotions ought to be pursued, whether the sight of images depicting them was good for the public or not", Craske 1997, pp. 26-27 (quote also taken from here).

[84] See The Getty Provenance Index®, Sales Catalogus Database, `http://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb?path=pi/pi.web` (consulted June 2013).

[85] Solkin 2001, pp. 157-158, and also see Mount 1991, pp. 125-126.

[86] Solkin 2001, p. 158.

[87] As noted by the engraver Abraham Raimbach, cited from M. T. S. Raimbach (ed.), *Memoirs and Recollections of Abraham Raimbach, Esq. Engraver ... including a Memoir of Sir David Wilkie, R.A.*, London 1843, p. 155, also in Solkin 2001, p. 160.

[88] Solkin 2001, pp. 166-167 and Irwin 1974, p. 215.

the plaid trousers, or the delicate texture of the lace shawl, hiding my lady's
beautiful shoulders. Give them these things, indoor, polished, and insipid, and
you will hear terms of admiration that would be applicable only to the grandest
work of the highest art, employed upon the mere mechanical excellence that is
before them." [89]

The above description of the way in which genre painting worked its way to the most
prominent places on the walls of Somerset House and left a deep impression on its audience
indicates that the art scene in Britain was in practice much more liberal – or more driven
by the art public and its taste – than the art literature and the art curriculum suggest. This
freedom is further illustrated by the rapid growth of non-academic initiatives to exhibit or
support contemporary art at the time and which were often admired by continentals. [90] One
example of this is the British Institution, which was founded in 1805 by wealthy patrons to
support and promote contemporary British art. Next to its yearly exhibitions of contemporary
art, the Institution also featured yearly shows of Old Master paintings. The exhibitions were
housed in the Pall Mall Picture Galleries at 52 Pall Mall in London and developed into a
popular alternative to the Royal Academy as an exhibition venue because of its long list of
private buyers. [91]

Although an academic hierarchy of genres was largely maintained in the Pall Mall shows,
the British Institution was also quite forward thinking about art: the 1816 exhibition of Old
Masters, for example, presented Dutch and Flemish art as a role model to the contemporary
British artist in the "hope that such productions may excite in the British Artist the ardour of
emulation… not that he may copy but that he may study them… to catch the spirit rather
than to trace the lines and to set his mind rather than his hands to work upon this occasion." [92]
Although the number of contemporary genre painters represented at the Pall Mall exhibitions
was limited compared to Old Masters and recently died British artists, prominent painters
such as Hogarth, Wilkie and Morland were all at some point represented in the Institution's
shows. [93]

The state of affairs in Britain described above illustrates that genre painting claimed a
prominent position in the British art scene. This was not so much because of revolutionary
ideas in art theory or the art curriculum, but because of the mechanisms of the art market
and the voice and taste of its patrons and public. In summary, contemporary British painters
responded to a rapidly developing taste for Dutch genre pictures, supplying both the con-
noisseurs and bourgeois viewers with the neatly executed scenes of peasant life that pleased
them. This pushed the genre piece out of the shadow of academic hierarchies and traditional

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[89] Haydon 1877 vol. 1, p. 89. Note that Haydon was a close friend of David Wilkie, but that his work and
convictions opposed his; Haydon was a painter of the Grand Style, frustrated by contemporary developments in
which British art and its audience had started to become preoccupied with low life pictures, as this quote illustrates.

[90] See Whiteley 1982, p. 72 and Noon *et al.* 2003, p. 94.

[91] Whiteley 1982, p. 72.

[92] Exhibiton catalogue, *British Institution for promoting the fine arts*, London 1816, pp. 9-10.

[93] See for example exhibiton catalogue, *British Institution for promoting the fine arts; catalogue of pictures by the
late William Hogarth, Richard Wilson, Thomas Gainsborough, and J. Zoffani*, London 1814; exhibition catalogue,
British Institution for promoting the fine arts; catalogue of pictures by living artists of the English school, London
1826; and exhibition catalogue, *British Institution for promoting the fine arts; catalogue of pictures by deceased
British artists*, London 1817, cat. nr. 71 and 135.

theoretical thinking. Only when the British art realm realised that genre painting was a field of art in which it excelled – which happened in retrospect in the course of the nineteenth century – the genre would earn the complete respect of the academy, but that goes beyond the scope of this study. [94]

As will become clear, the German art realm did not differ much from the British state of affairs described above when it comes to genre painting, but France's state of affairs seems to have been much more restricting towards genre painting. The question is whether these divergent French, German and British climates had any noticeable different effects on the local development of genre painting. A comparison of the practical context of the genre piece in France, the German-speaking regions and Britain can help answering this question and determining the importance of a bourgeois stimulus on genre painting.

3.2.2 The genre piece as "chose publique" in France

3.2.2.1 From rococo to revolution

The described situation in Britain suggests that a bourgeois participation in the art realm was an essential drive for the growth and maturation of early nineteenth-century genre painting in that country. Moving from Britain to France and the German-speaking world, it becomes clear that bourgeois stimuli were not everywhere as direct and strong as in Britain. Taking a look at France, it seems that the French bourgeoisie played a much more indirect part in the art scene, namely through theoretical and philosophical thinking on bourgeois society and the relevance of art for that society, rather than through a direct bourgeois interference with the arts in the form of certain preferences that were expressed on the art market or in the exhibition space. This provides a clear counter-example to the situation in Britain and it seems to have had different consequences for the development of the local genre piece.

With the dawn of the Enlightenment, the aristocratic Rococo style, which had characterised French art before the Revolution, was met with severe criticism. Thinkers such as Voltaire (1694-1778), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and Diderot planted the seeds for a radical change in France's social hierarchy, focusing the attention on the equality of mankind, the democratisation of knowledge and the glorification of the people. [95] Against this intellectual background, a more natural taste in art and culture – as opposed to the artificial Rococo style – started to emerge. [96] A sentimental appreciation of the simple life of

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[94]Mount 1991, p. 217.

[95]As for example Diderot argued: "Freedom is the body of the state, what health is to every individual, without health, humans can not taste pleasure, without freedom, happiness is banned from the state", original: "La liberté est au corps de l'état, ce que la santé est à chaque individu; sans la santé, l'homme ne peut goûter de plaisir; sans la liberté, le bonheur est banni des états", D. Diderot, *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 28 vols., Geneva 1779, vol. 16 p. 392 (on *Gouvernement*). Rousseau argued for example: "Everything, being reduced to Appearances, becomes mere Art and Mummery... this is not the original Condition of Man, and that is merely the Spirit of Society... that thus change and transform all our natural Inclinations", English translation from J. Rousseau, *A discourse upon the origin and foundation of the inequality among mankind*, London 1761, pp. 180-181, original: "comment tout se réduisant aux apparences, tout devient factice et joué... Il me suffit d'avoir prouvé que ce n'est point là l'état orig ; nel de l'homme, et que c'est le seul esprit de la société, et l'inégalité qu'elle engendre , qui changent et altèrent ainsi toutes nos inclinations naturelles", J. Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, London 1782, pp. 206-207.

[96]Kleiner and Mamiya 2005 pp. 633-640.

the peasantry materialised in genre pieces by among others Greuze and later Jean-Baptiste Siméon Chardin (1699-1779). Interestingly, both painters were members of the Académie and their pictures were bought predominately by aristocratic collectors – which is actually quite similar to the state of affairs in Britain. Their clientele ranged from Louis XV to such persons as the Duke de Choiseul-Praslin and the Comtesse du Barry. Chardin was even Premier Peintre du Roi by 1770.[97] Although Chardin's privileged position may not seem to correspond entirely to the bourgeois topics of their works and the radical social and political ideas that were taking shape in the mind of their admirer Diderot, it in any case allowed for a broad bourgeois audience to encounter genre pictures at the Salons. From the exhibition walls they presented the recognisable narratives, strongly sentimental emotions and scenes focusing on the simplicity of quiet, domestic life that would become the mode later on.[98] In summary, genre painting was indeed represented in the public space by prominent examples in France. Initially, this does not seem to have been much different from Britain.

Although Greuze and Chardin were allowed to exhibit at the Salon, like Wilkie and Mulready were at Somerset House, the position of the French genre painter had more restrictions than in Britain. After the Revolution, the French art scene remained strongly subjected to the preferences of the government and thus to political tendencies in France, although these were different than before. While during the Revolution power in France was "transferred" from the aristocracy to the people, the aristocratic taste for sentimentality in French painting was replaced by a focus on "la chose publique": the social value of both public and private life. The oeuvre of Leopold Boilly (1761-1845) and the way in which his work was treated before and after the French Revolution illustrate this transition and the governmental influence on art very clearly.[99] In his early works, Boilly focused not only on morally accepted subjects such as mothers with children, but also on blatantly erotic scenes reminiscent of the Rococo. Therefore, as soon as the Revolution was over and the Reign of Terror took hold of France, the radical Société Populaire and Républicaine des Arts accused him of corrupting the public with obscene pictures. In response, Boilly immediately moved away from his erotic topics, focusing on the propriety and virtuousness of la vie moderne – "public spectacles and topical issues" – depicted in an almost documentary way.[100] This turnover earned Boilly great success; in 1804, thirteen years after his first works appeared at the Salon, Boilly's *Arrival of a mail-coach in the courtyard of the messageries* (1803), which shows a rather uncommonly orderly sight of French society at the time, was awarded a Gold Medal.[101] Another picture of this kind is Boilly's *Politicians in the Tuileries Gardens* (1832), which shows an orderly scene with bourgeois figures of all ages, gathered in the Tuileries Gardens (Illustration 7). Also *La*

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[97]The Getty Provenance Index®, Sales Catalogus Database, `http://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb?path=pi/pi.web` (consulted June 2013), on works by Greuze, see for instance entries: Lot 0112 (bought by Remy pour Choiseul-Praslin, Duc de Chaiseul-Praslin), Lot 0113 (bought by Randon de Boisset), and Lot 01151 (bought by Jacques pour Spar, Comte de Spar) from Sales Catalog F-A233 and Lot 0020 from Sales Catalog F-A393 (bought by Jeanne Bécu comtesse du Barry). Note that Greuze was only admitted to the Académie as a genre painter, which left him bittered and distressed, for the fact that the Académie accepted genre painters did not mean that they acknowledged it to have any moral or elevating value.

[98]Conisbee *et al.* 2003, p. 11.

[99]Hallam 1981, p. 631.

[100]Hallam 1981, pp. 622-623 and p. 628, and also see J. F. Heim *et al.*, *Les salons de peinture de la Révolution Française 1789-1799*, Paris 1989, p. 58 for a discussion of responses to Boilly's work.

[101]Hallam 1981, p. 148, fig. 125.

lecture du bulletin de la Grande Armée (1807), showing a middle class French family gathered around a table in a domestic interior, fits in his focus on *la vie moderne* (Illustration 8). [102] The change in Boilly's repertoire illustrates a situation in which social and cultural attitudes on current matters such as urban leisure and bourgeois ideals were translated into art because of a governmental pressure to do so, instead of the taste of the art audience or art market. [103] This situation strikes a profound difference with the described situation in Britain. Perhaps this is already enough reason to characterise the French treatment of (genre) painting in the early nineteenth century as less "liberated" from institutional thinking than in Britain.

3.2.2.2 Genre painting between the Salon and the Société

The circumstances revolving around Boilly's work demonstrate that politics and not the bourgeois art enthusiast stimulated the institutional acceptance of genre painting in France. More evidence that suggests that a direct bourgeois influence was indeed much more limited in France than in Britain can be found in the realm of the French art exhibitions. Around 1800, the Paris Salons provided the only public platform in France that enabled artists to reach a large audience. With its formal jury that selected and rejected hundreds of entries each year, it was an institute that provided artists with a quality label by accepting their works. Interestingly, genre painting was not banned from the Salon, despite its lower ranking in the traditional hierarchy of painting. The selection process of the Salon was based purely on quality and on the presence of desirable – or the absence of overly critical – political overtones in the pictures. [104] In theory, genre pieces were thus granted a fair chance to obtain a spot at the Salon's walls. As Whiteley has shown, statistic research on the rejected and accepted works in the early nineteenth century supports this: in 1827, only half of the some 1600 submitted works was accepted, but the numbers show no particular bias in favour of Antique subjects. Only landscapes and portraits were rejected more often than other pictures, with respectively 56 percent and 60 percent of the submissions in these categories being rejected. [105]

Lists of exhibited works at the Paris Salon furthermore confirm the acceptance of genre at the exhibitions. As the lists compiled by Collins on the basis of Chauvignerie and Auvray's 1882-1885 *Dictionnaire général des artistes de l'école française depuis l'origine des arts du dessin jusqu'à nos jours: architectes, peintres, sculpteurs, graveurs et lithographes* indicate, great numbers of genre pictures by Greuze, Philippe-Louis Debucourt (1755-1832), Chardin,

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[102]For a reproduction of *La lecture du bulletin de la Grande Armée* see Siegfried 1995, plate 33.

[103]Looking at the sales of Boilly's genre pictures indicates a wide range of buyers, such as the early eighteenth-century lawyer Marie-Antoine Didot, and the artists Guillaume-Jean Constantin and Bon-Thomas Henry, but also the aristocrat Jacques-François Mallet de Chanteloup – collectors whose collections also contained vast amounts of Dutch landscapes and genre pictures, see Repetoire des Tableaux vendu en France au XIX siècle 1998, vol. 2, see index, alphabetically arranged by name, the Getty Provenance Index®, Sales Catalogus Database, `http://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb?path=pi/pi.web` (consulted June 2013). At the moment, the database contains close to 200 auction results of paintings by Boilly from 1788 to 1819. The prices paid varied from 56500 assignats for a "scène familière" in 1795 to 23 francs for a "promenade" in 1819, lot 0024 from Sale Catalog F-A1120 and lot 0035 from Sale Catalog F992.

[104]Hauptman 1985, pp. 96-97. Especially Romantic artists were often rejected on these grounds, Whiteley 1982, note 115.

[105]Whiteley 1982, p. 75 and notes 111-115.

Boucher and many others could be found at the Salons from 1699 to 1797. [106] The presence of genre painting at the Salon is continued well into the nineteenth century. Artists such as Boilly and Jean-Louis de Marne (Demarne) (1752-1829) saw many of their pictures accepted, featuring such themes as "l' Intérieur d'un café" or "Le cabaret de village" (exhibited both in 1824), next to the "scènes familières" and "scènes du boulevard" (two examples exhibited in 1814). [107] Chauvignerie and Auvray mention many other particular genre themes painted by both well-known and now lesser-known artists, such as village scenes, scenes with children, and a "lecture d'un testament". [108]

Next to the Salon, or perhaps *because* of the Salon, however, there were not many opportunities for French artists to exhibit their works – especially not for an audience as large as the Salon's. With its million-francs budget and its status-enhancing reputation, the Salon made it difficult for alternatives in support of contemporary art to survive. [109] The early nineteenth century saw the opening of some private exhibitions by artists and galleries in Paris, of which some were sparked by an admiration of the independent art exhibitions in Britain and others were instigated by a discontentment about the many pictures that were rejected by the Salon juries. [110] Sometimes these "counter-exhibitions" included works by well-established artists like Greuze and some of them even displayed English paintings as well. [111] However, these exhibitions were not greeted with much enthusiasm by the public. In this area, the French art scene differed fundamentally from the exhibition practices in Britain. The public's lack of interest in the independent art exhibitions was mainly due to a lack of quality. Probably for this reason only little to no precise documentation regarding these exhibitions exists, making it difficult to tell what kind of works were exactly exhibited, apart from the fact that they had all been rejected by the Salon jury. [112]

Perhaps the best French attempt at introducing an alternative way to support the contemporary arts was the Société des Amis des Arts, founded in 1789. However, like the "counter-exhibitions", this initiative did not generate much public interest. The Société consisted of art enthusiasts and it bought contemporary works of art for public collections. From 1816 onwards, it was even allowed to hold an annual winter exhibition at the Louvre. Although the society acquired many high-quality genre paintings in the early years of its existence, the amount of pictures it could afford declined strongly by the 1830's and 1840's as prices of pictures increased and the competition of the Salon and its budget became fiercer. Meanwhile, the Société had seen a brief break in its activities between 1800 and 1816 due to a lack of public interest and, later on, some of the more traditional critics commented upon its

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[106] See Bailey *et al.* 2003, appendix.

[107] See Chavignerie and Auvray 1882-1885, vol 1., p. 109 and 403.

[108] For instance the theme "Fête de village" (exhibited by Boilly in 1814 and by Charles-Claude Delaye in 1840, see Chavignerie and Auvray vol. 1., pp. 109 and 394), "Une procession de village" (exhibited by Demarne in 1808, see Chavignerie and Auvray vol. 1, p. 403), "Une jeune enfant présente à ses parents le prix qu'il vient de remporter" (exhibited by Jean Bonvoisin in 1822, see Chavignerie and Auvray vol. 1, p. 121).

[109] Whiteley 1982, p. 72.

[110] The relatively liberal British art life provided the opportunity for many other initiatives to exhibit or support contemporary art. Such initiatives were often admired and eagerly visited by continentals, Whiteley 1982, p. 72, and Smith 1860, p. 156.

[111] Like the Salons de MM. Susse frères, see Hauptman 1985, p. 99, note 48. More on this follows in Part II.

[112] More on this theme and a discussion of some of these counter-exhibitions see Hauptman 1985, pp. 95-109, especially pp. 99 and 107, and Whiteley 1982, pp. 75 and notes 111-114.

acquisitions and concerns as "corrupting the taste of the public". [113]

The above examples – or lack of examples – of civil support of the arts in France describe the early nineteenth-century French art scene as a largely state-governed affair in which alternative initiatives to support contemporary art could hardly compete with the Salon and its state-budget. As noted by Whiteley, this cuts a rather striking difference with many independent art exhibitions and societies that populated Britain and that left much more room for the lower genres to flourish. [114] Although in summary, genre painting was not banned from the exhibition space and prominent examples such as Greuze, Chardin and later Boilly illustrate that genre painting held its own as a category of painting in France, it was not as prominent and thriving as in Britain. The situation revolving around the genre piece and its public support in France not only strikes a compelling difference with Britain, it also appears to be completely at a par with the art climate in the German-speaking world at the time, where from the early nineteenth century onwards perhaps the best example of a civil involvement in the art scene developed: the *Kunstvereine*. The *Kunstvereine* were mostly bourgeois institutions that played an essential part in the contemporary acceptance and encouragement of German genre painting. It is therefore essential to discuss the *Kunstvereine* in more detail here. This will demonstrate the vital importance of a bourgeois influence on art for the development of early nineteenth-century genre painting.

3.2.3 The German *Kunstvereine* as podium for genre painting

3.2.3.1 A "Sehnsucht" for bourgeois topics in the German-speaking regions

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the size and self-consciousness of the German middle and lower classes had started to grow rapidly, just as had happened in France. However, while France decapitated its king and its people climbed the barricades, the German society hoped to modernise in a more peaceful way, consciously striking a contrast with the aggressive French revolutions. This is reflected in the artistic preferences of the German art audience, whose bourgeois mindset was generally focused on a "Sehnsucht" for the private and homely and a search for security with the institute of the family as the basis of "harmony and peace". In the art realm, this resulted in a growing taste for pictures that showed "homely" and "familiar" scenes. [115] As Immel illustrates in her study of nineteenth-century German genre painting, the value that the German bourgeoisie attached to the concept of family life was found especially in such intimate genre scenes as caring mothers and playing children, which became popular subjects at the time. Out of a rejection of corrupt city life and an elevation of pure country life, in which nature and humanity were united, also scenes that showed simple peasants where explored. Furthermore, a compassion for the less fortunate also turned beggars, thieves and smugglers into appreciated subjects of painting. [116]

Within a broader perspective, the described German taste for genre painting fits in a tendency towards the "natural" and the "everyday" that was expressed in all kinds of art forms

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[113] "Corrompre le goût du public", see E. F. A. M. Miel, *Revue critique des productions de peinture, sculpture, gravure, exposées au Salon de 1824*, Paris 1825, p. 388, also see Whiteley 1982, p. 72 and note 48.

[114] Whiteley 1982, p. 78.

[115] Immel 1967, p. 25-30, Memmel 2013, p. 61.

[116] Immel 1967, p. 26-28.

and cultural pastimes at the time. The bourgeois audience knew the subjects treated in genre painting among others from the theatre and not in the least from the many novels they read. [117] Cross-references between works of art from different disciplines were no exception. Especially genre scenes lent themselves perfectly for such exchange between artistic disciplines. In Britain, many paintings by, for instance, David Wilkie were used as *tableaux vivants* in British plays, while his *Reading of the will* (1820) (Illustration 9), a commission by the Bavarian King Maximilian I. Joseph, might have sparked the German play "Das Testament des Onkels" by Eduard von Schenk (1788-1841). [118] Furthermore, Wilkie himself is known from his journals to have visited numerous plays and he interacted with actors as well, also during his travels through the German-speaking world. [119] Above all, many of Wilkie's early genre pictures – which were greatly admired in the German art world, as will be discussed in Part II – were inspired by plays and novels that were often translated to German at the time. [120] It is no wonder, therefore, that comparisons between different disciplines were made frequently and naturally, as the following passage on genre painting from the German art journal *Kunst-Blatt* illustrates:

> "Now I move to a type of paintings that perhaps best matches the term of the novella in poetry; these paintings have the guiding ideas of historical art as their content, while in form, they correspond entirely to the appearance of true life. The more their subject-matter leads them to free invention, the more they are reminiscent of the perception of Walter Scott; the more their topics move closer to the contemporary, the more one is reminded of Yorick [Sterne's alter ego in *A sentimental journey through France and Italy*], Sterne, and Goldsmith, and for the most part these poets were indeed sources of inspiration to their scenes." [121]

Although the taste for "the everyday" seems to have imbued German art and culture at the time, the previous sections have already indicated that genre painting was not held in high esteem by the German art establishment. To see nineteenth-century German genre painting emerge prominently in among others Munich, Vienna and Düsseldorf might therefore be surprising from an art-curricular perspective; painters such as Joseph Petzl (1803-1871), Gisbert Flüggen (1811-1859) and Johann Baptist Kirner (1806-1866) dominated the scene with their sentimental views of peasant interiors and playing children in Munich, while Peter Fendi (1769-1842), Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793-1865) and Joseph Danhauser (1805-1845) enjoyed success with similar pictures in Vienna. From the second quarter of the nine-

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[117]For example, Yeazell identifies strong influences of Dutch genre painting in contemporary novels by among others Jane Austen and Sir Walter Scott, see R. B. Yeazell, *Art of the everyday: Dutch painting and the realist novel*, Princeton 2008, pp. 1-23.

[118]Hardtwig *et al.* 2003, vol. 4, pp. 537-541.

[119]See Cunningham 1843, vol. 1 and especially Cunningham 1843, vol. 2, p. 333, where Wilkie writes with great interest about seeing some tableaux in German theatres.

[120]See F. Russell, "An album of tableaux-vivants sketches by Wilkie" *Master drawings* 10 (1972), pp. 35-40.

[121]"Ich gehe nun zu einer Gattung von Gemälden über, welche dem Begriff der Novelle in der Dichtung am meisten zu entsprechen scheinen; sie haben von der eigentlich historischen Kunst den leitenden Gedanken als Inhalt, während sie in der Form sich ganz an die Erscheinung des wirklichen Lebens halten. Jemehr sie durch ihren Stoff zu freier Erfindung geführt werden, jemehr erinnern sie an die Auffassungsweise des Walter Scott; je näher ihr Stoff sie der Gegenwart führt, desto mehr denkt man an Yorik, Sterne, Goldsmith, und in der That sind auch die genannten Dichter meistentheils die Quellen solcher Darstellungen", *Kunst-Blatt* 1844, nr. 72, p. 301.

teenth century onwards, this was complimented by a somewhat more social-critical sound in Düsseldorf, which had developed into an extremely internationally orientated art hub by that time. [122] In Düsseldorf, artists such as Carl Wilhelm Hübner (1814-1879), Ludwig Knaus (1829-1910), Peter Schwingen (1813-1863) and Johann Peter Hasenclever (1810-1853) set up business. Although at first, these German genre painters were perhaps not broadly respected by the German art establishment, they did find themselves supported not only by forward-thinking art theorists, but especially by a large bourgeois audience. This strikes a clear difference with the state of affairs in France and is reminiscent of the contemporary British art scene.

3.2.3.2   The *Kunstvereine* and their function for genre painting

In the German-speaking world, the academic art scene was relatively fragmented and exhibitions were organised only on a rather irregular basis. [123] As discussed above, there were various academies, but no dominant institutes in the sense of France's Académie and Salon, or Britain's Royal Academy of Arts and Somerset House. What the German-speaking regions *did* have, more than France and even Britain, was a strong prominence of civil initiatives to support the contemporary arts: the so-called *Kunstvereine* or "art societies". *Kunstvereine* could be found in cities all over the German-speaking regions. The organisation and members of these *Kunstvereine* often consisted of artists and other actors in the art scene, as was the case in Düsseldorf, but sometimes it was a much more civil society, like in Munich. [124] Schmitz's study on the phenomenon of the *Kunstvereine* reveals that these societies were built on various key ideals regarding the relation between art and society, acknowledging both the needs of the artist and the public. Important for this study is that the *Kunstvereine* were first of all founded to promote, socialise and "civilise" the contemporary arts. This started with public exposure:

> "only when art remains close to the public needs, to the people, it will show... popularity united with ideality.... But not only art itself triumphs by being dedicated to the public, also the culture of the people triumphs through a public art." [125]

The *Kunstvereine* guaranteed this exposure by organising freely accessible art exhibitions, two to six times a year – a welcome initiative next to the academy exhibitions that often only took place every two or three years.

Furthermore, the *Kunstvereine* aimed to offer a chance at creative freedom for the artist: "his inner independence is safeguarded; he creates Beauty, and his merit will be acknowl-

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[122]See Immel 1967, pp. 95-312 for an overview of these 'schools' of genre painting in the German-speaking regions. Many foreign students studied at the Düsseldorfer academy from 1827 onwards, Immel 1967, p. 242.

[123]Mai 2010, p. 28.

[124]Landes 2008, pp. 98-101.

[125]"nur wenn die Kunst mit dem öffentlichen Bedürfnisse, mit dem Volksleben befreundet bleibt, wird sie... Popularität vereinigt mit Idealität zeigen... Aber nicht blos die Kunst selbst gewinnt durch Bestimmung für die Oeffentlichkeit [sic], auch die Kultur des Volks gewinnt durch eine öffentliche Kunst", Schmitz 2002, p. 165, cited from *Kunst-Blatt* 1829 nr. 10, p. 133.

edged." [126] This was not only provided for by offering the artist an alternative means of exposure to the conservative academy exhibitions, but also by taking up the role as patron, a role that was formerly played by the aristocracy or the church. This role manifested itself in two ways. First of all, the *Kunstvereine* obliged themselves to acquire a work of art at least every two years, quite literally turning themselves into patrons. Secondly, the exhibition rooms of the *Kunstvereine* functioned as a podium through which private buyers could be reached, turning the *Kunstvereine* into early art agents. [127] Regarding the latter, the *Kunstvereine* do not differ much from the large exhibitions in Paris and London – to some extend, they all functioned as an economical instrument or as a market place for the artist – but as art associations that operated at the heart of society, the *Kunstvereine* greatly extended that market place and "(made) the works of art to a great extent a commodity." [128]

Considering the *Kunstvereine*'s ideal of a free and civil form of art, its function as market place is slightly ironic, because it provided that the art that was demanded by the visitors of the *Kunstvereine*'s exhibitions was also the art that the artist would need to produce in order to find patrons. This restricted the very artistic freedom that the *Kunstvereine* had set out to provide for. Therefore, it is no wonder that the Kunstverein was also critically regarded as a market that "like any other is only stocked with such goods that can count on sales". [129]

There was one importance difference between the exhibitions of the *Kunstvereine* and the larger exhibitions of the academies at home and abroad – even those in Britain. Looking at the various categories of painting that could be found in the exhibitions of the *Kunstvereine*, landscape and genre painting were most popular. In the case of the Münchner Kunstverein, these genres were even purposely supported to provide a counterweight to the dominance of the Munich academy. [130] In this way, more than any place else, the *Kunstvereine* became an institute that promoted the development of genre painting.

Taking a closer look at the Münchner Kunstverein, for example, reveals an almost "inverted" interest when it comes to the various categories of painting in comparison to the academic hierarchy described above. After landscape and portrait painting, genre painting was the top category in the list of acquisitions and exhibitions, reflecting the bourgeois preference for certain topics. [131] Among the works that the Kunstverein exhibited or acquired, one finds pictures by, for instance, the genre painter Theodoor Leopold Welle, who was a member of the Mannheimer Kunstverein himself. [132] Also found are Münchner Kunstverein member Johan Baptist Kirner's 1831 *Ein Schweizer Gardist erzählt in seiner Heimat seine Erlebnisse während der Pariser Juli-Revolution von 1830* (Illustration 10), which also earned him a travel-stipend from the Großhertog of Baden-Württemberg, Kaspar Kaltenmoser's (1806-1867) *Zillerthaler Bauern im Wirtshaus* (exhibited 1833), *Der Besuch einer Wahrsägerin bei*

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[126]"der innere Unabhängigkeit ist ihm gesichert; er bringe Schönes hervor, und sein Verdienst wird annerkannt werden", Schmitz 2002, p. 169, note 952, cited from "Rede Prof. Dr. Bercht, 6.12.1835".

[127]Landes 2008, p. 98.

[128]"Erst die bürgerliche Gesellschaft, die von den reinen, der autonomen Kunst träumte, (machte) die Kunstwerke im großen Maßstab zur Handelsware", Schmitz 2002, p. 338.

[129]"wie jeder Andere nur mit solchen Waaren beschickt wird, für welche auf Absatz zu rechnen ist", Schmitz 2002, p. 345, note 2101, cited from *Kunst-Blatt* 1845, nr. 26, p. 310.

[130]Schmitz 2002, p. 151.

[131]Vergoossen 2011, p. 200.

[132]Vergoossen 2011, p. 219.

einer Schwarzwälder Bäuerin (exhibited 1835) and *Eine Verlobung* (acquired 1840), Petzl's (1803-1871) *Die Versteigerung* (exhibited 1832), and Flüggen's *Unterbrochene Ehekontrakt* (acquired 1841) and *Erbschleicher* (acquired 1855) (Illustration 11). [133]

Next to exhibiting and acquiring art, most *Kunstvereine* also published art journals featuring discussions and reviews of works of art and exhibitions. They even distributed reproductive prints to increase the exposure of artists and also exchanged works of art among each other. [134] The *Kunstvereine* were thus very much involved with the local art scene in the German realm. However, not everyone agreed with the direction in which the *Kunstvereine* were leading the arts. The contemporary debate on the *Kunstvereine*'s activities indicates that genre painting played a prominent part in this matter. Illustrative for the dissatisfaction with the *Kunstvereine*'s activities, is the complaint uttered in *Kunst-Blatt* that *Kunstvereine* supported too few that was "noble and sublime", focusing only on "nature in genre and landscape subjects" instead, which interested the masses. [135] This complaint was immediately countered by the president of the Kölner Kunstverein, who argued that a singular support of such "Edles" would mean the *Kunstvereine*'s deathblow and the end of its ultimate purpose. [136] After all, the *Kunstvereine* were governed by and devoted to its bourgeois community, and what interested that community was art with a recognisable content. [137] In this way, the German bourgeoisie managed to influence the course of painting, perhaps even to a stronger degree than the visitors at Somerset House in Britain: the *Kunstvereine* offered genre painters an art market, patrons and thus the opportunity to build a reputation without needing to conform to academic convention. They provided the genre piece with an (economic) chance to flourish and enabled it to bloom despite traditional ideas regarding the genre in the art theory. It was in this context that a German interest in British genre painting started to develop.

Recapitulating the above analysis of genre painting in art theory, its position in the art curriculum, its place in contemporary art exhibitions and its treatment by the art public, genre painting experienced a revaluation and explosive growth in Europe around 1800. First of all, the above assessment of theoretical texts from Britain, France and the German art world demonstrates that early nineteenth-century genre painting was for a great part the result of a development in which the genre piece came to be seen as a bourgeois translation of history painting: a bourgeois form of drama. With the upgrading of the genre piece from a mere "imitation of nature" to a category of painting that shared moralising qualities with history painting, the door was opened for a new concept of what the genre was, was allowed to be and should be, and was capable of accomplishing.

While unconventional ideas regarding genre painting by writers such as Diderot and Kugler provided the genre with a theoretical justification, the art curriculum stayed behind in supporting the newfound purpose of the genre, although it must be noted that the genre piece

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[133] Vergoossen 2011, pp. 219-223.

[134] Landes 2008, pp 99-100.

[135] "Edles und Ehabenes", "nur die Natur in Genre- und Landschaftsgegenständen", quoted from *Kunst-Blatt* 1820, nr. 49, in Schmitz 2001, p. 308 and note 1850.

[136] Schmitz 2001, p. 308 and note 1851.

[137] As argued by Memmel, the yearning for peace and tranquillity after the Napoleonic wars can be held responsible for the taste that was practiced by the bourgeoisie-operated *Kunstvereine*, Memmel 2013, p. 61.

was not altogether banned from the academic realm. In practice, genre painting managed to properly step into the limelight when it reached the exhibition space, where the positive response of the bourgeois audience pushed it further out of the shadows of conventional thinking. This was especially the case in Britain and the German-speaking world. By demanding pictures that fitted its taste for scenes from everyday life, the bourgeoisie created a solid market for genre pieces. At least in Britain and the German-speaking regions, the emancipation of a growing bourgeoisie and the participation of this new group in the art scene seems to have played a defining role in genre painting's early nineteenth-century development.

In France, the bourgeois role in the art realm appears to have been much more restricted compared to Britain and the German-speaking regions. Since huge governmental institutions like the Paris Salon prevented civil initiatives from thriving or at least inhibited their involvement in the art world, the development of the genre piece and its specific subject-matter appears to have proceeded in a more confined way than in Britain or the German-speaking regions: although it was tolerated at art exhibitions, it did not generate as much publicity and success as it did in Britain and the German realm.

The German-speaking regions allowed for a particularly prominent bourgeois participation in the art scene. This may have been the result of the fact that the German art world was much less governed by central institutions and therefore had developed a large network of civil initiatives in support of the arts. A direct engagement of the bourgeoisie in the art scene through the German *Kunstvereine* had a strong effect on the reputation and flourishing of genre painting. Because of this, genre painting managed to turn into a successful category of painting in its own right and even to a great extent into a commercially driven art form with a patronage that went much further – and was much profounder – than that of the academy or any institutionalised patron.

The prominent role genre painting played in German art and society was rather unique within a European context. This has not been acknowledged before. The fact that British painting from around 1800 *is* often characterised as a strongly civil and bourgeois affair – not the least by contemporary German sources – establishes an interesting correlation between British and German artistic developments in the early nineteenth-century. In the light of the German reception of British genre painting, this correlation is even more compelling. The idea(l)s that underpinned the German reception of British genre painting are strongly rooted in the theoretical and practical background of the genre described above. Logically, the theoretical upgrading of genre painting and the demand for genre pieces in the German-speaking regions instigated a search for role models in this field. To what extent Britain influenced the German realm in this respect is explored in the next part of this study.

Part II

The German reception of British genre painting in its European context

During the revaluation of genre painting in the theoretical, institutional and public realm described in the previous chapters, various role models were presented that embodied the ideas and preferences that were expressed about the genre in the art literature and by the art public. Dutch genre painting has widely been recognised as one of the most important role models for genre painting in this time frame. [138] However, this overshadows the influential position of British genre painting. As is shown here, at some point the British genre piece even became a much more prominent role model on the continent than its Dutch variant, receiving much appreciation particularly in the German-speaking world.

The early nineteenth-century continental inhabitant was informed about British art and culture through many channels. These can be divided into *literary* and *pictorial* sources that together enable the reconstruction of the contemporary continental view of British genre painting. The aim of the next chapters is to map how the German art audience and German artists regarded British genre painting, to trace how their taste developed over time, and to put the German reception of British genre painting in its European context and pinpoint its unique qualities. The first two chapters of this part study the reception of British genre painting in *literary* sources, such as letters, art journals, travel journals and written art canons (Chapters 4 and 5). The other two chapters explore how the image of British genre painting was distributed on the continent by tracing the historical whereabouts of *pictorial* sources. This involves not only an assessment of the contemporary presence of British genre paintings in permanent continental collections and temporary continental exhibitions and auctions (Chapter 6), but also in the form of reproductive prints (Chapter 7).

Following the steps outlined above, this part is to provide a detailed and extensive account of the German reception of British genre painting and the way in which the German interest in British examples developed during the first decades of the nineteenth century. This serves as the foundation, guideline and context for the analysis of British influences in German painting in Part III. In itself, this part is meant to serve as an in-depth study of the phenomenon of the German reception of British genre painting and as a starting point for the further analysis of detailed case studies or similar processes of reception in art history.

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[138]Immel 1967, pp. 58-63 and Memmel 2013, p. 21, Häder 1999, pp. 75-83, Mount 1991, pp. 113-226, especially pp. 196-226.

Chapter 4

The continental reception of British genre painting in literary sources

4.1 "The only free spot in Europe": Britain in personal correspondences and in journals

The German reception of British genre painting was embedded in a broad continental interest in British affairs. This interest evolved during the late eighteenth century and was stimulated by various social and technological developments. Firstly, the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth century marked the beginning of a time of increasing international mobility. Easier than ever before, people were able to travel from one region or country to another by coach, boat and from the 1830's also increasingly by train.[139] The majority of such journeys, however, were not undertaken out of recreational interests. As Payani has pointed out, the War of the Grand Alliance and later the Napoleonic Wars, followed by economic crises, high unemployment rates and religious persecutions, instigated great waves of migration from among others the German Palatine to Britain.[140] As a nation where one could come and go as one pleased, Britain was a popular destiny. Payani counts some five million people who left the German-speaking world in the nineteenth century, of which only a part left specifically for Britain and the majority stranded there while initially heading for the New World. As a result, England and Wales housed some 28.644 German inhabitants by 1861.[141] Among them were prominent exiles who had fled their homeland after the failed revolutions of 1848, such as Johanna Kinkel (1810-1858) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895).[142] Also labourers, craftsmen and merchants came to Britain, along with bankers, businessmen in the textile industry, and

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[139]See for example http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/collections/maps/eurotransport/ (consulted 10 February 2014) for an online database containing high-resolution reproductions of maps of European transportation fascilities in the nineteenth century. See for example J. Michaelis' "Eisenbahnkarte von Central Europa" (1865) at http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/collections/maps/eurotransport/G6031-P3-1865-M5.html (consulted 16 December 2015).

[140]Panayi 2000, pp. 25-44.

[141]Panayi 2000, pp. 26-28 and pp. 36-37.

[142]See Ashton 1986, pp. 56-96 and pp. 139-187.

middle class figures who hoped to improve their English language skills in order to find better employment at their planned (but not always implemented) return. In the course of the years, a considerable German community was established in Britain that diligently communicated with the home front by means of letters, which were sometimes even published in German journals or included in autobiographies. [143]

The influx of news from Britain to the continent was further increased by the rapidly growing phenomenon of journalism. The Enlightenment had already seen the introduction of a multiplicity of journals and news papers, of which Johann Friedrich Cotta's *Allgemeine Zeitung* or *Neue Weltkunde* (1789) was the best-known newspaper in Germany until 1848. [144] Those who did not have personal acquaintances in Britain and who were unable or reluctant to embark on a journey to explore the country for themselves could catch up on the latest information about the British nation through such channels. German journals and newspapers reported on all kinds of topics that mostly revolved around regional affairs, but when it came to the more international subjects, England frequently returned. Anonymous contributors as well as well-known writers, such as Schlegel, spoke with much admiration about British political affairs and governmental structures, Britain's colonies, its industry and agriculture, its geography, its literature and art, its people, its famous printed caricatures, and even such topics as "die Baumsucht in England", "Englands Theekessel", and how to spend a Sunday in London. [145]

The main reason why Britain was held in such high esteem was its advanced and liberal political system and society: Britain was seen as a land of freedom. This freedom was thought to manifest itself predominantly in the freedom of the British individual – who held the freedom of religion, speech, press and association – and the liberty to enter and exit the country as one pleased. [146] It must be noted, however, that this image was only relative. As Ashton has indicated, many German immigrants in England – particularly the exiles with socialist ideals – encountered features of the nation's society they could hardly morally reconcile with. At the same time, these people also concluded that when it came to the concept of freedom no other country could compete with Britain. This mixture between admiration and criticism is illustrated by the following quote from an 1854 letter by Johanna Kinkel (1810-1858):

> "We are the last to deny or defend the dark side of English life. But if we are to make a comparison, England is without question superior.... The Englishman does not like to quarrel; he is altogether the most peaceful, well-meaning, human type you can find, and that is certainly the result of long years of political freedom. The police hinder no one in the development of his talents. Thus people here are not bitter and angry. But – one must work terribly hard here.... No wonder this island is overpopulated, since it is the only free spot in Europe. It

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[143]Panayi 2000, pp. 25-44. See for instance J. C. Hüttner, "Teutsche in London. Beschluß" in *London und Paris* (1803), nr. 11, pp. 200-09, J. C. Hüttner, "Fortsetzung der Londner Unbequemlichkeiten für einen Fremden" in *London und Paris* (1801), nr. 8., pp. 177-189.

[144]G. Müchler, *"Wie ein treuer Spiegel": die Geschichte der Cotta'schen Allgemeinen Zeitung*, Darmstadt 1998, pp. 2-3.

[145]Ashton 1986, pp. 25-55, especially p. 36. See for example G. F. Wehrs "Etwas über die Baumzucht in England", *Hannoverisches Magazin* (1789), nr. 27, pp. 173-176, Anonymous, "Englands Theekessel", *Der Teutsche Merkur* (1784) nr. 3, pp. 56-59, and J. C. Hüttner, "Der Sonntag in London", *London und Paris* (1798), nr. 1, pp. 128-134.

[146]Ashton 1986, pp. 37-46.

has become a narrow stable, it is true, and the impatient sheep find the space very restricted." [147]

4.2 "England, wo Kunst und Wissenschaft freier in das Leben treten": continental art periodicals on British genre painting

German descriptions of British art bear many parallels to those of British society. As the Enlightenment naturalist and ethnologist Johann Georg Adam Forster (1754-1794) argued, "the progress of art in modern Europe" could be found in the flourishing of British art. [148] This sense of modernity was recognised among others in the freedom of style of British art, in its straightforward subjects, in the direct way in which British artists approached and depicted their subjects and above all in the naturalism of British art. As illustrated by Payne *et al.*, Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825), for instance, considered the liberty of "English" art an appealing alternative to the French Academy's rigidity, while Eugène Delacroix's (1798-1863) somewhat pitifully remarked that "the English school is young, that they seek to be natural, while we [French artists] are only imitating other paintings." [149]

The progressiveness of British art was only partially found in its formal features. It was predominantly recognised in its strong connection to Britain's social state of affairs through its content. In 1762, the art journal *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, for instance, read that William Hogarth – one of Britain's greatest masters and an admired painter of scenes from contemporary life – would never have become the famous artist he was without the support of the British nation. [150] This notion suggests that the German art commentator considered the British society (constituting the nation), instead of the church, head of state, or any form of government, as the prime motivator of art in Britain. Furthermore, it implies that British society was admiringly thought to have directly influenced the course of British art. As will be shown below, these ideas stood at the basis of the German reception of British painting and they are reflected in the many contemporary discussions of it – especially in art journals and especially in the context of genre painting.

4.2.1 British genre painting in *Kunst-Blatt* and *Journal des Débats*

When taking a closer look at the specific German thoughts associated with British art at the time, the medium of the art journal provides a suitable source of information: it was the main podium for the contemporary public debate about art. The late eighteenth century and especially the early nineteenth century saw the birth of a range of cultural supplements and feuilletons to newspapers in Western Europe. Such supplements covered a great diversity

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[147] Quote taken from Ashton 1986, p. xii.

[148] Link 2004, pp. 29-50, especially p. 30.

[149] Payne *et al.* 2004, pp. 3 and 252. Quote originally drawn from a letter from Delacroix to Théophile Silvestre, Paris 31 December 1809, quoted in English from Payne *et al.* 2004, p. 252.

[150] See "Auszug eines Briefes aus London", *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* 7 (1762) nr. 2, pp. 369-372, especially pp. 371-372.

of topics on British art and culture. They featured not only numerous reports on the latest poetical and literary works from Britain, but also discussions of caricatures, descriptions of particular paintings and artists and reports on the general condition of the arts in Britain by both anonymous reporters and well-known authors such as Étienne-Jean Delécluze (1781-1863), Johann Wilhelm Daniel von Archenholz (1741-1812) and Forster. Some journals even occasionally featured translations of British art-theoretical works such as Reynolds' *Discourses*. [151] By the early nineteenth century, the contemporary debate on British art was very much alive in this medium. This was particularly the case in the German journal *Kunst-Blatt*.

In the early nineteenth-century, *Kunst-Blatt* was the most prominent art journal in the German-speaking world. It was a supplement to Ludwig Schorn's *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* and was published by Johann Friedrich Cotta (1764-1832), who had become a distinguished publisher by then. [152] The supplement was published from 1816 to 1849 and featured reports by well-known art theorists and critics such as Gustav Friedrich Waagen (1794-1868), Johann David Passavant (1787-1861) and Kugler. From the 1820's onwards, *Kunst-Blatt* regularly featured elaborate reports on the state of British art and British exhibitions – including the exhibitions of the British Institution and the National Gallery – the whereabouts and works of various British artists and numerous reviews of British prints. [153] In other words, *Kunst-Blatt* was a key source on the latest news from the British art world. One of its authors even explicitly considered it their active task to disclose the contemporary developments in British painting to its readers. [154] This task was continued as far as the last decade of the journal's existence and it comprised not only emphasising the value of British art for the contemporary (German) art scene, but also commentating upon and explaining its character and specific features. Sometimes, the authors gave explicit justifications as to why British painting deserved attention and, most of the times, such explanations unambiguously connected British art to Britain's leading role in social and political Europe:

> "England's aspirations in art are, we believe, little known in Germany. That country, so important for the entire continent because of its political significance, for scholars because of the intellectual products of great men, for poetry because of some excellent poets it produced does, however, not receive as much attention in its contemporary dealings with art... it is not to be denied that... also the contemporary activity of artists in England can interest us. [155]

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[151] See for example "Einige Anmerkungen über den jetzigen Zustand der Mahlerey in England", *Museum für Künstler und Kunstliebhaber* 1 (1788), nr. 4, pp. 9-31, "Rede des Ritters Josua Reynolds, Präsidenten der Königl. Malerakademie in London an die Schüler derselben", *Hannoverisches Magazin* 12 (1774), pp. 577-602, and J. Reynolds, "A discourse delivered to the students of the Royal Academy on the distribution of prizes London 1772", *Der Teutsche Merkur* 1 (1773), pp. 243-250.

[152] B. Fischer, *Johann Friederich Cotta: Verleger – Entrepreneur – Politiker*, Göttingen 2014, p. 9 and for a brief discussion of *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* see especially pp. 289-301.

[153] See Appendix I, Table I.1.

[154] For example the 1845 passage featured in the next note came with the following revealing footnote: "Bei den speziellen Berichten über englische Kunst, welche das Kunstblatt neuerlich gebracht hat, dürfen wir hoffen, daß auch die obige übersichtliche Darstellung, die von einem mit der englischen Verhältnissen vertrauten Sachverständigen herrührt, für unsere Leser Interesse Haben wird", *Kunst-Blatt* 1845, nr. 98, p. 409.

[155] "Englands Kunstbestrebungen sind, glauben wir, in Deutschland wenig gekannt. Jenes Land, so wichtig durch

As will be shown below, however, the state of British art was certainly not unknown in the German-speaking regions at the time.

It may be clear now that British art had a particular attraction to the German commentator that was strongly related to socio-political ideals, but in order to understand the German judgement of British (genre) painting and to identify the specific properties of it that were admired, it is necessary to subject the contemporary German discussion of British art to more scrutiny. One of *Kunst-Blatt*'s first extensive remarks on British art, published in 1820, is useful in this respect, for it paints a very specific picture of British painting and it set the tone for the way in which British painting was perceived in many of *Kunst-Blatt*'s following issues. Most importantly, it instantly leads to the topic that is in focus in this study – genre painting:

> "in... England, where art and science are part of life in a more liberal way, where they are less isolated from each other and have more points of contact, and where life imbues customs and characters with a sharper nature, there comedy and painting must also be provided with more fertile subject-matter. We can produce an Ostade, but not a Hogarth, and among the variety of our poets, Goethe is almost the only one who clearly and calmly gazes into reality, while the rest, with a certain awe, keep within the bounds of the spiritual world or wear themselves out in a desire for the ideal." [156]

The passage quoted above mentions several relevant things. Firstly, it provides a clear example of the way in which British art was perceived as a direct consequence and product of its social cradle. Furthermore, it is made clear that a quintessential character trait of British art was a preoccupation with reality, instead of an invisible ideal concealed within nature, which was traditionally the domain of history painting. Obviously, the author of the passage perceives this as a positive aspect of British art, arguing that the Germans were able to produce an Ostade – referring to the Dutch genre painter Adriaen van Ostade, who painted natural, but superficial pictures of everyday life (Kugler's "niedere" genre, discussed in Chapter 2) – but not a Hogarth, who was thought to render scenes with a sharp observation of his own society while also adding a sense of morality. Finally, and most importantly, all the observations presented in the quoted passage characterise genre painting as the field of painting in which British art excelled and a field that should serve as a role model for contemporary German painting. This view would hold at least until *Kunst-Blatt*'s latest issues and, as will be shown below, it was expressed increasingly often from the 1820's onwards. [157]

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seine politische Bedeutung für den ganzen Kontinent, für den Gelehrten durch die Geistesprodukte großer Männer, für Poesie durch einige hervorragende Dichter, die es hervorbrachte, verdient allerdings nicht so große Aufmerksamkeit in seinen gegenwärtigen Kunstbeziehungen... dennoch ist nicht zu läugnen, daß... uns auch die gegenwärtige Thätigkeit der Künstler in England interessiren kann", *Kunst-Blatt* 1845, nr. 98, p. 409.

[156]"in... England, wo Kunst und Wissenschaft freier in das Leben treten, wo dieses weniger Abgeschiedenheit, aber mehr Berührungspunkte hat, und den Sitten und Charakteren ein schärferes Gepräge aufdrückt, da muß es auch der Komödie und der Malerey einen ergiebigern Stoff darbieten. Wir konnten wohl einen Ostade, aber nie einen Hogarth hervorbringen, und auch unter der Unzahl unserer Dichter ist Goethe bei nahe der Einzige, der mit Hellem, ruhigem Blick in die Wirklichkeit schaut, während die Uebrigen sich, mit einer gewissen Scheu, inner den Schranken der Gemütswelt halten, oder sich im Sehnen nach dem Idealen abmüden", *Kunst-Blatt* 1820, nr. 29, p. 113.

[157]Scanning through the issues of *Kunst-Blatt*, one regularly finds sentences such as "in diesem Fach ist die englische Schule immer sehr reich gewesen, und die gegenwärtige Austellung enthält einzige sehr glänzende Proben

The broad appreciation of British genre painting in *Kunst-Blatt* was not commonplace in Europe. It strikes a rather remarkable difference with art criticism in France. In the French *Feuilleton* of the *Journal des Débats*, for instance, the amount of exposure that British genre painting received seems only modest compared to *Kunst-Blatt*, but considering France's somewhat more complex treatment of the genre piece discussed in Part I, this may not come as a surprise. The *Feuilleton* of the *Journal des Débats* was one of the most prominent forums for the discussion of art and culture in France from the late eighteenth century until deep into the nineteenth century. As explained by Siegfried, various degrees of censorship had greatly restricted the growth, amount and content of newspapers and periodicals during the times of the Revolution and Restoration in France. Whereas political subjects were subjected to censorship, however, contributions about science, the arts, commerce and literature were exempt from it. This resulted in a boom of writings related to art and culture in which, as Siegfried argues, criticism of culture served as a surrogate for the free expression of political opinion. [158]

The *Feuilleton* ran across the lower part of the *Journal*'s pages and was constituted for the most part by the writings of men who had all received at least some form of artistic training and thus had a presumed expertise in the fields they wrote about. This includes, for instance, Jean-Baptiste-Bon Boutard (1771-1838) and Etiènne-Jean Deléecluze (1781-1863). [159] Signing their contributions – a rather novel custom at the time – these experts became known as "writer-personalities" who openly responded and referred to earlier contributions or other common news. Together with the occasionally published letters to the editor, this practice gave the *Feuilleton* the impression of being an open discussion forum. [160]

One might expect that the *Feuilleton* in theory provides a good source for an analysis of the French debate of British genre painting, but this debate appears to be almost completely absent from the cultural supplement. Throughout the *Feuilleton*, occasional references to Reynolds, Hogarth and Wilkie can be found, but the relatively small number of such references in the *Feuilleton* compared to *Kunst-Blatt* suggests that the writers of the Feuilliton and its French audience were not very interested in having – or were not publically allowed to have – a debate on British art that was as prominent as in *Kunst-Blatt*. [161] Although more elaborate research into contemporary French publications and the treatment of British art therein may nuance this picture of the French treatment of British art in art journals, the lack of references to British art in France's most prominent cultural supplement makes the German fascination with British painting all the more striking. It should be noted, however, that the contemporary French debate about British painting should perhaps be looked for in the less public realm instead; as has been discussed above, artists including Delacroix and Gericault indeed discussed the British efforts in the field of painting in private communications.

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davon", *Kunst-Blatt* (1839), nr. 28, p. 110.

[158] Siegfried 1994, p. 9-23.

[159] Siegfried 1994, p. 16.

[160] Siegfried 1994, p. 11-19.

[161] Short discussions of or references to the work of Wilkie and the British school in general can for example be found in the *Journal des Débats* of the 10th of May 1862, pp. 2-3, the 22th of August 1825, pp. 3, and the 3th of August 1826, pp. 1-4. In the issues between 1814 and 1862, however, only 12 of such instances were found during a rough search of the digital copies of the journal in the database of `http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb39294634r/date.langFR` (consulted March 2013).

4.3 The ambassadors of British genre painting according to *Kunst-Blatt*: William Hogarth (1697-1764) and David Wilkie (1785-1841)

As will have become clear from the previous section, British painting took up a prominent place in the German debate on contemporary art. As is discussed below, genre painting played a vital part therein. Returning to *Kunst-Blatt* and delving deeper into its fascination for British painting reveals two clear protagonists of British art and both of them were painters of scenes from everyday life. Examining the way in which they are represented reveals why genre painting played such a prominent part in the German reception of British art and what this part exactly entailed.

As the last passage from *Kunst-Blatt* quoted above already suggests, the first of the two British protagonists was "Hogarth, with whom the history of painting in England usually starts". [162] Hogarth had been a distinguished artist in the German-speaking world already since Georg Christoph Lichtenberg's (1724-1799) publication of the *Ausführliche Erklärung der Hogarthischen Kupferstiche* (1794-1799). Credit went out to him for initiating British genre painting and towards the second half of the nineteenth century he is sometimes even placed at the base of British painting in general, which will be discussed in more detail later on. Furthermore, during the first decades of the nineteenth century, some critics in *Kunst-Blatt* perceived Hogarth as one of the best painters of all time, dismissing any contemporary efforts in the field of genre painting:

> "I am far from denying our modern painters all merit; I would like to recognise... Wilkie's moving energy and his delicate colour, but where do we find the elevated mind of a Rubens, the splendid completion of an Ostade and Gerard Dou, the effectiveness of a Rembrandt, or, to stay closer to our time, Hogarth's wonderful mood, and Zoffani's marvellous works? ...I am only arguing that there is a characteristic richness and glamour in the old school that one cannot discover in the new one." [163]

As discussed in Chapter 2, many early nineteenth-century art theorists perceived genre painting as a field of painting that strongly connected to society and as a field that could support, teach and transform that society. Kugler's appreciation of the genre piece and especially his urge to concentrate on the more noble and agreeable subjects from everyday life is a good example of this. However, the educative function of genre painting was not exclusively achieved by focusing on "ennobled" genre topics. As argued in *Kunst-Blatt*: "Scenes of the higher society do not offer anything poetic; one should search for the vivid, unadorned and

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[162]"Hogarth, mit wem die Geschichte der Malerei in England gewönlich beginnt", as argued in *Kunst-Blatt* 1847, nr. 9, p. 34.

[163]"Ich bin weit entfernt, unsern neuern Künstlern alles Verdienst abzusprechen; ich will... Wilkie's rührende Kraft und sein zartes Kolorit gern anerkennen, aber wo finden wir... die wunderbare laune Hogarth's und Zoffani's herrliche Arbeiten? ...ich behaupte nur, es ist ein characteristischer Reichtum und Glanz in der alten Schule, die man nicht in der neuen entdeckt", *Kunst-Blatt* 1816, nr. 3 p. 12.

forsaken nature." [164] Clearly, the author of this passage does not deem the depicted topic, but the avoidance of superficiality as the most important aspect of a genre picture. In the end he argues that good genre painting comes down to the addition of meaning to the depicted scene and the ability of the picture to speak to the beholder, irrespective of its topic. Despite this difference in opinion about the content of genre painting, this still connects very well to Kugler and Diderot's thinking on genre painting as an art form that had a moral and educating potential and it even connects to the Hegelian ideas discussed in Chapter 2. It is against the background of these thoughts on the morally elevating content of genre painting that Wilkie entered the stage in the debate on British painting and overthrew Hogarth as the prime example.

Of all living British artists in the early nineteenth-century, Wilkie was one of the most prominent celebrities. At some point he was even more often mentioned than Turner and Constable in *Kunst-Blatt*, although today, these landscapists are considered two of Britain's greatest heroes of art. [165] From the 1820's onwards, *Kunst-Blatt* began to report extensively on the exhibition and auction of Wilkie's works, the availability of prints after his pictures, and his whereabouts while he travelled Europe. Discussions of his pictures were often embedded in evaluations of British art and genre painting in general and his work was pushed to the fore because of its degree of natural honesty, poetic essence, and historical – in the sense of history painting – value:

> "What could eventually be more everyday and, as one tends to say, unpoetic, than the scene of a rent day? - but now, take the extraordinary work by Wilkie: the rent-day... admire this grand, truly historical conception of a very personal atmosphere, one feels how this work, apart from the beautiful reflection of nature, in the individual details and in the whole, encourages us to lose ourselves in contemplations about the various personalities that have been painted here, about their lives and about the status of the human relationships of their time, and one will understand us!" [166]

Why was it Wilkie who took up such a leading role as a model for genre painting in early nineteenth-century Germany, and not Hogarth, who is often argued to have had a great impact on German art? [167] According to *Kunst-Blatt*, Wilkie's work had a rather peaceful and pleasant character that is hard to reconcile with Hogarth's sense of satire and caricature, which developed negative connotations at the time because it was thought to be too stinging. This becomes particularly clear when reading *Kunst-Blatt*'s 1830's and 1840's issues. Because of

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[164] "Scenen der höheren Gesellschaft bieten nichts Malerisches dar; man muß die lebendige, ungeschminkte, sich selbst überlassene Natur suchen", *Kunst-Blatt* 1825, nr. 29, pp. 113-116.

[165] Based on rough searches for their names in *Kunst-Blatt* through the online database of the MDZ, performed between 2012 and 2014, http://www.muenchener-digitalisierungszentrum.de/.

[166] "Was kann am Ende alltäglicher und wie man zu sagen pflegt, unpoetischer sein, als eine Szene der Renteneinnahme? – aber nun nehme man das außerordentliche Werk von Wilkie: the rent-day... vor sich, man bewundere diese große, ächt historische Auffassung in einem sehr beschränkten Kreise, man empfinde, wie dieses Werk, ganz abgesehen von der prächtigen Naturwiederspiegelung im Einzelnen und im Ganzen, angregt, über die verschiedensten Persönlichkeiten, welche hier geschildert sind, über deren Lebensgang und über den Stand der menschlichen Verhältnisse ihrer Zeit in manche folgenreiche Betrachtung uns zu verlieren, und man wird uns verstehen", *Kunst-Blatt* 1837, nr. 30 p. 118.

[167] See Section 10.1 (and references) on the German reception of Hogarth.

this development, Wilkie was often placed opposite of Hogarth, while Wilkie's more pleasant approach to his subjects became explicitly preferred over and deemed more tasteful than Hogarth's:

> "[Wilkie] was just as dramatic as Hogarth, but more serious and in the comic more calm than him; perhaps he had less humour and witty ideas, but instead he had more taste and did not lapse into exaggerations, which lead to the grotesque and to caricature." [168]

The full extent of the opposition between Wilkie and Hogarth – and the preference for Wilkie's type of genre pieces – is illustrated very clearly by a passage from Waagen's *Kunstreise nach England und Paris* (1837). This travel journal will be discussed in more detail in the next section, but because the following passage illustrates the "Wilkie-Hogarth-opposition" so precisely it is relevant to quote it here already. In this passage, Waagen argues that Wilkie's combination of humour and narrativity, with his love for the human being and its various types, made his work stand much closer to reality than Hogarth's sharp caricatures. As may be remembered from Part I, it was this very reality that had become a higher goal in art and art theory by the early nineteenth century and it therefore made Wilkie's work more admirable than Hogarth's:

> "[Wilkie] does not, like Hogarth, exhibit to us moral dramas in whole series of pictures, but contents himself with representing, more in the manner of a novel, one single striking scene.... If I might compare Hogarth with Swift, in his biting satire, with which he contemplates mankind only on the dark side, and takes special delight in representing them in a state of the most profound corruption, of the most frightful misery, I find in Wilkie a close affinity with his celebrated countryman Sir Walter Scott. Both have in common that genuine, refined delineation of character which extends to the minutest particulars. In the soul of both there is more love than contempt of man; both afford us the most soothing views of the quiet, genial happiness which is sometimes found in the narrow circle of domestic life, and understand how, with masterly skill, by the mixture of delicate traits of good-natured humour, to heighten the charm of such scenes;... they show us man in his manifold weaknesses, errors, afflictions, and distresses, yet their humour is of such a kind that it never revolts our feelings. Wilkie is especially to be commended, that... he never falls into caricature, as has often happened to Hogarth, but with all the energy of expression remains within the bounds of truth." [169]

Next to pointing out the natural way in which Wilkie's work reflected reality, Waagen's quote holds another important reason why Wilkie's work came to represent such an important

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[168] "[Wilkie] war eben so dramatisch wie Hogarth, aber ernster und im Komischen ruhiger als jener; er hatte vielleicht weniger humor und witzige Einfälle, aber dafür besaß er mehr geschmack und verfiel nie in die Uebertreibungen, die zum Grotesken und zur Caricatur führen", *Kunst-Blatt* 1841, nr. 71, p. 299.

[169] Waagen 1838 pp. 239-240, also see Waagen 1837-39, vol. 1, pp. 237-238 for this passage in German. This opposition between Hogarth and Wilkie, in which Wilkie was deemed the victor, strikes quite a contrast with the opinion of one of Wilkie's fellow countrymen Hazlitt, who had earlier argued that not Wilkie's, but Hogarth's work was far more proficient and effective in its morality, and that Wilkie merely described nature, Tromans 2007, p. 22.

example for contemporary painters: its degree of narrativity. Indicative for this is the comparison that Waagen makes between Wilkie and the Scottish writer Sir Walter Scott, a writer of historical novels with distinctively British themes (of which his *Waverly novels*, such as *Ivanhoe* (1819), are best known). Waagen's comparison functioned to emphasise the anecdotal character of Wilkie's work, which was based on the emotions and interactions of the figures he drew from nature. The reason why he attributed such importance to the concept of narrativity had to do with the moral and elevating direction in which theorists and critics wanted genre painting to move: a narrative, accomplished by the depiction of a certain action or plot, could bring the moral and educating function of genre painting to fruition, and push it beyond the Dutch seventeenth-century variant of genre painting. This is emphasised in the following passage from *Kunst-Blatt*:

> "If our artists would succeed in concisely depicting, with joyful understanding, the typical nature of the life of the people or the spirit of the time, uniting the directness of the Dutch and the spirit and humour of Hogarth, than the mission of genre would be fulfilled, or at least this fulfillment would be initiated and the way would be cleared for an elevation of the genre to the dignity of the historic." [170]

Waagen was not the only one who held the view that Wilkie's work lived up to the ideal of contemporary genre painting. Kugler more than agreed with him:

> "The head of the English genre painters is David Wilkie (born. 1784). In the nature of the depictions of everyday life, he comes closest to Hogarth; but he surpasses him in his style of painting and in the power of colouring, and distinguishes himself from him in his way of creating, which generally focuses more on the pleasant dealings of family life. The majority of his depictions is rather rich in figures that overall are united through a shared, but individually tiered interest in one main activity. All these scenes are known through excellent engravings." [171]

As demonstrated above, a sense for uncomplicated naturalism and a morally loaded narratvity had become important aims for contemporary genre painting by the early nineteenth century. In this context, Hogarth and Wilkie came to be seen as important role models. The question is how their positions related to those of their well-known Dutch predecessors. As is generally argued in the art-historical literature, the Dutch genre piece functioned as a promi-

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[170]"Gelänge es unsern Künstlern, das Charakterisch-typische des Volkslebens oder aber des Zeitlebens überhaupt mit glücklichem Verständniß anzufassen und prägnant darzustellen, die frische Unmittelbarkeit der Niederländer mit Hogarth'schem Geist und Humor vereinend dann wäre die Mission des Genre erfüllt, oder wenigstens deren Erfüllung angebahnt und der Punkt erreicht, von dem aus die Erhebung zur Würde des Geschichtlichen freigegeben", *Kunst-Blatt* 1846, nr. 55, p. 222.

[171]"Das Haupt der englischen Genremaler ist David Wilkie (geb. 1784). In der Charakteristik der Darstellungen aus dem gewöhnlichen Leben steht dieser Hogarth am nächsten; aber er übertrifft ihn in der Art zu malen und in der Kraft der Farbung, und unterscheidet sich von ihm in der Aufassungsweise, welche insgemein mehr den gemüthlichen Beziehungen des Familienlebens nachgeht. Der Mehrzahl nach sind seine Darstellungen ziemlich reich an Figuren, welche überall durch ein gemeinsames, verschieden abgestuftes Interesse um eine Haupthandlung vereinigt werden. Durch treffliche Kupferstiche sind alle diese Darstellungen allgemein bekannt", Kugler 1847, vol. 2, p. 590.

nent source of inspiration for contemporary German painters.[172] Hegel and his students even considered Dutch genre painting the example par excellence for contemporary painting (see Section 2.4) and Wilkie himself based many of his pictures on Dutch examples.

The German reception of British genre painting was strongly intertwined with the reception of Dutch genre painting, which was found in ample German collections at the time. However, there was one important difference between the two, which is already suggested in one of the passages from *Kunst-Blatt* quoted above and which has to do with the concept of narrativity in genre painting;[173] as the following passage from *Kunst-Blatt* summarises, it was especially the way in which subjects were treated that determined the quality of genre painting. In this respect, British genre painting was thought to surpass the superficial Dutch genre piece:

> "Genre painting should render scenes from life that occupy the mind or mood, regardless of whatever social class they are taken from. But to this purpose it is necessary that it selects subjects that clearly express their interest, that ask for the depiction of characters, emotions, actions – otherwise, its effect will remain superficial and leave no impression. In this respect... Wilkie may be mentioned as an example."[174]

Although Hogarth's "modern moral painting" may have paved the way for the "anecdotal" concept of genre painting, the more innocent tone of Wilkie's work came to be considered as the way forward. The fact that Wilkie had managed to add a narrative depth to his natural but superficial Dutch examples provided that his work became an admired combination of Dutch motifs with an elevating morality.

In summary, the above exploration of *Kunst-Blatt* illustrates that art journals offered an important contemporary source of information on British art and that, today, it provides a window to contemporary thinking on genre painting. The overall opinion regarding British genre painting rendered in *Kunst-Blatt* is very clear-cut: British genre painting, with David Wilkie as its most important protagonist, was able to express, educate and elevate the modern art audience and modern art in general. As a source on British pictures, however, the information presented by *Kunst-Blatt* was not exhaustive; its descriptions of British art are not accompanied by images and they are rather limited due to the available space of the medium. Furthermore, many of the journal's judgements of British art are based on prints and not on the original pictures. This may have had certain consequences for the opinions on British art that writers in *Kunst-Blatt* expressed. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Of course, it is inherent to the medium of literature that it is limited as an instrument to access the visual arts. As Gustav Waagen stated in the preface of his *Works of art and artists in England and Paris*, "...the more pains I have taken to penetrate into the peculiar spirit of

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[172]See for example Immel 1967, pp. 58-63 and Memmel 2013, p. 21, and also see Häder 1999, pp. 75-83 for an exploration of Dutch influences in late nineteenth-century German genre painting.

[173]See footnote 169.

[174]"Die Genremalerei soll Scenen des Lebens schildern, welche das Gemüth oder die Laune beschäftigen, gleichviel aus welcher Klasse der Gesellschaft sie genommen sind. Aber hiezu ist notig das sie Zustände wähle, die ihr Interesse klar aussprechen, die Anlaß zur Darstellung von Characteren, Gemüthsbewegungen, handlungen geben, - sonst bleibt ihre Wirkung nur an der Oberfläche und hinterläßt seinen Eindruck. In dieser Hinsicht... [darf] Wilkie als Muster genannt werden," *Kunst-Blatt* 1825 nr. 29, pp. 113-116, especially p. 115.

works of Art, the more sensibly do I feel how inadequate language is to express and describe their essential qualities". [175] Waagen tried nonetheless, and he explicitly set out to take his reader a step closer to Britain and closer to British painting than the contemporary art journals did. The result was his *Works of art and artists in England and Paris*, a travel journal and – next to periodicals such as *Kunst-Blatt* – one of the most prominent and informative sources on Britain's cultural affairs. The next section analyses how this medium represented British genre painting and what it contributed to the debate on British art.

4.4 "einer seite...   lernt man in England echt recht schätzen": travel journals on British art

In the early nineteenth century, a relatively new medium took the art world by storm: the published travel journal. The concept of the travel journal flourished in a time in which travelling from one country to another became considerably easy. Britain, a nation that already featured extensively in newspapers and periodicals, became a popular destination. Describing the geography, society, culture and art of Britain, the writers of such travel journals aimed to provide their readers with a uniquely close picture of British art in the context of its home and its makers. Many of them, like Friedrich von Raumer (1781-1873), Johann David Passavant (1787-1861) and Waagen, consciously enriched their journals with detailed descriptions of the formal aspects of the paintings they encountered and judgements on their style and technique, because this kind of information could not be gathered from the existing literature and could only be explored on location. [176] It is in this light that Waagen argues the following in relation to Wilkie: "One side of his pictures one can only appreciate fully in England, which is the truly national. They are in all parts the wittiest, liveliest and truest depictions of the particularities of the life of the Englishman." [177] In other words, as "eyewitness reports", travel journals provided the sense of experiencing British art as fully as possible through a written medium and in its proper context.

Travel journals like Waagen's became broadly known and gathered much authority in the realm of the art literature and of art criticism. [178] Just like the art periodicals discussed above, most travel journals showed a particular attention for and appreciation of British genre

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[175]Waagen 1838 (Works of art and artists in England and Paris), vol. 1, p. iv. Original: "...je mehr ich mich bemüht habe, in die eigenthümliche Geistesweise von Werken bildender Kunst einzudringen, desto mehr empfinde ich, wie unzugänglich die Sprache ist, das eigentliche Wesen derselben auszudrükken und wieder zu geben", Waagen 1837-1839, vol. 1, p. v.

[176]See F. Raumer, *England in 1835; being a series of letters written to friends in Germany, during a residence in London and excursions into the provinces,* London 1836 (3 vols), Passavant 1833, and Waagen 1837-1839.

[177]"Eine Seite seiner Bilder lernt man aber erst [in England] recht schätzen, nämlich das echt Nationelle. Es sind in allen Theilen die geistreichsten, lebendigsten, treusten Darstellungen der Eigentümlichkeiten und des Lebens der Engländer", Waagen 1837-1839, vol. 1, p. 238.

