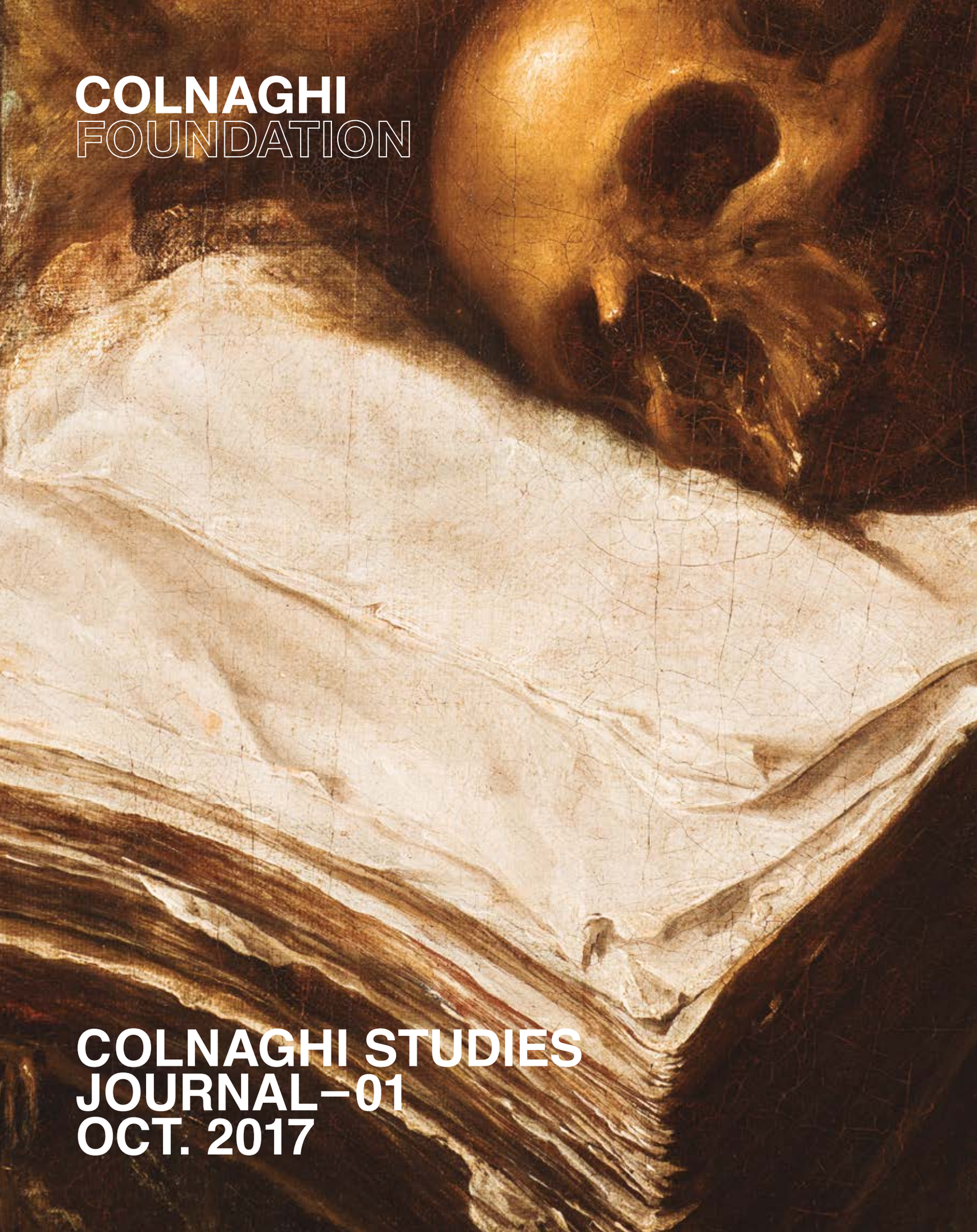

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COLNAGHI STUDIES JOURNAL—01

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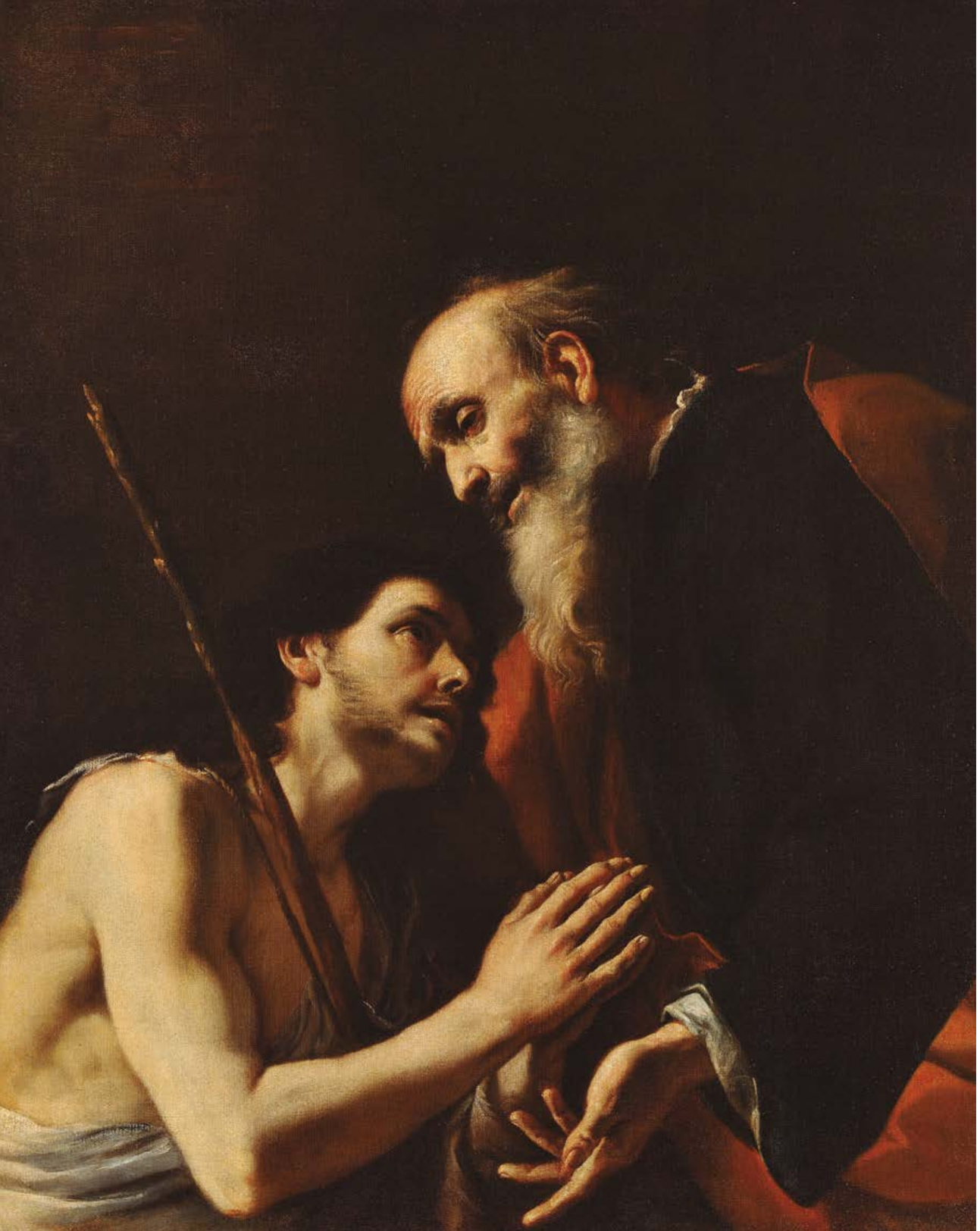


Fig. 1 / Mattia Preti, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, oil on canvas, 124 x 104 cm, acquired from Colnaghi in 2017 by a Private Foundation.

Two newly-discovered paintings of *The Return of the Prodigal Son* by Mattia Preti

KEITH SCIBERRAS

The theme of the Return of the Prodigal Son, a parable narrated by Christ and recorded in the *Gospel of Luke* 15:29-30, is one which extolls mercy, reconciliation, and redemption. The subject was particularly popular in the Counter-Reformation, and Baroque artists favoured the moment of the embrace between the father and his son, an exemplar of forgiveness. The subject was one of Mattia Preti's favourite themes, and few artists of the seventeenth century painted this moral scene as often as he did. The two paintings under review, both dating from the 1650s, are impressive new additions to his depiction of this theme, extending the total number of Preti's known paintings of the Return of the Prodigal Son to ten.

Born in the Calabrian village of Taverna in 1613, Mattia Preti emerged as a leading exponent of the forceful Baroque of mid-seventeenth-century Italy, working in a tradition that brilliantly captured the characteristics of monumental dynamism combined with an impressive sense of theatre. An extraordinary draughtsman and virtuoso painter, he was quick with his brush and produced hundreds of pictures that spanned a career of some seventy years. His life can be easily and neatly divided into distinct phases starting with early training and his first maturity in Rome, followed by his middle years in Naples, and finally the nearly four decades that he spent in Malta between 1661 and his death in 1699. An artist-knight, whose sobriquet was *il Cavalier Calabrese*, his later life and art were conditioned by his membership of the chivalric Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta.[1]

The two paintings under review, measuring 124 x 104 cm, and 150 x 122 cm, conform perfectly within the narrative and close-up compositional methods of Preti's half- and three-quarter length *quadri di galleria* typologies (figs. 1 and 2). There are, unfortunately, no known contemporary documents that can be specifically associated with the two paintings discussed here, and their provenance can only be dated back to the last decade and the mid-nineteenth century respectively. However, a picture of this subject, recorded in the 1740s by Preti's biographer Bernardo de Dominici in the collection of the Marchese Gagliano in Naples, could possibly be one of them.[2]

The parable of the Prodigal Son commences with the younger of two sons asking his father to take possession of his share of the estate, which he quickly wastes in faraway lands on self-indulgence, carnal gratification, and sensual pleasure. Reduced to famine and misery, envying the pigs that he is employed to look after, the young man rediscovers himself, realizes his guilt, and recovers the use of reason. He resolves to return to his father, acknowledge his failings, and beg forgiveness, realizing that he is no longer worthy to be called his father's son. Upon seeing his child, the father in question greets the young man with untold joy and compassion, and celebrates his return.

In the two pictures studied here, Preti concentrates on the intimacy of the embrace, the submission of the young repentant sinner, the compassion of the father, mercy, and human sympathy. Preti uses light to bathe the haggard son and emphasize the

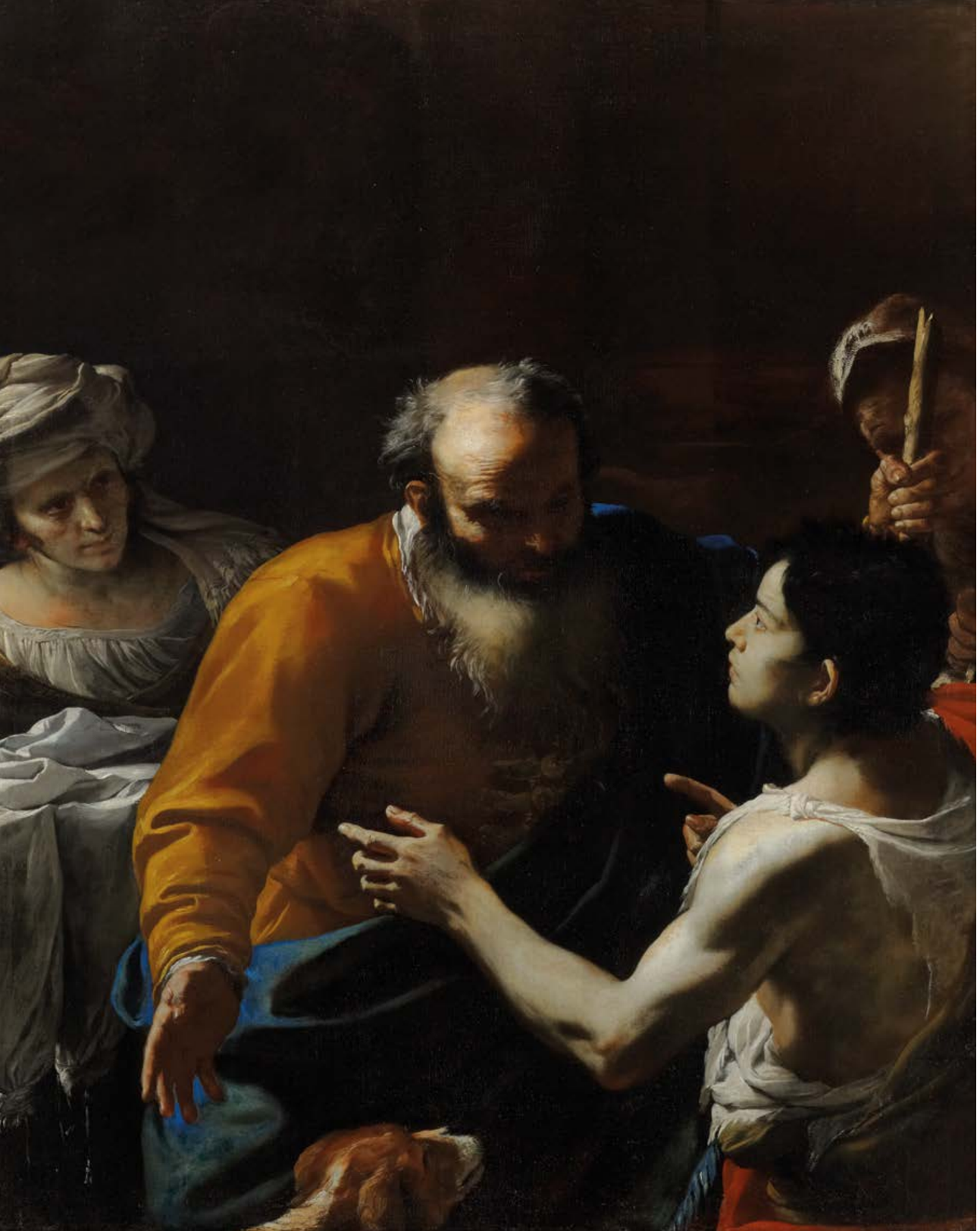


Fig. 2 / Mattia Preti, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, oil on canvas, 150 x 122 cm, acquired from Colnaghi in 2016 by a Private Collector.

Fig. 3 / Mattia Preti, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, oil on canvas, 122 x 171 cm, Private Collection.

expressive compassion of the old father's tired face. His outstretched arms offer shelter, underlining the strong moral theme of the story which the artist had obviously considered very profoundly.

Preti depicted ten versions of this theme, spanning his career and dating from the early 1630s to the 1670s. They all show the moment of the iconic embrace, but vary in size and format from those reduced to the two protagonists, to more elaborate narratives containing wider scenes with ten life-size figures. The larger scenes include other figures from the parable, namely the older son, the father's servants, and other members of his household. Although there is one recorded instance of Preti painting another scene from the story, an untraced *Prodigal Son Feasting*,[3] he, unlike Guercino, does not seem to represent different moments from the tale, and all his surviving works focus on the moment of reconciliation.

The earlier of the two versions of *The Return of the Prodigal Son* considered here (see fig. 1) (124 x 104 cm, Private Foundation), first appeared on the art market in 2015. Of remarkable technical quality, it probably dates from the period between the late 1640s and the mid-1650s, when the artist had consolidated his position as one of the foremost painters in Rome, or when he had just moved to Naples. In his virile forms and *al naturale* renditions, Preti concentrates on the embrace between father and son, presenting the scene within a strong chiaroscuro setting and using a restricted palette, both of which reveal his Caravaggist background. The confidence of brushwork, monumentality of forms, movement, and physical structure of the figures point towards Preti's mature style and lend further support to the date suggested above.

The pose of the father and son are taken from the earliest known representation of the subject that Preti painted (fig. 3) (122 x 171 cm, Private Collection), which is in turn clearly indebted to earlier prototypes, such as Maerten van Heemskerck's woodcut print of the subject (ca. 1548) (fig. 4). The latter had also

influenced Rembrandt's iconic and powerful small etching of *The Return of the Prodigal Son* dating to 1636, and Preti was to play on this compositional arrangement of the gestures of the protagonists in nine of his ten pictures of the subject.[4]

In the first of the two newly-discovered paintings the figures are shown in half-length and occupy most of the picture space, the father towering over his son. The background is a dark void and provides the perfect setting for the dramatic chiaroscuro that illuminates the figures. The palette is restricted to earth colours, and Preti makes exceptional use of his painterly dexterity. The facial typology of the figures, the modelling of the draperies, the stance of the ageing father, and the muscle structure of the son, were repeated by Preti in numerous paintings of the period.

The second painting under review is also unpublished and is another extraordinary addition to Preti's oeuvre (see fig. 2) (150 x 122 cm, Private Collection). Its narrative is broader than the first picture and includes the additional figures of two maids. With its dynamic timbre, grand manner, vibrant brushwork, tactile virtuosity, tonal charge, and immediacy of narrative, the work should be dated to the 1650s, and it was most probably painted in Naples. The juxtaposition between its intense chiaroscuro and the vibrant colours of the drapery folds, namely the orange and blues of the father and the red cloak of the son, places it very close to other Neapolitan pictures, such as the *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* in Naples at the Museo di Capodimonte.

Fig. 4 / Dirck Volckertz Coornhert after Maerten van Heemskerck, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, ca. 1548, woodcut on laid paper, 24.7 x 18.5 cm, Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art.

Set in a vertical format, the painting's compositional and narrative structure and the depiction of the moment just before the embrace differ from his other interpretations of the theme. The boy is younger and on the right side of the painting, and the father's open-armed posture – which signals his mercy – dominates the closely-knit composition. Behind him, on either side, are two servants. Light, which in many ways plays a fundamental part of this narrative, strongly models the face and supplicating posture of the bare-armed son; it is the pictorial device that guides the individual's quest for redemption.

Both pictures show how Preti's mature works had taken up a new dynamic theatricality that embraced the spirit of the triumphant Baroque *macchina* then prevalent in Rome.[5] At the same time, the paintings manifestly betray how significant the imprint of Guercino's compositional methods were on Preti's art, even though the Calabrian artist repeatedly injected his narratives with a forcefully-vibrant naturalism. Added to this, the tonal contrast of his Caravaggist upbringing remained strong, despite the fact that in the same years he very often painted works with wider palettes and lighter "Neo-Venetian" settings. Both the paintings presented here are in a very good condition and have maintained their original chromatic richness, tonal vibrancy, and oil-saturated brushwork with the impastos intact.

Preti's biographer de Dominici mentions four paintings of the subject, all seemingly located in Naples, one of which may be identifiable with one of the pictures discussed above. One was purchased by the Duca di Maddaloni[6] and is most probably the large painting (255 x 368 cm) at the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples (fig. 5); two were executed for the Marchese Gagliano (possibly Pompilio Gagliano);[7] and one belonged to the Fra Francesco Parisi.[8] The two Gagliano pictures showed different episodes of the story: one represented the Prodigal Son feasting and wasting his estate, and the other depicted the return and embrace between father and son. The first picture is not known to survive, whilst the latter could indeed be one of the two paintings under review in this essay, even though the provenance trail is inconclusive. The painting belonging to Parisi

Fig. 5 / Mattia Preti, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, oil on canvas, 255 x 368 cm, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte.

was purchased in Malta and presumably painted there, which makes it possibly one of two pictures painted on the island – the one in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Reggio Calabria, and another in a private collection – which are discussed below. One of these two pictures may be the painting of the Prodigal Son commissioned prior to his death in 1686 by Fra Silvio Sortino, Procurator of the Order of St. John in Palermo; Fra Silvio failed to pay for this work, causing the artist to file a request to have it returned.[9] Furthermore, inventories record a painting of the same subject in 1677 in the collection of Giovanni Andrea Lumaga in Venice and another in 1707 in the collection of Elisabetta Vandeneyden in Naples.[10]

Not much is known of Mattia's early activity and the date of his arrival in Rome has not yet been established with certainty. The first precise record of him in the city dates from 1632, when he was recorded there with his brother Gregorio. However, his paintings clearly show that he immediately developed an admiration for the work of the generation of Caravaggist artists who had been working in Rome in the second decade of the seventeenth century in a style also adopted by his brother Gregorio. Of these artists, Mattia evidently had a special admiration for the early works of Jusepe de Ribera, Bartolomeo Manfredi, and Valentin de Boulogne. The impact of these stylistic influences is evident in the earliest of the versions of the subject of the Prodigal Son, which has already been mentioned above (see fig. 3). Here Preti depicts a close-up rendition of the embrace in a broad horizontal format in which the narrative is explained through six half-length figures including the Prodigal Son's elder brother and servants looking on. Recently exhibited at Miradolo, it dates to Preti's early Caravaggist phase (ca.1633-1638) and clearly betrays the imprint of his brother Gregorio, who painted a very similar version of it (now in a private collection), but without the young boy at bottom left. By the mid-1630s the two brothers were probably collaborating on paintings, and an analysis of their oeuvre shows them interested in depicting similar themes, such as the two closely allied versions

Fig. 6 / Mattia Preti, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, oil on canvas, 126 x 168 cm, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen.

of the subject which have just been mentioned. The naturalistic movement to which Mattia became at first attracted was essentially based on the interest in painting characters from the world around him (often *al naturale*), presenting them with realistic gestures and poses, and modelling in strong contrasts of light and shade, as seen in this picture. The format of the painting and the compositional narrative of the embrace between father and son was clearly a successful one because Mattia repeated it on other occasions. It was represented in reverse in a slightly later version at the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen in Munich (fig. 6) (126 x 168 cm);[11] this painting dates to the late 1630s or early 1640s, and here we see Preti gradually freeing himself from the Caravaggist mould.

By the early 1640s, Preti's figure types were well-defined, as were his draperies, the compositional construction, and the gestural devices that he habitually used. The dark backgrounds of his early work opened up to colour and to vaster representations of the background space, allowing him to incorporate elaborate palatial settings and clouded skies essentially inspired by Venetian art. It is within this context that Preti's first known larger interpretation of *The Return of the Prodigal Son* (202 x 258 cm), namely the version at the Musée de Tesse, Le Mans, which includes eight full-size figures set within an architectural setting, must be seen.

This was the period when his works took on a new theatricality and embraced a "grand manner" method of depicting *recitativi*, as can be seen in the luminous rendition of *The Return of the Prodigal Son* (fig. 7) (150 x 156.5 cm, Private Collection), which is probably slightly later. Preti retained, however, the strong tonal modelling of figures and the typologies that had engrained themselves in his art during his early years in Rome. A simple comparison between his early and mature pictures shows, despite changes in stylistic manner, the same facial features and gestures.

First documented in Naples in March 1653,[12] Mattia made the city his home for the next seven years. There, he forcefully established himself as a leading artist and attracted the attention of the most prominent Neapolitan patrons, being remarkably prolific and painting numerous pictures for both Church and private collections. His grand naturalism, with its obvious Caravaggist origins,

Fig. 7 / Mattia Preti, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, oil on canvas, 150 x 156.5 cm, Private Collection

was perfectly suited to Neapolitan taste. He also looked at Ribera's Neapolitan work, as is manifest in his *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* (L'Aquila, Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo), which clearly derives from Ribera's picture of the same subject at Palazzo Pitti in Florence.

Preti's *quadri di galleria* struck the perfect chord with Neapolitan patrons, and his corpus of pictures became impressive. He continued to paint works in the manner of Guercino's *recitativi*, but his narratives became more energetic and triumphal. The Neapolitan context made his chiaroscuro even more appropriate, and the two paintings of *The Return of the Prodigal Son* studied here fit remarkably well within this context.

In Naples, Preti also painted a number of large multi-figured scenes in the triumphant manner, scenes which essentially derive from his Venetian experience. Dramatically spread out longitudinally on canvases some three or four metres wide, these pictures reveal the artist's ability to distribute full-scale figures horizontally and inject them with compositional

Fig. 8 / Mattia Preti, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, oil on canvas, 202 x 285 cm, Naples, Palazzo Reale.

grandeur, vibrant movement, and dramatic flashes of light. Two large-scale interpretations of *The Return of the Prodigal Son* exemplify this grand manner. The larger one, dating to ca. 1657, is at the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples and measures 255 x 368 cm (see fig. 5).[13]

Most probably the painting described by de Dominici when in the collection of the Duca di Maddaloni, it has ten full-scale figures and is his most complex rendition of this narrative. The other picture, of slightly smaller size, is at the Palazzo Reale in Naples (fig. 8) (202 x 285 cm).[14]

Although already a knight of Malta, Preti began his working relationship with the knights of the Order of Saint John when he was in Naples, through the commissioning of a painting representing *Saint Francis Xavier* for the chapel of Aragon, Catalonia and Navarre, in the conventual church of Saint John's in Valletta. The Grand Master of the Order, Fra Martin de Redin, had specifically asked his procurator in Naples for a work "such that it was painted primarily by the most famous brush in Naples today."[15] The choice of Preti was almost obvious, despite the up-and- coming and much younger Luca Giordano. In all fairness, the fact that Preti was a knight of Malta made it difficult to refuse a commission to execute a painting for his grand master. This commission triggered Preti's interest in the island of Malta and it was the start of what would become four long decades of continuous work for the knights.

Preti arrived in Malta at the apex of his career with his art fully matured and, perhaps, immune from significant external influences. Undeniably, the artist's long stay on the island saw him isolate himself from the emergent stylistic currents of late seventeenth-century Italy and as a result he slowly lost contact with contemporary developments. He was, however, growing older and, not surprisingly, his art became manifestly more intimate. Two paintings of *The Return of the Prodigal Son* date to this Maltese period. A large-scale work is at the Museo

Fig. 9 / Mattia Preti, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, oil on canvas, 216 x 231 cm, Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale.

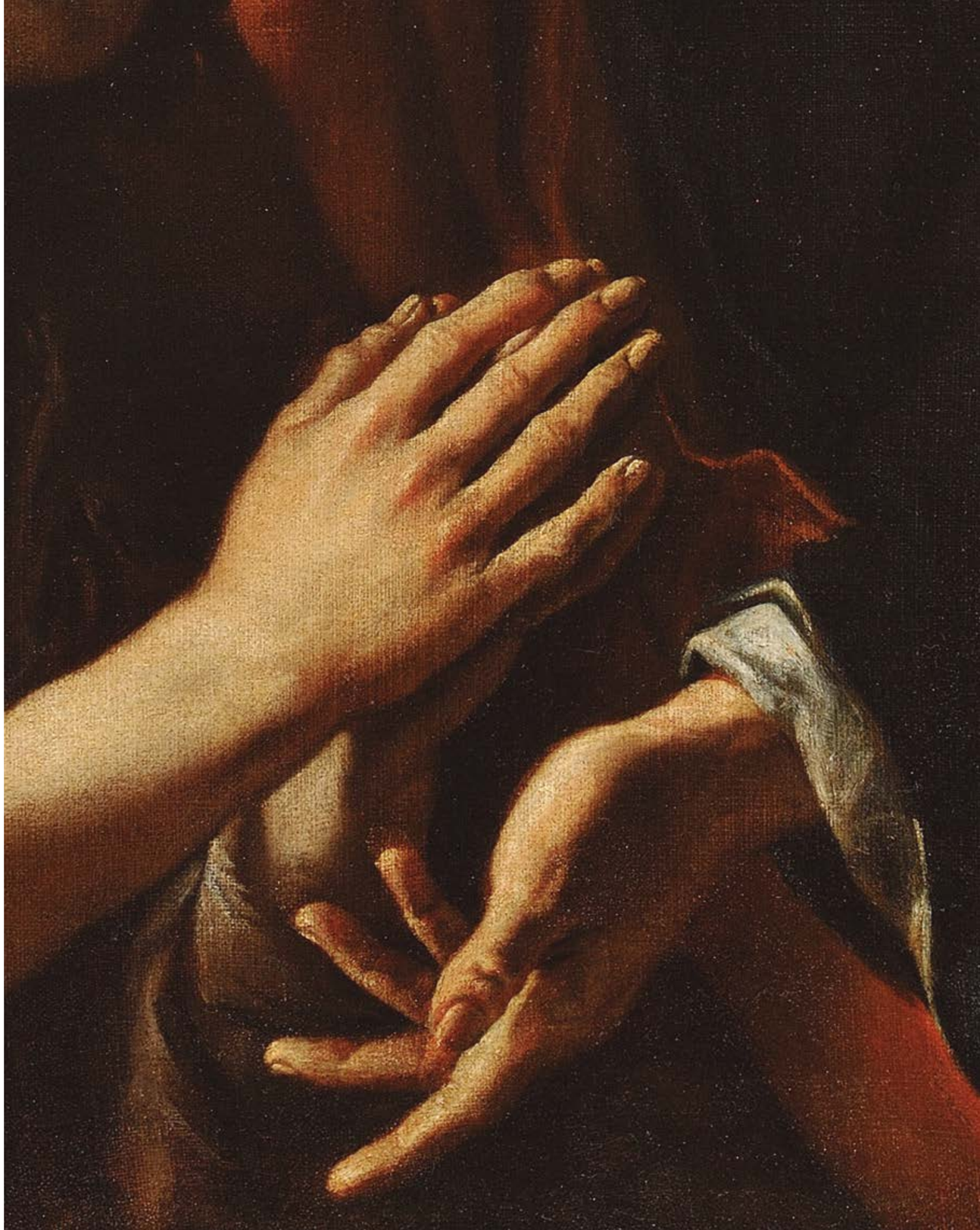
Fig. 10 / Mattia Preti, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, oil on canvas, 140 x 100 cm, Private Collection.

Nazionale, Reggio Calabria (fig. 9) (216 x 231 cm)[16] and has eight full-scale figures in its narrative. A smaller depiction is in a private collection (fig. 10) (140 x 100 cm)[17] and it was clearly successful based on the numerous workshop replicas of it.

Around the early 1680s, the general atmosphere of Preti's works started to change: the dynamic and monumental compositions became calmer, and the tonality of his work became progressively darker. Furthermore, he abandoned most of the brighter hues and showed greater interest in tenebrist tonal qualities with a near complete elimination of the neo-Venetian palette of blues, oranges, and yellows. This significant stylistic change in Preti's art was the result of maturing into old age and of working in a context in which he had no real competitors. Away from his artistic rivals, he contemplated his own art and subdued its forceful content and movement and restrained his palette.

NOTES

1. For the essential recent literature on Mattia Preti see: John Spike, *Mattia Preti catalogo ragionato dei dipinti* (Florence: Centro Di, 1999); Nicola Spinosa ed., *Mattia Preti tra Roma, Napoli e Malta,* exh. cat. (Naples: Museo di Capodimonte, 1999); Keith Sciberras, *Mattia Preti, The Triumphant Manner* (Malta: Midsea Books, 2012); Keith Sciberras and Vittorio Sgarbi eds., *Il Cavalier calabrese Mattia Preti tra Caravaggio e Luca Giordano,* exh. cat. (Turin: La Venaria, 2013); Giorgio Leone ed., *Mattia Preti: Un giovane nella Roma dopo Caravaggio,* exh. cat. (Rubbettino: Palazzo Corsini, 2015).
2. See below, note 6.
3. Recorded by De'Dominici in the collection of the Marchese Gagliano. See below note 6.
4. For a synoptic survey of Preti's career see Sciberras, *Mattia Preti,* pp. 1-88.
5. Bernardo de' Dominici, *Vite dei pittori, scultori, ed architetti Napolitani,* III (Naples: Per Francesco, e Cristoforo Ricciardi, Stamptori del Real Palazzo, 1743), p. 373: "vedesi in casa del Duca di Mataloni Caraffa un quadro di circa quindici palmi per traverse, e dodici in circa d'altezza, ove e' dipinta la storia del Figliuol Prodigo, allorche' pentito, e inginocchioni davanti al padre gli chiede perdono dei suoi errori, ed egli benignamente l'accoglie; dietro la figura del vecchio sono alcune donne curiose con due fanciulli intenti a vedere ciocche' succede, e un altro fanciullo situate Avanti al piedestallo del simulacro della Dea Iside sta ad osservare il fatto dietro la figura del Figliuol Prodigo. Dallo altro lato vi e' il servo che uccide il vitello grasso, e una donna con un puttino in braccio, e una fanciulla per mano con alter persone da lontano, e fuori dell'atrio, il quale e' architettato con ottimo intendimento, stavvi anche un angioletto abbracciato ad una Colonna spettatore della misericordiosa azione del vecchio padre." (In the house of the duca di Mataloni Caraffa there is a painting 15 *palmi* wide and about 12 high, which depicts the story of the Prodigal Son, repentant and kneeling before his father, whom he asks for forgiveness for his errors and who welcomes him lovingly; behind the father are some curious women and two children trying to see what is happening, and there is another child sitting in front of the pedestal of a statue of the goddess Isis watching the scene behind the son. On the other side there is a servant who is slaughtering the fatted calf, and a woman carrying a child in her arms and holding a young girl by the hand, with other figures in the distance. Outside the hall, which is designed with great skill, there is an angel holding a column, observing the merciful action of the old father.)
6. De'Dominici, *Vite.*, III, p. 342: "quelle del marchese Gagliano hanno varie storie, come quella del Figluol prodigo, che scialacqua in conviti la sua porzione ottenuta dal padre, e l'altra dello stesso, che pentito chiede perdono al padre, e vien da quello abbracciato." (Those belonging to the marchese Gagliano depict various subjects, such as one of the Prodigal Son who wastes his estate on feasts, and another of the same theme, in which the repentant son asks forgiveness of his father, who embraces him.)
7. De'Dominici, *Vite.,* III, p. 375: "un altro del Figliuol Prodigo accolto dal pietoso padre" (another depiction of the Prodigal Son welcomed by his merciful father). See also Sciberras, *Mattia Preti,* pp. 106 & 107.
8. Sciberras, *Mattia Preti*, p. 124.
9. The Getty Provenance Index Databases (Contributors Isabella Cecchini, Antonio Delfino, Gérard Labrot, Stefania Mason), noted in Leone, *Mattia Preti,* p. 136.
10. 123.5 x 171.5 cm.; Spike, *Mattia Preti*, p. 387, cat. no. 374; Leone, *Mattia Preti,* p. 136.
11. Spike, *Mattia Preti*, p. 194, cat. no. 110.
12. Spike, *Matti Preti*, p. 78. The original document is in ASBN, Banco della Pietà, Giornale di cassa, matr. 420, 22 Marzo 1653.
13. See Spike, *Mattia Preti*, p. 204, cat. no. 119.
14. Spike, *Mattia Preti*, p. 209, cat. no. 125.
15. "*acciò venghi primariamente lavorato dal più accreditato pennello che ha hoggi sia in Napoli.*" AOM 1434, *Lettere De Redin* 1658, f. 57r, letter from the Grand Master to P. Marcello Spinelli, 20 March 1658. Transcribed in Spike, *Mattia Preti*, p. 109.
16. Spike, *Mattia Preti*, p. 246, cat. no. 172.
17. See Sciberras, *Mattia Preti*, p. 81, fig. 108, p. 459.



A new *Holy Family* by the Spanish Renaissance master Joan de Joanes

JOSÉ GÓMEZ FRECHINA

Joan Macip Navarro (Valencia (?), ca. 1500 – Bocairent, 1579), better known as Joan de Joanes, belonged to an important dynasty of Valencian artists headed by his father, the altarpiece painter Vicent Macip (ca. 1470 – 1551), and continued by his son Vicent Macip Comes (ca. 1554 – ca. 1622). Following Joanes's death in 1579, Comes carried his father's style into the early years of the seventeenth century, in many cases directly copying Joanes's models, although producing works of lesser quality.[1] A newly-discovered example of a *Holy Family* by Joan de Joanes, formerly at Colnaghi (fig. 1) presents an excellent example of his unique style, brilliantly synthesizing the visual legacy of Vicent Macip with elements of the Flemish and Italian traditions.[2]

Over the past few years, research into sixteenth-century Valencian painting has produced solid arguments based on documentation that allow for a better definition of the different phases of Joan de Joanes's career while also establishing the key characteristics of his individual and unmistakable style. As a result it has been possible to define a secure corpus of work by the artist, which was until recently shrouded in uncertainty due to confusion between the activities of his father, Vicent Macip, and his son, Vicent Macip Comes, also known as Vicent Joanes.

Vicent Macip married Isabel Navarro from Alacuás in 1493. In the same year, Macip is mentioned for the first time as a painter of altarpieces living in Valencia: "*Vincentius Macip, pictor retabilis Valentia vicinus*."[3] Lack of other documentary references to Vicent Macip led to many years of confusion between his works and those of his son, Joan Macip.

As a young man Joan de Joanes must have trained in the studio of Vicent Macip, and together they are documented in connection to various important commissions in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Joanes's style during this very early period exhibits a Flemish quality that is explained in the biography written by the Valencian painter and canon Vicente Vitoria (1650-1709) which was first cited in the art-historical literature by Bonaventura Bassegoda.[4] Vitoria comments on the similarity between the Valencian artist's works and those of Raphael, referring to a supposed trip to Italy which can now be almost certainly ruled out on the basis of our more complete understanding of sixteenth-century Valencian painting:

> I am inclined to believe [of the pupil I mean] that this Juan pupil of Perugino is the same Valencian that we commonly call Juanes who is so esteemed in all of Spain for the beauty of his works which seem to be by the hand of Raphael himself, in the line, colour, expression of emotions and other elements, and I can confirm this as he worked in the same period that Vasari was writing about, that it is the delicate style of the school of Perugino and still more tender and more correct in the outline and more colourful than that of his fellow followers, and he brought the fine manner of painting to Spain.[5]

Fig. 1 / Joan de Joanes, *Holy Family*, oil on panel, 58.5 x 49.5 cm, acquired from Colnaghi in 2017 by a Private Collector.

Fig. 2 / Sebastiano del Piombo, *The Lamentation* (central panel of the Vich Triptych), 1516, oil on canvas transferred from wood, 260 x 193 cm, Saint Petersburg, The Hermitage Museum.

Equally interesting is Vitoria's paragraph offering information on the young artist's training:

> […] his father decided to bring him to Valencia, the capital of that kingdom, at the age of fourteen and sent him to learn painting in the house of a Flemish painter named Juan Malbó who followed the same style as that of the school of Albrecht Dürer, and we see by his hand two heads of the Saviour and a Holy Virgin in the Sacristy of the parish church of San Estevan, and a mother of God with the naked Christ Child in her arms, on which is written his name and the year of 1531.[6]

Leaving aside Vitoria's inaccuracies, his account is notable for the reference to Juan Malbó, who can be identified as the Flemish artist Jan Gossaert (ca. 1478-1532), also known as Mabuse on account of his signature, "Joannes Malbodius" referring to his native Maubeuge.[7]
The presence of works by Gossaert and other Flemish artists in Valencia can be traced to Mencía de Mendoza (1508-1554), daughter of the Marquis of Zenete, whose first marriage in 1524 was to the Flemish noble Henry III, Count of Nassau-Breda (1483-1538), first chamberlain to the Emperor Charles V. After her husband's death, Mencía returned to Valencia where in 1541 she married Fernando de Aragón, Duke of Calabria and Viceroy of Valencia (1488-1550), himself a widower following the death of his first wife, Germana de Foix.

Joanes's innovative style in the context of painting in Valencia in this period can also be explained by the presence there of various works by Sebastiano del Piombo (1485-1547), brought from Italy by Jerónimo Vich y Valterra, the ambassador of Ferdinand the Catholic in Rome and subsequently of Charles V.[8] The works by Piombo displayed in Vich's residence were a *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Madrid, Museo del Prado) and a triptych representing *The Lamentation* (Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum) (fig. 2) in the central panel, with the *Descent into Limbo* (Madrid, Museo del Prado) and *Christ Appearing to the Apostles* on the lateral wings; the latter panel is now lost but is known from various copies by Francisco Ribalta.

In 1993 Fernando Benito convincingly identified the artist previously known as the Master of Cabanyes – a name used in the literature for an anonymous artist active in Valencia in the early sixteenth century – as Vicent Macip, providing an opportunity for a reconstruction of that artist's pictorial oeuvre.[9] The polyptych adorning the high altar of the cathedral of Segorbe (near Valencia) (fig.3) has proved the critical work for distinguishing between the styles of Vicent Macip and his son Joan. Documents refer to payments to Vicent Macip between 1529 and 1531 and another one in 1535 after the altarpiece was finished. One of these payments refers to Joan Macip, to whom the Chapter of Segorbe paid 10 *libras*: "to the son of master Vicent Macip, painter […] for payment for the altarpiece."[10]

In 1664, the Catalonian nobleman, Francisco Villagrasa referred to the altarpiece on the high altar in Segorbe Cathedral, commissioned by the city's bishop, Fray Gilaberto Martí, as a work by "Ioannes."[11] This attribution was repeated by the eighteenth-century writers on art, Antonio Ponz[12] and Marcos Antonio Orellana.[13] The reattribution of the Segorbe altarpiece to Vicent Macip is based on a document discovered in 1808 by Father Villanueva which identifies the creator of the work as Macip the Elder, who was paid a total of 16,000 *sueldos* between 1529 and 1535.[14] Using this information, in *Varios estudios de artes y letras* (1902), Elías Tormo reattributed to Vicent Macip the paintings for the Segorbe altarpiece given to Joanes in the early sources.[15] Tormo compiled a core group of works close to the altarpiece and used them to define Vicent Macip's style and body of work. His arguments were rightly questioned by Fernando Benito, who identified the so-called Master of Cabanyes as Vicent Macip. This scholar also reattributed many of the works previously considered to represent Vicent's mature period to the young Joan Macip.[16] Ximo Company and Lluís Tolosa have also subsequently attributed works previously given to Vicent Macip to Joan de Joanes.[17]

Most of the panels that make up the altarpiece dedicated to the Virgin in Segorbe Cathedral can be securely attributed to Joan de Joanes on the basis of a stylistic comparison with the surviving panels from the altarpiece of *Saint Eligius*, (fig. 4) executed by Joanes for the parish church of Santa Catalina in Valencia in 1534.[18] Only two panels from the Sergobe altarpiece, *The Ascension* and *Christ on the Road to Calvary*, which are clearly influenced by Paolo de Leocadio, are executed in Vicent Macip's quattrocento style.[19]

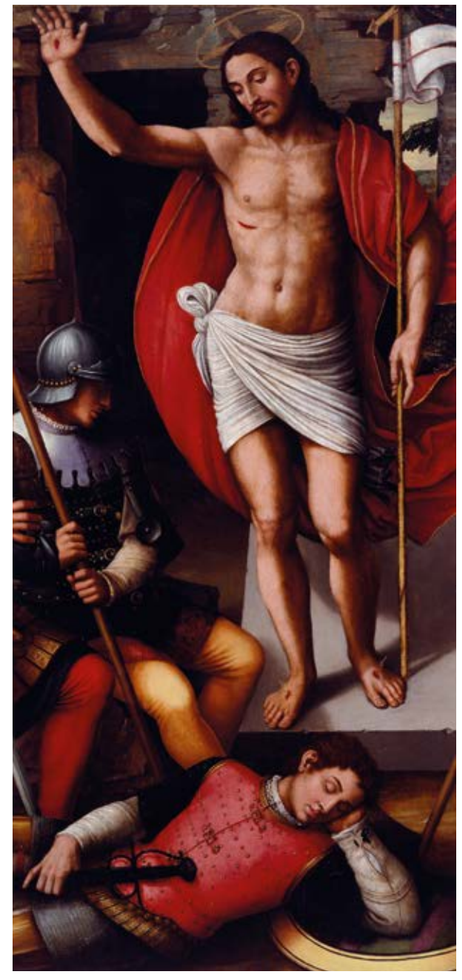


Fig. 3 / Joan de Joanes, *The Resurrection* (detail) (panel from the high altar of Segorbe Cathedral), ca. 1530-1535, oil on panel, Segorbe, Museo Catedralicio de Segorbe.

Fig. 4 / Joan de Joanes, *The Last Supper* (predella panel from the *Saint Eligius* Altarpiece), 1534, oil on panel, Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes.

A likely explanation that would clarify the roles played by Vicent and the young Joan in the production of the altarpiece for the high altar of Segorbe Cathedral is that Macip the Elder was the only individual in the family workshop who paid the royal tax and therefore could legitimately receive payment for the work. His son, meanwhile, still legally under parental control, had evolved a modern and clearly individual style within the context of Spanish Renaissance; his assimilation of both Flemish models and the works by Sebastiano del Piombo brought to Valencia by Ambassador Vich resulted in a unique fusion that was extremely well-received in Joanes's native region.

Joan de Joanes's fame and critical fortune persisted some years after his death. He was included as an illustrious Valencian by Gaspar Joan Escolano in his *Décadas de la historia general de Valencia* (1610-1611): "And finally, in painting, the great Joanes, stood out among all those who have flourished in Spain and was equal to the best Italians."[20] In his biographical account of Joan de Joanes, Antonio Palomino associated him with Raphael and Luis de Morales:

> He was a pupil of Raphael of Urbino, and also imitated El Divino Morales, but with such superior excellence in comparison to the two that he exceeded them in the beauty and fineness of the colour and in the physiognomies, equalling them in every other respect; and it is only in this respect that they can be distinguished. This is fully demonstrated by the life-size Saint Francis of Paula, on panel, which is in the Monastery of his Order, Saint Sebastian in Valencia, outside the walls of that city: the beauty of which is so divine that it defies all human intelligence; and we could easily convince ourselves that it is a real portrait, as it seems that Christ our Lord could have no other appearance, because this is the most beautiful that could exist among the sons of men. No less beautiful is that of Saint Agnes in the chapel of Saint Francis of Borja, and three more by his hand belonging to the Augustinian nuns of San Julián in the chapel of Saint Thomas of Villanueva. And the one in the centre, which is square, is of the Nativity, and there is the burial of the venerable Mosén Bautista Agnesio, its very devout chaplain. And also the one in the sanctuary of the chapel of the Communion of the Carmelite church of that city, where there are many others of the Saviour, and all very similar, and with such superior beauty that with more justification than Morales he could usurp the reputation of Divine, given that in addition to the fact that all his paintings are on holy subjects, the style was very sweet, the line masterly, the beauty unique and the treatment of the hairs on the heads and beards so subtle that it seems that if they were blown on, they would move.[21]

Joan de Joanes's artistic stature as one of the most important and celebrated Renaissance painters in Spain derives largely from the fact that he remained

Fig. 5 / Joan de Joanes, *The Virgin of the Venerable Agnesio*, oil on panel, 77 x 174 cm, Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes.

Fig. 6 / (overleaf) Joan de Joanes, *Holy Family* (detail), oil on panel, acquired from Colnaghi in 2017 by a Private Collector.

in the region of Valencia, where he was able first to assimilate aspects of the Flemish style and subsequently that of Sebastiano del Piombo. In addition, his work reveals a familiarity with Raphael's school (possibly through early copies or prints). This study of foreign models resulted in a unique style that incorporated original compositional solutions, executed with a level of quality and technique so closely resembling the formal ideal that some authors have suggested (without any documentary basis) that the artist trained in Italy.

The aesthetic formulated by Joanes, which proved tremendously successful during his lifetime judging from his numerous public and private commissions, was continued by various followers: most notably by his son, Vicent Joanes, but also by Gaspar Requena who collaborated with Joanes on the altarpiece for the high altar of the church of the Natividad in La Font de la Figuera (Valencia) in 1550; by Miguel Joan Porta; by Cristóbal Llorens; and by the Hieronymite fray, Nicolás Borrás, who described Joanes as "my tutor and very dear master."[22]

The previously unpublished *Holy Family* (see fig.1) (oil on panel, 58.5 x 49.5 cm) diplays the stylistic traits of Joanes's work in the period around 1540-1550. Other depictions of this theme by Joanes, produced for private devotion rather than as panels within altarpieces, are particularly notable within his corpus of small-format paintings. In the present example, the support is a pine panel. In other instances, Joanes used Baltic oak for small-scale works, like the *Judgment of Paris* in Udine (Civici Musei e Gallerie di Storia e Arte),[23] the *Virgin of the Venerable Agnesio* (Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia) (fig. 5),[24] and the *Portrait of Alfonso the Magnanimous* (Museo de Zaragoza).[25] These paintings on oak demonstrate the existence of trade and artistic exchange between Valencia and Flanders from the fifteenth century onwards.

In the present work, Joanes focuses on the characterization of Christ's family, placing the holy figures in the immediate foreground of the composition. The naked Christ Child is seated on the Virgin's lap, stretching out his arm towards the apple offered to him by his mother. His pose and appearance are particularly striking, the infant turning his head towards the bunch of narcissi (*narcissus dubius*) offered to him by Saint Joseph. Jesus has a halo of two circles with rays radiating outwards, a typical motif used by Joanes in his depiction of holy figures (fig. 6).

Mary's head is partly covered but still reveals long golden hair and a centre-parting. Following Joanes's typical representation of the Virgin, her head is slightly tilted and her eyes half-open as she looks towards the Christ Child with his golden, curly hair.

Fig. 7/Joan de Joanes, *Saint Joseph's Workshop*, oil on panel, 31 x 26 cm, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie.

Fig. 8 /Joan de Joanes, *Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, dimensions unknown, formerly in Valencia Cathedral.

Far from occupying a secondary position, Joseph is presented on a level equal to Mary and is characterized as a mature adult, matching the other figures in ideal beauty. The skilful, detailed manner of depicting the hair of his beard brings to mind Palomino's account of the artist in which he emphasized Joanes's ability to depict hair.

The composition includes a fine, panoramic Flemish landscape with a cloudy sky and a mill near the expanse of water and blue-tinged mountains in the background. There is a striking similarity between this *Holy Family* and a panel by Joanes that has been in the Berlin Gemäldegalerie (inv. no. 1406) since 1874, depicting *Saint Joseph's Workshop* (fig. 7).[26] This picture presents a detailed recreation of a carpenter's studio, its workbench, and tools. Joseph, like his counterpart in *The Holy Family*, is shown almost in profile, as a bearded young adult, and the Christ Child has the same expression and tilt of the head.

Very close in date and style is the *Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John the Baptist* by Joanes once in the Valencia Cathedral (fig. 8).[27] The work was destroyed in the Spanish Civil War but is known from old photographs that reveal the Raphaelesque influence already noted by Ponz in the eighteenth century in his *Viage de España*:

> A Holy Family which is there [in Valencia cathedral], with the particular detail that the Christ-God, held in the arms of Our Lady, is specifically a copy of the one in *The Virgin of the Fish* in El Escorial, but painted as if it were original, eminently accompanied by the fine technique and invention of the other figures in the painting, which offers proof that Joanes followed Raphael's style as far as possible.[28]

In the figure of Saint Joseph in the painting formerly in Valencia Cathedral, Joanes reveals the influence of the above-mentioned works by Sebastiano del Piombo, brought to Valencia by Vich. Sebastiano's Virgin's gentle features are especially close to those in the present work, with a broad forehead, straight nose, half-closed eyes, slight smile, rounded chin and smooth golden hair with a centre-parting.

Fig. 9 / Joan de Joanes, *Saint Anne, the Virgin and the Christ Child*, oil on panel, 41 x 50 cm, Private Collection.

Stylistically comparable and close in date to the Colnaghi picture is the upper section of the altarpiece of *Saint Sebastian, Saint Bruno and Saint Vicente Ferrer* from the charterhouse of Valldecrist in Altura (Castellón), which depicts *Saint Anne, the Virgin and the Christ Child* (fig. 9) (45 x 50 cm, Private Collection).[29] Fray Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva included a description of this altarpiece in his *Viage Literario a las Iglesias de España* (1806), referring favourably to this panel:

> These paintings are exceeded by the topmost element of the altar, a composition worthy of Raphael, in which Saint Anne and the Holy Mary holding the Christ Child in her arms are reading the words written in a book which he points out to them with his finger, and these are *quodcumque petieritis Patrem in nomine meo*.[30]

In the Altura panel, the broad, Flemish-influenced landscape, with its blueish tones, is strikingly close to the one in the present *Holy Family*. Saint Anne recalls the same figure in a work by Yáñez de la Almedina in the parish church of San Nicolás de Bari y San Pedro Mártir, while the Christ Child ultimately derives from Leonardo's *Virgin of the Yarnwinder*.

Similar in terms of both quality and style is the *Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John the Baptist* by Joanes in the collection of the Count of Valle de Marlés in Barcelona (fig. 10).[31] The Virgin wears the same open-sleeved red dress, tied at the waist with a knotted length of cloth, and an open white chemise underneath. Here Joanes seems preoccupied with expressing the work's sentiment through the figures' gestures and gazes, with a careful interplay of light and shadow.

Fig. 10 / Joan de Joanes, *Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, oil on panel, 92 x 78 cm, Barcelona, Count of Valle de Marlés Collection.

Fig. 11 / Joan de Joanes, *Holy Family with the Saint Johns*, oil on panel, dimmensions unknown, Madrid, Fernández López Collection.

Also in relation to the present work, mention should be made of the slightly later *Holy Family with the Saint Johns* (fig. 11) (Madrid, Fernández López Collection).[32] This has a landscape including the pyramid of Cestius in Rome, and in stylistic terms it can be directly associated with the *Portrait of Alfonso the Magnanimous* of 1557 in the museum in Saragossa and *The Virgin of the Venerable Agnesio* in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia (see fig. 5).

The present *Holy Family* by Joanes should also be compared to two further works by the painter from his mature period: the *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, belonging to the City Council of Valencia (fig. 12) (Museo de la Ciudad), and the *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* in the Lladró Collection. The first of these was originally in the parish church of San Nicolás de Bari y San Pedro Mártir in Valencia,[33] where it was recorded by Settier in 1866.[34] The pose of the Christ Child, turning his head in *contrapposto* and embracing the Cross, can also be seen in the *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist and Angels* in the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (Madrid). As is the case with the picture from the charterhouse of Valldecrist in Altura discussed above, here the figure of Christ ultimately derives from Leonardo's *Virgin of the Yarnwinder*, known in Valencia through copies by Fernando Llanos and Fernando Yáñez de la Almedina. The figure types of the Virgin, Saint John and the Christ Child resemble those in the above-mentioned *Virgin of the Venerable Agnesio*, which includes a similar landscape of distant, misty hills beneath a pale-toned sky. An autograph copy of the work by Joanes (fig. 13), now belonging to the City Council of Valencia, is in the church of la Inmaculada in Linares de Mora (Teruel).