[178]The publication of Waagen's journal was for example advertised in the issue of *Athenaeum* from 14th of April 1838, which reports in the section "Foreign correspondance" from Dresden that "Two new works on art have lately appeared, which are gaining considerable popularity: the first, entitled 'History of Painting from Constantine the Great to the Present Day,' by F. Kugler, Berlin; the other, 'Works of Art and Artists in England and Paris,' by Dr. Waagen, Director of the Royal Museum in Berlin; the latter will form a pendant to Raumer's work on England, and will doubtless become popular", *Athenaeum* 1838 (14th April), p. 273.

painting. However, because of their more detailed and inclusive account of contemporary art in Britain – based on experiences gathered on location – they brought the German reception of British painting to a new level and capitalised on the importance of the geographical and social cradle of British genre painting. The following sub-sections discuss to what extent this added an extra dimension to the German reception of British genre painting using three examples.

4.4.1   Simond's *Journal of a tour and residence in Great Britain, during the years 1810 and 1811, by a French traveller* (1815)

Although many continental travel journals of trips to Britain were written by German travellers, one of the first nineteenth-century examples came from the originally French merchant Louis Simond's (1767-1831). His *Journal of a tour and residence in Great Britain, during the years 1810 and 1811, by a French traveller* was written in English and published in 1815, with a French translation following in 1817. A brief look at this journal illustrates the specific contribution that such travel journals made to the contemporary discourse on British painting. It also enables for a comparison between this journal and the German journals that are discussed later on and to put the German journals in context.

Simond was a Frenchman who had escaped the French Revolution by immigrating to the United States and who enjoyed a successful career as a merchant in New York before he decided to return to Europe and travel to Britain. [179] Presented to the restored king Louis XVIII in 1817, the journal generally places France in a positive light and on a par with Britain. This is reflected in the way in which Simond paints a picture of British art that is largely based on its inferiority in history painting and an "insignificant" excellence in portraiture instead:

> "The British school of painting has not existed above 40 years. Sir Joshua Reynolds may be considered as the founder of it, and was the first president of the Royal Academy. He exalted an inferior branch of the art above its usual rank, - portrait-painting became under his hand historical. He seems as if he had surprised nature in action, a characteristic action, and had fixed it on his canvas at one stroke, with perfect resemblance, but a resemblance which moves and thinks... This great example could not fail of being followed, - and all the English artists are portrait-painters. It must be acknowledged they excel in that line... This institution [the British Institution at Pall Mall] will certainly create a great emulation among artists; and those who have superior talents will be enabled to quit the *sordid* [sic] portrait, and to be historians and poets without fear of starving." [180]

Although Simond obviously does not shy away from criticising the British School, he is fascinated by British genre painting, a genre that he singles out as something particularly British:

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[179]See biography `https://www.nysoclib.org/collection/ledger/people/simond_louis` (consulted December 2014).
[180]Simond 1817, vol 1, pp. 39-40.

"There is a species of composition, which has been brought here to a high degree of excellence, - subjects taken in common and modern life. The personages are not always boors, sailors, or soldiers, in camps and taverns, as in the Flemish school; - or shepherds and shepherdesses *à la Virgile*, -but real peasants or tradesmen, with their proper appendages, and placed in natural situations, interesting and characteristic, without caricature, and often with much dramatic effect."

Simond's description of British genre painting calls to mind the way in which it is described in *Kunst-Blatt*. Unfortunately, to illustrate this "species of composition", he describes only one picture, by Laurence Cossé (active 1758-1837), a rather unknown artist working in Düsseldorf and London whose pictures may perhaps be considered inferior to those of other artists of his kind and time. [181]   Simond would probably rather have included a description of a picture by Wilkie, if only he had been able to encounter one; he coins David Wilkie as the most respectable British example in the field of genre painting and desperately tried to catch a glimpse of his work:

"Another artist, Mr Wilkie, has reached in a few years the highest honours of this kind. I have not seen anything of his yet. He is from Scotland, very young, and in bad health, but extremely well-informed and respectable." [182]

Simond concludes his discussion of British art in the first volume with a concise opinion on genre painting that gives away his personal interests when it comes to modern painting. At this point, he is hardly placing British art in a bad light compared to that of the French anymore:

"I have described Mr Cossé's [picture *The Asking in Marriage*], merely to give an idea of that style which appears to be, compared to historical painting, what *memoires* are to *history*. I prefer *memoirs*, as giving the moral or human history, instead of the history of diplomacy and wars, which has no interest nor variety, and contains only that sort of information, of which one volume affords as much as an hundred... At any rate, I prefer Mr Cossé's or Mr Wilkie's humble subjects, to most of those which history or fable might have furnished them." [183]

As a travel journal focusing on Britain as a nation, rather than on British art alone, Simond's journal is relevant to the present section because it illustrates the strong connection that was implied between genre painting and the essence of British society: genre painting is represented as a direct and positive result of Britain's unique social state of affairs in which the individual and natural human being was the centre piece.

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[181] U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Leipzig 1912, vol. 17, p. 511-512 and A. Beyer *et al.*, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker* (Saur), Munich 1999, vol. 21 p. 408.

[182] Simond 1817, vol. 1, p. 42-43.

[183] Simond 1817, vol. 1, p. 43. Despite his wishes, Simond, never got to see any of Wilkie's pictures. As he reports later on, during a second visit to the exhibition of the Royal Academy, Wilkie "has quarrelled with this establishment [the Royal Academy of Arts], and there is nothing of his", Simond 1817, vol. 1, p. 128.

4.4.2 Passavant's *Kunstreise durch England und Belgien* (1833)

Whereas Simond's *Journal of a tour and residence in Britain* is a clear example of a journal that is focused on Britain as a nation in general, some fifteen years later, a first travel journal was published that focused on the condition of British art and collections of art in Britain and which was embellished with observations on Britain's society and geography rather than the other way around. However, the connection between the British nation and British art that was already present in Simond's journal is continued and expanded upon. Explicitly dissatisfied with the existing descriptions of British collections, the artist and early art historian Johann David Passavant (1787-1861) set out to explore and describe them for himself in his *Kunstreise durch England und Belgien* (1833). In this journal, Passavant provided not only an overview of previous literature on the subject, but also a relatively detailed survey of prominent collections in Britain, from the royal collection in Windsor Castle and Buckingham Palace to the public exhibitions of The National Gallery and Somerset House. Although Passavant focused mostly on collections of Old Master paintings and to a lesser extent on originally British works, this had not been done before.

Amidst various reports of visits to prominent locations and encounters with distinguished Britons – including artists – Passavant's discussion of the collections he visited follows a standard, list-like pattern: it features the names of artists represented in the respective collections with judgements on their work and descriptions of two or more pictures each, studied on location. Next to this, Passavant added a separate review of "Maler in England" to his journal, in which he aimed to create an overview of the British School up to his day, more or less like a canon. As a whole, this makes Passavant's journal a perfect window to the contemporary German view on British genre painting and it has likely functioned as a gateway to British painting for German painters and art enthusiasts at the time.

In his journal, Passavant attributes ample attention to British genre painting. He opens his discussion of painters represented in The National Gallery – which was opened in 1824 with the former collection of John Julius Angerstein (1732-1823), and which also contained Sir George Beaumont's bequest of 16 pictures since 1826 – with Hogarth and Wilkie:

> "Wilk. Hogarth. Among all painters of England and even among all painters at all, Hogarth is the one who knew how to depict events from everyday life most humorously and with a unique, deep sense of truth. Yet this characteristic truth is not only found in the conception of the subject; in an equally masterly way, it is also presented in the form and colour of his figures. His pictures are often slightly sketchy, but executed with a witty and certain brushwork. However, his attitude regarding the effect is faint against today's almost exaggerated style of the Englishmen, but much better than one can expect from the published engravings after his work." [184]

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[184]"The Wilk. Hogarth. Unter allen Malern Englands und wohl überhaupt ist Hogarth derjenige, welcher am humoristischten und mit seltener, tiefer Wahrheit Begebenheiten aus dem gewöhnlichen Leben darzustellen wusste. Doch findet sich dieses charakteristisch Wahre nicht nur in der Auffassung des Gegenstandes, sondern ist mit gleicher Meisterschaft in den Formen und dem Colorit seiner Figuren durchgeführt. Seine Bilder sind meistens etwas skizzenhaft, doch mit geistreicher, bestimmter Führung des Pinsels gemalt. Die Haltung rücksichtlich des Effects ist zwar matt gegen die jetzige fast übertriebene Art der Engländer, doch viel besser, als man es nach den von seinen Werken herausgegebenen Kupferstichen vermuthen sollte", Passavant 1833, p. 21.

As this passage from Passavant's journal illustrates, Passavant's verdict on Hogarth's work corresponds with the opinions about it found in *Kunst-Blatt*. However, with his subsequent description of Wilkie as: "the one who comes closest to Hogarth in the characteristics of depictions from everyday life, but who surpasses him in the art of painting and in the power of colouring", his comments do not only agree with the image of Wilkie rendered in *Kunst-Blatt*, they also embellish it with a more technical description. [185]

Passavant's interest in Wilkie goes much further than a mere description of his works. He also reports of an actual visit to the artist's studio and made notes regarding, among others, his painting techniques and several paintings the artist was working on. [186] Along the way, Passavant especially emphasises the liveliness of the characters that Wilkie painted and enlivened his report with anecdotes of Wilkie and a brief character sketch of him as "a true artist and man with a character worthy of life, also of Scottish directness and simplicity of manners". In this way, Passavant's observations about both the artist and his work provided Wilkie's genre pieces with a fitting personal background. [187]

In his "Ueberblick der bildenden Künste in England", the third part of Passavant's journal, Passavant's interest in Hogarth and Wilkie culminates in a characterisation of British painting as a school that was ruled by genre painting:

> "with far more pleasure, my views lingered on several genre pictures in which English artists equal the most distinguished ones in what the other nations have to offer, yes, they often surpass them in a certain appeal of colour and chiaroscuro. Additionally the subjects they choose are always something appealing and often betray a truly poetic sense." [188]

It is not surprising that Wilkie is put forward as the main example in this respect. In the section "Ueberblick der bildenden Künste in England", Passavant even attributes an entire paragraph to him (the same holds for Hogarth), while he only briefly mentions less prominent genre painters or painters of animals such as Charles Robert Leslie (1794-1859), Edwin Landseer (1802-1873), Alfred Edward Chalon (1780-1860), William Mulready (1786-1863), William Simson (1798-1847), and John Frederick Lewis (1804-1876). [189] Along the way, Passavant spares no effort to paint a complete and up-to-date picture of the state of the art of these artists. In this respect, his journal goes much further than a random discussion of British painting in *Kunst-Blatt*. In Hogarth's paragraph, for example, he mentions several key publications on his oeuvre and he discusses the discovery of new paintings, referring among others to *Kunst-*

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[185]"derjenige, welcher in der Charakteristik der Darstellungen aus dem gewöhnlichen Leben dem Hogarth am nächsten kommt, ihn aber in der Art zu malen und in der Kraft der Färbung übertrifft", see Passavant 1833, pp. 22-23.

[186]These include *The preaching of Knox before the Lords of the Congregation, 10th June 1559* two aquarel pictures painted during his trip to Spain and the Alps, and *Chelsea Pensioners*, Passavant 1833, pp. 89-91.

[187]"Eine wahre Künstlernatur und ein Mann von lebenswürdigen Charackter, dabei von schottischer Geradeheit und Einfachheit der Sitten", Passavant 1833, p. 91.

[188]"mit weit mehr Vergnügen verweilte mein Blick auf mehreren Genrebildern, worin die englischen Künstler mit dem Ausgezeichnetsten, was die andern Nationen aufzuweisen haben, gleichstehen, ja, in einem gewissen Reiz der Farbe und des Helldunkels sie öfters übertreffen. Dabei haben die Gegenstände, die sie wählen, immer etwas Ansprechendes und verrathen oft einen wahrhaft poetischen Sinn", Passavant 1833, p. 310.

[189]Passavant 1833 pp. 310-313.

Blatt and *Annals of the Fine Arts*. In itself, this is an interesting testimony to the notoriety and entanglement of the (inter)national art journals and travel journals.

Considering the way in which art journals and travel journals were linked, the German preoccupation with British genre painting became a more or less self-sufficient system at some point: the appreciation of British genre painting that was vented in journals encouraged and enabled the German reader to familiarise himself with the discussed British genre pictures, which in turn stimulated the public interest in these pictures and the broad discussion of it in art journals. Passavant's journal even inspired Waagen to write his own, which is discussed below.

One last aspect of Passavant's journal worth mentioning is that Passavant mentions a handful of pictures by Hogarth and Wilkie, but hardly describes their scenes in detail, referring to reproductive prints instead. Such references are made specifically in the case of Wilkie's *The blind fiddler* (1806) and Hogarth's *Marriage à-la-Mode* (1743-1745):

> "To elaborate on his genre pieces, almost all of which have been engraved, seems superfluous to me". [190]

> "Through engravings, as well as the suburb explanations of Lichtenberg they have long been known in Germany". [191]

This suggests that the work of Wilkie and Hogarth was well known and distributed in the German-speaking world through reproductive prints. Passavant's descriptions of their work should therefore not only be seen as a way to disclose it to a larger audience, but also – and perhaps more so – as evidence of their wide continental reception and a testimony of their reputation. The role of reproductive prints is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Passavant's journal confirms what is learned from *Kunst-Blatt* in the previous section. The writer-artist's interest in genre painting and the works of specifically Wilkie and Hogarth corresponds perfectly to the central role that was attributed to genre painting in *Kunst-Blatt*'s discussion of British art. Additionally, his journal marks a clear effort to provide the German art enthusiast with a much closer glimpse of British genre painting than one could find in periodicals such as *Kunst-Blatt*, except when actually travelling to Britain. In this way, Passavant's journal briefly constituted the only source of information on British art of its kind.

4.4.3 Waagen's *Künstler und Kunstwerke in England und Paris* (1837)

Four years after the publication of Passavant's journal, the celebrated art historian Gustav Waagen expanded upon the above-discussed elements that Passavant's journal contributed to the German discourse on British art. With his *Works of art and artists in England* (*Künstler und Kunstwerke in England und Paris*), Waagen published a similar travel journal, which was even largely modelled on that of his predecessor. However, the informative potential and goal of Passavant's journal is now made explicit: Waagen engaged in writing his journal –

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[190]"Seine Genrebilder, die fast alle gestochen sind, hier zu erwähnen, scheint mir überflüssig", Passavant 1833, p. 310.

[191]"Sowohl durch Kupferstiche, als durch die meisterhaften Erklärungen von Lichtenberg sind sie in Deutschland hinlänglich bekannt" (on Hogarth's work", Passavant 1833, p. 21.

based largely on letters he wrote to his wife during his tour – out of the awareness that "the nature of the Fine arts has become... a necessary branch of education" and contemporary students had "hitherto been without popular treatises on the subject". [192] Waagen's art-historical reflections and his descriptions of specific artists are considerably more elaborate and often more amusing than Passavant's, as they were enriched with numerous reports of dinners with prominent British figures and encounters with famous artists. Waagen's eloquent observations of Britain and its art were published right at the time of the trending position of British genre painting in the German art debate, during the 1830's and 1840's (see Part IV). It can be considered as one of the pinnacles of the German appreciation of British painting because of its extensiveness.

Waagen first discusses British painting, or the "English School" in his report of a visit to The National Gallery. [193] At this point, his mission regarding British painting is made clear and at first sight it roughly follows Passavant's:

> "Because until now, I knew these [British] masters almost only through prints, observing their paintings was particularly special to me. It compelled me to render a picture of the peculiarity of the English school of painting, and to establish its relation to the others, some of which I inform you about here." [194]

However, Waagen's opinion of the British School is much more dynamic than Passavant's because it is not entirely positive. According to Waagen, the "English School" had no technical fundament, nor a "higher, and lively intellectual direction", which he thought the "English School" had still not overcome at the time he wrote his journal. [195] He argues that its drawings – referring to the designs of paintings – often lacked correctness and were sometimes "vague" and that the colouring "is showing of" and "stings the eye", often at the expense of the painting's truth to nature. While on the one hand Waagen praises both Hogarth and Reynolds for having studied from nature, on the other hand the "volatility" and "sloppiness" of the works by many British artists made them only superficial. [196]

Waagen's criticism on the technical side of British painting, however, does not play a critical role in his judgement about the "English School": it is not what he identified as the relevant contribution of this School to the field of painting. Waagen finds the merit of British painting predominantly in its naturalism. He considers Hogarth as the chief example of this. Had Hogarth, with his "Natursinn" and "Humor" only been active in fifteenth-century Florence, Waagen argues, his talent would have appeared more clearly in the form of highly dramatic scenes. In eighteenth-century Britain, however, it led him to develop the "moralistic-

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[192]Waagen 1838 (*Works of art and artists in England and Paris*), vol. 1, p. x.

[193]Contemporary sources often speak of the "English School" while actually referring to British artists or works of art (such as David Wilkie, who was Scottish). In these sources the adjectives "British" and "English" are used inconsistently and without a clear distinction. In the present study, the adjective "British" is used when speaking of a British school of art, while the term "English School" is used only to reflect the way in which certain quoted or mentioned contemporary sources spoke about the topic.

[194]"Da ich diese Meister bisher fest nur aus Kupferstichen kannte, war mir die Betrachtung ihrer Gemälde besonders interessant. Ich wurde dadurch veranlast, mir eine Vorstellung von der Eigenthümlichkeit der englischen Malerschule und ihrem Verhältniß zu den übrigen zu bilden, wovon ich Dir hier Einiges mittheile", Waagen 1837-39, vol. 1, pp. 226-227.

[195]"Höhere, und lebendige, geistige direction", Waagen 1837-1839, vol. 1, p. 227.

[196]"macht Parade", "sticht das Auge", "Flüchtigkeit" and "Nachlässigkeit", Waagen 1837-1839, vol. 1, p. 229.

humoristic" genre, which Waagen compares to the literary "bourgeois drama" and which shows the animal or natural side of humanity. Of Hogarth's work, Waagen mentions *Marriage à-la-mode* as an example, but because the cycle was apparently so well known through prints and the descriptions of Lichtenberg, he only describes its "Gouache-like" but harmonious colouring. [197] It must be emphasised, however, that Waagen also described the development of the "moralisch-humoristische" genre as a quintessential British achievement. [198] This becomes clear when analysing the journal in a bit more detail.

Studying the way in which Waagen perceives the "English School" in his description of the works represented in The National Gallery, genre painting plays a leading role. This becomes clear from the fact that he places the start of the School emphatically in the eighteenth century, with Hogarth at the beginning. The subsequent distribution of writing space in his discussions of British artists furthermore reveals a strong prejudice towards genre painting. Although Waagen is straightforwardly positive about the former director of the Royal Academy Reynolds, he dedicates only one page to him, two to his successor West, and one to Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788) and Richard Wilson (1714-1782) each, while he ends his discussion of the gallery with a generous three-page description of Wilkie's work. [199]

In the light of the discussions of British art in *Kunst-Blatt* and the journals discussed above, it is no surprise that Wilkie – as the successor to Hogarth – plays a leading role in Waagen's journal. Waagen was especially impressed by Wilkie's straightforward truth to nature, the "gemüthlich-humoristisches" or "pleasantly humoristic" content of his work and its connection to the seventeenth-century Dutch school. This is already illustrated by Waagen's elaborate quote on Wilkie's work discussed in the previous section. [200] An even more explicit example of this is that Waagen coins Wilkie "the most spirited and original master of the entire English School", [201] with his *Blind fiddler* as "a true masterpiece." [202]

As has been quoted at the beginning of this section, Waagen argued that the national side of British pictures such as Wilkie's could only be fully appreciated in England. Having done so, he considered his pictures in all their parts the most spirited, lively and true depictions of the particularities of the life of the Briton. [203] In the second volume of his journal, Waagen explains what this means exactly, connecting British art to Britain's economic development:

> "Because England elevated itself to the richest and most powerful nations through the pursuit of these directions [the highest development of the useful and purposeful in mills, manufactories, trade, ship transport and agriculture], and because everyone who makes a new combination or a fortunate invention in those dealings has the most certain prospect of honour and richness, it is very natural that the productive powers of the nation have preferably turned and still turn to such subjects." [204]

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[197] Waagen 1837-1839, vol. 1, pp. 230-231.

[198] Waagen 1837-1839, vol. 1, pp. 227-228.

[199] Waagen 1837-1839, vol. 1, pp. 237-239.

[200] See note 169.

[201] Waagen 1837-1839, vol. 1, p. 236.

[202] Only Wilkie's colouring, which he calls Goasch-like, just like Hogarth's, is judged less positively, but it does not affect the overall tone of his words, Waagen 1837-1839, vol. 1, p. 238.

[203] Waagen 1837-1839, vol. 1, p. 238.

[204] "Da nun England durch die Verfolgung dieser Richtungen [die höchste Ausbildung des Nützlichen und

It would be superfluous to list Waagen's exact descriptions of Wilkie's work here, since they all unanimously fit in the picture of the German reception of his work reconstructed above. One element to mention, however, are Waagen's lively reports of his encounters with the artist at a dinner at Kensington, for they are rare examples of descriptions of the artist that obviously function to characterise his work more than himself as a person. Seated between the Duke of Sussex and the artist at the described dinner, Waagen had the perfect opportunity to speak with Wilkie. He describes the young man as a likeable person and an artist who stood close to his art: "his entire being is always imbued by art". [205] Although the majority of Waagen's journal is focused on Italian and Dutch art in English collections, finally, it is revealing that, of all British artists Waagen mentions in his journal, most attention went out to this contemporary genre painter.

In summary, the art journals by Simond, Passavant and Waagen expand the image of the German reception of British genre painting expressed in *Kunst-Blatt*. Passavant and Waagen's journals confirm that Hogarth and Wilkie were seen as the two protagonists of British painting in the contemporary German realm and they demonstrate how genre painting was perceived as a distinctive product of British society. As documents that were meant to bring British art closer to the German reader – as "eyewitness reports" drawn up in Britain – they contributed considerably to the debate of British genre painting that was held in *Kunst-Blatt* and they highlight genre painting as the category of painting that defined British society and its contribution to the arts in general.

Zweckmässigen in Fabriken und Manufacturen, in Handel, Schiffahrt und Ackerbau], sich zur reichsten und zu einer der mächtigsten Nationen erhoben hat, da jeder, welcher in jenen Beziehungen eine neue Combination, eine glückliche Erfindung macht, die sicherste Aussicht auf Ehre und Reichthum hat, ist es ganz natürlich, dass sich die productiven Kräfte der Nation vorzugsweise diesen Gegenständen zugewendet haben und noch zuwenden", Waagen 1837-1839, vol. 2, pp. 101-102.

[205] "sein ganzes Wesen ist immerdan von der Kunst erfüllt", Waagen 1837-1839, vol. 1, p. 358. He continues to construct the myth of the artist with a report on a second diner, this time in Wilkie's own home, where Wilkie showed Waagen several of his latest projects, among which was the unfinished picture of a school, Waagen 1837-1839, vol. 2, p. 102: 'Er zeigte mir das angefangene Bild einer Schule, wo dem pedantischen Schulmeister übel von der tollen Brut mitgespielt wird, voll geistreicher und neckischer, der Natur abgelauschter Motive. During a further meeting, a few days later, Wilkie even took Waagen to see some of his works in collections nearby (in London), and on this occasion Waagen makes some elaborate verdicts on his work, Waagen 1837-1839, vol. 2, pp. 102-107.

Chapter 5

The genre piece in the nineteenth-century canon of British painting

The art periodicals and travel journals discussed in the previous chapter show that British genre painting was regarded as the epitome of modernity and that British genre painting was seen as the paragon of British art. They also show that British genre painting, represented by Hogarth and Wilkie, was identified as a role model for contemporary art in general and for German genre painters in particular. In the early nineteenth century, the British school of painting – in contemporary sources often referred to as the "English School" – was only a relatively young concept. [206] The German discourse on British art discussed above contributed to the development of the reputation of this school, but a clear canon of British art had only just begun to take shape in art literature by the end of the eighteenth century. While Britain was still launching some of who would become its most distinguished protagonists of early nineteenth-century painting, continental intellectuals already attempted to establish which artists and which artistic properties constituted the "English School". In 1863, these efforts eventually culminated in Charles Blanc's (1813-1882) fourth volume of *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles: Histoire des peintres de l'école anglaise*, the first clear-cut canon and explanation of the "English School".

Many of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century canons of the "English School" have not yet been studied extensively, although they enable the analysis of the evolution of taste and ideas revolving around British art in a relatively easy way. Analysing the artists included in these canons and comparing the amounts of pages attributed to each one of them already provides a rough indication of which artists and types of painting were considered to be more important than others at the time. Written art canons embody the final stage of the early nineteenth-century reception of British art, because they unite the various observations on British art that are found in the preceding art periodicals and journals into an articulated statement about the British School. Therefore, in this chapter, canons are used to pinpoint the contemporary opinion about British (genre) painting and finalise this study's reconstruction of the German view on British genre painting. A thorough analysis of the development of the

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[206]Contemporary sources use the terms "English" and "British" interchangeably, see note 193.

continental canons of the British School shows how British genre painting came into its own as the protagonist of contemporary painting and it explains its relevance to German artists and commentators on art.

5.1   Early attempts at constructing an "English School"

In the eighteenth century, many authors who ventured writing a canon of British art – or the "English School" – indicated that they perceived too much a lack of coherence in British art to speak of a collective school. [207] Their works are clearly biographical and anecdotal in character and do not provide a well-defined concept of a school. *Essay towards an English school of painting* (1706) by Bainbrigge Buckeridge (1768-1733) is such a work. It marks a first attempt at sketching a history of English painting along the lines of various artists, but although the title claims that the essay formulates a certain idea of what this "English School" entailed, it refrains from providing it with a clear-cut description. [208] This moved the writer Horace Walpole (1717-1797) to make the following statement on Buckeridge's *Essay* in his *Anecdotes of painting in England* (1762):

> "what little had been done before on this subject [English art] was so far from assistance, it was scarce of use. The sketch called, An Essay towards an English school, at the end of the translation of Depiles, is as superficial as possible; nor could a fact scarce be borrowed from it 'till we come to very modern times." [209]

However, Walpole does not claim to present his readers what Buckeridge had withheld them. Instead, he purely outlines the contemporary state of affairs of the "English School" and remains humble about his own motives:

> "This country... has not a single volume to show on the works of his painters. In truth, it has very rarely given birth to a genius in that profession. Flanders and Holland have sent us the greatest men that we can boast. This very circumstance may with reason prejudice the reader against a work, the chief business of which must be to celebrate the arts of a country that has produced so few good artists. This objection is so striking, that instead of calling it *The Lives of English Painters*, I have simply given it the title of *Anecdotes of Painting in England*." [210]

Walpole's words indicate that there was not only an absence of a well-defined idea of what the "English School" entailed, but also a widespread British concern about this state of affairs. This concern went hand-in-hand with a growing desire in Britain for art that was coherent and national in character and it eventually led to the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768, after which its first director Reynolds and his creative legacy became the backbone of Britain's national school of art. [211] Despite this development, however, a clear idea or concept of the "English School" was still not provided for a long time. This is illustrated by John

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[207] Vaughan 1990, p. 12.
[208] See the introducion of B. Buckeridge, *An essay towards an English school of painting*, London 1969 (1706[1]).
[209] Walpole 1782 (1762[1]), p. iv.
[210] Walpole 1782 (1762[1]), ii-iii.
[211] Vaugan 1990, p. 17 and Payne *et al.*, 2004, p. 3.

Britton's *The fine arts of the English school* (1812), which identifies Reynolds as a key figure of the "English School". Instead of explaining why this was the case, however, Britton only provides a selection of biographies and an array of works by British painters, sculptors and architects that he thought were the best of their kind. [212] John Gould's succeeding *Biographical dictionary of artists* (1835) is similar in this sense, because it proclaims Reynolds as the "great founder" of the "English School", but fails to go beyond an enumeration of names. [213]

As soon as a new generation of artists in the early nineteenth century began to use pure nature as a source of inspiration and ignore Reynolds's *Grand Style*, naturalism became a core feature of the British School. [214] At this point, Reynolds's name was replaced by Hogarth's as the ultimate starting point of the "English School". Alan Cunningham's *Lives of the most eminent British painters, sculptors and architects* (1829-33) is one of the first works to do so, although it still does not provide a clearly defined idea of what the "English School" encompassed. [215] As Cunningham indicates explicitly in his introduction to his Lives, "it is my wish to extract a clear and concise account of our early art, with the lives and characters of the most eminent British artists." [216] He therefore presents no more than anecdotal examples of individual British painters who, according to him, were illustrative for British art and he does not forge them into a coherent concept.

Recapitulating this short excursion into the British attempts at drawing up a canon of British art, it may be concluded that British writers were – at first – not able to provide their own national school of painting with a proper theoretical profile until well into the nineteenth century.

5.2 The "English School" through continental eyes and the key role of genre painting therein

5.2.1 Fiorillo's *Geschichte der Mahlerey in Groß-Britannien* (1808)

Contrary to their British colleagues, some continental authors of canons of the British School did provide the "English School" with a clear-cut description. Johann Dominicus Fiorillo's *Geschichte der Mahlerey in Groß-Britannien* (1808) was a first step in this direction. Fiorillo wrote this work out of a discontentment with the existing literature on British art, which included numerous valuable biographies but lacked a general "history" of the "drawing arts" or "zeichnenden Künste". His aim was to provide such a "history" by drawing from the multitude of available literary sources on British art and combining many different views into one, to ensure a sense of objectivity (which is illustrated by the lengthy footnotes he used). [217] Fiorillo took a rather broad perspective on his subject and shied away from sharply characterising the British School. He provides a general picture of British art and focuses

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[212] See J. Britton, *The fine arts of the English school*, London 1812, pp. 59-66.
[213] See Gould 1835, pp. xlviii-lv, especially p. liii, and Vaughan 1990, p. 15.
[214] Vaughan 1990, p. 15.
[215] "With him [Hogarth], and after him, arose a succession of eminent painters, who have spread the fame of British art far and wide", Cunningham 1829, p. 2.
[216] Cunningham 1829, p. 2.
[217] Fiorillo 1808, pp. iv-vi.

on the more traditional names associated with the Royal Academy. [218] Innovative, however, is his remarkably lengthy biography and description of Hogarth's work, which illustrates the contemporary relevance of this artist in the German discourse. Hogarth is characterised by Fiorillo as follows:

> "His academy was general reality, and luckily, as Englishman he found more of a variety of apt and sharp characters in his Fatherland than elsewhere. His works are full of nature, mood, and mostly bitter satire.... He understood how to masterly present the passions of various human beings and their unique facial features, without exaggeration or arbitrary additions." [219]

Fiorillo then consolidates Hogarth's significance by identifying him as an artist who "possessed the talent to put... meaning and suggestion... in even the smallest details of his images" and revealingly ends with the statement that "Hogarth's work... surely is already so expressive and meaningful in itself, that it... hardly needs any explanation." [220] This corresponds to the previously discussed admiration for Hogarth as an artist who focused on natural, anecdotal scenes and paints a picture of the British School as a school that was emphatically linked to nature, reality and anecdote (see Chapter 4).

5.2.2   Thoré's *Trésors d'art exposés à Manchester en 1857* (1857)

Hogarth's leading role in Fiorillo's *Geschichte der Malerey* foreshadows the canon of British art that was taking shape in the minds of various other continental writers and which matured in the ideas of the Frenchman Théophile Thoré (1807-1869). As a continental report of the "Art treasures of Great Britain" exhibition in Manchester (1857), Thoré's famous *Trésors d'art exposés à Manchester en 1857* (1857) is a transition from the genuine travel journals, anecdotes and overviews of British art, to the more art-historically constructed canons. Thoré identified the exhibition as an excellent chance to, for the first time, portray the "English School" and in his report he dedicated a separate chapter to this matter:

> "The English school does not yet exist in the history of art on the continent. Its history was made for other people. It was made, indeed, for the English people; at least in England, many books, good brochures, many journal articles

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[218]He starts his history with a brief outline of Britain's artistic tradition, stretching all the way back to the Druids and Stonehenge. Through the Middle Ages, and Henry the VIII, he subsequently arrives in the sixteenth century, where his canon of British painters starts with the miniature painter Nicholas Hilliard (1547-1619) and his followers. Only after a discussion of multiple prominent seventeenth century artists such as Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680) and Sir Gottfried Kneller (1648-1723), he arrives at the first genre painter, Hogarth – over halfway of the tome.

[219]"Die gemeine Wirklichkeit war seine Akademie, und zum Glück fand er als Engländer in seinem Vaterlande, mehr als irgendwo, Mannichfaltigkeit treffender und abstechender Charactere. Seine Werke sind voll Natur, Laune und mehrentheils bitterer Satire.... Er verstand die Leidenschaften der verschiednen Menschenclaffen und die seltsamen Gesichtszüge meisterhaft vorzustellen, ohne übertriebene und willführliche Zusäze", Fiorillo 1808. p. 589

[220]"Das Talent besaß, auch in jedes noch so kleine Beiwerk seiner Vorstellungen... Bedeutung und Anspielung zu legen", "Hogarth's Werke... sind freylich für sich schon so redend und bedeutungsvoll, daß es... kaum einer Erklärung bedarf."Fiorillo 1808, p. 592. Interestingly, Fiorillo's Geschichte is concluded with a discussion of British art academies, prominent collections, and art societies, among which the Dilettanti Society is brought forth as most important example, Fiorillo 1808, p. 883.

and reviews were published on painters who have illustrated the country since Hogarth until today. Unfortunately, these excellent works, biographies, criticism, catalogues, have hardly crossed the channel. The reputation of British artists is, one might say, insular. Except for the few known names, Hogarth, Reynolds, Lawrence, Wilkie, nothing is known of the parentage of the school, its trends and its genius.... It would be very interesting to study the English school at the Exhibition of Manchester, at this unique opportunity, where all its masters are gathered." [221]

Thoré presents his reader with a clear canon containing names that are very well represented in today's art historical libraries on British art and his overview prominently features Hogarth and Wilkie. Also mentioned, but discussed to a much lesser extend, are genre painters who have a slightly minor, but still respectable reputation today, such as William Mulready. Furthermore, landscape painting, represented by Constable and Turner, deserves much attention, while history painting – although represented by a detailed discussion of Reynolds – regresses into the background.

For the present study it is relevant that genre painting plays a much more dominant role in Thoré's canon than in the preceding art literature discussed above. Simond, for example, had expressed his appreciation of British genre, but still adhered to a conventional artistic hierarchy with history painting as the highest virtue. Furthermore, Passavant and subsequently Waagen had portrayed Hogarth and Wilkie as two admirable artists of great importance to the "English School", but had primarily travelled to Britain to study the existing collections of Old Master and history paintings. Thoré granted the formerly considered lower genres of painting the attention he deems right by assigning an even more profound role to them than his predecessors had done. His work can therefore be seen as a pinnacle of the nineteenth-century continental reception of British (genre) painting.

Thoré starts his overview of the "English School" with Hogarth, which immediately sets the tone for this school as one that started with an interest in reality, rather than with ideals concealed within nature. However, Thoré does not discuss his work in depth. He only recites the somewhat general characterisation of Hogarth as "a comic poet, rather than a painter", who "studied with success the ridiculous that society has to offer, after he created the new genre of dramatic painting" (these are even explicitly Reynolds words, taken from his Discourses). [222] Thoré keeps a somewhat descriptive distance from Hogarth's work. He mentions several pictures, including his "chef-d'oeuvre" the cycle of *Marriage à-la-mode*, although this work was not present in Manchester and of the six pictures that were present, only "la Scène de l'opéra des *Beggars*" represents Hogarth's much-used concept of the life cycle.

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[221]"L'école anglaise n'existe pas encore dans l'histoire d l'art sur le continent. Son histoire est à faire pour les autres peuples. Elle est faite, à la vérité, pour le people anglais; du moins, on a publié en Angleterre bien des livres, bien de brochures; bien des articles de revue ou de journal sur les peintres qui ont illustré le pays depuis Hogarth jusqu'aujourd'hui. Malheureusement ces excellents travaux, biographie, critique, catalogues, n'ont guère passé le détrout. Les reputation des artistes anglais n'est, on pourrait dire, qu'insulaire. Sauf quelques noms un peu connus, Hogarth, Reynolds, Lawrence, Wilkie, on ne sait rien de la filiation de cette école, de ses tendances et de son genie... Il serait donc bien intéressant d'étudier l'école anglaise à l'Exhibition de Manchester, en cette occasion unique, où tous ses maîtres sont réunis", Thoré 1857, p. 369-370.

[222]"plutôt poete comique que peintre", "étudier avec success ce que la société offer de ridicule, après qu'il eut créé un nouveau genre de peinture dramatique", Thoré 1857, p. 371.

Although Thoré makes a general note about this cycle, he ignores most of Hogarth's other pictures that were present, of which the majority were portraits. This reservation regarding the description of Hogarth's works strikes a difference with Waagen's elaborate appraisal of it, which turns explicit when Thoré argues that: "Mr. Waagen made a somewhat exaggerated appraisal of this Scene of the opera of *Beggars*, which is very assuredly very witty, but weak in painting." [223]

Thoré clearly pays less attention to Hogarth's work than Waagen, but the reason for this is probably not that the Frenchman was less impressed by Hogarth than his German colleagues were; Thoré was a step ahead of his colleagues in his theoretical explanation of the "English School". Analysing Thoré's "English School" in its entirety reveals that the role Thoré attributed to Hogarth is much more nuanced than appears at first sight. Hogarth's contribution, his interest in nature and reality, are presented as a common theme that runs through the "English School" from the mid-eighteenth century all the way to the 1850's. While Hogarth is placed on one end of this thread as "grandfather", Wilkie is found on the other end as his descendant. [224]

Thoré discusses and characterises Wilkie's work – of which 28 pictures were shown at the exhibition – much more elaborately than Hogarth's and he constantly compares it to that of his predecessor. [225] These comparisons not only serve to portray Wilkie's work more accurately, but also to deepen Hogarth's role as founding figure of the "English School". Thoré's considerations regarding the two artists are very clear-cut: whereas Hogarth is thought to be more original than Wilkie, his celebrated successor is considered to be much more talented as a painter. Finally, Wilkie's superiority over Hogarth is secured by a close link that Thoré observes between Wilkie and his Dutch predecessors:

> "Wilkie's talent [is] ingenuity and insightfulness, but he is less original and less bold than Hogarth; however, Wilkie is more skilful, wiser and finer, as a painter. One can see that he has extensively studied the Dutch, especially Adriaen van Ostade." [226]

This quote is reminiscent of the idea discussed in the previous chapters that Wilkie provided an elevated version of the Dutch scenes from everyday life. Later on, Thoré even explicitly calls Wilkie "a type of enlightened Ostade." [227] He illustrates this with his description of the *Rent day* (1808), in which he compares Wilkie's picture to Fra Angelico, a celebrated history painter who at the time whose name was returned to the spotlight by Thoré himself:

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[223]"tous les personnages dans la composition de Hogarth sont des portraits ou plutôt des charges", "M. Waagen fait un éloge un peu exagéré de cette Scène de l'opera des *Beggars*, qui est très-spirituelle assureement, mais assez faible comme peinture", Thoré 1857, p. 372.

[224]Thoré 1857, p. 410.

[225]Thoré mentions among others: "Le Collin Maillard, le Jour du payement des loyers, la Lettre d'introduction, et, fair de grands tableaux, Christophe Colomb au couvent de la Rabida, et Napoléon avec son ami le pape Pie VII", with prices, patrons and whereabouts, "les Politiques de village... l'Aveugle joueur de violon... les Joueurs de cartes... la Fête de village... la Saisie pour loyer", "ce Jour du payement des loyers", "Dettérer de rats... Devine mon nom" and some other, smaller pictures, Thoré 1857, p. 404-409.

[226]"le talent de Wilkie [est] esprit ingénieux et perspicace, mais moins original et moins hardi que Hogarth; en revanche, Wilkie est plus adroit, plus savant et plus fin, comme peintre. On s' aperçoit qu'il a beaucoup étudié les Hollandais, Adriaan van Ostade particulièrement", Thoré 1857 pp. 404-405.

[227]"Wilkie est une sorte d'Ostade enluminé", Thoré 1857, p. 405.

"this Rent day is as sincere as the Judgement day of Fra Angelico". [228] The comparison of Wilkie's utterly natural picture with the spiritual fresco's of Fra Angelico (c. 1395-1455) may be interpreted as the crowning glory of the nineteenth-century evaluation of Wilkie's work and perhaps even of contemporary genre painting as a whole.

The "English School" that Thoré sketches in his *Trésors* is concise, but it would form the basis of a much further developed canon of British art: Charles Blanc's *A l'histoire des peintres de l'école anglaise* (1863). Blanc's *Peintres de l'école anglaise* has not yet been thoroughly assessed in art-historical literature, yet it is a very rich source of mid-nineteenth-century continental thinking on British art and it is the first canon of British painting in which genre painting and its qualities play an explicitly more dominant role than history painting.

5.2.3 Charles Blanc's *A l'histoire des peintres de l'école anglaise* (1863)

Peintres de l'école anglaise is part of the 14-volume series *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles*, which was initiated in 1848 by the French art critic Charles Blanc. It was the first illustrated encyclopaedic series on national schools of painting in Europe. Already from 1849, many of its chapters – artist biographies – were released in the form of separate instalments. [229] Only between 1861 and 1869, these chapters where joined and published into volumes on national schools with appropriate introductions and lists of illustrations.

The *Histoire de peintres* is the product of a collaboration of multiple authors. Its initiator Blanc was a prominent French writer on art at the time who adhered to the ideal that modern art was to study and surpass the great art of the past and create an art that was new and original. [230] Blanc's ideas were very politically engaged, he argued that an elevation of art went hand in hand with a democratic form of government, of which Dutch art was the example par excellence. [231] In the case of the *Peintres de l'école anglaise*, Blanc was supported by three other authors. The first two are Paul Mantz (1821-1895) and Philarète de Chasles (1798-1873), both well-known commentators of art in France at the time, the latter even considered an expert in English art and culture. Although Mantz and de Chasles have been responsible for only four of the twenty-six biographies in the volume, these are definitely the most prominent and extensive ones: those on Hogarth, Wilson, Gainsborough and Wilkie. Finally, a staggering amount of twenty biographies, compared to an amount of only two on the part of Blanc, was written by Thoré under his pseudonym Willem Bürger. Thoré also took care of the introduction.

Like Blanc's work, Thoré's writings were strongly politically engaged. According to Rebeyrol, Thoré was not a writer of doctrine or perfected ideologies, but his view on art

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[228]"ce Jour du payement des loyers est aussi sérieux que le jour du Jugement dernier, de fra Angelico", Thoré 1857, p. 406.

[229]T. Reff, "Manet and Blanc's 'Histoire des peintres'", *The Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970), nr. 808, pp. 456-458, p. 457.

[230]Song 1984 pp. 1-16, and J. Sloane, *French painting between the past and the present; artists critics, and traditions from 1848 to 1870*, Princeton 1951, pp. 42-43.

[231]For example, in *Rapport sur les arts du Dessin et sur leur avenir dans la République* (1848), he argues that democratic forms of government or pure monarchy had always produced better and grander art than other forms of government. As examples of this, he mentions Greece, Florence and the Dutch Republic of the seventeenth century, Song 1984, p. 13.

certainly took on idealistic forms. He was convinced that art was always rooted in a certain generation and society, that the best art of a certain time and place showed that origin and that art that had sought inspiration elsewhere was eventually "condemned to die". [232] Against this background, Thoré considered the art of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic as an important role model, because it possessed an unrivalled originality and a truth to nature and its own society. [233]

The structure of the *Histoire des peintres*-series might strike today's reader as remarkably modern for its time – and in many ways it indeed was. Never before, an art-historical overview of European art was organised strictly along the lines of *national* schools. Usually, the concept of the school had been used to refer to regions, cities, and even workshops revolving around single masters, as is the case in, for example, Giorgio Vasari's (1511-1574) *Lives* (1550) and the Dutchman Arnold Houbraken's *Great Theatre* (1718). [234] By the eighteenth century, the concept of the school gained national connotations as well. Art came to be seen as a confirmation and indication of a nation's own particular characteristics and it ideally provided an honest, original and unaffected reflection of a country in all its facets. The establishment of national galleries and art academies at the time and the presentation of "national art" at international exhibitions illustrate this development.

The *Peintres de l'école anglaise* takes the concept of the "English school" much further than the above-discussed comments and accounts on British art. As Thoré argues in the introduction of the *Peintres de l'école anglaise*, it is the volume's explicit purpose to describe "the state of art in England which is before us, and to appreciate the meaning and importance of this school in European art" along the lines of the biographies of artists. [235] The *Peintres de l'école anglaise* provides the "English School" with a history and a clearly defined foundation and framework of intrinsically "English" features. As such, it is much more complete in its overview of British painting than the preceding literature on this topic and it for the first time puts British painting it in a broader, European context.

Already the introduction of the *Peintres de l'école anglaise* covers much ground: by discussing painters working in Britain from the fifteenth century to the present, Thoré searches for an origin of the "English School" that contextualises and explains later painter-celebrities like Gainsborough and Reynolds, who's reputation in England and France had been established firmly by the time the volume appeared. Although Thoré finds this origin in the early eighteenth century, with artists such as Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723) and James Thornhill (1676-1734), the *Peintres de l'école anglaise* is primarily concerned with their succeeding (and originally British) generations. These were the ones that – in Thoré's eyes – had managed to forge British art into a coherent, national school. [236]

The broad selection of artists treated in the *Peintres de l'école anglaise* is divided over a

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[232] Rebeyrol 1952, p. 196.

[233] Hecht 1998, p. 169.

[234] See for example G. Vasari, G. Vasari (ed. Gaunt), *The lives of the painters, sculptors, and architects*, London 1970 (vol. I-IV) and A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, Amsterdam 1718-1721.

[235] Nous venons d'esquisser l'état de l'art en Angleterre avant eux; mais il convient d'apprécier aussi la signification de cette école nouvelle, qui prend sa place désormais á côté des autres écoles de l'Europe', Blanc 1863, *Introduction*, p. 13.

[236] Blanc 1863, *Introduction*, p. 12.

main section and an appendix, of which the main section includes a core of artists that corresponds to the "proto canon" that Thoré had forged earlier in his *Trésors* (see Appendix A, Tables A.1 and A.2 for an overview of the artists included in the *Peintres de l'école anglaise* and their distribution over the main body and appendix of the text). This includes, for instance, Hogarth, Reynolds, Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830), Turner, Constable, Wilkie and Bonington (1802-1828). [237]   Strikingly, however, the main section also includes a small number of biographies of artists who are nowadays much lesser known, like Henry Howard (1769-1847), Gilbert Stuart Newton (1795-1835) and George Henry Harlow (1787-1819). [238]   At the same time, some artists who are better known today are directed to the appendix, such as Joseph Wright of Derby (1734-1794), John Singleton Copley (1738-1815) and John Crome (1768-1821). [239]

Contrary to previous attempts to define an "English School", the prime objective of the authors of the *Peintres* was to identify the school's underlying structure and not to be exhaustive in listing and describing all of its members. This means that the volume is not a mere summary of famous names, but an identification of figures who were either considered to have had a determining and ongoing influence on other British painters and the development of the British School as a whole, or artists who illustrated that influence. The specific distribution of the artists over a main section and an appendix was made on the basis of their contemporary reputations on the mainland and in Britain. Painters who were not considered to have left a clear mark on the development of the School were left out of the canon all together, no matter their reputations. [240]   This is what makes the *Peintres de l'école anglaise* relevant for the present study: as a culmination of the preceding discussions of British painting discussed above, the *Peintres de l'école anglaise* summarises which artists and what specific qualities were considered characteristically British by placing these artists in the main section and discussing their work.

5.2.4   The three pillars of the "English School"

Already in the introduction of the *Peintres de l'école anglaise*, it is argued that its canon of the "English School" is not based on one sole founder and his ideas and reception, such

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[237]These artists are devoted an amount of eight pages or more, including at least three images.

[238]Some of their names do not even occur in the *Oxford Dictionary of Art* or *Propylean Kunstgeschichte*, like Howard and Smirke. Other, however, do occur in the English *Dictionary of Art*, such as Newton and Harlow.

[239]It should be emphasised that the incorporation of certain artists in the appendix might indicate that they were considered to be of less importance to the "English School" than the ones that are mentioned in the main section, but not that they were considered unimportant to the "English School" altogether.

[240]For example, the biography of Collins starts with the remark that *Collins* is only a "mediocre painter", but that "we [the authors] noticed a certain importance of him in English biographies on the English School", implying that the English reputation of this artist was a decisive reason to include him in the *Peintres*: "Collins est un peintre médiocre... si nous lui accordons une certaine importance dans ces notes biographiques sur l'école anglaise", Blanc 1863, *Collins*, p. 1, This is also the case in the biography on James Northcote (1746-1831), in which it is remarked that Northcote is certainly not a unique painter but that the British think otherwise, followed by a short description of his life and work, Cunningham called him "superior, unique and original", as quoted in Blanc 1863, *Northcote*, p. 3. Thoré mentions for example how Anthony van Dyck is frequently considered an English painter, but that his influence on (native) artists was not maintained afterwards, leaving it out of the question to incorporate him in a concept of the "English school", Blanc 1863, *Introduction*, p. 5.

as Reynolds was in Gould, or Hogarth in Cunningham.[241] Instead, it revolves around three pillars of genres associated with notions that were thought to stand at the heart of English painting and culture. These were genre painting, representing the *people*, portrait painting, representing the *individual*, and landscape painting, representing *nature*. The founding artists representing these branches were respectively Hogarth, Reynolds and Gainsborough (see Appendix A, Table A.1).

As may have become clear in the previous sections already, the appreciation of Hogarth, Reynolds and Gainsborough and the descriptive notions of the *people*, the *individual* and *nature* were not new to the continental discourse on British art; to a certain extent this ground plan of the *Peintres de l'école anglaise* evolved rather naturally from that discourse. However, the clear-cut division of the canon of British painters into the three identified areas *was* new and the subordinate role of history painting is even more compelling.

Genre painting adopted a dominant role in the *Peintres de l'école anglaise*'s threefold division. Like in Thoré's *Trésors*, Hogarth is appointed as the founding figure of genre painting, but in the *Peintres* his role is much better defined. First of all, Hogarth is presented as the painter who introduced a caricatural and moralising way of portraying (the) British people. He is considered the first British "annotator of human variety and domestic live". As a "student of the people", he is respected for studying modern man in its naivety, simplicity and humanity.[242] Because of this, the author of Hogarth's lemma, De Chasles, considers Hogarth's work an ultimate reflection of British, protestant society, which he praised for its political freedom and which struck a clear opposite to the catholic and decadent French monarchy of Louis XV. Therefore, De Chasles ultimately presents Hogarth's as a model that could inspire fresh political and social impulses in France.[243]

The politically and socially motivated tone of Hogarth's biography is illustrative for the entire *Peintres de l'école anglaise*. Where Hogarth's focus on the British *people* is associated with the generally admired freedom of British society, for example, Reynold's natural portraits are considered an expression of the acknowledgement of and respect for the individual.[244] At the same time, Reynolds relevance as a history painter and his *Grand Style* are considered to be of less importance for the British School and his work is described with key-words that are often found in descriptions of genre pictures: "[Reynolds] taught to aim for general form in nature, but as apparent in his own work, he employed individual form instead: uniquely British models, and local physiognomy."[245]

As for the third pillar, landscape painting, Gainsborough's landscapes are put forward as the ultimate expression of the typically British passion for the home country. In them, a focus

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[241]Gould 1835 pp. liii, and Cunningham 1829, p. 2: "With him [Hogarth], and after him, arose a succession of eminent painters, who have spread the fame of British art far and wide."

[242]"Hogarth... à devenir l'annotateur minutieux des variétés humaines, le peintre vulgaire et profond de la vie domestique." Blanc 1863, *Hogart* p. 3, "non l'élève du Titien, du Corrège et de Raphaël, mais le satirique vigoureux et souvant brutal", Blanc 1863, *Hogarth* p. 4. "Il ne fut plus question désormais pour lui de l'idéal cherché, mais de la réalité trouvée", Blanc 1863, *Hogarth*, p. 5.

[243]Blanc 1863, *Hogarth*, p. 8.

[244]"par cela seul que le génie individualiste et protestant du peuple anglais se prête mieux qu'un autre à l'interprétation et à la mise en scène des grandes personnalités", Blanc 1863, *Reynolds*, p. 4.

[245]"Lui qui recommandait à ses auditeurs de l'Académie de s'en tenir aux formes générales de la nature, il n'emploie dans ses oeuvre que des formes individuelles, des modéles uniquement brittaniques, des physionomies locales", Blanc 1863, *Reynolds* p. 11.

on nature *pur sang* was recognised, an enjoyment of its variety and an inspiration by nature's infinite beauty that did not occur in the landscapes of earlier British painters. [246]

Combined with the concept three pillars that represent the British School, the *Peintres* also presents the two-generations-principle from Thoré's *Trésors*, but in perfected form. Following this principle, the three founders Hogarth, Reynolds and Gainsborough and their contributions to the "English School" are linked to contemporary successors who expanded upon their legacy and who turned the "English School" of painting into the nineteenth-century variant with which the contemporary reader was familiar. [247] In this context, Wilkie is presented as the ultimate successor of Hogarth, while the lesser-known Robert Smirke (1762-1845) and Newton are adopted in the main section as followers of Wilkie. [248] In a similar way, portrait painters who were perceived as "descendants" of Reynolds are Lawrence and the lesser-known Harlow. Most artists in the main section, however, serve to illustrate the British tradition of landscape. Prominent names in this respect are Turner, Constable and Bonington, who are presented as excellent models for contemporary French landscape painting. [249] Also included in the main section are William Collins (1789-1847), Augustus Wall Callcott (1779-1844) and William Etty (1787-1849), who illustrate the further development of the British tradition of landscape. Interesting here, is that George Morland is also granted a considerate amount of attention, with an impressive number of 8 pages (see Appendix A, Table A.1). He is, however, not placed in the genuine genre tradition of Hogarth and Wilkie, but in the landscape branch of Gainsborough, being called a painter of "Paysages, Animaux, scènes rustiques" and lastly "familieres". This is interesting, for he is often regarded now as a genre painter and he is also considered as such in the present study. The contemporary interest in Morland's work as a landscapist can be explained by the increasing popularity of landscape painters such as Constable at the time and the acknowledgement of Gainsborough's contribution in this field. Morland's works were admired as "easy, agile, abundant, energetic and spiritually sensitive". Cunningham's verdict "Their truth is their beauty", which is repeated in Morland's lemma, characterises this stance towards his work. [250]

In summary, the *Peintres* argues that the early nineteenth-century generations of painters took the legacy of their eighteenth-century predecessors to modern heights, with a social and natural engagement as key values. In *Peintre de l'école anglaise*, the work of every single described artist adhered to the idea that art was to be rooted in its society and that this society should preferably be a free and democratic one. This link was thought to lead not only to originality and authenticity, but also to a proper artistic – spiritual – feedback on society through art. [251] If these were the ideals held by the authors of the *Peintres*, it is not difficult

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[246] Blanc 1863, *Gainsborough*, p. 8. Note that in Gainsborough's case, his portraits are treated subordinately.

[247] Thoré concluded his "English School" with a summary of seven names, connecting the founding generation of the "English School" in the fields of history, landscape, portrait and genre painting, to the youngest generation in these fields: "Oublions meme un peu les derniers venus, pour ne pas troubler l'admiration que doivent inspirer comme peintres Reynolds, Gainsborough, Contstable, Lawrence, Turner; comme gens d'esprit Hogarth et Wilkie; d'autres encore, comme ayant manifesté diverses qualités distinguées", Thoré 1857 p. 435.

[248] Blanc 1863, *Wilkie*, p. 6; Blanc 1863, *Smirke* p. 1; and Blanc 1863, *Newton*, p. 1.

[249] See for example Blanc 1863, *Constable*, p. 2.

[250] "facile, leste, abondante, énergique et spirituellement sentie", "Leur vérité fait leur beauté", Blanc 1863, *Morland*, p. 8.

[251] In this context, it is urgued that "Art est l'universel canal de circulation des sentiments et des idées de la société",

to comprehend that genre painting, which was explicitly concerned with social issues, was valued so highly in this canon in comparison to earlier canons of the "English School".

Although – as the previous chapter suggests – similarly extensive and explicit French writings about British painting are not found in abundance in France before the 1850's, the *Peintres de l'école anglaise* is a clear summary and culmination of the continental ideas on British genre painting discussed above. Furthermore, it can be seen as the ultimate evidence of the successful emancipation of genre painting and it demonstrates the respectable reputation of British genre painting on the continent by the second half of the nineteenth century.

Together with the developments within the art-theoretical discourse discussed in Part I, Chapters 4 and 5 illustrate how genre painting experienced an almost century-long process in which it stepped out of the shadow of history painting and into the spotlight of the contemporary art scene. The key role of British genre painting in the contemporary debate about modernity and the merits of the genre piece indicate that it was instrumental in the process of emancipation of genre painting. Of course, British genre painting to a great extent served as an object on which contemporary social and political ideals were projected, but as soon as it attained its status of exemplum, its role became guiding as well.

It is shown that the German-speaking regions cherished a great admiration of Britain as a nation of political freedom. Genre painting was thought to express a love for the homeland, a care for society and respect for the individual and the liberty of choice. This was discussed extensively in German periodicals and travel journals, which constituted prominent sources on the state of British art and its latest developments. Finally, the function of British genre painting as a role model was consolidated in continental canons of the British School that were drawn up around 1800. Taken together, the discussed literature not only illustrates the contemporary reputation of British art on the continent. It also demonstrates how the reception of British genre painting developed into a more and more articulated statement in the course of the nineteenth century and that Hogarth and Wilkie came to be seen as protagonists along the way. Now the question is how the literary developments discussed in this chapter and the previous ones related to the practice of the art scene. What role did British genre painting play in the history of acquisitions and collection forming? To what extent did commentators of art, art enthusiasts and artists have physical examples of British genre pieces they could consult in conjunction with the discussed literary disclosure of British genre painting? This is the topic of the next two chapters.

Blanc 1863, *Smirke*, p. 2.

Chapter 6

British genre paintings on the continent

6.1 The continental collection of British pictures in the eighteenth and nineteenth century

As investigated thoroughly by Meslay, British art was well represented in French collections already since the early eighteenth century. [252] Considerable quantities of works by, for example, Reynolds and Lawrence where not only brought from Britain by dealers, but also by prominent Frenchmen who frequently visited Britain, such as Charles de Montesquieu, Voltaire, and the Duke of Liancourt. [253] Among the collectors of British art where Harenc de Presles, Maréchal de Broglie and the Duke of Orléans. [254] The French collecting practices of British art has been studied extensively. [255]

The most renowned collectors of British art at the time, however, could not be found in France. Before 1800, collecting British pictures was largely a practice of wealthy and mostly royal connoisseurs on the continent. One of the first and most prominent ones of these was the Russian Empress Catherine the Great (1729-1796), who was known for her international outlook and keen patronage of the fine arts; she purchased, for example, the picture collection of Horace Walpole in 1779 for the sum of £40.550. [256] Already during Walpole's life, his collection was well known and contained a great variety of paintings that ranged from French and Italian history paintings to Dutch and Flemish works with genre content. This included masterpieces by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669), Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)

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[252] See Meslay (ed.), *D'outre-Manche: l'art brittanique dans les collections publiques françaises*, Paris 1994 and Meslay 2003, pp. 3-19. Also see `http://musee.louvre.fr/bases/doutremanche` for an extensive database on English painting in France since the eighteenth century and a list of publications on this subject (compiled by Meslay).

[253] Meslay 2003, p. 2.

[254] See Meslay 2003 and the database `http://musee.louvre.fr/bases/doutremanche`. For example Reynold's *Infant Samuel praying* from 1777, (also in Meslay 1994 p. 86).

[255] Next to Meslay 2003, see for example J, Grieder, *Anglomania in France 1740-1789: fact, fiction and political discourse*, Geneva 1985, E. K. Waterhouse, "English painting and France in the eighteenth century", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 15 (1952), nr. 3, pp. 122-135; Roy 2008, pp. 167-192 and, on the early nineteenth century, Jobert 2004, pp. 125-151.

[256] Millar 1994 p. 524.

and David Teniers the Younger, which can still be found among the 126 pictures that have
remained in St. Petersburg of the original 204 works that Catherine the Great purchased.
Interestingly, the selection of paintings that was acquired by the Russian Empress also con-
tained seven works by contemporary British painters, including Kneller, Gainsborough and
Wright of Derby. The British pictures possessed by the Empress not only stemmed from the
Walpole purchase. For instance, she had already purchased Wright of Derby's *Iron Forge*
(1772) in 1774 and she later acquired his *The Annual Girandola at the Castel d'Angelo in
Rome* (1775-1776). During the 1770's, she also commissioned and purchased history paint-
ings by Reynolds. These acquisitions clearly testify of her interest in contemporary British
painting and they made her collection of British pictures one of the most distinguished ones
on the continent during the eighteenth century. [257]

Next to the pictures collected by Catharine the Great, numerous portraits painted for
distinguished German sitters found their way to the continent at the time. One example of
a portraitist at work for continental patrons was George Romney (1734-1802), who painted
Catharina Clemens in 1788 – a portrait that was acquired in 1974 from the London Leger
Galleries by the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, but which had remained with the
Clemens family until 1957. A few decades later, he was succeeded by another portraitist who
enjoyed a pronounced celebrity status across the channel: Thomas Lawrence. Lawrence's
continental fame was largely stimulated by the commission from the Prince Regent to paint
the portraits of prominent military and sovereign leaders who had been involved in the defeat
of Napoleon: the so-called Waterloo Chamber series. Working on this assignment in Vienna
in 1819, Lawrence received many additional private commissions. He painted, for instance,
a portrait of Princess Clementine Metternich (1804-1820), after having painted a portrait
of her father Clemens Lothar Wenzel Prince Metternich (1773-1859) in London earlier. [258]
Furthermore, he painted the likenesses of the Archduchess Maria Theresa (1816-1867), [259]
and Lady Selina Meade (died 1872), who later married the Austrian General Count Clam-
Martinic. [260] It was only a couple of years after his stay among the aristocratic circles of
Vienna, that Lawrence started to harvest success in Paris as well, where he exhibited works
at the Paris Salon, such as his picture of Charles William Lambton (1818-1831) in 1825. [261]

A nowadays lesser-known continental collection of British painting can still be found
in Munich. Already during the late eighteenth century, the Bavarian elector and later King
Maximilian I. Joseph had amassed a fashionable private collection of painting, much of which
hung in the Residential Palace in Munich. The popular king's taste was modern, bourgeois,
and international, focusing especially on contemporary Munich landscape painting and on
Dutch and Flemish works. [262] While the Bavarian state collection amassed by his forefathers
already contained impressive history paintings by Rubens and Van Dyck, King Max I. Joseph
focused his attention on genre scenes by Brouwer, David Teniers the Younger and Philips
Wouwerman (1619-1668). These would later be transferred from King Max I. Joseph's pri-

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[257]Rott 2012 p. 98 and L. Dukelskaya, *The hermitage, English art, sixteenth to nineteenth century, paintings,
sculpture, prints and drawings minor arts*, Leningrad 1979, pp. 5-8.

[258]Garlick 1989, cat. nrs. 558 and 559.

[259]Garlick 1989, cat. nr. 543.

[260]Garlick 1989 cat. nr. 552.

[261]Jobert 2004, pp. 125-151, especially p. 129, Garlick 1989 cat. nr. 463.

[262]Dekiert 2011, p. 40-41.

vate collection in the Residential Palace to the galleries of the Alte Pinakothek during the reign of his son Ludwig I of Bavaria (1786-1868). [263]

It may be clear that the personal taste of the Bavarian king did not entirely follow the contemporary academic hierarchy of art discussed in Part I, which dictated that history painting was the only acknowledged means of moral and artistic elevation. As the king's private collection contained many "inferior" Dutch pictures like Brouwer's and Ruisdael's, his preferences correspond closely to those of British collectors and their practice of connoisseurship (see Section 3.2). This practice was strongly driven by the idea of the *picturesque*, which allowed connoisseurs to appreciate the rural subject-matter, the distinctive nature and the anecdotal quality of low-life scenes just as much as the grandeur of history paintings. It is in this context that King Max I. Joseph added contemporary pictures to his collection that suited his Dutch and Flemish works, such as British genre pieces and animal paintings. [264]

It was presumably around 1800 that King Max I. Joseph acquired his first British picture. This was not a *Grand Style* history painting or a portrait, but a picture of a dog by George Stubbs (1724-1806): a *Spanish Pointer*, dating from around 1766. Up to today, this is one of the very few pictures by Stubbs on the continent and one of an only small selection of his works outside of Britain. It was even the only picture by Stubbs in a collection outside of Britain at the time. [265] Probably around the same time, the king also purchased a 1793 picture by Morland, *Smugglers*, which shows a setting that is reminiscent of the work of, for example, Wouwerman. Hanging plans of the Residential rooms, drawn by the king's art advisor and director of his collections Georg von Dillis (1759-1841), indicate that Morland's picture hung amidst Dutch and Flemish works. The plans of the king's writing room shows Morland's picture flanked by a Wouwerman and placed on the same wall as, among others, Nicolaes Berghem (1620-1683) and Aelbert Cuyp (1620-1691). [266] Towards the end of his life, King Max I. Joseph acquired one more British picture, which – strikingly – would become one of his most famous purchases. This picture was David Wilkie's *Reading of the will*, better known in the German-speaking regions at the time as the *Testamentseröffnung* (1820).

6.2 Pictures by David Wilkie (1785-1841) on the continent

6.2.1 A national heirloom: *The reading of the will* in Munich

After having established a firm reputation and aristocratic clientele in Britain, Wilkie experienced a rocketing popularity in the German-speaking regions from the 1820's onwards. The discussion of his work in art journals, travel journals and canons explored in the previous

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[263] Dekiert 2011, p. 7-8.

[264] See Dekiert 2011, pp. 11-46 for a discussion of a selection of the pictures King Max I. Joseph collected, and the early nineteenth-century history of this collection, including detailed transcriptions of relevant inventories.

[265] Rott 2012, cat. nr. 29, p. 148.

[266] See Dekiert 2011, fig. 11. Also see Dekiert 2011, pp. 110-137 for an inventory of the collection with Dutch and Flemish pictures, including their dimensions. Since the dimensions of Morland's picture were 1/2/9 x 1/7/- (height x width in French feet, inches and lines), the Wouwerman that comes closest to these dimensions is nr. 17 on the aformenetioned inventory list, *Ein Soldatentransport hält unter einem gemauerten Bogen, bei einem Wirthshause*, 1/3/- x 1/1/3 (considering that the drawing suggests that the picture is slightly higher than its width and higher than Morland's picture). As the list indicates, this picture was bought at the auction for 1050 Gulden.

sections already illustrates this development. Wilkie's *Reading of the will* played a vital role in establishing his German and particularly his Bavarian celebrity status.

The rumour about a young painter who had taken the British art establishment by storm with Dutch-like genre scenes must have made a profound impression on the continent, for in 1818 Wilkie was contacted to paint a picture for the Bavarian king. Only less than fourteen years after Wilkie's debut at the Royal Academy, King Max I. Joseph approached Lord Burghersh, an English diplomat at the Bavarian court, to commission a picture by Wilkie, "the subject, the size, and the price of this picture entirely [left] at the painter's discretion". [267] As the communication between Wilkie and the various spokes persons of the Bavarian King recorded in Alan Cunningham's *The life of sir David Wilkie; with his journals, tours, and remarks on works of art, and a selection from his correspondence* (1843) indicate, Lord Burghersh consulted the Marquess of Stafford in London to contact Wilkie, with whom Wilkie communicated his first ideas for the picture. [268] The panel would be Wilkie's first of at least a few well-known foreign commissions.

As explained by Lord Burghersh to the Marquess of Stafford, the king's commission originated in the explicit desire to "[possess] in his gallery a work of one of our best artists". [269] Clearly, this commission was not about owning a painting with a specific theme, it was about owning a painting by the British genre painter Wilkie. After careful consultation between Wilkie and the Marquess in 1819, during which multiple "peculiarly English" subjects were proposed and preparatory drawings and an oil sketch were made and approved of, the two settled on the theme of "The Opening of a will", "a subject that presents a good deal of incident". The latter meant that it was a scene that allowed for the depiction of many interactions, reactions and emotions. In other words, it would provide a perfect topic for a painting in Wilkie's popular genre style. [270] Although an entry in Wilkie's diary claims that it was an actor who had originally proposed the subject to him, the details of the scene could have materialised further under the influence of Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering* or *The Astrologer* (1815), a very popular novel by the Scottish author and a friend of Wilkie at the time. [271] Also relevant to note, is that Wilkie's rival at the Royal Academy Edward Bird (1772-1819) had already painted the aftermath of the reading of a will in 1812, which may also have been a source of inspiration for Wilkie. [272]

Cunningham reports that Wilkie commenced on the painting in the autumn of 1819 and worked on it until spring 1820. "The Opening of the Will" was finished as early as 22 April 1820, when Wilkie reports in his diary to have gone "to the Royal Academy to varnish and

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[267] Cunningham 1843, vol. 2, p. 21.

[268] Cunningham 1843, vol. 2, pp. 21-23.

[269] As expressed in a letter from Lord Burghersh to the Marquess of Stafford, Cunningham 1843, vol. 2, p. 21.

[270] Cunningham 1843, vol. 2, p. 23. These interactions and emotions (or "passions"), distinguished Wilkie's pictures from random genre scenes and provided it with the character of history painting. More on this is to be found in Chapter 2.

[271] Next to this, also a painting by Hendrik Gerritsz. Pot (1581-1657), showing an argument between heirs (1630), was known. See Hardtwig 2003, p. 538 and references there for an overview of the possible sources for this picture.

[272] As early as 1811, also Wilkie's fellow-Scotsman and contemporary William Home Lizars (1788-1859) had taken up the theme (as kindly pointed out to the author by Helen Smailes). This picture is now in the National Galleries of Scotland in Edinburgh, inv. nr. NG 423, for a reproduction see: `http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/` (consulted 26 June 2015).

retouch" his painting, which was displayed there before it went abroad. [273] He also reports that it "had [been] given... the centre on the fireplace side, where it was hung in a very favourable position". [274] During the time in which the *Reading of the will* was exhibited in London, it was received extremely well, which immediately set a certain reputation for the picture. [275] Not only did visitors crowd around the fireplace to get a glimpse of the painting's exquisite details, King George IV even attempted to acquire the painting through the courtesy of Thomas Lawrence, who was in Vienna at the time. The king failed, however, for the rightful owner of the picture, King Max I. Joseph, was eager to have the picture shipped to Munich as originally agreed upon. Although Wilkie had always remained diplomatic and accommodating in his communication towards both of his patrons – King George was even a fervent collector of Wilkie's work – it is revealing that he eventually told Lawrence to be "more satisfied" with this final scenario. [276] Considering that Wilkie was always eager to improve his reputation, as will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, the commission of the *Reading of the will* by the King of Bavaria meant that his name would be introduced to one of the most renowned art collections on the continent at the time. His choice not to break his original agreement with the Bavarian king in favour of his own King George IV was thus a very strategic one.

Delayed by what Cunningham would later coin "the contention of the kings", the painting was finally shipped to Bavaria in early September 1820, after which Wilkie received a payment of 400 guineas from the Bavarian Minister in England Baron Pfeffel (although the commission was initially not to exceed the price of "300 louis d'ors"). [277] As reported to Wilkie by Thomas Lawrence, the painting safely arrived in Munich, where "a very fine picture" was removed "from its place to make room for The Reading of the Will, that it might be in the best light". [278]

When King Max I. Joseph died in 1825, the *Reading of the will* was locked up in the royal bedroom of the Residential Palace, inaccessible to most of its admirers. Only by exception Wilkie was allowed to see his picture that year, when he passed through the city during his travels. On that occasion, he inspected its condition and new frame, only to be grateful to find it well fledged and in harmony with the accompanying works by, among others, Teniers, Wouwermans and Ruisdael (a setting that is similar to the king's Morland discussed above). [279] What was to follow, however, would rocket Wilkie's picture to unprecedented fame in the German-speaking – and indeed the continental – art world. Ironically, the king's

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[273]Cunningham 1843, vol. 2, p. 25.

[274]Cunningham 1843, vol. 2, p. 29, the fireplace-side was the most prominent place at the exhibition galleries of Somerset House at the time.