Another *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* (fig. 14) now in the Lladró Collection (Valencia, Tavernes Blanques)[35] was formerly in the collection of the Marquis of Salamanca and described in the catalogue of the sale of that collection in 1867: "The Virgin holds the Christ Child who is blessing the infant Saint John in adoration before him; behind [is] Saint Joseph; the heads have haloes; background of a blueish landscape."[36] Diego Angulo noted the Raphaelesque influence in this panel, which recalls the *Virgin of the Fish* and the *Virgin of the Rose*.[37]

The grace and complicity in the gazes exchanged by the Christ Child and the infant Saint John recur in the aforementioned works by Joanes in the collection of the Count of Valle de Marlés and in Valencia Cathedral. The iridescent material with highlights – typical of the artist's mature output and present here on the Virgin's sleeve – could have been taken by Joanes from the Flemish tapestries by Van Orley which arrived in Valencia in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Fig. 12 / Joan de Joanes, *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, oil on panel, 77.2 x 54.9 cm, Valencia, City Council.

Fig. 13 / Joan de Joanes, *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, oil on panel, 75.5 x 59.5 cm, Linares de Mora, Teruel, church of the Inmaculada.

Fig. 14 / Joan de Joanes, *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, oil on panel, 75 x 64 cm, Valencia, Lladró Collection, Tavernes Blanques.

NOTES

1. For a general introduction to these painters, see Fernando Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión del artista y su obra*, exh. cat. (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2000); Fernando Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Un maestro del Renacimiento*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Fundación Banco Santander, 2000).
2. This painting was bought from a private collection in Spain.
3. Vicente Samper Embiz, "Documentos inéditos para la biografía de los Macip," *Archivo Español de Arte* 294 (2001): pp. 163-171.
4. Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas, "Vicente Vitoria (1650-1709) primer historiador de Joan de Joanes," *Locus Amoenus* 1 (1995): pp. 165-172.
5. "Yo soy de sentir (dixo el discípulo) que este Juan discípulo del Perugino es aquel valenciano que comúnmente llamamos Juanes que es tan estimado en toda España por la hermosura de sus obras que parecen de mano del mismo Rafael, en el dibujo, colorido, expresión de afectos y demás partes, y me confirmó en ello por haver obrado en los mismos tiempos que escribe el Vasari, ser el estilo delicado como el de la escuela del Perugino, y aun mas tierno y mas corregido el contorno y mas bien colorido que el de sus condiscípulos, y este trajo a España el buen estilo de pintar." Bassegoda i Hugas, "Vicente Vitoria," p. 167.
6. "Determino su padre de llevarlo a Valencia metrópolis de aquel reino en edad de 14 años y lo puso a la enseñanza de la pintura en casa de un pintor flamenco llamado Juan Malbó que seguía aquel estilo como el de la escuela de Alberto Durero, y se ven de su mano dos cabezas de el Salvador y la Virgen Santíssima en la sacristía de la parroquia de San Estevan, y una madre de Dios con el niño en los brazos desnudo tiene, donde se halla escrito su nombre y el año de 1531." Bassegoda i Hugas, "Vicente Vitoria," pp. 167-168.
7. Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes*, p. 22; José Gómez Frechina, *Joan de Joanes. Grandes genios del arte de la Comunitat Valenciana* (Saragossa: Aneto Publicaciones, 2011), pp. 10-12.
8. Fernando Benito Doménech, "Sobre la influencia de Sebastiano del Piombo en España: A propósito de dos cuadros suyos en el Museo del Prado," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* IX (1988): pp. 5-47; Fernando Benito Doménech, "Sebastiano del Piombo y España," in *Sebastiano del Piombo y España*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 1995), pp. 41-79; José Gómez Frechina, *Sebastiano del Piombo. Christ Carrying the Cross* (London: Colnaghi, 2016).
9. Fernando Benito Doménech, "El Maestro de Cabanyes y Vicente Macip. Un solo artista en etapas distintas de su carrera," *Archivo Español de Arte* 66 (1993): pp. 223-244.
10. "Al hijo de mestre Vicent Maçip pintor (…) per estrenes del retaule." Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Un maestro del Renacimiento*, p. 54.
11. Francisco de Villagrasa, *Antigüedad de la iglesia catedral de Segorbe y catálogo de sus obispos* (Valencia: 1664), p. 185.
12. Antonio Ponz, *Viage de España*, España, 1774, ed. Casto María del Rivero (Madrid: Edición Aguilar, 1947), p. 374.
13. Marcos Antonio de Orellana, *Biografía pictórica valenciana* ca. 1800, 2nd ed. (Valencia: Librería Maestro Gozalbo, 1967), p. 62.
14. Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva, *Viaje literario por las iglesias de España* (Madrid: 1808), pp. 17-18.
15. Elias Tormo y Monzo, *Varios Estudios de Artes y Letras*, vol. I (Madrid: est. tip. de la viuda é hijos de M. Tello, 1902), pp. 79-85.
16. Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión*, pp. 29-38.
17. Ximo Company and Lluís Tolosa, "La obra de Vicente Macip que debe restituirse a Joan de Joanes," *Archivo de Arte Valenciano* 80 (1999): pp. 50-61.
18. Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión*, pp. 42-47.
19. Gómez Frechina, *Joan de Joanes*, p. 21.
20. "Y finalmente, en pintura, el gran Ioanes, echó la raya sobre cuantos han florecido en España, y corrió pareja con los mejores de Italia." Gaspar Juan Escolano, *Décadas de la historia general de Valencia* (Valencia: 1878), p. 565; Miguel Falomir Faus, "La construcción de un mito. Fortuna crítica de Juan de Juanes en los siglos XVI y XVII," *Espacio. Tiempo y Forma* VII (1999): pp. 123-147.
21. "Fue discípulo de Rafael de Urbino, y también imitó al Divino Morales; pero con tan superior excelencia a los dos, que les aventajó en la hermosura, y belleza del colorido, y fisonomías, igualándoles en lo demás: con que sólo por este camino se distinguen. Bien lo acredita el San Francisco de Paula del tamaño del natural, en tabla, que está en el Convento de su Orden, que es de San Sebastián de Valencia, extramuros de aquella ciudad: cuya belleza es tan divina, que desmiente toda diligencia humana; y con facilidad nos pudiéramos persuadir, ser verídico retrato: pues parece, que Cristo Señor nuestro no pudo tener otro semblante, porque éste es el más hermoso, que puede haber en los hijos de los hombres. No lo es menos, la que está en Santa Inés en la capilla de San Francisco de Borja, y otras tres, que hay suyas en las Monjas Agustinas de San Julián en la capilla de santo Tomás de Villanueva. Y la de en medio, que es cuadrada, es del Nacimiento de Cristo, y las otras dos redondas del Martirio de Santa Inés; y allí está la sepultura del venerable Mosén Bautista Agnesio, su devotísimo capellán. Y también la que está en el Sagrario de la capilla de la Comunión de la iglesia del Carmen en dicha ciudad; donde hay otras muchas del Salvador, y todas tan parecidas, y con tan superior belleza, que con más justo título, que Morales, pudiera usurpar el renombre de Divino, porque además de no hallarse pintura suya, que no sea sagrada; fue el estilo dulcísimo, el dibujo soberano, la belleza singular, y tan sutilmente peleteado en los cabellos, y barba, que parece, que si se soplan se han de mover." Antonio Palomino y Velasco, *Museo pictórico y escala óptica con el Parnaso Pintoresco Laureado*, 1715-1724 (Madrid: Edición Aguilar, 1947), pp. 809-810.
22. "…preceptor y queridísimo maestro mío." Lorenzo Hernández Guardiola, *Vida y obra del pintor Nicolás Borrás* (Alicante: Excma. Diputación Provincial de Alicante, 1976), pp. 47-48.
23. Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión*, pp. 124-125; Gómez Frechina, *Joan de Joanes*, pp. 66-67.
24. Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión*, pp. 114-115.
25. Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión*, pp. 116-119.
26. Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión*, pp. 86-87.
27. Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión*, p. 211.
28. "Una Sacra Familia que allí hay (en la catedral de Valencia), con la particularidad de que el Niño-Dios, que Nuestra Señora tiene en brazos, es puntualmente una copia del de Nuestra Señora del Pez, en El Escorial; pero pintado como si fuera original, acompañando egregiamente en lo bien ejecutadas e inventadas las demás figuras del cuadro, que es una prueba de que Joanes siguió cuanto pudo el estilo de Rafael." Ponz, *Viage de España,* p. 328.
29. Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión*, pp. 78-87; Gómez Frechina, *Joan de Joanes*, pp. 11 & 52-53.
30. "Excede a estas pinturas la del remate del altar, composición digna de Rafael, en que Santa Ana y María Santísima sosteniendo al Niño Jesús en brazos, están leyendo las palabras que él les señala con el dedo escritas en un libro, y son estas *quodcumque petieritis Patrem in nomine meo.*" Villanueva, *Viaje literario,* p. 23.
31. José Albi, *Joan de Joanes y su círculo artístico*, vol. II (Valencia: Alcaine, 1978), pp. 221-224; Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión*, p. 210; Gómez Frechina, *Joan de Joanes,* 2011, pp. 68-69.
32. Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión*, p. 212.
33. Albi, *Joan de Joanes*, pp. 224-228; Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión*, pp. 102-103; Gómez Frechina, *Joan de Joanes,* pp. 80-81.
34. Joseph M. Settier, *Guía del viajero en Valencia* (Valencia: 1866), p. 88.
35. Albi, *Joan de Joanes,* pp. 201-202; Benito Doménech, *Joan de Joanes. Una nueva visión*, pp. 164-165; Gómez Frechina, *Joan de Joanes,* 2011, pp. 94-95.
36. "La Virgen sostiene al niño Jesús que bendice al pequeño San Juan en adoración ante él; detrás San José; las cabezas están nimbadas; fondo de paisaje azulado." *Catálogo de venta colección Salamanca* (Paris: 1867), n. 10.
37. Diego Angulo Iñiguez, *Pintura del Renacimiento*, *Ars Hispaniae*, vol. XII (Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1954), p. 165.

An unpublished *Vanitas* painting by Andrés De Leito

FERNANDO COLLAR DE CÁCERES

Fig. 1 / (overleaf) Andrés De Leito, *Vanitas*, 107 x 155.5 cm, signed, oil on canvas, Colnaghi.

Andrés De Leito was active in Madrid in the second half of the seventeenth century during what is commonly regarded as the "golden age" of Spanish painting. Although very little documentary or biographical information survives on the artist, the fact that he regularly signed paintings allows us to locate De Leito among the painters of the Madrid school and indicates a demand for his work in a contemporary market. Like several artists working in this milieu, he specialised in *Vanitas* paintings, still lifes, and kitchen genre scenes. A superb, recently discovered example of a *Vanitas* (fig. 1), signed by De Leito, exhibits his originality in this genre and constitutes a significant addition to his known oeuvre.

Before considering the painter's various treatments of the *Vanitas* theme, it is worth briefly outlining the existing evidence of his life and career, as a full monograph on the artist is still lacking in the literature. The very few extant references to De Leito place his work between 1656 or 1659, and 1663, the year he drew up his will in Madrid.[1] Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, in his *Diccionario historico* of Spanish artists, recorded that De Leito was living in the city around 1680,[2] but this date is not substantiated by other documents. The brief mention of De Leito by the late Baroque Spanish painter and writer on art, Antonio Palomino, in his biography of Mateo Cerezo, may indicate that the biographer was unable to obtain specific information on the artist. However, he undoubtedly knew De Leito's "small still lifes", which he praised alongside those of Cerezo.[3]

The only known pictorial cycle commissioned from the artist is the lost series on the *Life of Saint Francis* painted for the cloister of the Observant Franciscans in Segovia, which was seen by Antonio Ponz and noted in his *Viage de España* (*Voyages through Spain)*. With regard to this work, Ceán specified that De Leito "painted it jointly with Josef Saravia, with more taste in colour than correctness in the line, and with excessive artificiality,"[4] a laconic if perceptive opinion of De Leito's painting.

The scant documentation in the monastery's accounts indicates that the series was started in 1655 or 1656, and that by July of that year the cloister was embellished with eleven paintings. This number had risen to twelve by 1659, and there are indications that a further five had been painted in Madrid; these are referred to in the accounts of 1661, which record that Felipe Gil had re-touched four and been advanced 500 *reales* to complete the series. He must then have executed the nineteen large paintings and one small one that are noted as having been finished by October 1662. With regard to this project, in his will of 1663 De Leito refers to payment that he is due: "I executed various paintings on the orders of Father Hernando de la Ruá, who was the guardian of the monastery of San Francisco in Segovia, in that city, and re-touched (them) for which I am owed a sum of *reales.* I stipulate that this is settled and that the amount owed to me paid."[5]

The ten arcades in each of the cloister galleries imply that the series must have comprised a total of around thirty-five paintings. Of these it can be inferred that the first twelve, as well as at least five additional ones brought from Madrid, were painted by De Leito.

Fig. 2 / Andrés De Leito, *Annunciation*, 1662, oil on canvas, 117 x 153 cm, Segovia, Santísima Trinidad.

The fact that they were completed by Sarabia, as stated by Ceán, seems to indicate that De Leito was unable to do so for some reason. Palomino, however, attributed the entire series to Felipe Gil de Mena from Valladolid,[6] although he may have been relying on a secondary or partial source. Ponz on the other hand visited the monastery himself and therefore was in a position to obtain first-hand information; it is entirely possible that his attribution of the works to De Leito was based on a signature. The radical stylistic difference that must have been evident between the work of the two painters may explain why Gil was asked to re-touch De Leito's contribution.[7]

Besides this series, De Leito also refers in his will to payment for various works that he does not seem ultimately to have executed, such as a *Nativity* commissioned by a certain Juan Bautista – for which he received nine *seras* of coal – and two canvases on a subject of his choice that he was to paint for the treasurer of the Count of Chinchón – for which he was advanced 100 *reales* on the condition that should he not be able to fulfil these commitments, he would return the amount paid to him.[8]

Finally, De Leito's short will states that he was married to Úrsula de las Heras and that they had no children. He was thus related by marriage to the painter Crístobal de las Heras (d. 1645?), whose widow, María van de Pere (whom De Leito refers to as "my lady" and names as one of his executors) was the sister of the painter Antonio van de Pere. De Leito also had two brothers, Francisco and Domingo, with whom he was meant to divide various family possessions, including their father's house in Valdemoro.[9] This was the town near Madrid where De Leito was probably born, as was his wife who was baptised there in 1608; he could also have coincided with Van de Pere there around 1660 when the latter was painting the ceiling of the parish church, although it is also conceivable that De Leito himself secured the commission or acted as an intermediary.

De Leito's only known dated work is the *Annunciation* (fig. 2) in the church of the Santísima Trinidad in Segovia, executed around the same time as the paintings for the monastery of San Francisco.[10] The signature in capital letters at the lower right includes

the date twice and the monogram used by the artist on various occasions: "ANDrES DELE(I)TO (flourish) – AÑO 1662/ A^{N}LF AÑO 1662".[11] Inspired by the earlier *Annunciation* of Juan Carreño de Miranda (Madrid, Hospital de la Venerable Orden Tercera), this work reveals De Leito's limitations in figure painting, evident especially in the archangel (which is painted in a style that, for Ceán, exemplified the shortcomings he identifed in the artist's above-mentioned series for the Franciscans). It nonetheless exhibits luminous colouring and striking effects of transparency, executed with a technique that combines soft, rounded forms with broken, energetic brushstrokes.

Completely different in colour and handling is the agitated, nocturnal and almost fantastical *Expulsion of the Money Changers from the Temple* (fig. 3) (Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. no. P-3125; 60 x 80 cm, signed).

Fig. 3 / Andrés De Leito, *Expulsion of the Money Changers from the Temple*, oil on canvas, 60 x 80 cm, Madrid, Museo del Prado.

This is characterized by its Bassanesque lighting, a harmonious range of warm red, golden and ochre tones (with the figure of Christ creating a chromatic contrast), otherworldly atmospheric effects and powerful backlighting, all conveyed through the use of impasto.[12] Without the presence of the signature, this work could be mistaken for a preparatory sketch.

The limited number of documented commissions and signed devotional works associated with De Leito probably reflects the fact that he was most highly valued by contemporaries as a producer of genre paintings. In this area De Leito achieved his most expressive visual mode. His known oeuvre includes several fine examples of kitchen scenes, still lifes without figures (the "small still lifes" referred to by Palomino),[13] and *Vanitas* pieces. The iconographic model for the first type of work originates in late sixteenth-century Flemish works by

Fig. 4 / Pieter Aersten, *Vanitas Still Life*, 1552, oil on wood, 61.5 x 101 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Beuckelaer and Aertsen (fig. 4), both in general terms and in the artist's direct use of prints after such works. The pendant pictures in the Amatller Collection of Hispanic Art in Barcelona, *Kitchen Still Life with Meat* and *Kitchen Still Life with Fish* (figs. 5 & 6)(both 104 x 164 cm), are signed, making them key works for establishing De Leito's style and the type of visual resources he deployed. The two would originally have formed a pair of complementary scenes. Peter Cherry suggested that the scenes should be read from left to right, with the man holding a haunch of meat on the left, looking amorously at the girl engaged in cleaning fish in the scene on the right. As such, the images probably symbolize the opposition between Carnival and Lent, personified in the two figures. A large number of foodstuffs and objects fill the two scenes. In the first still life, one finds the haunch, cuts of meat, lard, giblets, live birds (a cockerel and a chicken), and freshly killed ones. The second image contains various implements (a soup pot from which emerges an elaborate upturned mortar beside a bird's head, a wine carafe, and a bottle cooler), along with fish, whole and sliced up, cheese, oysters, bread, ewers, various types of shellfish, and an ornate basin. The foodstuffs, kitchen implements, and vessels are all arranged on thick stone ledges. In the *Still Life with Meat*, the front edge is carved with a sketchy depiction of a scene that appears to be the Martyrdom of Saint John the Baptist, and to the right a cartouche framed by three putti with the painter's signature in trompe l'oeil carving: "ANDREA DE/ LEITO F".[14] In the *Still Life with Fish*, the frieze is largely truncated and seems to be merely ornamental, with a cartouche that also reads: "ANDRES DELEITO/ FECIT".

The splendidly rich decoration of the metal wine cooler and the ewers in the *Still Life with Fish*, with their figurative reliefs of children, reflects the artist's particular interest in depicting expensive vessels and distinctive ornate objects. The often sketchy, spiralling brushwork used for the details contrasts with the bold strokes that define the principal figures, particularly the expressive male figure in the *Still Life with Meat*. The detail of the pot with the fish, which the young female cook is preparing, recurs in other works and

Fig. 5 / Andrés De Leito, *Kitchen Still Life with Meat*, oil on canvas, 104 x 164 cm, Barcelona, Amatller Collection of Hispanic Art.

Fig. 6 / Andrés De Leito, *Kitchen Still Life with Fish*, signed, oil on canvas, 104 x 164 cm, Barcelona, Amatller Collection of Hispanic Art.

Fig. 7 / Andrés De Leito, *Autumn*, oil on canvas, 106.5 x 165 cm, Madrid, Abelló Collection.

allows an attribution to De Leito of several still lifes with fish. These include a painting in the Santamarca Collection, in which the fish are also arranged on a worn stone table decorated with a figurative frieze painted in a similarly sketchy manner that is employed also on the reliefs that cover the column shafts in the background. A further four or five works depicting the same subject in different private collections and on the art market can be attributed to the artist through the presence of comparable elements.[15]

Two of De Leito's most vivid kitchen scenes are today in the Juan Abelló Collection (figs. 7 & 8)(both 106.5 x 165 cm) . They are not signed, but relate closely to those in the Instituto Amatller (see figs. 5 & 6) in terms of their overall style, distinctive figure types, dark atmosphere, and objects included. They are clearly indebted to Flemish art of the late sixteenth century, albeit omitting the evangelical themes included in the middle-ground or as paintings within paintings in the creations of Aertsen and Beuckelaer and subsequently Velázquez, though arguably present to some degree in the relief in the Amatller *Still Life with Meat*.

In the first of the Abelló still lifes, known as *Autumn* (see fig. 7), the young woman bearing the tray with a roast fowl and turning her head derives from an engraving by Jacob Matham after a composition by Aertsen, as does the man wearing oriental headwear who seems to be lifting a slice of meat to his mouth while trying to seduce the woman by placing his hand on her back. On the stone table, decorated with reliefs on its front edge, rests a splendid chased gold and silver wine cooler with a central ornament of a gilt shell and three small figures of children. An almost identical vessel appears in the Amatller *Still Life with Fish*, where the cooler contains a pair of fine bottles, together with apples and grapes. Next to it is an ornate vase and what seems to be a strawberry tart, while on the opposite side there is a loaf of bread, a piece of cheese and a fowl waiting to be plucked. The pervading darkness of the scene does not allow the other elements to be identified.

In the second of the Abelló still lifes, known as *Winter* (see fig. 8), there is a female cook holding a tray with pomegranates, quince, redcurrants and other fruit, next to a ledge with cardoons, pomegranates and greens.

Fig. 8 / Andrés De Leito, *Winter*, oil on canvas, 106.5 x 165 cm, Madrid, Abelló Collection.

There is also a lidded dish, a box of sweetmeats, a bottle and some *turrón*, strings of garlic, chilli and red peppers and an aubergine, while hanging from the top is a dried rib and two clusters of fowl. Emerging from the shadows behind the young woman is a rustic looking man holding a turtle dove, who derives (apart from the bird) from the above-mentioned print by Matham. The frieze decoration on the stone ledge depicts a swaying human figure leaning over and extending one arm, the significance of which is hard to determine.[16] The contrasting nature of the two works, which have formed a pair since they were painted, undoubtedly indicates that they were once part of an allegorical series of the Four Seasons, although it is not easy to imagine how De Leito could have conveyed the luminosity typical of Spring and Summer without breaking the stylistic unity.

A less complex kitchen still life, though with a similarly mysterious atmosphere, is that known as *Woman with a Swan* (present whereabouts unknown). In the darkness of the room, a woman, with a self-absorbed expression holds a bird. Close behind, a man drinking fixes his gaze on her and suggests a slightly ominous mood. The only kitchen implements that can be discerned in the shadows are a large cooking pot and a mortar. Besides the straightforward subjects, it seems possible that a moral message underlies all these kitchen still lifes.[17] The pervasive darkness in these and all De Leito's paintings has led to the suggestion that he worked at night,[18] adding a further aura of mystery to this already obscure figure.

De Leito's most successful still lifes are undoubtedly those treating the *Vanitas* theme in paintings, like the recently discovered work with Colnaghi (figs. 1 & 9) (107 x 155.5 cm). In De Leito's paintings and the visual arts in general, the subject of *Vanitas* (literally meaning "empty" in Latin) derives from Ecclesiastes 12:8: "*Vanitas vanitatum dixit Ecclesiastes omnia vanitas*" *("Vanity of vanities, all is vanity")*. In sixteenth-century Spain, the idea was developed in the writings of Fray Diego de Estella (Toledo, 1562), as well as in the earlier introduction by Fray Luis de Granada to Thomas a Kempis's *Contemptus Mundi* (1536). These texts abound with comments on deceptive beauty, mortal loveliness,

Fig. 9 / Andrés De Leito, *Vanitas* (detail), oil on canvas, 107 x 155.5 cm, Colnaghi.

Fig. 10 / Andrés De Leito, *Vanitas*, oil on canvas, 64.5 x 77.5 cm, Madrid, formerly Duke of El Infantado Collection.

Fig. 11 / Andrés De Leito, *Vanitas*, oil on canvas, 64.5 x 77.5 cm, Madrid, formerly Duke of El Infantado Collection.

false youth, the perishable nature of worldly goods, the appetites of the flesh, vainglory, temporal pleasures, power, the desire for honours, praise and favours, and an interest in focusing only on the present and material matters. Such temptations are seen as the result of the folly of those who should be looking to the future and aspiring to spiritual, eternal beauty, given that "the efforts employed in serving this unhappy world are futile. In the end, all is vanity."[19]

De Leito was one of the most important Madrid painters to address this theme. His depictions of *Vanitas* occur in enigmatic, nocturnal settings, that combine an exquisite, loosely-arranged mixture of luxury objects, tattered books and skulls, all rendered with an almost evanescent handling that gives his compositions a rarefied dimension. The result is far removed from the naturalism or subtle symbolism that characterizes the Dutch idiom; nor does it exhibit the culture of emblems, which arose from the conceptual condensing of the theme through the representation of elements referring to fragility and transience (soap bubbles, clay pipes, withered flowers, hour glasses etc.). Nor did De Leito make use of complex hieroglyphics referring to death and judgment. Rather his complex, often slightly disturbing compositions depict a large array of objects representing the vanity of worldly possessions. His scenes lack any human presence and do not linger on eschatological issues. A clock, a candle, an almost-spent oil lamp, a skull, playing cards, coins, a purse, a casket, jewels, books, and exquisite vessels are disordered on a table top, while the middle-ground might include a depiction of a Christian subject as an exhortation to virtue.[20] In examples by other artists, the symbolism of some of these objects is ambiguous, however, this is not the case with De Leito. The clock refers solely to the inexorable passing of time; the mirror is always a symbol of vanity and pride, offering a reversed and thus false image of things, which, as Diego de Estella noted, can also refer to the art of painting itself.[21] The same should be said of books, which allude to the destruction of time rather than to science. Portraits of a beloved woman refer to the ephemeral nature of beauty, rather than love itself,[22] and sometimes carry a moral connotation.

With the important discovery of the *Vanitas* currently with Colnaghi, five *Vanitas* still lifes by De Leito are now known. Four of these bear signatures, while the painting formerly in the Blanco Soler Collection has an apocryphal signature of Pereda: "ANTONIVS PEREDA /Fecit".[23] The latter work, the most restrained and simple of the group, has similar, if slightly drier, handling and shares affinities with the others, making its attribution unquestionable. The two canvases formerly in the collection of the Duke of El Infantado (figs. 10 & 11) may have been a pair from the time of their creation, suggesting a particular collector with a broader interest in the subject.

Fig. 12 / Andrés De Leito, *Vanitas*, oil on canvas, 73 x 93 cm, Madrid, Márquez de la Plata Collection.

The example in the Márquez de la Plata Collection (fig. 12), signed on a cartouche, and the Colnaghi picture with a clear, if slightly damaged signature at the lower right, are the most successful and complex treatments of the subject by the artist.[24] The dark, shadowy setting, the crowded composition, and the distinctive brushwork (generally broad but with short strokes for the details and smaller objects) are all distinguishing factors.

The artist's creativity and originality in treating the subject of *Vanitas* are demonstrated by the fact that he never repeated the same composition. Some objects recur, but their position and viewpoint is always altered. This suggests that De Leito had specific studio props, including the portrait miniature, various jewels, and the painting of the *Last Judgement*, which he used on a number of occasions. The other objects, including the vessels, trays, expensive flasks and decorative vases, are depicted with rich inventiveness and apparent pleasure, as already noted in the case of the large metal wine coolers in his kitchen still lifes.

In all five compositions, the *Vanitas* concept is expressed not only by the disordered mound of sumptuous jewels (necklaces, rings, pendants and brooches) removed from their small casket and now scattered on the table top, but also in the equally luxurious and intricate vessels, the mirror and the skull, which is only absent in the version in the Márquez de la Plata Collection. The sophisticated design of the turret-shaped clock, almost always topped with slender figures of angels (one of the objects through which De Leito strove to reveal his irrepressible creative variety) inexorably marks out the hours, warning the viewer of the brevity of earthly existence. The oil lamp, barely visible in the dense shadow of the middle-ground, refers to the same idea with its dying flame, while the skull clearly evokes the absolute end of earthly life. In contrast, a painting becomes a supernatural manifestation (Glory, the Godhead, the Last Judgment, etc.) and locates the moral element inherent in the theme within the specific framework of Catholic culture, indicating the soul's destiny and the road to salvation.

In the two canvases from the El Infantado Collection (see figs. 10 & 11) (both 64.5 x 77.5 cm), the depiction of the Last Judgment is very similar but not identical, with Christ seated on a sphere, holding the cross and brandishing a sickle, the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist kneeling at his feet in prayer, and the ghostly presence of other figures.[25] In both cases the image should be understood as a divine presence, rather than a mere painting. Other elements scattered over the table top include a book, a skull, and a mirror, the latter reflecting only heavy shadows. On the opposite side there are sumptuous objects such as the clock, female portrait, coins and exquisitely designed small vessels, with an oil lamp in the centre. Among brooches, pendants, necklaces and chains spilling over the table are examples of the typical pilgrim cockle shells of Saint James, as well as a laurel wreath, which is not found in other versions of the subject, but refers to the futile glory of personal success. The most striking elements of all, however, are the unusual silver trays and glass and gold vessels located on both sides of the composition. These are decorated with imprecisely defined figures of children similar to those on the wine coolers and vessels in De Leito's kitchen scenes.

Larger and more complex than the El Infantado pair, is the *Vanitas* in the Márquez de la Plata Collection (see fig. 12) (73 x 93 cm), which is signed ANDRES/ DELEITO F on a simulated paper cartouche hanging from the table. Once again it juxtaposes the darkness of the mirror, which has a richer frame, with the ghostly luminosity of the celestial scene exhorting good conduct. From its foreshortening and framing, it is evident that the image is a painting depicting Christ Carrying the Cross and standing on the sphere, accompanied by the kneeling Virgin and Saint John, with the suggestion of other imprecise figures (angels, cherubim) that blend into the clouds.

Fig. 13 / Andrés De Leito, *Vanitas*, oil on canvas, 59 x 79 cm, Madrid, formerly in the Blanco Soler Collection.

Of similar appearance are the pseudo-figurative forms covering the refined perfume flask, as well as the shell-like relief motifs on the unusual vessel located behind the mirror. The time-worn book, open casket, gold dish holding coins and adorned with silver cherubim, turret-shaped clock and miniature of a woman are all arranged on a jumbled pile of necklaces, strings of pearls and a delicate hairnet, veil or collar of Spanish lace, considered the paradigm of sumptuousness.[26] It does not, however, include some objects traditionally present in this genre, such as the skull and oil lamp.

Much more condensed and austere is the *Vanitas* formerly in the Blanco Soler Collection (fig. 13) with the false signature of Pereda. This focuses on a skull resting on a book with tattered pages and reflected in an obliquely positioned mirror in a clear expression of the notion of *Vanitas*. Emerging from the ghostly middle-ground are the imprecise forms of an oil lamp and clock of rather summary design. Scattered on the table top on the right are the habitual jewels, chains and necklaces, next to a miniature of a woman with a melancholy expression, as well as a costly perfume flask and some playing cards in reference to the fragility of beauty, fickleness and worldly games. The structure of the composition, its atmosphere, the type of objects and the manner of painting reveal the hand of Andrés De Leito and confirm that the signature is not correct.

The newly discovered *Vanitas* with Colnaghi (see figs. 1 & 9),[27] has a partly truncated signature at the bottom: "ANDrES/ DELEITO/ FE.T". The most sumptuous and complex of the group, it includes elements present in the other versions together with previously unseen objects that make it a Baroque hieroglyphic of vanity with a direct allusion to sin and salvation. Once again set in a ghostly, rarefied atmosphere, on one side are luxurious objects including an ewer, some splendid

Fig. 14 / Andrés De Leito, *Penitent Magdalene*, oil on canvas, 174 x 123.5 cm, Herrera de Pisuerga, Palencia, Ermita de la Virgen de la Piedad.

Fig. 15 / Willem de Passe, follower of Crispijn de Passe, the Elder, *Penitent Magdalene*, engraving, London, The British Museum.

platters, and elaborate gold and silver vases, while on the other there are elements that allude to the brevity of life, the destructive nature of time, and Christian redemption, referred to in the jewels next to the casket, the pack of cards and the coins in the centre. Among the shadows are the almost invisible oil lamp and clock, while more clearly visible in the darkness is a guitar that recalls worldly pleasures, around which twines the sinister serpent of temptation with the apple in its mouth.

The skull on the book, in turn reflected in the mirror, is the same as the one in the Blanco Soler version, although here it is accompanied by a second skull. Above the mirror and similarly foreshortened is a painting of ghostly forms representing the Last Judgment which is cut off at the upper left edge of the composition. The picture depicts the separation of the souls of the saved with the striking presence at the bottom of an angel who takes the arm of one of them and points up to where Christ reveals himself in glory, surrounded by saints and accompanied by angels who descend from the heavens bearing the Cross.

Fig. 16 / Andrés De Leito, *Penitent Saint Jerome*, oil on canvas, 184 x 157 cm, Madrid, Coll & Cortés.

The most impressive of the ornate metal vessels on the opposite edge of the table is decorated with the motif of a pelican feeding its young in a symbolic reference to Christ's redemptive sacrifice. Its remarkable design is completed with a pair of small angels resting on a scallop shell from which extends a chain (a probable allusion to the sacrament of baptism), while other plump infantile figures form the handles and the crowning element, holding up a Eucharistic bunch of grapes. The unique design of this object must have been a product of De Leito's imagination, as was the second vessel, which also has figures of children, scallop shells and chains but lacks any Christian symbolism. Another smaller one is located next to the open jewel casket, while a fourth lies at the foot of the first. Finally, the composition is completed on the right side by an ornate metal ewer; this is partly backlit, with an anthropomorphic handle, a lip in the form of a dragon and a bulbous body with further infant figures and shell forms in relief. Evoking the extravagant designs of Polidoro da Caravaggio, it reveals De Leito as a designer of outstanding examples of metalwork.

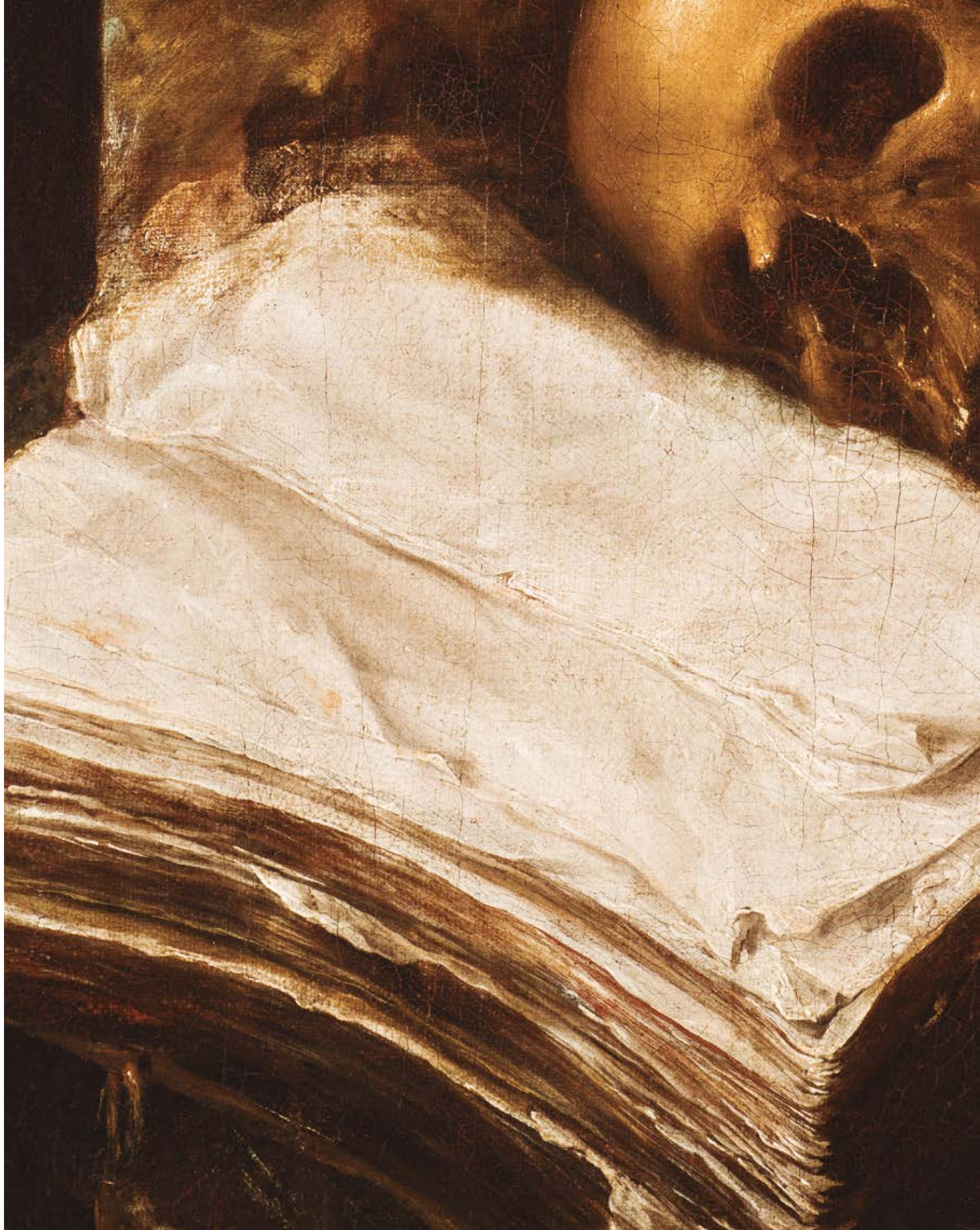
Above the platters and next to the heavy curtains is a crowned heraldic crest that offers a direct reference to human pomp and status or to royalty as a sign of vainglory, paralleled in the field of art by the laurel wreath, which is just visible by the second skull. In turn, the numerous necklaces, the handkerchief of Spanish lace, the playing cards and the coins allude to the vanity of wealth, its display, and worldly pursuits. Among the objects hanging from the small casket, the recurring miniature portrait of a woman may here refer to repentance and the Christian life, given that the figure has a small crucifix at her breast, although the indistinct appearance of all the details in De Leito's visual fantasies means that such a suggestion can only be a tentative one.

Alongside this outstanding, singular addition to De Leito's known treaments of the *Vanitas* theme, a further three religious paintings have recently been added to the artist's oeuvre, including similar versions of the *Penitent Magdalene* (185 x 160 cm, Corella, Museo de Arte Sacro; and 174 x 123.5 cm, Herrera de Pisuerga, church of the Piedad)(fig. 14), and a *Penitent Saint Jerome* (184 x 157 cm) with Coll & Cortés in Madrid, none of which are signed. Inspired by compositions of other artists, the canvas in Corella and the one with Coll & Cortés should be considered a pair. The composition of the *Penitent Magdalene* derives from a print by Willem van de Passe, based on a composition by Crispijn de Passe the Elder (fig. 15). The attribution of the painting to De Leito rests on various technical and formal characteristics, including the similarity of the saint's body to that of some of the female figures in the artist's kitchen still lifes, the broken, swirling brushstroke in his clouds and landscapes, and the elaborate pot of unguent here carried by pairs of small flying angels, the design of which is close to the beautiful flasks and perfume bottles found in the artist's unmistakable *Vanitas* compositions.[28]

The *Penitent Saint Jerome* with Coll & Cortés (fig. 16) is clearly the work of the same hand. According to a widely-known apocryphal text, the great theologian saint felt himself constantly surprised by the trumpet of the Last Judgment, thus reminding him of the constant vigil necessary in the face of death's unexpected summons.[29] The most widely accepted formula for depicting this moment invariably associated the theme with Jerome's periods of study or penitence. The composition is arranged diagonally, creating space for the almost ethereal figure of the angel, whose garments, like the clouds that border the landscape, are painted in a characteristic frothy, broken manner. De Leito's composition recalls Alonso Cano's treatment of the subject (Granada, Museo de Bellas Artes) painted a few years earlier. Here, however, the powerful figure of Jerome is transformed into an elderly man of small, thin build, with a troubled expression. In one hand he holds a penitential stone and in the other a crucifix, while at his feet a book resting on a skull refers to the brevity of existence and the imminence of the Last Judgment.[30] These elements recall and relate thematically to De Leito's *Vanitas* pictures. Indeed, in these emotive renderings of single saints, the subject matter is closely aligned in mood, atmosphere, and meaning to the *Vanitas* compositions that De Leito was able to develop in a more complete and effective manner.

NOTES

1. De Leito's testament of 11 July 1663 (A.H.P. Madrid, prot. 9084, fols. 345r-346v) was first published in Peter Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza. El bodegón español del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Doce Calles, 1999), p. 539, doc. XXI, and discussed pp. 237-240. In recent correspondence with the editors, Dr Cherry points out that as the will records De Leito as being "enfermo" or ill at the time, he may have died soon after it was drawn up. See also Fernando Collar de Cáceres, "Andrés De Leito: revisión pictórica," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia del Arte* 20 (2008): pp. 97-98, where the document is transcribed in full.
2. Juan Augustin Céan Bermúdez, *Diccionario de los más ilustres profesores de la Bellas Arte en España*, vol. III (Madrid: 1800), p. 34.
3. In his biography of Cerezo Palomino states: "He also painted small still lifes, with such superior excellence that none surpassed him, although some equalled him; including those by Andrés De Leito, who produced excellent ones at this court." (Pintó también bodegoncillos, con tan superior excelencia, que ningunos le aventajaron, si es que le igualaron algunos; aunque sean los de Andrés de Leito, que en esta corte los hizo excelentes). Antonio Palomino, "El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado," in *El Museo pictórico y Escala óptica* (Madrid:1715-1724, ed. Aguilar, 1947), p. 978. It should be noted that Palomino was in Madrid by 1678, and so he could well have known De Leito if the latter was still alive in 1680. Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario*, p. 34, turns Palomino's phrase around, stating that "Leyto was outstanding in still lifes, in which few surpassed him." (Leyto se distinguió en los bodegones, en que pocos le aventajaron).
4. "Lo pintó conjuntamente con Josef Saravia, con mejor gusto de color que corrección de dibujo, y con sobrada manera." Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario*, p. 34. The improbable identification of this painter as the Sevillian José Sarabia is his. Antonio Ponz, *Viage de España*, X, c. VIII (Madrid: 1787), p. 248.36, limits himself to stating that it was painted by a certain Andrés de Leyto and completed by another artist called Sarabia.
5. "Hice diferentes pinturas a ynstancias del padre fray hernando de la Rúa guardian que fue del convento de S franco de Segovia, y en dha ciudad, y retocado de lo qual me deue cantidad de mrs mando se ajusto (sic) y se cobre la cantidad que me esta deuiendo." AHN, Clero, libro 12673, "Cartas Quentas." See Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza*, p. 237, note 130.
6. Palomino, "El Parnaso español," p. 976. For Gil de Mena, see E. Valdivieso, *Pintura en Valladolid en el siglo XVII*, Valladolid, 1971, and various publications by the Museo Nacional de Escultura de Valladolid, with particular reference to the paintings in the monastery of San Francisco in Valladolid. See the new edition: Jesús Urrea and Enrique Valdivieso, *Pintura barroca vallisoletana* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla and Universidad de Valladolid, 2017), pp. 273-309 (for Felipe Gil de Mena).
7. He also stipulates that Ángel de las Heras (probably his brother-in-law) should be sent one of his own paintings which he kept in his studio, the choice of which he left to his wife. See Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza*, p. 539, and Collar de Cáceres, "Andrés De Leito: revisión," pp. 97-98.
8. According to the documents that the present author has been able to trace, it was the building next to the so-called Casa de la Cadena.
9. On this see Collar de Cáceres, "Andrés De Leito:revisión," p. 81.
10. There is a second, altered, date. The monogram AᴺLF should be read as Andrés (de) Leito Fecit. Today known as Deleito, he clearly signed his name as De Leito in the only known document, and was referred to as such by Palomino.
11. This work allows the Carreño-like *Belshazzar's Feast* (Massachusetts, Private Collection) to be attributed to De Leito due to the technical and figurative treatment of the foreground and background.
12. Alfonso Emilio Pérez Sánchez, *La Nature Morte spagnole du XVII^e siècle à Goya* (Paris: Vilo et Office Du Livre, 1987), p. 127, points out similarities in this sense with Cecco Bravo, Livio Meus and Orazio Fidani.
13. Above, on another stone, is an old man or possibly a warrior.
14. See Collar de Cáceres, "Andrés De Leito: revisión," p. 96. The same figurative components are to be seen in a still life that appeared on the art market with an attribution to Félix Lorente.
15. Rafael Romero has undertaken a technical analysis of these paintings, finding unusual details of a sketchy preparatory application of paint in the scene of *Autumn*. See Rafael Romero Asenjo, *El bodegón español del siglo XVII; desvelando su naturaleza oculta* (Madrid: Icono I&R, 2009), pp. 377 and ff.
16. See Cherry, *Arte y naturaleza*, pp. 238-240. *Woman with a swan* is only known from poor photographs.
17. Cherry, *Arte y Naturaleza*, p. 226.
18. Diego de Estella, *Libro de la vanidad del mundo* (Toledo: 1562, ed. Salamanca, 1574), bk. IX.
19. See Ingvar Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1956), pp. 153ff; Jean Bialostocki, "Arte y Vanitas," in *Estilo e iconografía: Contribución a una ciencia de las artes* (Barcelona: Barral Editores, 1973), pp. 185-214; Alberto Veca, *Vanitas. Il simbolismo del tempo*, exh. cat. (Bergamo: Galleria Lorenzelli, 1981), p. 72; and, for a particular analysis of the different types, Alain Tapié, ed., *Le Vanités dans la peinture au XVII^e siècle. Méditation sur la richesse, le dénuement et la rédemption*, exh. cat. (Caen: Musée des Beaux-Art, 1990).
20. Estella, *Libro de la vanidad*, bk. **II.**
21. For a partly opposing interpretation, see Pérez Sánchez, *La Nature Morte*, p. 128. He understands the mirror as a symbol of Prudence, the portrait as a positive allusion to love tokens, and the book as an expression of wisdom.
22. This work is wholly unlike the style of Pereda, whose signature is always defined with meticulous precision in his works and quite differently, given that he was illiterate. On this and the attribution of the painting, see Collar de Cáceres, "Andrés De Leito: revisión," p. 92. Enrique Valdivieso González, *Vanidades y desengaños en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Fundación de Apoyo a la historia del arte hispánico, 2002), p. 90, mentions that it has the date of 1665, which is now not visible.
23. An attribution to De Leito of the Vanitas considered to be by him in the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid must be rejected. It is quite different in compositional, spatial, chromatic and visual terms.
24. One of the canvases is signed and has the characteristic monogram (ANDXEA DE LEITO /). If there was a signature on the second, which now has some repainting, it seems to have been erased.
25. With thanks to Amalia Descalzo for clarifying this. According to William B. Jordan and Peter Cherry, *El Bodegón español de Velázquez a Goya* (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, S.A., 1995), p. 99, it is a muslin veil and a symbol of modesty.
26. Previously in a private collection in the Canary Islands. It was presented in the exhibition *Vanitas* at Colnaghi, London, October 2016.
27. The recently restored version in Herrera de Pisuerga follows the one in the Museo de Arte Sacro de Corella, although the physiognomy of the figure differs.
28. On this see Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, III, vol. 2 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1958), p. 748. The letter attributed to Jerome affirms that both awake and asleep he was constantly startled by the sound of this trumpet.
29. See in particular Fernando Collar de Cáceres, "Andres De Leito, The penitent Saint Jerome," in *Spanish Painting* (Madrid: Coll & Cortés, 2012), pp. 206-212.



Luis Quijada: Pompeo Leoni's *Portrait of a Knight of the Order of Alcántara or Calatrava* Identified

ROSARIO COPPEL

Fig. 1 / Pompeo Leoni, *D. Luis Quijada*, 1565 (?), portrait bust, alabaster, Private Collection.

In 2013 the current author published a study of an alabaster bust of an unknown sitter by Pompeo Leoni (ca. 1533 – Madrid, 1608) (figs. 1, 2a & 2b). Initial research led me to two prominent contemporary figures: Luis de Ávila, Marquis of Mirabel, who was close to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, a diplomat for the Spanish Crown. Both men collected sculpture, both were evidently admirers of the Leonis' art, and both belonged to the Order of Alcántara or Calatrava: one of the few clues left by the artist was the cross of these military orders carved on the breastplate.[1]

My recent acquaintanceship with a painted portrait in the collegiate church of San Luis at Villagarcía de Campos (Valladolid) has led me to link the bust instead to another figure from the same period. This article will argue that the subject of Leoni's bust is not Luis de Ávila or Diego Hurtado de Menodza, but Luis Quijada (ca. 1515-1570). Luis Quixada – as he was known at the time – belonged to a traditional military family. His grandfather, also called Luis Quijada, served under the Catholic Monarchs and his father, Gutierre Quijada, fought on Charles V's side in the War of the Comuneros. This family history accounts for his entry into the imperial entourage at a very young age, around 1522. Serving first as a page, then as soldier and steward, Luis eventually became one of Charles V's closest and most beloved counsellors, accompanying him on military expeditions to Africa, Germany, Italy, France, and Flanders, and in his final move to the monastery at Yuste. He married Magdalena de Ulloa (1525-1598) in 1549 and settled in his hometown, Villagarcía de Campos, in a castle-palace (now in ruins), fifty-three km from Valladolid. He and his wife took charge of the education of Juan of Austria, (the natural son of the Emperor and Bárbara Blombergh) who lived in Villagarcía de Campos for five years until the boy was taken to Cuacos de Yuste, his father wishing to be close to him in his final retreat.[2]

The facts of Luis Quijada's biography are scant. Even his birthdate is unknown although, according to Magdalena de Ulloa, he served at court for forty years, and as he died in 1570 he must have been born around 1515. In 1534 he entered the Military Order of Calatrava at the lowest rank, *Obrero Mayor*.[3] A year later, in 1535, he took part in the expedition to Tunisia as a captain. In 1549, he had to marry by proxy, being away in Flanders at the time, and the marriage was not made known in Valladolid until one year later.

After Charles V's death, Philip II continued to keep Luis Quijada close to his side, appointing him equerry to his heir, Prince D. Carlos, and tutor to Juan of Austria in 1559. Soon afterwards he was made Infantry Field-Marshal, in 1564 was awarded the honorary Encomienda del Moral, and later he became a member of the Council of State for War. In 1568 Quijada was appointed President of the General Council for the Indias, a position he never took up since he died on 25 February 1570 of wounds sustained during the Alpujarras revolt – fighting for Juan of Austria, who, at only twenty-three, was already Captain General of the Navy.

Two years after his death, in 1572, Magdalena de Ulloa, carrying out her husband's wish for a foundation to receive his tomb, ordered the building of the

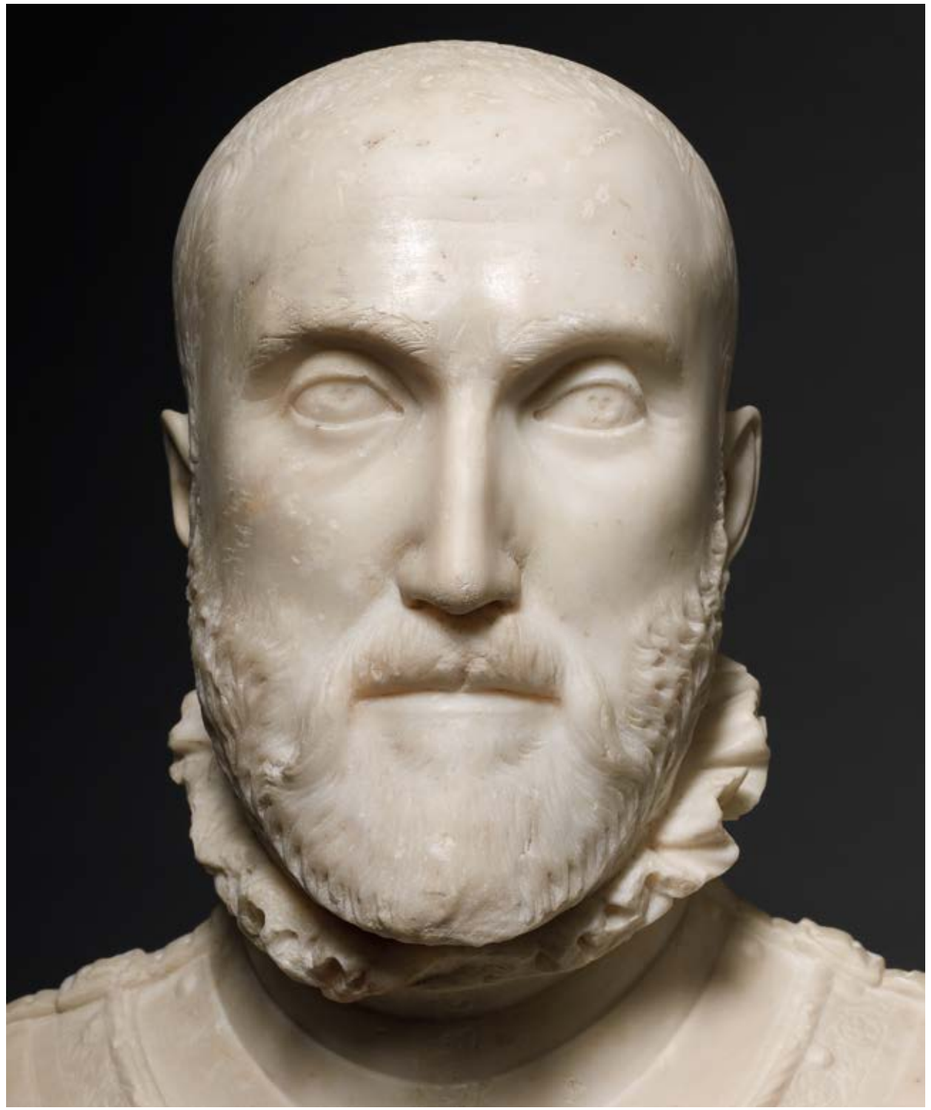


Fig. 2a & 2b / Pompeo Leoni, *D. Luis Quijada*, 1565 (?), portrait bust, alabaster (details), Private Collection.

collegiate church of San Luis at Villagarcía de Campos, modelled on the church at El Escorial, with designs by Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón. The tombs of both Luis Quijada and Magdalena de Ulloa are in a crypt under the altar with a cenotaphs beside the chancel.[4] Magdalena de Ulloa, who was ahead of her time, carried out work of great social importance. On being widowed, she skilfully built up a network of influential advisers, including Fray Domingo de Ulloa, her brother and a monk at the San Pablo monastery in Valladolid; Knight Commander Hernando de Villafañe; and Baltasar Álvarez, her confessor and a Jesuit. She was also in contact with Francisco de Borja, who approved the foundation as a college and novitiate house for the Jesuits. Except for a few short stays in Madrid, she lived in Villagarcía de Campos from 1549 to 1570 at which point she was widowed. She then went to live in Valladolid, in a house on the Corredera de San Pablo, where she died.[5]

Fig. 3 / Anonymous (Spanish), *D. Luis Quijada*, 1678, oil on canvas, Villagarcía de Campos (Valladolid), collegiate church of San Luis.