[275]See Marks 2009, pp. 583-640 for a study of the British reception of the picture.

[276]Cunningham 1843, vol. 2, p. 31.

[277]Cunningham 1843, vol. 2, pp. 22, 33 and 43. A louis d'or was the French equivalent of the British guinea, which was replaced by the pound in 1816. The term guinea, however, stayed in use to refer to the amount of twenty-one shillings. Although the price paid was a fair amount of money at the time – almost twice an agricultural worker's year salary – Wilkie was not always content with the prices that the nobility paid for his paintings, "which hardly covered the cost of materials", Haydon 1877, vol. 1, p. 28. For a discussion of the contemporary standards of living (including tables) see M. J. Daunton, *Progress and poverty: an economic and social history of Britain 1700-1850*, Oxford 1995, pp. 420-46.

[278]Cunningham 1843, vol. 2, p. 58. It is unclear which picture this was.

[279]Cunningham 1843 vol. 2 pp. 318-321.

death meant that the *Reading of the will* was to be put up for public auction in 1826, of which the proceeds were to be divided between the king's two sons. [280] Although the auction enabled worldwide buyers to snap up some of the finest and now most valuable pictures of the collection, Wilkie's picture was never in danger of being sold at this occasion; [281] well in advance, Georg von Dillis had advised Ludwig I to acquire the picture at all costs, because he deemed it indispensable for the planned Neue Pinakothek. Prince Ludwig, the new King of Bavaria, adhered to his advisor's suggestion and bought the painting at auction for the large sum of 12.000 gulden, more than four times the price originally paid for the picture and by far the highest price paid at the auction, which is indicative of the high esteem in which the painting was held. [282] From that moment onwards, the painting came to be cherished as a national Bavarian treasure, known by and accessible to an audience that was larger than ever before. Firstly, the picture was moved to the picture gallery of Schleissheim, where it hung between 1826 and 1853. Subsequently, it was placed in the public collection of the Neue Pinakothek in Munich, where it is still admired today. [283] The reason why Wilkie's *Reading of the will* turned into such a treasured national possession has to a great extent to do with the nature of the depicted scene, but this will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Strikingly, all three British pictures that King Max I. Joseph acquired around 1800 show low-life topics. This corresponds to the status and reputation of British painting that took shape in the German art discourse at the time (see Chapter 4). Within the royal Bavarian collection, the pictures present British painting as a school of naturalism, focusing on everyday life, and a modern emulation of Dutch painting, with Wilkie's picture as the key example of this. The commission of the *Reading of the will* indicates that Wilkie had turned into a much-sought-after artist in and outside of Britain by the 1820's, receiving commissions from abroad since the 1810's. During the early stages of his career, Wilkie painted at least two more pictures specifically for German collectors. A brief look at these commissions reveals that these too corresponded very well to the growing German taste for modern genre pieces.

6.2.2   Other pictures by Wilkie on the continent

Wilkie's choice not to sell *The reading of the will* to King George IV instead of the Bavarian king turned out to be a fruitful one. *The reading of the will* can be held responsible for increasing Wilkie's reputation outside of Britain and inspiring more commissions. This is indicated by the substantial rise of instances in which the genre painter is mentioned in *Kunst-Blatt* between the 1820's and 1830's (see Chapter 12 and Appendix I, Table I.1). In 1820, around the same time as King Max I. Joseph commissioned *The reading of the will*, Franz Erwin

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[280]The auction was held at the 5$^{\text{th}}$ of December that year in the Großpriorats-Haus in Munich, lot number 83. For a list of the 137 pictures that were to be sold at this ocassion see Archive of the BStGS Shelf XI lit. M. Nr. 1 (for the original Manuscript by Georg von Dillis – for a transcription of this manuscript see Glaser (ed.) 1980 pp. 430-434). The auction was announced in *Kunst-Blatt* 1826, nr. 66, p. 264, and the results of the sale were reported in *Kunst-Blatt* 1827, nr. 16, p. 64, which above all mentions how Wilkie's *Reading of the will* was acquired for the state collection for the sum of *f.*12,000.

[281]At this auction Vermeer's *Woman holding a balance* (1662-63) left the Bavarian collection forever, for only *f.* 801, Dekiert 2011, cat. nr. 1, p. 48-51.

[282]Hardtwig 2003, vol. 4, p. 540.

[283]Personal communication with Dr. Herbert W. Rott (based on collection catalogues in which the picture appears).

Count of Schönborn (1776-1840) from Frankfurt commissioned *The unexpected visitor*, now known as *Guess my name*, for 90 guineas. [284] It is unknown whether his commission was made completely independently, or whether the count was aware of King Max I. Joseph's commission. Like *The reading of the will*, The unexpected visitor was exhibited at the Royal Academy before it was shipped to the continent in 1821, where it received much attention in the form of reviews. [285] The scene shows an interior with a man writing at a desk. The man is interrupted by a woman who has just entered the room and who places her hands over his eyes in order to make him guess her name. The subject fits in perfectly with the genre topics that Wilkie painted during the first half of his career. It shows a degree of spontaneity and naturalism, expression of emotion in the faces of the figures and a warm rendering of light falling through the open window that can also be found in Wilkie's other pictures. The fact that the Count of Schönborn was displeased to hear that a copy of the picture had been made to engrave the scene from and that he requested the engraving would mention his name as the owner of the original painting is indicative of the prestige of possessing a picture by Wilkie. [286]

In 1836, Rudolf von Arthaber (1795-1867), an Austrian industrialist and merchant, commissioned *The bride at her toilet on the day of her wedding*, which was finished on April 10th and shipped to Vienna on the 7th of August that year. Arthaber apparently approached Wilkie through a relation in Manchester at the company Messrs. Schunck, Mylins & co, and communicated his wish "to possess one of his pictures", inquiring "if there are any now to be disposed of". [287] The blunt wish expressed by Arthaber indicates that – just as was the case with the Count of Schönborn – he commissioned his picture purely out of a desire to possess a painting by Wilkie. At the time, however, Wilkie did not have any pictures ready to be sold. Therefore, the artist proposed to paint a completely new one with the subject of "The Attiring of a Bride on her Wedding Day". The men agreed upon this subject and the painting was made for a price of 400 pounds. [288] It remained in Arthaber's collection until his death in 1868, after which it was sold at auction in Vienna and bought by the German art dealer Rudolph Lepke. [289] Almost immediately after the acquisition, Lepke put it up for sale in London – presumably not because there would not be any interest in the picture in the German-speaking regions, but because he might have been able to attain an even higher price for it there. Following the sale, the picture changed hands a few more times before it ended up in the collection of the National Galleries of Scotland in Edinburgh. [290]

Arthaber's background as an art collector and his role in the Austrian and specifically Viennese community were rather unconventional. Arthaber had an avid interest in contemporary painting and considered it his responsibility to support contemporary artists – particularly local ones. It is no wonder, therefore, that he stood at the heart of the foundation of

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[284]Irwin 1974, p. 215, price noted as 100 pounds by Cunningham 1843, vol. 3, p. 526. This is only a quarter of the prices paid by the other German commissioners, which will have to do with the small size of this picture, and its 'early' moment of commissioning.

[285]See Tromans *et al.* 2002, cat. nr. 19 for some examples of responses to the painting.

[286]By 1974 the picture was in the collection of the Marquess of Bute, Irwin 1974, pp. 214-217.

[287]Chiego *et al.* 1987, cat. nr. 41.

[288]Note that this is almost as much as King Max I. Joseph paid for *The reading of the will*.

[289]Which was known to the public, *Kunst-Blatt* 1839, nr 28, p. 110.

[290]Chiego *et al.* 1987, cat. nr. 41.

Vienna's *Kunstverein* and that through his involvement in the *Kunstverein* he was able to actively champion contemporary art – especially modern subjects instead of historical ones. His well-known private collection was located in his summer residence in Dolbing and comprised among others works by the contemporary genre painters Danhauser, Waldmüller and Fendi before Wilkie's picture was added to the collection in 1836. [291] The acquisition of Wilkie's *The bride at her toilet on the day of her wedding* by Arthaber is a clear example of the way in which genre painting was supported by the bourgeoisie.

Next to Arthaber's *The bride at her toilet on the day of her wedding*, two other paintings by Wilkie that came to the continent were *The Irish whiskey still*, now in the National Gallery in Edinburgh (painted in 1839 and exhibited in 1840) and an oil sketch of it (painted shortly before). [292] The Edinburgh version was commissioned in 1840 by the international art dealer C. J. Nieuwenhuys, who took it to Brussels and sold it to the Dutch King Wilhelm II as early as 1844. [293] In that year, the painting is reported to have moved from Brussels to the collection of King Willem II in The Hague, where it remained until 1850, when the king's collections were put up for auction and the Wilkie was bought by "Sir Grandy" for 10.100 gulden. [294] Sir Grandy brought the picture to Scotland, were it still remains today. [295] As indicated by a receipt written on the verso of one of Wilkie's studies for *The preaching of John Knox before the Lords of Congregation, 10 June 1559* (1837), the oil sketch of the painting was "ordered for Mr Broderlo", for '£100'. [296] The scene of the sketch does not differ much from that of the painting, except for the group of figures to the right on the Nieuwenhuys painting, which is lacking in the oil-sketch. The "Mr Broderlo" who bought the sketch was a Latvian merchant called Friedrich Wilhelm Brederlo. He took it to Riga, where it can still be found in the Museum of Foreign Art. [297]

Finally, another painting by Wilkie outside of Britain could be found in Toulouse, in the collection of Juan Peyronnet. According to Cunningham, this picture went by the title of *Domestic life* and was painted in 1836. Two further paintings by Wilkie outside of Britain could be found in The Unites States of America. [298] In 1824, Wilkie was also invited to contribute to the prestigious exhibition of the Paris Salon, one of the two "English Salons" that were organised. Unfortunately, he had to turn this invitation down due to the death of his father and his following commitment to his family.

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[291] See "Die Versteigerung der Arthaber'schen Galerie in Wien," *Kunstchronik: Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe* 3, nr. 15 (1868), pp. 125-127 for an inventory of his picture collection.

[292] See Errington *et al.* 1985, p. 83 and cat. nr. 47 and Upeniece 2000, cat. nr. 189.

[293] As can be made out through Cullen 1997, p. 135, note 63; and *Kunst-Blatt* 1844, nr. 81, p. 340. For the connection between Nieuwenhuys and Willem II, see Hinterding and Horsch 1989, p. 9. Perhaps Willem II was inspired to buy this painting by the collection of Ludwig I, who he was "following in his footsteps" and of whose collection he possessed a catalogue, Hinterding and Horsch 1989, p. 18 and note 58.

[294] This is some 900 pounds. De Vries 1850, nr. 159; and *Deutsches Kunstblatt* 1850, nr 36, p. 287.

[295] Errington *et al.* 1985, p. 83 and cat. nr. 47.

[296] Errington *et al.* 1975, p. 21, in this publication also the complete transcription of the receipt and images of the two versions of The Irish Whisky Still can be found (see figs. 11 and 12 there).

[297] Upeniece 2000, cat. nr. 189.

[298] To my knowledge no paintings by Wilkie were shipped to other countries at the time – not even at temporary exhibitions. Due to his popularity, however, many copies of Wilkie's pictures were made in Britain (personal communication with Dr. Helen Smailes, National Galleries of Scotland). Such pictures could have reached the Continent unrecorded, but this requires more research. In any case, instances are known in which drawings by Wilkie were auctioned in France, see for example *Kunst-Blatt* 1836, nr. 52, p. 220.

6.3   Collecting and exhibiting British painting on the continent to the present today

British pictures not only appeared on the continent because they were bought by continental collectors; also temporary exhibitions of British painting were held on the continent, such as Wilkie's invitation to exhibit at the Paris Salon suggests. In 1824 and 1827, two Salon exhibitions were organised to which British artists were invited to contribute. Among others Constable, Turner, Bonington and Lawrence accepted this invitation. As Noon has shown, these exhibitions greatly contributed to the French regard in which these artists were held and to the French debate on British painting. [299] Artists such as Gericault were highly amazed by the naturalism of British works and the "colour and effect" that could – according to Gericault – only be found in the "English School". [300] With French artists crossing the channel and exhibiting their works in London and British artists visiting Paris and exhibiting their works there (Bonington even lived in Paris for the most part of his life), the early nineteenth-century generations of French and British painters experienced a cross-pollination that had a long lasting effect on both British and French art. [301]

In the German-speaking regions, exhibitions of British painting did not take place on such a scale as in Paris – possibly because of the lack of an authoritative institution, like the Salon – but many *Kunstvereine* practiced a policy that aimed for occasional exhibitions of foreign art. An example of this is the *Kölner Kunstverein*, which explicitly exhibited "Bilder aus England" in their exhibitions. This includes pictures with genre topics, such as "Elternglück" in the exhibition of 1839, which hung amidst many other low-life scenes, landscapes and still lifes – the typical genres the German *Kunstvereine* was preoccupied with, as discussed in Section 3.2. [302]

Continental auctions occasionally contained British pictures as well, though mostly of second-rate quality. High quality pieces of prominent artists were either commissioned or delivered through specific infrastructures, or auctioned relatively infrequently. [303] From the late nineteenth century onwards, more substantial quantities of British pictures found their way to the continent, when a new vigorous trade in British pictures emerged and many German galleries made their move. However, the taste for Wilkie-esque genre scenes had had its time by then. Purchased during the 1890's were, for instance, pictures by Constable for the Nationalgalerie in Berlin, a Raeburn and a Reynolds for the Dresdener Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, and a picture ascribed to Gainsborough for the Neue Galerie in Kassel. [304] These

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[299]Noon *et al.* 2003, pp. 94-99.

[300]Gericault is even thought to have been influenced by, among others, the subtle characterisation and expressions of Wilkie's pictures, which he saw at other occassions, Payne *et al.* 2004, pp. 3 and 252; and Noon *et al.* 2003, pp. 12 and 159, also see Géricault's quote there.

[301]Noon provides ample examples of works that show a clear Anglo-French exchange of features, complemented with a selection of British works that must have been known to French artists and vice versa, see the catalogue of Noon *et al.* 2003, pp. 46-283.

[302]See *Kölnischer Kunstverein; Verzeichnis der auf dem Saale Gürzenich ausgestellte Kunstwerke*, Kunstausstellung 1839, 1839, p. 27, nr. 431.

[303]Noon for example speaks of commercial links which Constable had with Paris, and how exactly some of his works ended up on the other side of the Channel, Noon *et al.* 2003, p. 100.

[304]B. Dieterich *et al.*,*Verzeichnis der Gemälde und Skulpturen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1976, p. 431 and H.

are only a few examples that were snapped up on the German market. Shortly after the turn of the century, the Gemäldegalerie des Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna bought among others works by Lawrence, Reynolds, Raeburn, Gainsborough and Wright of Derby. [305]

During the early twentieth century, the spark that the British School had known during the eighteenth and nineteenth century died out and its former reputation as a school of modern character. The international interest in British painting was only revived in the late 1970's. Partly responsible for this revaluation of British art was the industrialist and art collector Paul Mellon (1907-1999), who collected among others sport scenes by George Stubbs and rocketed him and his British colleagues to a renewed stardom – in the commercial as well as the scholarly art world. [306] Just before British painting was firmly back at the top of the list of international collectors, the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen managed to obtain another 18 British pictures for the Neue Pinakothek, including masterpieces by among others Gainsborough, Lawrence, Turner and Constable – purchased between 1948 and the 1980's (predominately during the 1960's and 1970's). [307]

As the above history of the collection of British (genre) pictures in the German-speaking regions indicates, British pictures were present on the continent, but could not be found in abundance in the early nineteenth century. Next to this, journals and reviews to a great extent disclosed British art for their readers, but they provided no images. Therefore, the question is how the continental and specifically the German art audience became acquainted with actual images of British genre painting?

Vogel *et al.*, *Katalog der Staatlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Kassel*, Kassel 1958, nr. 743.

[305] See F. Dahm *et al. Die Gemäldegalerie des kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien, Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, 1991, cat. nrs. 9001, 6264, 6795, 6271, and 6237.

[306] B. Allen, "Paul Mellon and scholarship in the history of British art" in J. Baskett *et al.*, *Paul Mellon's legacy, a passion for British art, masterpieces from the Yale Center for British Art*, New Haven & London 2007, pp. 43-53.

[307] One Constable (acquired in 1982), five Gainsborough's (all acquired in the twentieth century), one Hogarth (acquired in 1948), one Ibbetson (acquired 1960), one Raeburn (acquired 1981), three Reynolds (acquired in 1985), two Wilson's (acquired in 1978), one Turner (1975), one Raeburn (1981), two Lawrence's (acquired in 1984 and 1966). Thanks to this strategy, the Neue Pinakothek now holds one of the largest and most varied collections of British painting in Germany and one of the most prominent ones outside of Britain.

Chapter 7

Paper as a gateway to painting: the distribution of British genre painting through reproductive prints

While some British genre pictures found their way to the continent and decorated the walls of wealthy art collectors or public art galleries, it was not only through original paintings that the continental art audience could become acquainted with the image of the British genre piece, but also – and even more so – through reproductive prints. During the eighteenth century, the European world of art was rapidly globalising, as discussed in Part I, art itself became accessible to social groups that had not been able to enjoy art before. The development of an extensive culture of British reproductive prints can be seen as a symptom of this process as well as a driving force behind it. For the first time, complete oeuvres of specific artists and overviews of entire schools of painting were disclosed and could be viewed within the walls of a collector's study and even between the covers of an album. [308]

In order to attain a clear view of the contribution of reproductive prints to the German reception of British genre painting, this section is concerned with the specific questions of how prints after British genre pictures reached the German-speaking regions, how and where German art enthusiasts and artists could access prints after British painting, what kind of prints after which artists were generally collected, how prints were used as works of reference in discussions of British genre painting and if, how and where they were used as objects of study.

7.1 The British reproductive print around 1800

As previous studies have thoroughly demonstrated, reproducing paintings in the form of engravings, etchings, woodcuts, mezzotints and lithographs is a practice that flourished during

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[308] For the development of the contemporary print market see among others Clayton 1997, especially pp. 260-283; Ormrod 1998, pp. 168-180; and Verhoogt 2007 (on its later, nineteenth-century developments). For the artistic position and distribution of prints at the time, see among others Roy 2008, pp. 167-192; Griffiths 2005, pp. 375-396; Clayton 2008, pp. 149-167 (on the export of British prints to the German realm); and Calloway 1980, p. 35-57.

the eighteenth century. This development was greatly accelerated in Britain, where an economically prosperous climate stimulated the development of an extensive print culture that was driven by an apparatus of printmakers, publishers and sellers. While London quickly managed to establish a reputation as the centre of contemporary printmaking, the print industry even evolved into an important British branch of commerce, with export numbers soaring especially in the close of the century. Soon after, British prints established an international reputation as being the finest of their time. [309]

Although prints were made after a wide range of pictures and they came in myriad forms and sizes, they were not intended nor regarded as cheap substitutes of painting. During the eighteenth century, reproductive prints were still predominately considered luxury commodities, collected by wealthy connoisseurs who compiled them in albums in their libraries as valuable works of reference. Their collections were often encyclopaedic in scope, containing prints after different schools of painting to be able to draw comparisons, and they often included caricatures and original works in print as well. Their value as works of reference is demonstrated, for example, by the early French art critic and artist Roger de Piles (1635-1709), who advised artists to actively collect and compare pictures through reproductive prints. [310]

Towards the nineteenth century, when printmaking processes became more streamlined and prints became more affordable and available in larger quantities, they were discovered by the middle class, which had the desire to distinguish itself from the lower classes. This modestly prosperous new group of art enthusiasts was particularly interested in reproductions after contemporary work, because these were more affordable than original prints or prints after Old Masters. [311] Although for them collecting was a means of cultural emancipation, this does not mean that prints lost their function as works of reference in favour of a more decorative or status-enhancing purpose. Nevertheless, dealers often marketed prints as having an ornamental value, as adornment to the walls of stately homes. As Verhoogt argues, especially during the nineteenth century, reproductive prints provided access to pictures that most people would probably never see in original form. In other words, the reproductive print became a gateway to painting, an opportunity for people to familiarise themselves with the image of particular pictures, genres and schools they normally had no or little access to. [312] Regardless of its ornamental value, this remained the key function of the reproductive print for a long time.

Of course, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century development of the reproductive print was much more nuanced than the above summary suggests, [313] but for the topic of

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[309]Clayton 1997 pp. 261-262. For example the engraver Laurent Guyot lamented in 1790 that: "L' Angleterre possède aujourd'hui une prééminence dans la Gravure que la France n'aurait jamais dû perdre", Roy 2008, p. 185-186. See note 79 in Roy 2008 for references concerning the regard in which British print culture was held, and see Roy 2008, p. 182 for numbers and examples of British exports of prints. At the time, many continental etchers and engravers even travelled to London to learn the trade there. This was the case with, for example, Johann Gerhard Huck (1759-1811), a Düsseldorfer engraver, artist and art dealer who was a student of Valentine Green and who later moved to Hannover, Clayton 1997, p. 264-267.

[310]Clayton 1997, p. 23 and pp. 42-45.

[311]Verhoogt 2007, p. 251.

[312]Verhoogt 2007, p. 276.

[313]For a more detailed delineation of its evolution from the eighteenth into the nineteenth century Clayton's *The*

this study, the particularities of this development are irrelevant; what is relevant are the continental distribution of prints, their exposure and their role in the German reception of British genre painting. In order to answer questions about these matters, a closer look at some exemplary cases of British prints in the German realm is helpful. The next sections discuss some relevant individuals and dealers distributing prints in the German-speaking regions, the composition of several prominent German collections containing British prints at the time, and German auction lists mentioning British prints. This is to determine to what extent British genre painting was accessible in the German-speaking regions through the printed medium and to what extent artists had access to visual examples of British genre pieces.

7.2 David Wilkie (1785-1841) and prints as a means of advertising

As indicated above, the contemporary workings of the British print market have thoroughly been studied by among others Clayton, who focused predominately on the eighteenth century, and more recently by Verhoogt, who concentrated on nineteenth-century reproductive prints and who adopted a more international perspective. Their work indicates that reproductive prints after contemporary pictures were generally commissioned by purely commercially-motivated publishers, such as John Boydell (1720-1804). These publishers can to a large extent be seen as the driving force behind the reproductive print, bringing artists, engravers, dealers and the print consumer together. By the late eighteenth century, a key group of engravers had become responsible for the reproduction of many famous pictures. This group includes William Woollett (1735-1785), Valentine Green (1739-1813), John Dixon (1740-1811), and Richard Earlom (1743-1822). In the early nineteenth century, this list was complemented with such names as Abraham Raimbach (1776-1843) and John Burnet (1784-1868). [314]

Since publishers were keen on making profit, it is no wonder that genre painting, which was popular among both the middle class (see Chapter 3) and the wealthy connoisseur, was often chosen as the topic of reproductions. Examples of this are given below. However, there are cases in which the initiative and a great part of the effort to reproduce pictures came from the engravers or even the artists of the original works themselves. Stubbs is an example of an eighteenth-century artist who largely monitored, guided and arranged for the reproduction of his own pictures. This was probably in a bid to establish a more lasting image of his pictures and not so much for commercial reasons. [315] An artist who even went a step further than Stubbs and actively distributed prints after his work on the continent was the British genre painter David Wilkie.

Wilkie attached the greatest importance to the reproduction and dissemination of his work and took a close personal interest in it. He even asked for and received King Max I. Joseph's

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English Print (1997) is an excellent guide – in relation to the matters discussed here see especially pp. 261-285.

[314] See Clayton 1997 and Verhoogt 2007, especially Chapter 1, pp. 31-62 and Chapter 2, pp. 132-212.

[315] See among others C. Lennox-Boyd *et al.*, *George Stubbs, the complete engraved works*, Kent 1989, pp. 37-42, and Rott *et al.* 2012, pp. 60-76 and 194-233.

exclusive permission to have an engraving made after his *Reading of the will*. [316] A glimpse in his efforts to promote his prints paints not only a fascinating image of the function and influence of nineteenth-century prints after genre pictures, but also of they way in which this particular genre painter grew into his continental role as the most celebrated British painter of his time. His efforts to distribute his prints have likely contributed to the reputation of British genre painting in the German-speaking regions and is therefore relevant to study carefully here.

7.2.1   The production and continental distribution of prints after Wilkie

While the exhibition of *Village politicians* and his other early works had established Wilkie's reputation in and outside of Britain during the 1810's, Wilkie knew that if he wanted to maintain a good reputation – or even improve it – he had to make sure that his work remained in the spotlight. Exhibitions of paintings were limiting in this sense, because most paintings could only be displayed for a limited amount of time before disappearing into the (often) private collections of their commissioners. Furthermore, public exhibitions he took part in were mostly restricted to his home country. Circumventing these limitations, Wilkie turned to the production of reproductive prints of his works in order to promote and spread his inventions on the largest scale possible at the time and without the need of exhibiting the original pictures.

As soon as his pictures started to gain success at the exhibitions of Somerset House, Wilkie started to arrange for reproductions to be made. Cunningham's *Life* and some of the memoirs of Wilkie's engravers contain extensive information about these efforts. Furthermore, the presence of prints after Wilkie in British, French and German collections testify of the scale of their production and distribution. During his career, Wilkie collaborated with multiple engravers, but two of them stand out. One of them was the British painter and etcher John Burnet. He made the first print after a picture by Wilkie, which was *The Jew's harp* (1809). [317] This print was originally published by Josiah Boydell (1752-1817), with whose firm Wilkie would collaborate until his death. [318] Shortly afterwards, *The blind fiddler* (1811) was published, and then *The rabbit on the wall* (1821), *The letter of introduction* (1823), *The Chelsea pensioners* (1831) (Illustration 17), and *School* (1845). The other prominent engraver with whom Wilkie collaborated was the Englishman (of Swiss descent) Abraham Raimbach, who engraved his debut picture *Village politicians* and *The rent day*, published respectively in 1814 and 1817 (Illustration 6). These engravings were followed by prints after among others *Blind man's buff* (1825), *The errand boy* (1825), *The cut finger* (1819) and *Distraining for rent* (1828) (Illustration 27). All of these prints were published by Wilkie and Raimbach together, except for the last one, which was published by Raimbach alone. [319]

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[316]Cunningham, vol. 2, pp. 40-42. The engraving was made by Jon Burnet and published in 1825.

[317]Probably favoured for this purpose because of its straightforward topic, Marks 1987, p. 77. Dates between parantheses indicate the dates of publication.

[318]In 1821, Boydell's company was taken over by Hurst, Robinson & co, after which it went bankrupt in 1826 and was taken over by Moon, Boys & Graves, see `http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx` (consulted July 2014).

[319]Raimbach published *Distraining for rent* alone because Wilkie thought the subject would not be well received because of its socially engaged subject, Marks 1987, p. 87.

After carefully selecting Burnet and Raimbach for their skills in order to realise the most accurate reproduction of his works possible, Wilkie remained very closely involved in the process of producing the engravings and he interfered with a lot of its aspects. [320] This is reminiscent of the way in which not only artists like Stubbs, but also Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) went about reproducing their work. An example of Wilkie's influence on the process of printmaking is that he always insisted on the use of line engraving, because he deemed this technique best to accurately reproduce the degree of detail in his paintings. [321] Once working on the plate had begun, he kept a close eye on its progress, checking proof upon proof, and giving his engravers advice and instructions. Illustrative of this are the following quotes from his diary, in which he reports about the plate of *The Jew's harp*:

> "August 6th, 'Called on Burnet, and saw his plate of *The Jew's Harp*, which I examined very carefully, and was much pleased with it, as far as it is done. He is engraving it in the most careful manner, and with a very close line, but very sharp and spirited withal. I know not how far I can depend upon the judgment that may be formed of it in its present state; but I think if he finishes it as he has begun, he will do himself considerable credit.'"

> "On the 7th of August he writes, 'Went over a good deal of The Jew's Harp today... holding another conference with Burnet on the plate, and touching it in several places'". [322]

Clearly – and understandably – it was very important to Wilkie that the prints represented the detailed and lively character of his paintings as accurately as possible. They were meant to provide the audience, many of whom had presumably never seen his original paintings, with an accurate impression of them.

Next to Burnet and Raimbach, Wilkie also collaborated with the English engravers Francis Engleheart (1775-1849), who engraved *The refusal* (or *Duncan Gray*) (1828), Edward Smith (1805-1851), who engraved *Guess my name* (1829), and James Steward (1791-1863), who engraved *The penny wedding* (1832). In the 1830's and 1840's, also some of Wilkie's later, oriental pictures were engraved. Among them are *The Spanish mother* (1836) engraved by Raimbach, *The preaching of John Knox before the Lords of Congregation, 10 June 1559* (1838), engraved by George Thomas Doo (1800-1886), and *The maid of Saragossa* (1837), which was engraved by Samuel Cousins (1801-1887). Because Wilkie's later works move away from his early genre pieces, they are less relevant to the questions treated in this study and are not discussed in detail here. [323]

Next to his involvement in the actual production of prints after his work, Wilkie actively tried to stimulate their distribution on the continent. In 1814, just after Napoleon was exiled and it became possible to cross the channel for recreational purposes, Wilkie travelled to

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[320]This was advised to him by Sir George Beaumont, Cunningham 1843, vol. 1, p. 244.

[321]Marks 1987, p. 80.

[322]Cunningham 1843, vol. 1, pp. 244-245.

[323]See Marks 1987, pp. 73-95 for an elaborate discussion of Wilkie's most prominent reproductive prints; Also see Hoover 1981, Appendix 1 and 2 for a list of prints; and Appendix H, Table H.1 for an overview of prints after Wilkie, which draws from the list provided in Hoover 1981.

France, "with whose people and pictures he desired to become acquainted". [324] During this foreign trip, which was his first of many, he took proofs of Raimbach's *Village politicians* with him and tried to sell them to continental print sellers. Among them were a "Mons. Bensi", who was a publisher with "connections all over the continent", and some other sellers at "the Boulevards" in Paris, of whom Wilkie does not mention their full names or addresses in his diary. [325] None of them, however, bought any of his prints. For example, one anonymous dealer was reluctant to take on any because "he had just sent to London for the newest prints, and was not sure but [Village Politicians] would be amongst them". Another, "though fully persuaded of the merit of the print, and though previously acquainted with its reputation, declined having any, as he did not think it historical enough for the Parisian market". [326] This is a rather fascinating remark that confirms the influence of the traditional hierarchies of art in France discussed in Part I. Yet another print seller whom Wilkie approached was a "Mons. Roland", who declined to take any prints and told Wilkie that "print selling was at present at the lowest ebb in Paris". [327] Apparently, selling British prints and particularly selling prints with genre subjects was difficult in France at the time. [328] There was, however, at least one print seller who did respond enthusiastically to Wilkie's offers; François Seraphin Delpech (1778-1825) took two prints and a proof of *Village politicians*. [329]

In Holland, finally, Wilkie had more success. During a trip through Flanders and Holland in 1816, he managed to sell half a dozen of prints of *The rent day* to "Mynheer Buffa", one of the most prominent print sellers in Amsterdam during the nineteenth century. [330] Buffa even happened to have bought impressions of *Village politicians* and *The blind fiddler* from Boydell in London already:

> "Mynheer Buffa, an Italian print seller long established in that city [Amster-dam].... I accordingly called upon him, and found both himself and his son... very willing to do what they could for our concern. They showed me impressions both of *The Politicians* and *The Blind Fiddler* which they had had from the Boydells, whom they talked of as very old acquaintances in the way of business. They told me they would rather not give me an order for *The Politicians*, as it would be better for them to have it with *The Fiddler* from Boydell; but they would subscribe for half a dozen prints and one proof of *The Rent Day*, on the terms which I offered, and at their request [I] left the etching and one of the

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[324]Cunningham 1843, vol. 1, p. 391. He made the trip with his friend Haydon, curious for the culture and society that Napoleon's revolution had created. They visited the gate of Calais, the Waterloo battlefield and various cities from Rouen to Paris, Marks 2009 p. 598. In Paris they explored among others Les Louvre where the art treasures ammassed by Napoleon were kept, and where Wilkie studied pictures by among others Rembrandt, Ostade, Teniers and Metsu, Cunningham 1843, vol. 1, p. 398.

[325]Except for 'Mons. Roland', who was located at Place des Victoires, Cunningham 1843, vol. 1, p. 415.

[326]Cunningham 1843, vol. 1, p. 415.

[327]Cunningham 1843, vol. 1, p. 415.

[328]This instance strikes a remarkable contrast with the French interest in British prints during the late eighteenth century, as studied by Griffiths 2005, pp. 375-396 and Roy 2008, pp. 167-192.

[329]Cunningham 1843, vol. 1, p. 429.

[330]This was Joseph Buffa, printseller at the Kalverstraat in Amsterdam, Koolhaas-Grosfeld 2010, pp. 55-56. British prints were very popular in The Netherlands at the time, Koolhaas-Grosfeld 2010, pp. 56-57 and Verhoogt 2007 p. 144.

proofs of *The Politicians*". [331]

The discussed examples of Wilkie's efforts to promote and sell his prints illustrate that a structure for the continental distribution of reproductive prints from Britain was well in place. Furthermore, they show that at least some dealers were eager to sell Wilkie's prints during the earliest decades of the nineteenth century, and that Wilkie himself played an instrumental role in the dispersion of his work.

7.2.2   Reproductive prints without Wilkie's involvement

Most of the prints Wilkie had been involved in producing appeared in the 1820's and became widely known and sought after on the continent (despite the perhaps slow start of their popularity in France). This is underlined by the many examples of engravers and publishers who ventured reproducing Wilkie's work on an independent basis and also by the presence of prints after Wilkie in historic continental collections, which is discussed later on. None of the prints that resulted from these efforts, however, were published before Burnet's *The Jew's harp*. Most of them appeared in the 1830's and a lot of prints after Wilkie can be found dating from the 1840's and 1850's. English examples of such prints are James Mitchell's (1791-1852) *Digging for rats* (1830), Charles George Lewis's (1808-1880) *The card players* (1838) (Illustration 19 and *The village festival* (1839), and William Greatbach's (1802-1885) *The rent day* (1846), and *Blind man's buff* (1860).

In France, the engraver Jean Pierre-Marie Jazet (1788-1871) and publisher Charles Bance (died 1824) were responsible for the reproduction of among others *The rent day*, *Village politicians* and *The blind fiddler*, all published before 1824 with French titles in Paris by Bance, and in London by Raimbach. [332] Pointon has found at least eight different French lithographs and engravings after *Blind man's buff* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. As she argues, this picture was a highly popular one – if not the most popular one – by Wilkie in France. Other prints after paintings by Wilkie were present in somewhat smaller quantities, but as Pointon also indicates, British prints after Wilkie were relatively rare in French collections. [333] This corresponds to the earlier discussed reluctance of French dealers to buy prints from Wilkie.

The German-speaking regions also contributed its share to the graphical reproduction of Wilkie's work. Examples of German prints after Wilkie are Leo Schöninger's (1811-1879) *Reading of the will* (1845) and Thomas Driendl's (1807-1853) *Blindman's buff* (1830). In *Sammlung der vorzüglichsten Gemälde aus der kgl. Gemäldegalerie zu München und Schleißheim* (1837) also a lithograph of *The reading of the will* by Johann Wölffle (1807-1893) appeared.

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[331]Cunningham 1843, vol. 1, pp. 447-448.

[332]Pointon 1985, p. 19. Examples can be found in the British Museum online database: `http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx`. It is remarkable how quickly opinions about Wilkie's genre scenes had apparently changed in France since 1814. Also see Jobert 2004, pp. 134-137 on Wilkie's prints in France.

[333]Pointon 1985, p. 23.

Additionally, many pirated prints were published in both France and Germany from the 1830's onwards. [334] Not to be forgotten, finally, is *The Wilkie gallery*, which appeared shortly after Wilkie's death in 1848. Published by George Virtue (1794-1868), this book contains steel engravings after Wilkie's most prominent works, including some oriental sketches he made during his last journey to Jerusalem and Constantinople. *The Gallery* was internationally advertised and sold worldwide. [335] Examples of it can be found in numerous international libraries today.

The large number of reproductive prints after Wilkie that can still be found in French and German print collections testify of the scale of the distribution of prints after Wilkie on the mainland. The many different reproductions of *Blind man's buff*, *Village politicians*, *The rent day* and *The letter of introduction* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris demonstrate the interest in such prints after Wilkie in France. These include not only impressions of Jazet's engravings, but also examples by Burnet and Raimbach. [336] German collections containing prints after Wilkie were numerous as well and a closer look at some of these collections follows below.

A further testimony of the popularity of Wilkie's prints are statements of people who knew his work through the print medium. For instance, Klemenz Menzel, the Prince of Metternich in Vienna notified Wilkie of the fact that his "works were familiar to him through the engravings". [337] Wilkie's prints were even distributed as far as Florence, as becomes clear from Wilkie's report on a visit to the Florentine painter "Beneventi", who "exultingly pointed to [Wilkie's] prints [which] he had got framed round his room" as Wilkie was invited to his studio. [338]

The example of Wilkie's involvement in the production process of prints after his work characterises them as a powerful tool of public exposure. Wilkie's concern for accuracy furthermore illustrates that – at least in his case – the exactitude of the reproduction was of great importance: a print was not merely a sketch of a certain painted scene, it had to capture as much of the painting's impression as possible. Wilkie's case shows that there was a broad range of reproductive prints available that conveyed the image of his work, from original reproductive engravings that he had supervised himself, to later continental lithographs, pirated prints and the "Wilkie Gallery". In this way, prints played a crucial role in establishing Wilkie's reputation on the continent and familiarising the continental art audience and artists with his work. Finally, Wilkie's accounts of the way in which he tried to spread his prints among continental dealers vividly illustrate how continental print dealers received, bought and sold British prints of genre scenes.

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[334]Pointon 1985, p. 18. For the practice of pirated prints and matters of copyright in the nineteenth century, see Verhoogt 2007 pp. 153-179.

[335]See for instance *Kunst-Blatt* 1848, nr. 36, p. 144.

[336]Pointon 1984, p. 17. Also see the *Recherches et indications* of De Chasles's entry on Wilkie in *L'Histoire des Peintres de l'école anglais* for a list of prints after Wilkie in "La Bibliothèque imperiale", Blanc 1863, *David Wilkie*, p. 16.

[337]Cunningham 1843, vol. 2, p. 330.

[338]Cunningham 1842, vol. 2, p. 184.

7.3 Supply and demand: continental collectors of British prints and their dealers

Of course not all contemporary artists had the means or even the opportunity to occupy themselves with the production and distribution of reproductive prints like Wilkie, but this does not mean that their work was not converted into paper reproductions. By far the largest share of prints after British painting was commissioned, produced and diffused throughout Europe by a network of publishers and dealers, reaching a wide variety of collectors.[339] Princely collections that have survived the test of time because of their significance, or of which at least inventories have been handed down, testify of the German collecting practices of British prints. Some of these collections are discussed here, because they provide an indication of the extent to which the image of British painting was present in the German realm.

As is well known, since the eighteenth century, the German-speaking regions had strong political and social ties with Britain, resulting in a corresponding interest for British commodities and intellectual works. This particularly holds for the Kingdom of Hannover during and after the reign of King George III (1738-1820). Not only was Hannover infused with British intellectualism through the exquisite collection of English literature compiled by the Hannoverischen Landesbibliothek in Göttingen,[340] the library was also equipped with its own print room, where prints – like the books in the library – could be studied as works of reference.[341]

Around the turn of the century, another hub for British art and intellectualism was Munich, which had taken over Düsseldorf's role as the German centre of culture.[342] As discussed in the previous section, the Bavarian King Max I. Joseph had demonstrated a keen interest in contemporary British genre scenes, owning pictures by Stubbs, Morland and Wilkie, but the king was also interested in prints. His Königliches Kupferstichkabinett and later Staatliche Graphische Sammlung in Munich contained an impressive amount of British prints. Unfortunately, this collection's entire section of British prints was destroyed during the Second World War.[343]

Other extensive collections of British prints were compiled by among others King Frederick Augustus I of Saxony (1750-1827), whose collection is now in the Dresdner Kupferstich-Kabinett,[344] the Duke Francis Frederick Anthony of Saxe-Coburg-Saarfeld (1750-1806), whose extensive collection of British prints originates in the 1770's and is now in Kupferstich-Kabinett of the Veste Coburg,[345] and Lothar Franz von Erthal (1717-1805), whose collection

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[339]See C. Fox, "The engravers battle for professional recognition in early nineteenth century London", *London Journal* 2 (1976), pp. 3-31, and especially pp. 4-6 for a discussion of the eighteenth and nineteenth century practice of the reproductive print.

[340]Clayton 1993, p. 125, also see Risch 1986, p. 167.

[341]Clayton 1997, pp. 261-262. The British engraver Valentine Green was even court engraver of George III since 1773 and of Kurfürst Karl Theodor von der Pfalz since 1775.

[342]The flourishing of Düsseldorf's as a high-end artistic community had been cut short by the Franco-German wars, Risch 1986, p. 180.

[343]Rott 2012, p. 99.

[344]Visited by Wilkie in 1826.

[345]This collection contains prints after Wilkie, but also Reynolds. For instance Raimbach's *The parish beadle* and *The village politicians* can be found here. See http://www.kunstsammlungen-coburg.de/

the Aschaffenburger Graphische Sammlung is now under auspices of the Staatliche Graphische Sammlungen in Munich. Especially the last two collections boost exquisitely fine and well-preserved examples of British prints, not only after historical scenes and portraits by Reynolds and West, but also after pictures of exotic animals by Stubbs and genre scenes by Morland and Wilkie, such as Raimbach's *The parish beadle* and *Village politicians*. [346]

It goes without saying that royal connoisseurs enjoyed the aid of advisors to guide them through the painstaking process of compiling and maintaining their extensive print collections. Less lavishly equipped collectors had to search for prints themselves in print shops, but this infrastructure was remarkably well developed in the German-speaking regions at the time. Collectors had many dealers at their disposal, of which the majority had their origin in the eighteenth century, with networks that often extended far beyond the German boarders, reaching out particularly to England. At least until the French occupation of Düsseldorf in 1794, the Huck family, for example, sold British prints in their renowned shop in the Bolkerstraße. [347] In Hannover, British art and prints could be found with C. G. Hornemann, a student of Johann Gerhard Huck (1759-1811), who also had an international network. [348] In Vienna and Mannheim, Artaria dominated the market for British pints, [349] while in Brunswick the firm of Bremer and Sohn enjoyed a respectable reputation. [350] Other notable firms during this time were among others Rost in Leipzig and Frauenholz in Nuremberg. [351]

A prominent nineteenth-century art dealer who should be added to the list above and who has previously been rather unnoticed in the literature regarding this topic was Rudolph Weigel (1804-1867). From 1831 onwards, Weigel's firm in Leipzig dealt extensively in British prints after contemporary painting. Rudolph Weigel was the son of Johann August Gottlob Weigel (1773-1846), who was a book publisher- and seller in Leipzig and opened an auction house there in 1797. Rudolph Weigel was very much involved in contemporary art life, publishing a *Kunstlager-catalog* from 1833 to 1867 and having written the literary sources and supplements to respectively Carl Friedrich von Rumohr's (1785-1843) *Holbein* and Adam Bartsch's (1757-1821) *Le Peintre graveur*. [352] The various auction catalogues of his firm demonstrate

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kupferstichkabinett-liste-stecher.php for a list of print makers represented in the collection.

[346]Rott 2012, pp. 98-101. Righteously added to this list by Rott is the collection of the Göttinger lawyer and state official George Frederick Brandes (1719-1791), who amassed an impressive number of over 40.000 prints, many of which were British. However, this collection was auctioned in 1796, Rott 2012, p. 101.

[347]Parents and uncle of J. G. Huck, sold English prints, Risch 1986, p. 156, later taken over by J. G. Huck, who sold all the latest English prints there – proof of this is an advertisment or message in *Gülich und Bergische Wochentliche Nachrichten*, nr. 30 (26.7.1785), quoted in Risch 1986, pp. 160-161. Later messages on the quality of English prints and the prints available in his shop followed, Risch 1986, pp. 161-163.

[348]Risch 1986, pp. 159-160.

[349]See   http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=93886.

[350]The many contemporary catalogues of prints that could be acquired from this firm indicate large stocks of British prints under headers like "English mezzotinto's", "Historical prints", "Landscapes and views", Pieces en crayon rouge d'Anglettere" and "Hogarth's works". Under the header "Works" also many domestic subjects can be found. See for instance *Verzeichnis von Kupferstichen welche zu Braunsweig bey C. F. Bremer und Sohn zu haben sind*, Brunswick 1777.

[351]Clayton 1997, p. 280. See E. Luther, "Der Graphikverlag Frauenholz in Nürnberg, ein Beitrag zu Graphikhandel und Verlagswesen um 1800", *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, Nürnberg 1998, pp. 89-96 for a brief discussion of Frauenholz's role as collector, print dealer and publisher in Nürnberg.

[352]*Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, 41, Walram-Werdmüller, Leipzig 1896, pp. 469-471.

his membership to a close-knit international network: no later than the 1860's, for example, commissions for his auctions were taken by bookshops and art dealers all over Europe. [353] Present among his sales were, among others, British prints after Hogarth, Wilkie and Morland. [354] When part of the print collection of Rudolph's brother Carl Weigel from Dresden was sold by the auction house in 1870, it featured a relatively large amount of British prints – rivalled only by the amount of German prints – among which were reproductions of works by Wilkie, Hogarth and other genre painters. [355] The same auction also featured a large collection of prints after Adriaen van Ostade, assembled by Rudolph Weigel himself, which is indicative of his interest in the type of genre pictures that first the Dutch school and later the British school had produced. As the catalogue stated: "Fast alle Blätter... in den Auctionen des sel. Rudolph Weigel (Bruder des Herrn Dr. C. Weigel) erworben". Three years later, an even larger selection of Carl Weigel's print collection was auctioned by C. G. Boerner, who had taken over Weigel's auction house after Weigel's death. This selection featured seven prints after Wilkie, including Raimbach's *The rent day* and Wölffle's *Testamentseröffnung*. [356]

7.4 Viewing and reviewing: distributing the British genre piece through prints

7.4.1 The German exposure to images of British painting

As will have become clear, British prints were amassed by German collectors varying from wealthy aristocrats to bourgeois art enthusiasts. [357] The traces left behind by the many dealers, shops and auction houses and the remaining collections or collection inventories of British prints testify of their wide distribution within the German-speaking regions. Upon arrival in the German realm, British prints were not reserved for the collector's eyes only. Some of the collections mentioned above were accessible at least to selected visitors and others sooner or later came publically available in print rooms. [358] Furthermore, if prints were to disappear in collector's albums, they could at least first be admired in the windows and folios of print shops. [359] Prints also adorned the walls of pubs and houses, for many eyes to admire, and they

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[353] See for example Auct. cat. 1864, pp. v-viii.

[354] See for example Auct. cat. 1864 and Auct. cat. *Catalog der Bause-Keil'schen Kupferstichsammlung (zweite Abtheilung)*, Weigel's Kunst-Auction, 24 September 1860, Leipzig 1860.

[355] The list also includes Wright and Landseer, Auct. cat. *Catalog der hinterlassenen rechen und werthvollen Kunst-Sammlung des Hernn Rudolph Weigel (II)*, Rudolph Weigel's Kunsthandlung, Leipzig 1870, p. 27 and pp. 33-38.

[356] Auct. cat. *Catalog der Geählten Sammlungen des Herrn Dr. C. J. Weigel, 24 March 1873*, Kunsthandlung von C. G. Boerner, Leipzig 1873 pp. 13-14, 16, 26, 28, and 34.

[357] Though it should be noted that collecting original British prints (instead of reproductive ones) had become a costly affair by the late eighteenth-century, Clayton 1997, p. 274.

[358] From the late eighteenth century onwards, many libraries and early museums were complemented with a print room, such as the Museum Fridericianum in Kassel in 1779) and the Kaiserliche Hofbibliothek in Vienna (Printroom Albertine Museum).

[359] This is illustrated by William Macduff's (1824-1881) *Shaftesbury (lost and found)* (1862), which shows two boys admiring the prints in the window of a prints shop, see http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/

were occasionally shown in exhibitions. Exhibitions of prints seem to have been especially a common practice in Britain, [360] but also in France the Paris Salon organised exhibitions for prints. Raimbach's engraving after *Village politicians* even won a gold medal there in 1814. [361] This suggests that reproductive prints constituted a considerable part of daily life for many people at the time.

Another illustrative example of the way in which prints were a part of daily life is the distribution of illustrated journals. For instance, *The Penny Magazine*, founded in 1832 by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, was internationally distributed and copied in different languages: a German version appeared in 1833. The main objective of the journal was to civilise and educate its readers with knowledge on all sorts of topics. [362] The prints in these journals contributed greatly to this objective, illustrating a wide range of matters, from architecture to ethnographical subjects and from animals to paintings – including genre painting. In 1834, for instance, a whole series of issues was dedicated to the work of Hogarth, featuring woodcuts after his work. [363] When it comes to genre painting, *The Penny Magazine* shows a preference for Dutch examples, such as David Teniers the Younger, Maes and Adriaen van Ostade, but like Hogarth, also Wilkie appeared in the journal. Although pictures of his work did not feature in the journal during his lifetime, he was commemorated with multiple pages that expressed great acclaim for his works, not only because of "the excellence of their conception or the exactness of their completion", but also – and "of far higher import" – for "the sentiment conveyed, or the moral incurred." [364]

Another journal that featured reproductions of Wilkie's work was *The Art Journal* (founded in 1839), which explicitly endeavoured to bring art and the public closer together and to stimulate the British art of engraving by commissioning engravings from more or less standard engravers. Next to reproductions of numerous works by Turner and Constable, the journal featured, among others, Greatbach's reproductions of Wilkie's *Blind man's buff* and *The penny wedding*. Many of the reproductions in *The Art Journal* were based on the collections of Robert Vernon and the British royal family. With its illustrations, *The Art Journal* grew out to become one of the most authoritative art journals of the nineteenth century. [365]

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paintings (consulted 7 December 2015).

[360] Clayton 1997, pp. 181-206.

[361] M. T. S. Raimbach, *Memoirs and recollections of the Abraham Raimbach Esq., engraver*, London 1843, p. 125. See *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravure, des artistes vivans, exposés au Musée Royal des Arts, le 1.er novembre 1814*, Paris 1815, p. 127 (cat. nr. 1315). Two years later, Raimbach's print after Wilkie's The rent day also featured in the Salon exhibition, see *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravure, des artistes vivans, exposés au Musée Royal des Arts, le 24 avril 1817*, Paris 1817, p. 125, cat nr. 1097.

[362] See Verhoogt 2007, pp. 223-240 for an in-depth survey of the illustrated journal and its role in spreading reproductive prints.

[363] See *The Penny Magazine* 1834, nrs. 128, 139, 144, 148 154, and 160.

[364] In his obituary, *The Penny Magazine*, (17th July) 1841 nr. 596 p. 278.

[365] See Verhoogt 2007, pp. 231-240 for a detailed discussion of *The Art Journal* and its role within nineteenth-century art life.

7.4.2   Reviews of reproductive prints in art periodicals

Next to the reproductive prints and the reproductions in journals that were available, eighteenth and nineteenth-century journals also contained vast amounts of reviews of prints from Britain. [366]   Reviews not only kept readers up to date about the latest prints produced in Britain, they also provided detailed descriptions of the scenes they depicted, the quality of the prints and details about prices and sellers. In this way, they had an informative and even advisory function for the art enthusiast; even if one did not see or buy the reviewed prints, one could get a fair idea of the state of British printmaking – and indirectly painting – by reading these reviews. From the early nineteenth century onwards, prints after British genre painting were reviewed remarkably often.

The German practice of reviewing British prints during the eighteenth century has been studied extensively by Clayton and is therefore not analysed in detail here. As addressed in his work, eighteenth-century print enthusiasts could turn, for example, to the *Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen* (originating in 1772), *Museum für Künstler und für Kunstliebhaber* (1779-1786), *Magazin des Buch und Kunsthandels* (1780-1783), *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und Künste* (1757-1765) from Leipzig, and its successor, the *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* (1765-1806) for extensive print reviews. [367] As discussed in Chapter 4, the nineteenth-century field of German art journals was dominated by *Kunst-Blatt* (1820-1850). From its early beginnings onwards, reviews of the latest prints from Britain and other countries comprised a substantial and standard part of this journal's contents. Whereas the eighteenth century had been dominated by a preference for history scenes and therefore also prints after history paintings, from the turn of the century an increasing interest in domestic scenes was demonstrated by growing numbers of reviews of prints after genre pictures. [368]

A general rise in reviews of prints after British pictures in *Kunst-Blatt* can be observed during the 1830's and 1840's. This involved many prints after Wilkie. Between 1820 and 1848, the sum of specific references to or reviews of prints after Wilkie's work surpasses at least 30, addressing 22 different prints, the lithographies made after his Spanish sketches and the 1845 *Wilkie gallery*. [369] When it comes to prints after British genre pictures, prints after

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[366]Clayton 1997, pp. 262-64.

[367]See Clayton 1993, pp. 123-125 and Clayton 2008, pp. 149-167 for more details about this practice. Great acclaim was reserved for British engravers in these reviews, Clayton 1993, pp. 126-128. Clayton reports of 2200 reviews of English prints in the *Neue Bibliothek*, of which many were on contemporary works and 44 where on prints after Morland. Consulting the register (of "in Kupfer gebrachten Gemälden") of the *Neue Bibliothek*'s vols. 1-12, no contemporary British genre painters are found, but some reviews of prints after Dutch genre pictures are (by Rembrandt, Ter Borch and Ostade). This changes from volume 13 onwards. In the register of vols. 13-24 one can find the names of Gainsborough, Greuze, Hogarth, Metzu and Morland. Also many prints by Reynolds (by far the most) were discussed, as were examples by Romney, some Stubbs, Teniers, Wilson, Wright, Zoffani. In vol. 28, one can for example also find the description of multiple genre scenes in "schwarzer kunst", such as two "moralische Blätter" after Begg, see Neue Bilbliothek 1783, vol. 28, pp. 138-173.

[368]Also notably in France, Roy 2008, p. 177.

[369]These are exclusive mentionings of prints and do not include mentionings of prints in more general discussions of Wilkie and his work. Between 1815 and 1848, Wilkie's name appears in at least 126 separate instances, concerning discussions about his paintings, his prints, his travels, comparisons of him with other artists, his death and his biography, based on a search in the issues of *Kunst-Blatt* digitised by the *Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum* and made available on the website: http://www.muenchener-digitalisierungszentrum.de/ (consulted Decem-

Wilkie's work were by far most often addressed. This does not only include prints of British origin, but also German prints that were produced after Wilkie's pictures, such as Wölffle's lithography of Wilkie's *Reading of the will*. [370] This strikes a remarkable difference with, for example, the treatment of prints after Reynolds, who is argued today to have been one of the most committed British artists when it comes to the reproduction of his work in print, but whose work was less often discussed in *Kunst-Blatt*. [371] However, the fact that Wilkie was a contemporary painter and Reynolds already belonged to the history of British painting at the time will also have been of influence in this matter.

Interestingly, most of the print reviews that appeared in *Kunst-Blatt* are made up of diligent descriptions of the scenes they portray. *Kunst-Blatt*'s 1822 review of Raimbach's *Blind man's buff*, for example, consists for approximately 80 percent of a description of the scene and only 20 percent of a judgement of Raimbach's engraving. [372] The same holds for, for instance, the 1839 review of Lewis' mezzotint after *The village festival*, with at least 75 percent of the review addressing the scene and not the qualities of the print itself. The reviewer's notes on the execution of the print even go no further than the statement that the print was executed in Lewis's "known way". Firstly, this implies that the reader was presumed to be familiar with these prints and thus suggests that they were commonly known. [373] More importantly, the extensive description of the depicted scene clearly demonstrates the print's function as a window to the original painting, more than a decorative or artistic object in itself. Of course, the reviewer may never have seen the original painting, which would have made a fair comparison of the painting and the reproduction impossible and which would explain why the scene of the painting is described at such length on this occasion. This demonstrates the function of the reproductive print as a gateway to painting.

Many of *Kunst-Blatt*'s reviews of prints after Wilkie's pictures contain statements of appreciation of (British) genre painting, especially from the 1830's onwards. They also contain judgements of Wilkie's paintings and even ideas about Wilkie's position within the history and the contemporary state of art in general. For instance, the review of Lewis's *The village festival* characterises the original picture as: "a great composition of the famous painter, which is generally reminiscent of Teniers' pictures, but which belongs to the English folk pictures because of its distinctiveness." [374] This demonstrates that prints after Wilkie were emphatically used as a means to approach and appreciate painting and ultimately to theorise upon it. In summary, the tone and content of print reviews confirm the idea expressed at the beginning of this section that prints functioned as intermediaries between British genre painting and the continental viewer. Reviews of British prints in *Kunst-Blatt* are a strong indication of the vital role that prints played in the continental exposure to and reception of British genre painting and they will have reinforced the influential status of prints.

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[370] *Kunst-Blatt* 1834, nr. 77, p. 308.

[371] Clayton 1997, p. 184-185.

[372] *Kunst-Blatt* 1822, nr. 68, p. 270.

[373] *Kunst-Blatt* 1839, nr. 68, p. 271.

[374] "Eine große Komposition des berühmten Malers, welche zwar im Allgemeinen an die Bilder Teniers' erinnert, dessen ungeachtet aber durch ihre Eigenthühmlichkeit den englischen Volksbilder angehört", *Kunst-Blatt* 1839, nr. 68, p. 271.

7.5   Reproductive prints as study objects

As Clayton summarises the primary role of prints in the eighteenth and nineteenth century: "the print translated a painting into another medium in order to make it known". The question that arises from this is what could actually be learned about the original painting by looking at a print, or how close could a viewer get to the original painting by looking at a reproductive prints? In other words, what aspects of the original picture were perceivable in a print and which were not? What could an artist adopt from his model through a reproductive print and which aspects from the originals were lost and what does this mean for the actual reception of the original pictures? Before it can be determined how and to what extent British genre painting might have influenced its continental counterpart, such questions need to be addressed. Now that ample digital reproductions of pictures are easily accessible through digital channels, comparisons between paintings are often easily made without acknowledging that an artist who presumably used a picture as a model might actually never have had the original picture before him. An awareness of this is crucial for the right identification of potential patterns of influence or reception, later on in this study.

When it comes to engravings, contemporary artists will have observed a highly detailed image. Already at the time, the "prestigious" technique of engraving was admired for its accuracy. [375] Among others the reproductions after Wilkie's pictures by Raimbach and Burnet were (consciously) rendered in highly detailed engravings. It is no wonder that it took several years to finish the plates. In the case of Wilkie's pictures and indeed genre pictures in general, detail was one of the most important elements of the prints that reproduced them. Calling to mind the contemporary descriptions of genre paintings quoted in the previous sections, some of the first aspects that were approvingly commented upon in reviews were the richly-detailed interiors that showed all kinds of trinkets from daily life. Also the diligently rendered emotions on the faces of the depicted figures were often lauded. Another aspect that engravers could apparently – but not surprisingly – transmit without too much trouble were compositional aspects; reviews of engravings often included extensive reflections on the picture's composition. For example, the following review of Raimbach's engraving after Wilkie's *Blind man's buff* features the – exceptionally unimpressed – verdict that: "...the whole is torn apart, poetic groups and convincing matter are lacking. Light and shadow are held together just as little and while the details irresistibly attract us, the picture in its totality appears empty and almost ineffective." [376]

One of the elements that cannot be fully appreciated through prints, if at all through this medium, is colour. Even if prints were coloured, they would never be able to reproduce the full effect of the colouring of the original painting. It is for this reason that, for instance, Waagen decided to comment on the colouring of Wilkie's paintings while in England and examining some of his pictures. [377] It may be for this reason that colour is not often a concern

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[375]Clayton 1997, p. 13-14.

[376]"...allein das Ganze ist auseinander gerissen, es fehlt an malerischen Gruppen und effectvollen Massen. Licht und Schatten sind eben so wenig zusammengehalten, und während das Detail uns unwiderstehlich anzieht, erscheint das Bild in seiner Totalität leer und fast wirkungslos," *Kunst-Blatt* 1822, nr. 68, p. 270.

[377]"Die Composition dieses mit 1812 bezeichneten Bildes [*Blind man's buff*] ist allen Kunstfreunden durch den vortrefflichen Kupferstich bekannt, und ich bemerke daher nur, dass es in einem besonders warmen und klaren Ton und gutem Impasto in allen Teilen Fleißig modelliert ist", Waagen 1837-1839, vol. 2, p. 185.

of reviewers or critics of British painting – assuming they mostly had seen reproductive prints and not the original pictures. Another element that was often difficult to reproduce in prints was style, although to circumvent this problem, the techniques of mezzotint and lithography were often employed; already towards the end of the eighteenth century, mezzotints even came to be seen as the perfect technique to imitate the "touch of the picture". [378]

Stylistic features and colour were probably not the elements of British genre painting that continental artists were keen to study anyway, especially when it comes to genre painting. This was not because the prints did not give artists access to these elements, but because details, themes and compositions are more relevant when it comes to anecdotal pictures. After all, in the case of genre painting, the narrative pictures conveyed stories – they were not about style. In this case it is likely that prints functioned as study objects for continental artists, who had the same access to British prints in the commercial circuit as any of the above-mentioned collectors. Furthermore, art academies kept extensive print collections for pupils to study – if students did not already have access to the princely collections. This was the case in among others the academies of Vienna, Karlsruhe and Berlin. [379]

As has been demonstrated in this part, the German reception of British genre painting in the early nineteenth century was strongly rooted in an overall appreciation of British art and culture, which has its cradle in the eighteenth century. From the early nineteenth century onwards, British genre painting came to be seen as a field of art that best reflected Britain's admired modern and liberal society. It was perceived not only as product of that society, but also as an example of how the German ideal of such a society could be achieved. Against this background, the genre painters Hogarth and Wilkie became role models for contemporary German painters, while qualities such as a focus on reality and the natural world, the rendition of pleasant, recognisable scenes and a narrative approach to these scenes were considered key qualities of British genre painting that the German genre painter was to muster. British genre painting became considered as the highest achievement of British art. As nineteenth-century continental canons of British painting illustrate, this culminated in the recognition of genre painting as one of the main pillars of the British School.

The German fascination with British genre painting rendered in art *literature* is confirmed by a strong contemporary presence of the *image* of British genre painting on the continent. British pictures were available in German collections as early as the eighteenth century. The German interest in pictures by Wilkie in particular corresponds to the appreciation of his work expressed in the art discourse. The fact that Wilkie's *Reading of the will* even grew out to become a Bavarian treasure, widely known and admired in the entire German realm, is the ultimate proof of the high regard in which his work was held. Considering the scale of their distribution, however, not original pictures, but reproductive prints were the main medium through which the *image* of British genre painting was distributed and studied on the continent, especially in the German-speaking regions. [380] The next part discusses to what extent this led to a quantifiable effect of British genre painting on its German counterpart.

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[378]Thomas 2008, p. 5 and Calloway 1980, p. 55.
[379]Clayton 1997, pp. 269-272.
[380]For this reason, the present study is illustrated with a combination of reproductions of original British paintings and reproductive prints after British pictures.

Part III

Artistic kinship. Analysing art with phylogenetic systematics

The previous chapters have traced the German reception of British genre painting in literary, archival and inventorial sources and the distribution of British paintings and prints in the German-speaking regions in its European context. The next question is whether this process of reception is also reflected in art itself, and if so, what this tells us about the German reception of British genre painting. Dealing with questions that concern a large variety of pictures such as in this study, their analysis, the search for patterns among them, and the subsequent explanation of these patterns asks for a structured and systematic approach. Although addressing single examples may be illustrative and highly useful to demonstrate a certain point, they may, however, not be sufficient to study the broader structure that underlies them. If one aims to draw conclusions regarding connected, or overarching structures within art, it would of course be most valuable if one can acknowledge and easily analyse large samples of objects. But how does one achieve this? A lack of space often makes it hardly feasible to discuss large varieties of pictures and their connections in close scrutiny. A study like this requires a way of acknowledging a large number of details without having to present an exhaustive overview of them.

To systematically characterise the connections within large samples of pictures, the present study adopts methods from *phylogenetic systematics*, which is a standard methodology in evolutionary biology to study and determine potentially ancestral relationships between different species that share certain characteristics. The methodology's logical foundation, which revolves around the determination and statistical calculation of the degree of kinship between objects on the basis of certain characteristics provides that its use is not restricted to biology. It can in principle be applied to anything – also to works of art. In the present work, this is done to provide structure to the study of a large number of pictures, to quantify relationships between them, to identify patterns in the early nineteenth-century development of genre painting and the artistic exchange between Britain and the German speaking regions, and ultimately to evaluate the suggested British impact on German art. How this works is discussed in the following chapters.

Since the application of phylogenetic methodology in art-historical research is new to the field of art history, Chapter 8 serves as an introduction to phylogenetic systematics and its methods for the art historian. It consists first of all of a modest explanation of the methodology's principles and main concepts, followed by a step-by-step guide for the application of the phylogenetic method of maximum parsimony (MP) and two phylogenetic "distance analyses" (NeighborNet and neighbor-joining) to art-historical objects. It concludes with a quick-start tutorial to summarise the section and to demonstrate the use and workings of the aforementioned methods in art history. This chapter is designed to provide the art-historian

with the basic understanding that is necessary to start applying phylogenetic methodology to art. It is by far not exhaustive, but it is meant to provide a first guide towards a broader application of phylogenetic systematics in art history. Chapter 8 is designed in such a way that the reader can easily choose the preferred level of detail when it comes to the explanation of the methods. If necessary they are able to refer back to this chapter for a structured explanation of the steps performed in Chapter 9 and 10. There will not be an immediate need to turn to phylogenetic handbooks. Chapter 8 is accompanied by a glossary in Appendix G.

Using phylogenetic principles and algorithms to trace patterns of reception in early nineteenth-century genre painting, Chapters 9 and 10 first of all demonstrate the potential of phylogenetic systematics for art-historical research. As suggested in Part I and II of this study, such patterns are expected to be found between Britain and the German-speaking regions. Chapters 9 and 10 present phylogenetic analyses of British, Dutch, French and early nineteenth-century German genre pictures in order to disentangle the relationships between these different groups of paintings and to systematically identify and quantify the patterns of exchange that are found among them. The presented phylogenetic graphs not only serve to visualise, test and identify smaller cases of reception of British pictures. They are also employed to trace the broader distribution of certain themes and visual motifs in genre painting throughout Europe. Ultimately, they allow for an evaluation of the scope of the British role in the early nineteenth-century development of genre painting and to pinpoint how certain patterns of reception in a strongly internationalising and compositionally changing society have come to be.

Chapter 8

Phylogenetic systematics and its application in art history

8.1 Phylogenetic systematics and "Digital Art History"

Within the field that is now generally defined as the *Digital Humanities*, extensive efforts are made to approach humanistic problems with digital and computational approaches that often originate in the computer, data, or natural sciences, or which have simply arisen as opportunities by the invention of digital devices and software.[381] Art history has seen the introduction of such approaches too. Already since many years, for example digital databases and classification systems are much-used sources and tools for the art historian.[382] However, as rightfully argued by Drucker, an art-historical awareness of the fact that the digital age also provides opportunities for art history in a more analytic and methodological sense is not broadly present yet;[383] art history may be "digitizing", she claims, but its set of analytical methods has not fundamentally changed under the influence of the digital era.[384] During the past few years, an increasing number of art historians and computer scientists have endeavoured to expand in this direction, developing ways to analyse images of art with computational methods, which may lead to new art-historical insights. This is not only relevant for the classification of works of art into different groups (so that they can, for example, easily be found by digital search engines), but also – and perhaps more interestingly – for analysing relationships between them. Today, computer-based algorithms can already roughly exam-

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[381] See among others D. M. Berry, *Understanding digital humanities*, New York 2012, M. Terras et. al, *Defining digital humanities*, Surrey and Burlington VT 2013.

[382] Two early examples of such databases are *Foto Marburg*, `http://www.fotomarburg.de/`, which was originally founded as an analogue database in 1913, *Iconclass*, `http://www.iconclass.org/`, and the overarching image archive *Prometheus*, which provides access to multiple databases combined, *http://prometheus-bildarchiv.de/en/prometheus/index*.

[383] For a counter example see Kohle, who argues that recent developments in the application of digital tools and computational methods in art history can advance – and are in fact advancing – the field of traditional art history into what can be described as a "digital science of images", a "Digitale Bildwissenschaft", which has the potential of bringing a methodological revolution to the discipline, Kohle 2013, pp. 7-13.

[384] J. Drucker, "Is there a "digital" art history?" in *Visual Resources* 29, nr. 1-2 (2013), pp. 5-13, especially p. 7.

ine, classify and relate works of art on the basis of stylistic features, form, and up to a certain extent semantic content. [385]

This state of the art, in which computational methods can indeed pinpoint rough relationships between works of art, raises the question whether they can also determine the complex patterns of artistic exchange or reception as they have occurred in history. These patterns may be *hierarchical* in nature, in that each work of art influences its own set of "descendants". The analyses of such patterns are a more difficult undertaking, since they ask a more fundamental question than the classifications that have been carried out in the literature so far. The more specific the question is, the more specialised and semantic the data are that are needed by a computer program to answer it. In other words, answering a question concerning hierarchical patterns requires a degree of interpretation of works of art that can compete with that of a human being, preferably an art-historical expert. Up until now, it has only been demonstrated that rough patterns of stylistic kinship or more general patterns of relatedness can be computationally inferred – although this is of course not less impressive. [386] Because of this state of the art, researchers endeavouring to answer specific questions regarding the relationships between certain works of art with the help of new digital methods, often resort to hybrid combinations of computational methods and humanly produced data. An example of this is the combination of network strategies with the humanly produced contents of already existing databases. [387]

With its application of phylogenetic systematics to an art-historical topic, this study adds a new type of methodology to the growing toolkit of the art historian of this age – one that goes further than most computational methods to distinguish relationships between works of art. Phylogenetic methodology does not provide an automated way of generating semantic data of pictures, but while most of the aforementioned computational or digital endeavours in art history concentrate on analysing works of art and subsequently roughly connecting them, this methodology is specifically designed to hypothesise about the structure and hierarchy of their connections. As such, it is potentially able to support the art historian in analysing any type of observed pattern in art that is suspected to have a hierarchical quality. In the following sections and chapters, phylogenetic methodology is tested, used and embedded in art-historical research on anecdotal painting in order to study the overarching process of the German reception of British genre painting. This has not been done before, and it aims to set an example of how phylogenetic methods can be integrated directly into art-historical research in order to answer a purely art-historical question.

It must be stated, finally, that to view the application of phylogenetic methodology in art history strictly as a "digital art-historical" undertaking because it uses computational algo-

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[385] See for example I. J. Berezhnoy, E. O. Postma, & H. J. van den Herik, "Computer analysis of Van Gogh's complementary colours" in *Pattern Recognition Letters* 28 (2007), pp. 703-709; C. R. Jacobsen, *Digital painting analysis, authentication and artistic style from digital reproductions* (Dissertation Aalborg University), Aalborg 2012; and the work by Ommer and Bell, such as P. Bell, A. Monroy and B. Ommer, "Morphological analysis for investigating artistic images", *Image and Vision Computing* 32 (2014), nr. 6, pp. 414-423.

[386] See L. Shamir & J. A. Tarakhovsky, "Computer analysis of art" in *ACM Journal on Computing and Cultural Heritage* 5 (2012), nr. 2, article nr. 7; and B. Saleh *et al.*, "Toward Automated Discovery of Artistic Influence", *Multimedia Tools and Applications* 2014, pp. 1-27.