Fig. 4 / Anonymous (Spanish), *Dña. Magdalena de Ulloa*, 1678, oil on canvas, Villagarcía de Campos (Valladolid), collegiate church of San Luis.

PORTRAITS OF LUIS QUIJADA AND MAGDALENA DE ULLOA

In the painting in the collegiate church of San Luis, Villagarcía de Campos, Luis Quijada is shown standing, full length, following the model for military portraits of the time (fig. 3). He wears close-fitting armour over a doublet and high boots, holding the baton of command in his right hand and a sword in his left. The red sash of the highest rank in the Navy crosses his chest, the medal of the Order of Calatrava around his neck. He is depicted against a background of blue sky and clouds. His helmet is placed on the ground at the bottom left corner by a curtain. A small battle scene is depicted bottom right, just above a cartouche which says:

> Luis quixada Steward to Emperor Charles V, Equerry to Prince Don Carlos – Field Marshal of the Spanish Infantry – President of the Council of the Indias- Councillor of State and War to King [Philip II] – Order of Calatrava – Commendador – native of Villaga[rcía] Villamayor Villanueba, Santo finia [sic] founder of this College and Chapel died fighting the Infidel 1570.[6]

Magdalena de Ulloa is depicted with a prayer book in her hands, kneeling on a large, pink cushion before a table covered with a green velvet cloth supporting a large crucifix (fig. 4). She wears a long black dress with a white neck frill and sleeves decorated with lace are visible underneath. Over the dress she wears a black cape with simple white decorations along the hem. Her only ornament is a long coral necklace. The background is covered with heavy curtains and in the bottom left corner is the caption:

> Doña Magdalena de Ulloa wife of Luis quixada, foundress of this College and chapel of the Colleges of the Company [Society] of Jesus of Oviedo and Santander and of the monastery of the Penitence Valladolid died aged 73 1598.[7]

The paintings were made around 1678, long after both of their deaths, so a previous pair of portraits, now lost, must have been painted during their lifetimes and used as models. Pompeo Leoni could have made use of Quijada's for the alabaster bust.

Fig. 5 / Cristóbal Ruíz de Andino, cenotaph figure *D. Luis Quijada*, 1672, polychromed wood, Villagarcía de Campos (Valladolid), collegiate church of San Luis.

Fig. 6 / Cristóbal Ruíz de Andino, cenotaph figure *D. Magdalena de Ulloa*, 1672, polychromed wood, Villagarcía de Campos (Valladolid), collegiate church of San Luis.

Other images of the Quijadas are to be found in the collegiate church of San Luis, where their funerary monuments are placed on either side of the chancel. Both are kneeling in prayer on large cushions, in contemporary dress. Luis Quijada wears armour under the habit and mantle of the Order of Calatrava, his helmet at his feet, his gloves on a prie-dieu. These figures were made in 1672 by Cristóbal Ruíz de Andino, a sculptor from Valladolid, in polychromed wood imitating alabaster, but bear no resemblance to the figures in the portraits (figs. 5 & 6).[8]

Many years later, Valentín de Carderera (1816-1880) included an engraving of Luis Quijada in his *Iconografía española* (fig. 7). In his commentary on the print Carderera summarises Quijada's biography and describes him as follows:

> His sombre, austere countenance shows courage combined with the prudence, discretion and steadiness of spirit necessary to one charged with the education of the intrepid youth and victor of Lepanto. He grasps the baton of command, head covered with a velvet cap at a slight angle, as Camoens portrayed the great Vasco da Gama. His long doublet and the top of his breeches are of white cashmere decorated with ruches of the same stuff. The Calatrava Cross on a double gold chain round his neck proclaims his rank as Knight Commander.[9]

The Junta de Iconografía Nacional (Board of National Iconography) commissioned a portrait of Luis Quijada from Manuel San Gil y Villanueva (Borja, near Saragossa, active last third of the nineteenth century) for the Gallery of Eminent Spaniards in the Museo Iconográfico. This portrait, now in the Museo del Prado (fig. 8),[10] took as its model the painting in the collection of the Count and Countess of Santa Coloma in 1877.[11]

Fig. 7 / Vicente Carderera lithographic print, drawing by Carderera and engraved by Luis Carlos Legrand, *D. Luis Quijada*, lithograph of J. F. Martínez, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Fig. 8 / Manuel San Gil y Villanueva, *Luis Méndez de Quijada* (copy), 1877, oil on canvas, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

THE LOST PORTRAITS OF LUIS QUIJADA AND MAGDALENA DE ULLOA

It is known that the two portraits used as models, first for the engraving and then for the Manuel de San Gil copy, were very similar if not identical. In the Prado painting, Quijada is set against a dark background, the topcoat is unadorned, the glove is brown (not green) and the Calatrava cross does not hang from a double gold chain but from a red ribbon. The expression, too, is more distant. The print is in black and white but Carderera's detailed description gives us an idea of the tones in the original painting. Carderera makes the valuable point that, if there were two copies of a half-length portrait of Luis Quijada, the original must have been done by an eminent artist.

This artist may have been Titian, as Carderera suggests, at a time when Luis de Quijada was with Charles V (1548-1555), but it could also have been another great painter from the Emperor's circle. Age and dress style point to this period. The full-length portraits fit better, however, with the portrait painters in the court of Philip II in the 1560s, when Quijada was Field-Marshal and around forty-five years of age. It should be noted that Luis Quijada's pose is the same as the pose in *Don Juan of Austria*, Alonso Sánchez Coello's portrait now in the convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid. Dated around 1567 when Don Juan was about twenty, this was commissioned by Juana of Austria for her portrait gallery in the convent. However, any of the court painters of the time could have done the portraits of the Quijada couple, copied by the anonymous artist a hundred years later for the collegiate church. Among them were Joris van Staeten, known in Spain as Jorge de la Rua, who painted the prince, Don Carlos (ca. 1565) and Juan of Austria (ca. 1567) – both of whom were close to Luis Quijada – or Sofonisba Anguissola, Seisenegger or Sánchez Coello himself.[12]

Whatever the case, it is certain that Pompeo Leoni used a painted representation to sculpt the bust of Luis Quijada, as was his usual practice. He had already used paintings by Titian for his portraits of Charles V and his wife, the Empress Isabel. He would use a portrait painted by Sofonisba Anguissola (in his possession as shown by an inventory)[13] for his image of Prince Don Carlos in the cenotaph group at El Escorial. We know that Pompeo Leoni was a keen collector who owned significant paintings and drawings by the best artists of the time.[14]

Fig. 9 / Pompeo Leoni, *Philip II*, ca. 1564, polychromed silver head, Vienna, Kunshistorisches Museum.

POMPEO LEONI'S EARLY YEARS IN SPAIN

On 28 September 1556, Pompeo Leoni disembarked with the royal retinue at Laredo. It is no secret that he found this a difficult time. Charles V had abdicated in favour of his son, Philip II, in whose absence Spain was ruled by his sister Princess Juana of Austria. The Princess was the first to contract Leoni as court sculptor, in February 1557, with a monthly salary of thirty ducats back-dated to his arrival in Valladolid the previous November. In 1561, after the court's move to Madrid, Leoni opened a workshop there. He had spent a year shut away by the Inquisition in a monastery, but the only work he is known to have done before then was as a medallist. Evidence for this are the medals he made of the Prince's tutor, Don Carlos Honorato Juan (1556), the Prince himself (1557), and Diego de Lerma (1557).

In the following years, he finished the bronze portraits made by his father in Milan: *Charles V Restraining Fury*, the *Empress Isabel*, *Maria of Hungary* and *Philip II*.[15] No other work is known until 1564 (the date appearing with his signature on the imperial portraits), when Juana of Austria commissioned a portrait of *Philip II* in polychromed silver (61.5 x 43.5 x 29 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) (fig. 9). At the same time – as we know only from documentary evidence – she commissioned busts of Prince Rodolfo and Prince Ernesto of Bohemia, nephews of Philip II who lived in Spain from 1564 to 1571. These are the first sculptures executed from his own models rather than those of his father, Leone Leoni, in Milan.[16]

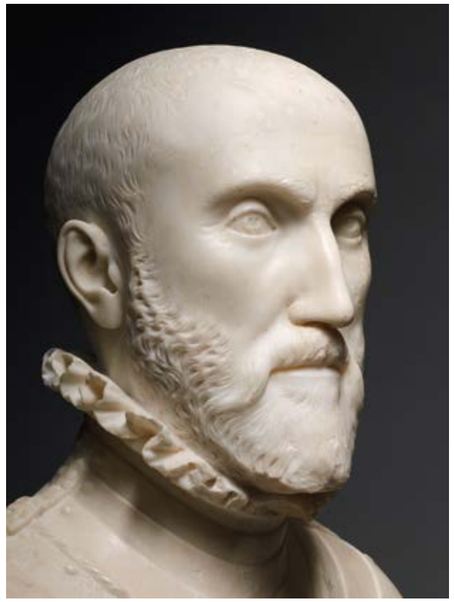
In 1566 Pompeo moved his workshop to the Carrera de San Francisco. He completed the imperial marble portraits, made ephemeral sculpture celebrating the entry into Madrid of Anne of Austria (1570), and made an (unfinished) marble pedestal with gilt bronze angels for the urn intended to contain Saint Eugenio's relics in Toledo Cathedral. He was not appointed sculptor to the King until 1570. During the 1570s he made a series of funerary monuments in several Spanish towns. The first was for Juana of Austria (deceased 1573), followed by the Inquisitors General Diego de Espinosa in the church at Martín Muñoz de las Posadas (Segovia), and Fernando de Valdés in the collegiate church at Salas (Asturias).

POMPEO LEONI: WORKS IN MARBLE AND ALABASTER

In his new workshop, Pompeo took up the marble portraits commissioned by Charles V from Leone Leoni in 1549, which had been at a very preliminary stage when they arrived in Spain. This must have represented a kind of apprenticeship in marble for him as, like his father, he was inexperienced with this material. It is not possible to offer an in-depth assessment of the quality of these works since, due to long exposure to the open air in the Aranjuez Palace gardens, the details of the finish have been lost. As we have seen, they were not Pompeo's creation but Leone's and closely related to the bronze portraits. Perhaps the first one Pompeo completed was the statue of *Charles V*, because it is unsigned, followed by *Philip II*, 1567, which bears only Pompeo's signature and then the *Empress Isabel*, also signed only by him, in 1572.[17]

In these works Pompeo developed an exceptional talent as a portraitist in stone. His most characteristic works show he was capable of infusing life in a way he could not do with his bronze portraits or medals, where the effect is much more distant. His masterpiece in marble is the large monument depicting of *Juana of Austria at Prayer* (1574), in the church of the monastery of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid. It is placed in a small chapel on the Epistle side of the altar used by the Princess as an oratory (fig. 10).

Fig. 10 / Pompeo Leoni, *Dña. Juana of Austria*, 1574, marble, Madrid, church of the monastery of the Descalzas Reales.



BUST OF LUIS QUIJADA

This portrait bust in antique fashion represents a man down to the forearms. His face is elongated, he has a beard and a long, downward-pointing moustache, and wide, wrinkled forehead with a receding hairline and scant hair. The pupils are drilled and kidney-shaped, the lines of the eyebrows only lightly traced, the nose is straight and the lips are shut, the lower one straight. The ears are precisely modelled. The figure faces forward, his bearing aristocratic. He wears a frill which emerges in a natural way from under the breastplate and there are studded straps on his shoulders. On the right of the cuirass are traces of a lance-rest. By way of decoration there is a cord around the neck and a narrow border with scrolls and flower motifs, small bells and a flower corolla, all along the pauldrons and the centre and sides of the cuirass, ending in a semicircle in the lower part. On the left is a chiselled cross of one of the seven Spanish military orders of the time. This is the cross of the Order of Alcántara or Calatrava; both are represented in the same way and only differentiated by colour (green and red respectively).

The bust stands on a small base with semi-circular grooves on the sides, and a four-sided pedestal, all made from one block. A label with the number '735' or '732' is attached to the front, probably taken from the inventory of a previous collection. The back is hollow, with a small piece sticking out in the centre to add firmness and take the weight of the sculpture. The material in this back part has a completely smooth finish.

Among the surviving works by Pompeo Leoni, the bust of *Luis Quijada* should be placed for stylistic reasons between the statue of *Philip II* at the Palace of Aranjuez, the two busts of Philip II in the Prado, and the statue of Juana de Austria at prayer. The full-length figure of *Philip II* (167 x 65 x 40 cm) belonging to the Patrimonio Nacional is in marble and was signed by Pompeo Leoni in 1567 (fig. 11).[18] It is in very poor condition having been, amongst other things, exposed to the open air. The details of the face have therefore lost quality but evidence of the work of the two Leonis is still there. It was sent from Italy being one of the works from the first commission of Charles V and Mary of Hungary in 1549. Philip II's moustache points upwards, his beard and hair are slightly wavy, and his age is similar to that of Leoni's full-length bronze statue in the Prado.[19] The marble statue corresponds to the bronze particularly in the style of dress. The armour shows signs of its former rich decoration, and a cape hangs behind.[20]

Fig. 11 / Pompeo Leoni, *Philip II*, 1567, marble, Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional.

Fig. 12 / Pompeo Leoni (attr.), *Philip II* (detail), ca. 1565, alabaster, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 13 / Pompeo Leoni (attr.), *Philip II*, ca. 1565, marble, Madrid, Museo de Historia de Madrid.

Another portrait of *Philip II* in the Prado is executed in alabaster and much smaller at 80 cm high (fig. 12).[21] The bust is cut off at the forearms, in the same way as Luis Quijada's, though in this case the pedestal is decorated with a large winged figurehead. The hair in the portrait of Philip II is worked up more, though the eyes are carved in the same way, with kidney-shaped pupils. The lips are fuller but the ears in both portraits are typical of the two Leonis, with intricate curved lines. The moustache and beard are also similar in each. The frill on the ruff is a little larger and less tightly gathered. The decoration of the armour is richer, as befits a prince or king, but executed in the same way with soft, linear chiselling. The decorative motifs, too, are very similar. This portrait of Philip II is close to the portrait in polychromed silver at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (see fig. 9). We know from the inventory of 1609 that this bust was in Pompeo Leoni's workshop.

Fig. 14 / Pompeo Leoni, Funerary monument of Fernando Valdés (detail), 1578-1582, alabaster, Salas (Asturias), collegiate church.

Plon attributed the Prado bust to Leone[22] but Proske suggested it could have been made in Spain after Philip II's return in 1559. Proske argue that the different model and the less finely-worked decoration of the armour preclude its inclusion in the series of portraits done in the Milan workshop.[23]

Another marble head of *Philip II* now on deposit in the Museo de Historia de Madrid (fig. 13) is 22 cm high (34 cm including its jasper pedestal) and comes from the collection of Diego de Hurtado de Mendoza (Granada 1503 - Madrid 1575).[24] It appears in the Alcázar inventory of 1602 among the sculptures left by the ambassador to Philip II and is described as follows:

> No.3680. A white marble statue of king Don Phelippe, our lord, of only the head with a part of the chest set on a brown jasper pedestal the whole pedestal and portrait being five 'dozavos' high [34 cm][25]

Hurtado de Mendoza returned to Spain in 1554 so this portrait of Philip II must be dated between 1559, when the king himself returned to Spain, and 1568, when he exiled Hurtado de Mendoza to Granada after his fall from grace. The styles of the Philip II and Quijada portraits are close. The ways in which the face has been sculpted and the eyes, nose, ears, hair, moustache and beard have been chiselled are very similar. The small ruff is, however, less lifelike in *Philip II* and the small fragment of the breast is entirely undecorated.[26]

Despite the connection between these three portraits of Philip II, other similarities between the Luis Quijada work and other portraits sculpted by Pompeo Leoni in the 1570s should be mentioned. Features shared with the *Juana of Austria* are the narrow ruff, the intricate lines of the ears, the shape of the pupils and the lightly traced eyebrows (see fig. 10).[27]

The portrait of Fernando Valdés (kneeling before a prayer book), bareheaded and wearing priest's vestments) and three assistant clergy are very lifelike but still exhibits the idealized quality characteristic of the two Leonis (fig. 14). The life-size figure of Diego de Espinosa kneeling on a prie-dieu with an open prayer book also appears to be a perfect likeness, corresponding to a portrait supplied to Pompeo, although it still shows the same characteristics as the previous works (fig. 15). The effigy demonstrates the high degree of skill Pompeo displayed in representing the psychology of his subjects.[28]

All of this culminated in the portraits for the El Escorial cenotaphs where Charles V, Philip II and Prince Don Carlos (to cite only the male figures) are based on models of the early portraits but finished in a similar way to these later ones.

The portrait of Luis Quijada must have been made before his death in 1570, firstly, because he is represented as a young man, in his forties, and secondly because if not, in all likelihood the work would have been a funerary statue and not a heroic bust drawing on Classical Antiquity. It does not seem possible, on the other hand, that this would have been a commission from Quijada himself or from Magdalena de Ulloa. We have no information about Quijada's own artistic interests and we know that his wife's overriding interest was in religious objects, based on those in the museum in the collegiate church of San Luis in Villagarcía de Campos. Her magnificent reliquary is kept here, among other valuable ritual objects and a superb collection of religious ornaments.[29]

Fig. 15 / Pompeo Leoni, Funerary monument of Diego de Espinosa (detail), 1576-1582, alabaster, Segovia, Church Martín Muñoz de las Posadas.

It is likely, then, that the portrait was a gift from one of the high dignitaries Luis Quijada served. The style suggests a date of between 1565 and 1570, and at that time the people who may have wished to bestow such an honour on him were Juana of Austria, Philip II, Prince Don Carlos and Juan of Austria. Prince Don Carlos commissioned from Pompeo Leoni a work which must have been exceptional: a gold crucifix with a crown of thorns in green enamel, fixed to a cross made by the court silversmith Rodrigo Reinalte. The cross was placed on a Calvary of gilded brass, with two skulls and fourteen bones all made of silver covered with gold. In accordance with his son's last wishes, Philip II donated this item to the monastery of Our Lady of Atocha in Madrid, but it was lost probably in one of the disentailments.[30] The Prince's close contact with Luis Quijada is also evident from his will, where he mentions him second only to his beloved tutor, Honorato Juan:

> Item: I bequeath to Luis Quijada, my Equerry, all those things of mine in his keeping at the time of my death, he may keep these and need give no account of them, and I also bequeath all the artillery I possess and may possess in the alcázar of Segovia now in the keeping of the Count of Chinchón, Mayor of this alcázar, and of his lieutenant, whom I command to hand over, along with everything attached to them. All this I bequeath to him because of the work he will have to carry out as my executor.[31]

Leoni made an idealized portrait of Luis Quijada as a soldier still in his youth, his expression peaceful yet proud, keeping the characteristic shape of Quijada's prominent skull and wide forehead which allow the bust to be identified. It must have been made, we have seen, while he was working on the marble statues of *Charles V*, *Philip II* and *Empress Isabel*, perhaps at the same time as the bust and alabaster head of *Philip II*, shortly before the effigy of *Juana of Austria*. In this portrait, as in *Luis Quijada*, Pompeo Leoni stands out as a magnificent sculptor in stone, more skilled in psychological study than is evident from the later works made for the royal family in the cenotaphs of El Escorial. The comparative study of the *Luis Quijada* with the *Juana of Austria* and other works executed around 1570 reveals the same stylistic features and the mastery which Leoni had already achieved as a portraitist at this time [32]

NOTES

1. 65 cm, high, Private Collection. Provenance: Don Antonio López y López, 1st marquis of Comillas (1817-1883). Rosario Coppel, with Margarita Estella and Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, *Leone and Pompeo Leoni. Faith and Fame* (Madrid: Coll & Cortés Fine Arts, 2013), pp. 115-149 (see pp. 138-139 for the proposed identification).
2. Louis Prosper Gachard, *Retraite et mort de Charles V au monastere de Yuste. Lettres inédites*, 2 vols (Brussels: M. Hayez, 1854-1855). This contains the correspondence between Luis Quijada and Charles V's secretary at Yuste, Juan Vázquez, from 1556 to 1558.
3. Entry age to the Order could range from 5-9 (5.4 %) to over 50 (6.9 %). The median age of entry was 20-24 (17%). Archivo Histórico Nacional, expediente 30 L., cited by Francisco Fernández Izquierdo, *La Orden Militar de Calatrava en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992), p. 415.
4. Conrado Pérez Picón, *Villagarcía de Campos. Estudio Histórico-Artístico* (Valladolid: Institución Cultural Simancas, 1982). I am grateful to D. Fermín Trueba S. J., Museum Director at the Collegiate Church of San Luis for his time and help with the completion of this paper.
5. Juan de Villafañe, *La limosnera de Dios: relación histórica de la vida y virtudes de la Excelentísima Señora doña Magdalena de Ulloa*…Salamanca, 1723 (digital versión: Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2009-10); Camilo María Abad, *Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, la educación de Don Juan de Austria y la fundadora del colegio de la Compañía de Jesús en Villagarcía de Campos (1525-1598)* (Valladolid: Sal Terrae, 1959); Manuel Gutiérrez Semprún, *Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, mujer de Luis de Quijada*, in *Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, 1598-1998, Una mujer de Villagarcía de Campos (Valladolid), Su profundo influjo social* (Valladolid: Diputación Provincial, 1998).
6. Luis quixada Maiordomo de el em / perador Carlos Quinto = Caballerico Mayor / del Príncipe D. Carlos = Capitán General / de la Infantería española – Presidente / del Consejo de Indias – y consejero de es / tado y guerra del Rey Phe. Seg.do / Obrero – Mayor de Calatraba – Commen / dador del Moral, Sor. de villaga., villa / mayor villanueba Santo finia fundador / de este Colegio y Capilla murió peleando / contra Infieles año de 1570.
7. Doña Magdalena de ulloa muger / de Luis quixada fundadora de este / Colegio y capilla de los Colegios de / la compañía de Jhs. de Obiedo y san / tander y del monasterio de la peniten / çia de valladolid murió a los 73. / años de su hedad y el de 1598.
8. Esteban García Chico, *Catálogo monumental de la Provincia de Valladolid*. Partido Judicial de Medina de Ríoseco, II (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 1959), pp. 113, 161, n. 10.
9. He continues, "The topcoat – or Portuguese overgarment – very common in Charles V's time, is black, with lapels revealing rich furs and sleeves embellished at the shoulder with shorter sleeves. These have mock slashes and are decorated with trimmings or little gold and pearl fastenings in trefoil shapes. In these costumes, sleeves often fall loose and floating, (giving rise to the term 'manga perdida') and were worn in various ways by ladies and gentlemen until well into the XVII century. This cut of the sleeve reveals the doublet, usually richer than the rest of the clothing. Finally, there is the neck attire which later became a frill or hollow neck adornment, taken to extremes in Philip III's time. The left hand wears a greenish coloured glove which rests, rather clumsily, on the sword baldric." Vicente Carderera y Solano, *Iconografía española. Colección de retratos, estatuas, mausoleos y demás monumentos inéditos…desde el siglo XI hasta el XVII*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Imprenta de D. Ramón Campuzano, 1855 & 1864), print LXXX. The accompanying text reads: "DON LUIS QUIJADA GENERAL / TO EMPEROR CHARLES V. The drawing was supervised by Carderera, and the print engraved by Carlos Legrand. (1829-1858). Lithograph by J. F. Martínez, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Sala Goya, Bellas Artes, (ER/3086; IH/5801/1). Carderera goes on to some interesting facts about the painting which served as model for the print: "This painting is scarcely to be praised for its artistic merit – rather lacking, if truth be told – and suffers from old, badly done restoration. This gives us reason to think that the original was painted by a master and has been lost in the course of the past three centuries. The rich, warm tone of the colour, the sobre, individual, unaffected pose, together with the life and character of the head, show skill which is almost worthy of great Titian. What has become of its whereabouts? It would be hard to speculate about the fate of such an interesting painting. But we were pleased to discover there is, fortunately, another full-length, life-size portrait in the magnificent funeral chapel founded in Villagarcía for Don Luis by his wife Doña María de Ulloa. The patron and heir to the foundation, the marquis de Vallehermoso y de Fonclara, who told us of this, particularly appreciates this picture, keeping it in his home. It is reproduced here with his permission, granted with his habitual kindness and courtesy."
10. This is the same portrait that appears as the frontispiece to the fictionalized biography *Jeromín*, by Luis Coloma (1903), according to María Kusche, who cites another version in the church of San Isidro, Oviedo. She refers to "Artworks – paintings, tapestries and drawings – owned by Don Juan of Austria, with particular reference to portraits by Sánchez Coello, María Kusche in María José Redondo Cantera and Miguel Ángel Zalama Rodríguez, eds., *Carlos V y las artes. Promoción artística y familia imperial*, (Valladolid: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valladolid, 2000), pp. 353-374 (citation on p. 373).
11. (P3432), dimensions: 150 x 108 cm. See José Luis Díez, Ana Gutiérrez Marquez, Pedro J. Martínez Plaza eds., *Museo Nacional del Prado. Pintura del Siglo XIX en el Museo del Prado: catálogo General* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2015), p. 534. In deposit at the Real Academia de la Historia since 1913.
12. María Kusche, "Sofonisba Anguissola en España y retratistas de corte junto a Alonso Sánchez Coello y Jorge de la Rua," *Archivo Español de Arte* LXII/248 (1989): pp. 391-420.
13. María Kusche, "El retrato de D. Carlos por Sofonisba Anguissola," *Archivo Español de Arte* 292 (2000): pp. 385-394.
14. Marqués del Saltillo, "La herencia de Pompeyo Leoni," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 42 (1934): pp. 95-121; Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, "The chief and perhaps only antiquarian in Spain. Pompeo Leoni and his collection in Madrid," *Journal of the History of Collections* 18/2 (2006): pp. 137-167. Inv. of 1609, fol. 1346r: "Un retrato del Príncipe don Carlos de Sofonisba dama de la Reyna dona Isabel la francesa con su marco negro y dorado en trescientos reales." Pompeo and Sofonisba must have been close and it is now known that the magnificent portrait of the sculptor working on a bust of Philip II, previously attributed to El Greco, was her work ca. 1565. See María Kusche, *Retratos y retratadores. Alonso Sánchez Coello y sus competidores Sofonisba Anguissola, Jorge de la Ria y Rolán Moys* (Madrid: Fundación Arte Hispánico, 2003), pp. 219-220, fig. 193.
15. All four are in the Prado. See Jesús Urrea, ed., *Los Leoni (1509-1608). Escultores del Renacimiento italiano al servicio de la corte española*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 1994); Rosario Coppel, *Museo del Prado. Catálogo de la escultura de Época Moderna. Siglos XVI-XVIII,* (Santander: Fundación Marcelino Botín and Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1998), pp. 66-98.
16. Margarita Estella, "Algo más sobre Pompeo Leoni," *Archivo Español de Arte* 262 (1993): pp. 132-149; Claudia Kryza-Gersch, "Pompeo Leoni's Portrait in The Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna," *Leone & Pompeo Leoni. Procedings of the International Symposium*, *Museo Nacional del Prado, October 2011*, ed. Stephan Schröder (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2012), pp. 99-107.
17. Coppel, *Museo del Prado*. This group includes the two large reliefs of Charles V and Empress Isabel, a bust of Charles V and a bust of queen Mary of Hungary, all in the Prado. The fine study by Beatrice Gilman Proske offers an in-depth analysis of this aspect of Pompeo's work. Each sculpture is accurately described, with a thoroughness that allows full appreciation of every detail. The first work was the full-length marble portrait of *Charles V* (a masterpiece overshadowed by the grandeur of the bronze group *Charles V Restraining Fury*) followed by the two marble statues of *Philip II* (in poor condition) and *Empress Isabel* – not as identical to the bronze statue as might seem at first sight. See Beatrice Gilman Proske, *Pompeo Leoni: Work in Marble and in Alabaster in Relation to Spanish Sculpture* (New York: The Hispanic Society-W.J. Ponzio, 1956).
18. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (Inv.1006059).
19. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (E-272).
20. José Luis Sancho, "La escultura de los Leoni en los jardines de los Austrias," in Urrea, *Los Leoni*, pp. 63-76, fig. 6.
21. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (E-275).
22. Eugène Plon, *Leone Leoni, Sculpteur de Charles -Quint et Pompeo Leoni, Sculpteur de Philipp II, Les maîtres italiens au service de la maison d'Autriche* (Paris: Nourrit et Cie., 1887), p. 325
23. Proske, *Pompeo Leoni,* p. 56; Coppel, *Museo del Prado,* no. 21.
24. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (E-279).
25. Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, "Inventarios Reales. Bienes muebles que pertenecieron a Felipe II," *Archivo Documental Español*, X/II (1956-1959): p. 187.
26. Coppel, *Museo del Prado*, no. 22.
27. Proske, *Pompeo Leoni*, pp. 12-13, figs. 5-6.
28. Plon, *Les Maîtres italiens*, pp. 331-334, plate XLV; El Conde de Cedillo, "Martín Muñoz de las Posadas," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones. Arte-Arqueología-Historia* XXXVIII, cuarto trimestre (1930); Proske, *Pompeo Leoni*, pp. 14-16, figs. 7-10.
29. Pérez Picón, *Villagarcía de Campos.*
30. Rosario Coppel, "La colección de escultura del príncipe don Carlos (1545-1568)," in *El coleccionismo de escultura clásica en España, Simposio internacional, Museo Nacional del Prado, 21 y 22 de mayo de 2001*, ed. Stephan Schröder (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2001), pp. 61-88; Rosario Coppel, "La colección de un joven príncipe del Renacimiento: Don Carlos y las esculturas inspiradas en el mundo antiguo," *Reales Sitios* 156 (2003): pp. 16-29.
31. "Copia del Testamento cerrado original del Príncipe D. Carlos, otorgado ante Domingo Zavala, escribano de Cámara del Consejo Real," 1564. Archivo General de Simancas. Testamentos y codicilos reales. Legacy no. 5, published by the Marquis and Marchioness de Pidal and D. Miguel Salva, in *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, tomo XXIV (Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda de Calero, 1854; repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1966) pp. 514-550 (citation on p. 521).
32. Coppel, Estella,Helmstutler Di Dio, *Leoni and Pompeo Leoni.*; Rosario Coppel, "Los retratos de la emperatriz Isabel y de Juana de Austria," in Schröder, *Leone & Pompeo Leoni*, pp. 85-98.

A rediscovered painting of *Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception* by Alonso Cano

JOSÉ MANUEL CRUZ VALDOVINOS

The Catholic Church recognizes as a dogma of faith the belief that the Virgin Mary was free from original sin from the moment of her conception, a miracle known as the Immaculate Conception, *conceptio sine macula*.[1] While this belief had numerous adherents from early Christian times and prevailed over various specific objections, it did not become dogma until 8 December 1854 with Pope Pious XI's apostolic constitution *Ineffabilis Deus*. That text includes the words:

> We declare, pronounce, and define that the doctrine which holds that the most Blessed Virgin Mary, in the first instance of her conception, by a singular grace and privilege granted by Almighty God, in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the human race, was preserved free from all stain of original sin, is a doctrine revealed by God and therefore to be believed firmly and constantly by all the faithful.[2]

In Spain representations of the Virgin which refer to this belief (and are discussed in this text) are today generally entitled "Immaculate Conceptions" [from the Spanish *Inmaculada Concepción*]. However, until the nineteenth century the phrase used in texts was "Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception" (*Nuestra Señora de la concepción inmaculada*) or, on some occasions, "Our Lady of the very pure Conception" (*Nuestra Señora de la concepción purísima*), which seems to us a more precise and appropriate usage.

From the point of view of the iconography of the subject, the fundamental texts are by Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644), particularly for painters in Seville of his day. In this respect he influenced Velázquez, his apprentice from 1610 to 1616, and Alonso Cano, who entered his workshop in 1616 when Cano's father signed a contract of apprenticeship for a period of five years (concluding at an unknown date). Pacheco's texts were also important for Zurbarán, even though this artist did not pass through Pacheco's workshop.

Pacheco entitled chapter XI of the third book of his *Arte de la Pintura*, "Pintura de la Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora." Having observed that she should not be depicted holding the Christ Child in her arms and that the image should be based on the mysterious woman seen by Saint John in the sky (Revelations, 12), Pacheco states:

> This Lady should thus be painted in this very pure mystery in the flower of her age, around twelve or thirteen years old, a very beautiful young girl, with lovely, grave eyes, a very perfect nose and mouth and rosy cheeks, her beautiful hair flowing loose and the colour of gold.[3]

Further on he states:

> Her tunic should be painted white and her mantle blue, as this Lady thus appeared to Doña Beatriz de Silva, a Portuguese woman, who subsequently

Fig. 1 / Francisco Pacheco, *Immaculate Conception with Miguel del Cid*, oil on canvas, 159 x 108 cm, signed "O.F.P. 1619", Seville Cathedral.

Fig. 2 / Francisco Pacheco, *Immaculate Conception*, ca. 1610-1620, oil on canvas, 142 x 99 cm, Seville, Archbishop's Palace.

retired to Santo Domingo el Real in Toledo to found the Order of the Concepción Purísima, which was confirmed by Pope Julius II in 1511, clothed in the sun, an oval sun of ochre and white, which encircles the entire image, sweetly blended into the sky; [she should be] crowned with stars, twelve stars arranged into a pale circle between resplendent rays coming down to her holy brow; the stars over some light areas painted *al seco* in the purest white, which should above all emphasize the rays of light. No one painted these better than Don Luis Pascual, a monk in the story of Saint Bruno, for the great Charterhouse. An imperial crown adorns her head,

> which should not cover the stars; below her feet is the moon which, although a solid sphere, I take licence to make clear, transparent over the landscape; at the top, paler and more visible is the half-moon with its tips pointing downwards.[4]

With regard to the latter detail, Pacheco follows the opinion of the Sevillian Jesuit Luis del Alcázar, for whom the two tips of the half-moon should point downwards so that "the woman was not [standing] on the concave but on the convex", although he acknowledged that painters generally depicted it pointing upwards. Pacheco continues:

> God the Father should be depicted at the top, or the Holy Spirit, or both […] The attributes of the earth can be skilfully described according to the country, and those of the heavens, if required, with clouds. Adorn it with seraphim and full-length angels that hold some of the attributes. The dragon, that common enemy, whose head the Virgin destroyed triumphing over original sin, we had left out. And it should always be left out; the truth is that I never willingly paint it and I would omit it whenever possible, in order not to spoil my painting with it. However, with regard to everything said here, painters have licence to make improvements.[5]

It is not exactly known when Pacheco wrote these texts, although it is thought to be around 1636-1638.[6] Various signed and dated works by him depicting Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception are known, and others are referred to in documents. Generally they adhere to the instructions he gives in his book, but not always. It is significant that the Virgin wears a blue mantle but a red tunic in the the versions in Seville Cathedral (1619) with Miguel del Cid (fig. 1); in a private collection that includes a portrait of the supposed Mateo Vázquez de Leca of 1621; in the Granados Collection; in San Lorenzo in Seville of 1624; and in the University of Navarre (generally dated around 1610 or 1612 but which the present author considers to be from1622 or 1623). By contrast, in the version in the Archbishop's Palace in Seville (fig. 2), which has been tentatively dated to between 1610 and 1620, and a similar version from the convent of the Esclavas concepcionistas in Seville (which has been in Madrid for some years), the tunics are white.

Fig. 3 / Diego Velázquez, *Immaculate Conception*, 1618-1619, oil on canvas, 135 x 101.6 cm, London, National Gallery.

Differing in numerous respects and once again featuring a red tunic is the work belonging to Baron de Terrateig in Valencia, dated to the 1630s, and another, updated one in the Granados Collection. Of these nine depictions, the Virgin wears a crown in five of them (the first three listed above and the versions in the Archbishop's Palace and the Esclavas concepcionistas, both in Seville). The Holy Trinity is only present in the San Lorenzo painting of 1624, which also includes full-length angels, as does the one in Navarre, while the last two in the list of nine do not even have seraphim.[7] Nevertheless, each features the downward pointing moon, the oval, encircling sun and the twelve stars in a pale circle among rays of light. These versions all have the attributes of the Earth, but those of the heavens only appear in the 1624 version and the two last examples. The Virgin always has loose, flowing hair but the colour is not as golden as Pacheco recommends in his text. The dragon representing the devil is absent in all cases.

This summary allows us to conclude that from the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century, Pacheco produced several representations of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, with some iconographical details recurring and others varying. While the paragraphs quoted above were written years after the execution of these works and their publication delayed a further twelve or so years, his opinions on this subject must have been known earlier, particularly by his pupils. This explains why Velázquez's version of the subject (London, National Gallery) – which the present author has dated to 1618-1619[8] – only complies with some of Pacheco's recommendations, namely the Virgin's age, her flowing hair, the oval sun, the twelve stars (although they are not particularly defined,) the rays of light, the transparent, downward-facing moon, the attributes of the Earth and the absence of the dragon (fig. 3). Velázquez did not, however, include the white tunic, the crown, the seraphim, cherubim and other angels, which are attributes of the heavens. The same is the case with the version now with Fundación Focus-Abengoa in Seville, which most authors also attribute to Velázquez, although the present author believes it could be by Alonso Cano.[9]

Looking at the dating of the above-mentioned works by Pacheco and Velázquez (and also by Cano if he did indeed produce the version in the Fundación Focus-Abengoa, which must in any case date from before 1620), it is evident that none was painted before 1618-19. In the opinion of the present author, it is important to remember that on 12 September 1617, Pope Paul V's decretal *Sanctissimus Dominus noster* stated that no one should dare to proclaim publicly that Mary was conceived in original sin, thus banning the public defence of the doctrine of the sanctification of the Virgin subsequent to the existence of sin. This decretal reached the court in Madrid on 8 October and Seville two weeks later. In Seville various events had supported the Immaculist viewpoint, but the decretal, which implied papal support for this position, was celebrated in a special way, as it was in many other places across Philip III's Spain. This explains the numerous commissions for paintings of the Immaculate Virgin, including the one by Velázquez, no doubt painted for the Discalced Carmelites, and those by Pacheco of 1619 and 1621 for private patrons. In 1622 Gregory XV once again defended the Immaculate Conception, imposing absolute silence (*inscriptis et sermonibus etiam privatis*) on those who spoke against the doctrine, among them the Dominicans who followed Thomas Aquinus's arguments from the thirteenth century.

Fig. 4 / Alonso Cano, *Immaculate Conception*, ca. 1648, oil on canvas, destroyed, Madrid, church of the Colegio Imperial.

Fig. 5 / Vicente Carducho, *Immaculate Conception*, 1620-1625, oil on canvas, 160 x 119 cm, Madrid, Private Collection.

Even though there are no depictions of this subject by Cano before 1638, the year he moved to the Court in Madrid (other than an early example, the attribution of which is questionable), this lengthy introduction explains how Pacheco's influence on the versions of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception painted by Cano between 1638 and 1652 is notable and will thus be referred to frequently in this analysis.

The first of Cano's versions is undoubtedly the one painted for the church of the Colegio Imperial (fig. 4). There have been numerous errors regarding its whereabouts, date and commission. Wethey stated that it was in the centre of the chapel of the Buen Consejo and that the altarpiece was designed by Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo, leading him to date it to around 1642-1643 as opposed to 1632-1633, which was proposed by María Elena Gómez Moreno (before the year of Cano's arrival at Court was known).[10] In a publication of 2001 both Álvarez Lopera and the present author corrected Wethey's mistake. The chapel in which the painting was located was the first on the Gospel side of the crossing, dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, while the chapel of the Buen Consejo was the third (although it also housed paintings by Cano). Wethey did not realize that the painting formed part of an altarpiece that also included the *Coronation of the Virgin* (for which there are two preparatory drawings, in the Uffizi and in a private collection in Paris) above *Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception*, while the lower level included *Saint Stanislaus of Kostka*, *Saint Joachim*, the *Infant Christ*, *Saint Anne* and *Saint Hyacinth*. The entire altarpiece, including the central painting, which was moved to the sacristy after 1671, was destroyed in 1936.[11]

The present author did not agree with Álvarez Lopera regarding the dating of the painting to Cano's "early years in Madrid," nor with his view on the commission, which he believed had come from the rectors of the Colegio (implying a relationship with the Count Duke of Olivares, given that three successive confessors to Olivares lived there) and not from Isabel de Tébar y Robles, patron of the chapel, whom he considered "simply the tenant of one of the Colegio Imperiale's houses." In 1627 this lady had established a memorial bequest in perpetuity to be administered by the Colegio, which she made her heir, bequeathing it among other goods an annual income of 10,000 *reales*. She also ordered the founding of a seminary with twelve places and another for the study of humanities (only the latter was carried out), and a

Fig. 6 / Alonso Cano, *Child Angels*, pen and ink on paper, 19.7 x 15.5 cm, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

carved sculpture for the chapel, although in fact it was the altarpiece with paintings by Cano, including *Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception*, which was installed. It was only some years later that the sculpture was commissioned from José de Mora in order to comply with her founding instructions. From this it can be inferred that the commission reached Cano through Isabel de Tébar's relative Diego Jacinto de Tébar, who entered the Company of Jesus in 1630, was Quevedo's confessor, and taught at the Colegio in 1648.[12] Given that it is known that in May 1646 the chapel housed a large painting of *The Annunciation* which functioned as its altarpiece, Cano's paintings must be later than that date, although probably quite close to it.[13] Documents subsequently published by the present author demonstrate that Isabel de Tébar owned houses on the calle Mayor (the future block 417, plot 12) that she left to her pious foundation, and Cano had lived on the same block. Furthermore Diego Jacinto owned houses that faced onto calle de los Bordadores, the plazuela de Herradores and calle de las Hileras (subsequently block 389 7, plot 8), opposite the house where the painter lived, which could provide a further explanation for the commission.[14]

The painting was destroyed but it is known through a black and white photograph.[15] Viewed with the necessary precautions, it reveals that despite the intervening years Cano made use of some iconographic elements recommended by Pacheco. It cannot be determined whether the Virgin's mantle was blue (it probably was) although the tunic certainly seems to be white; her hair, on the other hand, is loose but seems to be very dark. The sun is not oval but round, the Virgin is not crowned, and the twelve stars are above her head forming an oval that encloses the dove of the Holy Spirit. At her feet is a transparent moon but the tips are not visible, nor are the attributes of the Earth.

The image is particularly striking for the way in which Mary places her right hand on her breast while showing the open palm of her left hand. This gesture is unusual but also found in a model attributed by the present author to Vicente Carducho and dated ca. 1620-1626 (Madrid, Private Collection) (fig. 5).[16] The arrangement of the hands also determines the movement of the mantle, which crosses from the left and falls to the right, albeit slightly different to Pacheco's arrangement.[17] The traditional vertical emphasis of Mary's pose is thus modified by the movement of her hands and mantle, which make her silhouette larger and tapered at both ends, a tendency which would develop further later on.

Mary is surrounded by angels as recommended by Pacheco – even if Pacheco himself did not follow his own recommendation. There are two groups, possibly of four each, in the lower zone bearing various attributes such as white and mauve flowers and a mirror, along with a pair of angels on each side at the top, and a pair of seraphim at her feet. While the angels are arranged at the top and bottom with apparent symmetry, their poses are extremely dynamic, with those at the bottom depicted with very pronounced foreshortening, comparable to the angels by Velázquez in his *Coronation of the Virgin* of 1636 (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado). The present author identified the two pairs at the top in a pen and ink drawing of child angels in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (fig. 6).[18]

The second depiction of the subject by Cano is a signed work measuring 183 x 112 cm that Cano must have painted in Madrid just before 1650 and which was sent to the parish church in Berantevilla (Álava) by Fray Pedro de Urbina y Montoya, a Franciscan prelate who had been baptised there. It is likely that he initiated the commission in Madrid during his time as Bishop of Coria, before moving to become Archbishop of Valencia, where he was also Viceroy and Captain General (1650-1652). Urbina y Montoya was a staunch defender of the Immaculate Conception, and Philip IV entrusted him with managing its approval by the Pope in Rome although he never in fact made the journey.[19]

Fig. 7 / Alonso Cano, *Immaculate Conception*, oil on canvas, 215 x 412 cm, Granada Cathedral.

Wethey lavished praise on the work in Berantevilla, undoubtedly one of Cano's most beautiful paintings. It has been slightly cut down at the top, with the crown of cherubim surrounding the Virgin cropped.[20] Here Cano follows a number of Pacheco's guidelines. The Virgin is a beautiful young girl with loose, although not golden, hair, surrounded by an oval sun and crowned with twelve stars among very faint rays of light, the moon is shown with its tips facing downwards, and there are child angels with flowers in the sky, in addition to the above-mentioned cherubim. The mantle is blue but the tunic is red. Mary's pose and her hands clasped on the right can be seen in a number of other examples by Pacheco, although here she looks up towards the viewer. The differences between this work and the version for the chapel of the Colegio Imperial are surprising. They include the Virgin's gaze, pose and hands, along with the colour of her tunic, the sun, the absence of the dove and of many child angels, and, most importantly, the less elongated proportions of the figure and the splendid beauty that Cano gave her. Also worthy of note is the dynamic effect achieved by the oblique line of the drapery falling from right to left, with the mantle billowing out considerably, and the protruding knee that catches the resplendent light. The result is unique, although it is not known whether the work was created in response to the demands of a client or whether the artist was acting in this case in a completely independent fashion.

The next treatment of the theme by Cano is the altarpiece in Granada, measuring 215 x 142 cm, which was acquired by the cathedral chapter after Cano's death. In 1713 a small oratory was built adjoining the chapterhouse where the painting was installed and still remains today (fig. 7).[21] Its relationship with the small polychrome wood sculpture (fig. 8)(56 cm high) carved by Cano in 1655-1656 has often been remarked upon. This sculpture was made for the niche at the top of the cathedral's lectern but it aroused so much admiration that it was moved to the sacristy.[22] Nonetheless, the differences between the sculpture and painting are clear. In the altarpiece, the Virgin has her head turned slightly to the right, gaze lowered, hair loose and hands joined on the opposite side. She wears a white tunic and blue mantle, with twelve stars between bursts of light, an oval sun, and a downward-pointing moon. There is a base with three cherubim, each with a pair of child angels at either side in the lower area, those on left holding a palm frond and violet irises, while those on the right have white irises and roses.

Fig. 8 / Alonso Cano, *Immaculate Conception*, 1655-1656, polychrome wood, 56 cm high, Granada Cathedral.

This work, which has always been highly praised, is generally dated between 1660 and 1667 following Wethey's suggestion. It is closely related to the recently rediscovered version previously with Coll & Cortés and now in a private collection (see p. 76 and fig. 9).

Wethey refers to a version of *Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception*,[23] that he thought had been lost in 1936, but which he knew from a photograph belonging to Enrique Lafuente Ferrari. Unpublished and never referred to by any author, the painting had been in the private chapel of Mariano Pelegrín Dum in Lorca (Murcia) since 1921, after his grandfather had acquired it in Madrid in 1870. According to information in his will, Pelegrín's grandfather had purchased it from the daughter or granddaughter of its previous owner, who had in turn acquired it from a monastery in Madrid as a work by Alonso Cano. He bequeathed it to the church of San Mateo in Lorca where it was displayed for many years until the title-holder of a pious foundation decided to remove it from the church. It was then returned to the Pelegrín family and passed down to Mariano Pelegrín. This story was written on the reverse of Lafuente Ferrari's photograph, along with the measurements of 250 x 150 cm, and a note that it was undoubtedly by Cano and in every way similar to the one in the oratory of Granada cathedral. Wethey observed that it was notably larger than the one in the cathedral (the measurements of which he gave as 211 x 130 cm). Although he dated the work to 1660-1667, he thought that it could have been painted in Malaga during Cano's time there between 1665 and 1666 and suggested that it might be the painting measuring 3 *varas* high (251 cm) recorded in the 1733 inventory of the possessions of María Teresa de Pliego.[24] With the caveat that he only knew it from a poor quality photograph, Wethey considered it to be an original by Cano, a version – with some variations – of the example in the oratory of Granada Cathedral.

Arnáiz knew this work in a private collection (the name of which he does not provide), and published a black and white photograph of reasonable quality.[25] He believed it was undoubtedly by Cano and one of his most beautiful works, although he thought that the background may have been painted by an assistant. Arnáiz gave the dimensions as 212.5 x 172.5 cm, on which basis it cannot be the painting in the 1733 de Pliego inventory. He dated it after 1665 on the basis of its "evolved" technique.

When Wethey's book was published in Spanish,[26] he was already aware of Arnáiz's article but he repeated his statement of some years earlier, that the Pelegrín version measured 250 cm and could thus be the one in the inventory of 1733, even though the commentary on the work gives the dimensions as 212.5 x 172.5 cm, the size given by Arnáiz. Wethey stated, furthermore, that it was in a private collection, having previously said that it was lost, and dated it broadly to 1660-1667.

In 2010 Valdivieso published an extensive text on the painting, with colour reproductions of the work.[26] He wrote that it had passed into the ownership of Magdalena Clara Maestre in Cartagena (Murcia), from whom it was acquired by Coll & Cortés, Madrid in 2010. Possibly influenced by Wethey's hypothesis that it could be the painting that belonged to de Pliego in Malaga in 1733 (without referring to the different measurements), he dated it to 1665-1666, in other words, during Cano's time in Malaga. He noted the iconographical correspondences not only with Pacheco's recommendations, but also, for the first time, with observations made by the Carmelite fray Juan de Ruelas in his *Hermosura corporal de la Madre de Dios* (The physical beauty of the mother of God), published in 1621. Valdivieso considered it an undoubtedly autograph work by Alonso Cano and related it to the example in the oratory of Granada Cathedral, of the same outstanding quality. He added that it must have been the principal image in a private oratory.

Various conclusions can be drawn from this information and from the work itself. The painting measures 212 x 172 cm – almost exactly 2½ x 2 *varas* – and as such its height is similar to the altarpiece in Granada Cathedral but it is a third of a *vara* wider. Firstly, it cannot be the work recorded in the 1733 inventory or any other known from documents as the measurements do not coincide. Secondly, its presence in Lorca (Murcia) does not clarify its provenance and it could thus have been painted for a private individual or a religious institution, from which it would have been removed during the Peninsular War or the ecclesiastical confiscations of the nineteenth century. The first option is in our opinion more likely, given that Cano had private clients throughout his career. Finally, the standard dimensions of the work do not help to clarify whether it was painted for a specific destination or not.

It is thus evident that the painting under discussion here is a version with variants of the altarpiece in Granada. In this respect it should be remembered that the cathedral's chapter acquired the latter in unknown circumstances after the painter's death. There is thus no evidence of which was painted first. The difference in dimensions is not a determining factor and no doubt reflects the wishes of the clients. It seems evident that the second example responded to a commission which specified that it should resemble the first – a common requirement in this period[27] – although a lack of further information at the present time means that it is impossible to determine which of the two versions came first. One should also consider whether these paintings were inspired by the aforementioned small sculpture by Cano intended for the lectern, in which case its date would be close to 1656. For the present author this might be the case, but not necessarily, given that they are not identical.

During Cano's first period in Granada – from February 1652 to just before October 1657 – he was accused by the chapter of working not for the cathedral as he was obliged to, given his position of prebendary, but instead for private clients and religious houses.[29] In fact, the artist produced little for the cathedral between 1652 and 1653 and nothing at all in 1654 and 1655. Stating that he had worked for poor convents "only for what they wanted to give him by way of charity in order to sustain himself," Cano produced a number of paintings for the Discalced Franciscans of San Antonio and San Diego. These included an *Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception* for one of the side altars on the crossing, and another located in the ante-choir that subsequently belonged to the Marqués of Cartagena.[30] The parallels between the latter work and the two under discussion here are clear, although it is smaller and the Virgin is looking in the opposite direction. It therefore seems likely that either the altarpiece from the oratory of Granada Cathedral or the painting formerly with Coll & Cortés may be identified with the one from the lateral chapel in the Franciscan convent, and that the other was commissioned by a private client who wanted a copy of the first one. While it is not exactly known when Cano worked for the convent, it could have been in 1654-1655 although a later date of 1656-1657 has also been suggested,[31] in which case it would have been between April 1656 and September 1657. In his above-mentioned essay, Álvarez Lopera referred to various supporters and friends of Cano in Granada, among them Canon Gerónimo de Prado whom the artist named as executor in his will. For the present author this is the cleric portrayed in the painting now in the museum in Bordeaux, and he would be the principal candidate for the private client who commissioned one of the two works.

Nonetheless, it should not be ruled out that Cano could have painted both examples during his final period in Granada, which ran from July 1660 until his death in September 1667, with periods in Malaga in October 1661 and from 1665 to 1666. This hypothesis seems less probable given his known activity and the works' formal characteristics. However, it is noteworthy that on 8 December 1661, Pope Alexander VII dictated the apostolic constitution *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum* in which he recognized the belief maintained by Christians since Antiquity that Mary, "from the first moment of her creation and infusion in the body was by a special grace and privilege of God, in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, her Son, Redeemer of the human race, preserved immune from the stain of original sin," thereby banning the teaching of the opposing doctrine and promoting the cult and celebration of this mystery. This papal constitution was met with enthusiasm similar to the one of 1617 and influenced the commissioning of images on the subject of the Conception, which may account for the production of these two paintings.

The rediscovered canvas has some iconographic elements that, as with other earlier examples, derive from the recommendations of Cano's master, Pacheco. In addition to the Virgin's youth, the beauty of her facial features, pink cheeks and loose flowing hair (which has a redder tinge than the recommended golden one and falls over her right shoulder), other notable elements include the white tunic and traditional blue mantle; the circular rather than oval sun in a golden ochre tone; and the twelve stars outside the pale circle are located over the rays which are rigid and relatively undefined. There is no crown but the moon is present as a transparent sphere without the downward-facing tips being visible. Also absent are God the Father, the Holy Spirit and attributes of the Earth, but three cherubim function as the base for the figure while two pairs of full-length child angels occupy the lower sides. These angels hold attributes of biblical origin, as was noted by Valdivieso. From the left, the roses: "and as a rose planted in Jericho" (Ecclesiasticus 24, 14); white narcissi and irises or purple anemones: "I am the narcissus of Sharon, the lily of the valleys" (Song of Songs 2:1); and a palm: "I was exalted like a palm tree in En-gaddi" (Ecclesiasticus 24:14). These attributes are the same ones held by the small angels in the version in the oratory, albeit in a different order.

In relation to Pacheco's paintings of 1619 and 1621 Mary's gaze is lowered and the hands clasped to the right, while the face is less elongated and more beautiful. Cano's figure is carefully proportioned to allow for a tall, slim body, although the arrangement of the arms and the mantle, passing over the left arm and under the right, serves to widen the body above the waist, creating an elliptical form that narrows towards the head and feet. The contrasting rhythm of the slightly turned face (the head remains upright) and of the hands on the opposite side introduces a balanced dynamism. This is reinforced by the complex play of the drapery as the mantle falls down vertically on the right, curving out from the hands and down to its opposite tip at the feet, and with an opposing line, from right to left, at the waist. This rich formal structure is enhanced by the cherubim facing opposite directions that form the figure's base, and the daring foreshortening of the child angels, arranged in different curving lines continued in the flowers and plants they are holding. The curves of the three circles – the stars around the head, the large sun and the moon at Mary's feet – reinforce the dynamism and majestic equilibrium of the Virgin's figure.

Through the spectacular harmony of the forms and the powerful beauty of a woman who was human but whose beauty symbolises her pure conception Alonso Cano succeeded in creating a masterpiece.

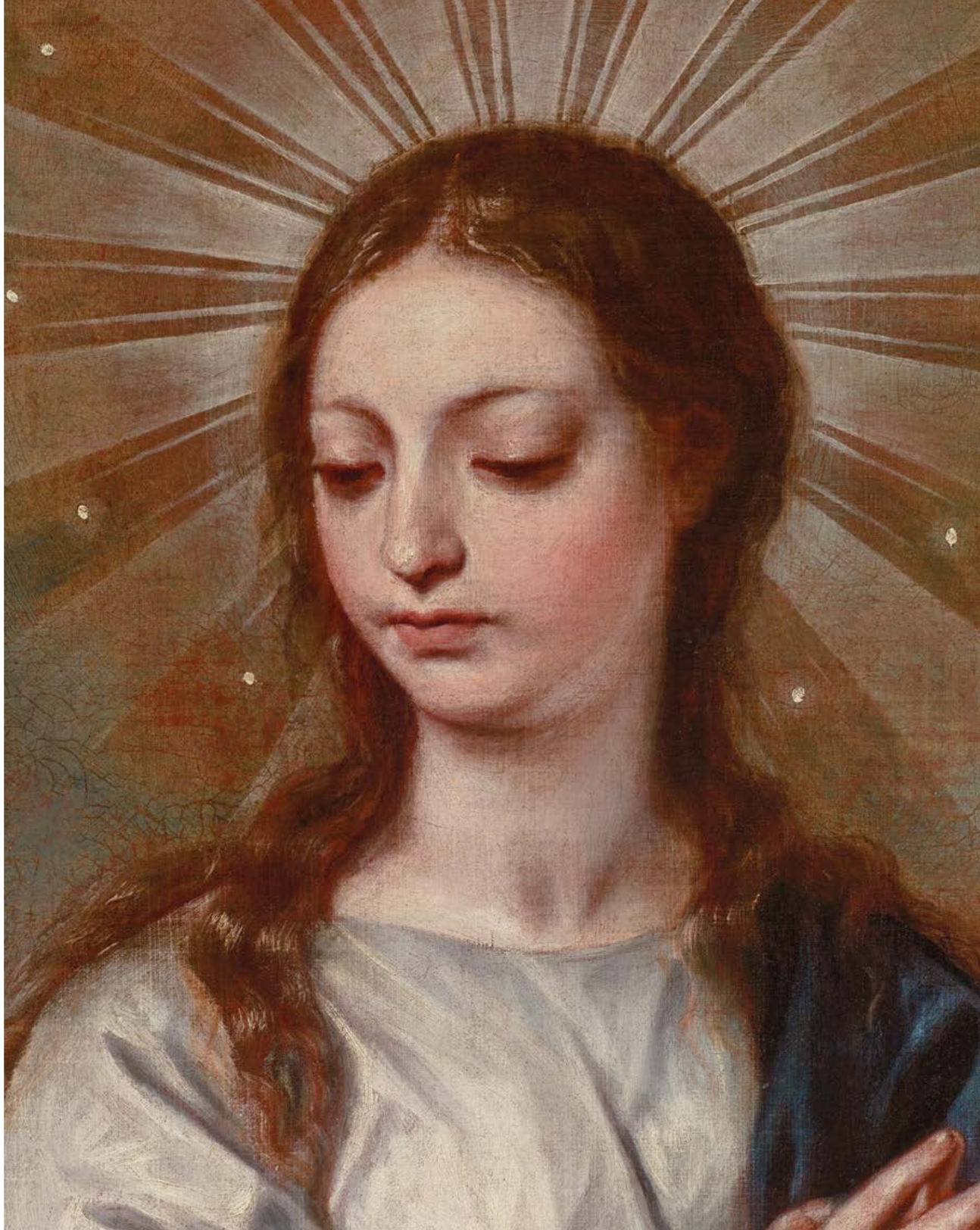
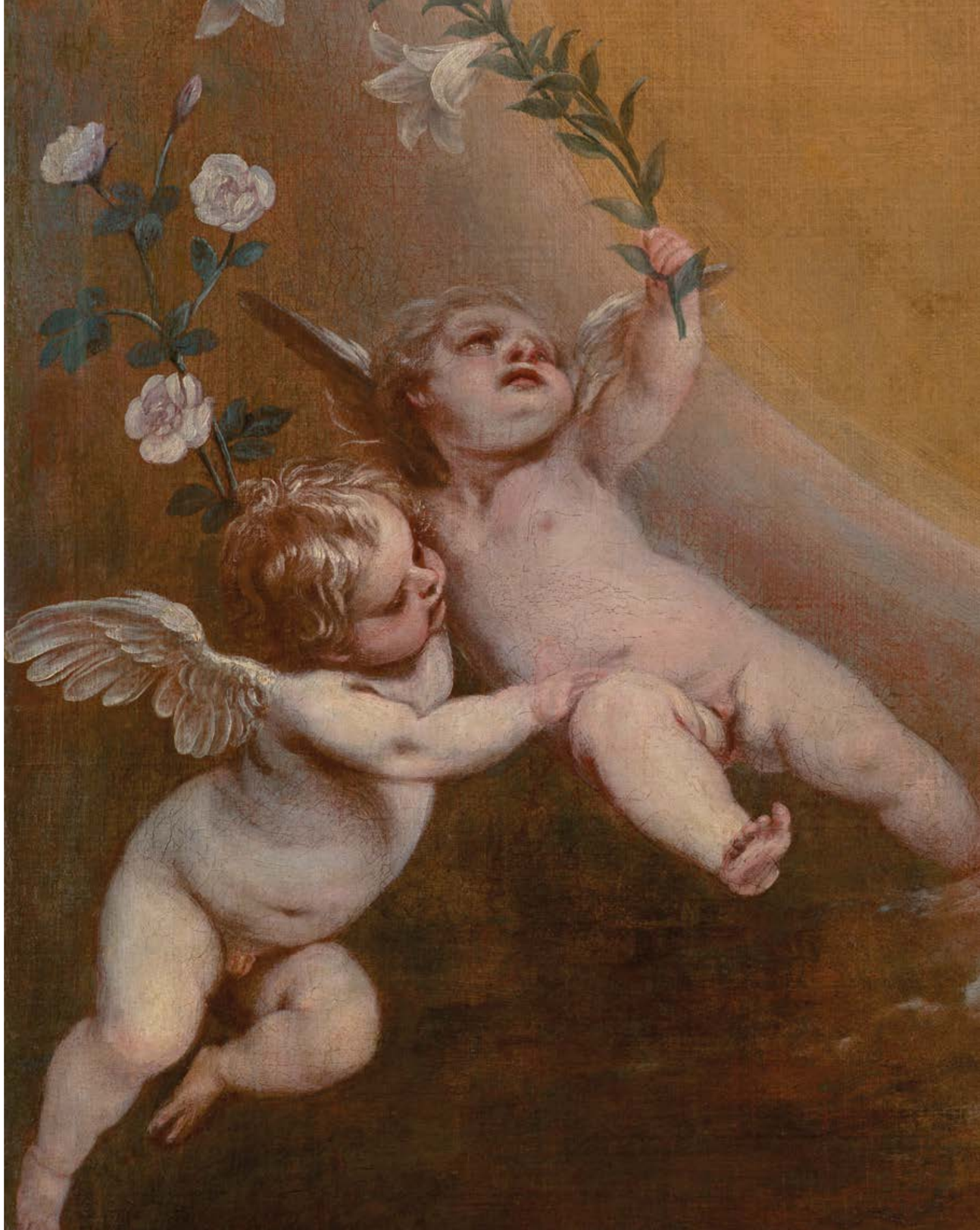


Fig. 9 / Alonso Cano, *Immaculate Conception* (detail, with the entire painting shown on p. 76), ca. 1665-1666, oil on canvas, 212.5 x 172.5 cm, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (on loan from a Private Collection).

NOTES

1. It is striking how often this dogma is confused by experts and art historians with that of Mary's virginity before, during, and after she gave birth. This theme and its iconography were discussed in depth by the present author in José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, "De zarzas toledanas (Correa, El Greco, Maíno)," *Archivo Español de Arte* 282 (1998): pp. 113-124. Also see Suzanne Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
2. "Declaramus, pronuntiamus et definimus doctrinam quae tenet beatissimam Virginem Mariam in primo instanti suae conceptionis fuisse singulari Omnipotentis Dei gratia et privilegio, intuitu meritorum Christi Jesu Salvatoris humani generis, ab omni originalis culpae labe praeservatam immunem, esse a Deo revelatam, atque idcirco ab omnibus fidelibus firmiter constanterque credendam." Denz., n. 1641. http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius09/p9ineff.htm.
3. "Hase de pintar pues, en este aseadísimo misterio esta Señora en la flor de su edad, de doce a trece años, hermosísima niña, lindos y graves ojos, nariz y boca perfectísima y rosadas mexillas, los bellísimos cabellos tendidos, de color de oro." Francisco Pacheco, *El arte de la pintura*, 1649, ed. Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990), pp. 575-577.
4. "Háse de pintar con túnica blanca y manto azul, que así apareció esta Señora a doña Beatriz de Silva, portuguesa, que se recogió después en Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo a fundar la religión de la Concepción Purísima, que confirmó el Papa Julio II, año de 1511, vestida del sol, un sol ovado de ocre y blanco, que cerque toda la imagen, unido dulcemente con el cielo; coronada de estrellas, doce estrellas compartidas en un círculo claro entre resplandores, sirviendo de punto la sagrada frente; las estrellas sobre unas manchas claras formadas al seco de purísimo blanco, que salga sobre todos los rayos. Píntolas más bien que ninguno don Luis Pascual, monje en la historia de San Bruno para la gran Cartuxa. Una corona imperial adorne su cabeza, que no cubra las estrellas; debaxo de los pies, la luna que, aunque es un globo sólido, tomo licencia para hacello claro, transparente sobre los países; por lo alto, más clara y visible la media luna con las puntas abaxo."
5. "Suélese poner en lo alto del cuadro Dios Padre, o el Espíritu Santo, o ambos… Los atributos de tierra se acomodan, acertadamente, por país y los del cielo, si quieren, entre nubes. Adórnase con serafines y con ángeles enteros que tienen algunos de los atributos. El dragón, enemigo común, se nos había olvidado, a quien la Virgen quebró la cabeza triunfando del pecado original. Y siempre se nos había de olvidar; la verdad es que nunca lo pinto de buena gana y lo escusaré cuanto pudiere, por no embarazar mi cuadro con él. Pero en todo lo dicho tienen licencia los pintores de mejorarse."
6. Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas, "Algunas precisiones sobre Francisco Pacheco y la iconografía sagrada," in *Pacheco. Teórico, artista, maestro,* exh. cat. (Seville: Junta de Andalucia, 2016), p. 37.
7. The cited examples are published in Enrique Valdivieso and Juan Miguel Serrera, *Pintura sevillana del primer tercio del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985), nos. 44, 93, 94, 95, 96, 103 and 104; the other examples cited (of which no photographs or description are included) are not known to the present author. *Pacheco. Teórico, artista, maestro (1564-1644),* pp. 45-47 and nos. 9, 10, 11 and 39.
8. José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez. Vida y obra de un pintor cortesano* (Saragossa: Caja Inmaculada, 2011), pp. 45-47. Some of the statements made in that work can be corrected here. I now consider that the painting belonging to the University of Navarre is later than 1610 or 1612 and that Vázquez de Leca can be rejected as the patron of the 1621 version.
9. Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, pp. 44-45. I expressed doubts over the attribution to Velázquez defended by Brown and it could be that the work is by Cano, as Pérez Sánchez proposed.
10. Harold E. Wethey, *Alonso Cano. Pintor, escultor y arquitecto* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1983), no. 35; Maria Elena Gómez Moreno, *Alonso Cano. Estudio y catálogo de la exposición celebrada en Granada de 1954* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1954).
11. José Álvarez Lopera, "Cano desconocido. Sobre conjuntos dispersos y pinturas desaparecidas," in *Alonso Cano. Espiritualidad y modernidad artística*, exh. cat. (Granada: Junta de Andalucia, 2001), pp. 158-161; José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, "Las etapas cortesanas de Alonso Cano," in *Alonso Cano. Espiritualidad y modernidad artística*, pp. 207-208.
12. His second name was the same as one of the saints depicted on the lower level, who has been incorrectly identified as Saint Bernard. Rarely depicted in Madrid altarpieces, this figure is Saint Hyacinth.
13. José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, "Encargos y clientes de Alonso Cano en la Corte de Felipe IV," in *Alonso Cano: La modernidad del siglo de oro español* (Madrid: Fundación Santander Central Hispano, 2003), p. 86. Despite what is published in that text, the chronology that appears as an appendix to it follows Wethey in locating it in the Buen Consejo chapel and in dating it to 1642-1644.
14. José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, "Alonso Cano en Madrid," in *Arte y cultura en la Granada renacentista y barroca: relaciones e influencias,* ed. José Policarpo Cruz Cabrera (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2014), pp. 212-213.
15. Wethey, *Alonso Cano*, pl. 71.
16. There is another almost identical version of this painting in the *Altarpiece of the Consolation* in the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla. Ismael Gutiérrez Pastor, "Pintores homónimos en torno a un dibujo de Adán y Eva, firmado por Luis Fernández en 1626,"*Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 21 (2009): p. 168, considers that the painting in the monastery in La Rioja is closer to models by Vicente Carducho in the gesture of the hands and the devil at the feet but that the Virgin's face responds to "different ideals", thus attributing it to Luis Fernández and repeating the viewpoint he maintained in Ismael Gutiérrez Pastor, *Catálogo de pintura del monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla* (Logroño: Comunidad Autónoma de la Rioja, 1984), pp. 76-77 and 218. Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, "Pintura madrileña del siglo XVII: 'Addenda," *Archivo Español de Arte* 195 (1976): p. 314 and fig. 23, published a work in a private collection which he tentatively attributed to Luis Fernández and which Gutiérrez Pastor also sees as closer to models by Carducho. However, the attribution to the latter cannot be confirmed in this version due to the technique and numerous other aspects of the painting in question.
17. In a drawing of *The Assumption of the Virgin* (London, British Museum) attributed to Bocanegra and which Zahira Véliz considers to be by Cano, the hands are identically arranged, although there are no other resemblances in the figure or the drapery. See Zahira Véliz, *Alonso Cano (1601-1667) Dibujos. Catálogo razonado* (Santander: Fundación Botín, 2011), no. 25.
18. The catalogue of drawings of the Biblioteca Nacional includes it as a work by Alonso Cano (DIB/15/4/32). It was reproduced without additional commentary in *Alonso Cano. Espiritualidad y modernidad artística,* p. 313. Véliz, *Dibujos*, does not include this drawing.
19. Cruz Valdovinos, "Alonso Cano en Madrid," p. 211.
20. Wethey, *Alonso Cano,* no 36.
21. Wethey, *Alonso Cano,* pp. 84-85, no. 38, pl. 151-152; Francisco-Javier Martínez Medina, "Expresividad y emoción en el arte de Alonso Cano," in *Alonso Cano. Espiritualidad y modernidad artística,* pp. 344-345 and 436-437.
22. Wethey, *Alonso Cano,* pp. 75-76, no. 99, pl. 128; Martínez Medina, "Expresividad y emoción," pp. 343-344.
23. Harold E. Wethey, *Alonso Cano. Painter, Sculptor. Architect* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 87-88 and 159-160, fig. 145; and Wethey, *Alonso Cano,* p. 85 and no. 39.
24. The inventory is in the Archivo de Protocolos de Málaga, notary Diego de Zea Bermúdez, and was published by Andrés Llordén, *Pintores y doradores malagueños. Ensayo histórico documental (siglos XV-XIX)* (Avila: Ediciones Real Monasterio de El Escorial, 1959). Prieto's reading would seem to be the correct one. It was not included in the *Corpus Alonso Cano*, 2002.
25. José Manuel Arnáiz, "De Alonso Cano y su discípulo Bocanegra," *Archivo Español de Arte* 210 (1980): pp. 187-189, fig 3.
26. Wethey, *Alonso Cano*, p. 85 and no. 39.
27. Enrique Valdivieso, "Alonso Cano. The Immaculate Conception," in *Spanish Painting* (Madrid: Coll & Cortés, 2010), pp. 264-269.
28. Cruz Valdovinos, "Encargos y clientes de Alonso Cano," pp. 87-88; on 6 July 1651 Francisco Antonio Díaz de Quirós rented Cano a house in Madrid, in exchange for which he obliged the artist to give him three paintings on agreed subjects, copied by him and retouched by his hand.
29. Álvarez Lopera, "Cano desconocido," pp. 95-100.
30. Álvarez Lopera, "Cano desconocido," p. 98; Wethey (*Alonso Cano*, no. 37) thought it was the one from the lateral altar.
31. Antonio Calvo Castellón, "Inmaculada," in *Alonso Cano. Espiritualidad y modernidad artística,* pp. 172-173.



“The volatile and vivacious connoisseur of the old school”: a portrait of the Victorian art dealer Martin Colnaghi (1821-1908) and his relationship with the National Gallery, London

SUSANNA AVERY-QUASH

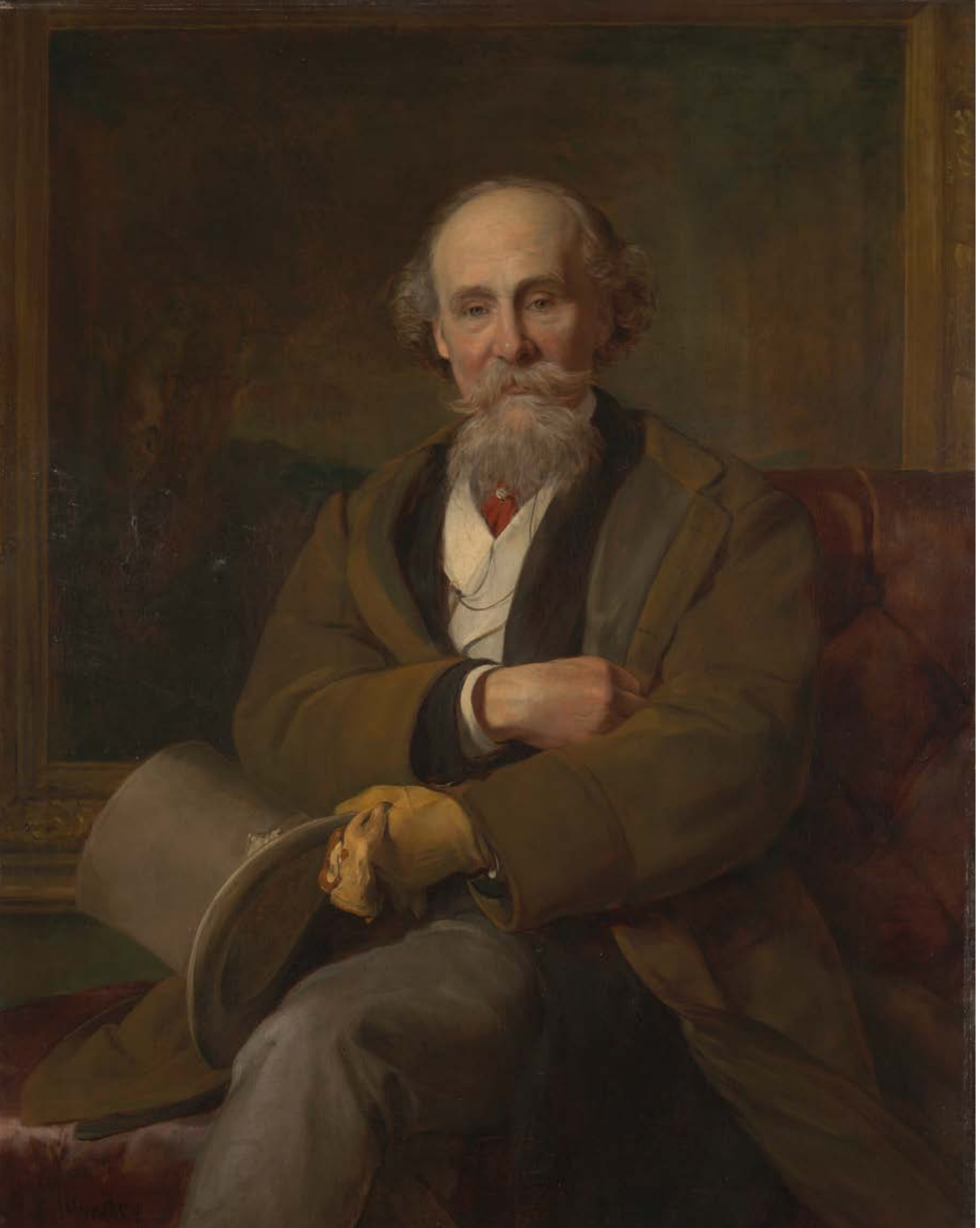


Fig. 1 / John Callcott Horsley, *Portrait of Martin Colnaghi*, 1889, oil on canvas, 111.8 x 87 cm, London, National Gallery.

Martin Henry Colnaghi (1821-1908) was a picture dealer and collector with a keen interest in Old Master paintings, especially of the Dutch and Flemish Schools. Although he sold only two pictures to the National Gallery, London, he became a considerable benefactor to the institution, donating one painting during his lifetime and bequeathing four others in 1908. More significantly still, in his will, he left the Gallery the substantial sum of £80,000, which over the years has helped to buy at least two dozen more pictures. This article seeks to disentangle Martin Colnaghi’s art dealing practice from the better-known one of his relatives P. & D. Colnaghi, with which it is still often confused. In the process, it will draw attention to his business transactions, especially in relation to the trade in Dutch Old Masters, and discuss the ways in which Martin Colnaghi’s *modus operandi* reflected or differed from standard contemporary practices. The major focus will be on his relationship with the National Gallery, London, to highlight an important if overlooked episode in the institution’s history, and one that raises broader issues about the acceptance of gifts/bequests from private individuals by public institutions, not least the managing of sometimes conflicting expectations of donors, museum officials and the general public.

Perhaps not surprisingly given Martin Colnaghi’s generosity to the national collection, there is a portrait of him in the National Gallery’s collection. Yet the fact that it has rarely been on public display is consistent with how overlooked the sitter has been in the Gallery’s history as well as in the history of collecting and the art market more generally. Certainly little has been written about Martin Colnaghi in comparison with his better known relatives.[1] Using the National Gallery’s portrait of Martin Colnaghi as a starting point, this article will outline salient aspects of his biography as these relate to his business as a Victorian art dealer and his interactions with the National Gallery, seeking to contextualize his actions with those of his contemporaries in the art world of his day in order to reach a fair assessment of his contribution.

John Callcott Horsley’s portrait of Martin Colnaghi (fig. 1) was painted in 1889, and was exhibited at the Royal Academy that year.[2] It was given to the National Gallery in 1908 by the sitter’s widow, Amy Mary. Later, it was transferred to the Tate Gallery, but in 2001 was returned to the National Gallery,[3] where it now forms part of the History Collection, the repository for works of art which are considered to be of interest primarily on historical grounds rather than on aesthetic ones. Horsley’s portrait is one of several likenesses of the dealer. When it was initially offered to the National Portrait Gallery, the Director Lionel Cust, rejected it, informing the widow that a likeness of her late husband by a Mr L. Melville “had already been offered … and declined, as ‘he was not thought of sufficient historical importance’.”[4] Cust suggested that she offer the picture to the National Gallery, and on doing so, the Trustees accepted it, in recognition of her late husband’s generosity to their institution.[5] Four other likenesses of Martin Colnaghi are listed in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, although the current whereabouts of all of them is unknown. To this list may be added a further painted likeness by Emil Fuchs even if, once more, its present location is uncertain.[6]

Despite the disappearance of these six images of the dealer, a portrait miniature of him, painted about 1908, is, appropriately, preserved in the Colnaghi Collection (fig. 2). A couple of engraved portraits of Martin Colnaghi also survive; one was reproduced in the *Art Journal* of 1896, and it is likely that he is among the figures portrayed in the illustration of "A Picture Sale at Christie's" which appeared in *The Graphic* of 10 September 1887.[7]

AN ART DEALER WITH PARTICULAR INTEREST IN DUTCH OLD MASTERS

The following account of Martin Colnaghi's work as an art dealer draws on primary source material in the National Gallery's archive and contemporary accounts in *The Times*, art journals and auction catalogues. It has benefitted, additionally, from more recent research by Dennis Farr, Pamela Fletcher, M. J. Ripps, and Phyllis Willmot.[8] *The Times* obituary confirmed that Martin Colnaghi never published any memoirs, while his business records have been destroyed.[9] The only books known to survive from his business are John Smith's own copy of his celebrated multi-volume *Catalogue Raisonné* of Dutch, Flemish and French art annotated by Smith himself and his successors. Each volume carries the ownership inscription "Amy M. Colnaghi".[10] How Martin Colnaghi came to acquire the series is not known for sure, but we do know that Martin's father was a subscriber to Smith's *magnum opus* for his name is included on a list of supporters that Smith published in 1833, so it is likely that the younger Martin inherited the books.[11] Doubtless he would have found the annotated series an invaluable tool in helping to identify past owners and current locations of works of art, as well as in assisting with valuations given that the volumes included considerable data concerning prices. It may be that Martin Colnaghi did not possess a particularly extensive library; certainly, he was not known to have been bookish and was dismissive of art-historical scholarship, trusting far more in his own eye and instinct.[12]

Martin Henry Colnaghi, baptized Martino Enrico Luigi Gaetano, was born at 23, Cockspur Street, London, on 16 November 1821. He was the eldest son of Martin Lewis Gaetano Colnaghi, print-seller, and Fanny Boyce Clarke. His father was considered the "black sheep" of the family for he had sued his own father, Paul (1751-1833), and older brother, Dominic (1790-1879), in 1824, at the time when his father, hoping to retire, was attempting to divide up the assets of his print-selling business.[13] When the suit was settled in 1825, Martin Senior was left with £3,000 and the premises in Cockspur Street. Martin Senior's father and brother, Paul and Dominic, meanwhile, were reassigned the stock and chattels, which they moved to 14 Pall Mall East, where they restarted their print-publishing business as Colnaghi, Son & Co. Later known as P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., the firm from 1894 invited non-family members into its ranks, when William McKay, a family member, was joined in partnership by Edmund Deprez and Otto Gutekunst. Venturing into Old Master paintings around this time, P. & D. Colnaghi came into competition with several long-established dealers who would continue to lead the field until WWI, notably the British firms of Thomas Agnew and Wertheimers as well as Charles Sedelmeyer, who had been based in Paris since the 1870s. By contrast, Martin Colnaghi senior was not so successful and was declared bankrupt in 1832 and again in 1843. His financial situation was not improved by his exclusion, perhaps predictably, from the wills of both his parents.[14]

His son, the younger Martin with whom we are concerned, had been educated for the army, but his father's second bankruptcy thwarted this ambition.[15] He struggled initially to establish himself, and for a few years became involved with railway advertising with a firm that later became well-known as W. H. Smith. About 1860, however, he found employment in the art world, working initially for his uncle's firm (although he was never a partner of P. & D. Colnaghi & Co.), then for another print-publisher, Henry Graves,[16] and finally on his own account. His ventures with print publishing largely explain Martin Colnaghi's membership of the Printsellers' Association (the *ODNB* records that he published a few prints), although it was as a picture dealer that he would make his name. Initially he conducted his picture dealing business from his home in Pimlico, but in 1876 he took over Flatou's Gallery at 11 Haymarket, which he renamed the Guardi Gallery, in honour of two huge paintings by Guardi that he owned (now at Waddesdon Manor).[17] The first advertisement for the Guardi Gallery appeared in the *Athenaeum* on 3 June 1876, inviting members of the public to view his pair of Venetian views by Guardi on payment of a shilling.[18] His business expanded such that in 1887 he acquired the galleries of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours at 53, Pall Mall, which he re-christened the Marlborough Gallery.[19]

Fig. 2 / Ernest Lloyd, *Martin H. Colnaghi*, 1908, watercolour, oval 10 x 8 cm, Colnaghi.

A review in the *Times* in March 1887 indicates that for a time he ran both galleries simultaneously, giving each venue a distinct remit: modern pictures on show at the Guardi Gallery in Haymarket and Old Masters at Pall Mall.[20] This division soon came to an end, however, and from February 1889 he traded solely from the Marlborough Gallery on Pall Mall. Some confusion existed in the public mind concerning both the location of Martin Colnaghi's premises and the nature of his relationship with P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. for various statements in the press were issued over the years to clarify both points.[21]

It is not entirely clear when Martin Colnaghi started to trade in paintings but it is recorded that he bought no fewer than five Old Masters at the celebrated sale of the 2nd Lord Northwick in 1859.[22] We know too that it was from 1876 that his name first started to appear systematically in *The Times* as a buyer at art sales – when he purchased a Murillo at the Wynn Ellis sale.[23] Indeed, he acquired the majority of his stock, especially Old Master pictures, at public auctions in London, and was a popular habitué at Christie's.[24] For the record it is worth noting that Martin Colnaghi made at least one foray into the decorative arts market. He is recorded in 1884 as a purchaser of numerous lots of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century majolica and Limoges enamels from the collections of Andrew Fountaine.[25] We may link two of the exhibitions that Martin Colnaghi mounted with this secondary interest in the applied arts. The first took place in 1878, when he displayed a work by the celebrated American Neoclassical sculptor, Harriet Hosmer.[26] Later, in 1892, he mounted an exhibition of embroidery "of landscapes, sea views &c., ingeniously worked in silk on a painted ground" by Mme. Mankiewicz, the wife of the Austrian Consul-General at Dresden, for the benefit of the Austro-Hungarian Aid Society.[27]

Such events were, however, atypical of his usual work which dealt primarily with paintings. Although the current article focuses on Martin Colnaghi as a dealer in Old Masters, he was in his day equally well-known as a dealer in contemporary art, especially by foreign painters.[28] He hosted an annual "Summer Exhibition", where typically a number of living painters showed their work, and he also put on exhibitions which promoted single pictures.[29] Through this activity he can be aligned with many other dealers who were also involved with the mounting of loan exhibitions for the general public, of both contemporary and Old Master paintings. The phenomenon had started in 1813 as an initiative of the British Institution and had been carried on both by the Royal Academy from 1870 and by private gallery owners in the West End of London. For instance, at the Grosvenor Gallery on New Bond Street from 1877 to 1890, Sir Coutts and Lady Lindsay promoted contemporary artists within their summer exhibitions, but also put on equally ambitious winter shows which sometimes also displayed the work of recently deceased masters and/or the Old Masters.[30] Indeed, Martin Colnaghi's Winter Exhibition of 1878 at the Guardi Gallery was reviewed as just one of a dozen such exhibitions in the *Art Journal*.[31] While there is abundant evidence of the sumptuous interiors and how audiences were treated at places like the Grosvenor, sadly such material is lacking in the case of Martin Colnaghi's premises, but clearly his Pall Mall gallery had a role to play as a society venue at the heart of the art market district where art was seen, discussed and purchased. In addition to hosting his own annual exhibitions, Martin Colnaghi was a generous lender to other exhibitions, including of Old Masters to the Royal Academy's Winter Exhibitions,[32] and later to the New Gallery, Regent Street.[33]

As a dealer in Old Master pictures, Martin Colnaghi dealt across the board, as is demonstrated by four pictures now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, which passed through his hands at one time or another: a Carlo Crivelli, a mid-seventeenth-century depiction of *The Larder* by the Genoese painter Vassallo, a portrait from Lely's studio, and a harbour-scene by Guardi.[34] *The Times* regularly reported Martin Colnaghi's purchases of Old Masters at art sales.[35] Arguably, the most important Old Master painting that he handled was the "Colonna Raphael", which he bought from the deposed King Francis II of the Two Sicilies (a descendant of Ferdinand I of Naples) in June 1896 for £17,000.[36] The National Gallery had not been interested in purchasing it when offered the chance to do so by the agent of Francis II for £40,000 (presumably they were more than satisfied with Raphael's Ansidei Altarpiece, which they had bought from the Duke of Marlborough in 1885), and remained uninterested when the Trustees were contacted about it in 1886 and 1895.[37] Instead the dealer, having restored the painting himself, sold it to Sedelmeyer in 1896 (initially in a half share, then fully), who went on to sell it in 1901 to the New York financier, John Pierpont Morgan, for double the price he had paid for it (now in New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art).[38]

Martin Colnaghi became best known as an expert and dealer in Dutch and Flemish seventeenth-century art.[39] He is an important figure in the promotion of this type of collecting being one of the first British art dealers to make a name as a specialist in the field. In this regard he may be compared with John Smith (1781-1855), although the latter was far more scholarly, witness his publications on Dutch artists mentioned earlier as well as his notable and early interest in Vermeer, and Smith also had a more eminent group of clients on his books.[40] Certainly no other member of the Colnaghi family dealt in any sustained way in Dutch art, and it was, in any case, only at the end of the century that P. & D. Colnaghi focused on marketing Old Masters. This interest in the Dutch Old Masters reflected evolving tastes of the day, which in turn the activity of art dealers like John Smith and Martin Colnaghi helped to promote.[41] According to another dealer, William Buchanan, prices for Flemish and Dutch pictures, which had been high in the 1820s before dipping the following decade, escalated again about 1840 when prices started to be paid "which Dutch pictures were never sold at before."[42] Among the most significant collectors who had been making the buying and display of Dutch art fashionable were, initially, George IV,[43] and, later, members of the two great banking dynasties – the Baring and Rothschild families – and one-time Prime Minister (and a Trustee of the National Gallery), Sir Robert Peel, seventy-seven of whose Flemish and Dutch paintings were bought by the National Gallery in 1871.[44]

A comprehensive study of Martin Colnaghi as a dealer of Dutch Old Masters made by Michael J. Ripps concluded that the dealer's "taste was a hybrid between the canonical and previously non-canonical, the old canon espoused by Smith and the new one cast by [Théophile] Thoré-Burger and instituted by [Wilhelm von] Bode and his protégés."[45] Ripps explains that, on the one hand, Martin dealt in the work of fashionable artists ("the old canon") including the Leiden *fijnschilder* School, characterized by painters like Gerrit Dou and Van Mieris (before it fell from favour, largely due to the adverse re-evaluation of it by the connoisseur Thoré-Burger) and established landscape painters of the Golden Age, notably Ruisdael, Hobbema, and Cuyp. On the other hand, the dealer revealed distinctive tastes both in his keen interest in Jan Steen's comparatively rare religious subjects,[46] and in his promotion of lesser-known, "non-canonical" masters. By the time of his death, it was claimed that Martin Colnaghi had "discovered" Jan van Goyen – he certainly sold numerous examples of Van Goyen's work to significant clients abroad (as did Sedelmeyer, who is credited with popularizing the Dutch artist in France). He was also credited with helping to bring "the great Frans Hals back to the notice of the world."[47] A third artist whose presence on the art market came to be felt because of Martin Colnaghi's activities is Vermeer, a name just then coming back into the frame essentially through the scholarship of Thoré-Burger.

Martin Colnaghi helped to build up various important private British art collections amassed by middle class professionals, including industrialists, especially in relation to their holdings of Dutch art. One of his major clients was Albert Levy, who owned some important works by Dutch and Flemish masters (Salomon Ruysdael, Rubens, Jan Steen, Rembrandt, Teniers, Both, etc.), and who once owned Gerrit Dou's *Astronomer by Candlelight* (Getty) and Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait* (ex-Heywood Lonsdale, now Norton Simon), which was disposed of at Christie's in March 1876. By contrast, Levy also came to own some remarkable watercolours by David Cox and Turner.[48] A second collector who Colnaghi supplied with numerous paintings was Robert Stephenson Clarke (1824-1891), who ran a successful shipping company, originally founded in Newcastle by Ralph and Robert Clarke in 1730. The company thrived in the Industrial Revolution, shipping coal from Newcastle and later diversifying to transport other commodities including grain, fertilisers and steel in northern Europe, the Mediterranean and West Africa. Stephenson Clarke bought his pictures mostly from Martin Colnaghi, including Jan van Huysum's *Flowers in a Terracotta Vase* (Liechtenstein Collection); Hans Memling's *Madonna and Child* (Bourne Park, Lady Juliet Tadgell); Verspronck's *Portrait of a Lady* (Norton Simon Foundation); circle of Dieric Bouts, *Madonna and Child* (sold at Christie's); Ribera's *Penitence of Saint Peter* (Chicago); and Jan van de Capelle's *Winter Landscape* (with Harris Lindsay), the latter formerly in the collection of another client of Colnaghi's – Albert Levy, as noted above.[49] A third important private UK client of Martin Colnaghi was Charles T. D. Crews, DL, JP, FSA (1839-1915), who lived at Billingbear Park, Wokingham, Berkshire. Among the Dutch Old Masters that Crews once owned and that Martin Colnaghi had a hand in acquiring for him are Jan Gossaert's *Portrait of Jean de Carondelet* and Lingelbach's *River Landscape* (with Colnaghi).[50]

Martin Colnaghi carried out much of his business on his own. As Ripps has pointed out, despite working for many years alongside Agnew's and later P. & D. Colnaghi, no more than a dozen transactions with either firm can be identified, and very few joint enterprises. Arguably, his most important dealings were with Sedelmeyer. Martin Colnaghi sold Sedelmeyer not only Raphael's Colonna Altarpiece, as noted above, but also a number of Dutch paintings. Most significantly, in January 1899, over a dozen works formerly belonging to Col. W.A. Hankey, including Jan Steen's *Grace before Meat*, passed from Colnaghi to Sedelmeyer.[51] Nor did Martin Colnaghi employ a large staff to assist him as other art dealers tended to do. Sir Hugh Lane (1875-1915), the Irish dealer who would do so much to promote French Impressionist art and who founded several public museums, served, as his first post in the art world, a short apprenticeship with Martin Colnaghi but may have been the only person to have held such a position. According to Lane's aunt, the Celtic Revival leader, Lady Augusta Gregory, it was she who got Lane the introduction to the dealer, having put in a good word for him with Sir John Charles Robinson, Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures.[52] In the words of one recent biographer of Lane, Martin Colnaghi "was to exert a lasting influence over his young employee,"[53] while according to a second commentator a piece of advice which Lane adopted from his employer was that the most important training for a dealer was to see as many works of art at first hand as possible; this induced him to conduct his fruitful tour of Irish country houses in 1903.[54] Although the employment as set up in 1893 gave Lane "twenty shillings a week and an indefinite position in the gallery,"[55] the contract only lasted about a year. This was due largely to a personality clash, despite their mutual interest in the Old Masters and a shared disinterest in the developing field of academic connoisseurship. In Lady Gregory's words, "Colnaghi did not much like him" and "showed no inclination to help him to knowledge, he would not even speak to him about the pictures that came and went."[56] Lane's dismissal was likely to have been, according to Ripps "linked to [Martin Colnaghi's] suspicion that his young employee had played a hand in the consignment of a freshly-painted 'Frans Hals' to Robinson & Fisher, which Colnaghi himself had then unwillingly acquired as an autograph work."[57]

The French dealer and critic Robert Réné Meyer-Sée (1884-after 1947) was employed as manager of the firm, before he went on to join Max Rothschild at the Sackville Gallery ca. 1909, where he organised the exhibition of Futurist painting in 1912, and then to run Rothschild's Marlborough Gallery at 34 Duke Street, London, which hosted an exhibition by the Italian Futurist Gino Severini in 1913.[58] For the record too, it should be noted that to extend his gallery's American reach, Martin Colnaghi employed Randolph Natili, an associate of Collis Huntington.[59]

Another characteristic that set Martin Colnaghi apart from his fellow dealers was his unwillingness to employ cut-throat strategies to increase his profit margin, an attitude motivated principally by a desire to assist buyers to secure the paintings they were pursuing. Ripps has noted, for instance, that the dealer tended to request a modest commission from clients rather than selling on works of art at prices grossly increased from those he had originally paid for them.[60] As the obituary in *The Times* commented, it was "other people" rather than Martin Colnaghi who "commonly had the benefit, for he was what is called a kindly seller."[61] The same perceptive obituary writer went on to summarize what he felt had motivated the dealer and what the consequences were for his business practices: "To pick up a fine picture … in the dirt … to clean it, and to hand it to a friend, was a real joy to him … but he was too independent and too impulsive to create a business on the large and expensive scale, which cooler-headed men have formed in these days of great purses and great prices."[62] Certainly, if one compares the prices associated with Martin Colnaghi's picture acquisitions or sales, they tend to be fairly modest, especially in the early part of his career.

At the apex of his career, the *Art Journal* opined that Martin Colnaghi was "probably the first picture expert in England."[63] Hardly less fulsome was a comment in the *Daily Telegraph's* obituary that while "[s]tricter methods of scientific criticism had long disturbed his ascendancy, and caused him to appear old-fashioned … in his hey-day he filled the bill as a critic with the true flair, and was worthily accounted as a very reliable judge of values of Italian and Dutch pictures, being a good second in this respect to the famous Nieuwenhuys."[64] Time has not modified such opinions, given that as recently as 1996, Martin Colnaghi was described as "the most prominent London art dealer of the late Victorian period."[65]

Fig. 3 / Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *Four Officers of the Amsterdam Coopers' and Wine-Rackers' Guild*, 1657, oil on canvas, 163 x 197 cm., London, National Gallery.

Fig. 4 / Cornelis Bega, *An Astrologer*, 1663, oil on oak, 36.9 x 29.6 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 5 / Philips Wouwerman, *Two Horsemen at a Gipsy Encampment, one Having his Fortune Told*, 1650-68, oil on oak, 32 x 35.9 cm, London, National Gallery.

As a result of his standing, his opinion was sought by public bodies in addition to the opinions he gave to private clients. For instance, he was consulted, together with other experts including Lockett Agnew, about the authenticity of an early Corot which had been presented by the Prince of Wales to the Dublin Modern Art Gallery.[66] Nor should it be forgotten that the Emperor of Austria awarded him the "Golden Cross of Merit with the Crown" in recognition of his "services to Art."[67]

Martin Colnaghi died, at the age of 88, on 26 June 1908,[68] and was buried in the family grave at Highgate.[69] He had outlived his siblings and the first two of his three wives.[70] Since he had no children to carry on his name or inherit his business, the Marlborough Gallery immediately closed. The remaining stock of over 1,000 pictures and other effects were sold at a series of auctions, the sales realising upwards of £15,000.[71] His estate was valued at just over £90,000.

LINKS WITH THE NATIONAL GALLERY: SALES OF 1888 AND 1895 AND GIFT OF 1896

Martin Colnaghi's relationship with the National Gallery extended over a period of twenty years. It appears to have started in 1887, when the dealer tried unsuccessfully to interest the Trustees in a significant full-length Genoese portrait by Van Dyck of Agostino Pallavicini.[72] Interestingly, John Calcott Horsley, the painter of Martin Colnaghi's portrait mentioned above, wrote an impassioned letter to urge its purchase.[73] The following year, 1888, Martin Colnaghi sold the National Gallery a landscape of *Stirling Castle*, then attributed to Alexander Nasmyth, for 120 guineas (now at Tate and said to be by Thomas Christopher Hofland),[74] while six years later, in 1895, the Trustees paid him £506 for Gerbrand van den Eeckhout's group portrait (fig. 3).[75] A year later, in 1896, Martin Colnaghi presented Cornelis Bega's painting of *An Astrologer* (fig. 4).[76] From the National Gallery's Board Minutes, we know that as part of the negotiation, he offered for sale two pictures by Annibale Carracci, but these were declined.[77] It was also in 1896, as noted earlier, that the dealer attempted in vain to interest the Trustees in the "Colonna Raphael". A fourth picture with a Martin Colnaghi provenance which entered the collection ahead of his 1908 bequest was Karel Dujardin's *Portrait of a Young Man*, which was with the dealer in 1899, although it was from Horace Buttery that this picture was acquired that year.[78] Ten other paintings now in the National Gallery were also once owned by the dealer, but this group, with only a circumstantial link with Martin Colnaghi, is not central to the present discussion.[79]

THE MARTIN COLNAGHI BEQUEST OF 1908

The first indication that Martin Colnaghi might remember the National Gallery in his will came in a letter that one of the Trustees, John Postle Heseltine, wrote to the Board in 1905: he explained that the dealer had expressed an intention of presenting certain pictures and bequeathing a large sum of money.[80] There matters rested until, in 1908, Colnaghi's executors wrote in relation to his final wishes.[81] In his will of 23 December 1907, Martin Colnaghi offered the Trustees three Old Master paintings, while in a codicil of 3 June 1908, he added a fourth. Two were seventeenth-century Dutch landscapes: Philips Wouwerman's *Two Horsemen at a Gipsy Encampment* (fig. 5)[82] and Aert van der Neer's *A Landscape with a River at Evening* (fig. 6) [83] which represented the dealer's specialism in Dutch School painting. The third picture was a sixteenth-century Italian religious painting – Lorenzo Lotto's *Virgin and Child with Saints Jerome and Nicholas of Tolentino* (fig. 7),[84] which remains the only religious picture by Lotto in the Gallery's collection. The final picture was an eighteenth-century English landscape by Thomas Gainsborough called *The Bridge* (fig. 8; now at Tate).[85] There was no discussion about the quality or state of preservation of the four Old Master paintings. The Trustees must have felt, in line with Heseltine's favourable comments of 1905, that all four pictures were eligible in their own right and that they enhanced the existing collection. All four pictures were immediately accepted and were put on display.[86]

Additionally, but "subject to his widow's life interest," Martin Colnaghi left the whole of the residue of his fortune of about £80,000 to the Trustees of the National Gallery for the purchase of pictures.[87] The main condition of his will stated that his pictures, both "accepted or purchased," should be known collectively as the Martin Colnaghi Bequest and should "be hung as nearly as may be in one group," with each picture having a "plate or inscription" acknowledging his bequest. The will also stipulated that his Fund should not remain unspent for more than three years at a time. Having accepted the bequest on these terms, at various points throughout the 1940s, the Trustees wrote to the Treasury requesting that certain adjustments be made to them. One major adjustment they desired concerned the way that pictures associated with Martin Colnaghi were displayed. Originally, the Colnaghi Bequest pictures were hung together,[88] on a screen in the large Dutch Room (Room X), alongside another Dutch work, Frans Hals's *A Family Group in a Landscape*, which the Gallery acquired the same year that it accepted Martin Colnaghi's bequest.[89] But the Trustees argued successfully against having to perpetuate this tradition, stating that this requirement did not fit with the Gallery's long-established policy of arranging pictures by date and school. Furthermore, even though the Gallery confirmed that the Colnaghi Bequest pictures would be "identifiable as such by persons visiting the Gallery,"[90] nothing systematic was done to bring this about. The acknowledgement within the "Acquisition Credit" of the French/Italian school painting of *The Visitation* that it was "Bought, using the Martin Colnaghi Fund" relates to the original terms of the bequest (fig. 9).

The second difficulty with the terms of the will was that the way the bequest funds were tied up no longer

Fig. 6 / Aert van der Neer *A Landscape with a River at Evening*, ca. 1650, oil on canvas, 79 × 65.1 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 7 / Lorenzo Lotto, *Virgin and Child with Saints Jerome and Nicholas of Tolentino*, 1522, oil on canvas, 91 x 75.4 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 8 / Thomas Gainsborough, *The Bridge*, ca. 1786, oil on canvas, 40 x 48.3 cm, London, Tate Britain.

suited the changed conditions of the art market, where Old Master paintings were reaching unprecedented sale prices. Arguing their case, the Gallery's Trustees won the day when a "Variation of the Trust" was passed in 1941, which allowed income to be accumulated for up to ten years before being spent on a given purchase – a strategy that allowed more expensive paintings to be acquired.[91] To this end it was also agreed that the Trustees could dip into the Fund's capital (so long as it was replenished),[92] and later still, in 1955, the Treasury agreed that the Fund could be used in conjunction with other Trust Funds and the grant-in-aid, a move that ensured that there was more disposable income for expensive picture acquisitions.[93]

This practice was not unusual. National and regional museums and art galleries across the UK, Europe and the US had always accepted gifts and bequests from private benefactors with stringent terms and conditions attached, and in numerous cases it had proved difficult to hang newly bequeathed groups of eclectic paintings within a public gallery arranged along historic and/or geographic principles. Consequently, negotiations to modify the terms of obligation had frequently taken place.[94] A good comparison with the Martin Colnaghi Bequest is that of the Mond Bequest, which the National Gallery accepted around the same time, in 1909. The chemical manufacturer Ludwig Mond's Collection included paintings by Bellini, Raphael, Titian and Cranach. In 1928 the Mond Room was built with the aid of a grant from the estate of Dr Mond to house his collection. After the end of the Second World War, however, the National Gallery and the Mond family agreed to distribute the bequeathed pictures throughout the Gallery's permanent collection and to have a plaque with an inscription placed in the Mond Room as a permanent memorial to his generosity.[95] Similar episodes have taken place beyond the walls of Trafalgar Square, including the redistribution across the galleries in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London,

Fig. 9 / French or North Italian, *The Visitation*, ca. 1630, oil on canvas, 113.6 x 218 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 10 / Esias van de Velde, *A Winter Landscape*, 1623, oil on oak, 25.9 x 30.4 cm, London, National Gallery.

of the furniture and decorative art objects from the John Jones Collection, originally bequeathed in 1882. By contrast, one of the few named collections that remains on display in "splendid isolation" from the rest of the permanent collection is the Constantine Ionides bequest (of 1901) at the Victoria & Albert Museum.[96] Many of the businessman's paintings are on display in Room 81 at the museum, hung densely, as they had been at his home in Holland Park, London, together with sculpture and furniture which belonged to him or his family, and oriental ceramics similar to pieces he owned. As the Gallery's catalogue to the collection notes, such an arrangement "gives the visitor the chance, almost unique in London, of seeing a collection as it was when it was formed almost a century ago, and of evaluating the taste and perspicacity of the collector."[97]

The Colnaghi Fund became active after the death of Mrs Colnaghi in 1940. It has been used ever since to buy, either wholly or in part, at least two dozen pictures.[98] The first picture so acquired was the French or North Italian seventeenth-century *Visitation*, mentioned above, which was bought in 1944,[99] while Batoni's *Portrait of Richard Milles*, purchased in 1980, is the last acquisition explicitly to name the Fund's support in official paperwork.[100] The Colnaghi Fund still exists (currently its value stands at over £1,000,000) but, frustratingly, it is almost impossible to discover which pictures have been acquired using it since the early 1970s, when all the Gallery's Trust funds were merged into a common pot.[101] Despite Martin Colnaghi's expertise in Dutch painting only one picture from that School has been bought using his Fund: Van der Velde's *Winter Landscape* of 1623, purchased in 1957 (fig. 10).[102] Two British landscapes by Richard Wilson were bought in 1953, including the painter's iconic *Holt Bridge on the River Dee*,[103] while the majority of purchases have been of Italian and French seventeenth- and eighteenth-century works, bought to fill perceived gaps in the Gallery's holdings, including Domenichino's eight fresco *Scenes from the Legend of Apollo*,[104] and Eustache Le Sueur's *Saint Paul Preaching at Ephesus*.[105] Yet the Fund has supported the acquisition of pictures of a later date too, including nineteenth- and twentieth-century French works, notably Delacroix's *Ovid among the Scythians*,[106] a Corot landscape[107] and Cezanne's portrait of his father.[108]

AN ASSESSMENT OF MARTIN COLNAGHI'S GENEROSITY TO THE NATIONAL GALLERY

To assess the relative value of the Colnaghi Fund to the National Gallery, we can compare it with other gifts to the nation which have included a financial element.[109] Such an exercise clarifies just how generous Martin Colnaghi was. For instance, some benefactors have left money but no paintings, notably the Clarke Fund in 1856 which gave the Gallery £23,104, and the Lewis Fund, established in 1863, which gave £10,000, at the time a substantial sum. Other Funds have been specific about the types of pictures which could be purchased using them, whereas Martin Colnaghi left no such stipulation. For instance, the Wheeler Fund, established in 1869, was limited to the purchase of British art, while the Courtauld Fund, established in the 1920s, was set up for the acquisition of works by the Impressionists. A donor whose posthumous generosity went some way to matching Martin Colnaghi's was Sir Claude Phillips (1846-1924), the art-historian, art critic and first Keeper of the Wallace Collection. On his death, in addition to leaving eight paintings to the Gallery including works by Dosso Dossi and Giovanni Antonio Pordenone, and a specific legacy of £200 to be divided between the warding-staff of the National Gallery, he left a bequest (a residue of his estate) from which the Gallery was able to buy during the 1920s Carel Fabritius's *Self-Portrait* and the Ter Brugghen *Jacob Reproaching Laban for Giving him Leah in place of Rachel* and to make a substantial contribution to the purchase of Titian's important work, *The Vendramin Family Venerating a Relic of the True Cross*.[110]

A yet more illuminating comparison of Martin Colnaghi's gifts and bequest might be with those of one particular subset of donors: British-based art dealers. Undertaking such an exercise makes his generosity even

clearer. P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., gave just two works a century apart: in 1860 a pencil tracing of Raphael's *Sistine Madonna*,[111] and in 1967 the then owners of the dealership donated Andrea Sacchi's *Saints Anthony Abbot and Francis of Assisi*.[112] Ernest Gambart, who had dealings with the National Gallery during the 1850s and 1860s,[113] made no donations to the institution.