[387] See for example M. Schich, *Rezeption und Tradierung als Komplexes Netzwerk, Der CENSUS und visuelle Dokumente zu den Thermen in Rom*, diss. HU-Berlin, Munich 2009.

rithms would not entirely do it justice. Although phylogenetic systematics is practiced today with computational algorithms, it is based on a strictly logical foundation and can in theory also be applied with pen and paper. The art-historical use of phylogenetic methods should therefore in the first place be described as a profoundly "interdisciplinary" approach. [388]

8.2 Fundamental concepts of phylogenetic systematics

8.2.1 What is phylogenetic systematics?

Phylogenetic systematics is the study of ancestral relationships between different species that share certain characteristics. In short, it consists of a logical set of rules and algorithms – step-by-step sequences of actions that need to be performed to produce a certain answer (similar to a sum or calculation) – by which similarities between objects are evaluated. These objects can be any kind of species, from once living fossils to organisms still alive. Computational algorithms are used to derive the most probable hypotheses of kinship between these objects and visualise these as, for instance, dendrograms (trees) or networks. Outside the exact sciences, phylogenetic interference has already been applied for years in humanistic fields such as linguistics, literary studies and anthropology. [389] Within the field of art history, it represents a new avenue that has the potential to provide a quantitative and hierarchical indicator for patterns of kinship (of reception) in samples of art objects. [390]

Phylogeny refers to "the natural process of repeated splitting of populations through irreversible genetic divergence". [391] Its history goes way back beyond the twentieth century and is strongly rooted in the work on evolution and phylogeny by among others Charles Darwin (1809-1882) and Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919). [392] Some of its principles even date from the Middle Ages, such as William Ockham's (1288-1347) *lex parsimoniea* or Ockham's Razor – the idea that in problem solving, hypotheses that make the fewest assumptions are to be preferred over others. [393] Phylogenetic systematics as we know it, however, took shape in 1962, when the German biologist Willi Hennig (1913-1976) constructed a first basic theory

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[388] See Kohle 2013, p. 13 about the concept of interdisciplinarity and digital art history.

[389] See for example Tehrani's analysis of the worldwide evolution of the fairytale of Little Red Riding Hood, J. J. Tehrani, "The phylogeny of Little Red Riding Hood", *PLoS ONE* 8 (2013), nr. 11, pp. 1-11. In B. Marwick, "A cladistic evaluation of ancient Thai bronze Buddha images: six tests for a phylogenetic signal in the Griswold Collection", D. Bonatz D, A Reinecke *et al.*, *Connecting Empires*, Singapore 2012, pp. 159-176 the phylogenetic maximum parsimony method is used to analyse the relationship between ancient Budda sculptures.

[390] Although steps in this direction have been made by L. Shamir and J. A. Tarakhovsky, "Computer analysis of art", *ACM Journal on Computing and Cultural Heritage* 5 (2012), pp. 7:1-7:11, they use their WND-CHARM scheme, originally developed for complex morphological analyses of biomedical imaging, instead of phylogenetic methods.

[391] Wägele 2005, p. 10.

[392] See for example C. Darwin, *On the origin of species by means of natural selection or the preservation of favoured races in the sruggle for life*, London 1859 and E. Haeckel, *Generelle Morphologie der Organismen*, Berlin 1866.

[393] "Plurality is never to be posited without necessity" ("Numquam ponenda est pluralitas sine necessitate"), cited in W. C. Kneale, *The development of logic*, Oxford 1962, p. 243, quoted from *Quaestiones et decisiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi*, dist. 27, qu. 2, K.

and methodology of phylogenetic systematics. At this point, Hennig described the task of phylogenetic systematics as:

> "[The] investigation of the phylogenetic relationship between all existing species and the expression of the results of this research in a form which cannot be misunderstood". [394]

Today phylogenetic systematics encompasses many different methods and principles of which Hennig's proposed method is only one, but it is the most commonly used. The objective of phylogenetic systematics, however, has remained unchanged and is aimed in its broadest sense at the: "detection and substantiation of phylogenetic relationships of groups of organisms, and integration of proper names of groups of organisms into a mental system that reflects their phylogeny." [395]

Phylogenetic systematics has a logical foundation that has stood the test of time and has become greatly appreciated as an empirical science: analyses can be made on an objective and mathematically-described basis, as long as one keeps to the logical foundation of the methodology. At least on paper, the practice of phylogenetic systematics connects remarkably well to Kemp's description of the art-historical concept of reception history, quoted in the introduction, and is therefore potentially of service to it. To repeat here, Kemp argues that the study of reception history focuses on:

> "the migration and transformation of artistic formulas through different artistic contexts and historical periods. In its positivist applications, it procures data and establishes earlier influences. It researches the reasons that were decisive in the selection of certain motifs, and it analyses the differences that inevitably come to exist between the 'original' and its later 'after-images'". [396]

Three aspects of the art-historical study of reception history mentioned in this quote resonate particularly well with the practice of phylogenetic systematics here: its positivist empirical approach, the identification and study of the transformation of certain patterns in objects over time, and the comparison between "ancestors" and "descendants" sharing such patterns. Because of its logical essence, phylogenetic systematics can in principle be applied to all kinds of fields outside of evolutionary biology – as long as one has a set of objects sharing certain characteristics that are to be analysed: this includes art-historical objects and especially applies to answering questions on reception history. The obvious question to ask is then how art should be treated as the topic of phylogenetic interference.

8.2.2 Art as the object of phylogenetic inference

Art can be understood as a process of action and reaction, in which tradition and the "evolution" of novelties go hand in hand – regardless of the scale or context. It is no wonder, therefore, that the development of styles, genres and particular themes, as well as the consequent delineation of objects of art into different groups has traditionally been a key objective

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[394]Hennig 1966, p. 97.
[395]Wägele 2005, p. 10.
[396]See 1 and note 22

of art-historical research. [397] During the past century, however, art history has also shown a growing interest in questions that focus on the particularities of (groups of) works of art, or questions that transcend the borders of the work of art altogether and focus on the processes behind works of art, such as the international workings of the art market, the travels of artists, the development of artistic or cultural tendencies worldwide and locally, and especially the infrastructure and practice of (in)direct exchange between cultures or individuals from different backgrounds. In other words, the traditional classifications of art have become inadequate for the modern analysis of works of art. While this illustrates that art-historical interests, approaches, and insights may have changed over time, the constant factor remains that art-historical studies of reception largely revolve around directly observable relationships.

Perhaps with the intention of avoiding being thrown back to the strict enlightenment classification of art by for example Winckelmann, or Wölfflin's controversial differentiation of style, it seems that large systematic studies of relationships sometimes have become subject to criticism in art history. The reason for this may be simple: the progress of art history since the publication of these early art historians' unorthodox theories and methods has shown that it is often extremely difficult – if not impossible – to explain art through the formulation of universal laws, because art, as a human product, often contains exceptions to such rules. [398] For example, Wölfflin's attempt to draw a strict line between Renaissance and Baroque art and architecture purely on the basis of certain characteristics – almost as if they are two different species – ignores that a lot of art objects cannot be classified in such a definitive way and thus oversimplifies an art-historical issue. Later art historians have thus wondered whether such a rigid and almost exact scientific approach towards art is at all useful. [399] Although a focus on the study of art through particularities instead of overarching systems has lead to important new insights for the discipline, it seems that art historians have become unnecessarily resistant to any work bearing even superficial similarities to the methods of Wölfflin and his academic kin, or those of the exact sciences for that matter.

The fact that past art historians are now widely regarded to have been preoccupied with establishing too rigid rules to classify art and to force art into strict schemes of development does not mean that there is nothing to gain at all from a structured analysis of art and the patterns observed between different (groups of) works. It must be emphasised that the present study does not at all argue for a return to a Wölfflin-like art history, or an introduction of phylogenetic methods in an attempt to treat art in the sense of different species that linearly and strictly evolved from each other. As explained above, the methodology of phylogenetic systematics is not about creating evolutionary trees per se, but about ways to assess relationships between objects and to hypothesise about their hierarchy. *This* is how phylogenetic systematics is used in the present study, and Chapters 9 and 10 will demonstrate that there is significant insight to be gained from this approach.

When one tries to address certain observed tendencies in art, the identification and study of links between objects is often necessarily selective, because one can only discuss so many

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[397] From Giorgio Vasari's (1511-1574) delineation of *colorito* and *disegno* of respectively the Venetian and Florentine schools, to Giovanni Morelli's (1816-1891) highly detailed study of the particular visual features of the works of Italian painters. See Fernie 1995 for a selection and discussion of their methodological works.

[398] See Fernie 1995 pp. 13-15 for a discussion of this type of approach in art history.

[399] Fernie 1995, pp. 201-213, especially p. 202. See A. Hauser, *The social history of art*, London 1959.

examples or one only has access to a restricted number of them. Also, the relevance or relative strength of the perceived links can be challenging to evaluate or measure by hand and is highly subjective. Of course, this also depends heavily on the number of works of art under investigation: the more objects one wishes to analyse in a comparative way, the more difficult it becomes to do this systematically. It is here that phylogenetic systematics can be of service to art history.

As a statistical means to *assess* relationships observed by the art historian, phylogenetic systematics can be used to visualise, test or support art-historical hypotheses of relationships between works of art, to systematically perform analyses of such relationships and to quantify them, and consequently, to describe and predict certain links where intermediary objects are missing and potentially indicating relationships the art historian simply had not thought of before. By helping the art historian to structure and measure their own observations, phylogenetic systematics can thus *support* the art historian in their work. Adopted in this way, the application of phylogenetic methods in principle comes *after* the art historian's own observations and it requires their own (interpretative) efforts again after it has produced its results. It thus becomes a *tool*, much like a calculator is for a mathematician, but certainly not a generator of truth or a replacement of traditional art-historical skills of observation. In the next section, it is explained how exactly this works.

8.3 A guide for the application of phylogenetic methodology in art history

8.3.1 Some key principles of phylogenetic systematics

Before one starts applying phylogenetic methodology to art history – or to any field at all – it is essential to understand its principles, capacities and limitations: one must understand what it does, before one can understand what it produces. The fundamentals of phylogenetic systematics can be studied in a large variety of handbooks and because of the logical foundation of the discipline one does not necessarily have to be a biologist in order to understand their contents. [400] For the art-historian endeavouring to use phylogenetic methods – and also to enable the reader to follow the art-historical results that feature in Sections 9.5 and 9.6 and Section 10.2 – the present section selects and explains some of its essential concepts. The following discussion draws mainly from Wägele's very accessible handbook *Foundations of phylogenetic systematics*. References to relevant pages therein are adopted throughout the text. Terms printed in bold are explained in the glossary in Appendix G.

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[400]See among others Hennig 1966, Wägele 2005, which is also available as open source PDF `http://www.pfeil-verlag.de/04biol/pdf/3_56.pdf` (consulted May 2015), and the guide *Journey into phylogenetic systematics* on `http://www.ucmp.berkeley.edu/clad/clad4.html` (consulted between January and April 2014). For a glossary of relevant terms and definitions, see `http://www.bernstein.naturkundemuseum-bw.de/odonata/glossary.htm` (consulted March 2015).

8.3.1.1   Understanding the concept of a phylogenetic tree

As described above, phylogenetic systematics deals with the "detection and substantiation of phylogenetic relationships of groups of organisms."[401] When populations of organisms diverge, it becomes possible to classify them as separate species. This is what phylogenetic systematics aims to do from a purely biological perspective: it is concerned with the "intersubjectively" testable classification of species, based on so-called **speciation events**: "the irreversible genetic divergence of populations".[402] In order to pinpoint such speciation events, to delineate species, and to infer ancestral relationships between them, the phylogeneticist analyses and compares the characteristics of the species or organisms under investigation with the help of computer algorithms (how these characteristics are identified is discussed below). The results of the analyses are then visualised in phylogenetic graphs, such as dendrograms or trees.

Figure 8.1 shows a couple of concepts that are relevant to performing a basic phylogenetic analysis. The graph in Figure 8.1 is called a **dendrogram**, which is a tree diagram, generated by a cluster algorithm (an algorithm that arranges the objects of the analysis into groups, in this case a phylogenetic algorithm), to show how the objects of study can be related. It consists of lines or **branches**, also called edges (1). Each branch "represents a continuum of ancestors and their descendants, following each other along the time axis".[403] **Internal branches** (2 and 3) represent **stem lineages**, or "groups of organisms belonging to one or several consecutive species", while **terminal branches** (1) represent single species that have gone extinct or of which certain populations are still alive.[404] Finally, the branches are connected to each other by **nodes** (3), which represent the aforementioned speciation events. Most of these concepts will not immediately be relevant for the art-historical use of phylogenetic systematics, but they are relevant for understanding the basic idea of a figure like the one below.

Branches separate different **taxa** (4) or groups of taxa, which represent the species under investigation (A, B, C etc.). Technically, they are "assemblages of organisms named with proper names by systematists".[405] In the dendrogram, multiple taxa can together form a **monophylum** (5). This is a branch with all its attached sub branches and represents an evolutionary-related group of organisms. Finally, the whole of the graph presents a certain **topology**, which is the "relative position of taxa to each other in a rooted or unrooted dendrogram".[406] This dendrogram is **rooted**, meaning it has a (chronological) direction and is to be read from bottom (the root) to top. Such a hierarchy would be absent in case of an **unrooted** variant, which would only visualise a directionless relation of taxa. It should be noted as well that this dendrogram is **bifurcating**, which means that each node is connected to at most three other ones (in all directions). In other words: a speciation event can only lead to at most two new branches and separates only two groups of organisms. The opposite of

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[401] Wägele 2005, p. 10.
[402] Wägele 2005, p. 68. More about the aspect of irreversibility and its relation to art-historical material follows below.
[403] Wägele 2005, p. 98.
[404] Wägele 2005, p. 98
[405] Wägele 2005, p. 98.
[406] Wägele 2005, p. 100.
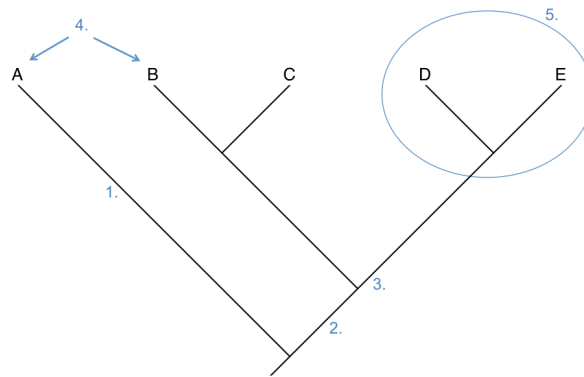
Figure 8.1 – Example of a dendrogram. The capital letters signify taxa, the numbers refer to phyloge-
netic concepts that are discussed in the main body of the text.

bifurcation is **polytomy**, in which more than two branches can flow from one node or speci-
ation event. As is discussed later on, in art history such a scenario may often be more likely
than a bifurcating one. More on the bifurcating character of a phylogenetic analysis and its
consequences follows below.

   In summary, the tree in Figure 8.1 shows how a divergence or evolution of species has
eventually led to the separate species A, B, C, D and E. It demonstrates how these taxa are all
related to a common ancestor and thus indicates how they relate to each other.

8.3.1.2   Characters and the data matrix

In order to arrange taxa in a dendrogram like the one in Figure 8.1, one should first analyse the
taxa in the used data set for congruent traits or similarities among them. On the basis of those
traits a phylogenetic analysis can be performed and a graph like the one in Figure 8.1 can be
constructed. The traits are called **characters** and they form the basis of every phylogenetic
analysis. They are the traces left by evolutionary processes that are invisible to us now. Once
the phylogeneticist identifies a feature that is novel to a certain species, they have found a
phylogentic signal of an evolutionary process. Such traits are called evolutionary novelties
or **apomorphies**. In biology, characters can consist of morphological traits, but also of DNA
or nucleic acids. Since for art history the latter two are of no relevance, this section focuses
on the identification of morphological characters. Commonly, these are assembled by hand
by the researcher, which is discussed in more detail below.

   Characters that connect certain taxa can be **plesiomorphies** or **apomorphies**. Ple-
siomorph means that they are traits that are present in multiple connected taxa before an

evolutionary process took place and they are replaced or "transformed" by an evolutionary novelty or apomorphy. [407] In other words, a character (for example: hair), or more correctly, the **state** of that character (for example: absent or present) can be plesiomorph or apomorph depending on the taxon under investigation. After a phylogenetic analysis is performed, taxa with corresponding character states are grouped together, forming one large group with sometimes many different subgroups within subgroups. This is how a (hierarchical) topology is created. Figure 8.1, for example, is in itself a monophylum consisting of A, B, C, D and E, with the smaller monophyla B, C, D and E; B and C; and D and E. This topology can easily be written down as: (A (B, C) (D, E))).

Ideally, observed similarities between taxa are **homologous**, meaning that they inherited their similar character states from a common ancestor. This makes these similarities useful for a phylogenetic analysis. [408] However, an observed similarity can also have evolved by chance, in which case it is called an **analogy**, or due to similar environmental circumstances, which is called **convergence**. Analogies and convergences have nothing to do with an *ancestral* relationship. Nevertheless, the phylogenetic analysis itself cannot distinguish them from homologies. If they are nonetheless included in the data, they thus cause confusion in a phylogenetic analysis. Therefore, a high probability of homology of a character state is desirable to get a result that is as sound as possible.

Especially with morphological characters, one can never be entirely sure if one deals with a homology, but one can distinguish characters with a higher probability of being a homology from less probable homologies or from analogies and convergences. An extensive standard guide for the estimation of the probability of homology is given in Chapter 5 of Wägele 2005, and is therefore not repeated here. [409] For clarity reasons, however, it is relevant to mention that there are three criteria with which the probability of homology of a (morphological) character can be evaluated. They can be described as follows and are explained in more detail in relation to art history in the next section:

1. The criterion of complexity: "the more complex a character is and the more alternative modules are known from nature, the higher is the probability that two identical patterns did not evolve independently by chance". This holds not only for the whole pattern or frame homology (see below), but also for the individual details it contains. [410]

2. The criterion of compatibility: "the larger the number of potentially homologous individual characters shared in a group of organisms, i.e. characters which are compatible in the sense that they fit to the same ground pattern, the larger is the probability of homology of the individual characters." [411]

3. The criterion of congruence (this is more an *a posteriori* check of the probability of the homology): "putative novelties are congruent when mapping them in a shortest topology..., they occur only once on the same stem lineage...." [412] This is explained in more detail in subsection 8.3.1.3.

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[407] Wägele 2005, p. 128.
[408] Wägele 2005, p. 131.
[409] Wägele 2005, pp. 142-55.
[410] Wägele 2005, pp. 144-145.
[411] Wägele 2005, p. 146.
[412] Wägele 2005, p. 147.

	Characters		
Taxa	1	2	3
A	0	0	0
B	0	0	1
C	0	1	1
D	1	1	0
E	1	1	0

Figure 8.2 – Example of a data matrix.

Characters can represent **detail homologies** (single traits), as well as **frame homologies**, which consist of multiple changeable elements due to small mutations (an example of a frame homology is a hand with fingers and all its individual finger bones).[413] Once putative homologies are identified, they can be part of a so-called **ground pattern** that all descendants of a certain ancestor possess and to which homologies are added along the way.

All the characters and their states, which can among others signify absence or presence, or colour or shape, are collected by hand (or a computational algorithm) in a **data matrix** on the basis of which a phylogenetic analysis is executed (see Figure 8.2). In such a table, the different characters are represented by columns and the states are indicated in the rows with numbers 0, meaning absent, and 1, meaning present. Together, the character states form certain **patterns** of apomorphies and plesiomorphies.

In principle, one could perform the analysis of the data matrix by hand, but this is often a time-consuming process. Therefore, many computer algorithms have been developed in order to calculate a phylogenetic tree or dendrogram automatically. All one needs is a completed data matrix containing the relevant taxa, characters and character states, a computer with sufficient processing power, appropriate phylogenetic software, and an idea of the kind of analysis that is to be performed.

8.3.1.3   Key principles of the phylogenetic analysis: parsimony, conflict and consensus

Before one starts running a phylogenetic analysis, there are some key principles that should be acknowledged first. No matter the type of graph one constructs, an important principle that stands at the heart of most phylogenetic analyses is that of **parsimony**, "the scientific principle that things are usually connected or behave in the simplest or most economical way, especially with reference to alternative evolutionary pathways".[414] This principle is related to Ockham's Razor, "the principle (attributed to William of Occam) that in explaining a thing no more assumptions should be made than are necessary."[415] In phylogenetic systematics, the most parsimonious phylogeny refers to the topology that requires the fewest character changes (changes from one state to another of one and the same character). This is for example a tree in which apomorphies evolve as infrequently as possible. This is generally

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[413]See Wägele 2005, pp. 125-127 and Figure 73.

[414]Online Oxford Dictionaries, `http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/`, consulted 22 September 2014.

[415]Online Oxford Dictionaries, `http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/`, consulted 22 September 2014. Also see note 391.

more probable than a subsequent evolution, loss and then renewed evolution of characters. It is the most widely used principle for the formation of phylogenetic topologies.

There are many different kinds of analyses one can perform with a data matrix and even more graphs one can produce, all with different purposes and results. The dendrogram discussed above is an example of a classical phylogenetic graph, or "phylogenetic **cladistic**" dendrogram, the outcome of a basic phylogenetic analysis as developed by Hennig. [416] It is bifurcating, which means that each speciation event results in only two new groups, and it contains only monophyla that are compatible with each other (i.e. monophyla that can be combined in one tree, with all taxa appearing only once). If a data matrix contains *no* **conflict**, meaning that only compatible groups can be found, the result shown in the resulting dendrogram will be a straightforward representation of the data in the matrix. However, if there is conflict in the data matrix, some groups identified on the basis of the observed similarities may not be compatible with other groups and may therefore be left out of the topology in benefit of groups that have been identified on the basis of *more* similarities. After all, the more similarities are present between two or more taxa, the higher the likelihood that they are related through a common ancestor. In the next section, the matter of conflict in relation to art-historical data, and ways to account for it, are discussed in more detail.

Conflict in a data matrix, but also a data matrix without conflict, can produce many different outcomes and even many different, most parsimonious topologies. In order to avoid a subjective selection of the most probable topology and to take all or a certain part of the possibilities encapsulated in a data matrix into account, one can combine multiple possibilities in one topology by calculating a **consensus tree**. This tree can be bifurcating, but also **multifurcating** – containing polytomies. It can be a **strict consensus**, meaning that it contains only the groups found in all possible topologies, or it can be a consensus tree based on a certain percentage of trees containing the same groups. The stronger a connection between certain taxa is on the basis of shared character states, the more often it will occur as a monophylum in the number of trees that can be calculated on the basis of the given data matrix and thus the higher the chance it is included in a consensus tree. [417] Ways to computationally calculate a consensus tree are often software-specific and are thus usually explained in the manual of the software that is used.

8.3.1.4 Some final considerations: about hypotheses, induction and deduction

As will have become clear, calculating a phylogenetic topology is basically a matter of counting and statistics. It requires a thorough analysis of the similarities that can be found among objects, the construction of monophyla on the basis of these similarities, a determination of the number of occurrences of apomorphies in the trees that can be drawn from one matrix, and the visualisation of the most probable structure of relatedness in a graph. This is definitely nothing magical, nor is it strictly bound to biology or the exact sciences. It has a purely logical foundation that can in principle be applied to any data matrix, on any type of object, with the help of computational tools. Unfortunately, however, this is at the same time a great merit as well as a great risk.

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[416] See Hennig 1966.

[417] Wägele 2005, pp. 104-106.

As stated above, a case of homology can never be fully ensured: it is hypothetical. Not only does one form a hypothesis induced by one's own observations, the conclusion deduced from the analyses of those observations is again a hypothesis in itself. [418] In short: phylogenetic graphs are hypotheses of phylogeny. They are calculations based on analyses of data matrices and do not provide definitive answers. For this reason, a data matrix must contain data that are as trustworthy, as representative and as relevant for the analysis as possible. In order to make sure this is the case, it is essential to have an *a priori* hypothesis about the to-be-generated topology on the basis of which one selects taxa and characters. [419] Of course, this means that instead of taking a step back and letting the data speak entirely for itself, a certain presence of the scholar or scientist is maintained in the phylogenetic analysis: the scientist forms a hypothesis, gathers appropriate data and performs a suitable analysis. Of course, this practice is not without controversy. It touches upon a debate that has taken place within and outside of phylogenetics for a long time already and which is not meant to be broached here, but it is relevant to be aware of this. After all, a phylogenetic program, or a phylogenetic method, *does not test the quality of the data*. Basically, it processes anything it is fed, which means that if the data are irrelevant to the questions one would like to answer with a phylogenetic analysis, so will be the outcome. For this reason, it should be emphasised that a trained researcher is needed for *a priori* selecting data, instead of assessing the data and their meaning and value *a posteriori*. This is vital for the correct treatment of both the phylogenetic analysis and its results. [420] The present study applies the approach to phylogenetic analyses that concerns itself *a priori* with the data. [421]

Of course, one should not go to far in the *a priori* formulation of hypotheses and the subjective choices that can be made in both the data matrix and the analysis. A middle ground should be found in which both trained choices are made, as well as objectivity is safeguarded as much as possible. In view of this, the above-discussed criteria for the selection of data can be of assistance, but there are more ways to safeguard sound research and the "intersubjective" testability in the application of phylogenetic systematics. Since these depend strongly on the field in which the phylogenetic methodology is used, more about this follows throughout the next section and in Chapter 14.

8.3.2   The application of phylogenetic methods in art-historical research

Now that the basic concepts of phylogenetic methodology have been discussed, one can focus on the application of its principles and methods in art-historical research. This section serves both as an explanation of the analyses following in the next chapters, as well as an example and how-to guide for art historians who would like to apply phylogenetic methods to their own fields of research. [422] Along the way, it addresses many of the concepts that have been explained above, it exemplifies them, and it elaborates on their practical application in art

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[418] Wägele 2005, pp. 30-33.

[419] Wägele 2005, pp. 134-136 and pp. 275-276.

[420] Wägele 2005, p. 38.

[421] Also see Section 8.3, subsection A.

[422] This guide is based on my experiences working with the software packages *PHYLIP*, *PAUP*4.0* and *SplitsTree4* and applying these to my own data sets of genre pieces.

history. The ultimate goal of this guide is to translate the concepts of phylogenetic systematics to an art-historical language. This guide focuses exclusively on painting, specifically figurative, narrative painting, but of course many of its steps are also applicable to other types of painting or media of art.

This section is structured along five steps that one should at least take when performing a phylogenetic analysis on art-historical material. It discusses A. the maximum parsimony method, B. character selection, C. matrix construction, D. algorithms, programs and the analysis, E. the interpretation of the results, F. phylogenetic networks and G. art-historical information that is not entered into a phylogenetic analysis. Each section features a general explanation of its topic and the key notions that are involved with it. Along the way, "important notes" are given that discuss thoughts that deserve particular attention. Notes related specifically to the effect of the used methods on art-historical input are marked by the header "art-historical notes". Some of the steps in this guide also contain "rules of thumb" as practical art-historical hints and "advanced notes" for more in-depth comments on the discussed matter.

A.   The method: maximum parsimony

This guide is based on the use of **phylogenetic cladistics**, which is the traditional phylogenetic approach involving an *a priori* character analysis. [423] Dealing with morphological characters in art history, the best-suited method to use is the **Maximum Parsimony** or MP method. This method identifies identical (morphological) character states in a data set as homologous patterns on the basis of which a topology can be constructed. Incompatible characters, or homoplasies – characters that do not support the topology of a tree – can lead to several most parsimonious dendrograms that describe the data set, implying that the outcome of the experiment is dichotomous.. The most parsimonious and thus "best" tree, is the one that requires the fewest number of character changes. Although the MP-method serves to find an "optimal" topology, it cannot decide which of the alternative "optimal" topologies it finds is the correct one. For this purpose, biologists have developed additional methods that are discussed and used below. [424]

In a parsimony analysis, only **parsimony-informative characters** can affect the topology. These are characters that occur with two or more states in the data set and with each state in more than one taxon. On the basis of these characters monophyla can be inferred. Other characters are called **trivial characters** and cannot be used to infer monophyla. These should thus not be included in the data matrix. The resulting topology of the MP method is bifurcating and the objects under investigation are placed at the terminal branches of the tree (see E. Interpretation). Further relevant notes for the use of the MP method to reconstruct phylogenetic trees are the following. They are explained in more detail below and in

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[423]Wägele 2005, p. 197. This is the opposite of phenetic cladistics, in which the relevance of the data is only evaluated *a posteriori*, as a result of which the experiment may not address the question the researcher was looking to answer.

[424]Wägele 2005, p. 201-205.

Wägele's *Foundations of phylogenetic systematics*: [425]

1. All characters are considered to be homologies, i.e. derived from a common ancestor, but they are not required to be present in all taxa.

2. The probability of homology (see Section 8.3.1.2) must be equal for all characters, or characters with a high probability should be weighted accordingly to avoid insignificant characters to dominate the topology (see C. The construction of the data matrix).

3. The characters are derived from a reconstruction of the ground patterns of terminal taxa.

4. Terminal taxa must be monophyletic.

5. The hypotheses of homology should be evaluated prior to the MP analysis by assessing the probability of homology of the characters that are to be included in the data matrix. If one refrains from carefully selecting characters and *a priori* testing their probabilities of homology, but instead lets the method propose a topology from which homologies are subsequently extracted, one violates the conditions for the use of the MP method and risks running into a circular argument. This may lead to erroneous conclusions on the existence of homologies, because insignificant characters may dominate the topology and appear as homologies, while real homologies may not be detected. Because any data – relevant or not – lead to a particular result, the relevance of the data is to be tested beforehand (see B. Character selection). [426]

B.   Character selection

The phylogenetic cladistic approach starts with the selection of characters and requires an *a priori* evaluation of the characters used for the given analysis. This comes down to the evaluation of the probability of homology of characters and their states: the probability that a certain character found in two or more taxa is derived from a common ancestor. With the following two basic criteria, a first selection of possibly homologous characters can be made for the matrix.

1. Criterion of complexity: "the more complex a character is and the more alternative modules are known from nature, the higher is the probability that two identical patterns did not evolve independently by chance.... With increasing complexity, the probability of homology does not only increase for the whole pattern (the frame homology), but also for the individual details (modules) in it. The same detail has more weight in systematics when it is found within a complex and conserved frame homology than when it occurs in isolation." [427]

2. Criterion of compatibility: "the larger the number of potentially homologous individual characters shared in a group of organisms, i.e. characters which are compatible in

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[425]Drawn from Wägele 2005, p. 203.
[426]Wägele 2005, pp. 218-219.
[427]Wägele 2005, p. 145.

the sense that they fit to the same ground pattern, the larger is the probability of homology of the individual character." This requires more assumptions than the criterion of complexity. [428]

In short, these criteria argue that a character can be considered complex when it consists of multiple variable modules (not all of which need to be homologous). These modules can be detail homologies or frame homologies themselves (of which the latter is called an encaptic hierarchy). [429] A character can also be considered more complex than others when it is a feature that does not easily develop and which is rare among the objects under investigation. The more complex a character is, the more relevance it has for the analysis of the data set, for it has a higher probability of being homologous and thus a lower chance of being a convergence or an analogy.

How should the discussed criteria to the selection of art-historical data be applied? The characters that are selected from paintings for use in the data matrix are per definition morphological, as well as mental constructs (human interpretations, or semantic concepts). They consist of anything describable. The analyses performed in the present study use two of the following types of characters, which can serve as a starting point for art-historians desiring to study relationships in narrative painting: [430]

1. Visual motifs (a certain figure, an object, a collection of objects).
2. Compositional features (type of composition, lighting, shapes, structures).
3. Some questions require the addition of stylistic features (brushwork, colour, approach). [431]

Characters of type 1 are probably the most difficult to pinpoint and describe, because they deal with mental constructs or labels – interpretations – given to observable matters. The problem here is what to select and describe and what not? Below follows a plan of several steps to pinpoint and select such characters and to formulate their descriptions.

1. Search for visual motifs (characters) that appear in two or more paintings.
2. Distinguish between complex characters and trivial characters. Analyse the selection of characters and choose only characters that have a high probability of homology. To determine this, first use the criterion of complexity as described above. This means that one will be selecting and describing visual motives that consist of multiple modules, which in itself may, but do not need to be homologous. These motives are frame characters or possible frame homologies.

   Rule of thumb: When pinpointing complex visual motives (frame characters) in pictures, it helps to analyse the complete paintings and isolate visual motives that appear in more than two taxa. Its variable modules will be listed in the matrix separately (see C. The construction of the matrix). For example, one can identify a

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[428] Wägele 2005, pp. 146-147.

[429] Wägele 2005, pp. 125-126.

[430] This provides an example of what is possible, though in relation to narrative painting, the presented distinction may be most suitable and effective.

[431] This type of character is not used in the present study.

table with an elderly man, a vase and a child, of which the table, the man, the vase and the child are separate modules of the same frame homology. Continue to go into detail with the description of modules level by level until you encounter elements that are insignificant or not complex. Such elements may together constitute a certain visual motive, but are themselves very random and have a high probability of being an analogy instead of a homology. An example of such an element may be the chair the child is sitting on, which has no particular relevance for the homology. Identifying this chair as a separate character may thus lead to incorrect identifications of homology, since a chair is a random object and can occur more frequently in different contexts. Of course, this all very much depends on the other taxa in the data set and the question whether the observed element is a relevant or striking similarity shared with other taxa. In principle, one should avoid the inclusion of trivial characters, because they represent information not relevant to the question under consideration and add noise to the outcome of the experiment.

3. Complete the list of complex characters with detail characters that have a high probability of homology. These are visual motives that are relatively rare within the context of the other taxa, or in general. Such single detail characters are less important for the analysis than complex frame homologies, but this will be accounted for in the matrix since frame homologies will be included with all their separate modules, whereas each detail character only appears once (see C. The construction of the matrix). Note that the criterion of compatibility may support the inclusion of certain detail characters.

   Rule of thumb: a helpful method to distinguish between relevant visual motifs and irrelevant ones when it comes to anecdotal painting is to consider their significance to the depicted story or subject. Elements that play a certain role in the depicted subject can be considered "primary characters". The others can be considered "secondary characters". If an element is a primary character, but it is not overly complex (i.e. part of a frame homology and not a frame homology itself), it can still be considered for the analysis since its depiction in the painting is not random. If an element would count as a secondary character, but it is complex according to the above-mentioned criteria (i.e. an arguably rare detail character, likely inspired by another painting), it can still be relevant for the analysis because the character is not trivial (i.e. unlikely to have evolved coincidentally). If the character is not a primary one and it is not rare either, the element may be considered trivial and can be ignored.

Important notes for the selection of art-historical characters:

The recognition of certain visual motifs will often require art-historical or socio-historical knowledge or at least a prior knowledge of what the painting depicts. Without this, a correct identification and description of visual motives may be difficult, or the importance of certain elements may be misjudged and wrongfully excluded or included in the matrix. In this way, relevant information for the phylogenetic analysis will be lost or overruled and the outcome

of the analysis will not be as appropriate a reflection of the underlying causalities as it should be. This means that painting ideally needs to be interpreted by a trained expert who can identify important elements and distinguish between relevant and irrelevant data that laymen may not be able to recognise as such. [432]

Given the above, a sense of subjectivity in the selection, division and formulation of characters seems unavoidable, but the alternative may lead to misleading and unfounded results. In order to minimise the scholar's subjectivity as much as possible and still conduct a well-founded analysis, the compilation of the characters and the matrix need to be based on art-historical knowledge and a consistent application of the rules of character selection determined beforehand. The choices and formulations (as well as omissions) of the characters should be clearly stated and supported. Furthermore, a general reasoning behind the compilation of the entire collection of characters in the matrix is desirable to clarify the choices made and to ensure that the steps made in the compilation of the data matrix are understandable, retraceable and repeatable.

C. The construction of the data matrix

The data matrix includes the objects i.e. taxa between which a phylogenetic relationship is to be visualised (along the vertical axis – the rows) and the selected characters on the basis of which an analysis is performed (along the horizontal axis – the columns). For each taxon, the state of each character is determined and indicated in the matrix with a symbol, or so-called **token**. This is called the **coding** of the matrix. Usually, these tokens are 1 (presence), 0 (absence), and "-" or "?" (inapplicable). This is a **binary** way of coding. In case a character has more than three states, the range of usable tokens is usually extended (added are numbers 2, 3, 4 etc.). This is called **multiple state coding**. [433] Often the data matrix needs to adhere to a certain type of formatting to enable the used software to read the matrix and analyse its data (see D. Programs and the analysis). To avoid needing to convert the matrix from one type of formatting to another, it is advisable to consult the specifications for data input in the manual of the preferred program first. The various characters and states of a character and their corresponding numbers should be specified in a separate file for assessment and reproducibility.

Important notes for matrix construction:

The algorithm is *not* able to understand the used descriptions of the characters, nor will it care which tokens are used to indicate character states. It only understands the correspondences and differences between the tokens in the matrix and it will generate a topology on the basis of those. Therefore it is crucial that the characters are chosen and listed in such a way that

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[432] See Wägele 2005, p. 38 for a discussion of the relevance of specialist knowledge. This does of course not mean that a layman cannot identify certain elements that an expert subsequently checks and selects.

[433] See K. Fitzhugh, "The philosophical basis of character coding for the inference of phylogenetic hypotheses" in *Zoologica Scripta*, 35 (2006), nr. 3, pp. 261-286, for a more indept and critical discussion of phylogenetic coding strategies.

the matrix contains all the information the algorithm needs to construct a proper topology. The following practical rules are essential to avoid incomplete or incorrect matrices and have been proposed by Brazeau.[434]

1. Avoid creating **compound characters**. These are characters incorporating one or more other variables that should in fact be listed separately and are thus not accounted for in the matrix. A practical way to do this is by considering the number of descriptive terms of a character, in which case its presence or absence is one character and its particularities constitute separate characters. The latter characters can be seen as "follow-up questions". An example of this is given below.

2. Use **contingent coding**, using 0 and 1 (in combination with higher numbers in the case of multiple states), and the "-" or "?" sign for characters that are inapplicable to a given taxon. The latter will make the algorithm treat the character as "missing" in the given taxon.

   Example of a compound character: no hair (0), hair blond (1), hair brown (2). The algorithm will now discern only three distinct groups and will not account for the group "hair", of which "hair blond" and "hair brown" should be subgroups. Thus important information is lost.

   Example of characters listed correctly: no hair (0), hair (1); hair blond (0), hair brown (1), inapplicable (-). The algorithm will now discern the groups "no hair" and "hair", as well as the subgroups of "hair", namely "blond" and "brown".

   Naturally, not all characters will always be equally important. As will have become clear, there already exists a difference in importance between a complex frame character that consists of multiple modules and a single detail character. This importance is called **weight**. For a representative topology, it is essential that the algorithm takes the weight of each character into account. Sometimes this is done by creating a weight file, containing arbitrarily chosen weights that the algorithm will use during its analysis.[435] With the phylogenetic-cladistic approach, however, it is much more straightforward to incorporate the weights directly in the matrix. On the one hand, this is done already by incorporating complex characters and excluding trivial ones. On the other hand, further weighting is performed by taking complex frame characters and "atomising" them into their separate modules, which are listed separately in the matrix. In this way, each separate module adds weight to its larger frame character. This is a very systematic way to determine weight: the more complex a character is, the more importance it has, the more separate modules it has and the more weight it deserves and is thus attributed in the matrix.[436] The frame character itself should not be listed separately in the matrix.

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[434]See M. D. Brazeau, "Problematic character coding methods in morphology and their effects" in *Biological Journal of the Linnean Society* 104 (2011), pp. 489-498.

[435]More details about how to construct such a file is generally be found in the manual of the software one is using for the analysis.

[436]Wägele 2005, pp. 152-155, especially p. 154.

Example: the complex frame character "[table] with [two seated men] and an [empty chair]", consists of the three parts between brackets. It could theoretically be broken down into even more sub-modules, if relevant. Obviously, this frame character weighs more than the detail character "[clock]", which consists of only one part. One does not write down the frame character "[table with two seated men and an empty chair]" separately.

D.   Programs and the analysis

Parsimony algorithms can be found in most software packages for phylogenetic analyses, such as *PAUP** and *PHYLIP*. [437] Since these algorithms are all based on the same principles, it should not make a difference for the analysis which program is used. The following steps are not program-specific and illustrate a process of computationally performing a parsimony analysis on art-historical data. [438]

1. Compile a matrix as described above (see C. The construction of the data matrix), adhering to the requirements of the specific program that is used.

2. **Bootstrap** the matrix: bootstrapping serves to statistically test whether the generated topology (the proposed collection of monophyla) is a solid reflection of the data in the matrix. Bootstrapping re-samples a given data set by randomly selecting characters (columns) from the data set to assemble new data sets of the same size. Most phylogenetic packages have a bootstrapping option. For each re-sampled data set the optimal topology is calculated, and from all the topologies of re-sampled data sets, it is determined how often a putative monophylum is found. The resulting number is expressed as a percentage of the total number of data sets (and thus topologies) created by the bootstrap-test. The higher this percentage is, the higher the probability is that a given monophylum is based on true homologies. Statisticians prefer between 1000-10000 alternative data sets for a statistically trustworthy result (the larger the matrix, the more alternative data sets one should create), but opinions about this differ. [439] See Appendix F for detailed tests demonstrating how a suitable number of bootstrap replications can be determined.

3. Run a parsimony analysis (see Section 8.3.2) on the bootstrapped data sets (some programs combine steps 2, 3 and 4). Make sure to:

   a If possible, polarise the topology by rooting the tree. This means that information about chronology is added to the analysis. [440] Do this by selecting a taxon that is to be treated as the "outgroup", i.e. the common ancestor of all other taxa.

   b If the used program does not already automatically do this, select the option to randomise the input order of the various taxa in the analysis. Since this order

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[437] Swofford 2002 and Felsenstein 1989.

[438] I have used both *PAUP*4.0* and *PHYLIP* while working on the present study.

[439] For a critical discussion of the method of bootstrapping to determine the accuracy of estimated trees, see B. Efron et. al, "Bootstrap confidence levels for phylogenetic trees", *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. USA* 93 (1996), pp. 7085-7090.

[440] If the three is not rooted, this can lead to inaccurate results, since plesiomorphies can for example be mistaken for apomorphies, Wägele 2005, pp. 181-182.

may influence the outcome of the analysis, it is important to randomise it to avoid the outcome of the analysis to be an artefact of the order in which the algorithm searches for topologies. [441]

4. Generate a consensus tree (see Section 8.3.1.3) using the parsimony analyses of the bootstrapped data sets. This calculates one tree from multiple possible dendrograms, (some of) which may be partly incompatible. The consensus algorithm will analyse all the dendrograms produced by the parsimony analyses and combine compatible monophyla with high bootstrap values in one tree, the consensus tree. The parameters of the consensus tree, such as a minimum bootstrap value for a monophylum to be included in the tree, can often be set beforehand. The consensus algorithm proposes an optimal topology of the given data. [442]

Important notes for using phylogenetic algorithms:

One should not treat the algorithm as a black box. One should have an understanding of what the algorithm itself does in order to assess to what extent it is capable of providing appropriate answers to the questions under consideration. In addition, since an algorithm will always produce an answer on the basis of what one enters, it is essential that the input is evaluated beforehand and that the data set is as complete and correct as possible. In other words: the algorithm calculates the optimal topology of the data one feeds it. The more one follows the rules and principles for the selection of data outlined above, the more the chance decreases that the outcome of the analysis is irrelevant.

E.   Interpretation of the results of a parsimony analysis (dendrogram)

The tree resulting from a default phylogenetic analysis using a parsimony algorithm is usually bifurcating. This means that each taxon has only two direct descendants. Polytomy is only possible when explicitly selected, or when generating a consensus tree. The analysed taxa are positioned at the terminal branches of the tree.

Important notes on how to recognise "ancestor-descendant" relationships with art-historical material:

The analysed taxa are always placed at the terminal branches of the tree and these branches lead to nodes that represent speciation events. Since the dendrogram of an MP analysis is usually bifurcating, only two branches can grow from one node each. Those branches, technically species themselves, often lead to other nodes from which again two branches grow. These nodes are called "inner nodes", while the taxa represent "terminal nodes". Although some of the taxa under investigation may in fact be ancestors of others, they will not be

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[441] J. W. Archie, "A randomization test for phylogenetic information in systematic data", *Systematic Zoology* 38 (1989) pp. 239-252. This would be relevant, for example, when using the *PHYLIP* package.

[442] See Wägele 2005, pp. 104-106.

positioned at stem lineages (branches that lead to nodes). Sometimes, however, one of the branches growing from a node leads to a terminal taxon, while the other branch leads to another node from which again two branches grow (see 1 and 2 in Figure 8.1). The terminal taxon in question may in that case be considered as a representative of the stem lineage leading to the first node. Interpreting a dendrogram in this way, the taxon in question equals the ancestor of the descendants found at that side of the speciation event. [443]

Art-historically, a bifurcating dendrogram in principle shows hypotheses of kinship between the different pictures under investigation. Provided that the character states on the basis of which the phylogeny is inferred consist of elements that the respective artists may indeed have taken from each other's works, this should at least partly correspond to a pattern of reception or influence: one picture or element has inspired the creation of another picture or element in that picture, which has again directly inspired the creation of another picture and so on.

However, in some cases a picture may in reality have led directly to the creation of more than two new pictures (at the same time). A bifurcating tree will not visualise such options, because it forces the data into a bifurcating topology. On the one hand, this does not necessarily mean that the outcome of such a tree is altogether irrelevant. Within the rules of a bifurcating tree, the tree will present an order of relatedness between pictures in which the most closely related pictures are positioned closest to each other (on the basis of the number of characters they share). Pictures that share more characters with a certain ancestor are thus placed closer to that ancestor than pictures that have less in common with this ancestor. On the other hand, the linearity of a maximum parsimony dendrogram may also be too strict to visualise the relationship between the analysed pictures. The art historian may already be able to suspect so on the basis of art-historical evidence, but other ways of determining whether linearity is a concern (after having performed the phylogenetic analysis) are discussed below. If this indeed is the case, it may be more valuable to generate a phylogenetic network instead of a bifurcating dendrogram (see F. Phylogenetic networks).

Art-historical notes: how to interpret the topology of a bifurcating dendrogram:

1. A topology can visualise multiple things: the pure division of taxa in groups and subgroups on the basis of similarities listed in the data matrix, an actual pattern or path of artistic exchange (in which case the similarities are the result of an art-historical process), or a combination of both (in which case some similarities and thus proposed links are meaningful, whereas others are coincidental). One should always compare the given topology to as much art-historical evidence as possible to determine its exact meaning. The less evidence there is, the more helpful a phylogenetic topology may be in theorising about the observed relationships between the analysed objects.

2. In the case of a rooted dendrogram, the MP analysis returns a topology in which all taxa can in principle have been based on any of their "ancestral" taxa (or stem lineage representatives). The higher a taxon is positioned in the tree, the more potentially

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[443] See Wägele 2005, pp. 111-113 for the concept of stem lineage representatives.

"ancestral" taxa exist that share at least some characters with it and that might have functioned as source of inspiration to its artist.

3. It is useful at this stage to link the topology to chronological information about the analysed taxa – if there is any – in order to evaluate the probability of the topology. In case the matrix contains no conflict, the bifurcating tree will be a solid representation of the collected data and, provided that the data are informative, it will likely reflect real (contemporary) connections between pictures.

4. Art is not biological: although the use and development of certain elements in painting may in many cases have been a more or less linear process, it is possible for an artist to omit certain elements (characters) from his source of inspiration (ancestor) before a later artists adds it again in his own work. By contrast, it is unlikely for a gene to evolve, disappear and evolve again. This is the reason why the parsimony method works so accurately in biology. Of course, this also means that the principle of a maximum parsimony tree may sometimes be too strict or linear for the analysis of artistic objects. Since the taxa are all forced into a bifurcating tree, taxa may be put at the same level although they may actually have evolved from on another. Next to this, artistic omissions of traits that "evolve" back again in certain art-historical taxa may trick the parsimony algorithm into proposing a polarity (i.e. an evolutionary direction) that may not accurately reflect reality. Adding data to the data matrix may help in this respect: as a data matrix contains more characters, spurious polarity becomes less likely because each individual character represents a smaller fraction of the matrix. At first glance, this is a statistical argument that suggests that quantity implies quality, but one must be aware of the fact that this is not necessarily true: without a careful preparation of the data matrix, the outcome of the phylogenetic analysis will carry little meaning. These are considerations one should keep in mind when interpreting the results of an analysis of art-historical material.

5. In case the topology only shows partially correct patterns of an art-historical process on the basis of art-historical evidence, one should determine in which cases the tree's bifurcating speciation events are trustworthy and in which cases art-historical evidence would support polytomy, or would favour a different (sub)topology instead. This is relevant for the conclusions that are drawn from the dendrogram later on (also see F. Phylogenetic networks).

6. A bifurcating tree may correctly insert an "intermediate" step between an expected ancestor and a descendant that was not anticipated based on art-historical evidence: a picture positioned between a given taxon and its expected descendant may have served as an intermediate step through which the reception of the ancestor has taken place. This possibility should not be ignored even if the bifurcating tree is thought to be too strict or linear for the analysed objects of art. One should always consider whether such unexpected parts of the topology may actually be real. However, one should remain cautious: if there is substantial art-historical evidence in support of a direct relation to the expected ancestor, a sole dendrogram should not be used to simply override that. After all, a dendrogram in itself is a hypothesis as well. The method serves to systematically quantify observed correspondences between works of art and

affirm or disprove a given hypothesis. Next to that, it can make suggestions that should carefully be evaluated.

Advanced notes: technical and statistical tests:

As described above, bootstrap values indicate the support for a monophylum. They represent the percentages of a certain number of trees generated on the basis of re-sampled data sets that recover a given monophylum (see above). The higher this percentage is, the better the given monophylum is supported by the data in the matrix, while low bootstrap values indicate little support. However, low bootstrap values may also be the result of an "insufficient number of informative sites", conflict in the matrix, or the presence of **homoplasies** – shared characters between species that do not stem from a common ancestor. [444] A small data set with morphological data may also lead to low bootstrap values (data sets with DNA sequences are usually much larger and therefore do not suffer as much from this problem as morphological data sets). [445] Also characters that are compatible with, but not informative for a certain node seem to decrease bootstrap values for the monophylum, just like trivial characters and homoplasies. [446] Therefore it is important to always try to avoid the inclusion of trivial characters and homoplasies in the matrix.

As the analyses performed in the next chapters indicate, art-historical data may lead to somewhat lower bootstrap values than usually seen in biology, but this does certainly not mean that the results are to be dismissed. One can compare the bootstrap values of monophyla that are included in the topology of the consensus tree, both to each other and to those of the monophyla that are not included, in order to determine whether or not the bootstrap values are truly a reason to reconsider the results. Large relative differences between the percentages of monophyla included in and monophyla excluded from the topology will help explain why the monophyla selected by the consensus algorithm are included in the consensus tree. The following two commonly-known techniques can further help testing the reliability of the topology:

1. Verify whether the rooted topology changes if an unrooted tree is calculated. The less the rooted topology is disrupted, the better it is supported by the data in the matrix.
2. A disrupted topology in the above test indicates conflict. In this case, one should consider constructing a phylogenetic network (see below), which visualises all groups instead of only compatible ones, to pinpoint where conflict arises.

F.   Phylogenetic networks

Phylogenetic networks, such as **split graphs**, separate taxa on the basis of binary characters, which is visualised by (parallel) lines: as long as two groups are compatible with each other,

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[444] See for example B. Wiesemüller and H. Rothe, "Interpretation of bootstrap values in phylogenetic analysis", *Anthropol Anz.* 64 (2006), nr. 2, pp. 161-165, and D. M. Hillis and J. J. Bull, "An empirical test of bootstrapping as a method for assessing confidence in phylogenetic analysis", *Systematic Biology* 42 (1993), nr. 2, pp. 182-192.

[445] Soltis and Soltis 2003, p. 261 and references there.

[446] Soltis and Soltis 2003, p. 261 and references there.

only one line is used, but when two groups are not compatible, two parallel lines are used to separate them. This creates a network that often looks tree-like where groups are compatible (as in a phylogenetic tree) and web-like where conflict arises. In other words: a network visualises compatible *and* incompatible groups. This acknowledges the conflict included in the data matrix, whereas a dendrogram creates a topology on the basis of compatible groups only, not showing any of the matrix's conflict in the tree. Phylogenetic networks are often based on **distance matrices**, which contain the degree of dissimilarity between pairs of taxa expressed in a certain number. These matrices are therefore much smaller than the regular matrices discussed above, which contain all character states per taxon. This significantly decreases the computing time that is needed to generate a graph based on a distance matrix, relative to one based on a full character matrix.[447] As is the case with a dendrogram, the closer individual taxa are placed to each other in a network, the closer they are related to each other according to the algorithm.

NeighborNet is an algorithm that calculates the set of splits that need to be represented in a split graph. "It constructs splits by progressively combining clusters in a way that allows overlap. The resulting graph provides a useful visualization of the extent to which the data are tree-like... [it gives] a broad brushstroke picture of conflicting signal within a data set."[448] An example of a program that can produce split graphs with the NeighborNet algorithm is *SplitsTree4*, which is used for the present study.[449] A similar method is neighbor-joining (NJ), although this does not combine incompatible groups. An NJ algorithm is also included in the *SplitsTree4*program.

Important notes for interpreting a phylogenetic network:

1. The split graph is a two-dimensional, unrooted structure.

2. The more treelike the split graph is, the less conflict the used data set includes. Strongly web-like structures are a sign of conflict.

3. Like in a dendrogram, taxa that are closely connected on the basis of the information present in the data matrix will be positioned close to each other, but this time, also incompatible groups are acknowledged.

4. The network can be compared to a dendrogram in order to explain or evaluate the topology proposed by the dendrogram. In this comparison, the dendrogram can be seen as a strict, linear topology, with the network as a nuanced, extended version.

5. If the NeighborNet calculation returns a perfect tree, there is no conflict in the data set and the topology returned by the MP analysis is confirmed.

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[447] See Huson and Bryant 2006, pp. 254-267 for a more in-depth discussion of the use of phylogenetic networks. Often regular matrices can easily be converted to distance matrices by the used software packages for the inference of phylogenetic networks (*SplitsTree4* provides this option).

[448] See D. Bryant and V. Moulton, "Neighbor-net: an agglomerative method for the construction of phylogenetic networks", *Molecular biology and evolution* 21 (2004), nr. 2, pp. 255-265; and Gray *et al.* 2010, p. 3925.

[449] Huson and Bryant 2006 pp. 254-267.

Art-historical notes about the interpretation and use of a network:

Just like a dendrogram, a split graph shows how the objects under investigation relate to each other on the basis of shared characters. Among others the distinguishable groups and the sites in the graph where these groups connect allow for conclusions to be drawn on their relationships. Especially combined with art-historical data, the nature of these relationships can be analysed and explained. *A posteriori* adding, for example, geographical or chronological data in the graph (by means of colours and symbols) can help explain the visualised relationships. Like a dendrogram, a network can highlight connections that the art historian has not necessarily considered before and it can also give rise to new questions concerning objects and their artists, such as the whereabouts or exposure of certain works of art and the travels of artists at certain points in time.

Advanced notes on Delta scores and Q scores:

Delta- and Q scores give an indication of the amount of conflict for a split graph as a whole, as well as of the extent to which a specific taxon is involved in conflict. They can easily be calculated in *SplitsTree4* on the basis of distances between subsets of four taxa. "The rationale behind this score is that it equals zero if the distances between the four taxa exactly fit a tree; otherwise, the score ranges between 0 and 1". These scores are therefore commonly used as a tool to estimate the robustness of a network. [450]

G.   Information that is not explicitly entered into a phylogenetic cladistic analysis

As will have become clear, especially from step B. Character selection, the information that is ideally used for a phylogenetic analysis of figurative or narrative paintings concerns formal elements and visual motifs. This means that the analysis is performed almost purely on the basis of the art itself. One only needs to formulate the right semantic concepts that translate the observed similarities between pictures into a data matrix and examine these pictures for these similarities. This requires a structured and rather objective approach to the given pictures.

　　There are also types of information relating to the pictures one does not directly feed into the phylogenetic analysis. An example of this is explicit information concerning the national background of the analysed works of art. Explicit chronological information and biographical data of artists – for example, whether or not artists whose works are included in the data set were aware of each other's works – are excluded from the data matrix as well. After all, if the aim of using phylogenetic methods is to study certain patterns on the basis of observable similarities between paintings, such information would only steer the analysis away from this, into a predetermined direction. In this case, agglomerations on the basis of nationality, chronology or biographical background may therefore just show in the resulting graph because they are actively added to the analysis, and not because of the characteristics of the works of art themselves. In other words, already-known classifications

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[450] See Gray *et al.* 2010, p. 3925 for a more detailed discussion of the use of Delta and Q-scores.

may predetermine the calculated topology if they are added to the analysis, while information that is encapsulated in the formal features of the analysed pictures – which may or may not contradict such classifications – is ignored or outweighed. This would make the analysis unsuitable for art-historical interpretation.

All of the above does not mean, however, that considerations regarding nationality, chronology and biographical details are altogether not involved in an art-historical application of phylogenetic methods. Depending on the questions one wishes to address with phylogenetic methods, they may first of all be of importance during the selection of one's data set. Information about the whereabouts of a certain picture or artist, or facts concerning pictures that were created in their direct vicinity may, for example, convince the researcher to include or exclude certain objects from a data set. In this way, information regarding among others nationalities, chronology and biographical details *do* influence the art-historical phylogenetic undertaking, though only in the *a priori* stage of the phylogenetic analysis. Perhaps not surprisingly, as soon as the phylogenetic analysis has been performed, agglomerations on the basis of nationality, chronology or biographical facts can still be found within the resulting topologies, but the critical point is that they will have been formed on the basis of the works of art themselves and not on preset ideas. This is when results become particularly interesting.

Finally, it must be noted that chronological information *can* be added in the presets of a phylogenetic analysis when relevant. This is for example the case when one roots a graph on the basis of a chosen outgroup. This means that chronological information is still not included in the data matrix itself, but it becomes part of the analysis at the right place: if it is known which painting or groups of paintings originated before others, it is perfectly sound to "tell" the algorithm beforehand that this is the case. This may even be desirable in order to minimise the calculation of topologies that are unlikely or chronologically impossible in the end results.

8.4   Summary: a quick-start tutorial in phylogenetic systematics for art historians

This section contains a summarising quick-start tutorial with 7 steps for the application of phylogenetic methods on art-historical data. It functions as a concise summary of the guide discussed above and a short example of the application of phylogenetic methodology on art-historical data. Of course, this is not the only way in which phylogenetic methods can be used for art-historical research. Some cases may require additional steps to be taken and other cases can make do with a more simplified analysis. As a quick-start tutorial, it purely offers a first suggestion for the use of phylogenetic methods in art history.

Step 1. Consider if and why phylogenetic methods should be used

Phylogenetic methods can be employed to infer or visualise kinship within a group or between groups of works of art. Such an inference or visualization can (1) systematically test an *a priori* formulated hypothesis of kinship on the basis of art-historical observations, (2) quantify

and "objectify" art-historical hypotheses of kinship, (3) highlight certain connections or explanations for the connections between the objects under investigation that may have gone unnoticed, and finally or consequently, (4) have a predictive quality, leading to new questions and hypotheses. A prerequisite for all these bullet points is a systematic application of the methods.

In order to observe how the phylogenetic principles and algorithms deal with art-historical information, the first phylogenetic analysis in the next chapter contains a varied collection of art-historical data and also includes conflict in the matrix. Circumstantial, art-historical information about the relationships between the selected subjects makes it possible to observe how the algorithm deals with such input and subsequently to determine how one can correct for this. The first phylogenetic analysis in the next chapter can be used as a simple example for the present tutorial.

Step 2. The hypothesis

Before an analysis can be performed, the following steps need to be taken.

1. Collect a number of objects between which a correlation is observed that needs to be analysed or visualised.

2. Roughly identify which similarities constitute the correlation and gather as much (art-historical) evidence as possible in order to reduce the possibility that the selected objects are brought together arbitrarily.

    Example: one could observe compositional similarities, thematic similarities, or a correlation between specific elements of the selected objects. These similarities may have been the result of mutual influence or reception. The correlations may ideally be supported by written evidence (i.e. journals), or circumstantial evidence that the artists of the selected objects have known or studied each other's works, or other reasons for the observed similarities.

3. Formulate a concise hypothesis of the correlation between the selected objects and determine which question the phylogenetic analysis should answer. This is per definition a question about kinship and it determines which information will be adopted in the data matrix later on. Two examples are as follows.

    Example 1: hypothesis: the selected objects show a pattern of reception. Question: along which ways has a certain image or a certain visual motif developed itself?

    Example 2: hypothesis: a certain style originates at a certain geographical location and has been distributed by (groups of) artists, resulting in the development of new styles in new locations. Question: how was a certain style geographically distributed and where did it originate?

    These two examples are by no means exhaustive, but they illustrate the range of possible hypotheses one could formulate. Naturally, the three sub-steps of this step

are strongly intertwined. For instance, after the hypothesis has been formulated, more taxa can be added to the list that was already compiled during the first sub-step and more similarities may be observed after the hypothesis is formulated.

Step 3. The data matrix

To construct the data matrix, the following steps need to be followed.

1. Take the question formulated at Step 2.3 Determine which (types of) characteristics of the collected objects are relevant in order to answer this question, or which characters "contribute" to the observed correlation (also see Step 2.2).

2. Follow the guidelines for the selection of characters and the compilation of the data matrix (see 8.3 B. Character selection and C. The construction of the data matrix).

3. Optional: formulate expectations about the topology.

Step 4. Analysing the data matrix with a parsimony program

To analyse the gathered data, the following steps need to be taken.

1. Choose a phylogenetic program and algorithm (used here: maximum parsimony).

2. Run a parsimony algorithm with the data matrix and create a dendrogram. Preset or apply the following concepts if needed and possible:

   a Bootstrapping – a statistical characterisation of the matrix by resampling.

   b Random data input and outgroup-selection in case an outgroup can be identified or needs to be identified.

   c A consensus tree function. In the case of multiple parsimonious trees, compatible monophyla of taxa are joined in one tree and bootstrap values are indicated.

Step 5. Analyse the results

Evaluate and describe the correlations between the matrix and dendrogram or network in order to relate the outcome of the analysis to the input. This makes it easier to discern on the basis of which characters or statistics a certain topology has been generated and to draw conclusions from the results.

1. Explain the given topology in conjunction with the matrix, and compare the result with the *a priori* formulated expectations. If necessary, refer to the bootstrap values of omitted sets to explain why certain groups have and others have not been included in the topology (this would not be relevant in case of a network, see F. Phylogenetic Networks). If bootstrap values of omitted groups are higher than those of groups that are included in the topology, this generally indicates that there is considerable conflict in the matrix.

2. Test the results:

    a Randomly leave out chosen taxa and observe whether this influences the topology (the less impact this has, the more accurately the graph visualises the data in the matrix).

    b Make an unrooted dendrogram and observe whether it influences the topology (the less impact this has, the more unambiguous the information adopted in the matrix is, and the stronger the topology can be considered to be).

    c In case the returned test results show great differences and there is the suspicion of conflict in the matrix, construct a network on the basis of the identical data matrix (if necessary convert this matrix to a distance matrix). In case the differences are only small and unambiguous, move to step 7 after step 6.d.

    d Attention: understanding how the topology is generated on the basis of the data matrix enables the researcher to evaluate the role of separate taxa and characters and, possibly, to determine whether a topology is the result of an artefact of the method or analysis or not (such as the input order).

Step 6. Generate a network (optional)

Where a dendrogram makes a selection of compatible groups and thus ignores conflict in the matrix, a network can visualise this conflict by showing all connections between the taxa. In case of conflict, the formed groups are separated from each other by parallel lines that together form a web-like pattern. Use or apply the following techniques:

1. A program in order to calculate a phylogenetic network. An example is the program *SplitsTree4*, which features a NeighborNet algorithm, but also other algorithms can be used. [451]

2. Bootstrapping – a statistic characterisation of the data matrix by resampling.

3. Calculate the Delta and Q scores to observe where in the topology or matrix most conflict arises and where the network is most treelike. The closer these numbers are to 0, the less conflict is present at these sites. The closer the numbers are to 1, the more conflict is present around a certain taxon (the scores are given as average for the network and per taxon).

4. Generate a "confidence network", which shows the strongest connections between taxa on the basis of a certain percentage. This is often useful to highlight certain connections. It should show great similarities with the consensus dendrogram generated earlier.

5. Repeat Step 5 for the generated network and then continue to Step 7.

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[451] Huson and Bryant 2006 pp. 254-267.

Step 7. Conclusions

The following steps need to be taken in order to translate the results of the analysis to art-historical conclusions.

1. Select the dendrograms and/or networks that most accurately describe the relation between the analysed taxa with the purpose of answering the *a priori* formulated question (see Step 2.3). For example: when a matrix contains considerable conflict, a network may be more informative to support and visualise a certain topology than a dendrogram, but a dendrogram can also contribute to the explanation of the resulting topologies by showing the strongest relationships encapsulated in the gathered data.

2. Interpret the dendrograms and/or networks: connect the analysis of the topologies to an art-historical explanation.

   a Determine what kind of relationships are visualised and to what extent a given topology support or refutes the hypothesis.

      Example: the topology may reflect a geographical distribution of the analysed objects, relationships between certain artists, contemporary media-attention of certain works, or distributions of art over time.

   b Identify nodes or groups in the topology that are particularly important in order to answer the question of Step 2.3 . Determine where and why groups of objects or single objects are joined, explain these connections in conjunction with the data matrix, and formulate an art-historical interpretation of these connections.

   c Formulate conclusions that can be drawn from the given topologies, or use the topologies to support existing art-historical conclusions. Always perform this step in conjunction with the art-historical background of the data set to avoid over interpretation of the given topologies. Conclusions may concern: the geographical and chronological distribution of certain visual elements, styles, themes, compositions, reasons for their distribution in certain areas, or key roles of certain taxa therein.

The step-by-step guide for art historians and the summarising quick-start tutorial presented in this part serve primarily as an introduction to phylogenetic methods for the art historian. They represent a first suggestion for the application of phylogenetic methodology to painting and are certainly not exhaustive. They are meant to enable the art historian to perform a basic phylogenetic analysis of works of art with the intention of providing a starting point for further art-historical endeavours in this direction. Further considerations concerning the application of phylogenetic methodology in art history and suggestions for future research are discussed in Chapter 14.

Chapter 9

David Wilkie (1785-1841): blueprints for German genre painting

As demonstrated in Part II, the German interest in British genre painting concentrated particularly on the work of David Wilkie. Part II shows that his work represented a moral type of genre painting that theorists had increasingly been advocating since the eighteenth century and that his oeuvre found exposure in the German realm through, among others, physical paintings, reproductive prints and reviews. When it comes to the practice of early nineteenth-century German painting, many examples of genre pieces are found that testify of a strong impact of Wilkie's work on German art itself. This chapter discusses a variety of examples of the German reception of Wilkie in painting. Some of these were already explicitly identified and discussed in contemporary literature.

Since the goal is to understand and explain the phenomenon of the German reception of Wilkie's work, this chapter treats the "artistic" German reception of Wilkie as a historical process that is connected to contemporary ideas, opinions and sentiments about the genre piece and its content. In order to avoid an arbitrary selection, comparison and analysis of works of art and their characteristics, this chapter focuses especially on works by artists that were already compared to Wilkie's work at the time. Furthermore, it addresses concepts that feature in, for example, contemporary reviews of the works of art under investigation. At the time, various German artists were coined "German Wilkies" during their lifetime and this is often accompanied with straightforward explanations. The first half of this chapter not only discusses such artists and their works, but also focuses on the aspects of their pictures that were considered particularly relevant.[452]

The following sections of this chapter can be divided into traditional art-historical sections, which explore relevant examples and evidence of the reception of Wilkie (Sections 9.1 to 9.4), and sections in which phylogenetic methods are used to subject selected pictures to a close visual analysis (Sections 9.5 and 9.6).

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[452]A first exploratory step towards this was made in the unpublished MA Thesis *"Der geistreichste und eigenthümlichste Meister der ganzen englischen Schule; the reception of David Wilkie (1785-1842) and his legacy in the German-speaking regions*, Utrecht (unpublished MA Thesis) 2012, by the author, authored as Sophie Goldhagen.

By means of an introduction, Section 9.1 features a detailed study of the German "Nach-leben" of Wilkie's *The reading of the will*, a picture that appears to have inspired many local artists in the German realm. Subsequently, in Section 9.2, the concept of physiognomy in German genre painting is discussed and it is explored to what extent German artists may have used Wilkie's treatment of physiognomy as a role model in a bid to achieve a lively narrative in their own works. Because the German reception of British genre painting was greatly intertwined with that of Dutch genre painting – even Wilkie himself was considered a "British Teniers" – Section 9.3 tackles the entanglement of the reception of Dutch and British genre painting and attempts to pinpoint elements in German genre painting that may uniquely have stemmed from Wilkie's heritage. In Section 9.4, this chapter continues with an explo-ration of some social-critical themes and tendencies in German genre painting that according to contemporary literature originate in pieces by Wilkie.

Finally, in Sections 9.5 and 9.6, a large number of visible relationships between Wilkie's works and those of his potential followers is systematically analysed using phylogenetic methods. These relationships are based on the correlations between pictures discussed in Sections 9.1 to 9.4. The "phylogenetic" sections describe the used data sets, the performed analyses and the phylogenetic results and are meant to provide a clear example of the pro-cess of applying phylogenetic methodology on art-historical data and the assessment of its outcome. The traditional art-historical sections and the sections revolving around the phylo-genetic analyses should not be seen as two separate stories; their results are integral parts of this study's quest to explain the German reception of British genre painting.

9.1   The reception of *The reading of the will* (1820)

When it comes to the question of Wilkie's artistic heritage in German genre painting, the "Nachleben" of one specific picture provides a very illustrative case: *The reading of the will*. The status that this picture acquired in the German-speaking realm already shortly after its arrival in 1820 exceeded that of some of the greatest masterpieces in the collection of the Bavarian king at the time. Today, it may be considered remarkable that *The reading of the will* was retained at the 1826 public auction of King Max I. Joseph's private collection for the astronomical sum of 12.000 guilders, while Vermeer's *Woman holding a balance* (1662-1663) was lost to foreign buyers for only a fraction of that price. Taking a closer look at Wilkie's picture reveals just why this picture was able to attain such a high standing: it corresponds perfectly to the theoretical ideal of a higher form of genre painting as well as the taste of the bourgeois art public that was to be reached through such pictures. [453]

Firstly, *The reading of the will* shows a highly narrative scene that is based on the emotions of its figures and the relationships between them (see Illustration 9). The setting is that of a bourgeois interior showing the relatives of a deceased man gathered around a table. Against the background of a wall that displays the man's portrait and a map of his inheritable property, almost all figures are listening to a notary who is reading the man's last will and testament. While the potential inheritors are impatiently waiting for the heir to be revealed – one of them even equipping a hearing aid – an elderly woman in a luxurious silk dress turns to the scene

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[453] A condensed form of this line of reasoning was proposed in Kruijssen 2013-2014, pp. 249-266.

in astonishment. To the left of this group, a mourning widow is seated with her back turned towards the company, and although her husband has only just passed away, which is indicated by his empty armchair and his abandoned slippers, potential new partners are already making advances. Meanwhile, her children, the smallest one carried on the arm by an elderly lady with a cap, are trying to stay aloof of the bourgeois *tableau vivant* that is taking place in their living room. The scene itself is richly embellished with minutely perfected details that are certainly not inferior to those found in a Dou or a Teniers. One can identify among others decorative arms, musical- and measuring instruments and bookshelves adorning the walls and a dog hiding under the empty seat of his late master. Finally, prominently positioned in the foreground of the picture, one finds what this scene is all about: a large chest with precious heirlooms.

The heirs in Wilkie's picture are no farmers, nor do they display any unbecoming behaviour, as is often the case in the "niedere" Dutch scenes by for example Ostade. [454] Instead, they are well-dressed bourgeois figures that together display a highly dramatic narrative that is based on emotion and interaction. However, contrary to history painting, in which such a narrative was traditionally found, this narrative is sporting an everyday instead of a historical or mythological setting. Wilkie's picture shows the human being just as it is, but because of a good-natured humour and sympathy for that human being, the scene conveys a moral quality without being jesting or even satirical, as Hogarth was often thought to be. Because of this, the panel exactly fulfilled the potential of the modern genre piece that was outlined in art theory, as discussed in Chapter 2. Furthermore, the picture can be seen as the product of a modern *fijnschilder*, a contemporary Dou or Ter Borch, two artists that the art theorists Kugler had appointed as role models of the "höhere" type of genre painting. However, if one compares *The reading of the will* to the uneventful tavern interiors of Teniers, such as his *Card players*, or the bourgeois parlours of Ter Borch or Dou, such as *The dropsical woman* (1663) (see Illustration 3), it is immediately clear that Wilkie exceeded his Dutch predecessors.