Various members of the Agnew family have been generous donors of British art of various kinds, although none ever presented more than one picture to the National Gallery. Thus, Sir William Agnew gave a Reynolds in 1903;[114] Thos. Agnew & Sons a genre scene by George Leslie in 1904;[115] Lockett Agnew a landscape by Thomas Hands in 1909;[116] and Morland Agnew presented a portrait of Lord Melville by Sir Henry Raeburn in 1924 to mark the National Gallery's centenary.[117] Family members have also been associated with Old Master acquisitions by the Gallery; for instance, Colin Agnew and Captain Charles Romer Williams jointly presented a portrait of the 3rd Marquess of Hamilton by Daniel Mytens the Elder in 1919,[118] while in relation to Filippino Lippi's *The Virgin and Child with Saint John*, Agnew's sold it to the Gallery in 1894 on the most favourable terms possible – at cost price, thus making no profit from the transaction.[119] Most recently, Agnew's generously paid for the refurbishment of Room 32, which re-opened in 1991.

Finally, Joseph Duveen, one-time Trustee of the National Gallery, gave three pictures during the 1920s and 1930s, while he contributed at that time to the acquisition of two more.[120] Additionally, he funded the building of the Duveen Gallery at Trafalgar Square, which opened in 1930, and also paid for the Modern Foreign Gallery at the Tate, Millbank, when the Tate was still formally linked with the National Gallery.[121] On balance, perhaps of all the art dealers discussed, Joseph Duveen's contribution is the most comparable to that of Martin Colnaghi.

Martin Colnaghi's motives for his generosity to the Gallery are unknown because his will is silent on the point and his personal and business papers, as noted above, no longer exist to illuminate the matter. He had no children and family feuds of previous generations may have made him unwilling to leave his money to any cousins. Presumably he felt that the National Gallery would be a suitable future home for a few select paintings that he held to be important from an art-historical point of view. Perhaps his monetary gift may be explained by his awareness of the Gallery's precarious financial situation, ever dependent on government to confirm and maintain its modest annual grant. Certainly his 1908 bequest came at a good moment when Lloyd George had decided to suspend the annual grant for three years as a result of the Gallery's expensive purchase of a family group by Frans Hals earlier in the year.[122] Last but not least, Martin Colnaghi was surely driven, especially being childless, by a very human desire to ensure that his name was not forgotten – hence the stipulation in his will to have his pictures displayed together and also individually labelled with wording explaining his part in their acquisition for the national collection.

Lionel Cust's claim that Colnaghi was not sufficiently distinguished to have his portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, to which reference was made at the start of the article, might well have been true at the time – certainly the Portrait Gallery still has no image of him, despite owning likenesses of all the other dealers mentioned above.[123] However, it is hoped that the evidence adduced here will have made it abundantly clear that both as a dealer and more especially as a benefactor to the National Gallery, whose generosity still bears fruit – if now anonymously – Martin Colnaghi was a person of significance and real standing.

NOTES

1. This article has been developed from a paper delivered at the conference, "Art Dealing in the Gilded Age. A Window on the Art Market: Colnaghi & their Associates, c.1890-1940" (Windmill Hill Archive Centre, Waddesdon Manor, 19 September 2014). I am grateful to Jeremy Howard for the invitation to speak at this venue and for his encouragement during the process of turning the conference paper into a journal article. I am also extremely grateful to Julia Armstrong-Totten, Nicholas Penny, Barbara Pezzini, Inge Reist, Michael J. Ripps, Charles Sebag-Montefiore and Mark Westgarth, as well as to James Carleton Paget for their insightful feedback on an earlier draft of this article. On the Colnaghi family, see Dennis Farr, "Colnaghi family (*per. c.*1785–1911)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn, January 2007, accessed 21 May 2017, http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/65614; Donald Garstang, ed., *Art, Commerce, Scholarship: A Window on the Art World – Colnaghi 1760 to 1984* (London: Colnaghi, 1984); Jeremy Howard, ed., *Colnaghi: The History* (London: Colnaghi, 2010); and Jeremy Howard, ed., *Colnaghi Past, Present and Future: An Anthology* (London and Madrid: Colnaghi, 2016); Frank Herrmann, *The English as Collectors: A Documentary Chrestomathy* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1972), p. 32; as well as the entries concerning P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. on the websites of Colnaghi; the Frick Collection, New York; and the British Museum, London.
2. John Callcott Horsley, *Portrait of Martin Colnaghi*, 1889, oil on canvas, 111.8 x 87 cm. Presented by Mrs Martin H. Colnaghi, 1908. National Gallery (NG2286). See "The Royal Academy," *The Times*, 4 May 1889, p. 7: "Mr. Horsley's portrait of Mr. Martin Colnaghi is a surprisingly vivid likeness, as every haunter of Christie's auction rooms will admit. The very form and feature of the sitter have been caught and stamped upon the canvas."
3. The proposed transfer is detailed in a note by Susan Foister of the National Gallery dated October 2001, preserved in the National Gallery Board Papers, held in the National Gallery Archive (hereafter NGA): NG25/197: Board of Trustees' papers, 1 November 2001. The decision is recorded in the minutes of the Board Meeting of 1 November 2001, NGA: NG1/30 Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1 February-6 December 2001, p. 53.
4. See letter from Mrs Amy M. Colnaghi, dated 8 October 1908, NGA: NG7/348/11: "It had been suggested to me that the National Portrait Gallery might accept a Portrait of my late Husband, Mr Martin H. Colnaghi, & I wrote to Mr Lionel Cust to that effect. I have had a reply from him that one painted by Mr L. Melville had already been offered – unknown to me – and declined, as 'he was not thought of sufficient historical importance'. Mr Cust however believes the portrait which I have, painted by the late Mr. J. C. Horsley R.A. 'was to be offered to the National Gallery, to which he has been such a generous benefactor', and he suggested I should write to you. I need scarcely say how gratified I should feel if the Trustees of the National Gallery would accept it."
5. See National Gallery Board Minutes of 18 November 1908, pp. 364-365 (NGA: NG1/7); and letter of 19 November 1908 to Mrs Amy M. Colnaghi thanking her for her offer and reporting that the Trustees had accepted the portrait (NGA: NG6/26). See also "Parliament," *The Times*, 17 June 1909, p. 7, where the reason for the Trustees' acceptance of the painting is noted: "There is no portrait of Mr. D. Colnaghi in the National Gallery. The hon. member is confusing Messrs. P. and D. Colnaghi, of 13, Pall-mall East, with the late Mr. Martin Colnaghi, of the Marlborough Gallery, Pall-mall, whose portrait was given by Mrs. Colnaghi in November, 1908, and accepted by the Trustees as a memorial of that gentleman's munificence in bequeathing four pictures and also in making the Gallery his residuary legatee subject to his wife's life interest."
6. William Roberts, "Martin Henry Colnaghi," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1912 supplement, accessed 21 May 2015, https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Colnaghi,_Martin_Henry_(DNB12), notes three additional painted portraits by (1) R. L. Alldridge; (2) George Smith, who was Martin Colnaghi's father-in-law; and (3) G. Marchetti; as well as a sculpted marble bust by John Adams-Acton. An image of the Emil Fuchs portrait may be found on Wikimedia, accessed 21 May 2017, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Martin_Henry_Colnaghi.
7. See "Art Notes," *Art Journal* (1896): p. 126 (illustration) and Sidney Hall's illustration of "A Picture Sale at Christie's", reproduced in *The Graphic*, 10 September 1887, p. 281. The latter plate was reproduced in George Redford, *Art Sales: A History of Sales of Pictures and Other Works of Art, with Notices of the Collections sold, Names of Owners, Titles of Pictures, Prices and Purchasers ... including the Purchases and Prices of Pictures for the National Gallery* (London: George Redford, 1888), II, p. xxix. The *DNB* entry of 1912 notes that the image included the figure of Colnaghi, but the text accompanying the original in *The Graphic* does not list Martin Colnaghi among the people shown in the image.
8. Apart from the contemporary published accounts about Martin Colnaghi reproduced here in the online appendix, see the *DNB* 1912 supplement (noted in note 6 above); Farr, "Colnaghi family," p. 774; and Pamela Fletcher's website, accessed 21 May 2017, http://19thc-artworldwide.org/fletcher/london-gallery/. Phyllis Willmot's husband is the great-great-nephew of Martin Colnaghi. Her correspondence about the Martin Colnaghi Bequest is held in the Martin Colnaghi Information File in the NGA, as is a copy of her manuscript, "The Colnaghis," dated August 1998. Michael J. Ripps dedicated a chapter to Martin Colnaghi in his doctoral thesis, "Bond Street Picture Dealers and the International Trade in Dutch Old Masters, 1882-1914" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2010).
9. See Martin Colnaghi's obituary: "Mr. Martin Colnaghi," *The Times*, 29 June 1908, p. 9. Neil MacLaren, Keeper of the National Gallery, wrote to Lewis & Lewis, the solicitors of the late Mrs Colnaghi, on 5 March 1941, about the possibility of acquiring Martin Colnaghi's business records, noting: "Such records are of little or no value intrinsically, but are of great use for the purposes of research into the provenance of pictures, and we shall be glad to have them for the National Gallery library, which already possesses a number of such documents." The reply, dated 18 March 1941, stated: "the records in question would appear to have been destroyed following the death of Mrs Colnaghi in September last" (NGA: NG21/8/1). Copies of these letters are in the Martin Colnaghi Information File in the NGA.
10. The set of books is now in the collection of Charles Sebag-Montefiore; it will pass, together with the rest of his private art library, to the National Gallery in due course. I am grateful to Charles Sebag-Montefiore for drawing my attention to this set of books. John Smith's *Catalogue* was specifically mentioned in Martin Colnaghi's will (see the transcription of the relevant part of the will in the online appendix).
11. Smith's list of subscribers appears at the beginning of volume four of his series. Martin's father put his name down for two copies; P. & D. Colnaghi of Pall Mall also subscribed to the series. I am grateful to Julia Armstrong-Totten for drawing my attention to the 1833 subscription list and to discussing the value of this reference book to Martin Colnaghi.
12. *The Times* obituary of 29 June 1908 noted: "He never read much, and, indeed, he had a feeling something like contempt for the professed judges who get their knowledge from books and archives; but in middle life he travelled a good deal among the galleries of Europe, and he had what is better than books or travel, a natural eye for a picture."
13. See the paperwork pertaining to the suit in chancery "Colnaghi v. Colnaghi," heard in 1824, which named Martin Colnaghi as the plaintiff with Paul and Dominic Colnaghi and others named as defendants, preserved at the Public Record Office, Kew: C 13/2785/54. The painter John Constable recorded in his journal for 16 June 1824: "I hear there is quite a bustle at Colnaghi's. … They are all brisking up. Martin seems to be clearing the house of the old man & Dominic – but he is not quite liked himself – he is said to make love to all the ladies who look over prints there." See Ronald Brymer Beckett, ed., *John Constable's Correspondence*, IV (Ipswich: Boydell Press, 1966), p. 154. The quotation is cited in Pamela Fletcher's website feature (for which see note 8 above).
14. Paul Colnaghi decreed that as "my son Martin Henry Colnaghi has obtained from me and spent more than what I deem to be his due proportion of my property I will and declare that the said Martin shall not have or receive any other benefit from my estate and effects than what has been already paid or secured to him for his benefit." Three years later, Paul's wife, Elizabeth

Colnaghi, died and in her will she noted that "whatever money I may die possessed of shall devolve to my son Dominic Colnaghi for the following purpose that is to say that he shall well and truly pay or cause to be paid to each of my seven grandchildren now alive the offspring of my said son Martin Colnaghi the sum of one hundred pounds on each of them attaining their age of twenty one years…" These quotations are cited in the manuscript by Phyllis Willmot now in the NGA (see note 8 above).

15. Ripps has noted that when "Martin Sr.'s interests in the firm Colnaghi & Puckle passed to Mr. Puckle alone in 1845, all doors in the trade seemed barred to M.H. [Colnaghi]" (Ripps, *Picture Dealers*, p. 34).
16. Henry Graves went into partnership with Richard Hodgson between 1834 and 1841. This partnership achieved some success for it could afford to buy the old stock of Martin Colnaghi Senior in February 1839. See Susanna Avery-Quash, "Graves family (*per.* c.1812-1892)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), accessed 21 May 2017, http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65040.
17. See Ellis Waterhouse, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Paintings* (Fribourg: Office du livre, and London: National Trust, 1967), pp. 307-308, nos. 154 & 155. Waterhouse notes (p. 308): "There is a tradition that these two pictures were presented by Louis XVI to Louis-Félix de Félix, Maréchal du Muy, who was made Minister of War and a Maréchal de France in 1774, but died without issue in 1775. They remained at the Château of the du Muy family near Marseilles until the death of Ferdinand de Félix, marquis du Muy in 1859, when they were bought by Martin Colnaghi; see *The Art Journal* (1876): p. 222. He imported them to England and put them up for sale anonymously 18 June 1859 (92) but bought them in for 1,450 guineas. In 1876 Martin Colnaghi took Flatou's Gallery, no. 11, Haymarket, and renamed it the *Guardi Galleries* after these pictures, which he showed there in 1876. Soon afterwards he sold them to Baron Ferdinand." The pair of pictures is now at Waddesdon Manor, inv. 2212.1 and 2212.2. I am grateful to Charles Sebag-Montefiore for this reference.
18. See *The Athenaeum*, 3 June 1876, p. 749: "M. Martin Colnaghi has the honour to inform lovers of Art that the Two grand Gallery Works painted for Louis XVI. by Francesco Guardi, Views on the Grand Canal, Venice, will be on view, on and after that 6th of June, at the Guardi Gallery, No. 11, Haymarket. – Admission, one shilling." See also the same information publicized in "Fine-Art Gossip", *Athenaeum*, 3 June 1876, p. 773.
19. The gallery known today as Marlborough Fine Arts, situated in Albemarle Street, London, is unrelated to Martin Colnaghi's business. It was founded in 1946 by Frank Lloyd and Harry Fischer who had emigrated from Vienna to England shortly after the outbreak of WWII. They were joined in 1947 by David Somerset, later Duke of Beaufort. In 1960 it opened a second gallery, Marlborough New York, and it now has additional outlets in Rome, Zurich, Tokyo, Madrid and Monaco. It has focused on showcasing the work of modern masters and contemporary artists. See their website, accessed 7 July 2017, http://www.marlboroughlondon.com/about/. See the main text for information about a third gallery bearing the same name – Max Rothschild's 'Marlborough Gallery', located at 34 Duke Street, London.
20. See "Art Exhibitions," *The Times*, 22 March 1887, p. 4, which noted: "A few doors further up the Haymarket is Mr. Martin Colnaghi's exhibition of modern pictures, re-organized and set in order in consequence of his having removed his collection of Old Masters to the Marlborough Gallery at the west end of Pall-mall". See also two identical advertisements in *The Times*, 3 June 1887, p. 2 and 10 June 1887, p. 2: "The Marlborough Gallery, 53, Pall-mall, – Notice. – Mr. Martin Colnaghi begs to inform the patrons of art that the above gallery will in future be devoted to the exhibition of Old Masters."
21. See a notice in *The Times*, 9 February 1889, p. 1: "Mr. Martin Colnaghi, owing to mistakes which are daily occurring, begs to give notice that he has no other address but the Marlborough Gallery, 53, Pall-mall (nearly opposite Marlborough-house)." Identical announcements continued to be posted in the same paper throughout February and March that year (see *The Times*, p. 1, for 11, 20, 21, 22, 26 and 27 February and 1, 5, 7, 19, 22 and 30 March 1889). See also the following notice about the Horsley portrait of Martin Colnaghi from the *St James's Gazette*, 10 April 1889, p. 5: "Mr Horsley will have only one portrait, that of Mr. Martin Colnaghi, the famous connoisseur, the man who knows more about old pictures than probably any man in England: Mr. Colnaghi, that is to say, from opposite Marlborough House, and in no way connected with the Messrs. Paul and Dominic Colnaghi of Pall-mall 1." I am grateful to Julia Armstrong-Totten for drawing this reference to my attention.
22. While "Colnaghi & Co" bought 42 paintings at the Northwick sale of 1859, "Martin H. Colnaghi" bought the following five pictures from it: (1) lot 443 (misprinted as 434): Hoppner, *A full-length portrait of George the Fourth when Prince of Wales, in his robes of State* for £27.16.0; (2) lot 844: Kranach [sic], Lucas: *Portrait of the Elector of Saxony* for £3.13.6; (3) lot 890: Unattributed, *Portrait of Saint Louis IX, King of France. He is represented standing, holding a sceptre, habited in a gold suit of armour; two female saints are kneeling at his feet* for £6.16.6; (4) lot 905: Pourbus, F., *Virgin and Child seated, with a Temple in the background, and in front portraits of Henry the Fourth of France, his family, and distinguished personages of his Court* for £52.10.0; and (5) lot 914: Wohlgemuth, *The Flight into Egypt* for £14.3.6. I am most grateful to David Addison for sharing this information with me.
23. The Murillo in question is *The Miraculous Conception*. See "Art Sales," *The Times*, 18 July 1876, p. 4.
24. See Charles Eyre Pascoe, *London of Today: An Illustrated Handbook for the Season* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1885), p. 300, which notes that Martin Colnaghi was "a constant attendant and buyer at the picture sales at Christie's, his name not unfrequently appearing as a purchaser of more than one work for which the competition has been keen." The writer of the obituary in the *Daily Telegraph*, 29 June 1908, concluded: "To-day, at Christie's, when the chief British and foreign collectors and agents are assembled for the dispersal of the final portion of the wonderful Holland Collection, there will doubtless be many expressions of regret that the cheery and bright little 'Signor' will be seen in his old haunts no more."
25. See Mark A. Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers* (Glasgow: The Regional Furniture Society, 2009), p. 82, which gives details of three of Martin Colnaghi's fourteen or so purchases with prices. I am grateful to Mark Westgarth for drawing this sale to my attention.
26. See "Miss Hosmer's 'The Sentinel of Pompeii'," *The Times*, 10 August 1878, p. 12.
27. See "Court Circular," *The Times*, 4 June 1892, p. 9, which notes the guests who attended the Private View, including Sir Frederic Leighton and Mme de Staal.
28. This aspect of his business was launched at the Guardi Gallery with an exhibition in the winter of 1877, to positive press coverage. See "The Guardi Gallery, Haymarket," *Art Journal* (February 1877): p. 56, which noted: "The Guardi Gallery is devoted to the exhibition of modern Continental pictures of a high class; and, from the long experience of its director, Mr. Martin Colnaghi, the public may look upon this as the first in a series of pictorial gatherings which will widen their knowledge and improve their taste." On one occasion, in 1892, Martin Colnaghi mounted an exhibition of copies after works by Velazquez by the contemporary Spanish painter, José Pineda ("Velazquez," *The Times*, 10 May 1892, p. 13). Other exhibitions of Continental art at the Guardi Gallery followed. For instance, see "Some Foreign Pictures," *The Times*, 6 February 1879, p. 11, which highlighted the French-based Viennese-born Charlemont's *Guard of the Alhambra*. See also the advertisement posted in *The Times*, 4 June 1881, p. 2: "Mr. Martin Colnaghi (Guardi Gallery, 11, Haymarket), begs to inform the lovers of art that his Fifth Summer Exhibition contains works by the great colourist Hermann Philips, others by Domingo and Charlemont, and by the young Spanish painter José Benlliure. Open daily, from 10 till dusk." See also "Art Exhibitions," *The Times*, 22 March 1887, p. 4, which noted Martin Colnaghi's display of works by Domingo, Arthur Hacker, Munkacsy, Troyon, and Bochmann; "Paintings of the Royal Family," *The Times*, 12 May 1888, p. 8, which noted a portrait of the Emperor William by Schmiechen as being on view at the Marlborough Gallery; "The Marlborough Gallery," *The Times*, 1 August 1889, p. 3, where a short paragraph was dedicated to "Mr. Martin Colnaghi's collection of modern pictures of the various Continental schools, together with Sir Edwin Landseer's capital portrait of the terrier 'Jocko'." Of the foreign painters represented in this 1889 exhibition, the critic mentioned "Professor Müller, of Vienna, the young Serbian artists Joanowitz, the very accomplished colourist Herman Philips, Professor Holmberg, of Munich, the Spaniard Domingo, and the German Seiler" as well as pictures by two French painters, Troyon and Roybet. Comparatively few contemporary British artists were patronized by Martin Colnaghi. One was George Earl, whose *Polo Match at Hurlingham* was shown by Martin Colnaghi in July 1878 (*The Times*, 26 July 1878, p. 1). The same painter's *Field Trail*, when displayed by Martin Colnaghi in 1884, was noted as being of "a very respectable standard" yet not "high art" ("Art Exhibitions," *The Times*, 23 June 1884, p. 10.)
29. For instance, see *The Times*, 11 January 1883, p. 1: "Mr. Martin Colnaghi has the honour to announce the Exhibition of the Portrait of His Highness the Maharajah Duleep Singh, painted by J. A. Goldingham, Esq. On View daily, from 10 till dusk.- Guardi Gallery, 11, Haymarket." See also "Personal, &c.," *The Times*, 3 May 1895, p. 1: "Notice. – Mr. Martin Colnaghi begs to announce that the Private View of Professor Hans Makart's celebrated picture of the 'Triumph of Ariadne' will take place on Saturday, May 4th, at the Marlborough Gallery, 53, Pall-mall (nearly opposite Marlborough House), from 11 till dusk."
30. See Susan Casteras and Colleen Denney, eds., *The Grosvenor Gallery: A Palace of Art in Victorian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. vii-viii, 1-2, and especially Allen Staley, "'Art Is upon the Town!' The Grosvenor Gallery Winter Exhibitions," in Casteras and Denney, *The Grosvenor Gallery*, pp. 59-74. Staley's remark (p. 64) that the Guardi Gallery was "an antecedent of the modern Colnaghi's" is not strictly correct as this article demonstrates – P. & D. Colnaghi's was.
31. "The Winter Exhibitions," *Art Journal* (1878): pp. 13-16, 53-56, 90-92. The other exhibitions cited included those at the French Gallery, the Everard Galleries, the Fine Art Society, The McClean Gallery, Mr. Tooth's Gallery, the Society of British Artists, the Dudley Gallery, the Old Water-Colour Society, the New Water-Colour Society, the Burlington Fine Arts Club, and the Royal Academy.
32. For instance, in 1887 Martin Colnaghi lent, among other works, a rare oil painting by Samuel Prout to the annual Winter Exhibition ("The Winter Exhibition at Burlington House," *The Times*, 11 January 1887, p. 8); in 1889 he lent Rubens's *Marriage of Mars and Venus* ("Winter Exhibition at Burlington House," *The Times*, 25 January 1889, p. 13); in 1892 he lent a Claude described as *Embarcation [sic] of St. Paula from the Port of Ostia* ("Old Masters at Burlington House," *The Times*, 11 January 1892, p. 4); in 1893 he lent the Hobbema *Interior with Figures* that he had recently acquired from the Dudley sale ("Old Masters at Burlington House," *The Times*, 16 January 1893, p. 10); in 1895 he lent Van Goyen's *View of Dort* ("Old Masters at Burlington-House," *The Times*, 10 January 1895, p. 8); and in 1902 he lent Wouwerman's *Landscape with Figures* ("Old Masters at Burlington House," *The Times*, 21 January 1902, p. 15). Of the four pictures that Martin Colnaghi bequeathed to the National Gallery, three had been loaned by him to the Royal Academy's Winter Exhibitions: (1) the Lorenzo Lotto (NG2281) in 1908; (2) the Gainsborough (originally NG2284; now Tate N02284) in 1892, as well as to the Guildhall in 1902; and (3) the Van der Neer (NG2283) in 1893. None of these Burlington House loans were noted by *The Times*.
33. Martin Colnaghi lent to the New Gallery, in 1897, a portrait of a lady by Cornelius Janson ("The New Gallery," *The Times*, 31 December 1897, p. 6).
34. (1) Carlo Crivelli: Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no. 1952.5.6; according to provenance information on the Met's website: "… William Ward, 1st Earl of Dudley [1817-1885, created Earl 1860], Witley Court, Worcestershire, by 1851; (his sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 7 April 1876, no. 135 [same lot as four other panels from Porto San Giórgio polyptych]); purchased by (Martin Colnaghi, London). Sir Francis Cook, 1st Bt. [1817-1901], Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey…". (2) Vassallo: Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no.1961.9.91; according to provenance information on the Met's website: "…Reginald Cholmondely, Condover Hall, by 1876; (his sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 6 March 1897, no. 66, as by Velázquez); bought by Martin Colnaghi for Sir John Charles Robinson [1824-1913], London, buying for Sir Francis Cook, 1st Bt. [1817-1901], Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey…". (3) Prob. Studio of Peter Lely: Timken Collection, inv. no. 1960.6.26: according to provenance information on the Met's website: "… Sir Henry-Hope Edwardes, 10th Bt., Wootton Hall, Ashbourne, Derbyshire; (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 27 April 1901, no. 11); Martin H. Colnaghi [d. 1908], London; sold 1908 to (Thos. Agnew & Sons, London), in joint account with (Wallis & Son, London);…" (4) Guardi: Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no.1943.4.50; according to provenance information on the Met's website: "… Possibly (sale, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 31 May 1902, no. 101). (Martin Colnaghi [1821-1908], London). George A. Hearn, New York [d. 1913]; (his sale, American Art Galleries, New York, 25 February-4 March 1918, no. 446); purchased by (O. Bernet)…."
35. What follows is a list of the dealer's reported purchases from important sales (attributions and titles as per the contemporary reports). He bought at the 1886 Blenheim Palace sale a full-length portrait of Philip II attributed to Titian for £99. 15s. and Albertinelli's *Holy Family* for £8 8s. ("The Blenheim Collection," *The Times*, 2 August 1886, p. 10, and 9 August 1886, p. 4). He bought four paintings from the Cavendish-Bentinck Collection of 1891: "by J. Ruysadel, with figures by N. Berchem, a *chef d'oeuvre* signed by both artists – 550 guineas"; Guardi's "*Venice, looking across the Grand Canal towards the Dogana Vecchia and St. Maria della Salute* – 730 guineas"; "an interior [by Longhi], with lady, gentleman and three attendants – 105 guineas"; and Moretto Da Brescia's *Virgin and Child* for 100 guineas ("Sale of the Cavendish-Bentinck Collection," *The Times*, 13 July 1891, p. 13). In 1882 he purchased at the Hamilton Palace sale a Rembrandt self-portrait for £703. 10s, and a landscape by Jacob Ruysdael for £1,218 ("The Hamilton Palace Collection," *The Times*, 19 June 1882, p. 7). In 1892 he bought at the Egremont sale Rigaud's half-length portrait of Cardinal Dubois for 240 guineas; a portrait of Miss Frances Harford, the mother of George, fourth Earl of Egremont for 1,200 guineas; and *The Betrayal of Christ* by Vandyck ("Sale of the Egremont Pictures," *The Times*, 23 May 1892, p. 4, and 28 November 1892, p. 11). That same year he purchased from the Dudley sale a *Portrait of Abraham de Notte* by M. Fabritius for 195 guineas and a Hobbema for 2,300 guineas (*The Times*, 27 June 1892, p. 8).
36. See Linda Wolk-Simon, "Raphael at the Metropolitan: The Colonna Altarpiece," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 63, no. 4 (Spring 2006), pp.5-62, accessed 21 May 2017, http://www.metmuseum.org/art/metpublications/raphael_at_the_metropolitan_the_colonna_altarpiece. Wolk- Simon (p. 52) notes that Lord Ashburnham was the agent in London for the Duke of Castro; it was with the latter that Martin Colnaghi had dealings. See also the account of this episode in Martin Colnaghi's obituary in the *Daily Telegraph*, 29 June 1908.
37. Wolk-Simon, "Raphael at the Metropolitan", p. 62, note 82, notes that the National Gallery agreed to the loan of the picture in 1871 "on condition that it shall not be understood as implying intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to purchase the picture" and that (p. 52) during the loan period it had been stored in the basement at Trafalgar Square, before being transferred to the South Kensington Museum. See "The Colonna Raphael," *The Times*, 27 July 1896, p. 10. The report noted that the work had "been purchased from the representatives of the late King of Naples by Mr. Martin Colnaghi, of the Marlborough Gallery, Pall-mall", that it had been cleaned, and that "the authorities of the National Gallery are seriously considering the question of the purchase of the picture, now that they are satisfied as to its condition; especially as it is offered to them at a very different price from that paid for the Ansidei Madonna from Blenheim, to which this is no whit inferior." Archival documentation at the National Gallery tells a different story. For letters regarding the delivery of the picture to the National Gallery and its subsequent transfer to the South Kensington Museum in 1886, see NGA: NG7/83/1-4, NG7/84/5-6, NG7/85/4; and for a letter from Lord Ashburnham in December 1895 offering the Colonna Raphael for sale at the price of £25,000 (refused), see NGA: NG7/88/4.
38. For further details regarding the picture's provenance, see the Met's website, accessed 7 July 2017, http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437372. For a description of Martin Colnaghi's restoration of the Colonna Raphael, see Wolk-Simon, "Raphael at the Metropolitan", p. 53.
39. Many of Martin Colnaghi's Dutch pictures were acquired from modest collections. To take his purchases in a single year, by way of example, in 1894 he bought: *A Merry-Making* by Jan Steen for £567 10s. from the collection of Mr D. P. Sellar ("Sale of Pictures," *The Times*, 20 March 1894, p. 9); *Head of an old Woman* by B. Denner for 345 guineas – as well as *A Girl with Pigs* by Gainsborough for 800 guineas – at a Christie's sale "of the collection of English pictures formed by the late Mr. John Gibbons, of Hanover-terrace, Regent's-park" ("Sale of Pictures," *The Times*, 28 May 1894, p. 11); and G. Terburg's *Drinking the King's Health* for 1,060 guineas from the Savill-Onley Collection, Christie's, May 1894 ("Sale of Pictures," *The Times*, 18 June 1894, p. 3).
40. For a comprehensive account of John Smith, see Charles Sebag-Montefiore with Julia Armstrong-Totten, *A Dynasty of Dealers: John Smith and Successors, 1801-1924* (London: The Roxburghe Club, 2013). Smith's clients included the Prince Regent (later George IV), the Duke of Wellington, Lords Bute, Lansdowne and Northwick, Sir Robert Peel, Sir Charles Bagot, Ralph Bernal and William Beckford, as well as members of the Baring, Hope and Rothschild banking families. Additionally, the firm had curatorial responsibility over three generations for the picture collections of both Lord Ellesmere at Bridgewater House, St James's, and of Lord Ashburton at Bath House, Piccadilly. The Smiths owned Vermeer's *Woman Reading a Letter* now in the Rijksmuseum (inv. no. SK-C-251) and Smith's eldest son also purchased Vermeer's *Girl Interrupted at her Music* in 1853 at the Woodburn sale

(now New York, Frick Collection, inv. no. 11.1.125).

41. On the taste for Dutch art in Britain especially during the Victorian age, see Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art* (London: Phaidon, 1976), pp.72-73; Jeremy Howard, "Dutch Art and the Anglo-Saxon Collector: Anglo-American attitudes to the Collecting of Dutch Pictures," *The European Fine Art Fair Handbook* (Maastricht: s.l., 1994), pp. 24-29; Charles Sebag-Montefiore and James Stourton, *The British as Art Collectors: From the Tudors to the Present* (London: Scala, 2012), pp. 77-79, 189, 242-243; and also *Carlton House: The Past Glories of George IV's Palace*, exh. cat. (London: The Queen's Gallery, 1991-1992), pp. 27, 44.
42. Frank Herrmann, "Peel and Solly," *Journal of the History of Collections* 3/1 (1991): p. 91, cited in Sebag-Montefiore and Stourton, *British as Art Collectors*, p. 243.
43. See Christopher White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). George IV's taste followed that of earlier royals given that Charles I had had a taste for imaginary landscapes by Dutch painters while Charles II had collected Dutch Italianate landscapes.
44. Sebag-Montefiore and Stourton, *British as Art Collectors*, pp. 242-243, record various purchases by Peel from Smith: Rembrandt's *Portrait of Susanna Lunden* in 1824 (£2,725); Rubens's *The Lion Hunt* in 1826 (100 gns) and Rubens's *The Drunken Silenus Supported by Satyrs* in 1827 (£1,100). On Peel and his interest in collecting Dutch art, see also Herrmann, "Peel and Solly.".
45. Ripps, *Picture Dealers*, p. 45.
46. Ripps, *Picture Dealers*, p. 40.
47. "Mr. Martin Colnaghi," *The Times*, 29 June 1908, p. 9. Ripps suggests that no fewer than seven autograph works by Hals passed through Martin Colnaghi's hands; see Ripps, *Picture Dealers*, p. 42.
48. Albert Levy's Collection was dispersed at various sales: 4 July 1874 ("pictures"); 6 April 1876 ("modern pictures"); 16-17 June 1876 ("old pictures"); and 3 May 1884. George Redford's sale room reports of the latter three sales are given in his *Art Sales, 1628-1887*, II (London: 1888) pp. 241, 244 and 376. I am most grateful to Charles Sebag-Montefiore for supplying me with information about Albert Levy.
49. After the collector's death, his collection passed by descent to his son, Colonel Stephenson Robert Clarke (1862-1948) of Borde Hill, Haywards Heath, Sussex; then to his grandson, Colonel Sir Ralph Stephenson Clarke, KBE (1892-1970); and finally to his great-grandsons, Robert Nunn Stephenson Clarke and Simon Edward Stephenson Clarke. The information about Clarke was generously supplied by Charles Sebag-Montefiore. According to information on the Christie's website, "His [Stephenson Clarke's] art collection, carefully chosen with the assistance of Martin Colnaghi, seems to have been formed almost entirely in the 1880s." It notes also that the collector "showed a particular fondness for early Netherlandish Madonnas: he owned one by Hans Memling (Dirk De Vos, *Hans Memling. The Complete Works* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), pp. 270-271, no. 75, illustrated) and another by an artist in the circle of Dieric Bouts, a *Virgin and Child in a Hortus Conclusus* sold in these Rooms on 28 November 1975, lot 38, and subsequently 29 June 1979, lot 93."
50. Crews's pictures were sold at Christie's in a posthumous sale on 1-2 July 1915 (Lugt 75116) and his works of art on 6 July 1915 (Lugt 75121). His widow presumably died in late 1923 or early 1924, as her pictures and other works of art were sold on 4-11 February 1924 (Lugt 86298). Again, I am indebted to Charles Sebag-Montefiore for the information about Charles Crews noted in this article.
51. See Ripps, *Picture Dealers*, pp. 36, 40, 42, and 47 on Martin Colnaghi's relationship with Sedelmeyer; Ripps notes (p. 42) that for a time the dealers jointly owned a portrait of a woman by Frans Hals, before Colnaghi sold his share in it to Sedelmeyer. For more about Sedelmeyer's activities as a dealer, see, in addition to the chapter on Sedelmeyer in Ripps's doctoral dissertation (*Picture Dealers*), Michael J. Ripps, "A Faustian Bargain? Charles Sedelmeyer, Wilhelm Bode, and the Expansion of Rembrandt's Painted Corpus, 1883–1914," in *Cultural Clearings: The Object Transformed by the Art Market/ Schnittstelle Kunsthandel: Das Objekt im Auge des Marktes* (Nuremberg, congress proceedings, CIHA, 2012), pp. 745-747; and Christian Huemer, "Charles Sedelmeyer (1837-1925): Kunst und Spekulation am Kunstmarkt in Paris," *Belvedere* 2 (Autumn 1999): pp. 4-19.
52. James Pethica, ed., *Lady Gregory's Diaries, 1892-1902* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1996), p. 22 (note); Lady Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane: His Life and Legacy* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1973), p. 31.
53. See Robert O'Byrne, *Hugh Lane 1875-1915* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2000), pp. 14-15.
54. Morna O'Neill, "Decorative Politics and Direct Pictures: High Lane and the Global Art Market, 1900-15," in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850-1939*, eds. Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 174-194, esp. p. 178.
55. Gregory, *Hugh Lane*, p. 31.
56. Gregory, *Hugh Lane*, p. 31.
57. Ripps, *Picture Dealers*, p. 36; Gregory, *Hugh Lane*, pp. 33-34.
58. See Barbara Pezzini, "London: an avant-garde show within the old-master trade," *The Burlington Magazine* 155 (July 2013): pp. 471-479; *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800: Biographical Index of Collectors*, accessed 21 May 2017, http://www.pastellists.com/Collectors.htm. An advertisement for the Marlborough Gallery, where Meyer-Sée describes himself as "Formerly Manager to the Late Martin Henry Colnaghi, Esq." can be found on Wikipedia, accessed 21 May 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_René_Meyer-Sée.
59. For further details about this relationship, see "Baron Randolph Natili," *New York Times*, 11 May 1915. I am indebted to Barbara Pezzini for this information.
60. See Ripps, *Picture Dealers*, p. 38.
61. *The Times*, 29 June 1908, p. 9.
62. *The Times*, 29 June 1908, p. 9. Ripps, *Picture Dealers*, p. 36, suggests that the author of the anonymous review was Humphry Ward.
63. "Art Notes," *Art Journal* (1896): p. 126.
64. Quotation from Martin Colnaghi's obituary in the *Daily Telegraph*, 29 June 1908, (no author is noted but Barbara Pezzini suggests that it may be Claude Phillips), contained in the folder "Picture Sales, 1908", preserved in the William Roberts Archive at the Paul Mellon Centre, London. I am grateful to Barbara Pezzini for drawing this obituary to my attention. For a full transcription, see the online appendix.
65. Pethica, *Lady Gregory's Diaries,* p. 22 (note by Pethica). I am grateful to Laure-Aline Demazure for sharing this quotation with me.
66. See "Ireland," *The Times*, 12 June 1905, p. 9.
67. Martin Colnaghi assisted the Emperor of Austria in acquiring Hans Makart's *Triumph of Ariadne* (see note 29 above). The Emperor's bestowal on the dealer the Golden Cross of Merit with the Crown "in recognition of his services of Art" was mentioned in *The Times* ("Court Circular," *The Times*, 28 January 1896, p. 6) and the *Art Journal* (1896): p. 126, where the medal was illustrated, alongside a photograph of Martin Colnaghi. The dealer also enjoyed the friendship of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, according to the obituary in *The Times*, 29 June 1908, p. 9.
68. Obituary notices appeared in *The Times*, 29 June 1908, p. 9, and in the *Daily Telegraph* on the same day (for transcriptions, see the online appendix).
69. For an account of Martin Colnaghi's funeral, see "Court Circular," *The Times*, 30 June 1908, p. 13, and 2 July 1908, p. 13 (for a transcription of the latter account, see the online appendix). For images of his grave at Highgate Cemetery (engraved with the inscription: "Sacred to the memory of MARTIN HENRY COLNAGHI, born 16th November 1821, died 27th June 1908. Peace, perfect peace") see Wikimedia, accessed 21 May 2017, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Grave_of_Martin_Henry_Colnaghi_(Highgate).
70. Martin Colnaghi was married three times: (1) to Sarah Nash, a chemist's daughter, in October 1852; (2) to Elizabeth Maxwell Howard (d. 1888); and (3) on 17 October 1889, to Amy Mary, a daughter of the painter, George Smith. It appears that Amy Mary was a painter in her own right – a *Battle Scene* by "Mrs. Martin Colnaghi", described as "spirited" and "excellent in colour" was exhibited in the 1894 Burlington House exhibition ("Old Masters at Burlington House," *The Times*, 16 January 1894, p. 6).
71. The posthumous sales were conducted by Robinson, Fisher & Co., and occurred, according to Dennis Farr, between 22 October 1908 and 7 January 1909. See "The Martin H. Colnaghi Sale," *The Times*, 2 October 1908, p. 7; "The Martin Colnaghi Sale," *The Times*, 2 November 1908, p. 5; "Sale of Colnaghi Pictures," *The Times*, 20 November 1908, p. 15; and "Art Sales," *The Times*, 23 November 1908, p. 8. For brief descriptions of these sales, see the online appendix. See also "Sale of Pictures," *The Times*, 5 December 1908, p. 13, which noted the sale of "pictures and drawings, the property of Mrs. Martin H. Colnaghi and from other sources". See also *The Times*, 13 November 1908, p. 24, for an advertisement for a sale of porcelain, books, and furniture, at Willis's Rooms, King Street, "by the direction of Mrs Martin Colnaghi".
72. See "Vandyck's Portrait of Andrea Spinola," *The Times*, 14 June 1887, p. 10: "This celebrated picture, the masterpiece of Vandyck's Genoese period, has just been purchased from Mr. Martin Colnaghi by Mr. Heywood Lonsdale, of whose choice gallery it will be henceforth the principal ornament. Having been for two centuries the glory of the Spinola Palace at Genoa, it was bought in 1843 for an English amateur, Sir Robert Peel just missing it. In the possession of that amateur's family it remained till lately. It was offered to the National Gallery two months ago, but the Trustees and Director were unable to purchase it on account of the obduracy of the Treasury. Then the Berlin Gallery began to make advances; but Mr. Lonsdale stepped in and saved the picture for England. We are informed that it will be on view for a few days longer at the Marlborough Gallery, 53, Pall-mall." The picture was loaned to the National Gallery, London, in the 1960s. It was bought by J. Paul Getty in 1968, and now belongs to the Getty Museum, Los Angeles, CA.
73. See letter from John Calcott Horsley to the Trustees of the National Gallery, dated 18 May 1887, urging the desirability of purchasing Van Dyck's portrait (NGA: NG7/92/2). Horsley noted having seen the work at the Winter Exhibition of the Royal Academy with Frederic Burton, the third Director of the National Gallery, and that the latter had "expressed at the time his entire concurrence" with Horsley's views that it should be purchased for the nation if it were ever to be sold. Horsley considered it "as fine as any picture he [Van Dyck] ever painted" and that ever since he had first seen it at Genoa it had "always lived in [his] memory as one of the great pictures of the World". He concluded that "It would be impossible to exaggerate the boon that would be conferred upon Art and Artists if they [the Trustees] retain the picture in this country."
74. N01242. See NGA: NG7/99/1: Memorandum from Martin Colnaghi, dated 9 February 1888, regarding the purchase of this picture; and NGA: NG1/6: Board Minutes: 21 February 1888, p. 47.
75. NG1459. See NGA: NG1/6: Board Minutes: 28 May 1895, p. 319 and 2 July 1895 p. 323.
76. NG1481. See NGA: NG7/197/3: letter from Martin Colnaghi to the Trustees of the National Gallery, dated 20 November 1896, offering to present this picture. Martin Colnaghi had purchased the Bega from "Mr. Lawrence's sale", where he also acquired two works by Abraham Mignon for 9½ and 40 guineas, respectively, and a Jacob van Ruisdael landscape for 210 guineas (see "Art Sales," *The Times*, 7 May 1892, p. 9).
77. See NGA: NG7/197/3: letter from Martin Colnaghi to the Trustees of the National Gallery, dated 20 November 1896, which includes a receipt for the two pictures by Carracci, which were not purchased. At one point Martin Colnaghi had considered giving these two pictures to the nation (see note 80 below).
78. NG1680.
79. Pictures once owned by Martin Colnaghi and now in the National Gallery, London are as follows (their date and manner of entry in the collection are noted; six came via the Salting Bequest of 1910 and are the pictures noted in the list which follows without a provenance): (1) Adriaen van der Velde, *A Bay Horse, a Cow, a Goat and Three Sheep near a Building* (NG983): Wynn Ellis Bequest, 1876; (2) Attributed to Gentile Bellini, *A Man with a Pair of Dividers(?)* (NG1213): bought, 1886; (3) Karel Dujardin, *Portrait of a Young Man* (NG1680): bought from Horace Buttery, 1899; (4) Francesco Guardi, *A Caprice with a Ruined Arch* (NG2518); (5) Francesco Guardi, *A Caprice with Ruins on the Seashore* (NG2522); (6) Adrien van Ostade, *The Interior of an Inn with Nine Peasants and a Hurdy-Gurdy Player* (NG2540); (7) Jacob van Ruisdael, *A Rocky Hill with Three Cottages, a Stream at its Foot* (NG2564); (8) Adriaen van de Velde, *A Landscape with a Farm by a Stream* (NG2572); (9) Jan van Goyen, *A Windmill by a River* (NG2578); (10) Isaac van Ostade, *The Interior of a Barn with Two Peasants* (NG6404): presented by Rachel E. and Jean I. Alexander; entered the National Gallery, 1972; (11) Jan van de Capelle, *Vessels Moored off a Jetty* (NG6406): presented by Rachel E. and Jean I. Alexander; entered the National Gallery, 1972.
80. See NGA: NG1/7: Board Minutes: 10 April 1905, p. 230, and letter from Heseltine to his fellow Trustees, dated 2 April 1905 (NGA: NG7/293/1): "[H]e showed me three pictures which he proposes to leave to the National Gallery. There were – 1. A landscape *by Van der Neer* of excellent quality, larger than the usual small size of his pictures though not so large as the two large landscapes that we already possess: the composition is upright which is unusual: it is a charming picture and will be a valuable acquisition to the collection. 2 – A small picture by *Phillip Wouwermans* (sic) in an excellent state of preservation with a subject of fortune tellers: it comes from celebrated collections and is mentioned in "?[blank]" 3 – A holy family by *Lorenzo Lotto*: this was in a bad light in Mr. Colnaghi's drawing-room but appears to be good. Mr. Colnaghi also mentioned a fourth picture which I did not see and I think he intends to include two very pleasing small decorative panels by Annibale Carracci. In the course of conversation Mr. Martin Colnaghi told me that he proposed to leave to the Gallery a large sum of money (£75,000). I have no authority to make any formal communication but I think that the Trustees should all know of the generous intentions of Mr. Colnaghi. I explained how very useful such a legacy would be to us and thanked him sincerely."
81. For a copy of Martin Colnaghi's will and codicil, see NGA: NG21/8/1 (for a transcription of the most relevant extracts, see the online appendix) and document entitled "Bequest to the National Gallery by Martin Henry Colnaghi", dated 1910, held at the National Archives Kew: TS 27/579. See also "Mr. Martin Colnaghi's Will. Pictures and Fortune for the National Gallery," *The Times*, 16 July 1908, p. 13; "Mr Martin Colnaghi's Will," *The Times*, 5 August 1908, p. 9; "Mr. Martin Colnaghi's Gift to the Nation," *The Times*, 5 August 1908, p. 11 (for transcription, see the online appendix); Maurice W. Brockwell, "The Martin Colnaghi Bequest," *The Connoisseur*, XXIII (October 1908): pp. 126-127; and "The Colnaghi Bequest," *The Manchester Guardian*, 3 September 1908, p. 1.
82. NG2282.
83. NG2283.
84. NG2281.
85. NG2284; transferred to Tate (N02284).
86. The ensuing correspondence concerned solely the consent being given by Gallery Trustees for the payment of professional charges to a Mr. Aubrey Robinson, one of Colnaghi's Trustees and executors, for his services. See letter from Messrs Allen & Son asking that Mr Robinson, executor of the late Martin Colnaghi should be allowed to make the usual professional charges on the sale of the Colnaghi pictures, dated 19 November 1908 (NGA: NG7/352/3); letter from Treasury authorizing consent to payment of Mr Robinson's charges by Martin H. Colnaghi's executor, dated 15 December 1908 (NGA: NG7/354/4); and letters from Allen & Son regarding payment of commission from Martin Colnaghi's estate, dated 16 December 1908, 28 January and 1 February 1909 (NGA: NG7/354/5-7). At the time of writing (July 2017) only one of the paintings donated to the Gallery by Martin Colnaghi – the Lotto – is on view in the main floor galleries at Trafalgar Square.
87. Martin Colnaghi's widow retained a life interest and following her death the Gallery became the residuary legatee. Mrs Colnaghi died in September 1940. However, there was doubt as to the destination of the funds that had been subject to the trust of her Marriage Settlement. In view of this, the Trustees agreed that the income from those funds should be paid to the two sisters of Mrs Colnaghi (who were the residuary legatees of her will). For extant correspondence concerning the arrangements for paying the two sisters this income, see NGA: NG21/8/1 and document entitled "Robinson v Colnaghi: Martin Henry Colnaghi dec: claim by widow to certain property", dated 1910, kept at the National Archives, Kew: TS 18/869.
88. See "The National Gallery," *The Times*, 26 August 1908, p. 8: "The pictures bequeathed by the late Mr. Martin Colnaghi will be hung in Room No. 10 in about a week's time." See also Brockwell, "Colnaghi Bequest," pp. 126-127: "In accordance with Mr. Colnaghi's wishes the pictures are "grouped," being hung on a screen in the large Dutch Room."
89. The Hals – *A Family Group in a Landscape* (NG2285) – was bought in 1908 from Lord Talbot of Malahide, Malahide Castle, near Dublin. For its display with the Colnagni Bequest pictures, see F. Rutter, "The New Hals," *The Sunday Times*, 6 September 1908, p. 2, "in Room X, were the Hals is hung, the four pictures bequeathed by the late Mr. Martin Colnaghi are now exhibited." I am grateful to Laure-Aline Demazure for drawing my attention to this reference.
90. See the letter from the Keeper of the National Gallery to Messrs Lewis & Lewis, dated 10 March 1941 (NGA: NG21/8/1). The Keeper expressed the Gallery's "great appreciation of the understanding way in which Mr. Colnaghi's Trustees have met our difficulties," going on to note that "My Trustees willingly give the assurance that they will comply with Mr. Colnaghi's desires so far as may be found compatible with modern practice, and that the pictures bequeathed or purchased under his bequest will be identifiable as such by persons visiting the Gallery."
91. For this negotiation, see NGA: excerpt from Minutes for the National Gallery Board for 8 December 1949, p. 152 and for 9 March 1950, p. 39; NG28/1/2; and NGA: NG21/8/1, Variations of Trusts of Colnaghi Bequest (the most important parts of which are transcribed in the online appendix).
92. For these negotiations, see the document cited in the preceding note as well as NGA: NG1/12 Board Minutes: 28 February, 10 June, 15 July 1941; 14 April, 16 June 1942; 6 July 1943; 8 December 1949; and 9 March, 11 May, 13 July 1950. See also NGA: S29: the file includes correspondence between the Gallery, Lewis & Lewis (Trustees of the will of Martin Colnaghi), the Charity Commission, the Exchequer and Audit Department, Coutts Bank and the Treasury Solicitor. There are copies of the stock transfers.
93. See NGA: NG1/12 Board Minutes: 13 October and 8 December 1955.

94. For a particular viewpoint on this complex issue, see Selby Whittingham, "Breach of Trust over Gifts of Collections," *International Journal of Cultural Property* IV/2 (1995): pp. 255-310. doi:10.1017/S0940739195000312
95. See Charles Saumarez Smith and Giorgia Mancini, *Ludwig Mond's Bequest: A Gift to the Nation* (London: National Gallery Company, 2006).
96. See Timothy Wilcox, *The Art Treasures of Constantine Ionides: Hove's Greatest Collector*, exh. cat. (Brighton: Hove Museum and Gallery, 1992) and the V&A website, accessed 7 July 2017, http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/c/study-guide-constantine-ionides-bequest/.
97. Claus Michael Kauffmann, *Catalogue of the Constantine Alexander Ionides Collection: Catalogue of Foreign Paintings* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1973).
98. For files with correspondence and annual statements relating to the Colnaghi Fund, see NGA: NG21/8/2-3; for the Fund's cheque book with stubs filled out for various purchases, see NG21/8/1. Pictures known to have been bought, either wholly or in part, using the Colnaghi Fund are as follows: (1) French or North Italian, *The Visitation* (NG5448; purchased 1944); (2) Richard Wilson, *Holt Bridge, the River Dee* (NG6196; purchased, 1953); (3) Richard Wilson, *Valley of the Dee* (NG6197, purchased, 1953); (4) Delacroix, *Ovid among the Scythians* (NG6262, purchased 1956); (5) Esaias van der Velde, *A Winter Landscape* (NG6269; purchased 1957); (6-14) Domenichino, *Eight Scenes from the Legend of Apollo* (NG6284-6291, purchased 1958); (15) Antonio de Bellis, *The Finding of Moses* (NG6297, purchased 1959); (16) Le Sueur, *Saint Paul Preaching at Ephesus* (NG6299, purchased 1959); (17) Batoni, *Time Destroying Beauty* (NG6316, purchased 1961); (18) Giordano, *The Martyrdom of Saint Januarius* (NG6327, purchased 1962); (19) Preti, *The Marriage at Cana* (NG6372, purchased 1966); (20) Bernini, *Saints Andrew and Thomas* (NG6381, purchased 1967); (21) Cezanne, *The Artist's Father* (NG6385, purchased 1968); (22) Solimena, *Dido Reviving Aeneas* (NG6397, purchased 1971); (23) Corot, *Peasants under the Trees at Dawn* (NG6439, purchased 1977); and (24) Batoni, *Portrait of a Gentleman* (NG6459, purchased 1980). In the Trust Fund Index for 1965 there is the note that "payments from Colnaghi for Largillierre authorised", but it is unclear to which picture this transaction refers.
99. NG5448.
100. NG6459.
101. The National Gallery's Trustees agreed to the setting up of an investment pool in 1972, as recorded at a Board meeting of 2 November 1972 (ref. NGA: NG1/15 p. 297). Perhaps initially they pooled funds only for investment purposes in order to maximize the returns but kept funds intellectually separate. This would explain the 1980 purchase of Batoni's *Portrait of a Gentleman* (NG6459), using money from the Martin Colnaghi bequest (see note 98 above). It would appear that over time things drifted towards a more general accumulation of funds, from which monies were drawn for picture purchases. I am grateful to Nicholas Penny for discussing this subject with me.
102. NG6269.
103. NG6196 and NG6197.
104. NG6284-6291.
105. NG6299.
106. NG6262.
107. NG6439.
108. NG6385.
109. There are, of course, significant bequests which have included paintings but no money, notably the Salting Bequest of 1910 and the Layard Bequest of 1916.
110. Those paintings bequeathed by Phillips that became part of the permanent collection were: *Lamentation over the Body of Christ* by Dossi (NG4032), *A Female Saint* after Dosso Dossi (NG4031), *Saint Bonaventure* by Pordenone (NG4038), *Saint Louis of Toulouse* by Pordenone (NG4039), *Madonna and Child with Saints* by Andrea and Raffaello del Brescianino (NG4028), *Interior of a Gothic Church Looking East* by Steenwyck the Younger (NG4040), *The Toilet of Bathsheba* in the style of Luca Giordano (NG4035) and *Diana and Callisto* by Paul Bril (NG4029).The Fabritius *Self-Portrait* (NG4042) cost £6,615 in 1924; the Ter Brugghen *Jacob Reproaching Laban* (NG4164) cost £141.15 in 1926; and Titian's *The Vendramin Family* (NG4452), bought with a special grant and contributions from Samuel Courtauld, Sir Joseph Duveen and The Art Fund, in addition to the Phillips Fund, in 1929, cost £122,000. For documentation including correspondence and accounts concerning the administration of the Sir Claude Phillips Bequest of 1924, see NGA: NG21/11/1-6. I am most grateful to Nicholas Penny for supplying me with information about the Claude Phillips Bequest.
111. NG661: presented by Messrs P. & D. Colnaghi, Scott & Co, 1860. This tracing was apparently made in 1822 by Jakob Schlesinger from Raphael's altarpiece in Dresden (pencil on paper mounted on canvas, 257.8 x 203.2 cm). See NGA: NG6/2/467: letter to Messrs P. & D. Colnaghi from the Trustees of the National Gallery, dated 3 April 1860, thanking them for this gift.
112. NG6382: presented by Messrs P. & D. Colnaghi, 1967.
113. In October and November 1856 Gambart offered on two occasions to lend his gallery to show the Turner Bequest pictures, but the offer was declined; see NGA: NG5/130/2; NG5/200/2 and NG6/2/320. There is also correspondence between the National Gallery and Gambart in 1857 and 1865 over the engraving made after Rosa Bonheur's *Horse Fair*; see NGA: NG3/615.
114. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Mrs Hartley as a Nymph with a Young Bacchus.* Transferred to Tate (N01924). See NGA: NG7/275/10.
115. George Dunlop Leslie, *Kept in School*, 1876. Transferred to Tate (N01940). See NGA: NG7/283/9.
116. Thomas Hands, *A Cottage and Hilly Landscape*, 1797. Transferred to Tate (N02474). See NGA: NG7/357/2.
117. Henry Raeburn, *The 1st Viscount Melville*, ca. 1805. Transferred to Tate (N03880).
118. Daniel Mytens the Elder, *Portrait of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, Later 3rd Marquis and 1st Duke of Hamilton, aged 17* (NG3474; now Tate N03474). See NGA: NG14/35/1, Acquisition File, 12 November-10 December 1919. I am grateful to Richard Wragg for drawing this acquisition to my attention.
119. NG1412. See NGA: NG7/173/9: Letter from William Agnew to the Trustees of the National Gallery, 11 June 1894, offering to cede to the Gallery the picture, then ascribed to Botticelli, purchased by his firm at the sale of Lady Eastlake's pictures.
120. The five paintings in the National Gallery donated fully or in part by Duveen are: (1) Probably Perronneau, *A Girl with a Kitten* (NG3588), presented by Sir Joseph Duveen, 1921; (2) Correggio, *Christ Taking Leave of his Mother* (NG4255), presented, 1927; (3) Pesellino, Fra Filippo Lippi and workshop, *Saints Zeno and Jerome* (NG4428), presented by The Art Fund in association with and by the generosity of Sir Joseph Duveen, Bt., 1929; (4) Titian and workshop, *The Vendramin Family* (NG4452), bought with a special grant and contributions from Samuel Courtauld, Sir Joseph Duveen, The Art Fund and the Phillips Fund, 1929 (see note 110 above); and (5) Hogarth, *The Graham Children* (NG4756), presented by Lord Duveen through the NACF, 1934.
121. For the opening of the Duveen Gallery on 9 January 1930, see photograph, NGA: NG30/1930/6.
122. The picture in question is Frans Hals's *A Family Group in a Landscape* (NG2285), which was bought from Lord Talbot of Malahide, Malahide Castle, near Dublin, in 1908. *The Times* reported: "The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd-George, has seen the picture, and is going to furnish half the purchase money. The purchase of the picture will absorb the annual grant of the National Gallery for three years, unless subscriptions from lovers of art are forthcoming, as it is confidently hoped will be the case, to release the Trustees from that unfortunate restriction." (See "The National Gallery. Purchase of a Frans Hals," *The Times*, 26 August 1908, p. 8). Brockwell, "Colnaghi Bequest," p. 127, noted, in this context, how important Martin Colnaghi's generosity was: "Now that the annual grant of the National Gallery seems likely to be mortgaged for the purpose of completing the purchase of the Malahide Hals, it is a matter for congratulation that the nation should receive such a munificent bequest from a connoisseur of such world-wide reputation."
123. Apart from Lockett Agnew. Although the National Portrait Gallery still has no image of Martin Colnaghi, it does have two images of Dominic Colnaghi: an albumen carte-de-visite by Leonida Caldesi of the 1860s (NPG Ax17152) and a mid-nineteenth-century stipple engraving by Károly (or Charles) Brocky (NPG D34048).

APPENDIX

1. Death of Martin Colnaghi - obituaries:

(a) "Mr. Martin Colnaghi," *The Times*, 29 June 1908, p. 9 (perhaps written by Humphry Ward):
One of the most familiar figures in the art world of London has disappeared in Mr. Martin Colnaghi, who, we regret to say, died on Saturday, at his house in Pall-mall. Till recently he was as vigorous as a young man, but he had reached the great age of 88, having been born in 1819, "the same year as the Queen," as he used to say with a certain pride.

He was the son of an elder Martin Colnaghi, and a grandson of that Paul Colnaghi who came from Italy about 100 years ago and founded the house which still enjoys a flourishing existence in Pall-mall-east. Though his mother was English, and though he himself from his youth up was an intensely patriotic Englishman, Martin Colnaghi had much of the Italian in his nature, and the warm blood of the South ran vigorously in his veins to the very end. The name given to him in baptism was Italian; it was Martino Enrico Luigi Gaetano Colnaghi, though from the days of his boyhood he was always known as Martin Henry Colnaghi. He was educated for the Army, but, as he was growing up, misfortunes fell upon his father, who had left the firm, and for many years the young man had to undergo great hardships and many vicissitudes. These he was fond of detailing to his friends of later years, for though he never committed his reminiscences to writing, there was nobody who had a more abundant store, and no one who could pour out a more unending flow of stories about the literary, musical, artistic, and Bohemian life of London in the forties and fifties. On those we need not dwell, except to say that he was in high favour with Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort, that he was intimate with Lablache, Mario, and most of the operatic celebrities of the time, and that, in a quite different department of life, he was one of the founders and for two or three years the most active organizers of the system of railway advertising which was afterwards taken over by a small City stationer, Mr. William Henry Smith, who developed out of it the gigantic business of W.H. Smith and Son.

These things, however, were interludes, and about 1860 Martin Colnaghi began once more to interest himself in the art for which he had an hereditary instinct and which he had studied as a boy. He never read much, and, indeed, he had a feeling something like contempt for the professed judges who get their knowledge from books and archives; but in middle life he travelled a good deal among the galleries of Europe, and he had what is better than books or travel, a natural eye for a picture. For 30 or 40 years he was one of the most assiduous frequenters of Christie's and of sale-rooms all over the country; and in the early days, before the era of high prices set in, he made many extraordinary coups – of which other people commonly had the benefit, for he was what is called a kindly seller. His chief interest was in the Dutch school, and to him is due much of the credit for having brought the great Frans Hals back to the notice of the world. He used to say that quite a hundred pictures by Hals had passed through his hands, from the days when £5, or £50, or on rare occasions £100 was their auction value; and these have now, of course, become the treasures of great public and private collections. Another master whom he helped to make known was Van Goyen, the real founder of the Dutch landscape school; while among the later Italians he was from the beginning devoted to Francesco Guardi, after whom he named the little gallery that he used to occupy in the Haymarket.

Martin Colnaghi formed several important collections, of which that of the late Mr. Albert Levy was perhaps the chief. To do so gave him the most unbounded pleasure, quite independent of the profit realized; for to pick up a fine picture "in the dirt," to clean it, and to hand it on to a friend, was a real joy to him, and flattered the vanity of the expert of which, if the truth must be told, he had a large share. But he was too independent and too impulsive to create a business on the large and exclusive scale which cooler-headed men have formed in these days of great purses and great prices. None the less we believe that the National Gallery will benefit largely by his will, receiving immediately two or three important pictures and ultimately the whole of his fortune.

(b) "Death of Mr. Martin Colnaghi: Story of a Raphael," *Daily Telegraph*, 29 June 1908, (perhaps written by Claude Phillips as the copy preserved in the William Roberts Archive at the Paul Mellon Centre, London, has been initialled 'C.P.'):
A picturesque personality will be seen at Christie's no more. Mr. Martin Colnaghi, of the Marlborough Gallery, Pall-mall, died on Saturday, at the age of 83. For some time he had been ailing, but up to the end of 1906 the volatile and vivacious connoisseur of the old school was a constant habitué of King-street, known to all, and always ready with a quip and a quirk. His Italian restlessness was an amusing foil to the phlegm and repose of the big British dealer in a sale-room. During the bidding he would invariably re-examine at the easel any picture in which he was interested, and talk in loud asides. Stricter methods of scientific criticism had long disturbed his ascendency, and caused him to appear old-fashioned, but in his hey-day he filled the bill as a critic with the true flair, and was worthily accounted as a very reliable judge of values of Italian and Dutch pictures, being a good second in this respect to the famous Nieuwenhuys. His last important purchase at Christie's was on Dec. 9, 1905, when he beat Mr. Lockett Angew at 2,100gs for a bird's-eye view of a landscape by P. de Koninck. Despairingly at 2,000gs he had muttered, "One more bid!" and when Mr. Agnew did not challenge this his delight was manifest, especially as he had made a De Koninck record.

He literally had his "St. Martin's Summer," however, in 1903. Just before the Vaile sale a Raeburn portrait of "Sir John Sinclair" was offered at Robinson and Fisher's, and although the reserve was not exceeded, Mr. Colnaghi was the last bidder at 14,000gs, and had the réclame of his plucky effort. The present writer saw him at Marlborough Gallery just after the sale. He was in a merry mood. Proud of his health and elasticity, he pirouetted on the smooth floor, singing the refrain of Mendelssohn's "I'm a Roamer" – "What profits arm or leg or span, save one can use them like a man?" Soon he grew reminiscent. Not long before the art world had enjoyed the sensation of learning that Mr. Pierpont Morgan had given £100,000 for a Raphael. "That once was mine," exclaimed Mr. Colnaghi, and he told the story. In 1505 Raphael painted the "Virgin and Child, Enthroned with Saints," for the convent of the nuns of St. Antonio of Padua, at Perugia. In 1678 the nuns sold the picture to Count Bigazzini at Rome for 2,000 scudi and a copy. Afterward it became the property of the Colonna family, and about 1790 was purchased by the King of Naples. When Victor Emmanuel united Italy, the ex-King transferred the Raphael to the Duc di Ripalda, and soon it appeared at the Louvre, where it was offered on approval to the French Government. Rejected by the latter, it was similarly offered to our National Gallery, £40,000 being named as the price. Although Lord Beaconsfield was willing to provide the funds, the trustees declined to buy the work, and it was placed on view at South Kensington Museum. Eventually Mr. Colnaghi gave £20,000 for the composition. He sold it to a Paris dealer from whom and others it passed into its present ownership. It was to be seen at Burlington House in 1902, and by the irony of events, was on loan for a short time in Trafalgar-square.

Mr. Colnaghi would have been an ideal curator of the Louvre. He hated to see dirty pictures, and he used to say that he could put £500 on the value of a grimy canvas after half an hour's work with a sponge. On the day of the Vaile sale in 1903 it will be recalled that a neglected Gainsborough portrait of a young lady, which had been lying perdu in a house at Worthing, came up to auction. When it was placed on the easel Mr. Colnaghi eagerly examined the battered relic, and shook his head. "Where's your sponge, Martin?" asked a friend. He turned quickly to Mr. Hannen, the auctioneer, and said, "Two hundred guineas." Up to the end of a wonderful contest, when Mr. Charles Wertheimer won at 9,000gs, Mr. Colnaghi struggled hard to obtain a picture for the pleasure of being able to clean it himself. On the same afternoon he gave 3350gs for Reynolds' pair of portraits of the eighth and ninth Earls of Westmorland, from the Dean of Wells' collection.

In 1875, while as yet Messrs. Agnew had not removed from Waterloo-place to Bond-street, Mr. Colnaghi was a commanding influence in the public art market. In the Bredel sale that year he was very prominent, giving £4,300 for the famous chef d'oeuvre of F. Mieris, "The Enamoured Cavalier," and 1,800gs for the "Boy Angling," by Wynants. At the Lucy sale in the same year he purchased "Abraham, Hagar, and Ishmael," by the brothers Both, for 4,500gs, a picture, however, which dropped to 1,900gs in the Bingham Mildmay dispersal, 1893. Then he bought P. de Hooch's "Interior of a Room" for 2,800gs. For a seapiece by Ruysdael in the Munro sale, 1878, he bid 1,400gs, and

others of his purchases were: Jan Steen's "Bad Company," De Zoete sale, 1885, 1,350gs, and Cuyp's "Travellers at an Inn," Marlborough sale, 1886, 1,750gs. In the Ruston sale, 1898, he gave 5,000gs for Rembrandt's "Nicholas Ruts," and in the famous Miles sale, a year later, he was the very strenuous under-bidder in the contest for the "Holy Family," by Rubens, which realised 8,300gs. One of his latest (if not his last) attendances at Christie's was on Dec. 1, 1906, when he bought Francia's "Madonna and Saviour" for 125gs. But the late connoisseur (who should not be confused as being connected in any way with the well-known firm of Messrs. P. and D. Colnaghi and Co.) found most of his occupation in private negotiation and consultation over art matters.

To-day, at Christie's, when the chief British and foreign collectors and agents are assembled for the dispersal of the final portion of the wonderful Holland collection, there will doubtless be many expressions of regret that the cheery and bright little "Signor" will be seen in his old haunts no more.

(c) Account of Martin Colnaghi's Funeral: "Court Circular," *The Times*, 2 July 1908, p. 13:
The funeral of Mr. Martin Colnaghi took place yesterday. The first part of the service was held at St. James's Church, Piccadilly. Canon McCormick, the rector, officiated, assisted by the Rev. G. Middleton. The coffin, covered with beautiful wreaths, was followed only by the immediate relations and close friends. The service was fully choral, and was attended by a number of representatives of the leading firms of art dealers and others, among those present being Mr. C. Morland Agnew, Mr. F.W. Quantrell, Mr. H. Graves, Mr. E.R. Robson, Mr. C. Barber, members of the firm of Paul and Dominic Colnaghi and Co., Mr. F.G. Mall, Lady Rosamond Christie, Miss Robinson, Miss Victoria Leveson-Gower, Mr. George Lewis, Mr. Langton Douglas, Mr. A. Kay, Mr. E. Howard, and Mr. L. Lesser. The interment was in the family grave in Highgate Cemetery. Among the large number present were Major H. Colnaghi, R.R., cousin; Mr. Aubrey Robinson, and Mr. Ernest George Smith, brothers-in-law; Mr. Leigh Bennett, Mr. A. Leigh Bennett (Coldstream Guards), Mr. W.H. Streatfeild, Mr. D.G.H. Pollock, Mr. Harry Wallis, Mr. Frederick Byard, Mr. Edwin Byard, Mr. Boydell Graves, Mr. G. Marchetti, and Mr. Algernon Graves, the last-mentioned also representing Mr. Lockett Agnew and Mr. Morland Agnew. Mr. Arthur Leveson-Gower was unable to be present owing to absence from London.

2. Will and Bequest of Martin Colnaghi:

(a) Extracts from the Will of Martin Henry Colnaghi, 23 December 1907, and Codicil, dated 3 June 1908 (NGA: NG21/8/1). The parts italicized have direct bearing on the National Gallery:
I, MARTIN HENRY COLNAGHI of The Marlborough Gallery 53 Pall Mall in the county of Middlesex HEREBY REVOKE all former Wills Codicils and Testamentary Instruments made by me and DECLARE THIS TO BE MY LAST WILL and TESTAMENT.
Point 6. *I BEQUEATH the following pictures unto the Trustees for the time being of the National Gallery provided they will accept the same on the terms and subject to the conditions hereinafter expressed in relation thereto namely:-*

(a) Madonna Child and Saints by Lorenzo Lotto (signed)
(b) The Bohemians by Philip Wouwermans (described in Smith's Catalogue Raisoné) [sic]
(c) Landscape by Gainsborough (exhibited in the Winter Exhibition of the Royal Academy 1892 numbered 4)

AND I DIRECT that the legacy duty (if any shall be claimed) in respect of the said bequest shall be paid out of my residuary estate.

Point 8. I GIVE AND BEQUEATH all the residue of my estate and effects whether Real or Personal unto my Trustees In trust that they shall sell call in collect and convert into money the same premises at such time or times and in such manner as they shall think fit (but as to reversionary property not until it falls into possession unless it shall appear to my Trustees that an earlier sale would be beneficial and so that they shall have the fullest power and discretion to postpone the sale calling in or conversion of the whole or any part or parts of the said premises during such period as they shall think proper without being responsible for loss and shall apply the income derived therefrom until sale or conversion as income for all the purposes of this my Will) and shall out of the moneys to arise from the sale calling in and conversion or forming part of my residuary real and personal estate pay my funeral and testamentary expenses and debts and the legacies bequeathed by this my Will or any Codicil hereto and the duties hereby directed to be paid out of my residuary estate And shall invest the residue of the same monies in any investments or securities authorised by law for the investment of trust funds but so that they shall have power from time to time at their absolute discretion to change such investments or any investments forming part of my estate which they may think fit to retain and shall stand possessed of the investments for the time being *representing my residuary estate In trust to pay the income arising therefrom to my said Wife during her life and after her death In trust (subject to the payment out of the capital of my residuary estate of any duties which may then be payable to the Inland Revenue) to place both the Capital and Income thereof at the disposal of the Trustees for the time being of the National Gallery to the intent that they may out of the income thereof from time to time purchase pictures annually or otherwise according to the absolute discretion of the same Trustees PROVIDED NEVERTHELESS that they shall not accumulate or retain unexpended more than three years income at any time AND I DECLARE that it is my earnest desire that the pictures so to be purchased from time to time as well as the pictures heretofore specifically bequeathed may be hung together in the National Gallery so as to form as nearly as may be one group to be known as and called "the Martin Colnaghi bequest" And it is my desire that each picture accepted or purchased under the provisions of this my Will may have a plate or inscription affixed thereto on which those or similar words appear in a sufficiently conspicuous position AND I DIRECT my Trustees before handing over the pictures hereinbefore bequeathed to the Trustees of the National Gallery or applying any portion of the funds representing my residuary estate in the purchase of other pictures and before transferring the same funds or any part thereof to the same Trustees for the purposes aforesaid to obtain from the Trustees of the National Gallery such assurance as my Trustees may properly ask or as the same Trustees in like cases are accustomed to give for securing the recognition and future observance of the terms or conditions hereinbefore expressed AND I FURTHER DECLARE that my Trustees having obtained such assurance as aforesaid shall not be answerable for any future breach or non-observance of the said terms or conditions and that they may either themselves from time to time effect such purchases of pictures as aforesaid under the direction of the Trustees of the National Gallery or may transfer or pay the whole or any part of the funds or moneys for the time being constituting or representing my residuary estate to the same Trustees for the purposes aforesaid without seeing to the application thereof.*

I, MARTIN HENRY COLNAGHI of The Marlborough Gallery 53 Pall Mall in the County of Middlesex HEREBY DECLARE this to be a Codicil of my Will which bears the date the Twenty third day of December One thousand nine hundred and seven
Point 2. *I BEQUEATH to the Trustees for the time being of the National Gallery in addition to the pictures bequeathed to them by my said Will and subject to the terms and conditions therein expressed the celebrated picture known as "Dawn" painted by A. Van der Neer and I direct that the legacy duty if any shall be claimed in respect of this bequest shall be paid out of my residuary estate*

Variations of Trusts of Colnaghi Bequest (NGA: NG21/8/1):
2. The provisions of the said Will of Martin Henry Colnaghi are hereby varied so as to give effect to the following provisions of this Scheme:

(a) If the annual income of the Colnaghi Bequest is insufficient to purchase a picture which, in the judgement of the Trustees, would be a desirable addition to the National Gallery collection, the Trustees may from time to time accumulate the income of the Bequest for such period, not exceeding 10 years, as will, in their opinion, produce a sufficient sum for the purchase of such a picture as aforesaid.
(b) The Trustees may from time to time apply so much of the capital endowment of the Colnaghi Bequest as may be authorised by further Orders of the Minister of Education, subject to the replacement of such capital in accordance with provisions of such Orders, in the purchase of pictures for the National Gallery in pursuance of the trusts of the said will of Martin Henry Colnaghi.

(b) In reply to a letter written by the Keeper, on the instructions of the Trustees, to the solicitors acting for the Trustees of the Will explaining the difficulties of hanging the various pictures bequeathed or purchased under the bequest, the following letter was received:

LEWIS & LEWIS

SHG/EC

10, 11, 12, Ely Place,
Holborn, E.C. 1.
London.

7th March 1941

Dear Sir,

Martin H. Colnaghi decd.

We duly received your letter of the 3rd instant and note what you say.

Upon consideration of the relevant clauses in the late Mr. Colnaghi's Will concerning the bequest to the National Gallery, it seems to us clear that the statements in the Will are merely expressions of desire, and we have so advised the Trustees.

As it is not practicable for these desires to be fully carried out, the Trustees have instructed us that they would be satisfied with an assurance by the Trustees of the National Gallery that they will comply with Mr. Colnaghi's desires so far as may be found compatible with modern practice, and that the pictures bequeathed or purchased under his bequest will be identifiable as such by persons visiting the Gallery.

Perhaps you will kindly let us know whether the Trustees of the National Gallery are willing to give our clients an assurance in these terms.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) LEWIS & LEWIS.

The Keeper,
The National Gallery,
Trafalgar Square,
W.C.2.

(c) Summary of the Will: "Mr. Martin Colnaghi's Gift to the Nation," *The Times*, 5 August 1908, p. 11:
Mr. Martin Henry Colnaghi, of the Marlborough Gallery, 53, Pall Mall, S.W., and of Arkley Cottage, Chipping Barnet, Herts, art critic and dealer in works of art, who died on June 26, aged 88 years, left estate of the gross value of £90,531 14s. 4d., of which the net personalty has been sworn at £79,880 0s. 8d. As stated in *The Times* on July 16, Mr. Colnaghi left the following pictures to the Trustees of the National Gallery: - "Madonna, Child, and Saints," by Lorenzo Lotto (signed); "The Bohemians," by Philip Wouvermans; landscape by Gainsborough (exhibited in the winter exhibition of the Royal Academy, 1892); and "Dawn," by A. Van der Neer.

The residue of his property he left to his wife for life, and, on her death, the residue of his estate, which will, apparently amount to nearly £80,000, to the Trustees of the National Gallery for the purchase of pictures annually, or otherwise, at their discretion, provided that the income shall not accumulate for more than three years, and that they shall group together pictures so purchased and those left to them, as above, as the "Martin Colnaghi" bequest, and requesting the Trustees also to affix plates to each of the said pictures recording the fact that they were given by the testator or purchased under this bequest.

3. Notices of the sales of Martin Colnaghi's picture stock:

(a) "The Martin H. Colnaghi Sale," *The Times*, 2 October 1908, p. 7:
The late Mr. Martin H. Colnaghi, of the Marlborough Gallery, Pall-mall, the well-known picture dealer and expert, left a very considerable stock of pictures by ancient and modern masters. It is estimated that this stock consists of from 1,000 to 1,200 works, which will be sold at auction by Messrs. Robinson, Fisher and Co., at Willis's Rooms, King-street, St. James's-square. The sale will be divided into several portions, the first of which will be dispersed probably next month.

(b) "The Martin Colnaghi Sale," *The Times*, 2 November 1908, p. 5:
The second portion of the late Mr. Martin H. Colnaghi's extensive stock of pictures will be sold by Messrs. Robinson, Fisher, and Co., at Willis's Rooms, King-street, St. James's-square, on Thursday and Friday next. It consists chiefly of works by artists of the modern schools, English and Continental. Among the few pictures by artists of the early English school there is one which apparently adds a new name to the list – Lot 251 is a picture of "Roubilliac sculpturing the Bust of Garrick," painted by N. Solan, 1757. Solan's name as an artist does not appear in "Bryan," and there is no record of him as an exhibitor at the Royal Academy, or at either of the two societies which preceded it.

(c) "Sale of Colnaghi Pictures," *The Times*, 20 November 1908, p. 15:
Messrs. Robinson, Fisher, and Co. began yesterday the two days' sale of the third portion of the stock of pictures, decorative furniture, statuary, and bronzes of the late Mr. Martin H. Colnaghi, of the Marlborough Gallery, Pall-mall, 129 lots realizing a total of about £8,800. This portion includes the more important pictures which remained in Mr. Colnaghi's galleries up to the time of his death, and the sale attracted a great number of dealers, English and French. The prices realized were, on the whole, satisfactory. A large number of lots were knocked down to Mr. Pawsey, who acquired those in the following report to which no name of a purchaser is added.

The chief picture of the sale was a fine example of A. Van der Neer, a river scene by moonlight, with boats and figures and cloudy sky, with cattle, felled timber, houses, &c., and [sic] canvas 53 in. by 38in., signed and dated; this work, which realized the record price of 1,400 guineas at the Duke of Fife's sale last year, was now started at 100 guineas, and after a keen competition between Messrs. Dowdeswell, Shepherd and Sulley, was knocked down to the last named at 900 guineas, or 500 guineas less than the late owner gave for it. The next highest price was paid for a Raeburn portrait of Henry Lord Viscount Melville, Governor of the Bank of Scotland, a whole length in robes, standing by a table on which are papers &c.; this fell to Mr. Ichenhauser at 520 guineas. The engraved version of this picture is, as is well known, the property of the Bank of Scotland.

The more important of the other pictures were the following: - Sir P. Lely, portrait of the Duchess of Cleveland, in yellow satin dress, pearl necklace, seated, holding some flowers, 50in. by 40in., 300 guineas (Wallis)- this is presumably the portrait purchased in 1901 at 420 guineas; Rembrandt, portrait of the artist, in black dress and cap, gold neck-chain, holding a scroll, 33in. by 26in., 185 guineas; J. Backer, family group listening to St. John the Baptist preaching, signed and dated 1637, 88in. by 67in., 180 guineas (Fuller); F. Hals, "The Fish Seller," 35in. by 29in., 120 guineas; D. Teniers, Interior of a Tavern, with figures and still life, man and woman seated at a table drinking, 34in. by 25in., 125 guineas (Shepherd); Canaletto, courtyard of a palace, "with a portrait of the artist sketching and other figures," 47in. by 34in., 120 guineas; C. Jansens, Portrait of Lady Falkland, in low black dress with lace collar and cuffs, 30in. by 25in., 120 guineas; G. Terberg, small portrait of a gentleman in black dress, 16in. by 13in., signed with initials, 90 guineas (Cox); G. Netscher, "The Lacemaker," an interior with a lady, dressed in white satin, seated at a table, panel, 15in. by 12in., 150 guineas (Shepherd); Jacob Ruysdael, "The Bleaching Ground at Haarlem," 15in. by 14in., signed with initials, 190 guineas (T. Permain); a similar picture was sold at Christie's in 1902 for 230 guineas, whilst Sir James Knowles's larger picture of the same subject sold for 920 guineas last May; Van Beyeren, fruit and gold and silver vessels on a table, on which is an Oriental rug, 47in. by 44in., signed and dated, 220 guineas (Hallyn); A. Watteau, "The Garden Party", exhibited at the Guildhall in 1902, 250 guineas; Simpson's small whole-length copy of Sir Thomas Lawrence's portrait of Pius VII., panel, 45in. by 32in., 130 guineas – the history of this work was set forth in *The Times* of December 13 last; Rubens, "The Court of Dionysius," 10½in. by 9in., 280 guineas (Hardwicke); Rembrandt, portrait of the artist, 30in. by 25in., 440 guineas (Allen); Sir H. Raeburn, portrait of Mrs. Mercer (*née* Magdalen Wilson), in white dress and powdered hair, 26in. by 22in., 170 guineas (Wallis); W. Dobson, portrait of James Stanley, Earl of Derby, in armour, three-quarter length, 48in. by 35in., 100 guineas (Lofts); F. Goya, portrait of Dona Maria Amalia de Sajonia, wife of Carlos III, in pink dress with lace mantilla, holding a book in her left hand, 43in. by 31in., 260 guineas (Agnew), Sir E. Landseer, "Jocko," 1828, 50in. by 40in., exhibited at the Old Masters' in 1890, engraved by T.L. Atkinson, 200 guineas (Sampson); Professor L.C. Müller, The Arab School, a group of numerous figures in the open air, the Arab teacher upright, the background of Moorish buildings, 50in. by 30in., 320 guineas (Wallis).

(d) "Art Sales, "*The Times*, 23 November 1908, p. 8:
Messrs. Robinson, Fisher, and Co. have concluded the sale of the third portion of the stock of pictures and objects of art of the late Mr. Martin H. Colnaghi, a total of £3,300 being realized. The few lots of note included a water-colour drawing by T.S. Cooper, cattle in Canterbury meadows, 24in. by 18in., signed and dated 1867 – 60 guineas (Mitchell); and the following pictures: - J.B. Greuze, portrait of a girl with head slightly turned to left, hair bound with blue ribbon, 18in. by 12in., exhibited at the Guildhall, 1902 – 190 guineas (Pawsey); T. Gainsborough, "Crossing the Ford," cattle, sheep, and herdsmen fording a river by a high sandbank, 14in. by 13in., from the Cavendish Bentinck collection, exhibited at the Old Masters, 1890 – 240 guineas (Bowles); B. Canaletto, the English church at Dresden, with the Pont Auguste and numerous figures, and the Faubourg Neustadt and hills in the distance, 48in. by 37in. – 440 guineas (Pawsey); Rubens, portrait of Helen Fourment, in rich yellow dress and hat with feather, panel, 25in. by 19in. – 185 guineas (Wallis). The statuary and bronzes included a group of a Breton fisherwoman and child, by Dalou, 37in. high – 155 guineas (Joubert); and a pair of finely-modelled lions couchant, in bronze on ormolu bases, with masks, wings, arrows, and honeysuckle, formerly the property of Napoleon I. – 145 guineas (Wills and Simmons).

Titian's *Unidentified Donor Presented to the Virgin and Child by Saint Luke* at Hampton Court[1]

PAUL JOANNIDES

Titian's canvas (124.5 x 167.5) of the *Virgin and Child with Saint Catherine and an Apostle*, sold from the Kisters Collection at Sotheby's New York on 27 January 2011, lot 156 (fig. 1), can be traced back to the 1620s when Van Dyck recorded it in his Italian sketchbook (fig. 2).[2] It was then owned by – and had no doubt been painted for – the Paduan dell'Orologio family, with which Titian had connections, and it remained with them until the 1790s.[3] Worsley soon lost it when the ship carrying much of his collection to England was taken by privateers, from whom it was acquired – via Guillaume Guillon-Lethière – by Lucien Bonaparte.[4] Lucien sold it in London in 1814 and, following various passages of ownership, it entered the Desborough Collection at Panshanger, whence it was consigned to auction in 1954.

Migrating from one private collection to another, the *Virgin and Child with Saint Catherine and an Apostle* was little known before 1954 and was never reproduced; it was not published formally until 1959.[5] Since then it has generally been accepted as an autograph work. Its dating has oscillated but, at the time of the 2011 sale, a consensus formed favouring ca. 1560 – which corresponds with my own view.[6] Wethey called the painting the *Madonna and Child with Saints Catherine and Luke* but the Apostle lacks any attribute. Others have opted for the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, but that is not quite the action represented. The painting seems rather to show Catherine being presented to the Virgin and Child, an action iconographically unusual if not anomalous; it would be unproblematic for Catherine to be accompanied by an Apostle, but why should she be *introduced* by one? Nor is the physical realization of the action, however it is interpreted, wholly convincing; Saint Catherine's pose, particularly the twist of her head and neck, is uncomfortable, her wheel is intrusive, and the left hand of the Apostle disappears into her back. X-ray examination carried out by Sotheby's helps clarify the picture's present appearance. It establishes that Catherine was superimposed on, apparently, a young man kneeling in prayer (fig. 3).[7] And this explains the arrangement: appropriate to the presentation of a donor but not of a saint. In short the surface image is an adaptation of one laid in with a different purpose.

Reference was made by Wethey and in the entry in the sale catalogue to another version of the composition, virtually identical in size at 121.5 x 171 cm, in which Luke, accompanied by his ox, presents to the Virgin not a saint but an unidentified donor, presumably named Luca. This canvas, in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court (fig. 4), was acquired in 1637 by Charles I among a group of paintings from Frosely.[8] In 1639 it was copied in a warmed monochrome drawing by Peter Oliver, which records its appearance when it was nearly four centuries younger (fig. 5).[9] Perhaps Van Dyck advised the King on the purchase, for he knew this picture too and had copied part of it in his Italian sketchbook, labelling it *Titiano*, although he exaggerated the donor's pose, showing him reaching out eagerly, if indecorously, to touch the Child (fig. 6).[10] The *Virgin and Child with Saint Luke and a Donor*, priced very high at £150 in September 1649 during the Commonwealth sales, sold in November for the still higher £165 to Colonel Hutchinson, from whom it was recovered

Fig. 1 / Titian, *Virgin and Child with Saint Catherine and an Apostle*, oil on canvas, Private Collection.

Fig. 2 / Sir Antony van Dyck after Titian (abbreviated), *Virgin and Child with Saint Catherine and an Apostle*, pen and brown ink, London, British Museum.

for the Royal Collection at the Restoration.[11] There are many early copies (e.g. figs. 7 & 8), all traditionally associated with Titian.[12]

Titian's authorship of the Royal Collection's painting seems to have remained unquestioned until the early nineteenth century, but doubts then arose; at one point it was given to Schiavone, at another to Tintoretto.[13] In the early twentieth century its attribution shifted to Jacopo Palma il Giovane and Palma's authorship was accepted in his Royal Collection catalogue by John Shearman, who noted that Philip Pouncey concurred.[14] Nevertheless, Berenson continued to list the picture under Titian's name, but as a studio work, as did Pallucchini.[15] The only extended discussion of the painting was a clear and thoughtful analysis, quoted in full below, by Charles Sterling in 1954; but it should

Fig. 3 / Titian, *Virgin and Child with Saint Catherine and an Apostle*, (X-ray image), Private Collection.

Fig. 4 / (overleaf). Here restored to Titian, *Virgin and Child with a Donor and Saint Luke*, oil on canvas, Hampton Court, Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

be noted that he says nothing of the painting's facture and may not have seen it; his account could have been based on a photograph.[16] Sterling recognised the Titianesque nature of the group of the Virgin, Child and donor, but rejected Titian's authorship because he was troubled by Saint Luke, whom he found Tintorettesque; he noted additionally that the halo-type was not found elsewhere in Titian while it was frequent in Tintoretto. But Sterling did acknowledge that comparable types appear in Titian's *Pentecost* (he might have added the Escorial *Last Supper*) and no later scholar has been troubled by the identically posed and characterized figure in the dell'Orologio canvas, of which Sterling was unaware. I think it is reasonable to accept that Saint Luke is a male type which Titian used in the 1550s and early 1560s, perhaps a little affected by Tintoretto.

Fig. 5 / Peter Oliver after Titian, *Virgin and Child with a Donor and Saint Luke*, drawing, Windsor Castle, Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Fig. 6 / Sir Antony van Dyck after Titian (abbreviated), *Virgin and Child with a Donor and Saint Luke*, pen and brown ink, London, British Museum.

As for haloes, Titian includes them intermittently and when he does, employs a variety of forms. Thus, while the haloes in the Royal Collection picture do not recur elsewhere in Titian's work, even in the dell'Orologio canvas, they hardly possess sufficient leverage to prise the picture free of its traditional attribution, an attribution strongly reaffirmed by Suida in 1959.[17]

The figures' relations in the Hampton Court painting are easier and more fluent than in the surface of the dell'Orologio canvas and the design corresponds closely to the underlying composition. However, although the x-ray is insufficiently detailed to permit certainty, the submerged donor in the latter seems to be a different person, and to rise a little higher in the picture surface. Nor is either donor identical with that in another canvas that appeared at Dorotheum, 21 October 2014, lot 243, as Venetian school, but which, to judge from a photograph, may reasonably be given to Titian's circle (fig. 9).[18] Here the cast is confined to the Virgin and Child and the donor, and while an intercessor might have been excised, it seems more likely that the canvas was created in a more intimate format. This young man too is positioned a little differently from his counterparts in the other compositions, but his ruff might explain the blurred forms visible in this area in the dell'Orologio x-ray. Perhaps Titian and his studio issued two – or more – similar compositions with different donors, one with an intercessor one without, maybe for members of the same family. Shearman noted that the donor in Charles I's painting was traditionally believed to be a member of the Cornaro family (could this be a misreading of Genoa?) but gave no source for this statement.[19] It would make no more than economic sense if Titian decided that one such canvas, including an intercessor, left unfinished in the studio, might be re-modelled for sale by the superimposition of Saint Catherine...

The Royal Collection's painting has received scant attention in recent years but it seems to me that, although worn and obscured by discoloured varnish, it is by the hand of Titian. The forms throughout are refined and elegant: Luke's right arm is complex in its movement and the Virgin's head and neck have a rhythmical alertness absent from the dell'Orologio canvas. The same is true of the Child, whose eager lifelikeness of movement recalls babies depicted by Titian ca. 1520, as in the Sutherland *Holy Family with Saint John*. The fluency and fluidity of the paint

Fig. 7 / Unidentified painter after Titian, *Virgin and Child with a Donor and Saint Luke*, Nottingham Castle Museum.

handling fits well with Titian in the early 1560s when he experimented with thin washes of pigment to lyrical effect, as in the *Europa*, the *Blindfolding of Cupid* and the Prado *Danae*. The attribution of the *Virgin and Child with Saint Luke and a Donor* to Palma Giovane actually has rather little to be said for it. The painting is ignored in the catalogues raisonné by Ivanoff and Zampetti of 1980 and by Mason Rinaldi of 1984 – and although Shearman's catalogue appeared after the publication of the former and probably came to the latter's notice too late for comment, they could have known of the Royal Collection's picture from Collins Baker.[20] Shearman cites two paintings by Palma in support of his attribution: the early and naïf *Virgin and Child with Saints John and Sebastian* in Dijon and the clumsy *Madonna with Saints Nicholas of Bari, Lucy and Carlo Borromeo* (thus executed after Borromeo's canonisation in 1614) in San Pietro Martire, Murano which, although signed,

Fig. 8 / Unidentified painter after Titian, *Virgin and Child with a Donor and Saint Luke*, oil on canvas, present whereabouts unknown.

was included neither by Ivanoff-Zampetti nor Mason Rinaldi, who presumably considered it a studio work.[21] These paintings, which are of very different types and were painted some half-a-century apart, bear minimal resemblance to each other and still less to the Royal Collection painting; reference to them undermines rather than underpins Shearman's attribution. Furthermore, to attribute the Royal Collection painting to Palma takes no account of the historical context. Van Dyck sketched his copy while Palma was alive and active and whether or not the two painters were personally acquainted, Van Dyck would have been aware of Palma's manner. When the painting entered Charles's collection both Van Dyck, who owned several Titians, and Inigo Jones, who also knew Palma's work (his drawings come closer to Palma's in style than to those of any other artist) were available for consultation and neither is likely to have been deceived.[22] And finally, the King himself was well-informed about Italian painting, owned a number of canvases by Palma – four of which remain in the Royal Collection – and would surely have been able to distinguish Palma's work from that of Titian, some of whose greatest paintings he also possessed. One can only wait to see whether a future cleaning and restoration of the painting will validate the Royal judgement.

Fig. 9 / Circle of Titian, *Virgin and Child with a Donor*, oil on canvas, present whereabouts unknown.

NOTES

1. I am deeply grateful to Lucy Whitaker, Rosanna de Sanchez, Chris Stevens and Desmond Shawe-Taylor for access to, and discussion of, the Hampton Court picture; my thanks also to Per Rumberg for further discussion and, for assistance of various kinds, to: Clare Baxter, Hugo Chapman, Martin Clayton, Mark MacDonnell, Andrew McKenzie, Nicole Myers, Agata Rutkowska, Cecilia Treves, Pamela Wood.
2. Gert Adriani, *Anton van Dyck. Italienischen Skizzenbuch* (Vienna: Schroll, 1940, ed. 1965), p.13, plate 12; Michael Jaffé, *The Devonshire Collection of North European Drawings*, vol. I (Turin/ London/ Venice: Umberto Allemandi & C., 2002), p. 80, no. 1008, 12b, noting the omission of St Luke.
3. All early references to the painting mention the Dell'Orologio provenance.
4. It was Jonathan Yarker (cited in Sotheby's entry) who discovered that the picture was in Worsley's possession by 1797: earlier accounts of its modern provenance began with Lucien Bonaparte.
5. William Suida, "Miscellane Tizianesca IV," *Arte Veneta* XIII-XIV (1959-1960): pp. 62-67. The painting was mentioned only by Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *Life and Times of Titian*, vol. II (London: J. Murray, 1877), p. 466: "'Marriage of St Catherine', property of G.P. Grenfell Esq. The style of this picture is akin to that of the venetian Polidoro Lanzian." It is absent from the major compendia of Titian's work published in the first half of the twentieth century: the five editions of Oskar Fischel, *Tizian, Klassiker der Kunst III* (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Deutsche verlags-anstalt, 1904-1924); William Suida, *Tiziano* (Rome: Valori Plastici, 1933) and *Le Titien* (Paris: W Weber, 1935); Hans Tietze, *Tizian*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Phaidon Verlag, 1936) and *Titian, the Paintings and Drawings* (London: Phaidon Press, 1950). Nor does it appear in Francesco Valcanover's *Tutta la Pittura di Tiziano*, 2 vols. (Milan: Rizzoli, 1960). To the best of my knowledge, save Van Dyck's sketch, there exist no early copies of this picture. However, it was exhibited at the British Institution in 1829 as no. 129, lent by Sir. J. Rae Reid, and Suida pointed out that it is represented in John Scarlett Davis' painting of that year, *The Interior of the British Institution Gallery*, now in the Yale Center for British Art (Inv. 1981.25.212), as Peter Humfrey kindly informed me.
6. Rodolfo Pallucchini, *Tiziano* (Florence: G.C. Sansoni Editore, 1969), p. 287, late 1540s; Valcanover, *L'opera completa di Tiziano*, p. 111, no. 207, ca. 1540; Harold Wethey, *Titian, a Critical Catalogue, I, The Religious Paintings* (London: Phaidon, 1969), p. 17, no. 62, ca. 1560; Filippo Pedrocco, *Titian, The Complete Paintings* (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 2001), p. 205, no. 152, 1547-1548; Peter Humfrey, *Titian, The Complete Paintings* (London: Phaidon, 2007), p. 242, no. 177, ca. 1549-52; Giorgio Tagliaferro in *Le Botteghe di Tiziano*, eds. Giorgio Tagliaferro and Bernard Aikema (Florence: Alinari, 2009), pp. 97, 100, ca. 1550-1555. However, John Shearman, *The Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen, the Early Italian Pictures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 175, "it does not seem to me that this attribution is beyond question."
7. My thanks to Sotheby's for allowing me to reproduce this previously unknown lay-in. It may be that an ox's head next to the Apostle was painted out, but it is hard to be sure of this.
8. Oliver Millar, ed., *Abraham Van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I, The Walpole Society, XXXVII* (Oxford: Walpole Society, 1958-1960), p. 21: ("Item A Lardge peece of our Ladie and Christ where St Luke is preferring to Christ a Genua Gentleman Done by Tichain. Being the first Peece of Tichian whiuch is one of the Number of the 23 Itallian Collection pecees which the kinge bought of ffrezley 4 Intire figures Soe bigge as ye life. In an all over guilded frame"); p. 181 ([7] "It. in the said third privy lodging roome the greate peece of or Lady and Christ wth St Luke presenting a Genua Gentleman to Christ"); ("item prijmus a larg pis auff tizian bing a madon Wit krijst and san luck Wit a ganowus gentilman plist atis tijm inde tird and last priffi lossi No. 3").
9. Royal Collection Inv. 13526, grey wash with touches of red and white, 169 x 219 mm; Adolph Paul Oppé, *English Drawings, Stuart and Georgian Periods, in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* (London: Phaidon Press, 1950), p. 80, no. 467, as "After Titian: St Luke Preferring a Genoa Gentleman to Christ."
10. Adriani, *Skizzenbuch*, p. 28, verso; Jaffé, *Devonshire Collection*, I, p. 92, 1037b; neither scholar identified the source which, it seems, was recognized only by Charles Sterling, "Notes brèves sur quelques tableaux vénetiens inconnus à Dallas," *Arte Veneta* VIII (1954): pp. 265-271, p. 268, n. 3.
11. Oliver Millar, ed., *The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651, The Walpole Society, XXXXIII* (Oxford: Walpole Society, 1970-1972), p. 299, no. 29: "Mary. Christ St Marke & a genious kneeling by tytsian" ("Whitehall piece").
12. Incorporating those listed by Shearman, I count the following – some of which are no doubt identical:

i. Northumberland Collection, formerly: The 8th Duke and Duchess of Northumberland with the advice and assistance of Charles Henry Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Pictures in the Collection of the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland* (London: 1930), no. 720, "TITIAN SCHOOL, S. LUKE PRESENTING A DONOR TO THE VIRGIN, Copy of the picture at Hampton Court, other versions are known, e.g. Nottingham Museum; Abbot Hall, Grange-over-Sands. Canvas 52 1/2 x 67 ins" (133 x 170 cm). In Symon Stone's Inventory of pictures at Petworth in 1671 and in the Syon House inventory of 1847 as by Lely after Titian (an intriguing and not necessarily incorrect attribution). According to Clare Baxter, who kindly provided all this information, the painting is no longer in the Northumberland Collection. Its date of deaccession is unrecorded but various pictures were sold at Sotheby's in March 1952 and November 1953 and through Sotheby's and Agnew's in the early 1960s. Wethey mistakenly classed the Northumberland canvas as after the dell'Orologio version.

ii. Mr Hope's Collection (Wethey also classed this as after the dell'Orologio version, but Charles Henry Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court* (London: 1929), p. 147, says it was after that in the Royal Collection).

iii. Christie's Sale, London, 3 July 1953, lot 6, 125 x 168 cm, as Titian.

iv. Museum of Fine Arts, Dallas, formerly, 131 x 170 cm (Sterling, "Notes brèves," pp. 268-269), from the collection formed in Lima, Peru, by Manuel Ortiz de Zevallos, Marquis de Torre Tagle, who made extensive purchases in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. Between 1912 and 1914, some 200 of these were acquired by Clarence Hoblitzelle, who in 1936, sold 43 Old Masters to his brother, Karl Hoblitzelle and Karl's wife Esther Walker Hobliztelle. The couple put them on loan to the Dallas Museum of Art from 1936 until 1987 when ownership was officially transferred to the museum by the Hoblitzelle Foundation. The painting was deaccessioned and at Christie's, New York, 15 October 1992, lot 70, the catalogue entry noting that it was after the Royal Collection painting (information kindly provided by Nicole Myers).

v. Nottingham Castle Museum (NCM 1910-58), as After Titian, 129.5 x 176.5 cm, gift of Sir Kenneth Muir Mackenzie, 1910. I am most grateful to Pamela Wood for help with this painting, reproduced here as Fig. 7.

vi. Phillips, Son and Neale, London, 27 Ocober, 1987, lot 20, a reduction, 104 x 122 cm, as Follower of Titian. The same painting re-appeared at Christie's South Kensington, 7 July, 1988 as lot 104 (Information kindly provided by Andrew McKenzie).

vii. St Paul's Cathedral (Inv. 7652), canvas, 134.5 x 160.5 cm, gift of John Underwood, 1952.

viii. Dorotheum, Vienna, 10 December, 2015, lot 68, Tizian Nachfolger, 126 x 173 cm. Reproduced here as Fig. 8 with thanks to Dorotheum.

ix. The P. De Boer Gallery, Amsterdam, in 1954 (Sterling, "Notes brèves," p. 268 [citing information from Rodolfo Pallucchini]).

x. Galerie Fischer, Lucerne in 1954, attributed to Van Dyck (Sterling, "Notes brèves,"p. 268).

13. Johann David Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, trans. Lady Eastlake, vol. I (London: 1836), p. 103, "A Holy Family, half length figures, with the *Donataire*, is here *ascribed* to Schiavone, but it is much obliterated"; Gustave Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, vol. II (London: 1854), p. 433, "TINTORETTO – The Holy Family, with a Saint. Of unusual nobility and grandeur of character, and of masterly execution."
14. Shearman, *Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, no. 176, pp.175-176.
15. Bernard Berenson, *Italian Paintings of the Renaissance, Venetian Schools* (London: Phaidon Press, 1957), p.186; Pallucchini, *Tiziano*, p. 287.
16. Sterling, "Notes brèves," after noting the acquisition of the painting by Charles I and its widespread fame, continues: "Pourtant, le personage de St Luc est bien difficile à placer dans l'oeuvre du maître. C'est dans les années 1550-1560 qu'il faudrait de toute façon envisager la création de l'original s'il était de Titien. Car la type de la Vierge et les plis en molles courbes parallèles ressemblent à ceux de la *Descente du St Esprit* à la Salute, qui date de cette période. C'est dans ce grand tableau qu'on remarque également des Apôtres d'un dessin apparenté au Tintoret, si frappant dans la figure de St Luc. Pourtant, le personnage de Saint Luc ne me paraît pas de nature à être concilié avec l'art de Titien. Le contour continu qu'englobe la silhouette, les plis d'une articulation sommaire et sculptural, le tête du Saint au front très haut sur lequel tombent des boucles pointues, relèvent nettement du répertoire de forms et de types de Tintoret. Le nimbe est tout à fait inhabituel pour les saints de Titien; il est chez Tintoret, pour ainsi dire, de règle. D'autre part on ne saurait supposer qu'au groupe de la Madone et du donateur, parfaitement titianesque, un copiste aurait ajouté un Saint Luc de son cru: l'agencement de l'ensemble est trop réussi, les lignes majeures en sont trop bien accordées, la composition a du naître telle que nous voyons. Il y a donc peu de chances que l'invention de ce tableau soit de Titien. Il est plus probable qu'en dépit de sa célébrité, cette composition ne soit que l'oeuvre d'un artiste travaillant dans le denier tiers du siècle, d'un disciple du Titien subissant en meme temps l'influence du Tintoret."
17. Suida, "Miscellane Tizianesca IV," pp. 65-66; noting that the Apostle in the Dell'Orologio picture lacks any attribute: "Proponiamo però di chiamarlo San Luca perchè una variante della nostra composizione, che si trova nel Castello di Hampton Court, lo ritroviamo con l'attributo del toro. Nel dipinto di Hampton Court invece di Santa Caterina si vede il ritratto di un Donatore, de cui si ignora il nome... Questa variante, meno brillante di colore della nosta tela, ha un pedigree notevole. Il Catalogo della Raccolta di re Carlo I lo descrive: 'our Lady and Christ where St Luke is presenting a Genoa Gentleman – By Titian'. Appare perciò prababile che il dipinto di Hampton Court comprato dal Re da un certo Froesch (Frosley) nel 1637, provvenga da un palazzo Genovese; e non merita affato ne l'oblio in cui cadde nell'ottocento ne di essere relegate alla *Titian School*, come è avvenuta anche nei Cataloghe recente. Due copie antiche, una a Syon House (Duke of Northumberland) e l'altra nella 'Mr Hope's Collection', attestano l'ammirazione di generazioni anteriori per questo dipinto. L'esistenza altamente quotata in passato, da rilievo indirettamente anche al nosto quadro (i.e. the dell'Orologio picture) che, considerando le sue caratteristiche di colore, ci pare la prima versione della composizione".
18. My thanks to Dorotheum for help with this.
19. Shearman, *Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, pp. 175-176; Titian had long-standing links with the family; he is traditionally supposed to have painted a portrait of Caterina Cornaro, his early portrait of Gerolamo Cornaro came to light a few years ago (Paul Joannides, "A Portrait by Titian of Gerolamo Cornaro," *Artibus et Historiae* XXXIV 67 (2013): pp. 239-249) and the triple portrait of *Gerolamo Cornaro with his Son Marco and his Brother Cardinal Marco* in Washington (Inv 1590), of about 1520, must at least come from his studio. (See Fern Rusk Shapley, *The National Gallery of Art, Washington, Catalogue of the Italian Paintings* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1979), pp. 497-498, as Attributed to Titian and an Assistant.)
20. Nicola Ivanoff and Pietro Zampetti, "Jacopo Negretti detto Palma il Giovane," in *I Pittori Bergameschi; Il Cinquento II*, eds. Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua and Pietro Zampetti (Bergamo: Poligrafiche Bolis, 1980), pp. 401-741; Stefania Mason Rinaldi, *Palma il Giovane, L'opera completa* (Milan: Electa, 1984).
21. For the former see Ivanoff and Zampetti, "Jacopo Negretti," p. 536, no. 56, and Mason Rinaldi, *Palma il Giovane*, p. 84, no. 87; for the latter Don Giuseppe Beorchia, ed., *La chiesa di San Pietro Martire* (Venice: Tipografia commerciale, 1980), pp. 58 and 65.
22. Edward Chaney, *Inigo Jones's 'Roman Sketchbook.' A facsimile with an Introduction and Commentary*, vol. I (London: Roxburghe Club, 2006), p. 43. Cf. Jeffrey M. Muller and Jim Murrell, eds., *Edward Norhgate, Miniatura or the Art of Limning* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 106 and 206. Jones certainly knew the paintings by Polidoro da Caravaggio, which were acquired from Frosely at the same time, because he mentioned them.