During the 1830s and 1840s, many local interpretations of the theme of a reading of a will appeared in the German-speaking realm. Considering that this trend arose shortly after the arrival of Wilkie's picture in Munich in 1820, it is likely that these interpretations were sparked either by encounters with Wilkie's original picture, by reviews of it, or by prints after it. Already-recognised examples of such interpretations stem from Joseph Petzl, Gisbert Flüggen, Johan Geyer, Ludwig Bokelmann and Joseph Danhauser (1805-1845). [455] Additional interpretations that can be found are a copy by Kaspar Kaltenmoser (1806-1867) mentioned in Nagler, Leopold Loeffler's (1827-1898) *Die Erbschleicher* (date unknown), a second version of the theme by Geyer from 1857, and Flüggen's *Die Erbschleicher* (1853) and *Das Testament* (date unknown). [456] A further version of the theme was painted by Otto Wil-

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[454] See Mount 1991, p. 35 and p. 183 for a discussion of such "transgressive" behaviour.

[455] A.S. Marks, "Wilkie, Hogarth and Hazlitt: *The reading of the will*, its origins and legacy", *Studies in Romanticism* 48 (2009) nr. 4, pp. 583-640. Marks, however, argues that some of them are lost and ignores others, like Petzl's *Versteigerung in einem Vornehmen Haus* (1832), which can in fact be found in the private collection of paintings of the Thurn und Taxis family in Regensburg, see U. Staudinger, *Die Bildergalerie Maximilian Karls von Thurn und Taxis*, Kallmünz 1990, cat. nr. 110.

[456] Hardtwig 2003, vol. 4, p. 539 and Boetticher 1948, vol. 1.2., p. 928. The last two paintings are mentioned as a category of "novellist scenes" together with *Der unterbrochene Ehecontract* (1840) and *Prozeßentscheid* (1847) in Krul 2006, pp. 513-515.

helm Eduard Erdmann (1834-1905) (Illustration 12), [457] and Johann Baptist Kirner's (1806-1866) *Schweizer Gardist erzählt in seiner Heimat seine Erlebnisse während der Pariser Juli-Revolution von 1830* (1831) and *Preisverteilung des landwirtschaftlichen Vereins in einer Hotzenwälder Bauernstube* (1841) can loosely be related to Wilkie's picture on the basis of their homely setting and boxlike composition, with the table as the centre of attention (Illustration 10 and 13). [458]

Some of the above-mentioned interpretations of the theme of the reading of a will seem to have adopted compositional elements and even specific motifs directly from Wilkie's picture. Kirner's *Schweizer Gardist*, for example, presents a composition of a family gathered around a table in a domestic interior. They are listening to a soldier, just as almost all figures gathered around the table in Wilkie's *The reading of the will* are listening to the notary. There are children and a dog playing near the table and the emotions on the faces of the depicted figures are all individually carried out with an attention to detail that is reminiscent of Wilkie's picture. Kirner's *Preisverteilung des landwirtschaftlichen Vereins in einer Hotzenwälder Bauernstube* (1841) shows a similar composition and similar visual motifs. Kirner was a genre painter who attended the academy in Augsburg and Munich when Wilkie's picture could be found there, and who also worked in Rome and Karlsruhe. [459] Not only his choice of subjects and his sense for physiognomy were widely praised in contemporary art criticism, the naivety and richness of motifs of his scenes made him an acclaimed artist who was placed next to and sometimes even above Wilkie:

> "If one needs to regret that Kirner, who had been able to establish so much of significance in the realm of church- and history painting, now also lowers himself to the taste of the day and has switched to genre, any unease about this quickly vanishes when this picture is observed more closely. Here [with *Schweizer Gardist*], he places himself with fortunate success next to Wilkie, [and] even surpasses him in the naivety and richness of motifs." [460]

Another artist who was called a German Wilkie by his contemporaries was Gisbert Flüggen, who painted a picture with the theme of *Die Erbschleicher* (1855), which is reminiscent of Wilkie's *Reading of the will*. [461] Although the theme is strictly-spoken somewhat different from Wilkie's picture, it returns so many of its original motifs that it can hardly be a coincidence that Flüggen set out to paint this picture after the arrival of *The reading of the will* in Munich. Flüggen seems to have replaced Wilkie's notary by a woman signing a will on her deathbed, which triggers an array of emotions in the faces of the people around the table in the bourgeois interior. The function of Wilkie's chest with heirlooms is fulfilled

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[457]Boetticher, 1948, vol. 1.1, nr. 22, p. 291 (mentioned as "Ein Testament. Ein Notar liest es den Hinterbliebenen vor"), also see Auct. cat. Sotheby's New York, 12.02.1997, lot 109 for a reproduction.

[458]For reproductions see Mahlbacher 1983, cat. nr. 9 and fig. 5, and cat. nr. 17 and fig. 9 there.

[459]Mahlbacher 1983, pp. 10-16.

[460]"Wenn er gleichwohl bedauern muß, daß Kirner, der im Gebiete der Kirchen- und Geschichtsmalerei so Bedeutendes leisten konnte, sich jetzt gleichfalls dem Geschmacke des Tags bequemt und zum Genre übergeht, so verliert sich doch das unangenehme Gefühl hierüber schnell bei näherer Betrachtung dieses Bildes. Mit glücklichem Erfolg stellt er sich hier neben Wilkie, und übertrifft jenen sogar an Naivetät [und] Reichthum der Motive", *Kunst-Blatt* 1832, nr. 55, p. 210.

[461]*Deutsches Kunstblatt* 1853, nr. 2, p. 35 and see `www.duesseldorfer-auktionshaus.de/` (consulted 4 December 2015), auct. cat. nr. 2, 2011, lot 149.

by a silver-plated chest stowed in the cabinet in the background, while papers lay scattered across the floor in the foreground. It is almost superfluous to note that the domestic interior is stuffed with small domestic objects of various materials and textures, such as vases, books and carpets, just as in Wilkie's picture. Together, these similarities suggest that Flüggen knew Wilkie's picture, especially because he has also painted a *Testamentseröffnung*, which is mentioned in his academy certificate. [462]

Whereas the pictures by the "German Wilkies" Kirner and Flüggen are reminiscent of Wilkie's panel on the basis of their compositions and, or settings, other pictures share even more obvious similarities with Wilkie's picture. Geyer's *Testamentseröffnung* (1830-1855) is an example of this (Illustration 14). [463] The boxlike composition of Geyer's picture, with a view into another room in the back, the notary with figures gathered around a table, the ancestral portraits on the wall and the lady in the silk dress on the left-hand side of the picture, seems almost directly to have been inspired by Wilkie's panel. Geyer studied at the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Munich since 1827 and may thus have been aware of Wilkie's picture and of the local hype that had arisen around it. [464]

Two of the most striking German variations of Wilkie's theme come from the Austrian artist Danhauser, who painted a *Testamentseröffnung* in 1839 and another one in 1844 (Illustration 15 and Illustration 16). [465] Both pictures have many visual motifs in common with Wilkie's picture and show a wide variety of figures gathered around a table in a bourgeois interior. A notary has just revealed the contents of a will, while a widow in black looks in discontent upon the revealed heirs and the other figures either silently or very explicitly vent their opinions about the outcome. A chest with heirlooms and other valuables is positioned on the floor in front of the table and a lonely portrait of a deceased man watches from his position on the wall as the scene unfolds. Danhauser's 1839 picture even shows a map and thermometer hanging on the wall, as is the case in Wilkie's picture as well, and the 1844 picture features a playful dog lying among the heirlooms, which is reminiscent of its British nephew that is hiding under the seat in Wilkie's piece.

Danhauser's 1844 picture renders a somewhat more dramatic version of the scene with a pyramid composition, emphatic gestures of the figures and dramatic lighting. [466] In his narrative approach, Danhauser thus goes slightly further than Wilkie, but his treatment of the individual figures very much equals Wilkie's. The fact that Danhauser aimed to capitalise on their unique features and their mutual relationships, instead of just rendering a group of figures taking part in some scene, becomes clear when looking at a preparatory drawing for his first picture. This drawing shows two rather separate groups of people opposite of each

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[462] Krul 2006, p. 515, note 479. They are mentioned in Boetticher 1979 vol. 1, pp. 331-332, where *Testamentseröffnung* is mentioned as *Das Testament*. Also see Krul 2006, pp. 510-515 for a more elaborate discussion of Flüggen and his work.

[463] Von der Lieth *et al.* 2008, pp. 124-125.

[464] See http://matrikel.adbk.de/ (consulted 6 November 2014), he was enrolled with registrationnumber 1271 on 9 May 1827, for the discipline of "painting", interestingly he specifically enrolled for the subject of "history painting".

[465] Grabner 2011, cat. nrs. 245 and 388.

[466] The development of this new composition is clearly visible in the preparatory drawing for the second rendition of the theme, which also still depicts the chest with heirlooms prominently in front of the table, and an absence of the pyramid composition in one drawing, and the development of the final composition in another, see Albertina Inv. nr. 24917 and Inv. nr. 23971r.

other, while in the final picture the figures have come into their own as individuals acting together in one scene. [467]

The links between Danhauser's first picture and Wilkie's *Reading of the will* have not gone unnoticed in modern art-historical research. For instance, Grabner has identified the similarities between the pictures, but she argues that this does not necessarily means that Danhauser took the theme from Wilkie. The depicted moment of the scene, just after the reading of the will, leads her to argue that it was not Wilkie's picture, but Sir Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering* that inspired Danhauser to paint his genre piece; after all, this novel features a strikingly similar scene. [468] Because translations of Scott's novel were widely available at the time, this is hypothetically well possible and this possibility should therefore not be ignored. However, considering the very clear similarities between the pictures, the idea that Wilkie's picture has not played any role in Danhauser's artistic choices seems somewhat unsatisfactory – especially when considering Danhauser's relationship to Wilkie's work in a broader sense.

Throughout Danhauser's oeuvre, various pictures can be encountered that are reminiscent of Wilkie's oeuvre. The motifs and themes from pictures such as *Dorfpolitiker* (1844) and *Die Zeitungsleser* (1840) bear striking resemblances to Wilkie's *Village politicians* and *Chelsea pensioners* (Illustration 17). [469] A preparatory drawing for a *Pfändung* or *Rent day* can furthermore be found in the collections of the Albertina in Vienna. [470] It is unlikely that Danhauser saw Wilkie's original pictures, which were in Britain, but he may have been aware of reproductive prints after them. It may even be possible that he met Wilkie when the British genre painter visited Vienna in 1826, although no evidence about such an encounter is known. Wilkie's well-covered visit could in any case have made him aware of the artist's work. [471]

Other local interpretations of *The reading of the will* that should be mentioned here are the late nineteenth-century renditions of it by Erdmann and Bokelmann. Whereas Erdmann's version of the theme has a historicising nature and features clear motifs from Wilkie's picture, such as the notary and family gathered around the table, the chest with valuables in front of it, and the presence of a portrait of the deceased person, Bokelmann's *Testamentseröffnung* (1879) shows a somewhat more modern interpretation of Wilkie's theme (Illustration 18). [472] Like Wilkie, Bokelmann has depicted the scene of a reading of a will, but his figures are not exactly joined in one common interaction. Different groups of figures can be distinguished, distributed from left to right over the picture plane and over the entire depth of the scene. Although the motif of a notary reading a will is present, more unique elements that could have stemmed from Wilkie's picture are absent. Moreover, the whole of the scene is much less narrative than Wilkie's picture. Bokelmann's version should perhaps only be seen as a distant and indirect result of Wilkie's legacy, but it is without question a contribution to the German tradition of the theme. Bokelmann may have had the chance to see Wilkie's picture in Munich on his way to Italy in 1872. [473]

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[467] See Albertina inv. Nr. 5115.

[468] Grabner 2011, pp. 75-76.

[469] The connection between Wilkie's *Village politicians* and Danhauser's *Dorfpolitiker* is acknowledged by Grabner as well, Grabner 2011 pp. 95-96, see cat. nr. 382 (*Dorfpolitiker*) and cat. nr. 271 (*Die Zeitungsleser*).

[470] See Albertina Inv. Nr. 24915.

[471] Risch 1986, p. 164, note 4.

[472] See Auct. cat. Sotheby's New York, 12.02.1997, lot 109 and Hodel 1985, p. 27, cat. nr. 54 repectively.

[473] Hodel 1985, p. 27. A *Testamentsverfassung* was also painted by Bokelmann, but this picture is not located,

In summary, it seems that Wilkie's picture in the collection of King Max I. Joseph has inspired many German genre painters throughout the nineteenth century, which may have been stimulated by its status and its famous commissioner. Considering the wide exposure and reception of the picture, the theme was likely regarded as something that was quintessentially Wilkie's. Wilkie's picture should thus be considered a very plausible ancestor of the German interpretations of this theme. [474] However, it should be noted that the concept of the testament had gathered a connotation that may – next to Wilkie's picture – also have been responsible for increasing the popularity of the theme in German genre painting during the nineteenth-century.

As Vedder argues about the cultural practice of inheritance in nineteenth-century literature: "as judicial concept, the 19th-century testament is an heirloom of the early modern period". [475] Around 1800, the testament in its original form and function had in principle become unnecessary due to secularisation, de-socialisation and the introduction of civil law, but because it still had some form of legal validity, it evolved into a source of conflict and thus an expression of individual acting against – or "Correction" of – universal law. [476] Vedder identifies this as one of the main reasons why it was such an attractive subject for literature at the time. Of course, the same line of reasoning can be used to explain its appearance in narrative painting: Vedder's description of the nineteenth-century testament as a medium of individualisation argues for its contemporary suitability for genre painting in which the individual and its actions, instead of a more universal human being, played the leading role. [477] The contemporary relevance of the theme of a reading of a will may even have provided a stimulus for the reception of Wilkie's picture in the German realm. However, Wilkie's picture enjoyed such an impressive status in the German realm at the time that its inspiring capacity can be considered a very likely direct source for the contemporary German interpretations of it.

9.2   The role of physiognomy in genre painting

Reading contemporary literature about British genre painting and about Wilkie's work in particular, *physiognomy* is one of the most frequently recurring terms and the concept of physiognomy is identified as one of the most important features of the admired British role model. The following quote on the German genre painter Friedrich Mosbrugger (1804-1830) illustrates this:

> "If our fatherland were as rich in characteristic motifs, as Shakespear [sic], Hogarth, Wilkie etc. could find in all public spaces and at every penny in England,

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Boetticher 1979, vol. 1, p. 123.

[474]Other themes featuring in Wilkie's oeuvre that are also found in German genre painting, are *Card players*, *Village politicians*, *Distraining for rent*, and *The blind fiddler*, *The village recruit* and *Blind man's buff*. Also see Immel 1967, pp. 79-81 for more examples. Some of them will be discussed below.

[475]Das Testament als Rechtsfigur ist im 19. Jahrhundert ein >Erbstück< aus der Vormoderne", Vedder 2011, p. 37.

[476]Vedder 2011, p. 23-24.

[477]Vedder 2011, p. 24-26.

> and if public life would move as freely and unbridled as on that island, this young artist would certainly not lack behind Wilkie." [478]

Physiognomy in this sense is used as: "a person's facial features or expression, especially when regarded as indicative of character or ethnic origin." [479] As a topic of study, however, physiognomy has its roots in Antiquity and reached a height during the eighteenth century with Johann Kaspar Lavater's (1741-1801) *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe* (1775-1778), which was carefully illustrated by Fuseli and William Blake (1757-1827). [480] Around that time, physiognomy became an important topic in art and aesthetics. In this context, an artistic interest took shape in, for example, the rendering or sculpting of expressive heads, of which the work of William Hogarth is only one example. [481] Wilkie soon followed in Hogarth's footsteps with his fascination for the careful rendering of human emotions and expressions, but as discussed in the previous chapters, he avoided his predecessor's sense of caricature and satire.

A German artist who treated the depiction of expressions in a way that is comparable to Wilkie's, was Johann Peter Hasenclever (1810-1853). As an apprentice of Wilhelm von Schadow (1788-1862), Hasenclever started his education at the Düsseldorf art academy and would grow out to become one of the protagonists of the Düsseldorf School of painting. This school is now known for its socially engaged topics and well-developed branch of genre painting. [482] It took some time, however, before Hasenclever established himself as a successful artist. His first individual picture, which showed a composition of a *Blind fiddler*, was heavily criticised and ultimately rejected by von Schadow. [483] Unfortunately, the painting is now lost and descriptions of the composition do not exist, which makes it impossible to compare it to Wilkie's rendition of the theme and evaluate their relationship. Of course, the theme can already be found in, among others, the oeuvres of Ostade and Jan Victors (1619-1676), but the nineteenth-century German variant is more sentimental, showing a wide array of emotions triggered by the fiddler's performance – which is also the case in Wilkie's picture. [484] Since Wilkie's *Blind fiddler* was exhibited as early as 1806 and was much discussed in art journals

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[478]"Wäre unser Vaterland so reich an eigenthümlichen Physiognomieen, wie sie sich Shakespear [sic], Hogarth, Wilkie u. in England auf allen öffentlichen Plätzen und in jeder Pfenningsscheute darboten, und bewegte sich bei uns das Volksleben so frey und ungehemmt, wie auf jener Insel, so würde dieser junge Künstler... einst gewiß nicht hinter Wilkie zurückbleiben", *Kunst-Blatt* 1827, nr. 53, pp. 209-210.

[479]As described in the *Oxford Dictionaries* 2014, `http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/physiognomy` (consulted 14 April 2014).

[480]See S. Erle, "Leaving their mark: Lavater, Fuseli and Blake's imprint on Aphorisms on Man" in *Comparative Critical Studies* (2006), vol. 3 nr. 3, pp 347-369 and S. Erle, *Blake, Lavater and physiognomy*, Oxford 2010, pp. 134-163.

[481]See A. Boström, *Messerschmidt and modernity*, Los Angeles 2012, especially pp. 19-22.

[482]See for example Baumgärtel *et al.* 2011, especially Landes 2011, pp. 200-209 therein.

[483]"Das erste Bildchen, welches ich malte, war ein blinder Violinspieler mit einem Buben, und so mißlungen, daß Herr Direktor Schadow, den ich fragte ob ich es mit zur Austellung nach Berlin senden dürfte, darüber fast in Zorn gerieth, und mir sagte, ich solle mir die Mühe sparen, und überhaupt ablassen vom Malen, denn die Kunst sey meine Sache nicht, und er sprach das Talent mir ab. – Diese Stunde vergesse ich nie, ich war wirklich in Verzweiflung, allein sie war mein Glück und der Anfang meines spätern eifrigen Studiums und bewies daß zu frühes Lob mich nachlässig und träge gemacht hätten", Manuscript from 1843, Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin (Preußische Akademie der Künsten), Pers.-BK 200, transcribed in Geppert *et al.*, 2003, p. 182.

[484]See for example Hugo Kauffmann's (1844-1915) *Blind Fiddler* (1877), in Holz 1984, cat. nr. 352.

– not to mention how well it was distributed over the continent in the form of prints [485] – his picture may have been responsible for instigating or encouraging the contemporary trend of the theme in the German realm. Hasenclever's choice for his first composition may well have been inspired by Wilkie's picture.

Although Hasenclever's professor had rejected his picture of a blind fiddler, a *Blinde Spielmann* by "Peter Hasenclur" can still be found in the exhibition list of that year's academy exhibition in Berlin. [486]   It is unknown, however, whether this was Hasenclever's original composition, or perhaps a second attempt. After a brief absence at the academy following his professor's rejection, Hasenclever returned in 1832 and found that the attitude towards genre painting had positively changed. He enrolled as a student of "genre" and quickly managed to earn success with his humorous genre pieces. These would eventually lead to the crowning glory of his career: a professorship at the academy. [487]

Hasenclever largely drew from both British and Dutch sources, including Wilkie. [488] His *Münchner Gartenfest* (1840), for example, features a group of dogs in the foreground that is reminiscent of Jan Steen's genre pieces, while an "homage à Wilkie" can be found in the shape of the old lady with a cap, which may have been inspired by the old lady holding a child in Wilkie's *Reading of the will*. [489] Hasenclever may have studied Wilkie's picture in Munich in 1838, when he visited the city together with Kirner and Flüggen. [490]

At the heart of Hasenclever's work stands an occupation with physiognomy. The various expressions on the faces of the figures that he depicted often serve to constitute a certain narrative and establish the humorous tone of the scenes, just as in Wilkie's pictures. [491] It is not surprising, therefore, that Hasenclever's work was compared to that of Wilkie on the basis of this specific trait: "I am referring here to the Englishman Wilkie, with whom Hasenclever reveals many parallels in his proficient quest for characterisation". [492] Examples of Hasenclever's diligent depiction of facial expressions can be found in his renditions of scenes with reading figures, such as *Lesegesellschaft* (1843), but also *Die Zeitungsleser* (1835) and *Die Politiker* (1834). These pictures roughly follow a tradition of the depiction of reading figures explored by Wilkie's in his *Reading of the will*, *Chelsea pensioners* and *Village politicians*. [493] Motifs of people reading often allowed for a subtle and lively rendition of emotions. Considering the discussed links between Hasenclever and Wilkie and the fact that reproductive prints were widely distributed during his career, it is very plausible that Wilkie has functioned as a source of inspiration to Hasenclever, especially when it comes to his anecdotal scenes.

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[485] See Chiego 1987 cat. nr. 9 and here Section 2.4

[486] Soiné 1990, p. 32.

[487] Soiné 1990, p. 33.

[488] Soiné 1990, p. 40.

[489] As proposed by Soiné 1990, pp. 85-86 and cat. nr. 83, fig. 16. The title of the picture is mentioned by Soiné as *Münchner Bierkeller*. Also see Geppert *et al.* 2003, cat. nr. 65. 488 And as also noticed by Paulik 2003, p. 170.

[490] And as also noticed by Paulik 2003, p. 170.

[491] Paulik 2003, pp. 169-173.

[492] "Ich mahne hier an den Engländer Wilkie, mit welchem Hasenclever in seinem tüchtigen Streben nach Charakterisierung viele Aehnlichkeiten verräth", W. Müller von Königswinter, *Düsseldorfer Künstler aus den letzten fünfundzwanzig Jahren: Kunstgeschichtliche Briefe*, Leipzig 1854 p. 286.

[493] For *Die Politiker*, see Soiné 2003, pp. 125-127, fig. 42. For *Lesegesellschaft* see Soiné 1990, cat. nr. 122 or Geppert *et al.* 2003 cat. nr. 78. For *Die Zeitungsleser* see Soiné 1990, cat. nr. 33.

Hasenclever can not only be seen as an example of the interpretation of Wilkie's work by German artists, he may also have functioned as an intermediate who transmitted elements of Wilkie's work to his students. His pupil Richard Caton Woodville (1825-1855), a painter originally from Baltimore, is a clear example of this. Woodville was an American genre painter who came to Düsseldorf for his art training in 1845 and remained there until 1851. At the time, Düsseldorf was internationally known as a hub for modern German painting and the town attracted many foreign students. [494] As one of them, Woodville focused on painting contemporary urban and village life, featuring people from all classes going about their daily activities. [495] With *Card players* (1846) (Illustration 20), he successfully presented his first picture in Düsseldorf in 1846, drawing from a thematic tradition that stretches back to Dutch and Flemish genre painting and which was also taken up by Wilkie and Hasenclever. [496] Although the theme can already be found in Dutch painting, Woodville's treatment of it is more reminiscent of Wilkie's *Card players* (Illustration 19). This is because of the smooth style of the picture and small details such as the domestic utensils in the drawer and on the floor. Also the depicted damages of the used and worn furniture constitute this. These elements provide the picture with an impression of accuracy and honesty, which corresponds more to Wilkie's work than to the somewhat rougher interiors by for example Teniers, or the meticulous rooms by Ter Borch. [497] Above all, the composition and poses of the figures – especially the figure of a man pointing down at the table – are very reminiscent of Wilkie's *Card players*.

Woodville was not the only one to have possibly been inspired by Wilkie's *Card players*. For instance, Hugo Kauffmann painted a *Card players* (1896) in which similar compositional features appear (Illustration 21). [498] Also Ludwig Knaus tried his hand at the theme, again presenting motifs that are related to Wilkie's work, as will be discussed below. This suggests that Wilkie's picture was a common source of inspiration for German artists, most likely through prints.

Since the American press already drew a connection between Woodville and Wilkie, there is all the more reason to consider his work as an example of Wilkie's influence on German painting. [499] It may even have been possible for Woodville to view original work by Wilkie in the collection of Robert Gilmore Jr., an American art collector, although no evidence of this is known. [500]

A last example of a picture by Woodville serves to finalise the comparison between him and Wilkie. Woodville's *War news from Mexico* (1848) shows many motifs that may

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[494] Wolff 2002, p. 18.

[495] Wolff 2002, p. 8.

[496] See Wolff 2002, pp. 61-65 and fig. 35.

[497] Wolff 2002, p. 61.

[498] See Holz 1984, cat. nr. 90.

[499] "We do not at this moment recollect any American artist who promises so fairly as this young man to take the same place amongst us which Wilkie, in the early part of his career, occupied in England... the former has a great deal of the same power which the latter possessed of seizing everyday character and incident and presenting it with so much vigor and completeness...", *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*, May 1849, cited in Wolff 2002, p. 102, note 21.

[500] This collection was accessible for artists, Wolff 2002, p. 42 and note 96. Gilmore's picture was not the only Wilkie in America at the time. As Cunningham recorded, Glendy Burke in New Orleans owned a *Grace before Meat* (1839), Cunningham 1843, p. 98; Chiego *et al.* cat. nr. 84.

have been drawn from Wilkie's *Chelsea pensioners* (Illustration 22). Like Wilkie's painting, Woodville's picture shows the motif of a man reading the latest war news in the papers. The news evokes a broad array of expressions upon the faces of both the reader and his listeners, mostly expressions of astonishment. Specific motifs, such as the man who repeats the message to his deaf neighbour, and the woman leaning from a window, complete the correspondences between the two pictures. It is possible that Woodville made use of Burnet's print of *Chelsea pensioners* as a source of inspiration. A further picture by Woodville that may have been inspired by Wilkie is his *Politics at an oyster house* (1848), which can thematically be linked to Wilkie's *Village politicians*. [501] This suggest that Woodville was at least aware of Wilkie's work.

9.3   Wilkie between Dutch and German painting

The examples discussed above suggest that Wilkie's work left a clear impression on German art in the nineteenth century. However, Wilkie's legacy is strongly intertwined with that of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish masters, especially when it comes to the subjects of his work. Because of this, it is not always easy to determine where the reception of Dutch paintings ends and where the influence of Wilkie's work begins. For example, Danhauser's oeuvre features pictures that clearly seem to have been inspired by Wilkie, such as his *Testamentseröffnung*, but it also includes scenes that are thematically and compositionally more closely related to their Dutch predecessors, such as *Der reiche Prasser* (1836) (Illustration 23). The latter picture is reminiscent of Dutch scenes like Hendrick Gerritsz. Pot's (1585-1657) *A merry company at table* (1625-1630) (Illustration 24). However, Danhauser's picture is much more "British" than Pot's work in the sense that it shows a narrative in which a merry company is interrupted by a beggar, who is holding out his hat to the company through an open door. Such a narrative is absent from Pot's picture, which shows a merry company gathered around a table, without a specific point of focus.

As discussed in the previous chapters, even Wilkie's own work was strongly inspired by Dutch traditions. For example, *The penny wedding* (1818) builds on a thematic tradition of the rural and peasant wedding that can be found among others in Brueghel's *The peasant wedding* (1567) and Steen's *Country wedding* (1662-66). [502] By considering several German examples in which a clear influence of both models can be found, however, it may be possible to disentangle potential influences by Wilkie and the broader legacy of his Dutch and Flemish masters.

A first example is the oeuvre of the Viennese painter George Ferdinand Waldmüller (1793-1865), in which both Dutch influences and the legacy of Wilkie are found. Focusing on scenes from rural family life, child's play and simple, daily activities, Waldmüller positioned himself firmly in the tradition of Dutch and Flemish genre painting. [503] His additional interest in Wilkie's work, however, is demonstrated by a journal entry he wrote on the day he encountered Wilkie's *Reading of the will* in Munich, in 1830:

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[501] Wolff 2002, fig. 38.

[502] Respectively see Chiego 1987, cat. nr. 18, Seipel *et al.* 2010, cat. nr. 38, and Braun 1980, nr. 176.

[503] Feuchtmüller 1996, p. 28 and Grabner 2009, pp. 135-141.

"Endlessly true effect, astonishing. The figures separate themselves extremely realistically, Colouring very good and diverse. The eyes a bit small. Details well completed. The whole highly natural. The main light is initially not the window, because the faint sunlight on the floor is missing. Bought for 12.000 fl." [504]

The result of Waldmüller's encounter with the picture may be seen in his *Die Gratulation zu Großvaters Geburtstag* (1845) (Illustration 25), which presents a domestic interior with a family gathering around and old man and which is reminiscent of the composition of Wilkie's picture. [505] It should be noted that Waldmüller travelled to Britain in 1856, where he received the opportunity to present some of his genre pieces to Queen Victoria. [506] It is conceivable that he was also allowed to view some of Wilkie's pictures during his stay.

Another example in which Dutch traditions and influences by Wilkie are intertwined is the oeuvre of Ludwig Knaus (1829-1910). Knaus received his training from Karl Ferdinand Sohn (1805-1867) and Von Schadow at the Düssseldorf academy. He worked in Paris and Berlin and was an avid student of Dutch genre painting, visiting The Netherlands in 1853. His oeuvre focuses on Dutch-like rural genre themes such as dark tavern interiors, but also on light-hearted festivals that are reminiscent of Wilkie's renditions of such scenes.

An example of a potential mixture of influences from both Wilkie and his Dutch ancestors in Knaus's oeuvre is *Die Falschspieler* (1851) (Illustration 26). [507] As mentioned above, the theme of *Card players* is originally a Dutch and Flemish tradition and Knaus's picture bears much resemblance to Dutch and Flemish examples. For example, the dark tone of the interior, with the dog lying on the floor and the jug positioned in the left foreground can also be found in Teniers' pictures. On the other hand, Knaus's highly detailed style, the exact and lively facial expressions of the depicted figures and especially the deeper narrative of the picture are much closer to Wilkie than to his Dutch predecessors.

The narrative of Knaus's *Die Falschspieler* is not a particularly pleasant one. It tells the story of a man who is fooled into a corrupt game of cards while his barefooted daughter stands quietly by his side, suggesting that he is neglecting his responsibility over his family by gambling his time and money away. The fact that his contesters are cheating is indicated by a bystander who slyly holds up three fingers for them behind the man's back. Initially, the dark moralistic tone of the picture does not seem to fit Wilkie's style of genre painting as it was admired in *Kunst-Blatt* (see Chapter 4) and Knaus will certainly not have taken it from Wilkie's light-hearted *Card players*. However, the dark morality and the motive of the child that is trying to draw the attention of her father may have been inspired by Wilkie's *Distraining for rent* (Illustration 27).

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[504]"Unendlich wahrer Effekt, überraschend. Die Figuren trennen sich äußerst wahr. Kolirit sehr gut und verschieden. Die Augen etwas klein. Beiwerk gut vollendet. Das Ganze höchst natürlich. Das hauptlicht nicht zunachst dem Fenster, weil das matte Sonnenlicht auf dem Boden fehlt. Um 12.000 fl. gekauft", original cited in Feuchtmüller 1996, p. 58.

[505]See Feuchtmüller 1996, cat. nr. 735.

[506]Wilton 2009, pp. 147-160.

[507]See Baumgärtel *et al.* 2011, cat. nr. 355, and Pointon 1984, pp. 21-24. Teniers work could be found in abundance in German collections, see for instance Tenier's *Wirtstube* (1639) in the Alte Pinakothek, Neumeister 2005, vol. 3, p. 385.

9.4 Wilkie and social-critical tendencies in German genre painting

As Knaus's *Die Falschpieler* indicates, *Distraining for rent* is yet another picture by Wilkie that may have had a profound impact on German genre painters. It shows the emotional scene of a well-dressed bailiff who comes to collect valuables in the home of a family that is unable to pay the rent. [508] The figures are gathered around a table, the patriarch holding his head in his hands, while others are crying in distress and their relatives are vigorously arguing with the bailiff. The facial expressions and gestures of the figures are strikingly emotional; despair is clearly readable in their eyes and gestures. With his *Distraining for rent*, Wilkie presented a theme without a clear Dutch tradition. Its reception in Britain was mixed because of its critical tone, [509] but in the German-speaking regions the picture grew out to become a much-discussed model for genre painters during the 1840's.

The above-discussed painter Waldmüller is a first example of a German genre painter who rendered an interpretation of the theme of *Distraining for rent*. Although his *Pfändung* (1847) takes place in an outdoor setting, it shows motifs that can also be found in Wilkie's picture, such as the presence and poses of the crying women, the unsettled children, and the landlord and his assistant who are taking away some of their possessions (Illustration 28). [510] Peter Fendi's *Pfändung* (1840) can be seen as a more explicit example of the reception of *Distraining for rent* in German painting (Illustration 29). [511] The same holds for Peter Schwingen's *Pfändung* (1845-1846) (Illustration 30). [512] Both pictures show a simple interior with a distressed family and a landlord or bailiff gathered around a table. In Fendi's picture, the patriarch is holding his head in his hands, possibly after Wilkie's example. In both pictures, confused children seek comfort with their parents. In Schwingen's picture the mother is even kneeling, pleading the adamant landlord for compassion, while Fendi used this motif for one of the depicted children. All of these motifs are depicted with a close attention to physiognomy and dramatic lighting. Both Fendi and particularly Schwingen have intensified Wilkie's focus on the distress of the depicted family, making the scene go much further than the pleasant narratives generally favoured by theorists and critics, as discussed in Chapter 2. However, while the theme and the tone of the scenes are both bitter, they are not biting in a satirical way. The pictures still adhere to the local preference for a form of morality that is easy to digest. Fendi and Schwingen may have studied Wilkie's picture through reproductive prints.

While Fendi and Schwingen already intensified the theme of Wilkie's *Distraining for rent*, Carl Wilhelm Hübner (1814-1879) pushed this tradition towards extremes in his *Schlesische Weber* (1844) (Illustration 31), [513] a picture that addresses the stringent working conditions of Silezian weavers at the time. In the centre of Hübner's picture, one of the weavers has

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[508] See https://www.nationalgalleries.org/object/NG2337 (consulted 12 January 2014).

[509] Tromans 2002, pp. 20-21.

[510] Feuchtmüller 1996, cat. nr. 779.

[511] For a reproduction of the picture see K. A. Schröder *et al.*, exhib. cat. *Peter Fendi und sein Kreis*, Vienna (Abertina) 2007, cat. nr. 109.

[512] See Heckes and Heidermann 1995, cat. nr. 54 for a reproduction.

[513] See Landes 2008, pp. 70-75, fig. 1a there.

sunken to the ground, a child clasping her arm, while an overseer, or perhaps the superior of the weaver, is throwing one roll of cloth after another from the table onto the floor. The message of the scene is clear: the employer is dissatisfied and the weaver will not be paid for hours of hard work. A man, possibly the weaver's husband, unsuccessfully protests the employer's judgement, while others watch in silent distress. With his picture, which was exhibited in 1844, Hübner takes an almost explicit stance towards the problematic affairs revolving around the Silezian weavers and it can even be interpreted as an accelerator of the following weaver strikes.[514] Even more so than Wilkie's *Distraining for rent*, the picture expresses a socio-political opinion.[515] This politically engaged tendency in genre painting would become known as *Tendenzmalerei* and, as the following quote by Müller von Konigswinter illustrates, it held a sensitive position in the art discourse, with Wilkie as one of its protagonists:

> "In recent times, various opinions have been uttered about the merit and demerit of the social direction in the visual arts. ...The Dutch have treated such subjects too. Even more so, this is the case with the brilliant Englishman Wilkie. It is advisable, however, to be careful with the choice of subjects where possible."[516]

9.5   A phylogenetic analysis of *The reading of the will* (1820) and its possible derivatives: Analysis A

9.5.1   Introduction and goal

Combining the similarities between the pictures discussed above with the underlying biographical details of their makers, it is suggested that Wilkie was responsible for inspiring many German genre painters. This corresponds very well with the exemplary role that Wilkie played in contemporary theory and criticism, as well as the extent of the availability and collection of his works in the German realm, both in original form and in reproductive prints. The question is whether the parallels between the discussed pictures can be systematically analysed to identify possible patterns of reception. This would allow for the delineation and evaluation of Wilkie's role in the evolution of early nineteenth century German genre painting.

In this section, a relatively small art-historical data set is analysed with phylogenetic methods in order to quantify the associated visual relationships between the pictures and to

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[514]Landes 2008, pp. 70-75.

[515]In 1848, Hübner painted a painting of a similar a topic, a *Pfändung*, which is now lost but might have been directly or indirectly inspired by a print after Wilkie's *Distraining for rent* when it comes to its theme. A description of the picture also calls to mind the *Pfändung* by Schwingen: "Est ist das Innere des Hauses einer armen Familie, deren Physiognomie es aufs deutlichste erkennen läßt, daß sie ohne Verschulden in die bitterste Dürftigkeit versunken ist. Schergen der Gerechtigkeit wühlen die Winkel des Hauses duch, den Armen die letzten Habseligkeiten abzupfänden", Kugler in *Kunst-Blatt* 1848, nr. 47, p. 186, cited in Landes 2008, p. 362.

[516]"Ueber den Werth und Inwerth der socialen Richtung in der bildenden Kunst sind in der neuern Zeit verschiedene Urtheile laut geworden. ...Auch die alten Niederländer haben ähnliche Stoffe behandelt. Noch mehr ist dieses bei dem genialen Engländer Wilkie der Fall. Wohl ist es rathsam, möglichst vorsichtig mit der Wahl der Gegenstände zu sein", Müller von Königswinter 1854, p. 302, cited in Landes 2008, pp. 384-385. Also see Landes 2011, pp. 203-209.

distil a pattern of reception among these. This section starts with a small analysis to build up the application of phylogenetics step-by-step in order to provide a clear view of its workings. After all, the use of phylogenetic analyses in this study is as much aimed at solving the art-historical questions posed here, as they are to demonstrate the relevance of phylogenetic systematics for art history. The analysis in this section focuses on a group of German pictures that was likely inspired by Wilkie's *The reading of the will* (discussed in Section 9.1) and serves to test the hypothesis that Wilkie's *The reading of the will* stood at the basis of its German counterparts.

In Section 9.6, the influence of Wilkie on German genre painting will be placed in a broader context by focusing on a larger data set with various pictures by Wilkie, German artists (many of which are discussed in Sections 9.1 to 9.4), and Dutch masters that show similar themes and visual motifs. This is done in order to evaluate the correlations between the three groups (discussed in Section 9.3) and to determine how their interrelatedness should be interpreted. The specific methods that are used for this purpose (in this section and the next) are a maximum parsimony (MP) analysis and two distance analyses (NeighborNet and neighbor-joining), which are explained in Chapter 8.

9.5.2   Taxa and characters

The various German versions of the theme *The reading of the will* that sprung up in early nineteenth-century painting after the arrival of Wilkie's picture in Munich suggest that Wilkie's picture served as a prominent source of inspiration for his German peers. This is supported by specific visual motifs and compositional similarities that can be found among them. Hence the phylogenetic analysis that is carried out in this section adopts the following taxa: seven German pictures showing the theme of *The reading of the will*, which are discussed in the previous section; two pictures with a slightly different theme, but similar compositional elements and visual motifs, which are also discussed in the previous section; Wilkie's own *The reading of the will*; and an earlier version of the theme painted by Edward Bird (Illustration 32) (see Appendix B, Table B.1: List of taxa). The pictures share a relationship on the basis of observable similarities between, among others, their themes and compositions. This relationship is supported by the contemporary comparisons made between the (artists of the) pictures and by biographical data of the artists (i.e. the possibility and likelihood that artists were aware of or saw the original picture). This serves as an art-historical justification for the analysis of the pictures in the data set.

The following analysis is intended to shed light on the reception and evolution of the theme and representation of Wilkie's picture *The reading of the will*. This means that those similarities that constitute the story of *The reading of the will* are particularly relevant for this analysis. For this reason, the chosen characters for the analysis consist of 29 morphological elements that can be divided into compositional elements and visual (narrative) motifs (see Appendix C, Table C.1: Character list A, and Appendix D, D.1: Data matrix A). The matrix also contains semantic constructs referring to emotional concepts based on their discussion in contemporary reviews or the contemporary discourse on genre painting in general. For example, emotions such as surprise (nr. 28), or jealousy (nr. 25), and concepts such as familial affection (nr. 27) are included (see Appendix C, Table C.1: Character list A). For reference,

further motivations for their inclusions are given in the notes of the character list. Stylistic features are excluded from the character list; as Chapters 2 to 7 and the previous sections have shown, the reception of Wilkie's work revolved predominantly around its anecdotal content (which was also conveyed by reproductive prints) and not so much its style (which was often lost in prints).

If an element does not constitute a unique similarity among the pictures and it plays no role in the depicted story, it is regarded as trivial or insignificant for the analysis and is therefore omitted from the data matrix. In most cases, such elements are already left out of the character list, because they only occur in a single taxon and are therefore uninformative to the parsimony analysis (see Sections 8.2 and 8.3). In other cases, an informed decision is made to leave them out. The data matrix contains frame and detail characters with contingent coding (see Section 8.3) and is hereafter called Matrix A.

9.5.3   Methods

Since the aim of this section is to establish how exactly the given taxa or pictures under consideration relate to each other, and to provide clues as to how they could have been inspired by each other, Data matrix A is subjected first to a maximum parsimony analysis, using a heuristic search for trees with the program *PAUP* 4.0*.[517] Such an analysis aims to arrange the taxa in a topology that requires the fewest character changes per split and results in a hierarchic topology, but it does not account for any transfer of information other than in a linear direction. As will become clear, in this case the outcome may therefore be too strict to be a fair representation of reality (see Section 8.3.2 E. The interpretation). The reason that a maximum parsimony analysis is performed before any other, less strict methods are applied, is to test what can be learned from this basic phylogenetic analysis. In this light, the present section should be considered as a first test and proof of concept of the art-historical application of the method described in Section 8.3.2.

Bird's picture is selected as the out-group (root) on the basis of chronological facts: his picture is known to be the oldest (dated and exhibited in 1812). It can therefore have played an inspirational role for the other pictures, but not the other way around. This not only justifies to *a priori* put it at the root of the topology, it also *requires* putting it there in view of getting a fair outcome of the analysis. Bird's function in this analysis is important given the approach of a maximum parsimony analysis: the inclusion of Bird's picture allows the algorithm to position Wilkie in the topology where it deems it best. If Bird were not included in the data set, chronological data dictate that Wilkie's picture should be selected as out-group in order to root the tree. However, the outcome would then always present Wilkie as ancestor on the basis of the presets of the analysis instead of a phylogenetic inference, which defies the purpose of the analysis. Finally, as a statistical test of confidence of the results, bootstrapping is performed with 1000 replicates.[518] A consensus tree is calculated from the resulting trees. As an extra check, an unrooted dendrogram (i.e. without selecting an out-group) is produced

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[517]Swofford 2003, used is version 4.0b10.

[518]The choice for the number of 1000 bootstrap values is justified with a convergence test, see Appendix E, table E.1 and E.2.

```
/-------------------------------------------------------------- RWBi(1)
|
+-------------------------------------------------------------- RWWi(2)
|
|                                              /--------------- RWDa(3)
|              /-----------------------75------+
|              |                               \--------------- RWDb(4)
|              |
\------81------+                               /--------------- RWG(5)
               |               /--------40--------+
               |               |               \--------------- RWB(7)
               \-------64-------+
                               \--------------------------------- RWE(6)
```
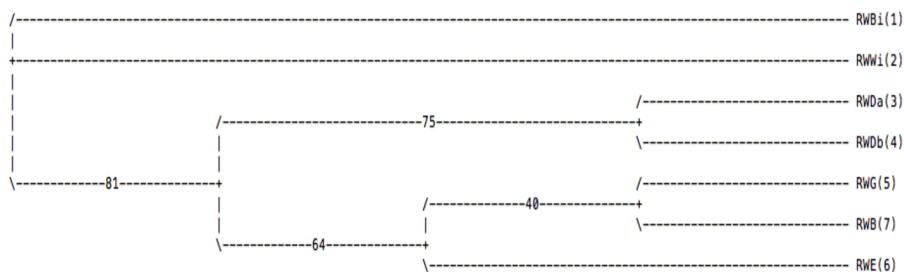
Figure 9.1 – Dendrogram of Matrix A, generated with *PAUP*4.0 Beta version*. The numbers along the branches indicate bootstrap values. The abbreviations refer to the taxa as listed in Appendix B List of taxa.

using the same methods and settings to evaluate the confidence of the rooted dendrogram. [519]

Following the parsimony analysis, a NeighborNet analysis is performed in *Splitstree4*. This is done to account for potential conflict in the matrix, which may be due to "horizontal" transfer between the taxa (meaning that information was not strictly transmitted linearly, but also between taxa that existed next to each other). [520] The network is bootstrapped to test the robustness of the results and Delta and Q scores are calculated in order to identify areas of conflict and to estimate the tree-like quality of the network (i.e. the phylogenetic signal captured by the network, see Section 8.3).

9.5.4   Results

The MP analysis in *PAUP*4.0* produces the dendrogram shown in Figure 9.1 (consensus tree with bootstrap values in percentages). This tree presents a topology in which Bird's picture (RWBi) is chosen as out-group, because his picture is known to have pre-dated all others. It contains the groups [RWWi, [[RWDa, RWDb,], [Erdmann, [RWG, RWB]]]]. This topology still holds when an unrooted dendrogram is made.

The tree is the result of the analysis of a number of 1000 alternative data sets calculated from the original data in the bootstrap test and combined in one consensus tree. Some of the bootstrap values of the presented sets are relatively low, but all but one group score a value of over 50%. This is likely an indication of conflict in the matrix due to horizontal instead of a strict linear transfer of information between the taxa.

The NeighborNet analysis produces the network shown in Figure 9.2. It combines groups that are normally incompatible. In general, the network confirms the groups shown by the MP dendrogram. These groups are all supported by bootstrap values of above 50%. Additionally, the network shows among others the groups [RWDb, [RWWi, RWDa]]. Delta and Q scores of 0.3949(Delta) and 0.1162 (Q) for the complete network are relatively high, but they indicate

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[519]See Appendix F.1 for the *PAUP* block (transcription of input and program settings) used for this analysis.
[520]Huson and Bryant 2006, pp. 254-267.

RWDa

RWWi

0.1

98.8

RWDb

5.1

99.9

95.6

85.9

63.2

97.3   RWBi

94.1

55.1

95.2

65.5

93.3

67.3

RWG

99.9

97.6

RWE

RWB
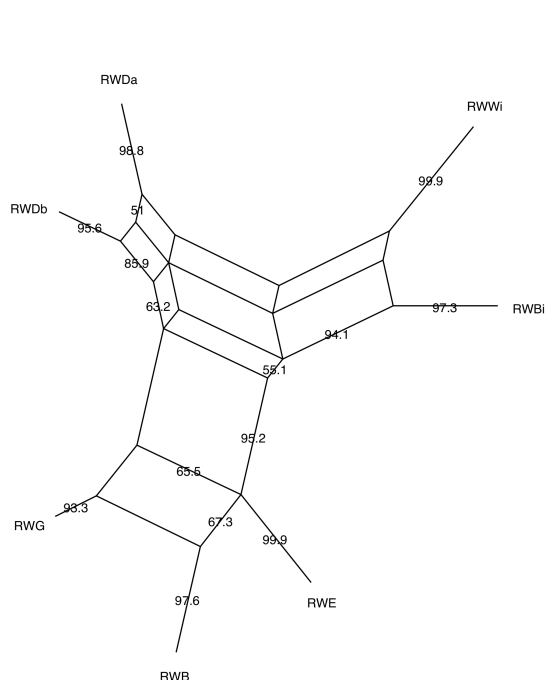
Figure 9.2 – NeighborNet network of Matrix A, generated with *Splitstree4*. The numbers indicate bootstrap values. The abbreviations refer to the taxa as listed in Appendix B List of taxa.

that the network is still moderately treelike. [521]

Looking at the bootstrap values, the results of the MP analysis are not as robust as one would like them to be. This is where the NeighborNet becomes useful. The NeighborNet network confirms the groups returned by the MP analysis. Furthermore, most bootstrap values, as well as the Delta- and Q scores of the network are more inclined towards a treelike topology than towards an absence of any phylogenetic signal. Because the bootstrap values are generally above 50%, or in any case higher than those of alternative groups that can be made on the basis of the matrix, and Delta scores are closer to 0 than to 1, the results of both the MP dendrogram and the NeighborNet network are considered trustworthy enough for further evaluation. [522]

An important additional reason to regard the results as robust enough for evaluation is that some features of the results correspond very well to art-historical evidence related to the analysed taxa (because such evidence is available in this case, this analysis serves as a good test of the suitability of phylogenetic methods on art-historical objects). The most

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[521] See Section 8.3, and Gray 2010, pp. 3925-3928.

[522] See Gray 2010 pp. 3925-3928 for an example of values that are considered moderately treelike.

prominent of these features is the chronologically correct polarity of the dendrogram, starting with the pictures by Bird and Wilkie, followed by the rest. In other words, the sequence of "evolutionary" events proposed by the MP analysis roughly corresponds to the known chronology of the sample of pictures. Art-historically, it proposes Bird as the model for Wilkie's picture, and Wilkie as the link between Bird and the other pictures. In other words, the topology supports the idea that Wilkie's *Reading of the will* served as a model for the German genre painters.

Assessing the results of the MP analysis in more detail, Wilkie's picture stands at the basis of two other groups of pictures: the Danhausers on the one hand, and the rest of the pictures on the other. As the NeighborNet network indicates, the Danhausers are identified as Wilkie's closest descendants: separate groups combining Wilkie's picture with Danhauser's first picture and with both of Danhauser's pictures are presented. But there is yet more to be seen: both the MP tree and the NeighborNet network allow for the possibility that Danhauser's pictures served as examples for the rest of the taxa. The NeighborNet network shows this more clearly than the dendrogram. It is shown there that Geyer's picture strongly relates to the two Danhausers. This is something that the MP tree does not show. Additionally, the NeighborNet network also groups Geyer with the pictures by Bokelmann and Erdmann, which is also shown by the MP tree.

What does this all mean for the interpretation of the results? Looking at the NeighborNet network, the topology should be read counter clockwise. In this way, a sequence of groups is found that leads from Bird to Wilkie, then to the Danhausers and finally to Geyer, and Bokelmann and Erdmann. This means that a pattern of reception, or a path of influence, is seen that leads from Wilkie all the way to Erdmann. Chronological data support such an interpretation.

The fact that the results of the MP and NeighborNet analyses produce logical and chronologically possible topologies does not mean that the above interpretation of the results is absolutely conclusive. There is conflict in the matrix and the MP tree does not account for this. It is therefore risky to use the MP tree on its own to draw any conclusions on the art-historical pattern of reception it suggests. This is why the NeighborNet network is so important. In the NeighborNet network, a net structure is shown that acknowledges the conflict that is ignored in the dendrogram. This conflict suggests horizontal transfer between the taxa: the possibility that pictures existing next to each other, in different "branches" in the topology, may have "exchanged information" horizontally, instead of receiving and transmitting such information strictly linearly (from ancestors to descendants). In art history, this is not uncommon; some of the analysed pictures have indeed existed next to each other for several years, indicating that this is a realistic possibility. In summary, the topology of the MP tree – although an interesting and chronologically possible suggestion – may be too strict in its details to explain the correlations between the analysed pictures, but the NeighborNet network roughly supports its suggestions and confirms the general hypothesis that Wilkie's picture was the ancestor of the German variations of the theme.

9.5.5   Conclusions and discussion

Recapitulating the above, the strictness and polarisation of the MP dendrogram's topology can be disputed when it comes to its more detailed structure, but the rough separation of Wilkie (and Bird) from the German pictures that is shown in both the dendrogram and network is compelling based on the statistical tests as well as their mutual agreement. They confirm the hypothesis that Wilkie's *Reading of the will* served as a role model for German artists. This agrees with the chronological and geographical facts and is in line with the art-historical evidence discussed in the previous sections.

   Although this first analysis concentrates on a small data set, it already demonstrates one of the caveats as well as the potential of phylogenetic methodology in art history. The caveat is that the bifurcating and linear quality of the MP dendrogram does not take the idea into account that the evolution of the representation of Wilkie's *The reading of the will* may have been – and probably was – much more governed by a horizontal exchange of motifs and elements. On a general basis, however, the results are consistent with chronological and geographical evidence and roughly support the art-historical hypothesis formulated beforehand. The NeighborNet analysis helps highlighting the statistically adequately supported parts of the MP topology. Its visualization of groups that are absent in the MP tree further helps identifying possible correlations, sequences and patterns of influence or reception that the MP tree alone could not visualise.

   In summary, it is found that a combination of two types of phylogenetic approaches is able to yield art-historically relevant proposals of kinship between paintings and that it is able to retrieve a largely correct chronological arrangement within the resulting topologies. This means that the tested methods potentially have a predictive quality: if art-historical data such as the dating of certain pictures are absent, phylogenetic methods are able to generate acceptable chronological arrangements of taxa and derive fair hypotheses about art-historical processes such as the reception history or the evolution of certain themes and motifs. This demonstrates important potential of the method, which is explored in more detail in the next analyses. These analyses cover larger numbers of taxa and characters and concentrate on inferring the role of Wilkie within the broader context of German genre paintings and their various sources of inspiration.

9.6   Assessing the relationship between Wilkie and German and Dutch genre painting with phylogenetic networks: Analysis B

9.6.1   Introduction and goal

The phylogenetic analysis of *The reading of the will* in Section 9.5 supports the idea that Wilkie's work functioned as a role model for German genre painting. However, the analysis is based on a small data set, revolving around the impact of a single picture. The question is whether a phylogenetic signal such as found in the previous section is also returned within a larger context of pictures. The number of paintings that demonstrate close links to Wilkie's

work (see Sections 9.1 to 9.4) suggest that a process of reception is indeed the case. In order to identify the phylogenetic signal of this process, the following analyses focus on a variety of pictures, most of which have been discussed in the previous sections.

To quantify Wilkie's role in the development of German genre painting, it is not sufficient to focus on works by Wilkie and their presumed German interpretations only: a third party is necessary to enable a relative comparison to be made between the two (in Analysis A, Bird's picture played this role). A relevant player in this respect is Dutch genre painting, since it is traditionally argued to have played a prominent role as model for genre painting in the German-speaking regions. [523] As might be remembered from Section 2.4, Hegel admiringly described the exemplary way in which Dutch genre painting was an expression of the self-consciousness of a liberal Dutch bourgeoisie. Furthermore, the Bavarian King Max I. Joseph and many of his contemporaries were avid collectors of Dutch painting, which was publically displayed and accessible for study.

When it comes to German genre painting, the entanglement of Dutch examples and Wilkie's legacy is often difficult to unravel by just looking at pictures and compiling the (often circumstantial) evidence. Sometimes, German pictures could have been based either on works by Wilkie or works by his Dutch predecessors, while in other cases both of these examples may have inspired German painters simultaneously. Yet another possibility is that Wilkie's work and the German pictures both drew from the same Dutch models. This is a typical problem that would benefit from a systematic analysis that adds structure to such art-historical observations and sheds light on the relationship of large numbers of pictures in a quantitative way.

The hypothesis that is tested in this section is that German genre painters used Wilkie's work more often as a role model than Dutch painting, as is discussed in Part II. The analyses are expected to reveal how pictures by Wilkie may have inspired the creation of German interpretations, as well as how certain originally Dutch traditions may have reached German genre painting through Wilkie. However, they may also suggest that German examples directly stem from Dutch works, or perhaps that a mixture of influences has led to the creation of certain German pieces. This goes much further than the analysis of *The reading of the will* in the previous section: whereas Analysis A traced the reception of one single picture, the following analyses trace connections between various national schools and thematic developments within genre painting as a whole. They are therefore also expected to indicate what makes each of these schools or potential groups of pictures unique. In this way they highlight and explain developments in genre painting that have not been systematically identified in painting before.

9.6.2 Taxa and characters

The chosen taxa consist of a mixture of Dutch works, German works and works by Wilkie that show similar motifs or similar themes, which suggests that they share a certain ancestral relationship, i.e. that a phylogenetic signal can be found between them (see Appendix B, Table B.1: List of taxa). The Dutch works used are by Brueghel, Ostade, Teniers and

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[523]See Section 9.3.

Steen and have all been discussed or referred to in the previous chapters. It includes among others Brueghel's *Peasant wedding* from 1567, one of the first pictures that can be classified as a genre piece and which preceded the typical Dutch interiors with pipe-smoking and card-playing figures painted by among others Ostade, Teniers and Steen – some of whom are known to have inspired Wilkie. The selection of works by Wilkie includes several of his peasant interiors, such as *Village politicians*, *Card players* and *Distraining for rent*, as well as his more bourgeois scenes such as *The reading of the will* and *Chelsea pensioners*. The German works used for this analysis are for the most part discussed in the previous sections and they share motifs and themes with both the Dutch works and the works by Wilkie included in the data set (see Appendix C, Table C.2: Character list B).

Before the data set is analysed, it should be noted that if the observed similarities are the result of an artistic exchange, this process can generally only have moved in one direction: from the oldest to the newest taxa, and thus from Dutch painting to German painting. Any other way would of course be impossible. The interesting part of the following analyses is the identification of phylogenetic relationships on a more detailed level. With 30 taxa, potentially a large number of groups (i.e. monophyla, see Chapter 8) can be made and there are even more ways in which they can be connected to each other. The aim of the following analysis is to quantify and visualise the relationships between these taxa in order to easily deduce the best supported patterns of kinship and to determine whether or not Wilkie should indeed be considered the prime source of inspiration for German artists – or perhaps an intermediary between Dutch and German painting.

Because the taxa are related predominately on the basis of thematic elements, the characters for this analysis focus on visual motifs and thematic concepts, ignoring specific elements revolving around style, colour or brushwork. However, this does not mean that a phylogenetic analysis will not also link pictures that correlate on the basis of such aspects: just like the use of particular motifs or specific approaches to themes, these matters may reflect certain time periods and locations, implying that stylistic or technical similarities may mirror the thematic correspondence that the analysis will focus on. In this section, these correlations are evaluated after the phylogenetic analysis has been carried out, in conjunction with chronological and geographical data.

The characters used for this analysis contain frame and detail characters with contingent coding (see Appendix C, Table C.2: Character list B; and Appendix D, Table D.2: Data matrix B, these are based on the character list and data matrix of Analysis A, see Appendix C, Table C.1: Character list A; and Appendix D, Table D.1: Data matrix A . Some justifications for the inclusion of characters in the list are given in the table's footnotes.

9.6.3   Methods

In order to assess the application of an MP analysis to an art-historical data set that is larger than the seven pictures examined in the previous section, such an analysis is again performed with the program *PAUP*4.0*. This time, a faststep heuristic search is used instead of a standard heuristic search. [524] Bootstrapping is performed with 100000 replicates and a non-strict

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[524]The faststep search is preferred because of its drastically reduced computing time and memory requirements compared to the heuristic search, making the calculation of a bootstrapped consensus tree of Matrix B possible

majority rule consensus tree is calculated from the resulting topologies. Both a rooted and unrooted tree are calculated. In the first case, Brueghel is set as the root on the basis of chronological evidence. The unrooted tree is produced in order to grant the program more freedom in constructing a topology and as such test the robustness of the rooted variant. [525] Secondly, a distance analysis is performed in *Splitstree4* using the NeighborNet algorithm to visualise the conflict in the matrix. Additionally, a neighbor-joining tree is calculated, which condenses the results of *Splitstree4*'s NeighborNet calculation into an unrooted tree, to show a more readable topology again.

9.6.4   Results and discussion

The MP analysis produces a rooted, non-strict majority rule consensus tree with 30 groups (see Figure 9.3). Two groups have bootstrap values of above 80%, and 13 groups of 50% or higher. There is an average bootstrap value of 41,5% over all included groups (this includes the lowest value of 10%). The unrooted tree confirms the topology of the rooted variant. However, it should not be ignored that many of the bootstrap values are very low. These low bootstrap values can partially be explained by the list of groups not included in the consensus tree, which contains a number of groups with bootstrap values that are very close to those of the groups included in the tree. This indicates that there are some very ambiguous sites within the topology of the consensus tree: there is substantial conflict in the matrix. The only excluded groups that have higher bootstrap values than the lowest ranked incorporated groups, however, are alternatives to the already weakly supported ones that are included. This means that their low values are not expected to affect the topology of the tree.

The NeighborNet network generated for the same data set (Figure 9.4) roughly preserves the MP tree's topology by confirming the groups that the MP tree presents. With an overall Delta score of 0.2892 and a Q score of 0.02555 the network is moderately treelike (the scores are even lower than the ones mentioned by Gray for the network to be classified as such). [526] Furthermore, the NeighborNet network complements the topology of the dendrogram with additional groups that can be derived from Matrix B.

In addition to the MP and NeighborNet algorithms that are used in Section 9.5, also a neighbor-joining algorithm is employed to analyse the matrix (Figure 9.5). This adds an unrooted, treelike structure to the results that is often quicker to calculate than a regular MP tree because it uses a distance method to infer the relationships between the taxa. It provides the possibility to test the topology of both the MP tree and NeighborNet network,

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on a standard computer system (the larger a data set is, and the more conflict it contains, the higher the demands of such a calculation will be). With this type of search, "tree searches in each replication are performed using one random-sequence-addition replication and no branch swapping", instead of performing a time-consuming and memory-demanding tree search for "each bootstrap resampling of the characters" (see the manual of *PAUP*4.0 Beta version* on http://paup.csit.fsu.edu/, and Section 8.3). Sanderson and Shaffer argue that "fast" methods can decrease bootstrap values in larger data sets and thus recommend avoiding using such methods, Sanderson and Shaffer 2002 p. 56. To evaluate the differences between using the faststep method and a full heuristic search in *PAUP*4.0*, Appendix E features extensive tests and comparisons (see Appendix E, table E.3 and E.4). There, also an assessment is made of the trustworthiness of the proposed MP analysis and the number of 100000 bootstrap replicates is justified by carrying out a convergence test.

[525] See Appendix F.2 for the *PAUP* block used for the analysis of Matrix B.

[526] Gray 2010 pp. 3925-3928. The lower te scores, the more treelike the network is.
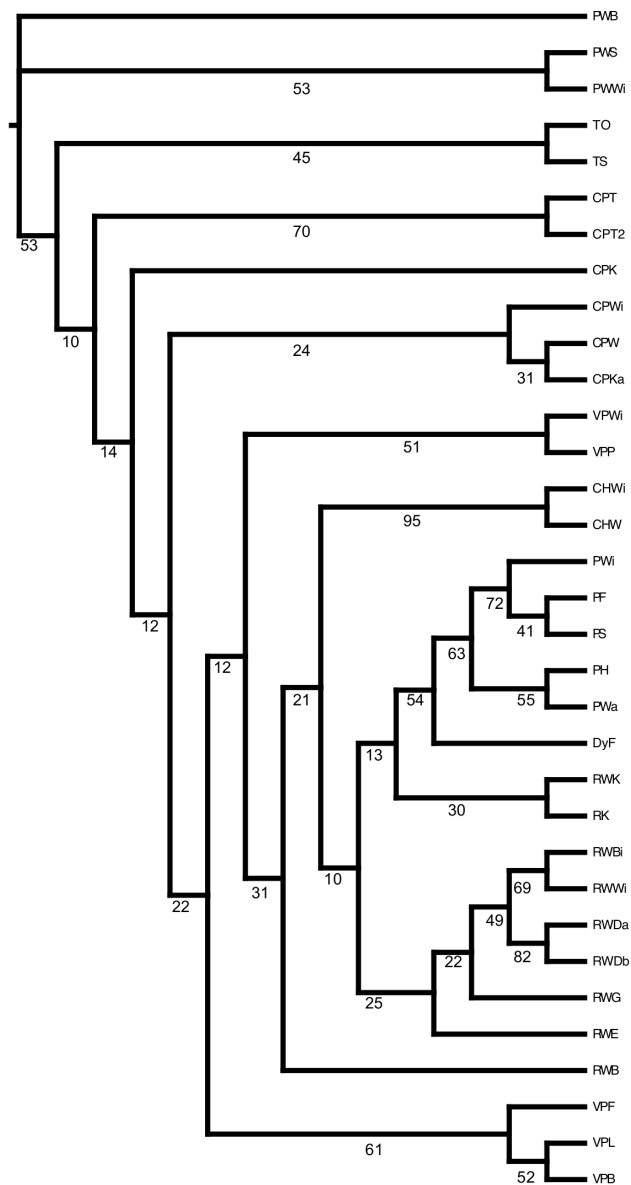
Figure 9.3 – MP tree (rooted) of Analysis B produced in *PAUP*4.0 Beta version*. The numbers indicate bootstrap values. The abbreviations refer to the taxa as listed in Appendix B List of taxa.
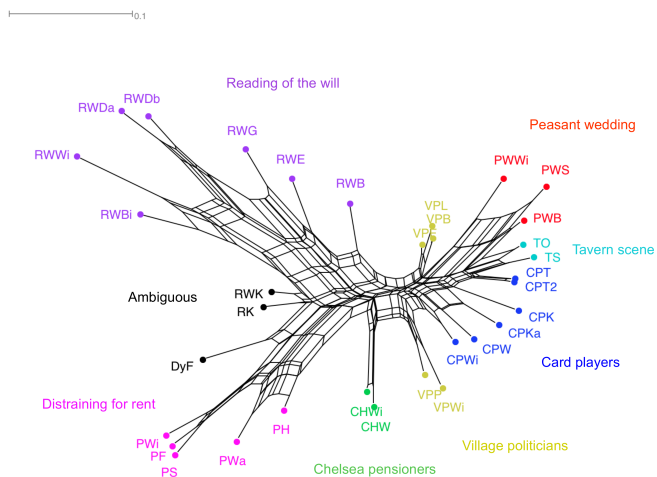
Figure 9.4 – NeighborNet network of Matrix B produced in *Splitstree4*. The abbreviations refer to the taxa as listed in Appendix B List of taxa.
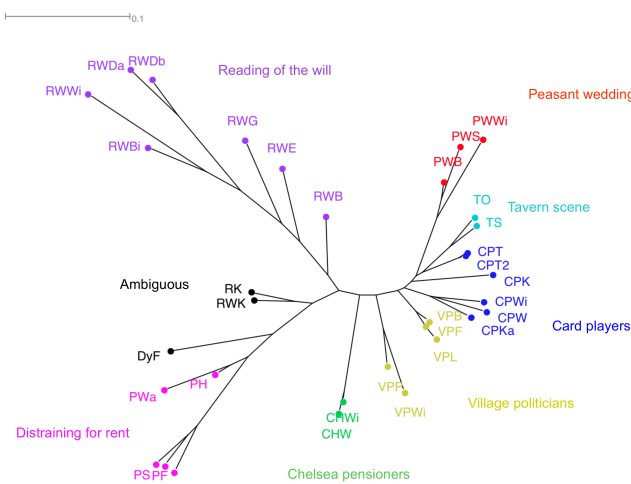
Figure 9.5 – Neighbor-joining tree Analysis B, produced in *Splitstree4*. Colours indicate different themes. The abbreviations refer to the taxa as listed in Appendix B List of taxa.

but it cannot combine incompatible groups and is thus not as inclusive as the NeighborNet network. However, it is generally easier to read than both the MP tree and the NeighborNet network. It is included here as an illustration of yet another potentially useful algorithm for the inference of links between pictures and as a test and visualization of the patterns under investigation here. The topology of the NJ tree almost entirely corresponds to that of the MP tree; it only slightly relocates the taxon CPK.

Considering all three produced graphs in Figures 9.3 to 9.5, it immediately becomes clear why a NeighborNet graph is more useful for analysing a data set like the one used here than an MP dendrogram: there is a relatively high amount of conflict in the data matrix and this is not accounted for in the rooted MP tree. This is not surprising, because the analysis revolves around a set of pictures from various times, geographical locations and also various themes, which for a great part existed along side of each other. Artistic "information" could therefore have been exchanged horizontally, between taxa that had already branched off each other, as easily as linearly and this "information" may have skipped certain expected intermediary taxa when transferred from one artist to another. The international and mobile nature of the early nineteenth-century world of art certainly allowed for such a "liberal" artistic exchange. Yet, this does not mean that patterns of reception, influence, or other relationships are not clearly visible in the results.

To identify patterns of exchange in the results, the MP analysis is still useful. Starting by considering the MP tree in Figure 9.3, a few basic observations can be made. Taking Brueghel as the starting point, the strict topology proposes a process of evolution starting with the theme *Peasant wedding*, moving to the later Dutch versions of *Card players* and then to Wilkie's *Card players* and the German versions of this theme. This ancestry subsequently develops into the variations of *Village politicians*, *Chelsea pensioners*, *Distraining for rent* and finally *The reading of the will*. While on a detailed level, most parts of the strict lineage presented by the MP tree are chronologically incorrect, its broader sequence of themes is chronologically and also geographically plausible.

The NeighborNet network roughly confirms the topology of the MP tree, but paints a more nuanced picture of its more detailed sites. It makes a clear division of seventeenth-century Dutch works on one side of the topology and nineteenth-century German works and pictures by Wilkie on the other. Obviously, this corresponds to the known chronological and geographical features of the taxa. Secondly, the taxa are almost perfectly arranged according to their themes, which are – just as in the MP tree and NJ tree – aligned from *Peasant wedding* to *Distraining for rent* in a chronological fashion (Brueghel's *Peasant wedding* constitutes one of the oldest genre pictures in this data set, while Wilkie's *Distraining for rent* and its German variations are some of the youngest). Within this arrangement, Wilkie's early nineteenth-century works are often positioned in between the seventeenth-century Dutch works and the later German works. This is for example the case with the branches containing *Card players* (most clearly shown in the MP tree and NJ tree of Figures 9.3 and 9.5, respectively) and *Distraining for rent*.

Also some surprising or ambiguous placements can be found both in the MP tree and in the results of the distance analyses. These are placements that do not immediately correspond to chronology. For instance, Knaus's *Card players* (CPK) is placed between Wilkie (CPWi) and the Dutch pictures (CP's and TO's), instead of at the end of a perhaps expected sequence

of all Dutch *Card players* and Wilkie's version of the theme. Furthermore, in the results of both the distance analyses, Flüggen's *Erbschleicher* (DyF), Kirner's *Schweizer Soldat* (RK) and Waldmüller's *Hotzentracht* (RWK) are placed somewhat removed from what the art-historical eye of Sections 9.1 and 9.4 might define as their "compositional" and "thematic" groups. They are placed closer to the centre of the topology or in another branch altogether (DyF is positioned towards the *Pfändung* group and RWK and RK more towards the centre of the topology, instead of in or near the *Reading of the will* group). Finally, the *Reading of the will* group (RW) shows an internal topology that almost perfectly corresponds to chronology, but which is clearly inverted when read from the centre of the topology towards the upper branches.

The results are interpreted in the following way. Since the proven oldest taxa (the Dutch pictures) can only have functioned as predecessors within this topology they provide a starting point for the direction in which the NeighborNet and NJ topologies should be read (just as is the case in the MP topology). The Dutch site in the topology is considered as root. This means that the further away a group of taxa is placed from this chronologically oldest group, the less related it is to its Dutch predecessors. In this way, for example, *The reading of the will* is identified as the least Dutch theme, whereas Wilkie's *Card players* is much more closely related to Dutch traditions. This makes sense, because the *Card players* theme was commonly explored in Dutch painting, whereas *The reading of the will* was not (specific compositional elements or visual motifs left aside).