Fig. 1 / Thomas Phillips, *Portrait of 2nd Marquess of Stafford*, oil on canvas, 72.4 x 58.4 cm, London, National Portrait Gallery.

The Sutherland Gallery at Stafford House: contents and display

PETER HUMFREY

In her *Companion to the Most Celebrated Private Galleries of Art in London* of 1844, Anna Jameson provided detailed accounts of seven great private collections of Old Master paintings in early Victorian London, arranging them in approximate order of prestige. In third place, after the picture galleries at Buckingham Palace and Bridgewater House, she discussed the Sutherland Gallery at Stafford House, outlining its history, the character of the collection, and the way in which it was displayed. As she explained in her introduction to the Gallery:

> On the death of the late Duke of Sutherland, in 1833, the family pictures, and those acquired by him when Earl Gower and Marquess of Stafford, fell to his eldest son, the present Duke. This collection, properly the Sutherland Gallery, has recently been enlarged by the purchase of several grand and interesting pictures, and is now arranged in the Duke's magnificent mansion, or rather palace, principally in a gallery built for their reception; while the cabinet pictures and the Dutch masters, are distributed through the apartments…The picture gallery at Stafford House, is not only the most magnificent room in London, but is also excellently adapted to its purpose, in the management of the light, and in the style of the decoration.[1]

Jameson went on to draw attention to a number of highlights of the Gallery, including major works by Moroni, Guercino, Van Dyck and Murillo, as well as by her close contemporary Paul Delaroche. Analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of the collection as a whole, she noted the absence of anything of significance by Rubens and Rembrandt, but emphasized its unusually strong holdings in Spanish painting. Finally, she provided a more-or-less complete list of 192 paintings in the collection, arranged by school.

The Sutherland Gallery had been inaugurated just three years earlier, in 1841. It was conceived by the 1st Duke, George Granville Leveson-Gower (1758-1833; styled Earl Gower, 1786-1803, and 2nd Marquess of Stafford, 1803-33) (fig. 1), who had bought the half-completed York House in 1827, and renamed it Stafford House. Then, after his death in 1833, the "magnificent mansion" and its picture gallery were brought to fruition by his elder son, the 2nd Duke, likewise George Granville Leveson-Gower (1786-1861; styled Earl Gower, 1803-33) (fig. 2). It survived in the form admired by Mrs Jameson – and soon afterwards by Gustav Friedrich Waagen[2] – throughout the Victorian and Edwardian periods, but its contents were dispersed soon before the First World War. At the same time, Stafford House itself was sold by the 4th Duke to the soap manufacturer Sir William Lever (later Lord Leverhulme), who renamed it Lancaster House. Occupying a highly prestigious site on the corner of Green Park and The Mall, the house is now managed by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Unlike most of the picture galleries in aristocratic town houses of the period, the Gallery survives with its original architectural spaces and decoration intact, although in

Fig. 2 / Samuel William Reynolds after Thomas Lawrence's portrait of ca. 1824, *Portrait of Earl Gower (later 2nd Duke of Sutherland)*, 1839, mezzotint, 36 x 28 cm, London, National Portrait Gallery.

the absence of its original contents it is now hung with paintings from the Government Art Collection.

The purpose of the present article is to reconstruct the Sutherland Gallery, identifying its now dispersed contents, outlining the history of their acquisition, and attempting to visualize the way in which they were distributed and displayed – both in the picture gallery proper and throughout the house – at the time of its inauguration in 1841.[3] An essential source, complementing the lists of works provided by Jameson and Waagen – both of whom arrange them on art-historical lines, by approximate chronology within their schools – is the room-by-room *Catalogue of Pictures in the Gallery at Stafford House*, published by P. & D. Colnaghi, Scott & Co. in 1862, soon after the death of the 2nd Duke the previous year. Compiled under the supervision of Dominic Colnaghi, this no doubt drew on a number of earlier manuscript inventories.[4] Other important sources for the present reconstruction are a number of visual records, notably a series of three paintings of 1848 by James Digman Wingfield showing interior views of the Gallery (see figs. 20-21), and a few photographs taken in 1895 (see fig. 19). Fundamental, too, is the recent, well-documented monograph on Lancaster House by James Yorke.[5]

"THE FAMILY PICTURES, AND THOSE ACQUIRED BY HIM WHEN EARL GOWER AND MARQUESS OF STAFFORD..."

The founder of the Gallery, the 1st Duke of Sutherland – but usually known by his previous title of the Marquess of Stafford – was the owner of the largest, most important, and best-publicized art collection of the Regency period. An account of the formation of this collection, and of the display between 1806 and 1830 of its continental Old Masters in the so-called Stafford Gallery at Cleveland House, has already been provided in a separate article and need not be repeated in detail.[6] Nevertheless, it is necessary to go over some of this ground again, both because as Jameson implied, the Stafford Gallery provided a high proportion of the contents of the Sutherland Gallery, and because it provided an immediate precedent for the way in which a great aristocratic picture collection should be arranged, hung, and presented to its viewers. In the present context, it is also important to understand the circumstances under which only one half of the Marquess's collection – comprising some five hundred paintings – was inherited by his elder son, the 2nd Duke, whereas the other half passed to the younger, Francis (later 1st Earl of Ellesmere) (1800-1857), creator of the Bridgewater Gallery.

The Marquess derived his exceptional wealth from a dual inheritance, to both of which he succeeded in 1803: first, from his childless maternal uncle, Francis Egerton, 3rd Duke of Bridgewater (1736-1803), who had made a fortune building canals on his estates in the North West; and second, from his father, Granville Leveson-Gower, 1st Marquess (1721-1803).[7] The Leveson-Gowers were relative newcomers to the ranks of the aristocracy, having been raised to the peerage only in 1703; but their subsequent ascent had been rapid, and their vast estates in the West Midlands were, like those of the Egertons, ripe for commercial exploitation with the advancing Industrial Revolution – including, from the 1820s, with the development of the railways. The 2nd Marquess was also the owner, through his wife Elizabeth, *suo jure* Countess of Sutherland, of even vaster estates in the north east of Scotland.[8] Although these were much less lucrative than his properties in Staffordshire and Lancashire, it was perhaps a wish by this Englishman to be remembered as a landed aristocrat (despite the bitter controversy already raised by the Highland Clearances) rather than as an industrial plutocrat that made him choose the name of Sutherland when he was raised to his ducal title five months before his death. Of these three lines of inheritance, the second and third – the Stafford and the Sutherland patrimonies – naturally passed to his elder son, the 2nd Duke. Under the terms of the Duke of Bridgewater's will, however, the Marquess held only a life interest in the Bridgewater inheritance, and this was destined to pass after his death to his younger son, Francis – who, upon taking possession in 1833, changed his surname from Leveson-Gower to Egerton, in honour of his great-uncle.

Both Bridgewater and Stafford were creators of major collections of paintings. That of the former, comprising some 250 works, was assembled almost entirely within an astonishingly brief period, in the last eight or ten years of the Duke's life, and largely under the guidance of his more cultivated nephew.[9] As a collector Bridgewater is best known for his acquisition in 1798 of sixty-four Italian paintings from the Orléans Collection, including the group of stellar works by Raphael, Titian and Poussin that has been on loan since 1946 to the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh; but these were far outnumbered by the many Dutch pictures acquired by the Duke in the same period, many of them likewise of very high quality.

Fig. 3 / Antoine Le Nain, *Village Piper*, oil on copper sheet, 22.5 x 30.5 cm, Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts.

Fig. 4 / Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, oil on canvas, 102.6 x 79.7 cm, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum.

Fig. 5 / Giovanni Battista Moroni, *Titian's Schoolmaster*, oil on canvas, 96.8 x 74.3 cm, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.

The great Bridgewater Collection was then inherited by the Marquess on his uncle's death in 1803 together with the rest of his fortune, including his London residence of Cleveland House. From his father's side, by contrast, the Marquess inherited a rather small number of what Jameson calls "family pictures" – that is to say, Leveson-Gower portraits – although some of the more recent, by painters such as Reynolds, Romney and Angelika Kauffman, were of considerable distinction.[10] In forming his own collection, therefore, Stafford, like Bridgewater, began virtually from scratch; but his collecting career was spread over a much longer period of about four decades. As Earl Gower, he was also a member of the three-man syndicate that bought the choice of the Orléans pictures; and he, too, bought large quantities of Dutch, as well as of paintings by contemporary British artists. By the time of his death, the Stafford Collection comprised another some 250 works – which, together with the Bridgewater paintings, totalled more than 500.

The extensive collection accumulated by Stafford may be described, therefore, as consisting of four main components:

1. Leveson-Gower family portraits.
2. The Bridgewater Collection.
3. The Marquess's own collection of continental Old Masters.
4. The Marquess's collection of contemporary British pictures.

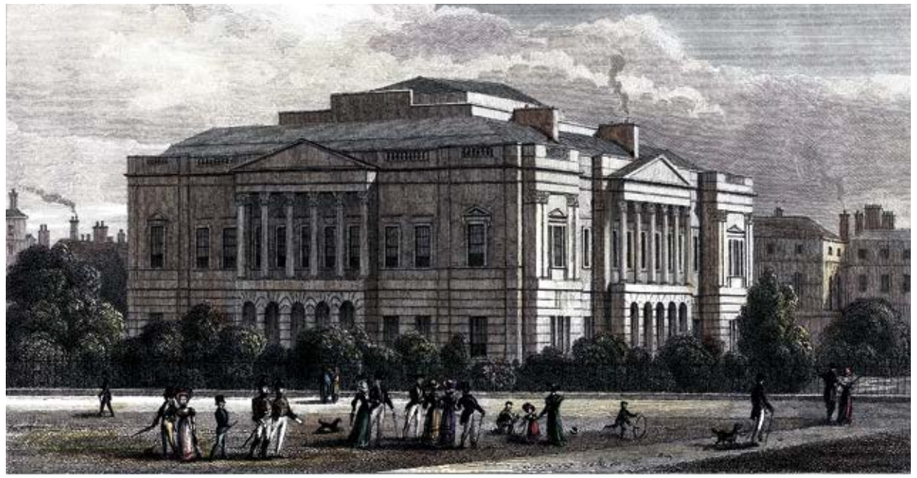
The distinction made here between components 3 and 4 is meant to reflect the fact that the Marquess housed his so-called "English Gallery" – in other words, components 1 and 4 – at the Leveson-Gower country seat of Trentham Hall, near Stoke-on-Trent in Staffordshire;[11] whereas component 3 was temporarily fused, between 1806 and 1830, with the Bridgewater Collection in the Stafford Gallery at Cleveland House. Then, in accordance with the division of the Marquess's property as a whole after his death, component 2 – the most impressive in terms of quality, and numerically equal to the other three put together – was inherited, together with Cleveland House itself, by Lord Francis Egerton. By contrast, components 1, 3 and 4, as well as Trentham, were inherited by Stafford's elder son, the 2nd Duke of Sutherland, who drew on 4 as well as 3 for the pictorial decoration of his London palace of Stafford House.

The Marquess turned his mind to creating the Stafford Gallery immediately upon coming into his dual inheritance in 1803. Cleveland House, situated between St James's Palace and Green Park – just across the street, in fact, from the future Stafford House – was the ancestral town house of the Egerton family; and in the 1790s the Duke of Bridgewater had made extensive renovations, including the construction of a Picture Gallery to accommodate his new collection. His nephew now had the neoclassical architect Charles Heathcote Tatham undertake further renovations, adding a suite of rooms to his uncle's gallery on the *piano nobile* for the display of paintings, including the central, most prestigious space of the New Gallery. The completed Gallery was inaugurated amid great excitement and publicity in May 1806; and for two decades, until it was dismantled in the late 1820s, it represented the largest and most comprehensive display of Old Masters in London.

Although the Stafford Gallery enjoyed a rather short life, and its home of Cleveland House was demolished by Lord Francis in the 1840s, it is exceptionally well documented with both verbal descriptions and visual records. In large part this quantity of contemporary information was the direct consequence of the decision of the Marquess to take the step, highly innovative among the owners of aristocratic town houses, of opening his gallery to the public.[12] It is true that the opening hours were limited to a single afternoon a week in the summer months, and effectively to a genteel, middle- to upper-class public. But even this limited accessibility resulted in the publication of a number of guide-books and catalogues, and discussions of the gallery in newspapers and journals, including by writers of the eminence of William Hazlitt.[13] The most detailed publication – a permanent monument to the Stafford Gallery – was the four-volume catalogue published in 1818 by William Young Ottley, which, as well as providing descriptions of its nearly 300 paintings, illustrated almost every single one with an engraving.[14] Furthermore, Ottley's catalogue also provided full documentation of the hang, as well as of the general distribution round the gallery, by means of diagrammatic elevations of all four walls of every room in which paintings were displayed.

Ottley's diagrams show a relatively conventional hang, with the paintings arranged on the walls, in eighteenth-century fashion, in several tiers – although it should be said that it allowed for easier and more relaxed viewing than the very crowded hangs recorded in views of the Royal Academy exhibitions at Somerset House, or of the National Gallery in its earliest home in Pall Mall.[15] Rather more innovative – and to some extent anticipating the art-historical distribution later adopted for public museums – was the separation of the paintings into two main schools of Italian and Dutch. Whereas traditionally paintings were arranged by size, shape and prestige, with no consideration of place or time of origin, in the Stafford Gallery the Old Gallery, created by the Duke of Bridgewater, was given over to the Dutch and Flemish, while the New Gallery, the Drawing Room and the Dining Room were hung with the Italians – and even here, a general distinction was made between the schools of Rome/ Bologna and Venice. The relatively few English pictures kept in London (as opposed to Trentham) were likewise concentrated into the separate area of the library. The thinking behind this still half-hearted attempt to organize the collection by school remains unclear, but it is likely to have been stimulated, at least in part, by a sense – also reflected in the discussions in the published catalogues – that many of the new breed of visitors to the Gallery would require some sort of basic art-historical education.[16]

During the lifetime of the Stafford Gallery, the respective Bridgewater and Stafford components were physically completely integrated, and even the catalogues made no reference to their separate identities. From the beginning, however, the Marquess must have been perfectly aware that they were eventually destined to be re-divided; and a wish to pass on to his Leveson-Gower descendants a collection of equivalent stature to that of his uncle must have informed virtually his entire career as a collector. As has been mentioned above, as Lord Gower he also made a block purchase from the Orléans Collection in 1798; but this consisted of only twenty-three pictures (in contrast to the sixty-four acquired by his uncle), and nearly all of them were relatively small in scale,



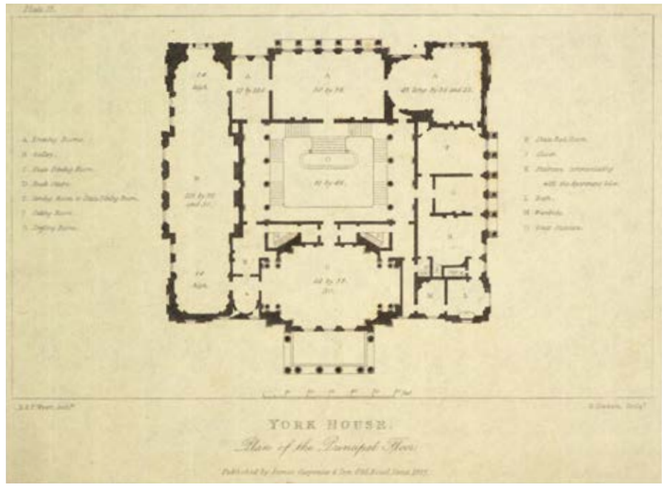


Fig. 6 / Exterior view of Lancaster House (originally York then Stafford House), London.

Fig. 7 / Plan of York/ Stafford House, London.

and by much lesser names than Raphael, Titian and Poussin. Even so, several were of high quality, such as Niccolò dell'Abate's *Abduction of Prosperpina* (Paris, Louvre), Pierfrancesco Mola's *Baptist Preaching* (Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum), and Albani's *Rest on the Flight* (then attributed to Annibale Carracci) (Princeton Art Museum); and around the same time he bought at auction a number of well-chosen north European paintings, including Antoine Le Nain's *Village Piper* (Detroit Institute of Art) (fig. 3).[17]

More reflective of the future Marquess's ambitions as a collector were two important purchases of Flemish paintings, made respectively immediately before he came into his inheritance in 1803 and immediately afterwards. In 1801-1802 he bought a work formerly in the Orléans Collection, but not included in the sale of the northern European section held in London in 1793: Van Dyck's *Portrait of the Earl of Arundel* (fig. 4).[18] Part of the attraction for Gower, in addition to the cachet of acquiring a work by a painter whose name was indissolubly linked with the old English nobility, may have been that the sitter was well known to have been a leading patron and collector in the golden age of British collecting during the reign of Charles I in the earlier seventeenth century. This consideration is likely to have been even more relevant with respect to an even greater painting – indeed, probably the greatest single purchase the Marquess ever made. Rubens's sumptuous *Allegory of Peace* (London, National Gallery), which he bought from the dealer William Buchanan in May 1803 for the very large sum of £3000 – almost as much as his uncle had paid for each of his two most expensive Raphaels – was well known to have once belonged to Charles I himself, and was consequently laden with patriotic significance.[19] Presumably it was the same spirit of patriotism that prompted the Marquess to donate the painting to the young National Gallery in 1828, thereby depriving the future Sutherland Gallery of what would otherwise have been its greatest treasure.

In the two decades following the inauguration of the Stafford Gallery the Marquess built up his collection slowly and steadily, mainly by way of the London auction houses, and with an eye to maintaining an equilibrium between the Italian and the Dutch schools.

Fig. 8 / William Etty, *Comus (The World Before the Flood)*, 140 x 202.3 cm, Southampton, Southampton Art Gallery.

His taste was very much that of the period, favouring the Italian High Renaissance and the seventeenth-century Bolognese, and Dutch genre and landscape painting.[20] Characteristic purchases of this period include Andrea del Sarto's *Virgin and Child with the Baptist* (present whereabouts unknown), Moroni's *'Titian's Schoolmaster'* (fig. 5); Veronese's *Saint Anthony Abbot with a Donor* (Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery); Terborch's *Gentleman Paying his Addresses to a Lady* (National Trust, Polesden Lacey); and Pieter De Hooch's *Bedroom* (Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art). Occasionally Stafford placed commissions with contemporary British painters, as obviously in the case of family portraits by Thomas Phillips (see fig. 1) and Lawrence; but more characteristic of his patronage of living painters were his regular purchases from the annual exhibitions held at the British Institution, of works by the likes of Opie, Beechey, Northcote, Westall, William Collins, Maria Spilsbury, and Edward Bird. Immediately after buying them he sometimes displayed such works on a temporary basis in the Stafford Gallery, but as has already been implied, they were all ultimately destined – like his acquisitions of works by eighteenth-century painters such as Hogarth, Reynolds and Gainsborough – not for London but Trentham.

"THE DUKE'S MAGNIFICENT MANSION, OR RATHER PALACE"

As has been mentioned, Cleveland House formed part of the Bridgewater inheritance that was to pass to Stafford's younger son; and as his collection grew, he must have become increasingly conscious that one day his elder son and principal heir would also require a town house of a grandeur appropriate to his status and possessions. An ideal opportunity to acquire such a house presented itself at the beginning of 1827, when the Duke of York, younger brother to the king, suddenly died, leaving a palatial but incomplete new residence in the most prestigious of locations, between the royal residences of St James's Palace and Buckingham Palace, and directly opposite Cleveland House.[21] York House had been begun two years earlier by the architect Benjamin Dean Wyatt, and by the middle of 1826 the ponderously impressive neo-Palladian exterior, clad in mellow Bath stone, was largely complete (fig. 6). There were already plans for richly gilded interiors inspired by Versailles, and for a 130 foot-long picture gallery (fig. 7); these, however, had scarcely been begun when the prince died, leaving massive debts and many of the craftsmen unpaid. The Government was naturally eager to divest itself of this

conspicuous white elephant, and Stafford quickly seized his opportunity. Abandoning the house that he had inherited from his uncle Bridgewater in 1803, he and his wife took up residence on the ground floor of their new home early in 1828, and renamed it Stafford House. The state rooms were largely complete by the summer of 1829, and the magnificent Entrance Hall, with its double-branch staircase with ornate gilt balustrading and its scagliola-clad walls, must have been largely complete by May 1830, when the Staffords held a lavish reception to inaugurate their new mansion.[22]

Although the Picture Gallery, situated on the east side of the upper floor, was not to be finished until 1841, long after the Marquess's death, he must already have been making plans for it even before he moved in. Indeed, all his new purchases from 1827 must have been made with Stafford House in mind – including, in some cases, British pictures. The plan to create a new Picture Gallery naturally also involved the removal of his own acquisitions from Cleveland House across the street, thereby effectively dissolving the celebrated Stafford Gallery. Further, to boost the projected new gallery he now transferred back to London the small number of continental Old Masters that for reasons of space he had earlier sent to Trentham. As is recorded by an inventory drawn up soon after his death,[23] all these paintings were displayed in his final years in the habitable public and private rooms of Stafford House.

Of Stafford's late purchases, one of the most interesting is that of a pair of half-length female saints by Murillo, *Saint Justa* and *Saint Ruffina* (Dallas, Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University) which he acquired at the Altamira sale at Stanley's in June 1827. With the significant exception of the collection of the Duke of Wellington at Apsley House, Spanish painting had previously been poorly represented in British collections, including that of Stafford; and the acquisition marks a new taste to be developed further in the following decade by the Marquess's son, the 2nd Duke. Also marking a new departure was the acquisition by Stafford in 1828 of a large mythology by the young Willam Etty, the *Comus* (*The World Before the Flood*) (fig. 8), which although English, is likely always to have been intended for Stafford House and not Trentham, because of its large size (141 x 202 cm). The *Gentlemen's Magazine* sarcastically commented that this erotic and explicitly Titianesque (and Poussinesque) painting "will serve to accompany the *private* Titians of that nobleman";[24] and although this could never have been true in a literal sense, the Marquess may in some sense have been attracted to it as a substitute for the Bridgewater Titians and Poussins in his former home of Cleveland House that would not cross the street to his new home.

Probably Stafford's very last purchase, made as 1st Duke of Sutherland only a month before his death in July 1833, was the *Saint Chrysogonus Borne by Angels* by Guercino (fig. 9), an artist very much in the taste of the Orléans Collection. Although it had been brought from Rome by the dealer Alexander Day in 1801, it had remained in his hands ever since[25] – perhaps because

Fig. 9 / Guercino, *Saint Chrysogonus Borne by Angels*, London, Government Art Collection, Lancaster House.

Fig. 10 / Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Portrait of Harriet, Duchess of Sutherland*, oil on canvas, 243.8 x 142.2 cm, Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland Trust.

collectors considered its *di sotto in su* composition and large scale inappropriate for a domestic room or picture gallery. But with the intention of eventually placing the painting on the ceiling of the planned Picture Gallery at Stafford House the new Duke was clearly attracted by precisely these characteristics – and in fact, his architect Wyatt also seems to have had it in mind when designing the Gallery's central lantern. Nearly two centuries later, long after the other pictures that once comprised the Sutherland Gallery have been dispersed around the world, Guercino's painting still occupies the lantern in the gallery of the present-day Lancaster House.[26]

THE 2ND DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, HIS DUCHESS AND THEIR RESIDENCES

Although not inheriting the Bridgewater fortune, the 2nd Duke was still immensely rich, and after his succession to the dukedom in 1833 at the age of thity-seven, he and his wife Harriet devoted much of the rest of their lives to an idle enjoyment of their wealth.[27] As well as adding to their inherited collection of paintings, they spent prodigious sums on throwing parties and taking trips to the continent, and even more on large-scale building and refurbishment projects. Indeed, already in the 1830s the Duke's annual expenditure was exceeding his annual income, resulting in the necessity to draw on capital, and to sell off existing assets; whereas in 1833 his inherited investments in government stocks exceeded £1 million, by 1850 this figure had halved.[28] Yet as the possessor of a ducal title, he clearly felt that he owed it to his peers to lead a lifestyle even more magnificent than that of his father. In this respect he was prompted and led by his wife, who became Mistress of the Robes and close confidante of Queen Victoria, and who used her position to make herself into London's leading society hostess of the early Victorian period (fig. 10).[29]

There is some evidence that the Duchess shared her husband's interest in pictures, and on occasion guided him in his choice of acquisitions. Occasionally, as in the case of a small *Italian Landscape* by Richard Wilson (untraced), acquired at the Northwick sale in 1838, she bought on her own account.[30] But above all she was interested in architecture, interior decoration and gardens as splendid settings for her family, friends and guests. Already in the 1820s, soon after their marriage and in the lifetime of the Marquess, she played a major role in supervising the building of a new house in the Tudor style by Jeffry Wyatville on the ancestral Leveson estate of Lilleshall. But it was after the couple succeeded as 2nd Duke and Duchess of Sutherland in 1833, with the professional help of Charles Barry in particular, that they were able to indulge their taste for upgrading their houses into truly ducal residences.[31] Between 1834 and 1839, Barry remodelled Trentham, transforming the previously rather plain and spare Georgian building into an ornate country palazzo (now largely demolished). He also replaced what had been a deer pasture in front of the house with an extensive Italianate formal garden, with a geometric parterre and statuary, including a full-scale bronze replica of Benvenuto Cellini's *Perseus* at the near end of Capability Brown's lake (in situ). Then in the 1840s – after having helped with the completion of Stafford House – Barry turned his attention

to Dunrobin Castle, the ancestral seat of the Sutherland family, this time adopting an appropriately Scots baronial style. Finally, Barry created another Italianate palazzo at Cliveden, near Taplow in Buckinghamshire, when the previous, late-Georgian building burnt down soon after the Sutherlands had bought it in 1849.

Despite spending huge sums on endowing all these houses with a new architectural grandeur, and while continuing to keep most of the British paintings and family portraits at Trentham, the Duke clearly considered that the only proper home for his collection of Old Masters – inherited from his father and augmented by himself – was Stafford House in London. At the time of its inaugural reception in May 1830, the main, first floor was still not complete, and the collection was presumably displayed on the ground floor.[32] After the death of his father, the 2nd Duke retained the services of Benjamin Wyatt for the completion of the principal floor, but also employed Robert Smirke to expedite progress on the upper, bedroom floor, and also Barry, initially in a mainly advisory capacity. In May 1835 he personally showed the as yet incomplete Picture Gallery to the visiting director of the Berlin Museum, Gustav Friedrich Waagen, informing him that it "will contain, in a few years, the most valuable paintings."[33] This and the other great state rooms on the principal floor were still not quite ready in 1838, when the Duke dismissed Wyatt in a dispute – ironically enough – over the architect's profligacy. It was then the task of the scarcely less profligate Barry to supervise the finishing touches, and in January 1842 the house – representing what has been called an "Indian summer of Georgian architecture"[34] – was complete.

The interior of Stafford House was furnished and decorated by Wyatt in what was called "the revived taste of Louis the Fourteenth."[35] That is to say, in dramatic contrast to the austere neoclassicism of Tatham's decoration at Cleveland House, it was decorated in a romantic and ostentatiously expensive blend of Baroque and Rococo, with doors, window shutters, pelmets, and numerous mirrors, profusely adorned with curvaceous gilt ornament. The walls of some rooms were hung with coloured damask or velvet, but the most prestigious, such as the State Drawing Room, the State Dining Room and the Picture Gallery were painted white, as a neutral foil for the extensive gilding and the red crimson upholstery – and also for the paintings. These, as will be seen, were displayed not just in the Picture Gallery, but throughout the most important rooms of the ground and principal floors.

"THE PURCHASE OF SEVERAL GRAND AND INTERESTING PICTURES..."

The 2nd Duke was a young man of nineteen at the time of the inauguration of his father's Stafford Gallery in 1806, and thereafter he witnessed at first hand every stage of its evolution. The aesthetic taste it represented determined his own, and he must have been well aware that all of his father's existing purchases, as well as every new one, would one day be his. As Lord Gower he seems to have embarked on his own career as a collector at the time of a two-year trip to Italy in 1816-1817. His first steps, however, remained tentative, and it was not for another ten years that he began buying in earnest.[36] It is probably no coincidence that this was in 1827, at the very time when he and his wife were looking forward to installing themselves in the new family mansion of Stafford House and to surrounding themselves with palatial splendour. Indeed, whereas his father's collecting was focused more or less exclusively on pictures, the 2nd Duke and his duchess were equally addicted to buying and commissioning marble sculpture, bronzes, furniture, porcelain, silverware and every kind of luxurious *objet d'art*.[37] While sometimes, therefore, he succeeded in acquiring individual masterpieces, just as often his picture-buying seems to have been guided by a concern for the general effect.

Gower's initial diffidence as a collector, as well as the awe in which he held his father, is reflected in a letter to his mother during his early Italian trip, in which he wrote that he "dreamt the other night my father, on seeing my little purchases, held them all rather cheap."[38] These purchases are not easy to identify, but possibly correspond to items by (or attributed to) such painters as Domenichino, Cimaroli, and Panini later recorded in the Sutherland Gallery. When in Rome in 1817 Gower did, however, strike out in an independent direction by making the very expensive double commission from the great neoclassical sculptor Thorvaldsen of a bust of himself (lost), and a marble group of *Ganymede and the Eagle* (Minneapolis Institute of Arts).[39] It is not clear where Gower originally intended to place the group; in any case, by the time that both sculptures finally arrived in London at the end of 1829, its obvious destination was a prominent position in Stafford House.

Gower's next commissions did not follow on until shortly after his marriage in 1823, when he employed Lawrence to execute a pair of portraits of himself and his young wife. That of himself (see fig. 2) continued in

Fig. 11 / William Finden, printed by H. Wilkinson after Sir Thomas Lawrence, *Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana Leveson-Gower, Duchess of Sutherland; Elizabeth Georgiana, Duchess of Argyll*, 1831, stipple engraving, London, The National Portrait Gallery.

Fig. 12 / Paul Delaroche, *Strafford led to Execution*, oil on canvas, Private Collection.

the tradition of the family portraits commissioned by his father of showing the sitter in a restrained kit-cat format (see fig. 1). In that of Countess Harriet (fig. 11), however, the painter pulled out all the stops to produce a work in the most glamorous Van-Dyckian manner of which he was capable. Conceived from the outset as a full-length composition, in which the comely countess was represented enthroned in front of a cluster of columns draped with red velvet curtains, it later became a double-portrait when her three-year old daughter Elizabeth was added in 1827.[40] Perhaps the mountains in the luxuriant background landscape are meant to refer to the Scottish highlands and the county of Sutherland.

From about the mid-1820s until the death of his father, Gower is recorded as buying a number of paintings at London auctions. In 1826 he bought a *Shooting Wild Duck* by Cuyp and a *Christ Healing the Blind* by Poussin;[41] but if he was seeking to acquire his own counterparts to the Bridgewater Cuyps and Poussins, he perhaps did not realise that the *Christ Healing the Blind* was a mere copy of the original in the Louvre. He then bid alongside his father at the Altamira sale in June 1827, and came away with two much cheaper, but more enterprisingly-chosen Spanish pictures than the Marquess's Murillos: a Zurbarán *Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John* (San Diego Museum of Art); and Cabezalero's *Saint Jerome* (Dallas, Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist Museum). A month earlier, and again in 1830, he bought a total of fifteen pictures from the collection of the painter Richard Westall,[42] two of whose own works had been acquired by the Marquess and are recorded in the Stafford Gallery in 1806.[43] Westall's Old Masters bore quite illustrious names, among them those of the Venetians Bassano, Paris Bordone, Giorgione, Schiavone, Tintoretto and Titian; and again it may be suggested that Gower was perhaps seeking to find substitutes for the Bridgewater pictures by these painters destined for his younger brother. But the fact that almost none of the Westall purchases are now identifiable prompts the suspicion that their attributions were greatly over-optimistic.

After Gower's succession as 2nd Duke his name is never recorded in the sales catalogues of the auction houses, and it is clear that his purchases were effected through dealers or other agents. One of these is likely to have been Dominic Colnaghi, who although operating at this date principally as a seller of prints, was a leading figure in the art trade more generally, and as an intermediary between the markets of London and Paris.[44] As has been mentioned above, it was he who was responsible for compiling and publishing the first catalogue of the Sutherland Gallery in 1862; and earlier, in 1837, it was he who passed on to the Duke the bulk purchase of the Lenoir Collection in 1837 (see below). Indeed, it may well have been Colnaghi who regularly performed a service for the Duke similar to that performed by his rival dealer John Smith for the Duke's brother, Lord Francis Egerton: that is to say, taking responsibility for supervising the practical aspects of the collection, such as moving the paintings between the family residences and to and from the exhibitions at the British Institution, for having them cleaned and reframed, and perhaps also for arranging the hang at Stafford House.[45] Unfortunately, any further contacts between the Duke and Colnaghi – or, for that matter, with any other dealer – seem not to be documented, and as a result, there is sometimes no information about when and where he bought certain individual works such as Poussin's *Holy Family on the Steps* (Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art), or a *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* by Van Dyck (untraced). Since, however, the Duke seems to have been particularly partial to illustrious provenances, the name of the previous owner is often mentioned in the principal catalogues of his collection, and also by expert visitors such as Jameson and Waagen. An early case in point is the sale of the collection of the assassinated French prince, the Duc de Berri, by his exiled widow at Christie's in April 1834.

Since five pictures from this sale – including Panini's *Wedding Feast at Cana* (Louisville, KY, Speed Museum), a *River Landscape* attributed to Jan van Goyen,[46] and three other Dutch pictures – are later recorded with the Berri provenance in the Sutherland Collection, it is fair to deduce that he acquired them on this occasion, probably with an agent acting as an intermediary.

The seven years between the Berri sale and the inauguration of the Sutherland Gallery in 1841 were unquestionably the most productive of the Duke's life in terms of the acquisition of high-quality works of art. His most impressive haul of paintings, not to mention of furniture and bronzes, was achieved during an eighteen-month stay in Paris with his wife and young family between October 1835 and April 1837. Writing from Paris a year earlier, in March 1834, his brother Lord Francis had aroused his interest in the work of Paul Delaroche, then at the height of his public success, reporting that when the *Execution of Lady Jane Grey* (London, National Gallery) was exhibited at the Salon it made "people fall into fits";[47] and on their own visit in 1836 the couple saw, and subsequently bought, another tragic scene from English history by Delaroche, the three-metre wide *Strafford led to Execution* (fig. 12).

Fig. 13 / Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Decameron*, oil on canvas, 81.5 x 116 cm., Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle.

Also exhibited in the Salon of 1836 was a picture with an altogether less serious subject, the *Dolce Far Niente* (Private Collection) by Delaroche's younger German contemporary, Winterhalter; and before they left Paris the couple took the opportunity to commission from the painter a reduced version of his scarcely less hedonistic *Decameron*, exhibited at the Salon in the following year (Private Collection).[48] Representing Boccaccio's young, gaily-dressed story-tellers participating in a sort of medievalizing *fête champêtre*, surrounded by an Italianate garden, complete with splashing fountain and background belvedere (fig. 13), the scene closely mirrors the idyllic environment that the Duchess was seeking to create at Trentham. In yet another demonstration of admiration for contemporary French art, the Duke (or the couple together) commissioned a full-length bronze statue of their eight-year-old son and heir, George, Marquess of Stafford, wearing full highland dress, from the sculptor Jean-Jacques Feuchère (1807-52) (Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland Trust).[49]

In addition to these commissions from contemporary artists, the Duke acquired a number of outstanding Old Masters in Paris. These included Van Dyck's *Lucas Van Uffel*, which had been seized by Napoleonic

Fig. 14 / Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, oil on canvas, 236.3 x 261 cm, Washington, DC, The National Gallery of Art.

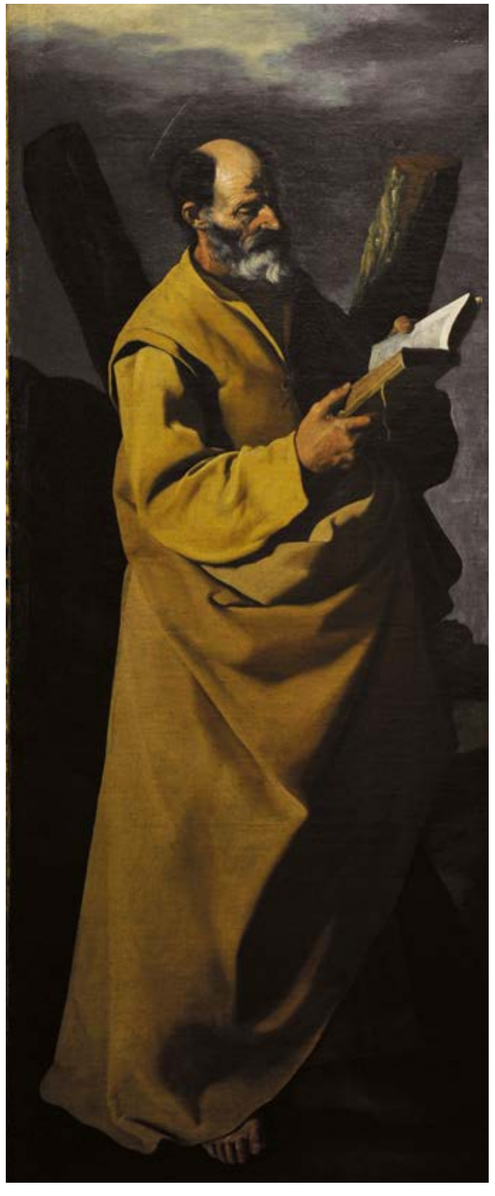


Fig. 15 / Francisco de Zurbarán, *Saint Andrew*, oil on canvas, 147 x 61 cm, Budapest, Szépmüvészeti Múzeum.

troops from Kassel in 1806 and given to the Empress Josephine (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art); and a monumental altarpiece by Guercino, the *Saint Gregory the Great with Saints*, which had been taken from Spain by the Napoleonic administrator the Baron de Faviers (London, National Gallery). The most impressive of all these Parisian purchases – and the one that made the Duke feel that he had finally "won his spurs as a collector"[50] – was a pair of large-scale Murillos (fig. 14), also plundered from Spain during the Peninsular War. Originally commissioned for the Hospital de la Caridad in Seville and representing biblical scenes of charity, the two large-scale canvases had been carried off by Marshal Soult himself; and now, long retired and in need of funds, Soult sold them to the Duke together with another Zurbarán – an imposing, full-length *Saint Andrew* (fig. 15) – and a supposed Velázquez.[51] All of these paintings were acquired in time to have especially prominent positions allocated to them in the as yet incomplete Sutherland Gallery (see below).

No sooner were the Duke and Duchess home from their stay in Paris than he was persuaded by Dominic Colnaghi to make a bulk purchase, for the large sum of nearly £1700, of a complete collection assembled in the chaotic aftermath of the French Revolution. This was a large group of historical portraits, consisting of sixty-nine paintings and 147 drawings (now Chantilly, Musée Condé), recently sold by the antiquarian Alexandre Lenoir (1761-1839),[52] famous for having rescued from destruction large numbers of tombs and other sculptural monuments and for installing them in the Musée des Monuments Français in 1795. The parallel but private collection of portraits bore attributions to such distinguished names as Clouet, Corneille de Lyon, Pourbus, Philippe de Champaigne, Rigaud, Mignard, Subleyras, Drouais and Nattier, but their quality was uneven, since their chief interest was that they represented most of the kings of France and other members of the French royal family, and other historical celebrities such as Joan of Arc, Mazarin, Colbert, Molière, Racine and Madame de Pompadour. Nevertheless, while the majority were assigned to the most private apartments in Stafford House, a select handful, including Subleyras's *Pope Benedict XIV* (fig. 16), were to be hung in the Picture Gallery and other state rooms.

The nine-month trip to Italy undertaken by the Sutherlands in 1838-1839 was less productive in terms of the acquisition of new paintings, although this was the occasion on which they placed a number of

Fig. 16 / Pierre Subleyras, *Portrait of Pope Benedict XIV*, oil on canvas, 125 x 98 cm, Chantilly, Musée Condé.

Fig. 17 / Nicolaes Maes, *Young Woman Peeling Apples*, oil on wood, 54.6 x 45.7 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

commissions of prestigious copies to adorn their houses and gardens, including a set of large-scale canvases after Paolo Veronese by the Venetian painter Giuseppe Gallo Lorenzi, to decorate the upper story and landing of the Entrance Hall and Grand Staircase at Stafford House (in situ), and the above-mentioned full-size *Perseus* after Cellini for the garden at Trentham.[53] In July 1840, soon after their return and still just before the inauguration of the Sutherland Gallery the following year, the Duke resumed his series of major purchases by buying two works at the Duke of Lucca sale in London: a *Virgin and Child* attributed to Raphael's pupil Gianfrancesco Penni (untraced); and Honthorst's impressive *Christ Before the High Priest* (London, National Gallery).[54] This latter work was a particularly significant addition to his inherited collection, since although the Marquess had always exhibited a marked taste for Dutch pictures of the seventeenth century, his acquisitions had consisted almost exclusively of relatively small landscapes and genre subjects, and had not included any large-scale history paintings. It is not clear whether the Duke's purchase was motivated by any awareness that Honthorst, like Rubens and Van Dyck, had worked in London for Charles I.

After the inauguration of the Picture Gallery in 1841 the Duke seems to have bought no other paintings of any size. At the Strawberry Hill sale in 1842, in an apparently adventurous shift in taste, he bought a *Marriage of a Saint* by an anonymous Flemish master of the fifteenth century (Toledo, OH, Toledo Museum of Art);[51] yet since this was believed to represent the *Marriage of Henry VI with Margaret of Anjou*, the acquisition was presumably made, like the Lenoir Collection, more for antiquarian than aesthetic reasons. More predictably traditional was the Duke's purchase in 1847 of a *Virgin and Child with the Child Baptist* attributed to Fra Bartolomeo (untraced), a smallish picture in the Raphaelesque mode, from George John Morant, son of the frame-maker, decorator and dealer also called George, who had worked for the Sutherlands at Stafford House almost from the beginning. A year earlier, however, likewise through the younger Morant, the Duke sold five of his pictures, including two Dutch genre pictures of very high quality, De Hooch's *Bedroom* (Washington, DC, The National Gallery of Art) and Maes's *Young Woman Peeling Apples* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) (fig. 17), which had been acquired by his father. In return, Morant undertook to supply him with "any picture by Albano."[56] The Duke was not necessarily averse to Dutch painting in general – indeed, to the three landscapes by Van Goyen he inherited from his father he added a further four – yet he seems not to have shared his father's taste for scenes from everyday life, or found them appropriate to the palatial surroundings of Stafford House, and preferred to have instead another classicizing work of the Bolognese school.

Again in contrast to his father, the 2nd Duke was not an enthusiastic supporter of contemporary British art – despite the fact that his home at Trentham was abundantly furnished with modern English painters, and despite holding office for twenty-six years as President of the British Institution.[57] But the Marquess had been a founding governor of the BI, and it has been observed that the Duke's role was less practical than honorary, as if to maintain an aristocratic hereditary principle in the governance of so important a national institution.[58] This withdrawal of support for living

British artists may be seen as part of a wider tendency within the aristocracy from the 1830s onwards, leaving a void in patronage that was soon to be filled by newly-wealthy members of the middle classes.[59] In the case of the Duke, it may also be seen as part of a less-embattled patriotism and a greater cosmopolitanism, made possible in his generation by the post-Waterloo freedom to travel abroad. Certainly he and his wife were manifest Francophiles in a way that a way that would have been difficult during the long wars with France, and as is reflected in their preference for Delaroche and the Paris-based Winterhalter over their British contemporaries.

Perhaps significantly, one of the Duke's few known commissions from a living English painter – apart from portraits – was not for a genre picture, of the type favoured by Stafford, but for a history painting: the *Assuaging of the Waters*, painted for him in 1840 in characteristically apocalyptic mode by John Martin (Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco).[60] The Duke also owned three works by Haydon (all three untraced), in addition to another three inherited from his father. But in this case, charity towards an unfortunate seems to have played a greater role than aesthetic preference. In 1834 the Duke commissioned him to complete an already begun, but presumably otherwise unsellable *Cassandra Prophesying the Death of Hector*; and in 1843 he bought the full-scale cartoon for a *Black Prince Entering London in Triumph*, which Haydon had exhibited in Westminster Hall in the vain hope of gaining a commission to paint a mural of his composition in the newly rebuilt Houses of Parliament. The third picture was one of several reduced versions of his *Wellington Musing on the Field of Waterloo*, commissioned in 1838 for Saint George's Hall, Liverpool (now Walker Art Gallery), and it may, like the *Waiting for The Times* for his father, have been painted by the artist as a gift for his patron. After his death in 1846, the 2nd Duke made a generous contribution to a fund set up to support his family; and Duchess Harriet likewise made a great show of public support for the painter in his frequent hours of need. On the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837 Haydon requested the Duchess to intercede with the Queen to appoint him her historical painter, but it is difficult to know whether his failure to obtain any such appointment was the result of an only half-hearted effort in private by his patroness, or whether it was blocked by some perceptive court official.[61]

The Duke did not commission many portraits of himself and of his large family, but those he did commission tended to be by the most fashionable practitioners, and ambitious in format. The portraits of himself and his wife with their eldest child painted by Lawrence in the 1820s (see above) were followed in 1844 by an already intensely Victorian double portrait by Edwin Landseer of their second daughter Evelyn, then aged thirteen, with their eldest son and heir George, then aged ten (Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland Trust) (fig. 18).[62] The children are shown in idyllic natural surroundings, in front of a bosky cave, with a view of Dunrobin (where the painter was a frequent guest) in the left background. She appears to be twining garlands of flowers to place on the heads of her adoring pet animals; he, although still in nursery clothes, already sports highland socks, and the dirk and sporran in the foreground – as in the bronze sculpture by Feuchère – allude further to his ancient Scottish lineage. A few years later Landseer went on to paint oval portraits of George, Evelyn and two of their sisters in the guise of the Four Seasons, designed for placing over their doors of their mother's sitting room at Stafford House (Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland Trust).[63]

Probably likewise in the mid-1840s the Duke had himself painted by John Partridge (Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland Trust), in an austerely dignified seated portrait that appears to owe much to Venetian painting of the sixteenth century. The unusual, broad format is highly effective, and allows room for another dynastic allusion in the glimpse of Feuchère's sculpture of the future 3rd Duke through an arch at the right edge. Although Partridge was currently riding high as official portrait painter to the Queen and Prince Albert, he was soon to be replaced in royal favour by Winterhalter; and in 1849 the Sutherlands likewise employed the latter to paint a full-length of the Duchess. As has been seen, they had already met the painter in Paris and had commissioned a version of his *Decameron*, five years before his first trip to London; but although they had approached him for a portrait when he was in London in 1844-1845, they had to wait another five years before he was next available.[64] The sittings took place at Stafford House, and Winterhalter depicts the buxom Duchess swathed in floaty silken draperies against the background of the Grand Staircase, now sparkling with the copies after Veronese (see fig. 10). More *dix-huitième* than Venetian or Vandyckian, the portrait perfectly captures the whole flavour of the Sutherlands' aristocratic life style.

As will be seen, the Duke did not follow his father's example in making his collection regularly accessible to the public, and nor apparently did he share any feeling that he owed it to the health of British art by making it accessible to painters. By way of compensation, he lent regularly to the annual summer exhibitions at the British Institution of Old Masters (a category that also included British artists who were no longer alive). By lending at least one of his pictures almost every year between 1828 and his death he must have felt that he was doing his duty to the public, while also advertising to his peers the richness of his collection and the quality of his new acquisitions. In this latter respect it may be observed how often he lent his pictures directly after he had acquired them, or at a moment when they were otherwise the subject of particular public curiosity. Thus in 1830, in the months after the artist's death, he lent Lawrence's portrait of his wife and daughter; in 1836 he lent the pair of Murillos just bought from Marshal Soult; in 1837 he lent his Guercino *Saint Gregory*, likewise recently bought in Paris; in 1838 he lent the Delaroche; and so on.[65] In some of these cases it is clear that such loans had a major impact on the London art world; it has been noted, for example, that the display of the Murillos at the British Institution created a veritable "Murillo mania", prompting the immediate acquisition of two important works by the painter for the National Gallery.[66]

Fig. 18 / Sir Edwin Landseer, *The Sutherland Children*, oil on canvas, Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland Trust.

As mentioned above, when analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of the Sutherland Collection, Anna Jameson noted that there was "no *first-rate* example of Rubens, and no Rembrandt";[67] and she might have said the same of Raphael and Titian. In these respects the Duke was doubly unfortunate that it was his younger brother who had inherited the great works from the Orléans Collection, as well as a Rembrandt *Self-Portrait* (Scottish National Gallery, Bridgewater loan), bought by the Duke of Bridgewater, and that their father had donated his outstanding Rubens (the *Allegory of Peace*) to the National Gallery. He was reasonably successful, nevertheless, in compensating for his losses by acquiring other works in the Orléans taste, by such painters as Fra Bartolomeo, Veronese, Turchi, Guercino and Poussin. Essentially conservative as a collector, he ventured only occasionally into areas unknown to his father; and even then, as with the Delaroche, or with a painting from the school of Giovanni Bellini,[68] he did not follow it up with any wider exploration of French or of early Italian painting.

The great exception to this generalization was his evident interest in Spanish painting – despite the fact that he never actually went to Spain. Although the Marquess had already set an example in this field by buying the two beautiful half-length Murillos (as well as a Cabezalero) at the Altamira sale in 1827, the Duke went much further. Not only did he add further Murillos, including the pair of large-scale narratives that were unanimously regarded as the jewels in the crown of the Sutherland Gallery, but he also bought pictures by other, previously much less known Spanish painters: Alonso Cano, (supposedly) Velázquez, and especially Zurbarán. No wonder Jameson commented approvingly that "no other gallery in England to which I have as yet had access contains so many and various productions of this school."

Fig. 19 / Photograph of Sutherland Gallery, 1895, Historic England.

"THE MOST MAGNIFICENT ROOM IN LONDON..."

Anna Jameson was no less admiring of the physical surroundings of the collection:

> The picture gallery in Stafford House, is not only the most magnificent room in London, but is also excellently adapted to its purpose, in the management of the light, and in the style of the decoration. There is no colour but the dark rich crimson of the furniture, the walls being of a creamy white, the ornaments of dead and burnished gold. The length of the gallery is 126 feet, by 32 feet in width. The central division, 45 feet in length, is illuminated by a vast lantern, 48 feet from the ground; the two ends are each 24 feet in length, by 24 in height. On one side of the central division are hung the two great pictures by Murillo…Each is surmounted by the bust of Murillo, crowned by two reclining genii, life size, bearing palms.[69]

Occupying the full length of the east flank of today's Lancaster House (see fig. 7 and figs. 20-21), the spacious and richly gilded Gallery still exists as a showpiece hung with paintings. Naturally still in place are the monumental niches designed for the Murillos, together with their sculptured lunettes; but the Sutherland pictures themselves are all long gone – with a single exception. This is one of the Marquess's last purchases, Guercino's *Saint Chrysogonus Borne by Angels*, which was specifically intended by him for the Gallery ceiling, and was incorporated by Wyatt into his architectural design for the high lantern (see fig. 9).

In her list of the most important works in the Sutherland Collection, Jameson marks all those formerly in the Stafford Gallery at Cleveland House with the initials 'S.G.', thereby helpfully distinguishing those added by the Duke from those he inherited from his father. She was, in fact, unusually privileged in being given access not just to the Picture Gallery, but to all the other rooms in Stafford House in which paintings were displayed. As she notes, "this is a *private* collection, to which admission is obtained only by the express invitation or permission of the Duke of Sutherland."[70] In contrast to Cleveland House after its refurbishment by the Marquess, Stafford House was never intended to be accessible to the general public, even on a limited basis. It is not clear whether the Marquess himself was responsible for this reversal of policy, overwhelmed, perhaps, by an increasing quantity of unwelcome applications for tickets, and probably feeling that it was now the function of the National Gallery to cater for public interest in looking at paintings.[71] Certainly the 2nd Duke and his Duchess did not regard it as their responsibility to educate, let alone to satisfy the idle curiosity of ordinary people. In this respect their attitude chimed with that of other aristocratic owners of London town houses, including their kinsman, the 1st Marquess of Westminster, who similarly closed the Grosvenor Gallery after an initial period in which it was open.[72] Although after 1851 the Bridgewater Gallery was, by contrast, open to the public for several hours a week, the attitude of Lord Francis to allowing wider access remained at best ambivalent.