Understood in this way, the results first of all indicate that certain thematic traditions were transmitted from Dutch to German art through British painting. This ancestry starts with the theme of *Peasant wedding* (introduced here by Brueghel) and moves to the themes of *Tavern Scene* (Ostade and Steen) and *Card players* (also the nineteenth-century versions of the *Card players* theme). From this sequence, subsequently the themes *Village politicians*, *Chelsea pensioners*, and *The reading of the will* and *Distraining for rent* evolve. More than *Village politicians*, which is positioned closely to *Card players*, the themes of *Chelsea pensioners*, *The reading of the will* and *Distraining for rent* can be seen as nineteenth-century inventions by Wilkie. While *Chelsea pensioners* seems to have evolved from Wilkie's *Village politicians* design, *Distraining for rent* and *The reading of the will*, on the other hand, formed two completely new nineteenth-century themes with relatively little relation to their Dutch predecessors. Despite this different suggested lineage, the *Distraining for rent* and *The reading of the will* groups share clear links with the groups of *Chelsea pensioners* and *Village politicians* (this is especially visible within the NeighborNet network). Again, chronological evidence is in favour of this reading of the results.

Yet, there is more to observe and interpret. As noted above, the internal topology of the *Reading of the will* group is connected to the overall topology in a clearly chronologically inverted way. This suggests that the theme has a high degree of unicity. Wilkie's picture (RWWi), together with Bird's picture (RWBi), is positioned away from the centre of the topology, while the German interpretations of the theme of *The reading of the will* are placed in-between. Looking at the character matrix, it becomes clear that this is probably the case because Wilkie's picture possesses many specific details that are shared with some of the German pictures, but are absent in most others, especially the Dutch pictures. The younger the German versions of the *Reading of the will*-theme are (i.e. the chronologically further

away from Wilkie), the more of such specific details are lost. When the *Reading of the will*-group is connected to the rest of the tree, the MP algorithm as well as the distance algorithms therefore connect the branch to the rest of the topology with the end that bears the smallest number of specific characters. This creates a chronologically inverted sub-topology of the *Reading of the will* branch (when it is read from the "centre" of the topology to the outer sites). However, this does not mean that Wilkie's picture should be seen as end-point of a pedigree. What is happening here is that the algorithm needs to connect all taxa, even if some of them (or the ends of the various agglomerations it created) are difficult to connect. It does so at the places where these taxa or groups share the fewest differences. Thus the closer one comes to the centre of the topology, the less thematically *specific* characters a taxon possesses, or the more it shares with those found in other groups. For the interpretation of the overall topology this means that the centre of the topology becomes a "node" that connects multiple groups and taxa. In this way, it is not at all strange to find "chronologically inverted" subgroups like *The reading of the will*.

On the basis of the interpretations discussed above, the rest of the topologies can be understood as well. The fact that some taxa, like RK, RWK, and CPK, are positioned towards the centre of the topology – or even completely in between groups – indicates that their designs deviate from their respective group members and that they share many character states with multiple groups at the same time. A perfect example of this is CPK, which does not seem to belong to either the nineteenth-century taxa focusing with the *Card players* theme, or the Dutch taxa. Other examples are RK and RWK, which are positioned as a set within in the *Pfändung* group, but are placed closely to the centre of the overall topology. In other words, an analysis of these taxa's characters could not conclusively classify them as belonging to the *Pfändung* group, because they also bear similarities with the *Reading of the will*-group.

In essence, each analysis remains a sum of character states and it should thus be checked on the basis of which characters the placement of taxa in the topology is made. For instance, on the basis of the depicted testament, some art-historians may still consider Flüggen's *Erbschleicher* (DyF) as a more likely descendent from Wilkie's *Reading of the will* than part of the tradition of *Distraining for rent* – although its rather stringent theme does fit the *Distraining for rent* group. Furthermore, the fact that Knaus's *Falschspieler* (CPK) is by all algorithms considered to be considerably more closely related to its Dutch predecessors than to Wilkie's *Card players* (CPWi) suggests that he might have been more inspired by his Dutch predecessors than by Wilkie after all, or by both. Wilkie's influence may have been less powerful than that of his Dutch predecessors in this case. The placement of the group containing the *Village politicians* by Friedländer (VPF), Buri (VPB) and Leibl (VPL) can be interpreted in a similar way (Illustration 33 and Illustration 34). [527] This group is positioned between Wilkie's *Village politicians* and his Dutch ancestors and may therefore be considered to relate more closely to Dutch examples than to Wilkie (instead of clearly being descendents in a lineage leading from these Dutch examples to Wilkie).

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[527] See Duesseldorfer Auktionshaus, auct. cat. nr. 1, 2011, lot 161 for a reproduction of Friedländer's picture.

9.6.5 Conclusions

The parsimony and distance analyses presented in this section confirm many of the suspected links between works of Wilkie and his German colleagues and clear patterns of kinship have come to light. Within these patterns, Wilkie plays a key role. What is more, these patterns even strongly suggest that Wilkie regularly functioned as an intermediary between nineteenth-century genre painting and earlier Dutch traditions, since his works are often positioned between Dutch taxa and their German successors. This is certainly the case on a thematic level (see for example the sequence of themes starting with *Peasant wedding*, leading to *Village politicians* and *Chelsea pensioners* and ending with *The reading of the will* and *Distraining for rent*), but also on a more detailed level within the proposed thematic in-groups (see for example the themes of *Card players* and *Village politicians*). However, specific cases are also identified in which Wilkie's influence on his German contemporaries may not have been as strong as that of his Dutch ancestors. This is not surprising, because ample examples of Dutch painting were present in the German realm at the time. As discussed in Chapter 2, these examples were explicitly put forward as models for contemporary German painting. On the one hand, this may cast some doubt on the art-historical hypotheses formulated earlier (in Sections 9.1 to 9.4), which suggested that Wilkie was the main source of inspiration for German artists. However, on the other hand, the large number of close links between the German pictures and Wilkie's works in Figures 9.3 to 9.5 clearly outweighs the limited number of links between German pictures and Dutch examples. The phylogenetic results in this section therefore unambiguously identify Wilkie as the dominant role model for German genre painting.

The above results suggest that early nineteenth-century German genre painting was not just a contained local development that drew predominantly from Dutch sources, but that works by Wilkie have played an important guiding role. Of course, evidence for an early nineteenth-century transnational exchange within genre painting can already be found in traditional art-historical sources (see Part II), but the magnitude of specifically Wilkie's influence on German genre painting has never before been recognised, quantified and visualised this clearly.

In the next chapter, Wilkie's position as a role model is considered in the larger context of European genre pieces to determine whether or not his dominant role in the development of (German) genre painting extends to the global evolution of genre painting in Europe. Subsequently, in Chapter 11, the results of the phylogenetic analyses performed in Sections 9.5, 9.6, and 10.2 are compared to the art-historical evidence in order to identify how the phylogenetic results complement the traditional art-historical evidence and what the consequences of this are for the study of the German reception of British genre painting.

Chapter 10

Overarching patterns: British influences in European genre painting evaluated

The previous chapters demonstrate that Wilkie was a key figure in the development of early nineteenth-century genre painting and suggest that he functioned as a role model for his German counter parts. However, his reception and the motivation behind the German interest in his work can only be fully understood within a broader context. How did his status relate to that of other British artists in the German realm? To what extent can their legacy be found in German genre pieces as well? How unique was the German treatment of Wilkie's work? As becomes clear from the contemporary literature discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the taste for Wilkie's work was embedded in a much wider fascination with the products of British (genre) painting, which finds its origin in the mid-eighteenth century. According to contemporary literature and collection histories, German attention went out consecutively, and later also simultaneously, to such Britons as Hogarth, Morland, Wheatley and Mulready. In order to evaluate Wilkie's status as role model and assess the German treatment of British examples as a whole, it is vital to also examine the works of his British colleagues and the reception of these artists.

Ideally, the more works by British genre painters are added to this study's assessment of the German reception of British genre painting, the more valuable the outcome will be if the objective is to explain the overarching patterns that potentially underlie them. However, increasing the amount of art-historical material that requires assessment also increases the complexity of the analysis because more pictures and their links need to be taken into consideration at the same time. Moreover, these pictures should not only be British, German or Dutch to get a fair idea of the contemporary state of affairs. As mentioned in Part I and II, some French genre painters were very well known and appreciated at the time and their works bear links to ample German, British, and Dutch pictures. An example of such an artist is Greuze, whose almost stage-like rendering of subjects – see for instance the old man who is being cared for by his family in *Piété filiale* and the seated father who stretches his arms out to his soon-to-be-married daughter in *L'Accordée de village* (1761) (Illustration 5) – is

relevant to take into consideration as well. [528] Another example is Boilly, whose bourgeois scenes correspond very well to the ideas expressed in contemporary art theory and criticism and whose works show parallels with Wilkie's.

Searching for patterns among a great variety of pictures requires a considerably large amount of art-historical "data" that need to be assessed. When such a wide variety of pictures is examined, a systematic approach of their features and relationships is vital in order to ensure a fair analysis. In order to shed light on the question of how the German treatment of British examples of genre painting should be interpreted, this chapter explores a range of British, Dutch, French and German genre pictures. This features an art-historical analysis of paintings and potential links between them in Section 10.1, complemented with a careful phylogenetic analysis of the parallels between these pictures in Section 10.2.

10.1 From Hogarth to Morland: British works as sources of inspiration for German genre painters

10.1.1 Middle-class subjects: William Hogarth and his legacy in the German-speaking regions

During the late eighteenth century, no British artist held such a unique position in the continental art world as William Hogarth. As Antal argues in his pioneering discussion of Hogarth's impact on European art: "so deeply and uniquely middle class in character was his art that it was bound to exert a major influence all over the continent, once the social and ideological ground had been prepared and each country came to develop its own middle-class art". [529] This makes Hogarth a suitable starting point when analysing the reception of British genre painting in German art. It is beyond dispute that Hogarth fascinated many prominent artists, intellectuals, philosophers and writers on art and aesthetics already during his lifetime. [530] With his unconventional focus on the trials and tribulations of the contemporary British middle class and aristocracy, rather than the traditional biblical or mythological scenes known from history painting, Hogarth created an antecedent for later artists who were interested in the depiction of contemporary life, such as Wilkie.

At the basis of Hogarth's artistic venture stood a continuous wish to push the boundaries of what art was and was to be. [531] This is expressed among others in his pursuit of an absolute, or abstract sense of beauty that transcended genres and went beyond the specific content of history painting. This is outlined in his *Analysis of beauty*, which was published in 1753. According to Hogarth, it was not the form or "norm" that mattered when it came to the moral capacity of a work of art, but its underlying motivation: the action and reaction expressed by that "norm". Hogarth tested this by taking such "motivations" from, for example, Raphael's

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[528]Barker 2005 plate II and I respectively.

[529]Antal 1962, pp. 196-217.

[530]See among others Antal 1966, pp. 175-217; Busch 1963, pp. 161-239; Dillmann and Keisch 1998, pp. 8-154; Dobai 1974, vol. 2, pp. 639-717; Rix 1996, pp. 117-129; and Vaughan 2004, pp. 155-178. As Busch puts it: "Hogarths künstlerische Wirkung war unmittelbar und gesamteuropäisch", Busch 1992, p. 9.

[531]Not the least out of commercial reasons, Antal 1966, p. 14.

work and placing them within the context of modern subjects to see whether they would withstand their new environment.[532] The most revolutionary results of Hogarth's efforts were his narrative bourgeois scenes that conveyed a didactic, moralising quality that was traditionally reserved for history painting: his so-called modern moral subjects. These were considered innovate in and outside of Britain at the time.[533]

Hogarth's theoretical as well as his artistic work was widely distributed in the German-speaking regions in the form of translations and prints. His *Analysis of beauty* was translated by Christlob Mylius (1722-1754) as *Zergliederung der Schönheit, die schwankenden Begriffe von dem Geschmack festzusetzen* and published in 1754 (only one year after its publication in Britain).[534] Meanwhile, his prints found their way to such collections as the print collection of the Veste Coburg.[535] Following the publication of Georg Christoph Lichtenberg's explanations to Hogarth's prints in the *Göttinger Taschenkalender*, which were accompanied by careful reproductions of the original prints by Ernst Riepenhausen (1762-1840), an artistic German response to his intrinsically contemporary and morally-instructive cycles was inevitable.

Among others Hogarth's *Marriage à-la-mode* (1743-1745), *A rake's progress* (1732-1733), and *A harlot's progress* (1731) provided plenty of templates for his German successors.[536] The influence of these templates is apparent in various German examples, but they were often provided with a new twist. As a recognised follower of Hogarth, for example, Daniel Nikolaus Chodowieki (1727-1801) was just as concerned with modern reality as his predecessor, but his work generally avoids the sharp satire and social criticism that is characteristic of Hogarth's work and predominantly focuses on scenes of bourgeois happiness instead.[537] The majority of Chodowiecki's scenes take place in a homely setting, in which he aimed to express moral concepts through exemplary motifs from bourgeois life.[538] When notes of social criticism occur in Chodowiecki's work, they are never as biting and bitter as Hogarth's, but the techniques used to emphasise them can still be traced back to the work of his British predecessor. Examples of this are the exaggeration and distortion of bodies, poses and surroundings. This can be found among others in Chodowiecki's *Bretzner's Eheprocurator* (1784), which is at the same time a fine example of how he made use of the concept of the "life cycle", which was admittedly not invented, but indeed greatly popularised by Hoga-

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[532]Busch 1992, p. 10.

[533]Antal 1966, pp. 175-217.

[534]Davis 2010, p. 4 (`http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2010/1218/`, consulted 10 Februari 2015)

[535]See `http://www.kunstsammlungen-coburg.de/kupferstichkabinett-liste-stecher.php` (consulted 23 January 2015).

[536]Reproductions of both some of the original paintings from these cycles as well as prints after these works are adopted in this study and references to reproductions of prints after the relevant pictures are found in the taxa list of Appendix B. It would be superfluous to discuss the mentioned cycles in depth. An excellent standard work on Hogarth in which the prints after these cycles are discussed is R. Paulson, *Hogarth's graphic works*, London 1989, see pp. 75-186 for Hogarth's "modern moral subjects", especially cat. nrs. 132-139 (*A rake's progress*), cat. nrs. 121-126 (Harlot's progess), and cat. nrs. 158-163 (*Marriage à-la-mode*).

[537]Birthälmer 1992 p. 14-15, and Dillmann and Keisch 1998, pp. 130-131.

[538]According to Birthälmer, the homely stage, as opposed to a public one, can be explained as the result of "rückständigeren Lebensverhältnisse in Deutschland", which were governed by absolutist principles of king and court and which left the bourgoisie little chance to participate in a public political life, Birthälmer 1992, p. 13.

rth. The theme of Chodowieki's cycle and its second title *Liebe nach der Mode* clearly refer to Hogarth's well-known *Marriage à-la-mode*. [539] A further example of Hogarth's influence can be found in Chodowieki's *Der Abschied des Calas von seiner Familie* (1767) (Illustration 35), which is argued by Busch to show clear traces of Hogarth's legacy. [540] One only needs to take a look at, for example, Hogarth's *A rake's progress VII, The prison* and *VIII, The madhouse* (Illustration 36 and Illustration 37) to find compositional links and similar motifs between the works of these artists, such as the chained figures and their despairing families. When it comes to the depiction of *Calas*, however, Hogarth was likely not Chodowieki's sole tutor. The relationship between Chodowieki's scene and the work of Greuze, for instance, has not gone unnoticed in the art-historical literature. His *Abschied des Calas* shows clear resemblances with, for example, Greuze's acclaimed *Piété filiale* (see Chapter 2). It is not difficult to imagine that Chodowieki's central figure of an old man surrounded by caring loved ones had a clear predecessor in Greuze's emotionally-loaded picture. [541]

Another eighteenth-century artist whose work has repeatedly been linked to Hogarth is Johann Heinrich Ramberg (1763-1840). Ramberg spent nine years in London before he returned to the continent in 1788 and contributed to the development of German satire, caricature and book illustration, working from among others the cities of Dresden, Leipzig and Hannover. [542] Having been immersed in British art life and print culture in London, where he developed a keen interest in satirical work, he focused on the depiction of bourgeois life against all kinds of backdrops, from the public streets to the interior of the contemporary theatre. Ramberg's awareness of Hogarth's prints, next to those of great names like Henry William Bunburry (1750-1811), Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) and James Gillray (1757-1815), is demonstrated by his *Glückliche Ehe nach der Mode* (1802), of which the title and theme were clearly adopted from Hogarth's *Marriage à-la-mode*. Particularly the *Toilette* scenes of these cycles bear similarities. [543] Other examples of such links are Ramberg's *Spielhölle oder der Pharotisch* (1799) (Illustration 38), and his *Würfelbank* (1804), which address the problematics of gambling, which Hogarth had sharply addressed before in his *A rake's progress VI, The gaming house* (1735) (Illustration 39), and which was later also taken up by Danhauser in a drawing. [544] Ramberg's composition of figures gathered around the gambling table, showing promiscuous women in the background and a dog lying on the floor in the foreground, seems to have been taken directly from Hogarth's scene.

Next to adopting certain "Hogarthian" themes, Ramberg also – and more clearly than Chodowieki – employed the satirical tone that is so characteristic of Hogarth's work. This is noticeable in, for example, the last two of his prints mentioned above, which warn for the dangers of gambling by showing the utter misery of it. It has been argued by Dillmann, however, that despite their candid satirical tone, Ramberg's moral messages are generally more inclined towards the comic and that they are given a more universal, social-critical

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[539]Fehlemann *et al.* 1992, cat. nrs. 192-197.

[540]Busch 1963, p. 218. See Ehler 2003, p. 205, fig. 124 for a reproduction.

[541]Dillmann and Keisch 1998, pp. 124-125.

[542]See for example Dillmann 1998, pp. 132-133, Forster-Hahn 1963, pp. 33-53.

[543]For reproductions see Dillmann and Keisch 1999, pp. 132-133, fig. 1 and Paulson 1989, cat. nr. 161.2, Plate 161. respectively.

[544]Forster-Hahn 1963, pp. 85-86 and figs. 36 (cat. nr. 45) and 38 (cat. nr. 46), for more examples and a discussion of these works also see pp. 87-112. See Albertina Inv. nr. 5118 for Danhauser's drawing of the theme.

basis by refraining from Hogarth's focus on the misfortunes of specific persons and opting for exemplary, but anonymous figures instead. Dillmann also argues that this strategy softened the original Hogarthian sharpness of the scenes, which is further achieved by ending the cycles not with the death of the protagonist, but with a positive perspective and outlook into their future. [545] Forster-Hahn, on the other hand, convincingly argues that by presenting such abstract figures as *Israel*, a stereotype of a greedy Jew, the mocking quality of Ramberg's scenes becomes even sharper than Hogarth's. [546] Whereas their work is clearly thematically linked, however, their differences lay not in the degree of sharpness, but in the strategies that have been used to achieve a moral message: whereas Hogarth provides his viewer with an individual and personal protagonist whose (mis)fortunes are thus easily projected upon ones own feelings, Ramberg abstracts them, and thus avoids – to speak in Waagen's words – "revolting the feelings" of the beholder. [547] As a result, the way in which viewers perceive the presented narrative is different, but the degree of sharpness and the judgements that both artists tried to convey do not differ.

The ultimate testimony of Rambergs artistic indebtedness to Hogarth might be the fact that his contemporaries considered him a "German Hogarth". However, this does not necessarily mean that Ramberg was, wanted to be, or even could be such a counterpart to this famous British role model. At the time, the field and patronage of caricature and satire in the German-speaking world was not as well developed as in England, which left little opportunities for Hogarth's continental peers to make a living in this field. This is illustrated by Ramberg's following, slightly bitter remark:

> "they say I should have become a German Hogarth, and scold upon me for wasting my talent on prints for almanacs – that is only half true! And how should I have become a German Hogarth, without a particular desire to starve?" [548]

The fact that a "German Hogarth" would apparently have made for a penniless one at the time is a revealing point of information. It indicates that theoretical, idealistic and artistic reasons to take up and continue certain traditions clashed with commercial ones and that artistic reception in some cases thus strongly depended on the taste of the artist's patronage. As Ramberg's case suggests, commercial reasons may have formed a serious obstacle for German artists who wished to translate their admiration for Hogarth into prints or other works of art. This may have caused his artistic legacy to flourish much less than it could have at the time, regardless of the broad intellectual interest in his work. On the other hand, this does not mean that his work did not contribute to paving the way for the evolution and emancipation of genre painting that was to follow (see Chapters 2 and 3). Both Ramberg and Chodowieki continued Hogarth's themes, the concept of the life cycle, and especially the moral, didactic quality of his work. Their indebtedness to Hogarth is supported by their contemporary recognition as German followers.

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[545]Dillmann 1998, pp. 132-133.

[546]Forster-Hahn 1963, pp. 112.

[547]See note 169.

[548]"sie sagen ich hätte ein deutscher Hogarth werden sollen, und schimpfen auf mich, daß ich mein Talent an Almanachküpferchen verspittert hätte – ist nur halb wahr! Und wie hätte ich denn auch ein deutscher Hogarth werden können, ohne ganz besondere Lust zu verhungern?" original quote cited in Dillmann 1998, pp. 133, note 2.

Finally, clear links to Hogarth's work can also be found in the early nineteenth-century work of Hasenclever. His sketch-like rendering of *Job als Student* (1837-1838) bears a striking resemblance to Hogarth's *A rake's progress III, The orgy* (1735) (Illustration 40 and Illustration 41). [549] It shows intoxicated figures gathered around an oval table. They are drinking and merry-making and Job is sitting next to a woman, with his arm wrapped around her, his shirt unbuttoned and one of his legs resting on the table. The figures find themselves in a situation that is remarkably similar to that of Hogarth's Tom Rakewell in the brothel – thematically as well as compositionally. Hasenclever may easily have studied Hogarth's scene through the widely known reproductions of Riepenhausen. [550] On a final note, also Flüggen's work closely relates to Hogarth's; his *Erbsleicher* not only shows compelling resemblances with Wilkie's *Reading of the will*, but also with such scenes as *A harlot's progress V, Moll dying of syphilis* (Illustration 42) and *Marriage à-la-mode VI, The Lady's death* (Illustration 43) which both show a similar motif of a dying woman in a seat, accompanied by people with presumably ill intentions. Hogarth may thus have functioned as source of inspiration in his case as well.

10.1.2   From rural life to playing children: genre motifs from Morland to Mulready

Although Hogarth's work may have paved the way for the pursuit of middle-class subjects in Britain, it does not seem to have constituted a particularly broad and direct impact on later British genre painters. As Antal has rightfully noted, some of Hogarth's most successful successors in (genre) painting, such as Morland and Wheatley, refrained from the critical and strongly moral tone that characterises their predecessor's work. [551] Almost as a complete opposite of Hogarth, for example, Morland focused on tranquil, Dutch-inspired scenes of farmers, smugglers and bourgeois ladies, pictured out in the open or within the walls of safe and cosy domestic interiors. Examples of this are his *Morning, higglers preparing for market* (1791) and *The happy cottagers* (c. 1790-1792), which both show a family of peasants in front of a cottage in a rural landscape (Illustration 44), and *The comforts of industry* (before 1790), which shows a family going about their peaceful business in their rural house. [552] There is no satire or social criticism to be found in his scenes, only innocence and an almost affectionate view of life, which apparently attracted a large art audience. Already during Morland's lifetime, printmakers saw great commercial potential for prints after his oeuvre: over 250 prints after his pictures were issued and dispersed over Europe, which is obviously much more than there were prints issued after Wilkie's work. [553] Their circulation must have been instrumental in proclaiming Morland's fame until well into the nineteenth and

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[549] For reproductions see Soiné 1990, cat. nr. 61, fig. 12 there and Geppert *et al.* 2003, cat. nr. 50.

[550] Soiné 1990, pp. 58-59.

[551] Antal 1966, p. 182.

[552] See   http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/morland-morning-higglers-preparing-for-market-n05796 for a reproduction of *Morning* and https://www.nationalgalleries.org/object/NG1835 for a reproduction of *Comforts of industry*.

[553] See for example the appendices with lists of issued and auctioned prints in Dawe 1904. This vast number of prints already explains why such a great deal of reproductive prints crossing the channel was after Morland, personal communication Tim Clayton, also see Clayton 1993, pp. 123-137.

even twentieth century, for reprints were issued up until the early twentieth century and the simultaneous publication of monographs testify to his wide popularity. [554]

As discussed in Chapter 7, prints after Morland's work were readily available in contemporary collections and must have been known to contemporary German artists. In her study on the Düsseldorfer school of painting and their use of English prints, Risch suggests that prints after Morland had a profound influence on the Düsseldorfer genre painters, but she refrains from providing specific examples that demonstrate the artistic influence of Morland. [555] This is, however, understandable, since the general air of Morland's themes and motifs makes it difficult to pinpoint artistic borrowings from him – much more difficult than it is to pinpoint derivations from the particular themes and motifs found, for instance, in the works by Wilkie or Hogarth. The theme of Morland's *Children playing at soldiers* (1788), which was reproduced in mezzotint by George Keating, may be found in the oeuvre of Kirner, [556] but more of such similarities, or indications that Kirner indeed used examples by Morland, are difficult to find.

Although it is not clear to what extent Morland directly inspired the work of his German peers, a contemporary taste for Morland's work in the German-speaking regions is evident. General parallels between the sugary scenes and light-hearted narratives by Morland and his German counterparts can be found in abundance. As Immel has duly observed, nineteenth-century German genre painting displays a general preference to such themes as family bonds, simple farmers and children playing. [557] The work of Morland and his successors may thus in theory have been a fitting source of inspiration for German genre painters. Other British painters worth mentioning in this context are James Ward (1769-1859), William Collins (1788-1847), Francis Wheatley (1747-1801), Thomas Webster (1800-1886) and William Mulready (1786-1863), whose works were also reproduced in print at the time and whose pictures can loosely be linked to the works of various early nineteenth-century German artists. [558]

British genre painters such as Wheatley and Mulready continued Morland's tradition into the nineteenth century, but they also went further than their predecessor. Although Wheatley, as a genre painter, generally stayed with the more innocent subjects known from Morland, of which his *Morning* (1799) is an example (Illustration 45), one only needs to take a look at his *John Howard visiting and relieving the miseries of a prison* (1787) to see that in some cases he outgrew Morland's sentimentality (Illustration 46). [559] The latter picture even shows a resemblance with pictures such as Greuze's *Piété filiale* and *'L'Accordée de village*. Mulready's works were even more narrative than both Morland's and Wheatley's. An example of this is the suggestively titled picture *The wolf and the lamb* (1819-1820), which shows a quarrel between two young boys, or *The fight interrupted* (1815-1816), in which a fight between

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[554]See for example G. C. Williamson, *George Morland; his life and works*, London 1904, G. Dawe, *The life of George Morland*, 1904, and J. T. H. Baily, *George Morland*, London 1906. Furthermore, the print room of the British Museum features many reprints from around 1900, see museum numbers 1923,0423.11 and 1941,1011.73.

[555]Risch elaboratly describes his work and addresses its reproduction in print form in her study on the reception of British prints by the Düsseldorf school of painting, Risch 1986, pp. 61-75.

[556]See *Die Kinderwehr, Szene aus der italienischen Revolution* (1848) in Mahlbacher 1983, cat. nr. 20 and fig. 10.

[557]Immel 1967, p. 26-28.

[558]Risch 1986, pp. 76-89.

[559]See Webster 1970, cat. nr. 57 and fig. 83, and cat. nr. 121 and fig. 152. (*Morning* featured as *Evening*) for Wheatley's pictures.

two upset boys was clearly broken up by a teacher (Illustration 47). [560] It must be noted that Mulready's highly narrative pictures of particularities taken from British life not only exceed the sentimentality displayed by Morland; in the rendering of emotion in the faces of the depicted figures Mulready's work comes closer to Wilkie's approach towards genre painting. Mulready focused predominately on the figure of the child and its occupations. His lively, witty, and sometimes also stern treatment of his subjects clearly fit the tendency towards pronounced physiognomies and emotional relationships in genre painting that Wilkie pursued in the early nineteenth century. Mulready seems to have had an influential position in the German-speaking realm as prints after his works were widely available and can be found, for example, in the collections of the Veste Coburg. [561]

In German genre painting, subjects focusing on family life and especially playing children can particularly be found in the work of the Viennese artist Waldmüller. His *Nähende Mutter mit ihren Kindern* (1854), showing a mother, lovingly gazing at her children in a domestic interior, is a perfect example of the focus on the tranquillity of family life that is also found in pictures by Morland (Illustration 48), such as *The comforts of industry*. [562] Furthermore, Waldmüller's *Das Ende der Schulstunde* (1841) (Illustration 49), which shows a wide range of expressions and emotions in the faces of the depicted children, fits perfectly in the tradition of Mulready. [563] Remarkable features of this picture are, for example, the glance of anger in the eyes of the girl who tries to prevent a boy from taking the hat of a younger boy who has fallen to the ground in front of her (perhaps as a result of the older boy's actions). There is a certain degree of playfulness in Waldmüller's treatment of his topics and an affection for the particularities of the depicted individuals in these pictures that one does generally not find in seventeenth-century Dutch painting, nor in the morally more loaded and serious scenes of the popular Frenchman Greuze; but it *is* found in works by Mulready, Webster, and Morland.

In summary, many eighteenth and nineteenth-century examples of British pictures can be found that share themes and motifs with German ones. This suggests there was a lively artistic exchange between Britain and the German-speaking regions around 1800. At the same time, however, various German pictures suggest a prominent influence of Dutch and French painting too. Disentangling and quantifying these influences is difficult to do by hand. Therefore, in the next section, a selection of the pictures and prints discussed above is added to the data set from Section 9.6. This results in a broad selection of pictures that are deemed representative of the oeuvres of British, German, Dutch and French genre painters from the seventeenth century and especially the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This selection is analysed with phylogenetic methods in order to trace, visualise and assess the relationships between these pictures and to reveal the most likely patterns of artistic exchange among them.

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[560]See Pointon 1986, fig. XVIII, and cat nr. 102 and fig. XVI there.

[561]As also noticed by Risch, see list of figures in Risch 1986, pp. 216-20. See `http://www.kunstsammlungen-coburg.de/kupferstichkabinett-liste-stecher.php` (consulted 23 January 2015) for a list of the printmakers represented by prints in the collection of the Veste Coburg, which includes many British artists, such as Burnet, Raimbach, and also Hogarth.

[562]He painted many more variations on the theme of a mothers with children, see for example his *Mutterglück* (1851) in Feuchtmüller 1996, cat. nr. 829.

[563]See Feuchtmüller 1996, cat. nr. 664 for a reproduction.

10.2   Networks of artistic exchange in early nineteenth-century genre painting: Analysis C

The following phylogenetic analysis aims to examine the observable similarities that exist within a broad set of pictures and infer their underlying patterns of artistic exchange. By mapping the closest relationships between British, German, Dutch and French genre pieces from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century, the goal is to deduce to what extent early nineteenth-century German genre painting is derived from British examples. Furthermore, it is to be demonstrated whether specific British genre painters or works played a key role in transferring artistic "information" to German genre painting, as is suggested by traditional art-historical evidence (see Part II). By also assessing seventeenth-century Dutch and eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century French genre pieces and their kinship to British and German pictures, the potential British influence on German genre painting is quantified and placed in its European context.

10.2.1   Taxa and characters

The starting point of this phylogenetic analysis is the taxon list of the analysis performed in Section 9.6, which is extended by a selection of pictures discussed in Section 10.1 (see Appendix B, Table B.1: List of taxa). The sample of taxa for this analysis consists of the following works: pictures by Wilkie, as the most celebrated contemporary British genre painter at the time; works by Hogarth, as one of the most renowned British artist concentrating on contemporary topics; works by Wheatley, Morland and Mulready, whose eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century works were widely spread in print form; exemplary Dutch works by Brueghel, Ostade, Steen, Pot, Ter Borch and Teniers as well-known Dutch painters who are often argued to have influenced nineteenth-century genre painting (the pictures by Pot and Ter Borch are added to the original list of Analysis B because they bear thematic and compositional similarities with some of the newly added British and German pictures); works by the Frenchman Greuze who was, next to Hogarth, one of the first recognised eighteenth-century artists to focus on contemporary bourgeois scenes and who was thought to bestow them with an almost historical degree of morality (see Section 2.3); works by Greuze's fellow-countryman Boilly, because he was one of the most successful French genre painters in the early nineteenth century and his work bears striking similarities with that of Wilkie and various German artists (see Sections 3.1 and 3.2); and works by the German artists Ramberg, Chodowiecki, Hasenclever, Danhauser, Woodville, Friedländer, Pflug, Knaus, Kirner, Geyer, Flüggen, Kauffmann, Schwingen, Fendi, Hübner, Erdmann, Bokelmann, Waldmüller, Leibl and Buri, who represent a mix of established and lesser-known eighteenth and nineteenth-century German artists focusing on scenes from everyday life. In total the sample consists of 60 taxa.

All taxa are genre pictures in the modern sense of the word. They are selected on the basis of their similarities, their representativeness of British, German, Dutch or French genre painting, and specific tendencies within genre painting that have been discussed in the previous chapters and sections. All taxa present contemporary, low-life or bourgeois subjects, with sub-groups sharing elements that range from combinations of thematic motifs to specific

visual details and compositional elements. The data matrix used for the analyses performed in Section 9.6 (see Appendix D, Table D.2: Matrix B) is the starting point for the data matrix used for the analysis in this section. The enhanced data matrix expands upon its predecessor with characters drawn from the newly added pictures (see Appendix C, Table C.3: Character list C). Thoughts on the choice of sample and how this affects the results are addressed in Section 10.2.3.

10.2.2   Methods

A phylogenetic analysis of the new data set is in the first place expected to agglomerate the taxa on the basis of their themes. After all, the analysis is largely performed on the basis of thematic elements. Secondly, the analysis is also expected to demonstrate the relationships between these theme-based agglomerations. Lastly, and most importantly, the analysis is also expected to propose links between individual pictures and groups of pictures that may be related to chronological and geographical matters and that may be the result of artistic exchange.

Considering the diverse art-historical background of the great variety of taxa considered in this section, many of the distinguishable themes and the potential ancestries of pictures within these thematic groups have probably not evolved in a strictly linear way. Instead, some of the themes and pictures have more likely developed in parallel to each other over a time period of one or more centuries. While the first indications of this non-linearity are already apparent in the analysis of Section 9.6, it is expected to gain importance in the much larger analysis carried out here. It would therefore not be very useful to use methods that produce rooted and bifurcating topologies (see Chapter 8). The goal of the following analyses is to learn more about the patterns in genre painting between various regions and different times. For this purpose, two distance analyses are performed using the NeighborNet algorithm and the neighbor-joining algorithm in *Splitstree4*. These result in unrooted topologies that link the taxa in a more or less "liberal" way and acknowledge the conflicting sites (i.e. the multiple dichotomous hypotheses of kinship) that are presumably present in the data matrix.

10.2.3   Results and discussion

The Neighbornet analysis produces a network with clearly distinguishable groups (Figure 10.1). The Delta and Q scores are 0.3528 and 0.03015 respectively, indicating that the network is moderately treelike. The neighbor-joining algorithm, which condenses the relationships between the analysed taxa to show only the more prominent ones, reproduces the topology of the NeighborNet network (Figure 10.2). It shows only slight changes when it comes to the placement of the larger subgroups.

The topology produced by the NeighborNet algorithm first of all agglomerates the taxa on the basis of thematic aspects: the agglomerations are almost all defined by a certain theme. In summary, there is the group of *Peasant wedding* (1), which is connected to the Dutch *Tavern* scenes (2) and *Card players* (3), which is in turn connected to Wilkie's *Card players* and its German variations (3), which finally leads to some members of the theme *Village politicians* (4), some of which are gathered together in a separate group (4a). The *Village*
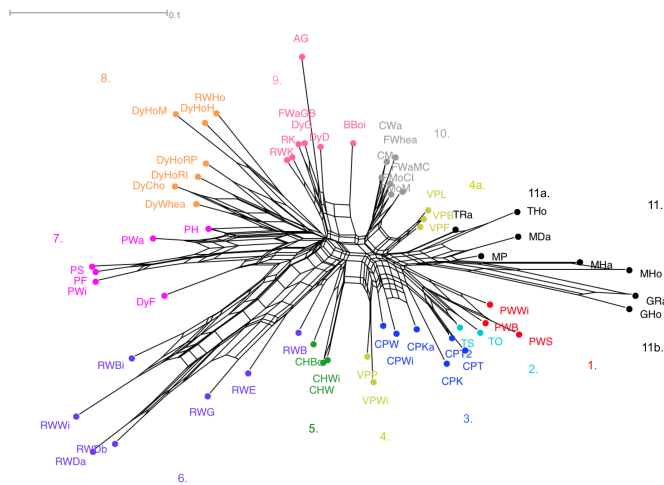
Figure 10.1 – NeighborNet network of Matrix C generated with *Splitstree4*. Colours indicate different themes. The abbreviations refer to the taxa as listed in Appendix B List of taxa. The numbers are used to refer to the groups with different themes in the main text.
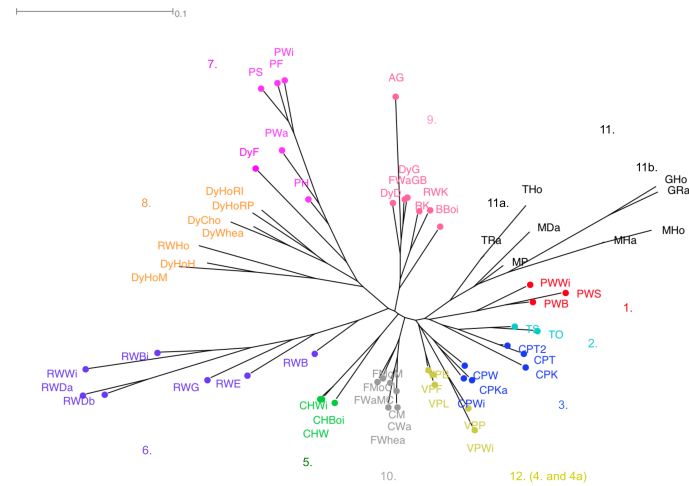
Figure 10.2 – Neighbor-joining tree of Matrix C generated with *Splitstree4*. Colours indicate different themes. The abbreviations refer to the taxa as listed in Appendix B List of taxa. The numbers are used to refer to the groups with different themes in the main text.

politicians group (4) neighbours to *Chelsea pensioners* (5), which in turn is adjoined to the *Reading of the will* (6), which is finally connected to *Pfändung* (7). These groups are known already from the analysis performed in Section 9.6 and their topology is largely consistent with that presented in Figures 9.4 and 9.5, indicating that doubling the number of taxa has not adversely influenced the analysis of these groups.

The topologies of the analyses presented in this section expand upon those of Section 9.6. The extensions can be summarised as follows. Adjoined to *Pfändung* (7) is a group consisting of a significant number of "Hogarthian" taxa, with Chodowiecki and Wheatley placed in between (8). On the right hand side of this group – clearly separated from it – is a group containing both of Greuze's pictures, one Boilly and some German taxa (9). Next to this group – rather distinguished from the net – another group can be found that contains taxa that focus predominately on depictions of *Family life* and children (10). Finally, in between the groups of Family life (10) and *Peasant wedding* (1), a branch with two *Toilette* scenes can be found (11a), which is part of a larger site revolving around scenes of *Merry-making* (11) and in which *Gambling* scenes (11b) constitute a sub-category too. The less nuanced but more condensed neighbor-joining tree generally confirms the groups returned by the network. However, it adjoins all taxa of *Village politicians* in one group (12), and does not show the explicit kinship between *Chelsea pensioners* (5) and *Village politicians* (4) that becomes apparent from the NeighborNet network.

Looking beyond the thematic structure of the topologies returned by the NeighborNet and NJ algorithms, it becomes clear that the graphs also display certain chronological patterns and patterns concerning the nationality of the taxa. In the graphs of Figure 10.3 and 10.4 this is illustrated with colours. Starting with the chronologically oldest taxa, the analyses present the theme of *Merry-making* (11) as a predominately Dutch tradition (closely related to *Tavern* scenes and *Card players* (2), of which clear traces can also be found in the work of Hogarth and some of the German artists. The close placement of Danhauser (MDa) near the picture by Pot (MP) demonstrates a direct German link to this originally Dutch tradition. Hogarth's *A rake's progress III, The orgy* (MHo), *Marriage à-la-mode IV, The toilette* (THo) and his *A rake's progress VI, The gaming house* (GHo) are presented as close relatives to this Dutch tradition as well, while his work also connects directly to some younger German taxa (TRa, MHa and GRa). This suggests an intermediary position of Hogarth in the transmission of Dutch traditions to German painting. These traditions focus among others on the depiction of merry figures in tavern-like interiors and the activity of drinking, which are complemented by social critical elements in the works by Hogarth and are finally repeated by German artists.

Another agglomeration with strong connotations regarding nationality is found in a group with French and German pictures (9). This group does not have a clearly defined theme, but looking at the character states commonly found within this group, all pictures seem to focus on a sentimental depiction of family life, addressing aspects such as caring (character nr. 90), romantic love (character nr. 93), and family bonds (character nr. 78). Considering that this group contains 75% percent of all considered French pictures, of which 66% dates from the eighteenth century, it is compelling to label this "sentimental" focus as a French tradition that may have had a certain influence on the German members of group 9. For example, some younger German pictures including pictures by Waldmüller, Kirner and Kauffmann (FWaGB, RK and RWK) are presented as close relatives of the French taxa. This includes a

Figure 10.3 – Neighbornet network of Matrix C with taxa coloured according to their national background (generated with *Splitstree4*). The topology of this network is identical to that of Figure 10.1. The numbers refer to the thematic groups indicated in Figure 10.1. The abbreviations refer to the taxa as listed in Appendix B List of taxa.

Figure 10.4 – Neighbor-joining tree of Matrix C with taxa coloured according to their national background (generated with *Splitstree4*). The topology of this network is identical to that of Figure 10.2. The numbers refer to the thematic groups indicated in Figure 10.1. The abbreviations refer to the taxa as listed in Appendix B List of taxa.

picture previously positioned near Wilkie's *Reading of the will* in the analyses of Section 9.6 (RK).

The fact that group 9 is rather separated from the network underlines its unique character. The question is whether this French-German connection is really unambiguous. When it comes to scenes that overtly refer to family life and children, other German taxa are positioned near British examples, such as Morland and Wheatley. These are scenes that may perhaps be described as less dramatic than their French counterparts. This effect is seen in the group *Family life* (10), which shows a very close-knit network containing works by Waldmüller (CWa and FWaC) as relatives to pictures by Morland, Mulready and Wheatley (FMoM, FMoCi, CM, and FWhea). However, the fact that more German taxa – by a variety of artists – can be found in the "French" group may indicate that scenes with a (theatrical) sentimental focus in German genre painting have been most strongly inspired by the French tradition.

When it comes to the matter of national background, a third and final observation is made regarding the distribution of taxa in the present topologies. British and German taxa do not tend to cluster among themselves like the Dutch taxa (groups 1-2) and French taxa (group 9). Instead, they mingle (see blue and green in Figure 10.3 and Figure 10.4). This is not only shown in the groups that were already present in the graphs of Section 9.6 (groups 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7), but also in the *Merry-making* group (11), in the group concerning *Family life* (10), and in the group with "Hogarthian" taxa (8). This suggests that they are closely related, rather than adhering to (widely) separate traditions.

One single British protagonist who was a role model to German genre painting cannot be very clearly identified, but it must be noted that the majority of German taxa flock especially around pictures by Wilkie (see for example groups 6 and 7 and to a lesser extent groups 3 and 4). From this, it can be concluded that Wilkie indeed played a leading role in the German reception of British genre painting. However, the details of Figures 10.3 and 10.4 reveal a number of other, very close relationships between British and German artists. Examples are those between works by Hogarth and German artists such as Ramberg, Danhauser and Hasenclever (see groups 8 and 11), or between Waldmüller and the British artists Morland, Mulready and Wheatley (group 10). By contrast, French and Dutch painting play rather peripheral roles. Added together, this identifies British genre painting as a very close relative to the German genre piece. Considering the chronological background of the analysed pictures, this suggests an ancestral relationship in which British painting played the part of the predecessor and role model.

Concluding this section, one should ask the question what the overarching patterns found in the topologies in this section mean. Combining the character list, data matrix and the phylogenetic results, it has been demonstrated that a chronological development in genre painting has taken place from rather simple, Dutch pictures (groups 1-2), to more sentimental (French and early British) and eventually highly anecdotal British pictures (groups 6, 7, 8 and 11). The "crowns" of German taxa that surround the pictures by Wilkie and Hogarth suggest that this anecdotal tendency managed to find its way to German genre painting too. This is supported by the "narrative" character states that British and German pictures have

in common. [564] The late nineteenth-century *Village politicians* by Leibl and Buri (VPB and VPL), however, seem to suggest a later German return to more simple and less anecdotal scenes such as found in Dutch painting. This explains their perhaps unexpected placement away from their thematic group (4) and closer to the Dutch site of the topology. In summary, the topologies presented in this section argue in favour of a predominantly early nineteenth-century, guiding role of British genre painting for its German counterpart – an impact that was much greater than that of its Dutch and French rivals.

A remaining point to discuss is whether the tendencies visualized by using the adopted data set are representative of the broader development of genre painting. In the above analysis, the number of French pictures is rather limited. It is a natural question to ask if the addition of more French pictures could fundamentally change the topology. This is unlikely. If the French taxa had not clustered together like they do, it may indeed have been more difficult to formulate conclusive statements on their role within the larger context of genre painting. But they *do* cluster together, even though they show obvious parallels with Wilkie's pictures in particular. This means that if the small sample of French pictures is a fair representation of French genre painting, adding more French pictures would not have altered the patterns of exchange that can be inferred from the presented results: they would still have formed a group that largely keeps away from the mingling British and German pictures and would thus not have changed the conclusion that there was a unique artistic exchange going on between British and German genre painting. As argued in Section 10.1, the French pictures included in the present analyses were painted by two of the most prominent French genre painters of their times. They acquired much contemporary recognition and were widely known to the German art realm. In spite of this, the presented analysis shows that their impact on German genre painting was limited relative to that of British artists.

In the next part of this study, the phylogenetic results produced in this chapter and in Chapter 9 are compared to the art-historical evidence in order to obtain a more complete understanding of the German reception of British genre painting in the early nineteenth-century and to formulate a coherent picture of the potential of phylogenetic methods for art history.

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[564]Exemplified by depicted concepts or behaviour such as greed (Appendix C, table C.3, character 89), jealousy (Appendix C, table C.3, character 91), familial affection (Appendix C, table C.3, character 94).

Part IV

The mechanisms behind the German reception of British genre painting

In Part III, three phylogenetic analyses focusing on British, German, Dutch and French genre paintings have been performed to systematically analyse and quantify the observable relationships between them. In this part, the topologies resulting from the phylogenetic analyses are compared with the art-historical evidence gathered in Chapters 2 to 7 and in Sections 9.1 to 9.4 and 10.1 in order to determine which phylogenetic results are more and which are less plausible in an art-historical sense. This will not only help develop a thorough understanding of the German reception of British genre painting, but will also assess the relevance of phylogenetic methods for addressing these types of problems.

The first chapter of this part specifically asks the following questions: where does traditional art history confirm the phylogenetic results and where does it not, in which cases do the phylogenetic results complement the traditional results with clues and suggestions, what can be learned from these, and what can one take away from the correspondences and differences between the traditional art-historical results and the phylogenetic results for future applications of phylogenetic methodology in art history (Chapter 11)? The second chapter of this part looks beyond the material and phylogenetic analyses discussed in Part I, II and III and aims to pinpoint the mechanisms that were essential for the transmission of artistic motifs and concepts from British to German genre painting in the early nineteenth century (Chapter 12).

Chapter 11

Patterns of reception in early nineteenth-century genre painting

11.1 A comparison of phylogenetic and traditional art-historical results

When comparing the traditional and phylogenetic results of this study and determining how to interpret and use the latter in an art-historical context, it is helpful to evaluate the analyses performed in the previous chapters by starting with the smallest analysis (Analysis A, see Section 9.5) and ending with the largest (Analysis C, see Section 10.2). As will become clear, with each step towards a more all-encompassing phylogenetic analysis of art-historical material, part of the accuracy of the results is lost, but insights in larger patterns are gained. This leads to a number of key observations regarding the correlations between the phylogenetic analyses and the traditional art-historical part of this study, as well as an informed judgement of the potential of phylogenetic methods for art history in general.

To begin with, Analysis A (see Section 9.5) produces a rooted dendrogram that agrees almost completely with the chronological data known about the involved taxa. The topology of the maximum parsimony tree, with Wilkie as ancestor of the German pictures, is supported by the exposure, popularity and partial accessibility of Wilkie's picture in the German realm from the 1820's onwards (discussed in Part I and III). In other words, the results of Analysis A and those of the traditional art-historical study of the artistic reception of Wilkie's *Reading of the will* are mutually consistent. Together, they suggest that Wilkie's picture indeed stood at the basis of various German interpretations of this theme. What one can take away from this, is that a phylogenetic analysis that is focused on a small sample of anecdotal pictures sharing the same theme is capable of proposing a chronologically and art-historically plausible hypothesis of kinship.

As soon as more taxa with different themes are added to the data set of Analysis A, the results begin to show small deviations from chronological data. This is illustrated by Analysis B (see Section 9.6). First of all, if one takes a look at the topologies of Analysis B, it becomes clear that it broadly agrees with the known chronological data about the involved

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taxa: the successive subgroups with different themes display a chronological order from the oldest group to the youngest ones (when one compares the dates of the oldest taxa within these subgroups). Within the subgroups, however, some sequences of taxa are found that do not follow the known chronology. For example, Knaus's *Falschspieler* (CPK) is placed outside and therefore chronologically "before" the subgroup that contains the nineteenth-century pictures with the theme of *Card players*. Because the picture is dated later than the pictures in this subgroup, it cannot reasonably be considered as one of their ancestors. Instead, Knaus's placement in the topology may be interpreted as an indication that his picture had a broader ancestral base than Wilkie's picture alone. Its obvious phylogenetic relationship to the Dutch pictures by Teniers, Ostade and Steen suggests that Dutch predecessors may have functioned as more prominent models to him than his British contemporary Wilkie. As discussed in the previous chapters, this reading is supported by art-historical evidence. After all, also Dutch pictures were considered and used as important role models for German genre painting (see Chapter 2 and Section 9.3).

Another form of chronological discontinuity found in Analysis B are the chronologically-inverted topologies of thematic subgroups, such as those of *The reading of the will* and *Pfändung*. Yet, such sequences are not as illogical as they may seem at first sight. As explained in Section 9.6, they demonstrate the uniqueness and influence of the British pictures in the overall topology by positioning them at the outer branches of the subgroups, surrounded by German variations of their themes. In the case of Analysis B, these British pictures are chronologically the oldest taxa of their subgroups. This means that the sequences of these subgroups correspond to chronological data when they are read from the outside to the inside of the topology, instead of the other way around. When supplemented with the traditionally-gathered information about the taxa and their artists (Sections 9.1 to 9.4), the visualised links between the taxa are supported by a documented interest of the German artists in the British works that are placed within their direct vicinity, or by the potential availability of these works to them. In summary, art-historical evidence thus confirms the relationships proposed by the algorithms in the case of Analysis A and Analysis B from their larger scales to their more detailed sites.

Recapitulating the above, Analysis B shows that even when proposed topologies are not entirely chronologically accurate or consistent, the distribution of the taxa may still correctly hypothesise about, or visualise and support art-historical processes of artistic exchange or reception. In the context of this study, the results of Analysis B confirm and demonstrate the exemplary role of Wilkie in the development of nineteenth-century German genre painting. Analysis B provides an insightful overview of the relationships between Wilkie's works and those by his German peers in two simple figures. This is not possible with a traditional art-historical approach. Finally, the analysis brings nuances to the expectations that were formulated beforehand and may even provide suggestions for further art-historical research.

The results of Analysis B already indicate that there is a lot more to discern from the phylogenetic analyses of art-historical material than exact chronological sequences of pictures, or hypotheses of evolution or reception of single themes. They can also display patterns that hold information about larger chronological and transnational developments, such as the development of specific artistic features or concepts within certain geographical divisions of art. In other words, phylogenetic graphs can visualise traces of artistic exchange on a much larger

scale than between single artists or works of art. Analysis C demonstrates this capability even more clearly.

For the evaluation of the art-historical relevance of the topologies of Analysis C (see Section 10.2), chronological facts again provide a good point of reference. Analysis C produces an unrooted NeighborNet network and an unrooted neighbor-joining tree that are roughly supported by chronological data when read from the oldest to the youngest thematic subgroups. Additionally, as discussed in Section 10.2, they feature some chronologically-supported sequences among their subgroups. Even when the amount of conflict in the data matrix is relatively high, the analyses can thus still infer patterns that are chronologically supported. However, the results also show areas in which chronological discontinuity is found, either because the pictures are chronologically mixed up within their groups (for example, in the "French" branch, see Figure 10.3 and 10.4, group nr. 9), because they show an inverted chronology towards the centre of the topology (see for example the *Reading of the will*-group in Figure 10.3 and 10.4, group nr. 6), or because taxa are simply positioned somewhat detached from any of the (thematic) subgroups (such as CPK and the group of VPF, VPL, VPB). In these cases, the kinship visualised between the taxa does likely not have a chronological or even a strictly ancestral nature: when compared to the character states of the taxa and their art-historical background, not only clear agglomerations on the basis of themes can be found, but also on the basis of nationality, specific artistic approaches and even certain art-theoretical ideals or philosophies. Against this background, Analysis C suggests a development from the straightforward simple genre scenes by Dutch painters to the more anecdotal British pictures by Wilkie and Hogarth, who in turn may have served as role models for German artists. French painting is more or less sidetracked in this development. Contrary to Analysis A and (to a somewhat lesser extent) Analysis B, the type of ancestry highlighted here is cultural in nature rather than based on individual works of art.

11.2 Preliminary conclusions regarding the effects of British genre painting on German genre painting in the early nineteenth century

Using the previous section's comparison of the phylogenetic results with traditional art-historical evidence as the starting point, several conclusions can be drawn regarding the German reception of British genre painting. First of all, it is shown that different schools in genre painting are characterised by specific artistic approaches, tendencies and use of visual motifs (Analysis B and Analysis C). Whereas Dutch genre painting depicts relatively straightforward and concise subjects focusing on low-life figures, British and German painting are much more anecdotal and more bourgeois. Consulting the character lists and matrices of the analyses performed in Part III reveals that British painting also contains humoristic and satirical details that are found in German pictures too. French painting, on the other hand, seems to have focused predominantly on overly emotional, or sentimental matters from the 1750's onwards and therefore separates itself from the Dutch and Anglo-German traditions.

Furthermore, the phylogenetic results of Part III suggest that there was a flow of artistic

"information" within the field of genre painting that ran from the oldest, Dutch School of genre painting to the younger British and German Schools: thematic motifs seem to have been transmitted from Dutch to British painting, were then extended with motifs that made the genre piece more anecdotal, and are subsequently found in German painting. Thus British painting not only appears to have functioned as the most direct role model for German genre painters, but also as an intermediary between Dutch traditions and German painting. After all, the phylogenetic networks generally place British examples between the early Dutch works and the later German ones and the German taxa are positioned very close to the British pictures. This is shown most clearly in the topology of Analysis B, which displays a sequence from the Dutch *Peasant wedding*s (taken up by Wilkie after the example of the Dutch) and *Tavern* scenes, to *Card players* (explored by Wilkie), *Village politicians* (pioneered by Wilkie), *Chelsea pensioners* (also pioneered by Wilkie) and their subsequent German interpretations. The groups containing *Distraining for rent* and the *Reading of the will* (two themes invented or brought to fame by Wilkie) identify these pictures as clear British ancestors surrounded by German descendants. The fact that most British pictures are placed at the very ends of predominately German agglomerations in the topologies of Analysis C is still in favour of an ancestral role of British pictures when read from the outside to the inside of the overall topology (see the discussions in Sections 9.6, 10.2 and 11.1). The way in which British painting is explicitly presented in contemporary literature as an exemplum for German genre painters (Chapter 4) is in accordance with its position suggested by the phylogenetic analyses. From the last quarter of the nineteenth century onwards, however, the British anecdotal traits disappear from German genre painting and the German genre piece loses its newfound narrative character (see the sequence of agglomerations in Analysis B and Analysis C). This is supported by contemporary art-historical literature. In his *Geschichte der Malerei im XIX Jahrhundert* (1893) the German art historian Richard Muther (1860-1909), for example, argues the following about British genre painting:

> "All that does not provide anything conspicuous or special, the poetry of regularity, remains unexpected. Wilkie paints the farmers, but only in special situations. ...The hard work of the everyday life of farmers is left aside, since it does not provide substance for humour and novella's. By this limitation of its area of subjects, however, painting deprived itself from the best part of its strength. For those who have learned to see poetically, nature is a Museum of wonderful pictures – wide and grand as the world." [565]

Muther thus replaces the role model Wilkie by, among others, Gustave Courbet (1819-1877) and Eduard Manet (1832-1883) and the anecdotal type of genre painting embodied by the British School was pushed towards the background in favour of more straightforward renderings of daily life. [566]

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[565]"Alles, was nichts Auffälliges und Besonderes bietet, die Poesie der Gewohnheit, bleibt unerörtet. Wilkie malt den Bauer, doch nur bei besonderen Anlässen.... Das in harter, schwerer Arbeit hinsliessende bäuerliche Alltagsleben wird bei Seite gelassen, da es für Humor und Novellen keine Unterlage bietet. Durch diese Beschränkung des Stoffgebietes aber entzog sich die Malerei den besten Theil ihrer Kraft. Für den, der malerisch sehen gelernt hat, ist die Natur ein Museum prächtiger Bilder – weit und gross wie die Welt", R. Muther, *Geschichte der Malerei im XIX Jahrhundert*, München 1893, vol. 2, pp. 87-88.

[566]Concerning the influence of French Realism on German soil, see for example H. R. Leppien et al., exhib. cat.

Looking for specific painters that played key roles in the development of the genre piece described above, especially Hogarth and Wilkie appear to have been responsible for introducing British influences to German genre painting. This is suggested by the art-historical evidence gathered in Chapters 2 to 7 and Sections 9.1 to 9.4 and Section 10.1, but the results of Analysis B and Analysis C confirm this. Examples of their influences are the highly anecdotal themes *Reading of the will*, *Distraining for rent* and the lifes of the protagonists from *Marriage à-la-mode*, *A harlot's progress* and *A rake's progress* (see Analysis B and Analysis C). Less narrative themes by British artists such as Morland and Wheatley took up a less prominent function for German genre painting, although Waldmüller's works seem to have drawn heavily from them (see Analysis C.).

Whereas Hogarth is presented by both the art-historical material and the phylogenetic analyses as the eighteenth-century British role model for German artists, Wilkie's work took over this role in the early nineteenth century. Across the full range of evidence, Wilkie is suggested to have transferred a strongly narrative tendency to German genre painting. This is argued not only by contemporary literature and reviews and the availability and reproduction of his work in the German-speaking regions (Chapters 2 to 7 and 9, Sections 9.1 to 9.4), but also by his "ancestral" position within the phylogenetic results (see Analysis A, Analysis B and Analysis C). The German reception of his *Reading of the will* is a hallmark example of this.

Recapitulating the above, the traces of the German reception of British genre painting found in art-historical examples (e.g. British pictures in the German-speaking regions, both in the form of paintings and prints, their reputation, and written reviews of British painting) are complemented by an artistic influence of British painting on German art as shown in phylogenetic graphs. In other words, the role of exemplum that British painting enjoyed in the German-speaking regions according to literature and circumstantial evidence was indeed put into "artistic practice" and can systematically be traced in the art itself. A British narrative of anecdotal painting runs through the development of the German genre piece from the eighteenth-century until well into the nineteenth century. Before Chapter 12 further establishes which underlying mechanisms were responsible for this phenomenon, the next section focuses on the question what one can take away from this evaluation of the phylogenetic analyses for future art-historical applications of phylogenetic methodology.

11.3   Using phylogenetic methodology to trace artistic exchange: what to expect?

Now that the behaviour of phylogenetic analyses on art-historical material has been tested and the correspondences and differences between the phylogenetic results and traditional art-historical evidence have been assessed, some observations can be made that are relevant for the future art-historical use of phylogenetic methods and the interpretation of their results. From the analyses performed in Part III, the first obvious lesson to learn is that a focus on

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Courbet und Deutschland, Hamburg (Hamburger Kunsthalle), Frankfurt am Main (Städelsches Kunstinstitut) 1978, particularly, pp. 364 and 391.

one particular theme can result in a very plausible topology and will at least partially yield chronologically reliable results. Analyses like the ones performed in Analysis A can thus be employed to infer chronologically plausible patterns of transmission of artistic elements and concepts and perhaps even to roughly date works of art.

When pictures of multiple different themes are analysed (Analysis B), a distribution of the taxa along the lines of these themes can be expected. The subsets of taxa outlined in this way may among themselves show chronologically supported sequences, but they can also contain chronological inconsistencies. Analyses like these can therefore be particularly useful when one wants to categorise pictures in different themes, study their development, their internal relationships, or their relationships with regard to each other, to date certain themes in relation to each other, and again to (roughly) date specific pictures. On the basis of the examples presented in this study, dating pictures or groups of pictures is only advisable as long as this can be supported with (partial) art-historical evidence. This potential of phylogenetic methods is not bound to a specific type of objects. One could, for example, also apply these methods to non-figurative art, as long as one can identify appropriate characters and character states. Finally, when two or more very distinctive chronological or national groups are included within the data set, distinctions on the basis of these aspects may also appear within the topology. An example of this is the clear distinction between seventeenth-century Dutch painting and eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century French, British and German painting in the results of Analysis C.

An important lesson learned from the differences between Analysis A, and Analysis B and Analysis C, is that the more pictures from various periods, artists and themes are added to the data set – i.e. the more variables are added to the data set and matrix – the less the results may correspond to chronology on the level of individual paintings. Although some subsets may still contain chronologically correct sequences, others can be chronologically mixed up. With large and relatively "conflicted" data sets such as the one used for Analysis C, it is therefore advisable not to use the results blindly as a chronologically correct sequence describing individual paintings, but to search for art-historical evidence first in order to determine the adequate way of interpreting the results and their details. This is of course only possible if such evidence is available. If such evidence is absent, phylogenetic methodology may be the best toolkit to formulate a hypothesis for a plausible chronological sequence of the analysed objects.

It must also be noted that with a collection of taxa that have a high probability of "horizontal transfer" (i.e. non-linear transmission of information, which is often expressed as "conflict" in the data matrix), such as used for Analysis B and Analysis C, rooted MP topologies become less suitable: since MP topologies do not account for the unconstrained transfer of information, they force their taxa in a linear topology that might not be the natural solution. In such a case, unrooted trees and networks are a better description of the data than rooted MP topologies. Again, this all depends on the amount of "conflict" in the data matrix (see Section 8.2): samples of art-historical objects in general need not contain as much "conflict" as the paintings analysed in the previous chapters do.

As the results of Sections 9.6 and 10.2 show, data sets such as the ones that have been used here distribute the taxa over various thematic subsets. The sequences of these subsets in the topology are chronologically accurate (when a proper root can be identified), and even parts

of these subsets contain chronologically correct sequences. This means that a phylogenetic analysis on this level can have a chronologically predictive quality. Nevertheless, this quality should be treated with care: the resulting topologies can provide clues about art-historical relationships that should be studied and tested in more detail when possible. Without at least some art-historical evidence to support the topology, using it to draw conclusions concerning chronological developments remains risky, but may be desirable depending on the set goals.

Larger networks such as the ones produced by Analysis B and C are especially informative in that they present all the links found within a data set, from detailed relationships to larger patterns. They can therefore ideally be used to study (predictions of) thematic links, rough chronological links, and especially geographical – or transnational – relationships between pictures. In other words, with phylogenetic methodology it is not only possible to trace the transmission of specific motifs or themes, but also to unearth larger structures of, for example, transnational exchange, or the development of local variations of certain types of art.

Most importantly, the above discussion illustrates that phylogenetic analyses provide an answer to the question that is being asked. The sample of Analysis A focuses on individual paintings, and as a result a topology is obtained that correctly describes the chronology of these individual works. The sample of Analysis B expands on this by focusing on different themes, and the resulting topology indeed correctly represents the chronology of these themes (while providing a somewhat less accurate description of the detailed chronology on the level of individual paintings). Finally, the sample of Analysis C focuses on cultural movement between countries, and the resulting topology again successfully captures the chronology of this large-scale process (while failing to describe the relations between individual works and themes with the same accuracy as Analysis A and Analysis B). These examples show that a suitable choice of sample enables the use of phylogenetic analyses in interpreting the development of individual paintings, themes, and even transnational cultural exchange. This versatility is non-trivial and demonstrates that the application of phylogenetic methods can lead to relevant (and possibly surprising) insights on any art-historical scale.

Finally, it must be noted that with a collection of taxa that have a high probability of "horizontal transfer" (i.e. non-linear transmission of information, which is often expressed as "conflict" in the data matrix), such as used for Analysis B and Analysis C, rooted MP topologies become less suitable: since MP topologies do not account for the unconstrained transfer of information, they force their taxa in a linear topology that might not be the natural solution. In such a case, unrooted trees and networks are a better description of the data than rooted MP topologies. Again, this all depends on the amount of "conflict" in the data matrix (see Section 8.2): samples of art-historical objects in general need not contain as much "conflict" as the samples of paintings analysed in the previous chapters do.

In summary, the above evaluation of the phylogenetic results presented in this study shows that phylogenetic methods are capable of delivering correct, supportive, suggestive, and even predictive hypotheses of artistic or art-historical patterns in samples of paintings. This makes the methodology particularly useful for art historians working on questions of reception or artistic exchange. Of course, there are art-historical fields of study or questions that are able to benefit from the use of phylogenetic methods more than others. On the basis of the above-discussed behaviour of phylogenetic analyses with art-historical objects, multiple art-

historical applications of phylogenetic methods can be thought of, while there are other fields of application that may perhaps better be avoided. Such matters and ideas for follow-up research are discussed in Chapter 14.

Chapter **12**

On the mechanisms behind the transmission of British motifs and concepts to German genre painting

The analysis of European genre pictures in Part III reveals a correspondence between the development of anecdotal, moral, and social-critical trends in British and German genre painting that lasted until well into the nineteenth century and that seems to be the result of a vigorous process of reception. This process appears to be rather unique, since for example French genre painting generally took a different direction relative to its British and German counterparts. This brings up the question why especially German genre painting was so susceptible to British influences. Which mechanisms allowed for this process of reception of British painting to take shape in the German realm? A clearer vision of the mechanisms behind the German reception of British genre painting may be obtained by comparing the data discussed in the previous parts.

As Part I and II have shown, the German reception of British painting took place against the background of a range of different media that not only enabled, but also explicitly encouraged the German study and adoption of British traditions. Involved were art literature, printmaking, the art trade and the formation of collections of British painting on the continent. As the art scene became more and more international towards the early nineteenth century, all of these fields became greatly intertwined. Chapter 4 discusses how opportunities for travelling between Britain and the continent were eagerly seized and how this contributed to the intensity and scope of Anglo-German communication. Written media such as newspapers, art journals and travel reports were becoming widely available at the time. They paid attention to the artistic developments that were taking place outside of the German realm and reported extensively on the latest trends and events in British culture and thus provided their German audience with a look into the contemporary state of British genre painting. All of this took place against the background of a "bourgeoisification" of the art scene that seems to have had a stimulating effect on genre painting (see Section 3.2). The goal of this chapter is to carry out a systematic comparison of how these different developments have worked together to stimulate the reception of British art by German artists.

12.1 The reception of British genre painting and its underlying process: assessing a web of different media

In order to identify which trends may have been crucial to the early nineteenth-century German reception of British genre painting and in which ways, this section gathers data from the previous chapters and displays them in diagrams for further scrutiny. Featured in this chapter are figures with panels that compare developments within British genre painting, German genre painting, reproductive printmaking, art literature and the German social art climate. These developments are all discussed in Part I and Part II. As an introduction, the first panel in Figure 12.1 (Panel 12.1.A) shows the normalised cumulative time distributions of the original British and German genre pieces addressed in Part III (see Appendix B, Table B.1: all British and German pieces are included in the data sets). In such a diagram, the values shown along the y-axis indicate the fraction (rather than the absolute number of data points) of the considered British and German works that have appeared by each year. This enables the identification and comparison of strong increases in the production rates of British and German pieces during certain time periods. Any correlations found between the generated lines may or may not be causal in nature.

Panel 12.1.A shows an initial rise of British works halfway during the eighteenth century, followed by a steep incline during the first two decades of the nineteenth century (gradually starting already during the 1790's). The flat part in between these two inclines is explained by an absence of data for most of those decades. German genre painting shows a somewhat similar distribution, but it is shifted to later times. There is a gradual increase of German pictures from the 1760's onwards, followed by a sharp incline during the 1830's and 1840's. From the 1850's onwards, the production rate of the German pictures flattens again.

Panel 12.1.A demonstrates that examples of British genre painting became increasingly available from the early nineteenth century onwards and that the production rate of similar German genre paintings started to accelerate from roughly 1830 onwards. The increase of German pictures takes place over a similar duration as the British increase, but starts some 50 years later. Of course this is to a certain extent determined by the selection of data points that is used for these diagrams. The effects of the selection are discussed in more detail in Section 12.2.

As argued in Chapter 6, during the studied time period, British genre paintings were not present in abundance on the continent. It is therefore not likely that the correlation between the two distributions in Panel 12.1.A signifies a *direct* causal relationship (i.e. that British genre pieces directly instigated the rise in similar German genre pieces). It is more plausible that other developments or media played an *intermediary* role in this respect. To test this, Panel 12.1.B adds a normalised cumulative time distribution of the publication of reproductive prints of British genre painting to the lines in Panel 12.1.A (see Appendix H, Table H.1 for the used data set of reproductive prints). [567] Its distribution indicates that prints and reproductive prints associated with the genre pieces addressed in Part III were already available

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[567] The data set is based on the list of dated prints after Wilkie in Hoover 1981, Appendix 2 there, which is complemented with a list of dated prints after Wilkie's pictures from *The Art Union* 1840, p. 11, as well as German reproductive prints and prints after Wilkie's early genre pictures in the collection of the Print Room of the British Museum.
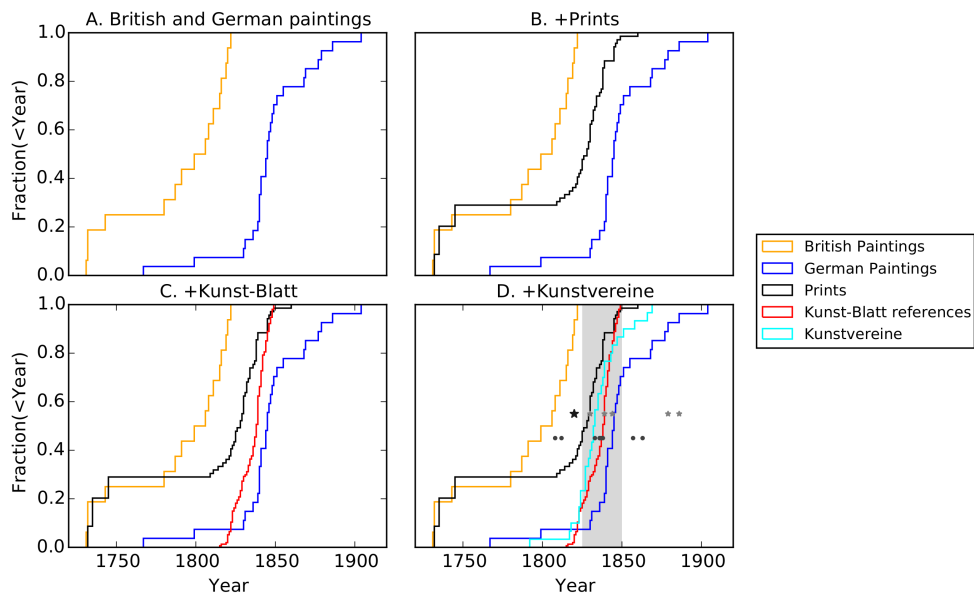
Figure 12.1 – Normalised cumulative time distributions of genre pieces and their occurrences in the media as a function of the year of appearance. The y-axis indicates the fraction of works that has appeared by each year. Each line refers to a subset of objects as described in the legend to the right of the diagram. Panel A only shows two of the data sets, after which Panels B, C, and D each add one more data set. The full sample is shown in Panel D, in which small black dots represent publication dates of continental travel journals (see the text), the large black star indicates the appearance of Wilkie's *Reading of the will*, and the small grey stars mark the appearance of its German interpretations. The grey-shaded area highlights the crucial time period for the German reception of British genre painting, when many of the lines show a clear rise.

from the 1730's onwards. However, a steep increase of reproductive prints is only found during the 1820's and 1830's. This increase starts already around 1810 and gains momentum from 1825 onwards. The rise of prints is more or less in full swing by the time the production of German genre painting commences in the 1830's. The steep increases in both the availability of reproductive prints and German genre painting correlate on a much shorter time-scale than those of the British and German paintings. Therefore it is considered more likely that there is a (direct) causal relationship between the increasing availability of reproductive prints and the growth of German genre painting.

Another relevant observation that can be made about the correlations between the lines of German genre painting and reproductive prints is that German genre painting only seems to respond to the availability of reproductive prints after their increase around 1825. During the eighteenth century, when reproductive prints also became increasingly available, such a response is not visible. This suggests that during the 1830's and 1840's yet another develop-

ment may have had a decisive effect on German genre painting, [568] one that was not the case in the eighteenth century. This idea is explored in the next panel.

In Panel 12.1.C, a normalised cumulative time distribution is shown of references to British art in the popular German art periodical *Kunst-Blatt*. This includes references to British art and painting in general, references to particular British artists, and especially references to British genre pieces and works by Hogarth and Wilkie (see Appendix I, Table I.1). As shown, the publication of such references starts enthusiastically already in 1816, but it experiences a true burst from the end of the 1830's onwards, just before the increase in German genre painting takes place. This correlation between the references in *Kunst-Blatt* and the production of German genre pieces occurs on an even shorter time-scale than the correlation between the reproductive prints and German genre painting. This suggests that the discourse on British art in *Kunst-Blatt* may have been the most direct instigator of the production of the German genre paintings.

It is found that the steep incline of references in *Kunst-Blatt* follows almost immediately after the incline in reproductive prints. Bearing in mind that many of the references in *Kunst-Blatt* revolved at least partially, but sometimes completely around those very reproductive prints that were published a few years earlier, this correlation may signify a causal relationship. For example, many of the prints after Wilkie included in the data set are discussed within the issues of *Kunst-Blatt* that are referenced throughout this work.

The dramatic increases of references in *Kunst-Blatt* and of German genre paintings, and partly the increase of reproductive prints, take place during the 1830's and 1840's. This singles out these decades as a crucial time for the German reception of British genre painting. Panel 12.1.D confirms this by adding a distribution of the foundation of German *Kunstvereine*. In this panel, the German reception of British genre painting is related to the development of the German bourgeois art scene as a whole. As argued in Section 3.2, *Kunstvereine* can be seen as an indication of a growing bourgeois engagement with the arts at the time. They were instrumental in drawing the bourgeoisie closer to the contemporary art scene and they supported and championed German genre painting. Therefore, it is not surprising to find a correlation between the sharp rise of *Kunstvereine* from the 1820's onwards and the other developments shown in the diagram.

Finally, as extra support for the identified significance of the 1830's and 1840's, Panel 12.1.D shows the publication dates of the continental travel journals of trips to Britain and canons discussed in Part II, Chapters 4 and 5. These are indicated by the black dots. Together with the lines, they mark the 1830's and 1840's as a very active period for the German art scene (indicated by the grey-shaded area). For illustrative reasons, also the arrival of Wilkie's *Reading of the will* in Munich is included in the panel (indicated with a black star), together with its "descendants" analysed in Chapter 9 (indicated with the grey stars). It is clear that the arrival of Wilkie's picture stands at the very start of the sharp increases in print production, the *Kunst-Blatt* references and the production of German genre paintings. This suggests that the hype around his picture had a positive effect on these developments. The production dates of pictures that were presumably inspired by Wilkie's *Reading of the will* further emphasise that the 1830's and 1840's were the two crucial decades for the German reception of British

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[568]The effects of the selection of data points on the correlation between the lines of German genre painting and reproductive prints is discussed in Section 12.2.

painting. In summary, the correlations highlighted in this section suggest that it was not the rise of British genre painting itself that prompted its reception in German pictures, but rather the successive appearance of British works in firstly reproductive prints, and secondly in German art periodicals, as well as the simultaneous rise of the bourgeoisie in the German art scene.

12.2   Correlation or causality: the workings behind the German reception of British genre painting explained

The data used in this study represent selections (although the sample of *Kunst-Blatt* references is near-exhaustive). Inevitably, this influences the cumulative distributions shown in Figure 12.1 and thus the conclusions that are drawn from them. Therefore, it is important to discuss the selections and their effects on the results. First of all, larger selections may be expected to yield more representative results. However, this is of course only the case if such data are aptly chosen to fit the question at hand.

As Parts II and III have indicated, eighteenth-century works by Hogarth and the reproductions after his work closely correspond to later German genre pieces. This justifies the inclusion of these works in the used data sets. The same holds for the data revolving around Wilkie, who succeeded Hogarth in the art-historical discourse as the prime model for modern painting in the nineteenth century (see Chapters 4 and 5). When it comes to data that are *not* included in the data sets, one could argue that the data sets of British works and especially of reproductive prints are lacking entries between the 1740's and 1790's. This creates the aforementioned plateau between the production of Hogarth's works during the eighteenth century, and the later increases in British works, prints and German painting in the nineteenth century. However, if such data would be added to make the data set more "complete", for example in the form of prints after Morland, the discrepancy between prints and German genre painting in this period would only become greater. After all, German painting would follow the increase in the distribution of British works even more slowly. The addition of extra data concerning reproductive prints would actually strengthen the suggestion that a more specific development took place during the 1830's and 1840's that instigated the German response to British genre painting. In other words, the general observations that are made about these distributions in Section 12.1 would not change when adding more data between the 1740's and 1790's. Furthermore, the French occupation of German territory during the rule of Napoleon between 1794 and 1815 is argued by Clayton to have been detrimental for the trade of British prints. [569] If indeed a causal relationship between the availability of reproductive prints and (British-inspired) German genre pieces was the case, a flourishing of the latter may therefore reasonably only be expected after 1815.

Adding German pictures from the eighteenth century and very early nineteenth century to the data set may minimise the observed discrepancy described above. However, in that case it would be crucial to find and add only pictures that in some way relate to British examples, otherwise the panels would become irrelevant with regard to the questions posed

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[569]Clayton 2008, pp. 150-151.
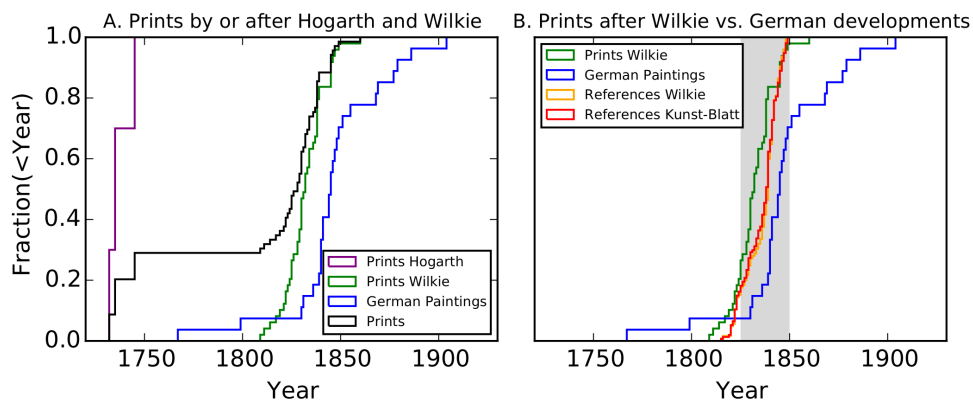
Figure 12.2 – Normalised cumulative time distributions of genre pieces and their occurrences in the media as a function of the year of appearance. The y-axis indicates the fraction of works that has appeared by each year. Each line refers to a subset of objects as described in the legend to the right of the diagram. Each panel shows four data sets. The grey-shaded area highlights the crucial time period for the German reception of British genre painting, when many of the lines show a clear rise.

in this study. The data set of German pictures used here is conservative because it contains pictures that have closely been compared to their British counterparts and that have been painted by a range of nineteenth-century German artists (as discussed in Part I, II and III). Its selection may therefore be considered as representative for the studied time period and the developments that took place at the time. Only if one can at least double the sample of such representative pictures that is already considered here, it would be possible (though far from guaranteed) that the shape of the cumulative distribution in Figure 12.1 undergoes a qualitative change.

A last point worth mentioning here is that the steep increase of prints, references and painting found during the 1830's and 1840's is predominantly caused by entries revolving around Wilkie. Of course, Wilkie is one of the main subjects of this study, which implies that an important part of the data collected and used in the above panels concerns his work. But this size difference between the different samples is not problematic, on the contrary. First of all, the normalisation of the distributions ensures a fair comparison between the data sets regardless of their actual size. Furthermore, and more importantly, Wilkie was seen as the protagonist of British genre painting in the German nineteenth century, or British painting in general – even more so than Turner (as argued in Part II and III). Therefore, Wilkie's dominance in the data is supported by art-historical evidence.

To see more clearly how significant Wilkie's part in the panels shown above is, it is worthwhile to generate another figure of panels that separates the Wilkie-related data from the rest. Figure 12.2, Panel A, illustrates the relative contributions of prints after Hogarth and those after Wilkie to the rise of British-inspired German genre pieces. It shows four normalised cumulative time distributions. The black line shows the distribution of prints after British genre painting in general and the blue line indicates the distribution of German

paintings. These distributions are both known from Figure 12.1. Added to these distributions, however, are the purple line, showing the distribution of prints by or after Hogarth, and the green line, showing the distribution of prints after Wilkie. Now it is clearly demonstrated that the steep increase in prints starting in the 1820's is almost entirely made up by prints after Wilkie. During the nineteenth century, however, many reprints, copies and new issues of earlier prints showing British genre scenes were published. Of course, such data could be added to the data set for a more complete picture, but it seems likely that the major impact of Wilkie is difficult to match. After all, he went to great lengths to have his own genre pieces reproduced and distributed, which was rather unique in itself, and his work was reissued, copied and pirated in great quantities, which is not even accounted for in the data set.[570] This makes it relatively safe to say that Wilkie's dominance in the data is representative of the situation at the time.

Finally, Panel 12.2.B contains the two lines on German painting and prints after Wilkie from Panel A and adds two lines representing references in *Kunst-Blatt*. The orange line shows a normalised cumulative time distribution of references to Wilkie that almost exactly fits the red line showing the normalised cumulative time distribution of references to British art in general. This tight correlation between the distributions of references to Wilkie and general references to British art underline the size of Wilkie's part in the discourse on British art at the time. The data set of *Kunst-Blatt* references includes all found references to British art or artists in *Kunst-Blatt* (potential accidental omissions left aside). Hence, the close correspondence is not merely a product of the sample selection.

12.3 Conclusions: the process of reception considered as a multi-stage process

The figures discussed in this chapter indicate that a remarkable increase of (British-inspired) German genre pieces took place during the 1830's and 1840's. This is preceded shortly before by a strong rise of references to British art in *Kunst-Blatt* and, a few years before that, an incline in the availability of reproductive prints. Since these correlations occur on a relatively short timescale, the chance increases that these correlations are of a causal nature. Since the time separation between the rise of British works and the growth in German genre pieces is relatively large – some 50 years – it is unlikely that British art itself was able to directly cause the sharp increase in the production of German genre pictures during the 1830's and 1840's. This correlation is therefore less likely to be causal.

On the basis of the above observations, it is concluded that reproductive prints played an instrumental role in driving the German reception of British genre painting. It is also shown, however, that reproductive prints alone were likely not enough to trigger a German response to the British developments in genre painting. Still, their increasing availability seems to have stimulated the discourse on British art in *Kunst-Blatt*. This literary discourse, in turn, closely correlates with the German boost in genre painting. Looking at Panel D in Figure 12.1, it is

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[570]See Chapter 7. Among others Verhoogt singles Wilkie out as a particularly prominent example of an artist who was very much concerned with the reproduction of his own work, see Verhoogt 2007, p. 213.

also found that the introduction of a strong participation of the bourgeoisie in the art scene correlates with the increasing activities in print distribution, literature and painting revolving around the genre piece. It is assumed that this bourgeois participation went hand in hand with the increasing activities in the other fields and that they were perhaps mutually stimulating.

In summary, a close-knit system of reproductive prints and art literature, combined with a thriving bourgeois participation in the arts led to the fruitful German reception of British genre painting during the 1830's and 1840's. If one takes a step back and looks at the implications of this interpretation for the study of similar processes of reception, it suggests that a vibrant infrastructure of visual and literary media is crucial in order for a vigorous reception process to take place. Such an infrastructure aids the instigation of the reception process even if, for example, reproductive prints alone were not enough to do so. In the particular example of prints after British genre pieces, a literary medium in which they were discussed created a more powerful instigator for their reception. In other words: the chances to find a vigorous process of reception in art history increase when a "multi-stage" system of visual examples and literary reviews is present in the relevant time frame. This may explain why the French artistic (and literary, see Chapter 4) response to British genre painting is less obvious.

Part V

Crossing boundaries in art and art history

The present study has set out to investigate and explain the early nineteenth-century German reception of British genre painting. It has been prompted by an historical presence of British genre pictures in the early nineteenth-century German-speaking regions, their striking local status, and compelling correlations between British genre pieces and their German counterparts. The aim has been to examine where and how this process of reception is expressed, to determine the reasons for its existence and prominence at the time, and to pinpoint the scope of British influences on German painting itself. Through this study, a broader understanding is to be gained of the early nineteenth-century revaluation of genre painting, as well as the mechanisms behind the studied process of reception.

The goal of this final part is manifold: to obtain a conclusive picture of the German reception of British genre painting, to evaluate the consequences of these conclusions for other fields of study, to look into potentially interesting areas for future research, and to consider the relevance of phylogenetic methodology for art history. Chapter 13 focuses on discussing the conclusions that can be drawn regarding the German reception of British genre painting. Chapter 14 provides a discussion of the phylogenetic analyses performed in this study and the significance of this new approach to art history. Among others, it addresses the advantages and disadvantages of the use of phylogenetic methods in art history, discusses potential concerns about its use, and provides suggestions for art-historical applications of the method in its broadest sense.

In this part, new perspectives are gained on early nineteenth-century genre painting in its European context, as well as on the expansion of today's methodological toolkit of art history. In this sense, this part does not only concern the way in which German genre painting crossed its own national borders in search for examples elsewhere. It also discusses how modern art history may benefit from crossing its own boundaries as a discipline by adopting methods from other fields of study.

Conclusions: a British narrative in early nineteenth-century genre painting

13.1 The nineteenth-century revival of the genre piece: an upgrade of existing traditions

As demonstrated in this study, the observed Anglo-German connections regarding genre painting were embedded in an eventful time for the genre piece in general. Traditionally, art theory condemned genre painting to the lowest rank of the artistic hierarchy in favour of history painting, because it was considered to merely imitate nature instead of searching for an elevating ideal concealed *within* nature. This was the case in Britain, as well as in France and the German-speaking regions. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, however, the genre piece experienced a theoretical revaluation. Prominent theorists and philosophers began to attribute an educating and moralising quality to the genre piece because of its recognisability and therefore its ability to attract the growing middle classes. Consequently, a theoretical ideal took shape of a type of genre scene that not merely depicted the human being in its natural environment, such as is the case in most superficial Dutch pictures, but a genre piece that went beyond its Dutch prototype by focusing on the depicted figures' narrative actions, interactions and emotions, in short: by presenting a bourgeois form of drama. This new form of genre painting was expected to establish a connection between contemporary art and society that was previously considered weak or largely absent. These ideas are expressed in the work of among others Diderot, Hogarth and Kugler, although a theoretical predecessor of their way of thinking can already be found in Gerard de Lairesse's *Groot Schilderboeck* (1707).

A comparison of art theory with the contemporary art curriculum and art practice shows that the theoretical revaluation of the genre piece coincided with prominent socio-historical changes. The early nineteenth-century art scene was characterised by an increasing involvement of the middle classes, not only on the art market, but also in the exhibition space and in the institutional realm. Especially in Britain, the growing presence of a middle class and its preference for genre scenes in the exhibition space correlates with an increasing produc-

tion and popularity of genre pieces, such as those painted by David Wilkie. As opposed to the art establishment, which upheld its conventional, classically-inspired curriculum until at least the 1830's, a civil involvement in the art scene through art societies, which collected and exhibited contemporary painting, provided the genre piece with a podium and economic support.

The way in which a close interplay of society and art stimulated the development of genre painting in Britain was not as inevitable as it may seem. For example, in France, a civil involvement in the art scene through art societies was rather restricted by the monopoly position of the Paris Salon. This renders the British situation even more remarkable. Of course, in France a philosophical and political preoccupation with the people and with the role of the bourgeoisie in society stimulated the production of scenes of bourgeois city life, such as those painted by Boilly. Exhibition lists furthermore confirm that genre scenes were often displayed despite their traditionally presumed lack of merit. Still, the French interest in genre painting pales next to the situation in Britain and the German-speaking regions.

By looking at the genre piece in the German-speaking realm and comparing it to Britain and France, this study establishes that the German social and artistic climate was the most beneficial for the growth of the genre piece. In the German-speaking regions, the bourgeois art enthusiast was able to exert a particularly noteworthy influence on the art scene through the institute of the *Kunstvereine*. As an often civil initiative, the *Kunstvereine* economically supported German genre painting by buying and exhibiting predominantly genre pieces. In this way, the *Kunstvereine* contributed to the emancipation of the genre piece and enabled it to hold its own against other categories of painting. This seems to have fed back to the development of ideas about the genre in art theory and to the German art curriculum. For instance, German academies began to accept students as genre painters as early as the 1830's, when many *Kunstvereine* were founded.

In summary, Part I suggests that the early nineteenth-century German art scene was a very civil and local affair compared to France and to a lesser extent Britain. Because the German art realm lacked a centralised art curriculum and strong governmental involvement, consisting of multiple artistic centres instead, a bourgeois engagement in art was allowed to develop much more freely in the German realm then anywhere else. It is demonstrated that this involvement translated into a prosperous field of German genre painting.

On the basis of the results summarised above, early nineteenth-century German genre painting can be described as an art that depicted the people *for* the people and an art that was favoured and thus driven *by* the people. The discussed emancipation of the genre piece in both theory and practice, and the German bourgeois interest in genre painting closely correspond to each other. These developments may even have enhanced each other. In a European context, the German approach to the genre piece was rather unique, which has not been acknowledged before. By contrast, British painting around 1800 *has* often been characterised as a unique, strongly civil and bourgeois affair (already by contemporary German sources). This example strikes an interesting correlation between the British and German artistic developments revolving around the genre piece, which supports the idea that Britain stood as an example for German art life at the time.

13.2   British genre painting as the model for a narrative turn in German genre painting

Part II has shown that in the German-speaking regions an exemplary role was attributed to British art. It characterises the German reception of British genre painting as a process that was firmly rooted in a general admiration of the state of British art and society and their close connection that was observed at the time. Part II also illustrates that German intellectuals found plenty examples in Britain that resonated with their ideas. Already in the eighteenth century, personal German correspondences between Britain and the German-speaking regions, as well as early forms of newspapers and journals facilitated a vigorous discussion about British society and politics, both of which were admired by the German-speaking realm for their sense of freedom. In the most prominent contemporary German art journal *Kunst-Blatt*, British art was seen as a reflection of Britain's society and thus deemed a much-admired pinnacle of modernity. This modernity was recognised in a freedom of style, in everyday, socially-engaged subjects, and above all in a strong degree of naturalism.

Because the subject-matter of British genre painting was considered to be the result of a direct link between society and art, the German realm deemed it a perfect role model for contemporary painting, which was urged to establish a similar engagement with its social context. In modern art literature, often British landscape painting or the Pre-Raphaelite School are put forward as the dominant subject of transnational exchange in this time period.[571] The notion that genre painting was perhaps an even more dominant artistic "export product" of Britain has previously not been recognised as such. Looking at art journals, a strong reception of British genre painting was especially prevalent in the German realm. In France, for comparison, such an interest in British genre painting seems to have been less pronounced.

It is shown in Part II that German commentators initially considered the work of Hogarth to provide the best example of the theoretically-formulated ideal of a moralising type of genre painting. Hogarth had depicted not only the world as it appeared to him, but also the underlying problems he detected in his own society. Therefore, the desired social engagement was particularly strong in his work. In the course of the early nineteenth century, however, Hogarth's position was taken over by David Wilkie. Wilkie's pictures were considered to go beyond the superficial genre scenes of his Dutch predecessors by showing highly narrative scenes focusing on the emotions and interactions of his figures. At the same time, his pieces were thought to be much less satirical than Hogarth's, which provided a pleasant or "gemüthlich" experience to its viewers, instead of a stinging one. From the early nineteenth-century onwards, Wilkie was therefore presented as the example par excellence of what contemporary German genre painters were to achieve. This pulls him out of the shadow of, for example, today's British heroes Turner and Constable, or the Dutch masters that preceded them, and underlines his previously forgotten role as a star and much-admired role model.

Traces of the described reception of British genre painting are not only found in *Kunst-Blatt*. They are also apparent in a variety of travel journals. These journals were aimed at bringing the idea of British society and art closer to the German public by means of an

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[571]See for instance W. Vaughan, *German Romanticism and English Art*, Yale, 1979 and Potts 1981 pp. 181-223.

"eyewitness report" that informed its readers about British matters one could only fully appreciate and discuss on location. Travel journals by among others Passavant and Waagen generally confirm the image of British genre painting rendered in *Kunst-Blatt*, but they add specific details about its formal aspects and present anecdotes about its artists in a bid to further characterise this field of painting. Furthermore, these journals feature the beginnings of how British genre painting came to be placed at the heart of the continental canon of the "English School". They explicitly present Hogarth as one of the founding figures of the British School and Wilkie as its contemporary protagonist. These early attempts of rendering the character of British painting eventually reached their fulfilment in clear-cut, written canons in the course of the nineteenth century. As a first complete and explanatory canon of the "English School" of painting, Charles Blanc's *Peintres de l'ecole anglaise* (1863) identifies genre painting (revolving around the concept of the people) as one of the three main pillars of the British School, next to landscape painting (revolving around nature), and portrait painting (revolving around the individual). It consolidates Hogarth's role of founding figure, while Wilkie is admired as his contemporary successor.

It has also been shown in Part II that art journals, travel journals and art canons together illustrate how individual expressions of appreciation of British genre painting – which were embedded in the reception of British society and culture as a whole – developed into an increasingly articulated statement about the British School of painting. In this statement, genre painting came to be seen as a defining and exemplary part. This underlines the prominent position that British genre painting held in the early nineteenth-century.

Part II has furthermore illustrated that the growing fascination with British art and culture in art literature corresponds to the distribution of the *image* of British genre painting on the continent. Prominent collections of British painting could be found among others in St. Petersburg and Munich, the latter of which has gone rather unnoticed in modern art history until recently.[572] By the early nineteenth century, the Bavarian King Maximilian I. Joseph had established a small collection of British genre scenes in Munich, of which Wilkie's *Reading of the will* grew out to become the showpiece of the royal collection and later of the Neue Pinakothek. Wilkie's *Reading of the will* is a hallmark example of the British bourgeois genre scenes admired in art literature. Its strong focus on human interaction and emotion was thought to establish a humorous narrative that avoided the sharp tone of satire known from Hogarth. The painting's warm reception in Bavaria and its treatment as a national treasure are the ultimate proof of the respected position of David Wilkie, as well as British genre painting in general in the German-speaking regions. Other German commissions for Wilkie further support this position. However, it must also be concluded that not as many British pictures found their way to early nineteenth-century German collections as one might expect on the basis of their reputation in literature. Most British pictures present in German collections today have entered the country in the late nineteenth century and in the course of the twentieth century.

As shown, in the early nineteenth century, the prime means through which a German art audience could familiarise itself with the image of British genre painting was reproductive prints rather than paintings. An infrastructure of (among others) publishers, dealers and even

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[572]See Rott *et al.* 2012, pp. 60-76.

the artists themselves provided for a wide distribution of reproductive prints in the German-speaking regions. Strikingly, artists such as David Wilkie even personally occupied themselves with the supervision of the production of reproductions after their work and the distribution of these on the continent. The German exposure to such prints is testified by the presence of British prints – particularly prints after British genre pieces – in historical German print collections and at contemporary auctions, as well as by reviews of these prints in *Kunst-Blatt*. The supposed role of prints as a gateway to British genre painting must have stimulated a German awareness of British genre painting that revolved mainly around the depicted stories, compositions and thematic motifs of the original works and to a lesser extent around its formal features, such as style or brushwork. This is supported by the fact that reviews of British prints that regularly appeared in *Kunst-Blatt* focused exclusively on the aspects of themes, story lines and compositions. After all, formal features, such as style and brushwork, were hardly visible or even reproducible in print. Finally, when it comes to the role of reproductive prints in the German realm, this study has presented a case in point of the major impact of prints in the early nineteenth-century art discourse. It demonstrates how they were used as a window to art that was otherwise difficult to access and that reviews of paintings were often based on prints instead of on the original pictures.

13.3   The mechanism of "reception" revealed

The lively discussion about British painting in the contemporary German art literature, as well as the availability of British genre pieces and (to a greater extent) reproductive prints in the German-speaking regions provided a solid basis for the reception of British genre pictures by German artists. This study's analysis of British and German genre pictures with phylogenetic methods illustrates that British genre painting indeed had an extensive impact on German painting itself.

Part III has shown that early nineteenth-century British and German genre painting display correlations that suggest that British genre painting had a shaping influence on its German counterpart. These correlations consist mostly of similarities in themes, compositions, visual motifs, and narrative or humorous approaches to everyday and bourgeois scenes. Such similarities can especially be found between pictures by Wilkie and his German peers. The possible awareness of the German artists of Wilkie's pictures and the contemporary comparisons of their works with that of Wilkie in *Kunst-Blatt* support the hypothesis that his work was indeed used as key example. As shown, the same holds for works by Hogarth, but this happened earlier and on a slightly earlier and shorter timescale.

Using phylogenetic analyses, Part III has revealed patterns in British and German genre painting that provide insight in the German *artistic* reception of British genre painting. The maximum parsimony, NeighborNet and neighbor-joining analyses performed in this study attribute key roles to Hogarth and Wilkie in the development of early nineteenth-century German genre painting. Patterns in the analysed data set of genre pieces suggest that German artists used Hogarth's work as role model until at least 1800, while Wilkie largely took over this role by the early nineteenth century. This is in accordance with their roles in the art literature discussed in Part II. The strongest links between the analysed British and German

pictures consist of similarities in themes, compositions and visual motifs. Finding these types of similarities may be expected on the basis of the idea that German artists knew British pictures mainly through prints.

This study's quantification of the observed similarities between British, German, and Dutch pictures through phylogenetic methods indicates that, although Wilkie can be identified as prime example for German painters, a strong influence of Dutch painting on German genre cannot be denied. Examples of German pictures that show closer relationships with Dutch pictures support this interpretation. In the majority of the analysed cases, however, Wilkie functioned as an intermediary between Dutch traditions and nineteenth-century German genre painting. In summary, the phylogenetic analyses in Chapter 9 enable for a conclusive assessment to be made about Wilkie's impact: Wilkie's influence on German genre painting was more direct and arguably stronger than that of Dutch painting.

Chapter 10 continues by combining multiple pictures by British, German, Dutch and French artists in one overarching phylogenetic analysis. Firstly, the analysis shows that the links between British and German genre painting remain as strong as when a smaller sample is considered. Secondly, this global analysis does not only confirm the German reception history of British pictures, but also demonstrates that certain features of the genre piece are geographically or chronologically correlated. For instance, French painting demonstrates a rather sentimental approach to the genre piece, whereas Dutch painting shows more simplistic and superficial renditions of scenes from everyday life, and British pieces – and later also German genre pictures – present the most narrative scenes. Finally, the phylogenetic results suggest that, as time progressed, Britain lost its exemplary function for German artists. A return to simple, less anecdotal pictures in German painting is demonstrated by the Realist works by Buri and Leibl, who are placed closer to the more superficial Dutch examples than to any British genre pieces.

In summary, a clear process of reception of British art in German genre painting is visible within the phylogenetic results: a British narrative of anecdotal, moral, and socio-critical trends is found that runs through the development of the German genre piece, from the first traces of inspiration and clear kinship between British and German pictures, to a German loss of interest in British painting in later years. In Part IV, the comparison of the phylogenetic results with the traditional art-historical findings of this study has established compelling correspondences: the phylogenetic analyses in this study show that the role of exemplum that British painting enjoyed in the German-speaking regions (Part II) was indeed put into practice by adopting many of the British themes, motives and a narrative approach in German genre painting (Part III). This demonstrates the ability of phylogenetic methods to trace patterns of reception within art (more on its potential application in art history follows in Chapter 14).

The present study has approached the German reception of British genre painting from multiple perspectives, such as a theoretical and literary point of view, a socio-historical perspective, and by analysing painting itself. As such, it goes beyond previous studies of this process that make use of single perspectives, or that focus on (exhaustive) case studies. It is suggested that the German fascination with British painting found in the literature knew a wide practical application as well and that the phenomenon was strongly tied to a socio-historical climate in which a bourgeois participation in the art scene began to flourish. Each of these factors has attributed its own share to the German reception of British genre painting.

In Part IV, it has been established which mechanisms were responsible for the transmission of artistic motifs and concepts from British painting to German painting during the early nineteenth century. In Chapter 12, a comparison of art literature, the distribution of British paintings and prints in the German-speaking regions, the bourgeois participation in the art scene, as well as some of the phylogenetically analysed pictures has shown that a close-knit system of reproductive prints and art literature, combined with a thriving bourgeois participation in the art scene was responsible for the extensive German artistic reception of British genre painting during the 1830's and 1840's. During this time period, a strong increase of British-inspired German genre pictures took place, preceded shortly before by a strong rise of references to British art in *Kunst-Blatt*, as well as an increase in the availability of reproductive prints shortly before the increase in *Kunst-Blatt* references. In summary, this suggests that reproductive prints played an instrumental role in encouraging the German reception of British genre painting, while reviews of these prints in *Kunst-Blatt* completed the stimulus that triggered a German artistic response to British examples. Finally, a strong bourgeois involvement in art, demonstrated by an increase in the foundation of *Kunstvereine*, cemented the "multi-stage" system behind the reception of British painting.

To sum up the main conclusions of this study, British pictures were employed as role models during the early nineteenth-century emancipation of the German genre piece. They were seen as a guide towards modernity – or an ideal, modern society – and stimulated the development of a strongly narrative trend in German painting. This implies a leading role of British genre painting in the early nineteenth century art realm that is barely acknowledged in modern art-historical literature. What *has* been acknowledged in the literature, however, is the discrepancy between the concepts of British art and "modernity". As already discussed in the introduction of this study, London's role as economic and cultural centre from the eighteenth century onwards has been recognised, yet it has been asked "why, then, did this modern art world, if indeed that was what Britain had produced, fail to create a significant body of modern art?" [573] This study has demonstrated that if anyone would ask this question to an early nineteenth-century German art commentator, they would have been ridiculed: the "marginal position" that British art takes up in modern art literature on the early nineteenth century was not considered marginal at all in the German world of art at the time. This represents British painting as a key player in the nineteenth-century art scene and, through this, renders its position in the history of art as much less "marginal" than it has been considered over the past decades.

13.4   Assumptions and caveats

This study of the German reception of British genre painting does not just approach its subject through literature or through a focus on one specific artist, picture or field, but from a variety of perspectives to obtain a holistic point of view. It is an inclusive study of a reception process, from its intellectual beginnings (represented in contemporary art theory) to its practical end products (paintings). Of course, a focus on the combined outcome of these approaches must

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[573]Allen *et al.* 1995 p. 6.

not go at the expense of an attention to detail. The assumptions and caveats of this work are discussed here.

First of all, one aspect of this study that should be discussed is the selection of the studied material. Of course, when making a selection one should be mindful that it does not introduce any bias into the conclusions that can be drawn from the data. For instance, it could be argued that (parts of) the sample would benefit from being expanded. In this context, it is important to point out that this work's use of phylogenetic methods has enabled a structured analysis of a much broader range of pictures than traditional art-historical methods would reasonably allow for. The resulting systematic art-historical analysis of a large sample of pictures is therefore the best way presently available to minimise any biases due to sample selection. Furthermore, the addition of more literary sources, specifically French art journals, may nuance the image of the continental reception of British genre painting rendered in this study. One could even argue that *Kunst-Blatt* – although very prominent at the time and very diverse and rich in its contents – is only a single art journal and that this study thus presents only one particular view of contemporary thinking on art in German criticism and reviews. However, it must be noted that this study has also looked at travel journals and art canons to ensure a representative depiction of the contemporary debate on genre painting.

When it comes to the concept of reception it is often difficult to determine whether an artist was truly inspired by a certain colleague, picture or visual motive. Although this study has tried to circumvent this problem by drawing from large amounts of circumstantial evidence and from analyses of the works of art themselves, a further search for personal testimonies of artists and in-depth case studies of their work may be useful to respectively test and complement the findings of this study. Likewise, it has been suggested in this study that a choice for genre painting may often have been commercially-motivated, instead of artistically-motivated (see Section 3.2 and Section 10.1). While some specific examples of artists' views on this topic have been given in this work, more may still be found. The schism between artistic freedom and economic profit in the early nineteenth century thus makes an interesting subject for further study to extent the discussion on this topic in Chapter 3.

More work can also still be done on the practice of the art curriculum and the contribution of the art market in the reception of British genre painting. For instance, remaining open questions are how exactly genre painters operated at art academies that at the time were dominated by history painting, what they were taught, where they learned their trade, by whom they were instructed, and how they used reproductive prints in practice.

Another point for discussion is that the first part of this study largely adopts a socio-historical approach that may nowadays be considered somewhat archaic in art-historical research. However, since this work examines the German reception of British art through contemporary eyes, this approach is preferable.

Although this work draws several interdisciplinary links, these are by no means exhaustive. For instance, it is still unclear how the development of genre painting relates to other forms of art, such as theatre and literature. A close analysis of such links would be beyond the scope of this study, but exploring them in more detail would contribute to the current understanding of the nineteenth-century cultural realm. Approaching genre painting not just as mere painting, but as an expression of a more general tendency towards certain contemporary ideas or concepts, may contribute to the current understanding of the interrelationships

between different forms of art at the time. For example, British theatre and literature could have been sources of inspiration for German art commentators and artists. This is hinted at by the reception and impact of Sir Walter Scott's novels, which have occasionally been identified as very popular works in the German-speaking regions and sometimes even as sources of inspiration for specific German genre pieces. [574]

Above all, this work approaches art as a process of reception. Using phylogenetic methodology to study this process, it furthermore draws some parallels to evolution. This is an obvious point to raise. After all, the genre pictures studied in this study are not organisms. Why would it be useful to study them using methods that were originally designed to characterise the development of (once living) species? Such questions are addressed in Chapter 14, which represents the closing discussion of this study.

The traditional art-historical parts of this research (Part I, Part II, Sections 9.1 to 9.4, Section 10.1, and Chapter 12) paint a very unambiguous picture about the exemplary role of British genre painting in the German realm. This picture supports, complements and is supported by the phylogenetic results and conclusions of Sections 9.5 and 9.6, Section 10.2 and Chapter 11. While each of these two individual components by themselves can stand the test of critical scrutiny, it is their combination that makes the reception process described in this work particularly plausible. For this reason, a critical assessment of the potential of phylogenetic methods in art-historical research is presented in the closing Chapter 14.

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[574]Grabner 2011, pp. 75-76.

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Epilogue: the potential of phylogenetic methodology for art history

Originally, "phylogenetic systematics" refers to the study of ancestral relationships between species, using a variety of methods and algorithms to reconstruct their most probable structures of kinship. These methods and algorithms have a strictly logical foundation, which is independent of the concrete nature of the used data. Phylogenetic methods and algorithms can be employed to analyse relationships between all kinds of objects. These do not need to be living, or extinct organisms, but can also be cultural objects. The suitability of phylogenetic methods for the analysis of painting has been demonstrated in Part III and Chapter 11. On the basis of the present study, this final chapter assesses the potential of phylogenetic methodology for art-historical applications. This is followed by a discussion of the methodology's downsides and limitations, as well as a number of suggestions for the ways in which it can be used and embedded in art history.

14.1 How can phylogenetic methods be used in art history?

With phylogenetic methods, it is possible to systematically evaluate (causal) correlations between objects of art on the basis of their visual characteristics, even when circumstantial evidence of (parts of) such relations is not available. This study demonstrates that phylogenetic analyses are capable of distinguishing a variety of art-historically relevant patterns in samples of pictures, such as the development of different themes in anecdotal painting. In case such patterns are linked to a specific geographical or chronological background, phylogenetic methods even enable the art historian to trace developments across the borders of time and location. This can help identify and describe certain cultural or historical phenomena that are expressed in art.

Furthermore, phylogenetic analyses are not only able to derive relative chronologies of specific pictures or groups of pictures, but also to retrieve such patterns on larger scales, such as between schools or regions. As has been discussed in Chapter 11, phylogenetic analyses provide an answer to the question that is being asked. A suitable choice of sample enables the

use of phylogenetic analyses in interpreting the development of individual paintings, themes, and even transnational cultural exchange. This versatility is non-trivial and demonstrates that the application of phylogenetic methods can lead to relevant (and possibly surprising) insights on any art-historical scale.

The above-discussed properties of phylogenetic methods make them effective tools to confirm conclusions drawn on the basis of traditional art-historical methods. However, they also have a predictive quality. Phylogenetic structures can among others highlight previously unclear or little-studied links between works of art, suggest the existence of unknown networks of communication, exchange, or trade between artists or regions, and in this way provide "waypoints" for further art-historical research. Because of these properties, the phylogenetic analysis is very suitable for art historians who wish to study the history of works of art through the art itself. It is particularly useful when the works of art under investigation are the only evidence left of a certain development, or when circumstantial evidence is scarce.

Finally, because of the multiplicity of relationships that exist between works of art, it is often difficult to distinguish, acknowledge and evaluate all of these relationships by hand, let alone to compare them systematically. Supplementing art-historical analyses with the systematic and quantitative methods of phylogenetic systematics enables the art historian to visualise and support traditional art-historical conclusions and predict new relationships in a structured way. Especially when large numbers of works of art need to be assessed, analysing them with phylogenetic methods is a very efficient way of generating useful results.

14.2   How should phylogenetic methods not be used in art history?

Phylogenetic systematics adds a dimension of objectivity to the research of the art historian by providing a way to systematically quantify relationships between works of art using rules and algorithms. However, the "presence" of the art historian in the analysis remains critical. As discussed in Chapter 8, a professional art historian (or a trained crowd, more on this follows below) is required to select the used data beforehand and to assess the results afterwards. There are important reasons for this requirement, which unfortunately limits the range of applications of phylogenetic methods by excluding their use in blind experiments (as would be the case for, but not limited to, data sets that are too large for human analysis). These and other aspects are discussed below, as well as feasible improvements for the methods' application.

One of the conditions for the correct use of phylogenetic methods discussed in Chapter 8 is that it is necessary to carefully select the data beforehand based on the goals that have been formulated prior to the analysis. This may be considered time-consuming and unnecessarily subjective: does this described condition not influence the outcome? Can data not be gathered in a more objective way? Can the art historian not let the data speak for itself and could that not lead to interesting outcomes?

As discussed in the art-historical guide to phylogenetic systematics in Chapter 8, phylogenetic analyses always return a result, whether the analysed objects are indeed historically related, or represent a completely arbitrary sample. Thus, the relevance of phylogenetic re-

sults always depends on the quality of the used data. In other words, if the researcher does not act as a referee who determines which data is relevant for answering their questions, and which data may only add "noise" to their data set, the phylogenetic results may not present an accurate answer to the question at hand. Eliminating the researcher from the analysis is therefore likely to negatively affect the pertinence of the analysis, the only exceptions being (1) questions for which little or no art-historical knowledge is required to answer them, or (2) data sets that have been carefully tagged by professional art historians such that a meaningful sample selection can be carried out using these tags (see below). Both of these exceptions remain feasible because they limit the noise that would otherwise inhibit the phylogenetic analysis.

Another point of discussion is that, to be able to act as a referee, the researcher should understand the principles of the phylogenetic analysis that is to be carried out. This is necessary in order to know which research questions can be answered with the analysis and which data are needed to formulate this answer. Using the analysis as a black box – i.e. using phylogenetic algorithms without any understanding of their workings and how these lead to the results – may prompt fundamentally wrong interpretations of the outcome. This means that the researcher should invest time in familiarising themselves with the methods and making sure their data is relevant for a phylogenetic analysis. Likewise, a careful selection of data before an analysis is applied also takes time. Compiling a data matrix can take up hours to days. Both the time investments associated with learning phylogenetic analysis and preparing the necessary input may come across as a barrier to interested art historians.

A way to minimise the "presence" of the art historian in the phylogenetic analysis may be by using a computer algorithm to generate the data for the analysis. As discussed in Chapter 8, current computer programs can distinguish and compare colours, shapes, patterns and even specific figurative motifs. Using such software to compile a data matrix, it could be possible to identify (among others) stylistic kinship within (large) data sets. However, when it comes to figurative and anecdotal art, computers can not yet identify complex narrative motifs that an art historian would probably immediately recognise (as relevant). This complicates the identification of, for example, thematic links and ignores possibly relevant connections between works of art. When it comes to the identification of certain themes or visual motifs, the human mind is still required to translate visual data into a system of classification.

Having a computer gather the data is not the only way of making the process of compiling a data matrix more objective and less time-consuming. For instance, one can also use multiple people to compile the matrix, after which only those characters and character states are included that have been confirmed by a majority of the referees. If one wishes to speed up the process of compiling the data matrix, one could furthermore consider using already-existing databases, provided that their data are suitable for the goal of the analysis and that they are accurate. This latter requirement again introduces the presence of an art historian in compiling the data matrix. This may in some cases take up just as much time as doing so from scratch. In other words, unless the compilation and assessment of data can be completely and accurately automated, eliminating a close scrutiny of the used data is not advisable.

There are yet more alternatives that may simplify the process of selecting data. Over the past few years, efforts have been made to, for example, outsource the description of

art-historical material. The online game *ARTigo* is a good example of this.[575] *ARTigo* is a project that uses crowd sourcing to gather metadata – keywords – describing the images of works of art in its database. By using the general public to "tag" images as part of a game, it builds a database that can be used by art historians. This is a promising tool for art-historical research.[576]

Metadata of crowd-sourcing projects could be used in order to perform phylogenetic analyses: such data is readily available for the researcher and the problem of subjectivity (in the form of a selection of data by one person) is largely circumvented by having multiple people select the data and confirm each others entries. However, it remains essential to professionally analyse the selection of data before it is used in a phylogenetic analysis. Although data that is compiled through crowd sourcing may contain extensive information on broad art-historical developments, the collective evaluation of metadata by different people only partially avoids the problem of subjectivity and does not always produce relevant data. Firstly, metadata selected by today's laymen can be very culturally-bound to the twenty-first century. For instance, a present day observer of art may easily identify details that they find striking from their own perspective, but that are irrelevant within the historical context of the object. If a phylogenetic analysis is employed to provide questions about that historical context, such details do not express a phylogenetic signal, but add noise and are therefore irrelevant or even undesirable (see Chapter 8). As discussed in Section 8.3, data should be selected on the basis of their relevance for the question that the analysis is to answer. If there is a sufficiently large number of phylogenetic signals present in the data to outweigh irrelevant entries, the results of a phylogenetic analysis may not significantly be affected, but the "noise" still renders the results less accurate. By contrast, relevant details that (uninformed) laymen may not recognise or identify as relevant may be left out of the database altogether. When data from crowd-sourcing projects are used for a phylogenetic analysis, the data should thus still be carefully examined beforehand to make sure that it is suitable to answer the question the analysis is to solve, or the crowd should be properly trained in gathering the relevant data.

In summary, already existing databases provide promising and potentially suitable sources of data for phylogenetic analyses. They can save the researcher time in compiling a data matrix and may make the process of data selection less dependent on one person. However, an unevaluated use of data is not advisable: already-existing data sets can contain entries that are irrelevant to the question the phylogenetic analysis is intended to answer, while relevant data that professional art-historians may have identified may have been ignored.

14.3   Potential concerns regarding the application of phylogenetic methodology in art history

As discussed in Chapter 8, phylogenetic systematics was originally developed in order to infer patterns of kinship among species that once existed or that are still alive. By analysing the art-historical process of reception with phylogenetic methods, this study thus draws parallels

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[575]See http://www.artigo.org/ (consulted 20 December 2015).

[576]A dissertation on this project and its relevance to art-historical research is in preparation by Sabine Scherz at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich.

between this process and that of evolution. Of course, a painting is not an organism, but the present study has demonstrated that phylogenetic analyses of painting yield meaningful art-historical results. This is because phylogenetic systematics strictly evaluates observed links between objects – the nature of these objects does not matter.

To analyse art in such as systematic a way as phylogenetic algorithms do, may call to mind art-historical approaches from a bygone era, in which among others Wölflin, Morelli and Alois Riegel (1858-1905) argued that art was governed by universal rules. [577] As discussed in Chapter 8, such approaches have become subject to criticism in art history, because art (as a human product) often contains exceptions to rules and is thus difficult to explain through the formulation of universal laws. However, the results presented in this work are entirely unrelated to such laws or other strict schemes of development. Instead, this study focuses on a structured, empirical analysis of art and the patterns between different (groups of) works. Using phylogenetic methods, this study has shown and quantified how originally Dutch traditions developed through British examples into the narrative German genre piece of the nineteenth century. Although specific examples of correlations between Dutch, British and German pictures have been noticed in art-historical research before, this is the first time that the underlying structure of this process of artistic reception is visualised and quantitatively assessed.

Finally, the fact that phylogenetic methodology can be adopted to computationally perform an analysis of art does not mean that phylogenetic algorithms are capable of replacing the researcher. As demonstrated in this study, it can only be used as a supportive tool in art-historical research. In a time in which technological developments soar and new methods and digital tools are increasingly explored in art history, this already existing methodology can help confirm but also refute art-historical hypotheses and provide direction to further research. As such, it provides an analytic approach that was previously absent in art history and that can help the art historian analyse artistic processes that may otherwise be difficult to assess (for example due to the large number of paintings involved). The combination of traditional art-historical methods with phylogenetic analysis thus provides a valuable addition to the tools at the art historian's disposal.

14.4   Suggestions for suitable topics and areas of application for phylogenetic methodology in art history

This study has established that phylogenetic algorithms are capable of visualising a wide range of correlations between anecdotal paintings. These correlations may indicate processes ranging from specific "ancestries" or paths of reception to broader tendencies within or across specific geographical areas and time periods. The present study revolves around objects from a time in which artists had better access to art than ever before. They were influenced through many channels and had the opportunity and liberty to use many different sources of inspiration for their own work. Because of this context, the data analysed in this study contain a large variety of information that refers to multiple different patterns of kinship

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[577]Fernie 1995, pp. 103-115, pp. 116-25, and pp. 127-151.

(see Part III). For example, some of the presented analyses show a chronologically plausible process of reception on the scale of individual paintings, while others are informative of the wider underlying geographical and chronological distributions. As discussed in Chapter 11, phylogenetic analyses provide an answer to the question that is being asked. A suitable choice of sample enables the use of phylogenetic analyses in interpreting the development of individual works of art, categories among them, and even transnational cultural exchange.

With the lessons that are learned from this study's application of phylogenetic methods in mind, this final section suggests some examples of areas of art-historical research that may benefit from the use of phylogenetic methods. As discussed in Chapter 8, the less conflict a data matrix contains, the more straightforward the results of a phylogenetic analysis will be. In art, such data can be found especially in fields in which artists enjoyed less artistic freedom and worked with traditionally prescribed patterns and motifs that developed slowly. During time periods in which there was less global exchange, art evolved on a more local scale and thus within the boundaries of gradually progressing traditions. If the aim is to study a rather contained development of art, phylogenetic methods provide a very suitable way to analyse this development in the works of art themselves. Examples of fields of study that are characterised by such developments are Medieval book illustration and sculpture, as well as religious painting. In these fields, dates and artists are often unknown and historical information is lacking. One could also think of Early-Modern and Renaissance painting in Italy. With its various distinctive workshops, as well as the Florentine, Roman and Venetian schools, it is no wonder that the art-historian Morelli subjected this field already in the nineteenth century to a careful analysis of visual details (such as the shapes of hands and ears of figures) in order to classify specific masters, workshops and schools. [578]

However, art-historical fields of study revolving around art that does not consist of clear-cut groups or categories can also benefit from the application of phylogenetic methods. Phylogenetics methods' systematic way of assessing and quantifying relationships between objects can distinguish patterns in art that are not as easily discernable by hand. Therefore, the more works of art one studies at the same time, the more useful phylogenetic methods become. As shown in Part III and Chapter 11, phylogenetic analyses can identify all kinds of patterns within the used data, from strict developments of themes to cultural developments. For example, patterns regarding the presence and development of specific themes and motifs may hold information about certain cultures or regions and can thus also be useful for art-historical research with a strong socio-historical component.

Next to academic research, phylogenetic methods could potentially also be applied in more practical ways. Phylogenetic algorithms could be connected to – or even implemented in – any database that contains information about art-historical objects. This may not only provide a quick way of finding certain correlating works of art, but may also provide starting points for new art-historical studies. Institutions can use phylogenetic algorithms too to search for correlating works of art in their collections, which may lead to interesting ideas for exhibitions.

As discussed in Chapter 8, over the past few years many computer algorithms have been developed in order to analyse correlations between large numbers of artistic objects. Whereas

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[578]Fernie 1995 pp. 103-115.

some of these methods are focused on performing tasks that phylogenetic methods cannot perform, such as generating data for their analysis, phylogenetic algorithms have specifically been designed to infer patterns among their objects of study. In this work it has been shown that phylogenetic algorithms can readily be adopted in art-historical research and lead to meaningful results. In this time of endless digital possibilities and access to information, the moment has never been more suitable for an implementation of phylogenetic systematics in art history. Phylogenetic algorithms have been extensively developed, have survived decades of scrutiny, are commonly used, broadly available, and extremely suitable to study patterns of kinship among objects of art. When it comes to this task, there is no need to reinvent the wheel. It is my hope that this study will inspire further research into the use and possibilities of implementing phylogenetic systematics in art history and that its methods may contribute to studying, revealing and explaining patterns of reception and exchange among all kinds of works of art.

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Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Diese Dissertation analysiert die Rezeption der britischen Genremalerei des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in Deutschland und hat zum Ziel den britischen Einfluss auf die Entwicklung des damaligen deutschen Genrebildes im europäischem Kontext festzustellen. Insbesondere wird die Rolle der britischen Genremalerei beim damaligen Aufschwung der deutschen Genremalerei und die zugrundeliegenden Mechanismen von künstlerischem Austausch bestimmt. Hiermit soll das Phänomen des deutschen Genrebildes aus einer Epoche von immer weitergehender Internationalisierung dargestellt werden.

Teil I

Teil I bestimmt die Eigenschaften und den Status der Genremalerei des frühen neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in Europa. Es bestimmt wie das Genrebild ab der Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts eine theoretische Neubewertung erfuhr, als die Kunsttheorie und Philosophie dem Genrebild wegen seiner Erkennbarkeit, und somit der Eignung die wachsende Bourgeoisie zu erreichen, eine pädagogische und moralisierende Qualität zuschrieb. Gemeinsam mit einer zunehmenden Beteiligung der Bourgeoisie in der Kunstszene, hat diese Entwicklung zu einer Befreiung des Genrebildes von seiner untergeordneten Rolle in der traditionellen Hierarchie der Malerei geführt, und dafür gesorgt, dass sich das Genre mit einer eigenen Bedeutung als theoretisch respektierte und wirtschaftlich erfolgreiche Kategorie der Malerei etabliert hat. Es wird aufgezeigt, dass dies insbesondere im deutschsprachigen Raum der Fall war, wo Kunstvereine die Genremalerei stark anregten.

Teil II

Teil II befasst sich mit der Beschreibung und der Erklärung der deutschen Haltung gegenüber der britischen Genremalerei im neunzehnten Jahrhundert und setzt sie zur Bestimmung ihres einzigartigen Charakters in einen europäischen Kontext. Durch die Studie von Kunstzeitschriften und veröffentlichten Reiseberichten, die über den Stand und die neuesten Entwicklungen in der britischen Kunst berichten, wird gezeigt dass der deutschsprachige Raum eine große Bewunderung für Großbritannien als Nation der politischen Freiheit hegte. In diesem Zusammenhang wurde der britischen Genremalerei eine Liebe für die Heimat, ein gesellschaftliches Engagement, und ein Interesse am Individuum und seiner Freiheit zugeschrieben. Aspekte des britischen Genrebildes die in diesem Kontext mit besonderer

Bewunderung rechnen konnten waren sein Naturalismus, sein Sinn für humoristische und gemütliche Szenen und vor allem seine narrative Qualität, die überwiegend durch einen Fokus auf Physiognomie geprägt wurde. Auf Grund dieser Eigenschaften wurde das britische Genrebild als ideales Vorbild für sein zeitgenössisches deutsches Pendant angesehen.

Es wird gezeigt, dass das Ansehen der britischen Genremalerei in dem kontinentalen Kanon der britischen Schule vertieft und gefestigt wurde. Dies wird nicht nur als ein Nachweis des damaligen Einflusses der britischen Kunst auf den Kontinent gedeutet, sondern auch als eine Illustration der Weise worauf die Rezeption der britischen Genremalerei während des frühen neunzehnten Jahrhunderts immer klarer zum Ausdruck kam und einen wichtigen Platz in der damaligen europäischer Charakterisierung Großbritanniens, der britischen Kunst, und der zeitgenössischen Kunst im allgemeinen einnahm. Die Genremaler William Hogarth (1697-1764) und David Wilkie (1785-1841) werden als Protagonisten dieser Entwicklung gedeutet.

Die Aufnahme von britischen Genrebildern in damalige deutsche Sammlungen wird als Beweis angesehen dass die Wertschätzung der britischen Genremalerei weiter reichte als den schriftlichen Bereich betreffend, und das verschiedene Genrebilder als Beispiele für das deutsches Publikum vor Ort verfügbar waren. Als ein wichtiges Beispiel für den deutschen Umgang mit britischen Genrebildern wird Wilkie's *Testamentseröffnung* (1820) und sein Status in München hervorgehoben. Die damalige Präsenz britischer Werke im deutschsprachigen Raum ist aber klarer nachweisbar in der Praxis der Reproduktionsgraphik. Anhand der Verbreitung von Stichen britischer Genrebildern in historischen deutschen Sammlungen, Katalogen deutscher Händler, und Bewertungen in Kunstzeitschriften folgt dass die damalige deutsche Vertrautheit mit der britischen Genremalerei im besonderen Reproduktionsstichen zu verdanken ist.

Teil III

Teil III führt phylogenetische Methoden in die kunsthistorische Forschung ein und untersucht die sichtbaren Beziehungen zwischen britischen, deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Genrebildern, mit dem Zweck den Umfang des Einflusses der britischen Malerei auf die deutsche Kunst zu verfolgen. Mit phylogenetischen Methoden wird nachgewiesen dass zwischen der britischen und der deutschen Genremalerei eine starke Verbindung besteht. Es wird gezeigt dass britische und deutsche Genrebilder eine im europäischen Kontext einzigartige narrative Tendenz gemeinsam haben welche sich insbesondere in alltäglichen bürgerlichen und bäuerlichen Themen und anekdotischen Bildmotiven äußert. Weiterhin wird argumentiert, dass das britische Genrebild und nicht, wie oft behauptet, die holländische Malerei, als dominantes Leitbild für die deutschen Künstlern fungiert hat. Schlüsselrollen in dieser Entwicklung werden nochmals Hogarth und Wilkie zugeschrieben, aber auch Künstlern wie George Morland (1763-1804), William Mulready (1786-1863) und Francis Wheatley (1747-1801) wird eine enge Verknüpfung mit den studierten deutschen Beispielen nachgewiesen.

Teil IV

Teil IV bestimmt, was man aus der Anwendung phylogenetischer Methoden in dieser Studie lernen kann und es wird ermittelt, welche Mechanismen hinter der deutschen Rezeption der britischen Genremalerei wirksam waren. Entlang mit dem Vergleich der traditionellen kunsthistorischen Ergebnisse aus Teil I und II und die in Teil III durch phylogenetische Analysen herausgefundenen Muster in der Kunst selbst, wird gezeigt dass phylogenetische Methoden fähig sind kunsthistorisch-plausible Thesen von Verwandtschaft zwischen figurativer, anekdotischer Malerei aufzuzeigen. Die Thesen dieser Studie deuten auf ein Muster in transnationaler Rezeption, künstlerischem Austausch, sowie zeitlicher und geografischer Verhältnisse hin. Die kunsthistorischen und phylogenetischen Ergebnisse sind darüber einig, dass die britische Genremalerei eine prägende Wirkung auf das deutsche Genrebild hatte.

Durch Vergleich von den in der vorliegenden Studie erforschte Entwicklungen mittels Diagrammen wird weiterhin gezeigt, wie die deutsche Rezeption der britischen Genremalerei durch ein engmaschiges System von Reproduktionsgraphik, Verweisen auf britische Beispiele in der Kunstliteratur, und eine bürgerliche Beteiligung an der Kunstszene in den dreißiger und vierziger Jahren des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts ermöglicht wurde.

Teil V

Teil V fungiert als Schlusskapitel der Studie der deutschen Rezeption der britischen Genremalerei. Als wichtigste Folgerungen dieser Arbeit wird aufgezeigt dass das Genrebild im neunzehnten Jahrhunderts als eine stark mit der modernen Gesellschaft verknüpfte Kunstform betrachtet wurde und damit als Leitbild für die zeitgenössische Kunst diente. Diese Studie der umfassenden deutschen Rezeption der britischen Genremalerei zeigt dass die britische Malerei im deutschsprachigen Kunstraum als Vorbild der Modernität fungierte und dass das deutsche Genrebild somit viele seiner prägenden Eigenschaften diesem Vorbild zu verdanken hat.

Zum Schluss wird, unter Berücksichtigung auf die aufgezeigten Möglichkeiten der phylogenetischen Methodik, ein Ausblick auf potentiell ergiebige Weisen gegeben wie die phylogenetische Methodik in Zukunft im kunsthistorischen Bereich eingebunden werden kann.

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Illustrations

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22. Richard Caton Woodville (1825-1855), *War news from Mexico*, 1848, oil on canvas, 68.6 x 62.9 cm , The Manoogian Foundation, Taylor MI, on loan to the National Gallery of Art, Washington. Source: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.

23. Josef Danhauser (1805-1845), *Der reiche Prasser*, 1836, oil on canvas, 84 x 131 cm, Museum Belvédère, Vienna. Source: Grabner 2011, cat. nr. 208.

24. Hendrick Gerritsz. Pot (1585 - 1657), *A merry company at table*, 1625-1630, oil on panel, 58.5 x 81.4 cm, Wallace Collection, London. Source: Duffy & Hedley 2004, p. 328, inv. nr. P192.

25. Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793-1865), *Die Gratulation zum Grossvaters Geburtstag*, 1845, oil on wood, 58.5 x 79.5 cm, Historisches Museum der Stad Wien, Vienna. Source: Feuchtmüller 1996, cat. nr. 735.

26. Ludwig Knaus (1829-1910), *Die Falschspieler*, 1851, oil on canvas, 81 x 104 cm, Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf. Source: Baumgärtel 2011, vol. 2, cat. nr. 355.

27. David Wilkie (1794-1841), *Distraining for rent*, 1828, engraving, 50.9 cm x 66.0 cm (plate), Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam. Source: Amsterdam Museum, bequest C. J. Fodor.

28. Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793-1865), *Die Pfändung*, 1847, oil on panel, 70.5 x 87 cm, Historisches Museum der Stad Wien, Vienna. Source: Feuchtmüller 1996, cat. nr. 779.

29. Peter Fendi (1796-1842), *Pfändung*, 1840, oil on cardboard, 36 x 45 cm, Museum Belvédère, Vienna. Source: Schröder and Sternath 2007, cat. nr. 109.

30. Peter Schwingen (1813-1863), *Pfändung*, 1845-1846, oil on canvas, 96.5 x 112.9 cm, Kunstmuseum im Ehrenhof, Düsseldorf. Source: Heckes and Heidermann 1995, cat. nr. 54.

31. Carl Wilhelm Hübner (1814-1879), *Schlesischen Weber*, 1844, oil on canvas, 119 x 158 cm, Rheinisches Landes Museum Bonn, Bonn. Source: Landes 2008, fig. 1a.

32. Edward Bird (1772-1819), *Reading of the will concluded*, 1811, oil on panel, 62.2 x 97.7 cm, Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives Bristol. Source: Bristol Culture.

33. Max Buri (1868-1915), *Die Dorfpolitiker*, 1904, oil on canvas, 171 x 217 cm, Kunstmuseum Basel. Source: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.

34. Wilhelm Leibl (1844-1900), *Die Dorfpolitiker (Katasterlesenen Bauern)*, 1877, oil on canvas on wood, 76 x 97 cm, Sammlung Oskar Reinhart am Stadtgarten, Wintertur. Source: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.

35. Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki (1726-1801), *Der Abschied des Jean Calas von seiner Familie*, 1767, oil on canvas, 34.1 x 44.5 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin. Source: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.

36. William Hogarth (1697-1764), *A rake's progress VII, The prison*, 1734, oil on canvas, 63 x 75,5 cm, Sir John Soane's Museum, London. Source: © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

37. William Hogarth (1697-1764), *A rake's progress VIII, The madhouse*, 1734, oil on canvas, 62,5 x 75,2 cm, Sir John Soane's Museum, London. Source: © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

38. Johann Heinrich Ramberg (1763-1840), *Die Spielhölle oder der Pharotisch*, 1799, coloured print, 48 x 59 cm, Kestner-Museum, Hannover. Source: Forster-Hahn 1963, pp. 85-86, fig. 36 (cat. nr. 45).

39. William Hogarth (1697-1764), *A rake's progress VI, The gaming house*, 1734, oil on canvas, 62,5 x 75,2 cm, Sir John Soane's Museum, London. Source: © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

40. Johann Peter Hasenclever (1810-1853), *Job als Student*, 1837-1838, oil on canvas, 25.5 x 31.5 cm, Stiftung Museum Kunst Palast, Düsseldorf. Source: Geppert *et al.* 2003, cat. nr. 50.

41. William Hogarth (1697-1764), *A rake's progress III, The orgy*, 1734, oil on canvas, 62,5 x 75,2 cm, Sir John Soane's Museum, London. Source: © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

42. William Hogarth (1697-1764), *A harlot's progress V, Moll, dying of syphilis*, 1732, etching with engraving on paper, 30.5 x 37.5 cm, National Library of Medicine, Bethesda. Source: National Library of Medicine, Bethesda.

43. Gerard Jean Baptiste Scotin (1671-1716) after William Hogarth (1697-1764), *Marriage à la mode VI, The Lady's death*, 1745, engraving, 39.4 x 46.4 cm (plate), Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven. Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

44. Joseph Grozer (c. 1755-1798), *The happy cottagers* after George Morland (1763-1804), 1793 , Mezzotint, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. Source: Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

45. Francis Wheatley (1747-1801), *Morning*, 1799, oil on canvas, 44.5 x 54.6 cm, Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven. Source: Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

46. Jacob Hogg after Francis Wheatley (1747-1801), *John Howard visiting and relieving the miseries of a prison*, 1790, etching and engraving, 49.8 x 62.5 cm, Yale Centre for British Art. Source: Yale Centre for British Art, Gift of David Alexander.

47. William Mulready (1786-1863), *The fight interrupted*, 1815-1816, oil on panel, 71.8 x 93.2 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum. Source: Pointon 1986, cat nr. 102 and fig. XVI.

48. Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793-1865), *Nähende Mutter mit ihren Kindern*, 1854, oil on panel, 56.1 x 45.6 cm, private collection. Source: Feuchtmüller 1996, cat. nr. 877.

49. Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793-1865), *Das Ende der Schulstunde*, 1841, oil on wood, 74 x 64 cm, Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin. Source: Feuchtmüller 1996, cat. nr. 664.

Illustration 1 – David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690), *Card players*, c 1645, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Illustration 2 – Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685), *Men and women in a barn*, c. 1635, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.
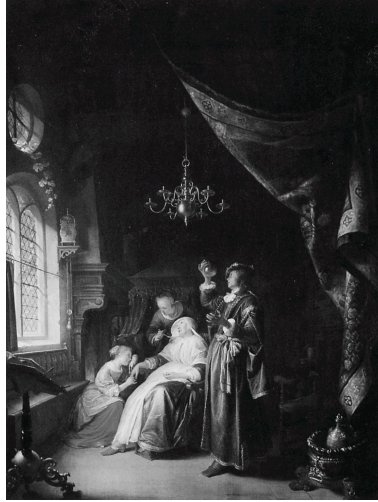
Illustration 3 – Gerrit Dou (1613-1675), *The dropsical woman*, 1663, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Illustration 4 – Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805), *Piété filiale*, 1763, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Illustration 5 – Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805), *L'Accordée de village*, 1761, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Illustration 6 – Abraham Raimbach (1776-1843) after David Wilkie (1785-1841), *Village politicians*, 1814, Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven.

Illustration 7 – Louis-Léopold Boilly (1761-1845), *Politiciens dans le Jardin des Tuileries*, 1832, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Illustration 8 – Louis-Léopold Boilly (1761-1845), *La lecture du bulletin de la Grande Armée*, 1807, The Saint Louis Art Museum, Saint Louis (Missouri).

Illustration 9 – David Wilkie (1785-1841), *The reading of the will*, 1820, Bayerische Staatsgemälde-sammlungen, Munich.

Illustration 10 – Johann Baptist Kirner (1806-1866), *A Swiss guard in his homeland telling of his experiences during the July Revolution of 1830 in Paris, 1831*, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe.

Illustration 11 – Gisbert Flüggen (1811-1859), *Die Erbschleicher*, 1855, private collection.

Illustration 12 – Otto Wilhelm Eduard Erdmann (1834-1905), *Testamentseröffnung*, 1886, private collection.

Illustration 13 – Johann Baptist Kirner (1806-1866), *Preisverteilung des landwirtschaftlichen Vereins in einer Hotzenwälder Bauernstube*, 1841, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.

Illustration 14 – Johann Geyer (1807-1875), *Die Testamentseröffnung*, 1830-1855, Museum Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf, Berlin.

Illustration 15 – Josef Danhauser (1805-1845), *Die Testamentseröffnung*, 1839, Museum Belvédère, Vienna.

Illustration 16 – Josef Danhauser (1805-1845), *Die Testamentseröffnung*, 1844, Palais Liechtenstein, The Princely Collections, Vaduz–Vienna.

Illustration 17 – Abraham Raimbach (1776-1843) after David Wilkie (1785-1841), *Chelsea pensioners reading the gazette of the battle of Waterloo*, 1831, Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam.
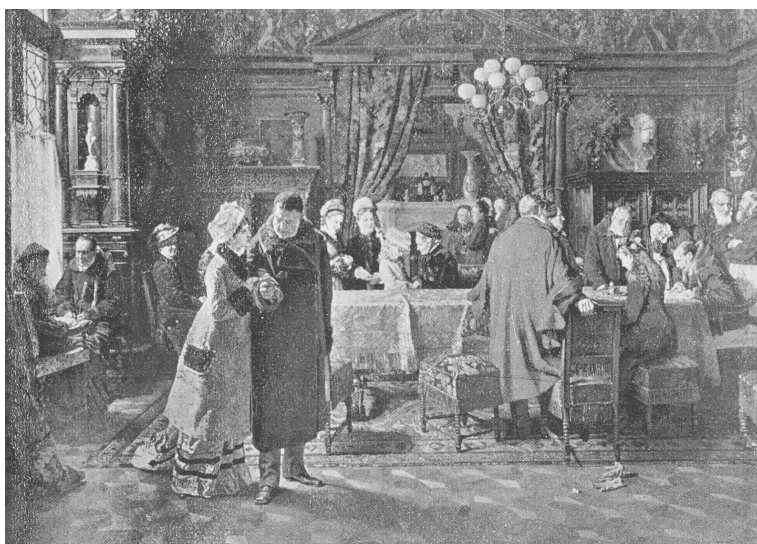
Illustration 18 – Christian Ludwig Bokelmann (1844-1894), *Testamentseröffnung*, 1879, Nationalgalerie, Berlin.

Illustration 19 – Charles Lewis after David Wilkie (1785-1841), *The card players*, 1838, Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam.

Illustration 20 – Richard Caton Woodville (1825-1855), *The card players*, 1846, Detroit Institute of arts, Detroit.

Illustration 21 – Hugo Kauffmann (1844-1915), *Kartenspieler*, 1869, private collection.

Illustration 22 – Richard Caton Woodville (1825-1855), *War news from Mexico*, 1848, The Manoogian Foundation, Taylor MI, on loan to the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Illustration 23 – Josef Danhauser (1805-1845), *Der reiche Prasser*, 1836, Museum Belvédère, Vienna.

Illustration 24 – Hendrick Gerritsz. Pot (1585-1657), *A merry company at table*, 1625-1630, Wallace Collection, London.

Illustration 25 – Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793-1865), *Die Gratulation zum Grossvaters Geburtstag*, 1845, Historisches Museum der Stad Wien, Vienna.

Illustration 26 – Ludwig Knaus (1829-1910), *Die Falschspieler*, 1851, Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf.

Illustration 27 – David Wilkie (1794-1841), *Distraining for rent*, 1828, Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam.

Illustration 28 – Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793-1865), *Die Pfändung*, 1847, Historisches Museum der Stad Wien, Vienna.

Illustration 29 – Peter Fendi (1796-1842), *Pfändung*, 1840, Museum Belvédère, Vienna.

Illustration 30 – Peter Schwingen (1813-1863), *Pfändung*, 1845-1846, Kunstmuseum im Ehrenhof, Düsseldorf.

Illustration 31 – Carl Wilhelm Hübner (1814-1879), *Schlesischen Weber*, 1844, Rheinisches Landes Museum Bonn, Bonn.

Illustration 32 – Edward Bird (1772-1819), *Reading of the will concluded*, 1811, Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives Bristol.

Illustration 33 – Max Buri (1868-1915), *Die Dorfpolitiker*, 1904, Kunstmuseum Basel.

Illustration 34 – Wilhelm Leibl (1844-1900), *Die Dorfpolitiker (Katasterlesenen Bauern)*, 1877, Sammlung Oskar Reinhart am Stadtgarten, Wintertur.

Illustration 35 – Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki (1726-1801), *Der Abschied des Jean Calas von seiner Familie*, 1767, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

Illustration 36 – William Hogarth (1697-1764), *A rake's progress VII, The prison*, 1734, Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

Illustration 37 – William Hogarth (1697-1764), *A rake's progress VIII, The madhouse*, 1734, Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

Illustration 38 – Johann Heinrich Ramberg (1763-1840), *Die Spielhölle oder der Pharotisch*, 1799, Kestner-Museum, Hannover.

Illustration 39 – William Hogarth (1697-1764), *A rake's progress VI, The gaming house*, 1734, Sir John Soane's Museum, London

Illustration 40 – Johann Peter Hasenclever (1810-1853), *Job als Student*, 1837-1838, Stiftung Museum Kunst Palast, Düsseldorf.

Illustration 41 – William Hogarth (1697-1764), *A rake's progress III, The orgy*, 1734, Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

Illustration 42 – William Hogarth (1697-1764), *A harlot's progress V, Moll, dying of syphilis*, 1732, National Library of Medicine, Bethesda.

Illustration 43 – William Hogarth (1697-1764), *Marriage à la mode, part 6: the Lady's death*, 1745, Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven.

Illustration 44 – Joseph Grozer (c. 1755-1798), *The happy cottagers* after George Morland (1763-1804), 1793, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.

Illustration 45 – Francis Wheatley (1747-1801), *Morning*, 1799, Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven.

Illustration 46 – Jacob Hogg after Francis Wheatley (1747-1801), *John Howard visiting and relieving the miseries of a prison*, 1790, Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven.

Illustration 47 – William Mulready (1786-1863), *The fight interrupted*, 1815-1816, Victoria & Albert Museum.

Illustration 48 – Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793-1865), *Nähende Mutter mit ihren Kindern*, 1854, private collection.

Illustration 49 – Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793-1865), *Das Ende der Schulstunde*, 1841, Alte National-galerie, Berlin.

Appendices

Appendix A Charles Blanc's *Histoire des peintres de l'école anglaise*

Table A.1: Lemmas included in the main section of "Histoire des peintres de l'école Anglaise"

Artist	Subject	Function in the "Peintres"	Number of pages	Author
Guillaume Hogarth (1697-1764)	Scènes de mœurs	1th generation "People"	16	Philarète de Chasles
Richard Wilson (1742-1782)	Paysages		4	Philarète de Chasles
Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792)	Histoire, portraits	1th generation "Individual"	16	Charles Blanc
Thomas Gainsborough (1737-1789)	Paysages, portraits	1th generation "Landscape"	8	Paul Mantz
George Romney (1734-1802)	Portraits, histoire, poésie		8	Théophile Thoré
Benjamin West (1738-1820)	Sujets pieux, histoire, portraits		16	Théophile Thoré
Henry Fuseli (1741-1825)	Allegorie, poesie, histoire		12	Théophile Thoré
James Barry (1744-1805)	Allegorie, poésie, Histoire		8	Théophile Thoré
James Northcote (1746-1831)	Histoire, portraits		6	Théophile Thoré
Robert Smirke (1762-1845)	Histoire, genre	3rd generation "People"	8	Théophile Thoré
Thomas Stothard (1755-1834)	Ornaments, paysage, Poésie		4	Théophile Thoré
William Blake (1757-1823)	Allégories, sujets bibliques		4	Théophile Thoré
John Opie (1761-1807)	Portrait, histoire, poésie		4	Théophile Thoré
George Morland (1763-1804)	Paysages, animaux, scènes rustiques et familieres		8	Théophile Thoré
Thomas Lawrence (1769-1836)	Portraits	2nd generation "Individual"	12	Charles Blanc
Henry Howard (1769-1847)	Portraits, histoire, mythologie		4	Théophile Thoré
J. M. W. Turner (1775-1854)	Paysage, mythologie, allegorie	2nd generation "Landscape"	16	Théophile Thoré
John Constable (1776-1837)	Paysage	2nd generation "Landscape"	16	Théophile Thoré
Augustus Wall Callcott (1766-1821)	Marine, paysage		4	Théophile Thoré
David Wilkie (1785-1841)	Scènes dintérieur	2nd generation "People"	16	Philarète de Chasles
George Henry Harlow (1787-1819)	Portraits, histoire, poésie	2nd generation "Individual"	4	Théophile Thoré
William Etty (1787-1849)	Sujets bibliques, mythologie, poetiques, etc.		4	Théophile Thoré
William Collins (1789-1847)	Paysage, marine, genre		8	Théophile Thoré
John Martin (1780-1854)	Sujets bibliques et poétiques		4	Théophile Thoré
Gilbert Stuart Newton (1795-1835)	Sujets poetiques et familiers	3rd generation "People"	4	Théophile Thoré
Richard Parkes Bonington (1801-1828)	Marine, paysage, genre	2nd generation "Landscape"	14	Théophile Thoré

Table A.2: Artists included in the appendix of "Histoire des peintres de l'école Anglaise"

Artist	Dates
Allan Ramsay	1712-1784
Paul Sandby	1725-1802
Sawrey Gilpin	1732-1807
Joseph Wright	1734-1797
Alexander Runciman	1736-1785
John Singleton Copley	1737-1813
Richard Cosway	1740-1821
John Hamilton Mortimer	1741-1779
David Allan	1744-1796
Philip Reinagle	1749-1833
George Howland Beaumont	1753-1827
William Beechy	1753-1839
Francis Bourgeois	1756-1811
Henry Raeburn	1756-1823
John Hoppner	1739-1810
Richard Westall	1765-1834
William Owen	1769-1819
John Crome	1789-1821
James Ward	1769-1839
Martin Archer Shee	1769-1850
Thomas Phillips	1770-1845
Edward Bird	1772-1812
Henry Thomson	1773-1832
Thomas Girtin	1775-1802
John Jackson	1778-1831
Washington Allston	1786-1843
Alfred-édouard Chalon	1780-1840
Jean-Jacques Chalon	1780-1854
George Dawe	1781-1829
William Allan	1782-1830
Thomas Uwins	1782-1857
John and James Burnet	1784/1788-1816
Benjamin Robert Haydon	1785-1846
William Hilton	1788-1839
Patrick Nasmyth	1786-1831
Henry Perronet Briggs	1792-1841
Francis Danby	1783-1861
Charles Robert Leslie	1794-1859
Thomas Duncan	1807-1845
William John Muller	1812-1843
Augustus Leopold Egg	1816-1863

Appendix B   List of taxa

Table B.1: List of taxa

Taxon ID	Matrix*	Artist	Title	Year	Technique	Size (cm x cm)	Location	Image
PWB	B	Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1525-1569)	The peasant wedding	1567	oil on panel	114 x 164	KM	Seipel *et al.* 2010, cat. nr. 38
PWS	B	Jan Steen (1626-1679)	Country wedding	1662-66	oil on canvas	105 x 150	pc	Braun 1980, nr. 176 and auct. cat. Sotheby's (New York), "Important old master paintings and the Borromeo madonna by Donatello" (26 January 2006), lot nr. 13
PWWi	B	David Wilkie (1785-1841)	The Penny Wedding	1818	oil on panel	65.1 x 95.6	RCT	Chiego 1987, cat. nr. 18
TO	B	Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685)	Men and women in a barn	c 1635	oil on panel	29.1 x 36.3	BStGS	Dekiert 2006, p. 140
TS	B	Jan Steen (1626-1679)	Schlägerei in einer Schenke	1664	oil on canvas	67.7 x 80.3	BStGS	Dekiert 2006, p. 202
CPT	B	David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690)	Card players	c 1645	oil on canvas	39.4 x 52	SHM	https://www.hermitagemuseum.org (consulted 20 December 2015)
CPT2	B	David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690)	Card players	c 1640	oil on canvas	36 x 50	MBA	D. Jacquot *et al.*, exhib. cat. Peinture flamande et hollandaise, Strasbourg 2009, cat. nr. 90
CPWi	B	David Wilkie (1785-1841)	The card players	1808	oil on wood	53.3 x 74.9	The Lord Denham	Chiego 1987, cat. nr. 9
CPW	B	Richard Caton Woodville (1825-1855)	The card players	1846	oil on canvas	47 x 63.5	DIA	Wolff 2002, fig. 35
CPKa	B	Hugo Kauffmann (1844-1915)	Kartenspieler	1869	oil on panel	48.5 x 64.5	pc	Holz 1984, cat. nr. 90
CPK	B	Ludwig Knaus (1829-1910)	Die Falschspieler	1851	oil on panel	81 x 104	SMKP	Baumgärtel 201,1 vol. 2, cat. nr. 355
VPWi	B	David Wilkie (1785-1841)	Village Politicians	1806	oil on canvas	57.2 x 74.9	TEM	Tromans *et al.* 2002, cat. nr. 3
VPP	B	Johan Baptist Pflug	Schwäbische Dorfpolitiker im Wirtshaus	1800-66	oil on canvas	60.5 x 72.5	pc	Auct. cat. Neumeister, nr. 184, Munich 1978, cat nr. 1652
VPF	B	Friedrich Friedländer (1825-1901)	Die Dorfpolitiker	1868	oil on panel	23.5 x 19.5	pc	auct. cat. Düsseldorfer Auktionshaus (2011), nr. 1 , lot 161
VPL	B	Wilhelm Leibl (1844-1900)	Die Dorfpolitiker (Katasterlesenden Bauern)	1877	oil on canvas on wood	76 x 97	SORS	A. Langer, Wilhelm Leibl, Leipzig 1961 fig. 38
VPB	B	Max Buri (1868-1915)	Die Dorfpolitiker	1904	oil on canvas	171 x 217	KMB	Huggler 1981, fig. 5
BBoi	C	Louis-Léopold Boilly (1761-1845)	La Lecture du bulletin de la Grande Armée	1807	oil on canvas	44.5 x 58.5	SLAM	Siegfried 1995, plate 33

Table B.1: List of taxa

Taxon ID	Matrix*	Artist	Title	Year	Technique	Size (cm x cm)	Location	Image
CHWi	B	David Wilkie (1785-1841)	Chelsea pensioners	1822	oil on panel	97 x 158	AH WM (Trustees of the VAM)	Tromans *et al.* 2002, cat. nr. 20
CHW	B	Richard Caton Woodville (1825-1855)	War news from Mexico	1848	oil on canvas	68.6 x 62.9	MF; on loan to the NGA	Wolff 2002, fig. 53
CHBoi	C	Louis-Léopold Boilly (1761-1845)	Politicians in the Tuileries Gardens	1832	oil on canvas	50 x 60.5	SHM	Scottez-De Wambrechies and Raymond 2011, cat. nr. 149
PWi	B	David Wilkie (1794-1841)	Distraining for Rent	1815	oil on panel	81.30 x 123.00	NGS	https://www.nationalgalleries.org (consulted 12 January 2014)
PF	B	Peter Fendi (1796-1842)	Pfändung	1840	oil on cardboard	36 x 45	MB	Schröder and Sternath 2007, cat. nr. 109
PS	B	Peter Schwingen (1813-1863)	Pfändung	1845-46	oil on canvas	96.5 x 112.9	KME	Heckes and Heidermann 1995, cat. nr. 54
PH	B	Carl Wilhelm Hübner (1814-1879)	Schlesischen Weber	1844	oil on canvas	119 x 158	RLMB	Landes 2008, fig. 1a
PWa	B	Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793-1865)	Die Pfändung	1847	oil on panel	70.5 x 87	HMSW	Feuchtmüller 1996, cat. nr. 779
RWBi	A	Edward Bird (1772-1819)	Reading of the will concluded	1811	oil on panel	62.2 x 97.7	BMGA	http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/ (consulted 12 Januar 2014)
RWWi	A	David Wilkie (1785-1841)	The reading of the will	1820	oil on panel	78 x 116.5	BStGS	Hardwig 2003, vol. 4, pp. 537-541, WAF 1194
RWDa	A	Josef Danhauser (1805-1845)	Die Testamentseröffnung	1839	oil on wood	95 x 114	MB	Grabner 2011, cat. nr. 245
RWDb	A	Josef Danhauser (1805-1845)	Die Testamentseröffnung	1844	oil on canvas	95.5 x 112.3	PL	Grabner 2011, cat. nr. 388
RWE	A	Otto Wilhelm Eduard Erdmann (1834-1905)	Testamentseröffnung	1886	oil on canvas	100.3 x 127	pc	Auct. cat. Sotheby's New York, 12 Februari 1997, lot 109
RWG	A	Johann Geyer (1807-1875)	Testamentseröffnung	1830-55	oil on canvas	140-172	MCW	Von der Lieth *et al.* 2008, pp. 124-125
RWB	A	Christian Ludwig Bokelmann (1844-1894)	Testamentseröffnung	1879	oil on canvas	93 x 128	NGB	http://www.bildindex.de/ (consulted 12 January 2014)
RWK	B	Johann Baptist Kirner (1806-1866)	Preisverteilung des landwirtschaftlichen Vereins in einer Hotzenwälder Bauernstube	1841	oil on canvas	92.3 x 123	SKK	Mahlbacher 1983, cat. nr. 17 and fig. 9

Table B.1: List of taxa

Taxon ID	Matrix*	Artist	Title	Year	Technique	Size (cm x cm)	Location	Image
RK	B	Johann Baptist Kirner (1806-1866)	A Swiss guard in his homeland telling of his experiences during the July Revolution of 1830 in Paris	1831	oil on canvas	52 x 69.5	SKK	Mahlbacher 1983, cat. nr. 9 and fig. 5
RWHo	C	William Hogarth (1697-1764)	A rake's progress, plate 1	1735	etching with engraving on paper	32 x 38.7	BM	Paulson 1989, 132.1, Plate 132
DyF	B	Gisbert Flüggen (1811-1859)	Die Erbschleicher	1855	oil on canvas	53 x 65	pc	auct. cat. Düsseldorfer Auktionshaus (2011). nr. 2, Lot 149
DyHoH	C	William Hogarth (1697-1764)	A harlot's progress, plate 5	1732	etching with engraving on paper	31.3 x 38.2	BM	Paulson 1989, 125.1, Plate. 125
DyHoM	C	William Hogarth (1697-1764)	Marriage -la-Mode, plate 6	1745	etching with engraving on paper	35.5 x 44.6	BM	Paulson 1989, cat. nr. 163.2, Plate 163
DyHoRP	C	William Hogarth (1697-1764)	A rake's progress, plate 7	1735	etching with engraving on paper	34.8 x 40.1	BM	Paulson 1989, 138.3, Plate 138
DyHoRI	C	William Hogarth (1697-1764)	A rake's progress, plate 8	1735	etching with engraving on paper	35.6 x 40.5	BM	Paulson 1989, 139.3, Plate 139b
DyWhea	C	Francis Wheatley (1747-1801)	John Howard visiting and relieving the miseries of a prison	1787	oil on canvas	104.1 x 129.5	The Earl of Har-rowsby	Webster 1970, cat. nr. 57 and fig. 83
DyCho	C	Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki (1726-1801)	Der Abschied des Jean Calas von seiner Familie	1767	Engraving	34.1 x 44.5	–	Ehler 2003, p. 205, fig. 124
DyG	C	Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805)	Piété filiale	1763	oil on canvas	115 x 146	SHM	Barker 2005, plate II
DyD	C	Gerrit Dou (1613-1675)	The dropsical woman	1663	oil on panel	86 x 68	ML	Walther, Ingo, Malerei der Welt, Cologne 1995, p. 320
MHo	C	William Hogarth (1697-1764)	A rake's progress, part 3	c 1735	oil on canvas	62.5 x 75	BM	Paulson 1989, cat. nr. 134.3, fig. 134a
MHa	C	Johann Peter Hasenclever (1810-1853)	Job als Student	1837-38	oil on canvas	25.5 x 31.5	SMKP	Geppert et al. 2003, cat. nr. 50
MDa	C	Josef Danhauser (1805-1845)	Der reiche Prasser	1836	oil on canvas	84 x 131	MB	Grabner 2011, cat. nr. 208

Table B.1: List of taxa

Taxon ID	Matrix*	Artist	Title	Year	Technique	Size (cm x cm)	Location	Image
MP	C	Hendrick Gerritsz. Pot (1585 - 1657)	A merry company at table	1625-30	oil on panel	58.5 x 81.4	WC	Duffy and Hedley 2004, p. 328, inv. nr. P192
GRa	C	Johann Heinrich Ramberg (1763-1840)	Die Spielhölle oder der Pharotisch	1799	coloured print	48 x 59	KM	Forster-Hahn 1963, pp. 85-86, fig. 36 (cat. nr. 45)
GHo	C	William Hogarth (1697-1764)	A rake's progress, plate 6	1735	etching with engraving on paper	35.1 x 40.6	BM	Paulson 1989, 137.2., Plate 137
AG	C	Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805)	L'Accordée de Village	1761	oil on canvas	92 x 117	ML	Barker 2005, plate 1
THo	C	William Hogarth (1697-1764)	Marriage la Mode, Plate 4	1745	etching with engraving on paper	43.2 x 53.3	BM	Paulson 1989, cat. nr. 161.2, Plate 161
TRa	C	Johann Heinrich Ramberg (1763-1840)	Die glückliche Ehe nach der Mode	1802	drawing	-	KM	Dillmann and Keisch 1999, pp. 132-133, fig. 1
FWaMC	C	Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793-1865)	Nähende Mutter mit ihren Kindern	1854	oil on panel	56.1 x 45.6	pc	Feuchtmüller 1996, cat. nr. 877
FWaGB	C	Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793-1865)	Die Gratulation zum Grossvaters Geburtstag	1845	oil on wood	58.5 x 79.5	HMSW	Feuchtmüller 1996, cat. nr. 735
FMoM	C	George Morland (1763-1804)	Morning, higglers preparing for market	1791	oil on canvas	69.8 x 90.2	TG	http://www.tate.org.uk/art/search (consulted 12 January 2014), N05796
FMoCI	C	George Morland (1763-1804)	The comforts of industry	pre 1790	oil on canvas	31.50 x 37.60	NGS	https://www.nationalgalleries.org/collection/artists-a-z/, NG 1835
FWhea	C	Francis Wheatley (1747-1801)	Morning	1799	oil on canvas	44.5 x 54.6	YCBA	http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/ (consulted 12 January 2014)
CM	C	William Mulready (1786-1863)	The fight interrupted	1815-16	oil on panel	71.8 x 93.2	VAM	Pointon 1986, cat nr. 102 and fig. XVI
CWa	C	Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (1793-1865)	Das Ende der Schulstunde	1841	oil on wood	74 x 64	ANG	Feuchtmüller 1996, cat. nr. 664

* Refers to the matrix (A, B or C) in which they are featured for the first time. Matrix C includes all taxa.

Abbreviations of locations: AH WM: Apsley House, The Wellington Museum, London; ANG: Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin; BM: British Museum, London; BMGA: Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives Bristol; BStGS: Bayerische StaatsgemLdesammlungen, Munich; DIA: Detroit Institute of arts, Detroit; HMSW: Historisches Museum der Stad Wien, Vienna; KM: Kestner-Museum, Hannover; KMB: Kunstmuseum Basel, Basel; KME: Kunstmuseum im Ehrenhof, Düsseldorf; MB: Museum Belvedere, Vienna; MBA: Musée des beaux-arts, Strasbough; MCW: Museum Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf, Berlin; MF: The Manoogian Foundation, Taylor MI; ML: Musée du Louvre, Paris; NGA: National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.; NGB: Nationalgalerie, Berlin; NGS: National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh; pc: private collection; PL: Palais Liechtenstein, The Princely Collections, Vaduz/Vienna; RCT: Royal Collection Trust, London; RLMB: Rheinisches Landes Museum Bonn, Bonn; SCAD MA: Savannah College of Art and Design Museum of Art, Savannah; SHM: State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; SJSM: Sir John Soane's Museum, London; SKK: Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe; SLAM: The Saint Louis Art Museum, Saint Louis (Missouri); SMKP: Stiftung Museum Kunst Palast, Gemäldesammlung, Düsseldorf; SORS: Sammlung Oskar Reinhart am Stadtgarten, Wintertur; TEM: The Rt Hon. The Earl of Mansfield TG: Tate Gallery, London; VAM: Victoria and Albert Museum, London; WC: The Wallace Collection, London; YCBA: Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven.

Appendix C   Character lists

Table C.1: Character list A

Character	Description	0	1	?
1	Household objects[a]	absent	present	
2	Testament position	held in hands	lying at the table	
3	Figure whose actions engage others in a narrative	absent	present	
4	* Figure is the point of attention to (most) others	no	yes	inapplicable
5	Heir is appointed	absent	present	
6	Dog under chair or among heirlooms	absent	present	
7	Heirlooms gathered in the foreground (chest)	absent	present	
8	* Chest lit open or closed	closed	open	inapplicable
9	Globe lying on the floor	absent	present	
10	Keys	absent	present	
11	Figure identifiable as solicitor	absent	present	
12	Woman in silk dress standing	absent	present	
13	Seated woman grieving (widow)	absent	present	
14	* Grieving woman position	next to mantle-piece	elsewhere	inapplicable
15	* Empty chair in vicinity of widow or woman in silk [b]	absent	present	inapplicable
16	Portrait (ancestral)	absent	present	
17	Map (as reference to property)	absent	present	
18	Thermometer	absent	present	
19	Parental tree	absent	present	
20	Man leaning in to listen to the reading of the will	absent	present	
21	Seated (old) man with a walking cane (listening)	absent	present	
22	Single conversing pair of figures[c]	absent	present	
23	Dog or other animal in vicinity of child	absent	present	
24	Glass objects indicating illness and absence	absent	present	
25	Figure looking out of the picture	absent	present	
26	Children	absent	present	
27	Family bond[d]	absent	present	
28	Jealousy (or envy or indignation)	absent	present	
29	Sadness (also grief and forms towards despair)	absent	present	
30	Familial affection[e]	absent	present	
31	Surprise	absent	present	
32	Anticipation or tension	absent	present	

*"follow-up" character of the previous character.

[a] Non-decorative objects, such as pots, jugs, drinking glasses, baskets, bottles without a narrative function as an indication of the natural treatment of the depicted theme.

[b] This motif is not trivial for it can be both a reference to the late husband, or a compositional element.

[c] Not just a conversing pair, but a pair seemingly quietly speaking about the occurrences around the table.

[d] Meant as in "gathered family", or a family occasion involving multiple generations. Not meant is the occasional depiction of a mother with child.

[e] Acts of cradling baby's, playing, hugging, touching etc.

Table C.2: Character list B (characters 1-41)

Character	Description	0	1	?
1	Composition	wide-angle	focus	
2	Interior or exterior	interior	exterior	
3	* Setting specifications interior	tavern or public space	homely	inapplicable
4	Household objects[a]	absent	present	
5	Figures gathered around a table	absent	present	
6	* Figures seated at a long table	no	yes	inapplicable
7	Occupation	leisure	other	inapplicable
8	* Occupation leisure	playing cards (main preoccupation)	merry-making or gambling	
9	* Occupation other	document	other	
10	* * Document type	newspaper or map	legal or semi-official document	inapplicable
11	* * Nature of the occupation with document	lively interaction	subdued or reading	
12	* * Document position	held in hands	lying at the table	inapplicable
13	Type of figures	rural low life	bourgeoisie	
14	Figure whose actions engage others in a narrative	absent	present	
15	* Figure is the point of attention to (most) others	no	yes	inapplicable
16	* Figure's actions	reading aloud, narrating	other	inapplicable
17	* Figure's position	standing	seated	inapplicable
18	Collective gesturing or focus point	no	yes	
19	One person emphatically pointed at (heir)	no	yes	
20	Bride	absent	present	
21	Musicians	absent	present	
22	Dancing couple	absent	present	
23	Fallen people or overturned furniture	absent	present	
24	Signs of intoxication[b]	absent	present	
25	Hats pulled over eyes	absent	present	
26	Indecent physical contact	absent	present	
27	Male figure with red hat and blue jacket	absent	present	inapplicable
28	* Pipe-smoking figure watching the card game	absent	present	
29	* Figure looking over shoulder card player	absent	present	inapplicable
30	* * Figure's activities	watching	engaging in the game	inapplicable
31	Seated man pointing down at a card, the table or his hand	absent	present	inapplicable
32	* Dog lying or standing next to or under a chair of one of members of the (card) players	absent	present	inapplicable
33	Dog playfully peaking up from under chair or sitting among heirlooms	absent	present	
34	Dog eating from a tray	absent	present	inapplicable
35	Second group of figures interacting in the background [c]	absent	present	
36	Figure reading a newspaper by himself	absent	present	inapplicable
37	* Figure explaining or repeating a read or narrated message to an elderly man	absent	present	inapplicable
38	Black figure(s)	absent	present	
39	Seated clerk	absent	present	
40	Belongings gathered in the foreground	absent	present	
41	* Nature of the belongings	chest (with valuables)	low key items	

Table C.2: Character list B (characters 42-82)

Character	Description	0	1	?
42	* Chest lit	closed	open	inapplicable
43	Globe lying on the floor	absent	present	
44	Keys	absent	present	
45	Child seeking comfort from, or comforting mother	absent	present	
46	Back-figure of a child seeking the attention of a seated adult (grabbing coat pant)	absent	present	
47	Figure making a pleading gesture			
48	Male figure hiding his face in his hand	absent	present	
49	Woman drying her eyes with a handkerchief (not grieving)	absent	present	
50	Figure wearing at top hat	absent	present	
51	Crusifix and, or Mary with child hanging on the wall	absent	present	
52	Low rack hanging from ceiling (parallel to picture plane)	absent	present	
53	Figure identifiable as solicitor or "official"	absent	present	
54	Woman in silk dress standing	absent	present	
55	Seated woman grieving (widow)	absent	present	
56	* Grieving woman position	next to mantle-piece	elsewhere	inapplicable
57	Empty chair in vicinity of widow or woman in silk [d]	absent	present	inapplicable
58	Ancestral portrait(s)	absent	present	
59	Map (as reference to property)	absent	present	
60	Thermometer	absent	present	
61	Parental tree (or heraldic references)	absent	present	
62	Man in black indifferently leaning in to listen (to the reading of the will)	absent	present	
63	Seated (old) man with a walking cane (listening)	absent	present	
64	* Position	leaning against the table	removed from the table	inapplicable
65	Conversing pair of figures[e]	absent	present	
66	Dog or other animal in vicinity of child	absent	present	
67	Glass objects indicating illness and absence	absent	present	
68	Figure looking out of the picture	absent	present	
69	Bed	absent	present	
70	Children	absent	present	
71	Family bond[f]	absent	present	
72	Agression (brawling)	absent	present	
73	Greed[g]	absent	present	
74	Jealousy, envy or indignation	absent	present	
75	Sadness (also grief and forms towards despair)	absent	present	
76	Love (romantic)	absent	present	
77	Familial affection[h]	absent	present	
78	Arrogance (targeting, or indifference)	absent	present	
79	Surprise	absent	present	
80	Despair	absent	present	
81	Excitement	absent	present	
82	Anticipation or tension	absent	present	

* "Follow-up" character of the previous character.
* * "Follow-up" character of the previous ("follow-up" character).
[a] Non-decorative objects, such as pots, jugs, drinking glasses, baskets, bottles without a narrative function as an indication of the natural treatment of the depicted theme.

[b] i. e. drinking. This also includes pouring drinks and smoking or multiple pipes or jugs and intoxicated behavior (toasting excluded).

[c] The groups are not connected by gesturing or other links.

[d] This motif is not trivial for it can be both a reference to the late husband, or a compositional element.

[e] Not just conversing, but seemingly quietly speaking about the occurrences around the table.

[f] Meant as in "gathered family", or a family occasion involving multiple generations. Not meant is the occasional depiction of a mother with child.

[g] Acts of greed such as unauthorized taking, stealing or cheating and also gambling.

[h] Cradling baby's, playing, hugging, touching etc.

Table C.3: Character list C (characters 1-38)

Character	Description	0	1	?
1	Composition	wide-angle	focus	
2	Interior or exterior	interior	exterior	
3	* Setting specifications interior	tavern or public space	homely	inapplicable
4	Household objects[a]	absent	present	
5	Figures gathered around a table	absent	present	
6	* Table shape	rectangular	round	inapplicable
7	* Figures seated at a long table	no	yes	inapplicable
8	Occupation	leisure	other	inapplicable
9	* Occupation leisure	playing cards (main preoccupation)	merry-making or gambling	
10	* Occupation other	documents	other	
11	** Document type	newspaper or map	legal or semi-official document	inapplicable
12	** Nature of the occupation with documents	lively interaction	subdued or reading	
13	** Document position	held in hands	lying at the table	inapplicable
14	Type of figures	rural low life	bourgeoisie	
15	Figure whose actions engage others in a narrative	absent	present	
16	* Figure is the point of attention to (most) others	no	yes	inapplicable
17	* Figure's actions	reading aloud, narrating	other	inapplicable
18	* Figure's position	standing	seated	inapplicable
19	Collective gesturing or focus point	no	yes	
20	One person emphatically pointed at	no	yes	
21	Bride	absent	present	
22	Musicians	absent	present	
23	* Standing on pedestal	absent	present	
24	Dancing couple	absent	present	
25	Fallen people or overturned furniture	absent	present	
26	Signs of intoxication[b]	absent	present	
27	Hats pulled over eyes	absent	present	
28	Man with open shirt (leg on table)	absent	present	
29	Scantily dressed women	absent	present	
30	Indecent physical contact	absent	present	
31	Back-figure in the background reaching for something (with candle)	absent	present	
32	Silver tray held in hands	absent	present	
33	Male figure with red hat and blue jacket	absent	present	inapplicable
34	* Pipe-smoking figure watching the card game	absent	present	
35	* Figure standing next to the table or group of figures, looking over shoulder card player	absent	present	inapplicable
36	** Figure's activities	watching	engaging in the game	inapplicable
37	Seated man pointing down at a card, the table or his hand	absent	present	inapplicable
38	* Dog lying or standing next to or under a chair of one of members of the (card) players	absent	present	inapplicable

Table C.3: Character list C (characters 39-76)

Character	Description	0	1	?
39	Dog playfully peaking up from under chair or sitting among heirlooms	absent	present	
40	Dog eating from a tray	absent	present	inapplicable
41	Second group of figures interacting in the background [c]	absent	present	
42	Figure reading a newspaper by himself	absent	present	inapplicable
43	* Figure explaining or repeating a read or narrated message to an elderly man	absent	present	inapplicable
44	Black figure(s)	absent	present	
45	* Figure leaning from a window	absent	present	inapplicable
46	Seated clerk	absent	present	
47	Belongings gathered in the foreground	absent	present	
48	* Nature of the belongings	Chest (with valuables)	low key items	
49	* Chest lit	closed	open	inapplicable
50	Globe lying on the floor	absent	present	
51	Keys	absent	present	
52	Child seeking comfort from, or comforting mother	absent	present	
53	Back-figure of a child seeking the attention of a seated adult, grabbing coat pant	absent	present	
54	Figure making a pleading gesture			
55	Male figure hiding his face in his hand	absent	present	
56	Woman drying her eyes with a handkerchief (not grieving)	absent	present	
57	Figure wearing at top hat	absent	present	
58	Crusifix and, or Mary with child hanging on the wall	absent	present	
59	Low rack hanging from ceiling (parallel to picture plane)	absent	present	
60	Figure identifiable as solicitor or "official"	absent	present	
61	Woman in silk dress standing	absent	present	
62	Seated woman grieving (widow)	absent	present	
63	* Grieving woman position	next to mantle-piece	elsewhere	inapplicable
64	Empty chair in vicinity of widow or woman in silk [d]	absent	present	inapplicable
65	Ancestral portrait(s)	absent	present	
66	Map (as reference to property)	absent	present	
67	Thermometer	absent	present	
68	Parental tree (or heraldic references)	absent	present	
69	Man in black indifferently leaning in to listen (to the reading of the will)	absent	present	
70	Seated (old) man with a walking cane (listening)	absent	present	
71	* Position	leaning against the table	removed from the table	inapplicable
72	Conversing pair of figures[e]	absent	present	
73	Dog or other animal in vicinity of child	absent	present	
74	Glass objects indicating illness and absence	absent	present	
75	Figure looking out of the picture	absent	present	
76	Bed	absent	present	

Table C.3: Character list C (characters 77-108)

Character	Description	0	1	?
77	Children	absent	present	
78	Family bond^f	absent	present	
79	Dying or ill person^g	absent	present	
80	* Directly accompanied by figures from outside of the household ^{h}	absent	present	inapplicable
81	* Figure(s) tending to the dying or ill person	absent	present	inapplicable
82	* Young child nearby the dying or ill person	no	yes	inapplicable
83	Display of Syphilis	no	yes	
84	Urinating figure	absent	present	
85	Woman passing out (medicine administered)	absent	present	
86	Two figures arguing^i	absent	present	
87	Agression (brawling)	absent	present	
88	Loose morals (references)	absent	present	
89	Greed^j	absent	present	
90	Caring (all sorts of feeding of someone or something)	absent	present	
91	Jealousy, envy or indignation	absent	present	
92	Sadness (also grief and forms towards despair)	absent	present	
93	Love (romantic)	absent	present	
94	Familial affection^k	absent	present	
95	Arrogance (targeting, or indifference)	absent	present	
96	Surprise	absent	present	
97	Despair	absent	present	
98	Excitement	absent	present	
99	Anticipation or tension	absent	present	
100	Decadence	absent	present	
101	Gambling	absent	present	
102	Teacher reproving	absent	present	
103	Men carelessly carrying swords	absent	present	
104	Combination of nature and home	absent	present	
105	Chained ancle	absent	present	
106	* Interior is a dungeon	absent	present	
107	Toilette with accessories	absent	present	
108	Old man spreading his arms towards company	absent	present	

* "follow-up character" of the previous character.

** "follow-up character" of the previous ("follow-up") character.

^{a} Non-decorative objects, such as pots, jugs, drinking glasses, baskets, bottles without a narrative function as an indication of the natural treatment of the depicted theme.

^{b} i. e. drinking. This also includes pouring drinks and smoking or multiple pipes or jugs and intoxicated behavior (toasting excluded).

^{c} The groups are not connected by gesturing or other links.

^{d} This motif is not trivial for it can be both a reference to the late husband, or a compositional element.

^{e} Not just conversing, but seemingly quietly speaking about the occurrences around the table.

^{f} Meant as in "gathered family", or a family occasion involving multiple generations. Not meant is the occasional depiction of a mother with child.

^{g} To be distinguished from "Woman passing out".

^{h} i. e. Doctors or solicitors.

^{i} To be distinguished from "Aggression (brawling)".

^{j} Acts of greed such as unauthorized taking, stealing or cheating and also gambling.

^{k} Cradling baby's, playing, hugging, touching etc.

Appendix D   Data matrices

Table D.1: Data matrix A

Taxa																	Characters															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
RWBi	1	1	0	?	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
RWWi	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0
RWDa	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
RWDb	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
RWG	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	?	0	0	1	1	0	?	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
RWE	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
RWB	0	1	0	?	0	0	0	?	0	0	1	1	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0

Table D.2: Data matrix B (Characters 1-21)

Taxa											Characters										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
PWB	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	1	1
PWS	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	1	1
PWWi	0	0	0	1	0	?	0	1	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	1	1
TO	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0
TS	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0
CPT	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0
CPT2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0
CPWi	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0
CPW	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0
CPKa	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0
CPK	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0
VPWi	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0
VPP	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	?	0	?	0	0	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0
VPF	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	?	0	?	0	1	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0
VPL	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	?	0	0	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0
VPB	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	?	0	0	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0
CHWi	0	1	?	1	1	0	1	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
CHW	0	1	?	1	0	?	1	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
PWi	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
PF	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
PS	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	?	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
PH	0	0	0	0	0	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
PWa	0	1	?	0	0	?	1	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
RWBi	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	?	0	1	0	1	1	0	?	?	?	1	0	0	0
RWWi	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	?	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
RWDa	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	?	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
RWDb	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	?	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
RWE	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	?	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
RWG	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	?	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
RWB	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	?	0	1	1	1	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0
RWK	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
RK	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	?	1	?	?	?	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
DyF	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	?	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0

Table D.2: Data matrix B (Characters 22-42)

Taxa	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
PWB	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0
PWS	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0
PWWi	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0
TO	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0
TS	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	?	0	0	0
CPT	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	?	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	0	0	0
CPT2	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	0	0	0
CPWi	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0
CPW	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	?	0	0	0
CPKa	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	?	0	0	0
CPK	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	?	0	0	0
VPWi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	?	0	0	0
VPP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	?	0	0	0
VPF	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0
VPL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0
VPB	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0
CHWi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
CHW	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
PWi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	?	0	1	1
PF	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	1
PS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	1	1
PH	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0
PWa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0
RWBi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	1
RWWi	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
RWDa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
RWDb	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
RWE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
RWG	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWB	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWK	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RK	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DyF	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	1

Table D.2: Data matrix B (Characters 43-63)

Taxa	Characters																				
	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63
PWB	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
PWS	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
PWWi	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
TO	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
TS	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
CPT	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
CPT2	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
CPWi	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
CPW	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
CPKa	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
CPK	?	?	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
VPWi	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
VPP	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
VPF	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
VPL	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
VPB	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
CHWi	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
CHW	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
PWi	1	?	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
PF	1	?	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
PS	1	?	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
PH	?	?	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
PWa	?	?	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
RWBi	0	0	?	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
RWWi	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
RWDa	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
RWDb	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
RWE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	0	1	0	0	0
RWG	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	?	1	1	0	0	0
RWB	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
RWK	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
RK	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0
DyF	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0

Table D.2: Data matrix B (Characters 64-84)

Taxa	Characters																				
	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84
PWB	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PWS	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
PWWi	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
TO	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TS	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CPT	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CPT2	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CPWi	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
CPW	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CPKa	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CPK	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VPWi	0	0	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
VPP	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
VPF	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VPL	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VPB	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CHWi	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
CHW	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
PWi	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
PF	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
PS	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
PH	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
PWa	0	0	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
RWBi	0	0	?	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
RWWi	0	0	?	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
RWDa	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
RWDb	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
RWE	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
RWG	0	0	?	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
RWB	0	0	?	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
RWK	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
RK	0	0	?	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
DyF	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1

Table D.3: Data matrix C (Characters 1-21)

Taxa	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
PWB	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	1
PWS	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	1
PWWi	0	0	0	1	0	?	?	0	1	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	1
TO	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
TS	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
CPT	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
CPT2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
CPWi	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
CPW	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
CPKa	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
CPK	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
VPWi	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
VPP	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	?	0	?	0	0	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
VPF	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	?	0	?	0	1	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
VPL	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	?	0	0	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
VPB	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	?	0	0	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
BBoi	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	?	0	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
CHWi	0	1	?	1	1	0	0	1	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
CHW	0	1	?	1	0	?	?	1	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0
CHBoi	0	1	?	0	0	?	?	1	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0
PWi	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
PF	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
PS	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	?	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
PH	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
PWa	0	1	?	0	0	?	?	1	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
RWBi	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	?	0	1	0	1	1	0	?	?	?	1	0	0
RWWi	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	?	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0
RWDa	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	?	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0
RWDb	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	?	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0
RWE	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	?	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
RWG	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	?	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0
RWB	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	?	0	1	1	1	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
RWK	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0
RK	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	?	1	?	?	?	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0
RWHo	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	1	?	0	1	0	1	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
DyF	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	?	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
DyHoH	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
DyHoM	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
DyHoRP	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
DyHoRI	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
DyWhea	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
DyCho	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
DyG	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
DyP	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
MHo	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	?	?	?	?	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
MHa	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	?	?	?	?	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
MDa	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	?	?	?	?	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
MP	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	?	?	?	?	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
GRa	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	?	?	?	?	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
GHo	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	?	?	?	?	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
AG	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	1	?	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
THo	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	1	?	?	?	?	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
TRa	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	1	?	?	?	?	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
FWaMC	1	0	1	1	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
FWaGB	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
FMoM	0	1	?	1	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
FMoCI	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
FWhea	0	1	?	1	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
CM	0	1	?	0	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0
CWa	0	1	?	0	0	?	?	1	?	1	?	?	?	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0

Table D.3: Data matrix C (Characters 22-42)

Taxa	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
PWB	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
PWS	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
PWWi	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
TO	0	?	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
TS	0	?	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
CPT	0	?	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	?	0	0	0	0	1	0
CPT2	0	?	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
CPWi	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
CPW	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
CPKa	0	?	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
CPK	0	?	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
VPWi	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	1	0	0	1	1	1
VPP	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	1	1	1
VPF	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
VPL	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
VPB	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
BBoi	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	1	0	0	0	0	0
CHWi	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
CHW	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
CHBoi	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
PWi	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	1	0	0	0
PF	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
PS	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
PH	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
PWa	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWBi	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWWi	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	1	0	0	0
RWDa	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWDb	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	1	0	0	0
RWE	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWG	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWB	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWK	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
RK	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWHo	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
DyF	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
DyHoH	0	?	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
DyHoM	0	?	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
DyHoRP	0	?	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
DyHoRI	0	?	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
DyWhea	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
DyCho	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
DyG	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
DyP	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
MHo	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
MHa	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
MDa	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	1	0	0	0	0
MP	0	?	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	1	0	0	0	0
GRa	0	?	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	1	0	0	0	0
GHo	0	?	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	?	1	1	0	0	0	0
AG	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
THo	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
TRa	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
FWaMC	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
FWaGB	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
FMoM	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
FMoCI	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
FWhea	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	1	0	0
CM	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0
CWa	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table D.3: Data matrix C (Characters 43-63)

Taxa	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63
PWB	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
PWS	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
PWWi	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
TO	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
TS	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
CPT	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
CPT2	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
CPWi	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
CPW	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
CPKa	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
CPK	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
VPWi	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
VPP	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
VPF	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
VPL	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
VPB	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
BBoi	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
CHWi	1	1	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
CHW	1	1	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
CHBoi	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	?
PWi	?	0	?	1	1	1	?	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	?
PF	?	0	?	0	1	1	?	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	?
PS	?	0	?	1	1	1	?	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	?
PH	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
PWa	?	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
RWBi	?	0	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
RWWi	0	0	?	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
RWDa	0	0	?	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
RWDb	0	0	?	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
RWE	0	0	?	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?
RWG	0	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	?
RWB	0	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	?
RWK	0	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?
RK	0	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
RWHo	?	0	?	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	?
DyF	?	0	?	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	?
DyHoH	?	0	?	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
DyHoM	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
DyHoRP	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
DyHoRI	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
DyWhea	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
DyCho	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
DyG	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
DyP	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
MHo	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
MHa	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
MDa	?	1	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
MP	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
GRa	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
GHo	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
AG	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	?
THo	?	1	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
TRa	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
FWaMC	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	?
FWaGB	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
FMoM	?	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
FMoCI	?	0	?	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
FWhea	?	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
CM	?	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?
CWa	?	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?

Table D.3: Data matrix C (Characters 64-85)

Taxa	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85
																Characters						
PWB	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
PWS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
PWWi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
TO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
TS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
CPT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	1	0	0
CPT2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
CPWi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
CPW	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
CPKa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
CPK	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
VPWi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
VPP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
VPF	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
VPL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
VPB	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
BBoi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
CHWi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
CHW	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
CHBoi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
PWi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
PF	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
PS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
PH	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
PWa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
RWBi	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	?	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
RWWi	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	?	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
RWDa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
RWDb	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
RWE	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
RWG	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	?	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
RWB	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
RWK	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
RK	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
RWHo	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
DyF	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
DyHoH	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
DyHoM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
DyHoRP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
DyHoRI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
DyWhea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
DyCho	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
DyG	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
DyP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
MHo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	1	0	0	0
MHa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
MDa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
MP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
GRa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
GHo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
AG	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
THo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	?	?	1	0	0	0
TRa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
FWaMC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
FWaGB	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
FMoM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
FMoCI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
FWhea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
CM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0
CWa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	?	?	0	0	0	0

Table D.3: Data matrix C (Characters 86-107)

Taxa	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107
PWB	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PWS	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PWWi	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TO	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CPT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CPT2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CPWi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CPW	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CPKa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CPK	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VPWi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VPP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VPF	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VPL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VPB	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BBoi	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CHWi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CHW	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CHBoi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PWi	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PF	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PS	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PH	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PWa	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWBi	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWWi	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWDa	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWDb	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWG	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWB	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWK	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RK	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RWHo	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DyF	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DyHoH	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DyHoM	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DyHoRP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
DyHoRI	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
DyWhea	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
DyCho	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
DyG	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DyP	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MHo	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
MHa	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MDa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
MP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GRa	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
GHo	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
AG	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
THo	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
TRa	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
FWaMC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
FWaGB	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
FMoM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
FMoCI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
FWhea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
CM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
CWa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix E   Convergence tests

In order to determine the appropriate number of replicates for calculating the bootstrap values of the MP analyses of matrix A and matrix B, I gradually increase the number of replicates until there has been no topological change over a factor of 10 in the number of replicates. To reduce statistical noise, I use a minimum number of replicates of 1000, even if convergence in the bootstrap values is already reached at a smaller number. Using this rule, I make sure that the topologies of the analyses are statistically sufficiently robust for interpretation, without having to generate unnecessarily high numbers of bootstrap replicates and having to require excessive computing power and time.

The following tables show the changes in topologies and bootstrap values as a function of the number of bootstrap replicates. Furthermore, they show the degree of convergence that takes place when moving from lower to higher numbers of bootstrap replicates. For matrix A this is done for the standard heuristic search in *PAUP* 4.0*, taking steps from 3 to 10,000 bootstrap replicates, and the fast step search, taking steps from 1000 to 100,000 replicates (tables E.1 and E.2). For matrix B. this is done for the fast step search only, taking steps from 1000 to 100,000 (tables E.3 and E.4).

Matrix A:
Table E.1 shows that, for a heuristic search, topological changes occur until a number of 30 replicates. From 30 replicates onwards, the topology does not change anymore. When it comes to the bootstrap values, most change is found between the searches using 10 replicates and 30 replicates. The change between the search with 300 replicates and 1000 replicates is minimal and this is maintained for the steps from 1000 to 3000 replicates and 3000 to 100,000 replicates. The critical value of replicates with which the bootstrap values do not change significantly anymore can therefore be considered to lie between 300 and 1000. This means that in theory, a heuristic search using 300 bootstrap replicates may in this case suffice to yield robust results. However, using the rule described above, I use a number of 1000 bootstrap replicates to minimise statistical noise.

Table E.1: Convergence test for matrix A

Groups	Bootstrap values as a function of the number of replicates											
	Heuristic search							Faststep search				
	3	10	30	100	300	1000	3000	10000	1000	3000	10000	30000	100000
A	67	55	79	81	82	81	82	81	80	77	77	78	78
B	(50)[a]	52	74	77	77	75	76	75	68	68	68	69	69
C	83	69	70	63	65	64	62	62	69	70	69	69	70
D	(42)[b]	(32)[b]	54	39	41	40	40	39	43	42	42	42	42

Groups in parentheses are topologically different from the groups featured in the converged trees.
[a]Group B: When using 3 bootstrap replicates, RWDb, RWG, RWE, RWB are placed in one group. When using 10 replicates or higher, RWDa and RWDB are grouped together and separated from the group containing RWG, RWE and RWB (group C).
[b]Group D: When using 3 bootstrap replicates, RWE and RWB are grouped together within group C. When using 10 replicates, RWE and RWG are grouped together within group C. When using 30 replicates or higher, RWG and RWB are grouped together within group C.

As shown in tables E.1 and E.2 a similar convergence test is performed on matrix A for the fast step method in *PAUP* 4.0*. This is done to assess the differences between the fast

step search and the standard heuristic search when it comes to the results of the analysis. This is relevant for the justification of the use of the fast step search in the case of matrix B, which is discussed below. The tests with the fast step searches yield lower bootstrap values, but topologically there are no differences between these tests and the tests using the heuristic search from a number of 30 replicates or higher onwards. Furthermore, the differences between the bootstrap values yielded by the heuristic search and the fast step search are minor. This suggests that one could also have used the quicker fast step search in the case of matrix A, which would have been less demanding on computing time and memory requirements. However, when fast methods can be avoided – which is easily the case here – a more extensive, standard heuristic method is generally recommended because it is considered to produce higher bootstrap values and more robust results.[579] Therefore, a heuristic search is opted for in the case of matrix A.

Table E.2: Convergence for Matrix A (excluding topological changes)

Heuristic search	Bootstrap replicates	Number of identical groups	Total % change	Average % change
	3 → 10	2	26	13
	10 → 30	3	47	15.67
	30 → 100	4	27	6.75
	100 → 300	4	5	1.25
	300 → 1000	4	5	1.25
	1000 → 3000	4	4	1
	3000 → 10000	4	3	0.75
Faststep search				
	1000 → 3000	4	5	1.25
	3000 → 10000	4	1	0.25
	10000 → 30000	4	2	0.5
	30000 → 100000	4	1	0.25

Matrix B:
Table E.3 shows the topological qualities and bootstrap values for a set of tests using the fast step heuristic search on matrix B. Topological change takes place when bootstrap replicates are increased from 1000 to 3000. The change concerns two areas in which three taxa are either grouped together, or are partly separated from each other (see groups F and T). One of these two changes in groups is changed back again when moving from 3000 to 10000 bootstrap replicates (see group F). No change in topology is observed anymore from 10,000 replicates onwards. Meanwhile, bootstrap values change only minimally between all steps, but from 3000 replicates onwards, the values have converged to such an extent that hardly any significant change takes place anymore, as is shown in Table E.4. Between 10,000 and 30,000 replicates even less change is observed and between 30,000 and 100,000 replicates the change is almost irrelevant. On the basis of these results and using the rule formulated above, 100,000 bootstrap replicates are thus calculated for the analysis using the fast step search in the case of matrix B.

The robustness of the results for the fast search method:
In Table E.1 it is shown that there are no significant topological differences between the converged results of the heuristic search and the fast step search. Although the bootstrap values

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[579] See Sanderson and Shaffert 2002.

are slightly lower in the case of the fast step search, this does not affect the interpretation of the results. Of course, Matrix B is an extension of Matrix A and thus contains more variables and more conflict. Saying that a fast search method will yield results that are as reliable as an extensive heuristic search because it did so in the case of Matrix A would therefore not

Table E.3: Convergence test for matrix B (faststep search only)

Groups	Bootstrap values as a function of the number of replicates				
	1000	3000	10000	30000	100000
A	54	51	54	53	53
B	55	52	54	53	53
C	44	45	46	45	45
D	10	11	11	10	10
E	70	71	70	69	70
F	15	$(14)^a$	14	14	14
G	14	13	12	12	12
H	25	24	23	24	24
I	32	33	31	31	31
J	22	21	23	22	22
K	61	62	61	62	61
L	54	52	52	52	52
M	12	11	13	12	12
N	50	50	50	51	51
O	31	32	31	31	31
P	21	20	21	21	21
Q	95	95	95	95	95
R	10	12	10	10	10
S	24	27	24	24	25
T	$(22)^b$	23	22	22	22
U	47	47	49	49	49
V	69	69	69	69	69
W	83	80	81	81	81
X	13	13	13	13	13
Y	33	31	31	30	30
Z	53	53	54	54	54
AA	65	63	64	63	63
AB	54	55	55	56	55
AC	73	71	71	72	72
AD	43	40	41	40	41

Groups in parentheses are topologically different from the groups featured in the converged trees.
[a]Group F: CPT, CPT2 and CPK are grouped together, instead of CPK being grouped with the taxa of group G.
[b]Group T: When using 1000 bootstrap replicates, RWG and RWE grouped together within the "Reading of the will" group. When using 3000 replicates or higher, they are kept separate from each other and RWG is grouped with the RWD's, RWBi and RWWi.

Table E.4: Convergence Matrix B (excluding topological changes)

Faststep search	Replicates	Number of identical groups	Total % change	Average % change
	1000 → 3000	28	37	1.32
	3000 → 10000	29	29	1.0
	10000 → 30000	30	15	0.5
	30000 → 100000	30	5	0.17

be fair. The use of the fast step search on Matrix B is defended, however, by a NeighborNet network, which shows a more inclusive picture of the relationships between the taxa (see Section 9.6). This network returns a treelike-structure that resembles the MP tree produced with the fast step method. Furthermore, an NJ tree is constructed that does the same. The MP consensus tree produced on the basis of Matrix B using 100,000 bootstrap replicates can therefore be considered robust enough for interpretation. As discussed in the main body of this thesis, however, the NeighborNet may be considered more useful for the evaluation of the relationships between the taxa under investigation.

Appendix F   Paup blocks used for *PAUP* 4.0* (command line version)

Document names are purposely placed between brackets to highlight their changeability.

F.1 Paup block for Matrix A:

```
execute [Matrix_A.nex]
log file=[Matrix_A.log] start replace;
set criterion=parsimony maxtrees=100000 storetreewts=yes;
outgroup RWBi;
bootstrap nreps=1000 treefile=[Matrix_A.tre] replace
search=heuristic;
savetrees file=[Matrix_A_savetrees] replace=yes;
gettrees file=[Matrix_A.tre] storetreewts=yes mode=3;
contree /le50=yes majrule=yes strict=no usetreewts=yes
treefile=[Matrix_A_bootstrapped_majrule.tre] replace;
log stop;
```

F.2 Paup block for Matrix B:

```
execute [Matrix_B.nex]
log file=[Matrix_B.log] start replace;
set criterion=parsimony maxtrees=100000 storetreewts=yes;
outgroup PWB;
bootstrap nreps=100000 treefile=[Matrix_B.tre] replace
search=faststep;
savetrees file=[Matrix_B_savetrees] replace=yes;
gettrees file=[Matrix_B.tre] storetreewts=yes mode=3;
contree /le50=yes majrule=yes strict=no usetreewts=yes
treefile=[Matrix_B_bootstrapped_majrule.tre] replace;
log stop;
```

Appendix G   Glossary

Analogy
An observed similarity that has evolved by chance.

Apomorphy
A feature that is novel to a certain species, also called: evolutionary novelty.

Bifurcation
When each **node** is connected to at most three other ones in a phylogenetic graph. This is the case when a **speciation event** only leads to two new branches (see **branch** and thus separates only two groups of organisms.

Bootstrap
A statistical test to see whether the generated **topology** (the proposed collection of monophyla) is a solid reflection of the data in the matrix. Bootstrapping re-samples a given dataset by randomly selecting **characters** (columns) from the dataset to assemble new datasets of similar sizes. For each re-sampled dataset the optimal topology is calculated, and from all the topologies of re-sampled datasets, it is determined how often a putative **monophylum** is found. The resulting number is a percentage of the number of created datasets and topologies by the bootstrap-test.

Branch
Also called edge, "a continuum of ancestors and their descendants, following each other along the time axis". [580]

Character
A congruent trait between taxa (see **taxon** on the basis of which a phylogenetic analysis can be performed and a graph can be constructed. Characters form the core of each phylogenetic analysis. They are the traces left by evolutionary processes that are invisible to us now. In biology, characters can consist of morphological traits, but also of for example DNA or nucleic acids. For art history, the latter two are of no relevance.

Character state
The observed state of a common trait or character (for example: absence or presence in a certain taxon, or colour or shape).

Coding
See: **token**

Compound character
These are **characters** incorporating one or more other characters that should in fact be listed separately and are thus not accounted for in the matrix.

Conflict
When groups of taxa (see **taxon**) can be made on the basis of a **data matrix** that are not

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[580]Wägele 2005 p. 98.

compatible with each other (i.e. when multiple groups contain the same taxon).

Consensus tree
A phylogenetic tree that combines or summarises the agreement between two or more trees. It can be a strict consensus tree, containing only the groups found in all trees, or it can be a consensus tree based on a certain percentage of trees containing the same groups.

Contingent coding
Using the **tokens** 0 and 1 in combination with higher numbers in the case of multiple states (see **character state**), and the "-"or "?" sign for **characters** that are inapplicable to a given **taxon**.

Convergence
An observed similarity that has evolved more than once due to similar environmental circumstances.

Data matrix
A table incorporating all **characters** and their states in columns, see **character states**) per **taxon** (in rows) used for performing phylogenetic analyses.

Dendrogram
A tree diagram, generated by a cluster (or phylogenetic) algorithm, to show how clusters are related within a topology.

Detail homology
A single, **homologous** trait observed between two or more taxa.

Frame homology
A **homologous** similarity between two or more taxa that consists of multiple changeable elements due to small mutations (an example of a frame homology is a hand with fingers and all its individual finger bones). [581]

Ground pattern
A collection of **homologous** characters (or character states) that all descendents of a certain ancestor possess and to which more homologies are added along the way.

Homologous
When **character states** of certain taxa (see **taxon**)are inherited from a common ancestor. In other words, when an observed similarity between two taxa is the result of an ancestral relationship.

Homoplasy
A shared similarity that does not originate from a common "ancestor". Examples are **analogies** and **convergences**.

internal branch
An internal branch represents a **stem lineage**, which is "a group of organisms belonging to

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[581]See Wägele 2005 pp. 125-127 and fig. 73.

one or several consecutive species". [582]

Maximum parsimony

Parsimony is "the scientific principle that things are usually connected or behave in the simplest or most economical way, especially with reference to alternative evolutionary pathways". [583] It is related to Ockham's Razor, "the principle (attributed to William of Occam) that in explaining a thing no more assumptions should be made than are necessary." [584] In phylogenetic systematics, the most parsimonious phylogeny refers to the **topology** that requires the least character changes (from one state to another), summed over the entire topology. This is for example a tree in which **apomorphies** evolve as infrequently as possible, because this would be more probable than a sequence of evolution, loss and then renewed evolution of characters. It is the most widely used principle for the formation of **phylogenetic topologies**.

Monophylum

A branch with all its attached smaller branches that represents an evolutionary-related group of organisms (i.e. by a common ancestor).

Multifurcation

The occurence of **polytomies** in a phylogenetic graph.

Multiple state coding

See: **token**

Node

The representation, in a **dendrogram**, of a **speciation event**.

Parsimony-informative characters

Characters that occur with two or more states in a dataset and with each state in more than one taxon are considered parsimony-informative. On the basis of these characters, **monophyla** can be inferred. Other characters are called **trivial characters** and cannot be used to infer monophyla.

Phylogenetic cladistics

The traditional phylogenetic approach involving an a priori character analysis – contrary to phenetic cladistics [585] – as developed by Thomas Hennig and first published in his 1966 handbook Phylogenetic systematics [586]

Phylogenetic network

A graph that separates taxa on the basis of binary **characters**, which is visualised by (partly parallel) lines: as long as two groups are compatible with each other, only one line is used, but when two groups are not compatible, two parallel lines are used to separate them. This

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[582]Wägele 2005 p. 98.

[583]Online Oxford Dictionaries, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/, consulted 22 September 2014.

[584] Online Oxford Dictionaries, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/, consulted 22 September 2014.

[585]Wägele 2000 p. 197. In phenetic cladistics, the usefulness of the data is only evaluated a posteriori, leaving much room for incorrect and useless results.

[586]See W. Hennig (translated by. D. D. Davis and R. Zangerl), Phylogenetic systematics, Illinois 1966.

creates a network that often looks tree-like where groups are compatible (as in a phylogenetic tree) and web-like where conflict arises. An example of this is a **split graph**.

Phylogenetic signal
A trace of an evolutionary process invisible to us now. When an **apomorhy** or multiple apomorhies is or are found – i.e. one or more features that is/are novel to a certain species – a phylogenetic signal is identified.

Phylogenetic systematics
The study of ancestral relationships between different species that share certain characteristics. Described by Hennig as: "[the] investigation of the phylogenetic relationship between all existing species and the expression of the results of this research in a form which cannot be misunderstood".[587]

Plesiomorphy
A trait or **character state** that is present in multiple connected taxa before it is replaced or "transformed" by an evolutionary novelty or **apomorphy**.[588]

Polytomy
The opposite of bifurcation. Multiple branches can flow from one **node** or **speciation event**.

Rooted
If a phylogenetic graph, such as a **dendrogram**, is rooted, it has a (chronological) direction and is to be read from the bottom (the root) to the top.

Speciation event
"The irreversible genetic divergence of populations".[589]

Split graph
A split graph is a graph in which nodes or clusters of nodes are separated by edges. Each edge represents a split of the nodes on the basis of one or more characters. When conflicting groups can be made on the basis of the data matrix (see **conflict**), parallel edges separate the nodes or clusters of nodes. Also see **phylogenetic network**.

Stem lineage
Also **internal branch**. A stem lineage represents a group of organisms belonging to one or several consecutive species.

Strict consensus
See: **consensus tree**

Taxon
The species or object under investigation.

Terminal branch
A terminal branch is an edge leading up to one of the taxa that are considered in the **dendro-**

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[587]Henning 1965 p. 97. 584 Wägele 2005 p. 128.
[588]Wägele 2005 p. 128.
[589]Wägele 2005 p. 68.

gram. It represents a single species that has gone extinct or of which certain populations are still alive. This can in art-historical terms perhaps best be understood as an idea or artistic example. Technically, terminal branches are "assemblages of organisms named with proper names by systematists".[590]

Token
The symbol used to indicate the state of a **character** in the **data matrix**. This is called the coding of the matrix. Usually, these tokens are 1 (presence), 0 (absence), and "-" or "?" (inapplicable). This is a binary way of coding. In case a character has more than three states, the range of usable tokens is usually extended (added are numbers 2, 3, 4 etc.). This is called multiple state coding and is not used in this thesis.

Topology
The "relative position of **taxa** to each other in a **rooted** or **unrooted dendrogram**".[591]

Trivial characters
Trivial characters are those for which less than two of the **character states** are included in at least two taxa within the data set. They represent the complement of the subset of characters that are **parsimony-informative**. Trivial characters cannot be used to infer **monophyla**.

Unrooted
If a phylogenetic graph such as a **dendrogram** is unrooted, no hierarchy is imposed on the **topology** and only a directionless relation of taxa is visualised.

Weight
The quantification of the difference in importance between **characters**.

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[590]Wägele 2005 p. 98.
[591]Wägele 2005 p. 100.

Appendix H   Lists of British prints

Table H.1: Prints after Wilkie

Engraver	Title	Year of publication
John Burnet (1784-1868)	The jew's harp*	1809
John Burnet (1784-1868)	The blind fiddler	1811
Abraham Raimbach (1776-1843)	Village politicians*	1814
Abraham Raimbach (1776-1843)	The rent day*	1817
Abraham Raimbach (1776-1843)	The cut finger*	1819
John Burnet (1784-1868)	The rabbit on the wall*	1821
Abraham Raimbach (1776-1843)	Blind man's buff*	1822
Charles Warren (1762-1823)	The broken China jar	1822
John Burnet (1784-1868)	The letter of introduction	1823
Charles W. Marr (1821-1836)	The breakfast table	1824
Abraham Raimbach (1776-1843)	Distraining for rent*	1825
Abraham Raimbach (1776-1843)	The errant boy*	1825
John Burnet (1784-1868)	The reading of the will	1825
Robert Graves (1798-1873)	The abbot's family	1826
Francis Engleheart (1775-1849)	The refusal or Duncan Gray*	1828
James Steward (1791-1863)	The gentle shepherd	1828
Edward Smith (1805-1851)	Guess my name*	1829
James Mitchell (1791-1852)	Alfred in the neatherd's cottage*	1829
Charles W. Marr (1821-1836)	The village festival	1830
James Mitchell (1791-1852)	Rat hunters*	1830
Edward Francis Finden (1791-1857)	The wardrobe ransacked	1830
James Mitchell (1791-1852)	The dorty bairn	1830
James Steward (1791-1863)	The gentle shepherd	1830
John Burnet (1784-1868)	The chelsea pensioners	1831
James Steward (1791-1863)	The penny wedding	1832
A. Smith (dates unclear)	The clubbist*	1832
William Greatbach (1802-1885)	The new coat*	1832
Charles W. Marr (1821-1836)	The blind fiddler	1833
Abraham Raimbach (1776-1843)	The parish beadle	1834
James Steward (1791-1863)	The pedlar*	1834
Johann Wöllfle (1807-1893)	The reading of the will	1834
Abraham Raimbach (1776-1843)	The Spanish mother	1836
Samuel Cousins (1801-1887)	Theö maid of Saragossa	1837
Charles George Lewiss (1808-1880)	The card players*	1838
Chevalier (dates unclear)	The First Earring	1838
Francis Engleheart (1775-1849)	The only daughter	1838
George Thomas Doo (1800-1886)	The preaching of John Knox	1838
Charles Fox (dates unclear)	Village recruits *	1838
Frederick Bacon (1803-1887)	The smugglers intrusion	1838
Charles George Lewiss (1808-1880)	The village festival*	1839
William Finden (1787-1852)	Sheep washing	1839
John Burnet (1784-1868)	School	1845
Leo Schöningers (1811-1879)	The reading of the will	1845
Leo Schöningers (1811-1879)	The village festival	1845
William Finden (1787-1852)	The Highlander's return	1845
William Greatbach (1802-1885)	The rent day	1846
William Greatbach (1802-1885)	The village festival	1847
Thomas Bolton (dates unclear)	Distraining for rent	1849
William Greatbachs (1802-1885)	Blind man's buff	1860

Table notes:
* Listed in Hoover 1981

Table H.2: Prints by or after Hogarth

Title	Year of publication
A harlot's progress pl. 1	1732
A harlot's progress pl. 2	1732
A harlot's progress pl. 3	1732
A harlot's progress pl. 4	1732
A harlot's progress pl. 5	1732
A harlot's progress pl. 6	1732
A rake's progress pl. 1	1735
A rake's progress pl. 2	1735
A rake's progress pl. 3	1735
A rake's progress pl. 4	1735
A rake's progress pl. 5	1735
A rake's progress pl. 6	1735
A rake's progress pl. 7	1735
A rake's progress pl. 8	1735
Marriage a la mode pl. 1	1745
Marriage a la mode pl. 2	1745
Marriage a la mode pl. 3	1745
Marriage a la mode pl. 4	1745
Marriage a la mode pl. 5	1745
Marriage a la mode pl. 6	1745
Ausführliche Erklärung der Hogarthischen Kupferstiche	1794-1799

Appendix I   List of *Kunst-Blatt* references

Table I.1: References to British art, artists and genre painting in Kunst-Blatt

Year of publication	Page number(s)	Mentioned artists	Type*
1815	1156	Wilkie	Painting mentioned
1816	12	Wilkie, Hogarth, Reynolds, Zoffany	Artist(s) mentioned
1819	54	British painting	Discussion
1820	27-28	Wilkie, Hogarth, Rowlandson	Discussion
1820	113	Wilkie, Hogarth	Print review
1820	119	Wilkie	Painting review
1820	178-180	Hogarth	Report
1820	262	Wilkie	Painting mentioned
1821	80	Wilkie	Painting review
1821	279	Hogarth	Report
1822	49-50	Wilkie	Discussion
1822	156	Wilkie, Hogarth	Discussion
1822	172	Wilkie	Painting review
1822	210	Wilkie	Painting review
1822	270	Wilkie	Print review
1822	399	Wilkie	Print review, Discussion
1823	5-7	Hogarth	Report, Print review
1823	167	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1823	203-204	British art	Discussion
1823	330	Wilkie	Painting review
1823	340	Wilkie	Print review
1823	405	Wilkie	Painting review
1823	405	Wilkie	Print review
1824	108	Hogarth, Landseer	Report
1824	188	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1825	86	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1825	115	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1825	352	Wilkie	Painting review
1826	129	Wilkie	Painting mentioned
1826	254	Hogarth	Artist(s) mentioned
1827	64	Wilkie	Painting mentioned
1827	209-210	Wilkie, Hogarth	Comparison
1828	6	Wilkie	Painting mentioned
1828	118-119	Hogarth, Thornhill	Discussion
1828	273-274	Hogarth, Chodowiecki	Artist(s) mentioned
1828	385-387	Wilkie	Discussion
1829	129	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1829	196	Wilkie	Painting mentioned
1829	197-199	Hogarth	Discussion
1829	286	Hogarth	Artist(s) mentioned
1829	353	Wilkie	Painting mentioned
1829	364	Wilkie	Report
1830	79-80	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1830	220	Wilkie	Discussion
1830	220	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1831	357	Wilkie, Hogarth	Comparison
1832	158	Hogarth	Report
1832	210	Wilkie	Comparison
1833	15	Hogarth	Report
1833	25	Wilkie	Painting review
1833	29	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1833	203-204	Hogarth	Discussion
1834	239-240	Hogarth	Discussion

Table I.1: References to British art, artists and genre painting in Kunst-Blatt

Year of publication	Page number(s)	Mentioned artists	Type*
1834	248	Hogarth	Discussion
1834	307	Wilkie	Print review
1834	308	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1835	195	Wilkie	Comparison
1835	271	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1836	56	Hogarth	Announcement
1836	87	Wilkie	Report
1836	108	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1836	140	Wilkie	Painting mentioned
1836	220	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned, work mentioned
1836	272	Wilkie	Report
1837	12	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1837	52, 316	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1837	118-120	Wilkie	Discussion
1837	363	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1837	383-384	Hogarth	Discussion
1837	385-386	Wilkie, Hogarth	Artist(s) mentioned
1838	28, 200	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1838	45	Wilkie	Comparison
1838	104	Hogarth	Announcement
1838	248	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1838	248	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1838	248	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1838	264	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned, work mentioned
1838	385-386	Hogarth	Discussion
1839	16, 115	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1839	76	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1839	76	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1839	107	Wilkie	Discussion
1839	110	Wilkie	Discussion
1839	115-116	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1839	118	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned, work mentioned
1839	119	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned, work mentioned
1839	139	Wilkie	Print review
1839	148	Wilkie	Print review
1839	199	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1839	216	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned, work mentioned
1839	248	Wilkie	Report
1839	260	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1839	271	Wilkie	Print review
1839	301-303	Hogarth	Artist(s) mentioned
1839	311	Wilkie	Discussion
1839	387	Wilkie	Comparison
1840	4	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned, work mentioned
1840	144	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1840	244	Wilkie	Painting review
1840	324	Wilkie	Report
1840	355	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1840	360	Wilkie	Report
1841	178	Wilkie	Report
1841	216	Wilkie	Painting mentioned
1841	276	Wilkie	Report
1841	292	Wilkie	Report

Table I.1: References to British art, artists and genre painting in Kunst-Blatt

Year of publication	Page number(s)	Mentioned artists	Type*
1841	293-294	Wilkie	Biography
1841	296	Wilkie	Report
1841	296	Wilkie	Report
1841	299	Wilkie, Hogarth	Biography
1841	304	Wilkie	Obituary
1841	371	Wilkie	Obituary
1842	84	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1842	120	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1842	197-199	British painting	Discussion
1842	198	Wilkie	Comparison
1842	235-236	Wilkie	Announcement
1842	244	Wilkie	Painting mentioned
1842	247	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned, work mentioned
1842	264	Wilkie	Painting mentioned
1842	272	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1842	313-315	Hogarth	Comparison
1843	419-420	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1843	436	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1844	80	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1844	92	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1844	199	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned, work mentioned
1844	221	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1844	289	Wilkie	Discussion
1844	301-303	Wilkie	Discussion
1844	340	Wilkie	Painting mentioned
1845	63	Wilkie	Announcement, print mentioned
1845	120	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1845	120-121	Hogarth	Announcement
1845	136	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned, work mentioned
1845	251	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1845	409-410	Wilkie, Hogarth	Discussion
1846	60	Wilkie	Print mentioned
1846	97	Wilkie	Discussion
1846	152	Wilkie, Hogarth	Print mentioned
1846	197-200	Wilkie, Hogarth	Discussion
1846	221-223	Hogarth	Discussion
1847	33-34	Hogarth	Discussion
1847	149	Wilkie, Morland	Comparison
1847	176	Wilkie, Mulready	Artist(s) mentioned
1847	196	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned, work mentioned
1848	60-70	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned
1848	64	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned, work mentioned
1848	71	Hogarth	Artist(s) mentioned
1848	144	Wilkie	Print review
1848	148	Wilkie	Artist(s) mentioned, work mentioned
1848	164	Hogarth	Report
1849	19	Wilkie	Painting mentioned
1849	64-65	Hogarth	Discussion

Table notes:
* Brief description of the type of publication:
Announcement: of sales, exhibitions etc.
Comparison: Artist(s) compared to (mostly) local ones
Discussion: Artist(s) and their work are discussed
Report: on exhibitions, occurrences, sales, developments etc.

Appendix J   List of *Kunstvereine*

Table J.1: Foundation dates Kunstvereine

Kunstverein	Year
Wiener Kunstverein	1830
Kunstverein München	1823
Kunstverein für die Rheinlande und Westfalen (Düsseldorf)	1829
Augsburg Kunstverein	1833
Kunstverein in Bremen	1823
Kunstverein Braunschweig	1832
Kunstverein Coburg	1824
Kunstverein Darmstadt	1837
Kunstverein Freiburg	1827
Kunstverein in Hamburg	1817
Kunstverein Hannover	1832
Heidelberger Kunstverein	1869
Badischer Kunstverein (Karlsruhe)	1818
Kunstverein Kassel	1835
Kölnischer Kunstverein	1839
Kunstverein Konstanz	1858
Leipziger Kunstverein	1824
Mannheimer Kunstverein	1833
Westfälischer Kunstverein (Münster)	1831
Kunstverein Nürnberg (Albrecht-Dürer-Gesellschaft)	1792
Kunst- und Gewerbeverein Regensburg	1838
Oldenburger Kunstverein	1843
Pommerscher Verein für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe (Stettin)	1835
Württembergischer Kunstverein Stuttgart	1827
Nassauischer Kunstverein (Wiesbaden)	1847
Kunstverein Barmen	1866
Salzburger Kunstverein	1844
Oberösterreichischer Kunstverein	1851
Basler Kunstverein	1839
Kunstverein St. Gallen	1827

In the early nineteenth century, British painting was seen as the epitome of modernity. In this work, it is shown that British influences played a key role in the nineteenth-century emergence of the German genre piece, as evidenced by numerous examples from the art-theoretical discourse, art criticism, the trade in paintings and prints, as well as German painting. By studying this phenomenon with phylogenetic methods, it is possible to systematically analyse, reveal, and explain the patterns and mechanisms behind a process of artistic exchange during a time when national boundaries were being crossed increasingly easily and frequently.