As a direct result of this renewed exclusiveness of its owners, the Sutherland Gallery is in many ways less well documented than its predecessor the Stafford Gallery – despite the fact that it survived well into the era of photography. Because it was difficult of access, there was no need for the kind of vademecum guides that existed for the Stafford Gallery since its opening in 1806, and similarly, it was not covered by semi-popular, visitor-friendly accounts or illustrated catalogues such as those that appeared in the 1820s. The only printed catalogues consist essentially of simple lists of the paintings, giving no more than the name of the artist and the title, and sometimes also the most recent provenance. The first of these was published in 1844 as an appendix to a posthumously published reprint of Hazlitt's *Criticisms of Art*; the second, more of a booklet than a book, was the one published by Colnaghi in 1862 (reprinted in 1868 and 1898); and the third, published with a very small print run in 1908, was compiled by the 4th Duke, after many pictures had already been sold, and many more had been brought to London from the recently abandoned Trentham.[73] In complete contrast to the sumptuous four-volume catalogue of the Stafford Gallery by Ottley of 1818, none of these publications included illustrations or diagrams, either of the hang or of the paintings themselves.

The standard 1862 catalogue does, however, list the paintings by room, and within each room the numbering follows a clockwise circular tour. This shows that while seventy-three of the largest and most prestigious Old Masters were concentrated in the Picture Gallery in the east wing – the Sutherland Gallery proper – a further 162 were distributed round the rest of the ground- and first-floor rooms, from the

Fig. 20 / James Digman Wingfield, *View of Sutherland Gallery from North*, 1848, oil on canvas, 115.2 x 113.4 cm, Lancaster House, Government Art Collection.

most formal to the most private. This organization of the catalogue is especially helpful, since although during the stewardship of the 2nd Duke the collection was visited and described by the eminent art historians Waagen (twice) and Jameson (preceded in the lifetime of the Marquess by Johann David Passavant),[74] these authorities listed the works in their own art-historical order, by school and approximate chronology, not by room or according to position on the walls; and accordingly they provide no sense of the physical arrangement and hang of the pictures.

Complementing these verbal descriptions are a number of visual records – drawn, painted and photographic – which, however, naturally suffer from the limitations of the chosen viewpoint and of the legibility of detail. These include late nineteenth-century photographs of many of the principal rooms, with their paintings still in place; of these, apparently only three, dating from 1895, are of the Picture Gallery, and in the more comprehensive views the surfaces of the paintings are largely obscured (fig. 19).[75] Sometimes drawings, prints or watercolours of the many receptions and balls at Stafford House provide glimpses of the paintings in the background.[76] But the most appealing views of the Picture Gallery are provided by three paintings of 1848 by James Digman Wingfield (figs. 20-21). Composed in the tradition of David Teniers's famous views of the collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria, these illustrate not just the hang in three different areas of the Gallery, but evoke a luxurious and ample space suitable not only for receptions and balls, but one in which the Sutherland children could also happily play with their pet dogs, watched over by their mother, her friends, and their nanny.

Although the evidence provided by these verbal and visual records is all partial, taken together they provide a more or less complete account of the original arrangement of the paintings in the

Fig. 21 / James Digman Wingfield, *View of Sutherland Gallery: Central Space under the Lantern*, 1848, oil on canvas, 87 x 117 cm, Lancaster House, Government Art Collection.

Sutherland Gallery when it was inaugurated in 1841. The clearest illustration of the heart of the Gallery is provided by Wingfield's view of the west wall of the central space, with its triple arch designed as a magnificent framing for the Soult Murillos (fig. 21). The two were placed on either side of a central fireplace and mirror, with busts of the painter, as recorded by Jameson, crowned by winged victories represented in stucco in the lunettes above them.[77] In Wingfield's view, the central mirror clearly reflects, as it was supposed to do, Guercino's very grand *Saint Gregory and Angels* (London, National Gallery) hanging on the east wall directly opposite. In between the arches and to the sides, smaller pictures were hung in vertical tiers of four.

Also opposite the Murillos, as seen in one of the main photographs of the Gallery (see fig. 19), were placed many of the Duke's other most important paintings, hung in just two tiers. These included several from the Stafford Gallery, including Moroni's '*Titian's Schoolmaster*,' Van Dyck's *Arundel*, and at least three ex-Orléans pictures, as well as several of his own prize purchases, including the Van Dyck's *Lucas van Uffel* (then called *Portrait of an Artist*) brought back from Paris together with the Guercino. Seen in Wingfield's view of the north end of the Gallery (see fig. 20) is an open doorway leading to an enfilade along the north front; and on either side, paintings by Niccolò dell'Abate, Veronese and Jacopo Bassano chosen at the Orléans sale by the Marquess, and a Turchi and a Zurbarán added by the Duke. Conspicuous in Wingfield's view of the south end is Delaroche's *Strafford*, with the Andrea del Sarto *Virgin and Child* on the opposite side of the doorway.

From all this it is clear that the hang of the Sutherland Gallery did little to develop the modest beginnings of an art-historical arrangement at the Stafford Gallery three and a half decades earlier. There was no attempt to separate northern from southern European paintings, and in continuity with eighteenth-century fashion, greater attention was paid to size, shape and prestige than to school. Van Dyck, Honthorst, Philippe de Champaigne, Delaroche and the Spanish were all mixed together freely with the majority Italians. Some attention was paid, however, to school and genre, and to some extent scale, when it came to choosing which paintings should be displayed in the Picture Gallery and which elsewhere in the house. Whereas history paintings and historical portraits were the preserve of the Picture Gallery, genre scenes and landscapes – in other words, nearly all the Dutch – were consigned to ante-rooms and corridors.

The by-now traditional separation of British from continental painters was also generally maintained. As the Marquess and then the Duke settled into Stafford House, and increasing areas of wall needed to be furnished, a number of the British pictures were brought from Trentham to London,[78] and it was apparently regarded as appropriate for modestly-scaled modern genre scenes and landscapes to be hung alongside their Dutch predecessors. Some of the other British pictures, however – for example, the family portraits by Lawrence and Landseer, or history paintings by West, Etty and Danby – were quite imposing in scale; yet none was thought suitable for display in the Picture Gallery. This is not to say that some of these works did not occupy conspicuous positions in the main reception rooms: thus Lawrence's stately portrait of the Duchess (see fig. 11) dominated the ground floor Dining Room from above its mantelpiece; while Landseer's portrait of the Sutherland children with their pet animals was hung in the Green Library, alongside – appropriately enough – Winterhalter's equally idyllic *Decameron* (see fig. 13) and two *Fêtes galantes* attributed to Watteau.

By contrast, most of the portraits from the Lenoir Collection were hung in the secluded space of the Duke's small, private dining room, to which very few visitors indeed had access.[79] The few to be displayed on the principal floor, including Subleyras's *Pope Benedict XIV*, and Drouais's *Madame de Pompadour* and *Queen Marie-Antoinette*, were presumably selected as works of particular aesthetic quality. Most of the rest, however, may have been of interest to the 2nd Duke and to a handful of French and Francophile antiquarians, but were probably less so to the general art lover, or to family members proud of their Leveson-Gower ancestry. It is perhaps not surprising that when the 3rd Duke began to look for sources of cash in the more challenging economic climate of the 1870s, he should identify the Lenoir portraits as among the first items in his inherited collection he was willing to sell.

But the sale of the Lenoir portraits in 1876[80] – appropriately enough to a leading member of the Orléans dynasty, the Duc d'Aumale, for his château at Chantilly – was only the beginning of the end. The 1870s marked a key moment in the decline of the traditional power and wealth of the British aristocracy in general,[81] and the exceptional profligacy of the 2nd Duke and his Duchess left the Sutherland family particularly vulnerable. But the sale by the 3rd Duke of some very valuable French eighteenth-century furniture, as well as of further paintings, could hardly in itself reverse the continuing decline of its once fabulous fortune, and the real impetus for the dispersal of the Sutherland Collection came with the pressure to reduce the number and scale of the various family residences. Particularly tragic was the case of Trentham, where already by the 1880s Capability Brown's lake and the neighbouring the River Trent had become badly polluted by the surrounding Potteries, making the house almost uninhabitable.[82] In 1905 the 4th Duke decided to abandon it; and having failed to donate it to Staffordshire County Council, demolished it, leaving it in its present state of fragmentary ruin. As is recorded in three catalogues of 1908/ 1909 compiled by the Duke himself, the Trentham pictures were redistributed variously between Lilleshall, Dunrobin and Stafford House;[83] and partly to make room for this redistribution – but certainly also to raise funds – he consigned no less than 101 paintings for sale at Christie's in February 1908.[84] Although for the most part these were works apparently regarded as of lesser importance, the Duke was at the same time negotiating the sale of some of the individual jewels of the Stafford Gallery, such as Moroni's '*Titian's Schoolmaster*,' which he sold in 1908/1909 through Duveen to Peter A. B. Widener of Philadelphia.[85] A useful survey of the highlights of the Sutherland Gallery on the eve of its demise is provided by an article in the journal *Les Arts* of January 1913 – all the more useful since it includes photographs of many of the works soon to be dispersed, and for which there exist no other reliable illustrations.[86]

Well before the occasion of the last great ball at Stafford House, held in June 1911 to celebrate the coronation of George V, the 4th Duke had been thinking of selling his London mansion. By 1912 rumours were circulating that it was to be bought by the Sunlight Soap magnate Sir William Lever (later Lord Leverhulme), and in 1916 the deal was concluded. Lever intended what now became Lancaster House not as his residence, but as a home for the Museum of London.[87] When the Duke died in June 1913, a further large sale of Sutherland pictures was held at Christie's, this time comprising 146 lots that included most of the inherited remnants of the Stafford Gallery.[88] Today only a rump of the Stafford-Sutherland Collection remains, at the Leveson-Gower family's Scottish seat of Dunrobin Castle. This, nevertheless, is a very distinguished rump, and as well as including masterly family portraits by Reynolds, Romney, Lawrence, Wilkie, Landseer and Winterhalter, it retains a number of the paintings by contemporary artists that the Marquess of Stafford had patriotically bought at the exhibitions of the British Institution. In 1963 the 5th and last Leveson-Gower Duke died childless, and the earldom of Sutherland, which under Scottish law could pass through the female line, was inherited by his niece, together with Dunrobin Castle and its contents. The dukedom, however, passed to his distant Egerton cousin, the 5th Earl of Ellesmere – and owner of the Bridgewater Collection – who accordingly became 6th Duke of Sutherland.

Just as Stafford House represented an Indian summer of Georgian architecture, so the Sutherland Gallery, and especially the "grand and interesting pictures" acquired for it by the 2nd Duke, may be seen in retrospect as representing an Indian summer of aristocratic collecting in Britain. By the early 1840s, when the Gallery was inaugurated, most of the Duke's fellow-peers had long since withdrawn from the market for Old Masters, leaving it not so much to the industrialists of the Midlands and the North – who tended to favour contemporary painting – as to members of a newly-wealthy generation of merchants and bankers, and of landowning gentry such as H. A. J. Munro of Novar (1797-1864) and Robert Holford (1808-1892).[89] As will have been evident from the present discussion, regrettably few paintings from the Sutherland Gallery have ended up in British public collections – although most of these are of considerable distinction, including Guercino's *Saint Gregory and Saints* and Honthorst's *Christ Before the High Priest* in the National Gallery, Veronese's *Saint Anthony Abbot and Donor* in Edinburgh, Terborch's *Gentleman Paying his Addresses* at Polesden Lacey, Danby's *Delivery of Israel out of Egypt* in Preston (fig. 22), and Etty's *Comus* in Southampton. Also now in public ownership are some of the pictures kept by the Sutherlands at Trentham, including Gainsborough's *Rocky Wooded Landscape* in Edinburgh.[90] But probably of more relevance for the historic significance of the Sutherland Gallery is the fact that, like the other private galleries discussed by Anna Jameson at a time when the National Gallery was still in its infancy, it provided an inspiring model for public collections of paintings – in terms of their content, if not so much of their methods of display – as they were founded and developed in the Victorian era.

Fig. 22 / (overleaf) Francis Danby, *Delivery of Israel out of Egypt*, oil on canvas, 149.5 x 240 cm, Preston, Harris Museum & Art Gallery.

NOTES

1. Mrs Jameson, *Companion to the Most Celebrated Private Galleries of Art in London* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1844), pp. 165-223.
2. Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain,* vol II (London: John Murray, 1854), pp. 240-256.
3. I am grateful to James Yorke and to Lord Strathnaver for their kindness in treating me to expert guided tours respectively of Lancaster House and of Dunrobin Castle.
4. *Catalogue of Pictures in the Gallery at Stafford House* (London: P.&D. Colnaghi, 1862).
5. James Yorke, *Lancaster House. London's Greatest Town House* (London / New York: Merrell, 2001).
6. See Peter Humfrey, "The Stafford Gallery at Cleveland House and the 2nd Marquess of Stafford as a Collector," *Journal of the History of Collections* XXVIII (2016): pp. 43-55. For a biography of Stafford, see Eric Richards in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* vol. XXIII, (Oxford: OUP, 2004), pp. 104-109.
7. For essential biographies, see respectively Karen R. Fairclough in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XVII, (Oxford: OUP, 2004), pp. 991-993; W. C. Lowe in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XXIII, pp. 116-118.
8. For the Stafford-Sutherland fortune and its management, see Eric Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth. The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1973).
9. See Peter Humfrey, "The 3rd Duke of Bridgewater as a Collector of Old Master Paintings," *Journal of the History of Collections* XXVII (2015): pp. 211-225.
10. Reynolds's *Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland* of 1786 remains at Dunrobin Castle in Sutherland, as do four family portraits by Romney. Romney's *Leveson-Gower Children* of 1777 is now at the Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal**;** Kauffman's *Family of Earl Gower* of 1772 is now in the National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, DC.
11. For Stafford's "English Gallery", see James Elmes, "Catalogue of the pictures by English Masters in the possession of the Most Noble the Marquis of Stafford," *Annals of the Fine Arts* III (1819): pp. 419-422. For the paintings at Trentham, see John Preston Neale, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, vol. III (London: W. H. Reid, 1820) (unpaginated).
12. For the wider context for the opening of the Stafford Gallery to the public and for an analysis of the Marquess's motives, see Anne Nellis Richter, "Improving public taste in the private interior: gentlemen's galleries in post-Napoleonic London," in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Denise Amy Baxter and Meredith Martin (Farnham / Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2010), pp. 169-186.
13. See, in particular: John Britton, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Pictures belonging to the Most Honourable the Marquis of Stafford in the Gallery of Cleveland House* (London: 1808); William Hazlitt, "The Marquis of Stafford's Gallery", in *Sketches of the Principal Picture-Galleries in England* (1824), in *Complete Works of William Hazlitt*, ed. P. P. Howe, vol. X (London: Dent, 1932), pp. 27-36; Peter George Patmore, *British Galleries of Art* (London: G. & W.B. Whittaker, 1824), pp. 217-247; Charles M. Westmacott, *British Galleries of Painting and Sculpture* (London: Sherwood, Jones, & Co.,1824); John Young, *A Catalogue of the Collection of the Most Noble Marquess of Stafford at Cleveland House*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst, Robinson, & Co., 1825)
14. William Young Ottley, *Engravings of the Most Noble The Marquis of Stafford's Collection of Pictures in London*, 4 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818).
15. This is the kind of arrangement dubbed by Giles Waterfield the "picturesque hang": see Giles Waterfield, "Picture hanging and gallery decoration," in *Palaces of Art. Art Galleries in Britain 1790-1990*, ed. Giles Waterfield, exh. cat. (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1991), pp. 49-51. The hang at the Stafford Gallery was probably directly inspired by that at the Louvre, as was recorded in a series of etchings made by Maria Cosway in 1802. For these, see Stephen Lloyd, *Richard and Maria Cosway. Regency Artists of Taste and Fashion*, exh. cat. (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1995), pp. 89-90.
16. The inspiration here, too, is likely to have been the Louvre, the pedagogical mission of which is reflected in the division of the paintings into broad schools.
17. Bessborough sale, Christie's, 7 February 1801, lot 68.
18. See Humfrey, "The Stafford Gallery," p. 4.
19. See Humfrey, "The Stafford Gallery," pp. 4-5.
20. Stafford's taste is clearly mirrored in the "gallery picture" by Pieter Christoffel Wonder, *Patrons and Lovers of Art of 1826-30* (Private Collection), which presents an imaginary display of a selection of works by the most admired Old Masters in art collections in London. See Ellinoor Bergvelt, "*Patrons and Lovers of Art* (1826-30): de ideale National Gallery van P. C. Wonder en Sir John Murray," in P. C. Wonder (1777-1852). *Een Utrechter in London*, ed. Elinoor Bergvelt, exh. cat. (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2015), pp. 44-75.
21. For the following, see Yorke, *Lancaster House*, pp. 11-32.
22. See Susanna Brooke, "Private Art Collections and London Town Houses 1780-1830," (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2013), pp. 103-104.
23. Sutherland archive, Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford, D593/C/23/10 (6)
24. Quoted by William T. Whitley, *Art in England 1800-1837*, vol. II (Cambridge: University Press, 1928), p. 146.
25. It was presented for sale by Day at Christie's on 21 June 1833, lot 36, and was acquired by the new Duke after it was bought in. It was then transferred from temporary storage in Bridgewater House to Stafford House in December 1834 (Yorke, *Lancaster House*, p. 185).
26. Another ceiling painting to remain in situ is the *Allegory with the Three Graces* in the North-East Ante-Room, formerly attributed to Veronese but now to Zelotti. Although installed by the 2nd Duke in ca. 1836-1837, the painting may have already been acquired for the purpose by his father.
27. For the 2nd Duke of Sutherland and the management of his inherited fortune, see Richards, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* especially pp. 12-13, 292-296; Eric Richards, "An anatomy of the Sutherland fortune: income, consumption, investments and returns, 1780-1880," *Business History* XXI (1979): pp. 45-78 (pp. 52-57).
28. Annie Tindley, *The Sutherland Estate, 1850-1920. Aristocratic Decline, Estate Management and Land Reform* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 3.
29. For Duchess Harriet, see Karen D. Reynolds in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, XXIII, pp. 119-121; Natalie Livingstone, *The Mistresses of Cliveden* (London: Hutchinson, 2015), pp. 259-377.
30. Christie's, 25 May 1838, lot 111.
31. For the Sutherlands' houses, see Lord Ronald Gower, *My Reminiscences*, vol. I (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1883), pp. 1-10 (Stafford House), 11-24 (Cliveden), 35-37 (Trentham) and 38-57 (Dunrobin).
32. For the building history and interior decoration of Stafford House, see John Cornforth, "Stafford House revisited," *Country Life*, 7 October and 14 November 1968, pp. 1188-1191, 1257-1261; David Pearce, *London's Mansions. The Palatial Houses of the Nobility* (London: B.T. Batsford, 2001), pp. 195-201; and especially Yorke, *Lancaster House,* pp. 15-83.
33. Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Art and Artists in England*, vol. I (London: John Murray, 1838), p. 43.
34. Cornforth, "Stafford House revisited," p. 1188.
35. Prince Herrmann von Pückler-Muskau, *A Tour in Germany, Holland and England* (1832), quoted by Yorke, *Lancaster House*, pp. 338-9.
36. For the 2nd Duke as a collector, see Yorke, *Lancaster House*, pp. 125-44.
37. See Yorke, *Lancaster House*, p. 142.
38. Quoted by Yorke, *Lancaster House*, p. 128.
39. See Anthony M. Clark,"Thorvaldsen and his *Ganymede and the Eagle*," *Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin* LV (1966): pp. 25-35; Yorke, *Lancaster House*, p. 128.
40. See Yorke, *Lancaster House*, pp. 137-138.
41. Berwick sale, Phillips, 15 April 1826, lots 125 and 186.
42. Westall sales, Phillips, 11-12 May 1827; 29-30 June 1830.
43. See *The Monthly Magazine and British Register*, 1 July 1806, p. 543.
44. See Timothy Clayton, "From Fireworks to Old Masters: Colnaghi and Printselling ca. 1760-ca. 1880," in *Colnaghi: The History*, ed. Jeremy Howard (London: Colnaghi, 2010), pp. 8-11.
45. For Smith and Lord Francis, see Charles Sebag-Montefiore, with Julia Armstrong-Totten, *A Dynasty of Dealers. John Smith and his Successors 1801-1924* (Arundel: The Roxburgh Club, 2013), pp. 83-84.
46. Sutherland sale, Christie's, 24 November 1961, lot 66; Sotheby's, 12 December 1990, lot 90. Attributed by Beck, Hans-Ulrich Beck, *Jan van Goyen. Ein Oeuvreverzeichnis*, vol. IV, (Amsterdam / Doornspijk: Davaco, 1972-1991), p. 217, to Adriaen van der Kabel, on the basis of a monogram.
47. Quoted by Yorke, *Lancaster House*, p. 128. See also Stephen Bann, *Paul Delaroche. History Painted* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), p. 146; Christopher Riopelle, "Lost and Found," in *Painting History. Delaroche and Lady Jane Grey*, eds. Stephen Bann and Linda Whiteley, exh. cat. (London: The National Gallery, 2010), pp. 17-23.
48. For Winterhalter's *Decameron*, see Richard Ormond and Carol Blackett-Ord, *Franz Xaver Winterhalter and the Courts of Europe,* exh. cat. (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1987), p. 30.
49. For the Sutherlands' patronage of Feuchère and other French sculptors, see Philip Ward-Jackson, "A.-E. Carrier-Belleuse, J. -J. Feuchère and the Sutherlands," *Burlington Magazine* CXXVII (1985): pp. 146-143.
50. Yorke, *Lancaster House*, p. 130.
51. For Soult as a collector, see Nicholas Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings, II: Venice 1540-1600* (London: The National Gallery, 2008), pp. 264-265.
52. For the Lenoir Collection of portraits, see Alexandre Lenoir, *Musée des Monuments Français, Recueil de Portraits Inédits* (Paris: 1809) Lord Ronald Gower, *The Lenoir Collection of Original French Portraits at Stafford House* (London: Maclure & Macdonald, 1874); Yorke, *Lancaster House*, p. 134.
53. See Yorke, *Lancaster House*, pp. 136-137 and 134 respectively.
54. For the "Lucca Collection" and the sale by private treaty of 94 pictures in London in 1840, see Giorgia Mancini and Nicholas Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings, III: Bologna and Ferrara* (London: The National Gallery, 2016), pp. 473-478. The authors argue (p. 475) that the Honthorst had already been reserved for the 2nd Duke by his agent in Italy, the Venetian Carlo Galvani.
55. Strawberry Hill sale, April-May 1842, 15th day, lot 25.
56. A letter on 23 March 1846 from G. J. Morant to Thomas Jackson, the Duke's private secretary, is quoted by Yorke, *Lancaster House*, pp. 141-142.
57. Thomas Smith, *Recollections of the British Institution* (London: Simpkin & Marshall, 1860), p. 21.
58. See Nicholas Tromans, "Museum or market?: the British Institution," in *Governing Cultures. Art Institutions in Victorian London*, eds. Paul Barlow and Colin Trodd (Aldershot / Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 44-55 (p. 50).
59. Jeremy Maas, *Gambart: Prince of the Victorian Art World* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1975), pp. 16-17; Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 4.
60. There is a letter of 25 July 1840 from Martin's son Leopold acknowledging receipt of payment in the Sutherland archive, Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford, D593/ P/22/4/4.
61. For these events, see Eric George, *The Life and Death of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 124, 235, 297; David B. Brown in *Benjamin Robert Haydon 1786-1846*, exh. cat. (Grasmere: Wordsworth Trust, 1996), p. 21.
62. For this work, see Richard Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer,* exh. cat. (Philadelphia: The Philadephia Museum of Art and London: The Tate Gallery), pp. 128-129; Yorke, *Lancaster House*, p. 140.
63. Yorke, *Lancaster House*, pp. 140, 145.
64. See Ormond and Blackett-Ord, *Franz Xaver Winterhalter*, pp. 193-194; Yorke, *Lancaster House*, p. 140.
65. See the lists of loans in Algernon Graves, *A Century of Loan Exhibitions 1813-1912*, 5 vols. (London: 1913-1915).
66. Tromans, "Museum or market?", p. 52.
67. Jameson, *Companion*, pp. 170-1.
68. Recorded by Waagen, *Art and Artists,* II, p. 242, with an attribution to the Bellinesque painter Pietro degli Ingannati. Untraced.
69. Jameson, *Companion*, pp. 167-168. See also Brooke, "Private Art Collections," pp. 104-107.
70. Jameson, *Companion*, p. 225.
71. See Giles Waterfield, "The Town House as a Gallery of Art," *The London Journal* XIX no. 1 (1994): pp. 45-66 (p. 60); Brooke, "Private Art Collections," pp. 106-107.
72. As noted by Jameson, *Companion*, p. 228.
73. William Hazlitt, *Criticisms on Art, Second Series, Edited by his Son* (London: C. Templeman, 1844), Appendix II, pp. vii-xviii; *Catalogue of Pictures in the Gallery at Stafford House*, 1862; Cromartie, 4th Duke of Sutherland, *Catalogue of Pictures at Stafford House* (London: 1908).
74. See Johann D. Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, vol. I (London: Saunders and Otley, 1836), pp. 136-147 (visited 1831); Waagen, *Art and Artists,* I, pp. 42-43, II, pp. 240-256 (visited May-June 1835); Jameson, *Companion*, pp.165-223 (visited between 1840 and 1844); Waagen, *Treasures*, II, pp. 57-73 (visited 1851).
75. These photographs are reproduced in Pearce, *London's Mansions*, plate 155, and Yorke, *Lancaster House*, plate 23.
76. See, for example, the scene of the reception in honour of Garibaldi from the *Illustrated London News* of 1864, reproduced by Yorke, *Lancaster House*, plate 71. This is set in the Picture Gallery, looking from north to south; glimpsed to the left are Andrea del Sarto's *Holy Family* and Delaroche's *Strafford*, and to the right Honthorst's *Christ before the High Priest*.
77. These were modelled in 1840 by John Henning. See Yorke, *Lancaster House*, pp. 47-48, 125.
78. For example, Hogarth' s *James Porter of Mortlake* (Toledo Museum of Art) and Reynolds's *Dr Johnson* (Houghton Library, Harvard University), both of which are recorded at Trentham in 1820, but both of which had been brought to Stafford House by the time of the Marquess's death in 1833.
79. See Yorke, *Lancaster House*, p. 134.
80. For the sale, see Gower, *The Lenoir Collection*; Yorke, *Lancaster House*, p. 149; Nicole Garnier-Pelle, *The Condé Museum at the Château de Chantilly* (Paris: Flammarion, 2009).
81. For the historical context, see David Cannadine, *Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New Haven / London: Yale University Press, 1990).
82. For the decay and demolition of Trentham, see John Forbes-Robertson, "Treasure-houses of art: Trentham Hall," *The Magazine of Art* IV (1881): pp. 205-206; Cornforth, "Stafford House revisited"; Yorke, *Lancaster House,* p. 159; David Haden, *The Beauty of Trentham*, 2nd ed. (Stoke-on-Trent: Burslem, 2012), pp. 30-31.
83. Sutherland, 1908; Cromatie, 4th Duke of Sutherland, *Catalogue of Pictures at Dunrobin* (London: 1908), and *Catalogue of Pictures at Lilleshall* (London: 1909). The British Library copy of the Stafford House catalogue includes annotations in pencil against some forty paintings that had already been consigned to Agnew's before the sale of 1913.
84. Duke of Sutherland sale, Christie's, 8 February 1908. For the dissolution of the Sutherland Collection, see Yorke, *Lancaster House*, pp. 150-151.
85. See Fern Rusk Shapley, *National Gallery of Art, Washington: Catalogue of the Italian Paintings*, vol. I (Washington, DC: The National Gallery of Art, 1979) p. 339.
86. Gabriel Mourey, "La Collection du Duc de Sutherland a Stafford House," *Les Arts* 133/3 (January 1913): pp. 1-32.
87. For the circumstances surrounding the sale of Stafford House, see Yorke, *Lancaster House*, pp. 153-161.
88. Duke of Sutherland sale, Christie's, 11 July 1913.
89. For whom see respectively Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings, II,* p. 393; Nicholas Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings, I: Paintings from Bergamo, Brescia and Cremona* (London: The National Gallery, 2004), pp. 367-370.
90. Bought from the painter's estate, Schomberg House, 30 March 1789, lot 72, by the future Marquess of Stafford.

Three pictures by G.C. Procaccini at Colnaghi: *The Agony in the Garden*; *Christ Meeting his Mother on the Road to Calvary*; *The Holy Family*

HUGH BRIGSTOCKE

Fig. 1 / Giulio Cesare Procaccini, *Agony in the Garden*, signed, oil on unlined canvas, 216 x 147 cm, acquired from Coll & Cortés in 2013 by the Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Giulio Cesare Procaccini,[1] one of the most versatile and technically- varied artists of the seventeenth century in north Italy, began his career in Milan as a sculptor at the Visconti villa at Lainate and only took up painting ca. 1600, an occasion he appears to have marked by creating a portrait of himself, ca. 1602-1603, holding a brush and palette (Milan, Koelliker Collection).[2] He was one of a small group of artists who benefited from an extraordinary burst of artistic patronage that took place in Lombardy from the years ca. 1600-1630, while Milan was firmly under Spanish rule, when Cardinal Federico Borromeo was Archbishop there, and which also marked the canonization of Carlo Borromeo in November 1610. Of the three painters who initiated a distinctive movement, Cerano who was probably born near Novara in 1573, remained closest to the intense religious morbidity of the Milanese tradition; while Morazzone (1573-1626?) encompassed a more Valesian orientation, inspired by the art of Gaudenzio Ferrari and the dramatic realism and popular piety of the Sacri Monti at Varallo, Varese and Orta; whereas Procaccini, who was born in Bologna in 1574, exploited his Emilian origins in an imaginative response to Correggio and Parmigianino which he combined with influences from the seductive tenebrism of Leonardo and Luini.

After an early commission (starting in 1602 and extending throughout the decade) at Santa Maria presso San Celso to produce frescoes in two chapels and three altarpieces, Procaccini went on to produce six tempera paintings in the Duomo in Milan, showing *Miracles of San Carlo*, and then decorated the Acerbi chapel in San Antonio Abate, in 1610-1612. From about 1611 he enjoyed continuous patronage from Gian Carlo Doria in Genoa and, inspired by Rubens, in particular the *Circumcision* in that city, went on to produce, ca. 1616-1620, more spacious and monumental work: at Modena 1613-16 (*Circumcision)*, at Milan, Sant'Angelo ca. 1616 (*Dead Christ with Magdalene*), Cremona 1616 (*Death of the Virgin*), Parma 1617 (*Marriage of the Virgin*), Genoa ca. 1618-1620 (*Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew)* and many others.

Above all during the long period when he was under Doria protection he began to experiment with highly imaginative and artistically-bold oil sketches and wash drawings, explicitly exploring a *fa presto* manner inspired perhaps by other pioneers of this technique, Tintoretto, Castiglione, and Rubens. There is a self-regarding delight in the act of painting for its own sake that appears to have been a source of mutual enjoyment for both the artist and his supportive patron. Jonathan Bober has speculated that this self-consciousness regarding the process and substance of painting may arise from Procaccini's previous training as a sculptor and his sense of emancipation through a technique that not only utilized but actively celebrated the medium and material possibilities of painting.[3] As he wrote:

> Few painters have taken more obvious delight in the sheer beauty of pigment and the variety with which it can be laid upon canvas. At times distracting from the ostensible subject, his sinuous *impasti*, broadly hatched modelling (as of a chalk study), and rare tonalities – saturated primaries, high-key tertiaries, in

counterpoint with an opaque blue-black and a white of startling purity – bespeak an unusual awareness of and approach to painting on the most elemental level.

During the early nineteenth century, neoclassical Milanese artists such as Andrea Appiani and Giuseppe Bossi attempted critically to define another aspect of the Lombard *Seicento* by emphasizing the ideal of beauty embodied in much of Procaccini's mature work, ca. 1616-1618, such as the elegant golden-haired angels to be found in the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (Milan, Brera), *Abraham and the Three Angels* (Turin), as an agreeable alternative to the intensity and violence of Cerano and Morazzone.

However, in this definition Appiani and Bossi, and then Frangi and Morandotti, in their realted exhibition at Ajaccio, Corsica,[4] have ignored another major aspect of Giulio Cesare's work: large narrative scenes of the Passion, including the *Agony in the Garden* (fig. 1), with a long Spanish provenance, presented here, which in their range and extent find virtually no match, in iconography, subject matter or style, in the output of other *Seicento* Lombard artists, or indeed virtually any artist working in Italy at this time.[5] Here in marked contrast to Procaccini's preoccupation with technique and beautiful figures, we find an artist deeply immersed in profoundly serious and moving narrative subject matter.

It is important to emphasize that a large proportion of Procaccini's scenes from the life of Christ, including the *Agony in the Garden*, apparently found their way to Spain almost as soon as they were painted. The artist himself, let alone his Milanese contemporaries, may never have seen them all together. Recently Bosch Balbona and Odette D'Albo have uncovered and published important evidence that Pedro de Toledo Osorio y Colonna, 5th Marchese di Villafranca del Bierzo, the Spanish Governor of Milan, commissioned from G. C. Procaccini, ca. 1616, a large series of pictures of the life of Christ which were probably delivered by July 1618 or thereabouts when the patron returned to Spain.[6] Although the documents only specify a few of the subjects, and those particular pictures which show scenes from the early life of Christ have yet to be identified or published, two pictures are already known with a firm Villafranca provenance, a *Transfiguration* in the church at Whitehaven, Cumberland, that was bought in Paris after the Napoleonic wars by the 3rd Earl of Lonsdale, and a full length *Christ on the Road to Calvary* (fig. 2), that surfaced at Christie's London in June 2015 with a long continuous Spanish provenance. On the strength of these it seems highly probable, as D'Albo first suggested, that a number of other seemingly related Passion scenes of exactly the same size, for which art historians for long have been seeking a common provenance because of their striking stylistic similarities, belong to this very same commission. They include a *Baptism of Christ* at Bratislava; the *Agony in the Garden* described above and recently acquired by the Prado, Madrid, from Coll & Cortés;[7] a *Capture of Christ* on loan to the Worcester Art Museum (fig. 3); a *Flagellation* at Boston; a *Mocking of Christ* at Sheffield; and a *Raising of the Cross* at Edinburgh. Two further pictures from this series, one from the early life of Christ, have been discovered very recently by D'Albo and will be presented in our jointly-authored forthcoming Procaccini monograph to be published by Allemandi, Turin, in 2018.

Considered together, they leave one with an over-riding impression that Procaccini must have been to the Scuola di San Rocco, Venice to prepare himself for this challenge. Apart from an obvious reference to Titian's *Mocking of Christ*, readily accessible in Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan (now at the Louvre), reflected in the Boston *Flagellation* and the Sheffield *Mocking of Christ*, Tintoretto was surely the main inspiration for the series, both in style and interpretation of the subject matter, especially *Christ on the Road to Calvary* (Christie's London 2015) and the *Raising of the Cross* (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland) (fig. 4). Procaccini picks up Tintoretto's distinctive use of chiaroscuro to highlight the key figures, while the incipient violence is contained within the darkly-lit shallow space within which the secondary figures act out a dramatic narrative. This creates stability in the large groups of subordinate figures, soldiers and onlookers, and structures each composition. Perhaps for the first time in Procaccini's stylistic development the effect is Baroque not Mannerist, the figures physically and emotionally involved, not just self-consciously displayed. These techniques are also applied to the *Baptism of Christ* (Bratislava), where the emotional temperature is lower but the sense of drama is almost artificially heightened. The *Agony in the Garden* (Madrid, Prado), and the *Transfiguration* at Whitehaven from the Lonsdale Collection, stand slightly apart. Although the figure style is similar, in these two more intimate pictures the lighting and colouring are far cooler and less theatrical: silvery, visionary, evocative of actual moonlight in the Prado picture, more abstract, mystical and intangible in the Whitehaven picture.

Fig. 2 / Giulio Cesare Procaccini, *Christ on the Road to Calvary*, signed, oil on canvas, 217 x 147 cm, ex-Christie's, London, 9 July 2015, lot 35.

Fig. 3 / Giulio Cesare Procaccini, *Capture of Christ*, oil on canvas, 211 x 142 cm., Private Collection, on loan to the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, MA.

Fig. 4 / Giulio Cesare Procaccini, *Raising of the Cross*, oil on canvas, 218 x 148.6 cm, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland.

Of course not all large Passion scenes painted by Procaccini can have formed part of Pedro de Toledo's commission. A *Mocking of Christ* at Dallas and a *Christ Taken down from the Cross* formerly with Patrick Matthiesen, London, and now at Sydney, Australia, which have a different format, but appear to be of the same date, ca. 1616-1618, may have been in the collection of Procaccini's other great patron, Gian Carlo Doria, who had been told of the Toledo commission by Fabio Visconti in a letter dating from January 1616 and who would in any case surely have been informed by the artist.[8]

The smaller Colnaghi picture considered here, *Christ Meeting his Mother on the Road to Calvary* (fig. 5), also has a firm Genoese provenance, from the collection of Giovanni Battista Raggi, since as early as 1658;[9] and it was later noted there by Ratti (1780)[10] and Alizeri (1847).[11] This striking work, also perhaps dating from ca. 1618, is of particular interest since whereas the series of vertical full-length Pedro de Toledo pictures has a strong narrative emphasis, especially the *Christ on the Road to Calvary* (Christie's 2015), the present smaller interpretation, with half-length figures, freezes the narrative action, closes in on the principal protagonists, and invites us to contemplate their emotional situation. Procaccini does the same thing with other religious themes. For instance a small and profoundly intimate *Annunciation* from the Koelliker Collection in Milan, of ca. 1612,[12] is distilled from the dramatic full-length altarpiece at San Antonio Abate, Milan, of ca. 1610-12, so that again we focus our emotions on empathy with the Virgin rather than simply witnessing a dramatic event. This tender, introspective painting is far removed from the hyper-dramatic exaggerations of Morazzone's frescoes of the Passion at Varallo and Varese, or even the raw emotion of Cerano's late *Crucifixion* at Seveso.

Procaccini leaves us here hovering at the edge of a breakthrough into a new Baroque style, but he did not pursue it in his final years when, instead, he often regressed to a more classical and academic manner that reflects not only his Emilian roots but above all the conservative aesthetic aspirations of Federico Borromeo's Academy at Milan, ca. 1620. We can see this process at its very best in the third picture presented here, Colnaghi's recently discovered *Holy Family with Two Angels* (fig. 6) which has no traceable provenance.

This picture, previously unrecorded, appears to be a fully autograph work by Giulio Cesare Procaccini, dating from 1620 or a little later. During the early years of his activity as a painter from 1600 onwards Procaccini often painted the Madonna and Child, but usually in large altarpieces. Smaller more intimate pictures of the Holy Family are relatively rare, although there are notable exceptions at Munich, Alte Pinakothek (inv. 450), dating from ca. 1612 or a little later, executed in a bright-toned Correggesque manner; at Naples, Capodimonte, executed in a freely-sketched technique suggestive of an *abbozzo* and perhaps dating from the middle of the second decade; at Florence, Uffizi, a small painting on wood in the manner of an *abbozzo*, that the current author dated 1620-1625 in the New York 2002 exhibition catalogue but which might also be as early as ca. 1615; at Edinburgh, a *Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John*, on wood, that might also date from 1615 (although the attribution is disputed); at Kansas City, a larger scale work, painted with equal freedom and energy and little obvious preparation, the brushwork wet into wet, and perhaps dating from ca. 1615-1616; and at Schleissheim (Munich inv. 521), a *Holy Family with Saint Anne* executed ca. 1618-1620 in a Rubensian manner, with ample softly-modelled forms and a far more spacious design than in the earlier works.

After 1620 and in the final five years of his life Procaccini painted far more pictures of this kind. If this was a response to market demand from private clients outside the charmed circle of his principal patrons, Gian Carlo Doria in Genoa and the Spanish Governor of Milan, Pedro de Toledo, it may also reflect his desire to meet the aesthetic challenge of Federico Borromeo through the Academy he founded at Milan in 1620. The simplified subject matter offered the perfect means of exploring form and reinventing classical prototypes along the prescribed academic lines of the Academy, focused on direct communication, without the stylistic exaggerations associated with Procaccini's earlier work from the time of the Acerbo chapel (1610-12) in San Antonio Abate, Milan, onwards.

It is interesting to compare the figure of the Madonna in the Colnaghi picture with a Madonna in an apparently unfinished picture or else a large oil sketch of the *Holy Family with an Angel* (123 x 98 cm), probably datable ca. 1615-1620, last recorded by this author in 2002 in a Roman private collection and previously published by Roberto Longhi in 1966 as in the Viezzoli Collection, Genoa.[13]

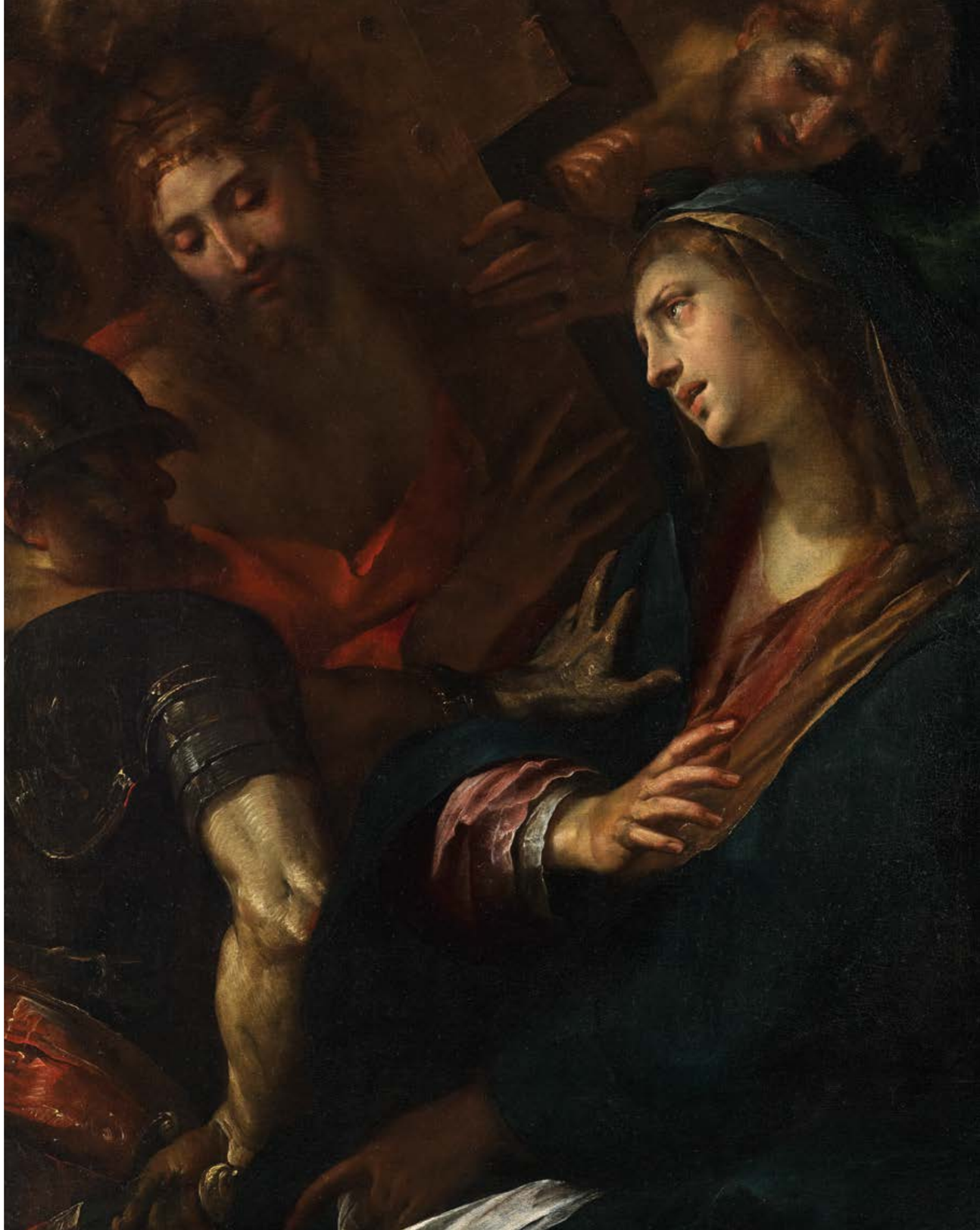


Fig. 5 / Giulio Cesare Procaccini, *Christ Meeting his Mother on the Road to Calvary*, oil on canvas, 145.2 x 109 cm, acquired from Colnaghi in 2016 by a Private Collector.

Fig. 6 / Giulio Cesare Procaccini, *Holy Family with Two Angels*, oil on canvas, 140 x 100 cm, acquired from Colnaghi in 2016 by a Private Foundation.

Fig. 7 / Giulio Cesare Procaccini, *Portrait of Three Children*, oil on panel, 26.4 x 35 cm, Geneva, Rob Smeets Old Master Paintings.

Fig. 8 / Giulio Cesare Procaccini, *Head of the Magdalene*, oil on panel, 50.2 x 39.4 cm, San Diego Museum of Art.

Their poses, especially the extended right arm, are almost identical. An even more striking comparison is the proximity of the Child in the present picture with the Saint Giovannino from the informal *Portrait of Three Children*, of ca. 1620, (fig. 7), obviously taken from life, that came to light in a private European collection in February 2005 when its attribution was endorsed by Nancy Ward Neilson and the present author, after which it was sold at Sotheby's, London, 7 July 2005, lot 31. This has to be the very same model; and it seems likely that the artist had retained the informal portrait for use in exactly this kind of context. It gives this *Holy Family* a sense of immediacy that over-rides its formal design; and this is reiterated in the tender manual embrace of the two angels in the right background. Finally on a more speculative note one might compare the face of the Virgin with the late (after ca. 1620) *Head of the Magdalene* in the San Diego Museum (fig. 8), formerly attributed to the young Ribera, but reattributed to G. C. Procaccini by Alessandro Morandotti in 2003, Franco Moro in 2010, followed by Odette D'Albo in 2015.[14]

Other pictures that appear to be of about the same date and reflect the same stylistic preoccupations include a *Holy Family* at Dresden (inv. 643), one at Turin in the Sabauda Gallery, and another in the Royal Collection in London, all probably dating from after 1620-1621. They are all painted on panel as if to underline the link with Renaissance painting. And the same classicism in the composition of the figures also colours two of Procaccini's very last altarpieces, the *Madonna and Child with Saint Carlo, Saint Francis and Angels* in Santa Maria di Carignano, Genoa, and the *Madonna of the Rosary* in San Pietro al Rosario, Novara.

Certainly the present picture perhaps dating a little after 1620 with its monumental Raphaelesque figures within a formal full frontal static design exactly matches these ambitions. The same could be said of a firmly modelled *Holy Family with Infant St John*, painted on panel, now with Canesso, Paris (fig. 9); while a mystic *Marriage of Saint Catherine*, also painted on panel, now in the private collection of Daniel Katz, exhibited at his gallery in London in 2015, and

Fig. 9 / Giulio Cesare Procaccini, *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John*, oil on panel, 97 x 64.5 cm, Paris, Galerie Canesso.

Fig. 10 / Giulio Cesare Procaccini, *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, oil on panel, 44.4 x 34.6 cm, London, The Daniel Katz Family Trust.

formerly at Christie's, London in July 2007, shows the artist reverting to Correggio and Parmigianino, but with an almost sculptural precision, and with an extraordinary virtuoso display of interlocking hands (fig. 10). These pictures too may date from ca. 1620.

Thus the present newly-discovered picture brings into one coherent group a variety of hitherto unconnected late pictures and sketches by G. C. Procaccini. Together they demonstrate that even in his final years the now well-established Milanese artist was still striving creatively to develop his style and reinvent himself: and he now invites us to compare his work with that of the earlier Renaissance masters, on which his own work was always grounded.

NOTES

1. The most convenient reference point for illustrations and basic catalogue details of Procaccini's known pictures is Hugh Brigstocke, *Procaccini in America,* exh. cat. (New York: Hall and Knight, 2002), Appendix II, pp. 144-191. Pictures that have changed location or come to light since 2002 are described in the notes below and in the captions of illustrations. Hugh Brigstocke and Odette D'Albo are currently completing a Catalogue Raisonné of G. C. Procaccini's paintings to be published by Allemandi, Turin, 2018. Dates proposed for pictures discussed in this article reflect our recent work and I wish to acknowledge here Odette D'Albo's essential role in this joint collaborative process.
2. Brigstocke, *Procaccini in America*, p. 177 as Private Collection. See further Hugh Brigstocke in *Dipinti Lombardi dei Seicento, Collezione Koelliker*, eds. Francesco Frangi and Alessandro Morandotti (Turin: Artema, 2004), pp. 46-49.
3. Jonathan Bober, "A Flagellation of Christ by Giulio Cesare Procaccini. Progress and Pictorial Style in Borromean Milan," *Arte Lombarda* 73-75 (1985): pp. 55-80.
4. Francesco Frangi and Alessandro Morandotti, *La peinture en Lombardie au 17 siècle. La violence des passions et l'idéal de beauté*, exh. cat. (Ajaccio: Musée Fesch, 2014).
5. Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *Pintura Italiana del Siglo 17 en España* (Madrid: Universidad de Madrid, 1965), p. 363, as Madrid,colección Vizcondes de Roda.
6. Joan Bosch Balbona, "Retazos del sueño tardorenacentista de Don Pedro de Toledo Osorio y Colonna en el monasterio de la Anunciada de Villafranca del Bierzo," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoria del arte* 21 (2009): pp. 121-146. Odette D'Albo, "I governatori spagnoli a Milano e le arti: Pedro de Toledo, Giulio Cesare Procaccini e le 'Historie grandi della Vita di Nostro Signore'," *Nuovi Studi* 20 (2014): pp. 145-163. And for subsequent disposals see further Joan Bosch Balbona, "Sobre el quinto marqués de Villafranca, Camillo y Giulio Cesare Procaccini,"*Locus Amoenus* 14 (2016): pp. 91-108.
7. Hugh Brigstocke, in *Genua Tempu Fà*, ed. Tiziana Zennaro, exh. cat. (Monaco: Maison d'Art, 1997), p. 11. Formerly collection of Conde de Adanero. See further Bosch Balbona, "Sobre el quinto marqués," pp. 94 and 99.
8. Brigstocke, *Procaccini in America*, p. 128. For a more exhaustive transcript of all the Doria documents see further Viviana Farina, *Giovan Carlo Doria: promotore delle arti a Genova nel primo seicento* (Florence: Edifir, 2002), p. 128.
9. Piero Boccardo and Anna Orlandi, *L'età di Rubens, Dimore committenti e collezionisti genovesi*, exh. cat. (Genoa: Palazzo Ducale, 2004), p. 364, no. 90.
10. Carlo Giuseppe Ratti, *Istruzione di quanto può vedersi di piu bello in Genova*, vol. 1 (Genoa: 1780), p. 232.
11. Federico Alizeri, *Guida artistica per la città di Genova* vol. II (Genoa: 1847), p. 252.
12. Brigstocke, *Procaccini in America*, p. 177, as Colnaghi, London, 1993. Brigstocke, *Dipinti Lombardi*, pp. 50-52.
13. Roberto Longhi, "L'inizio dell' abbozzo autonomo", *Paragone* 195 (1966): pp. 25-29.
14. Alessandro Morandotti, *Il canto del sirene* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 2003), p. 83; Franco Moro, *Piacenza terra di frontiera: pittori lombardi e liguri del Seicento* (Piacenza: Grafiche Lama, 2010), p. 22; Odette D'Albo, *Giulio Cesare Procaccini.*(PhD diss. Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, 2015), pp. 354-355, no. 146.

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Two newly-discovered paintings of *The Return of the Prodigal Son* by Mattia Preti

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Fig. 9. Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale della Magna Grecia. © 2017. Andrea Jemolo/Scala, Florence.
Washington
Fig. 4. Courtesy of The National Gallery of Art, Washington.

A new *Holy Family* by the Spanish Renaissance master Joan de Joanes

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Figs. 1, 6. © Colnaghi.
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Valencia
Figs. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14.© Paco Alcántara.

An unpublished *Vanitas* painting by Andrés De Leito

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Fig. 12. Márquez de la Plata Collection.
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Fig. 14. © Diócesis de Palencia.
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Vienna
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Luis Quijada: Pompeo Leoni's *Portrait of a Knight of the Order of Alcántara or Calatrava* Identified

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Figs. 1, 2. © Colnaghi.
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Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6. © Museo Colegiata de San Luis, Villagarcía de Campo.
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A rediscovered painting of Our Lady of the *Immaculate Conception* by Alonso Cano

Granada
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London
Fig. 3. © The National Gallery, London.
Madrid
Fig. 4. © Church of the Colegio Imperial, Madrid.
Fig. 5. © Private Collection, Madrid.
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Fig. 9. Private Collection © Coll & Cortés.
Sevilla
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"The volatile and vivacious connoisseur of the old school": A Portrait of the Victorian Art Dealer Martin Colnaghi (1821-1908) and his Relationship with the National Gallery, London

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Fig. 2. © Colnaghi.
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Titian's *Unidentified Donor Presented to the Virgin and Child by Saint Luke* at Hampton Court

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Figs. 2, 6. © The Trustees of the British Museum.
Figs. 4, 5. Royal Collection Trust /© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2017.
Nottingham
Fig. 7. Courtesy of Nottingham City Museums and Galleries.
Vienna
Fig. 8, 9. Dorotheum.

The Sutherland Gallery at Stafford House: contents and display.

Budapest
Fig. 15. Museum of Fine Arts (Szepmuveszeti) Budapest, Hungary / UIG / Bridgeman Image.
Chantilly
Fig. 16. Musee Conde, Chantilly, France / Bridgeman Images.
Detroit
Fig. 3. Detroit Institute of Arts, USA / City of Detroit Purchase / Bridgeman Images.
Karlsruhe
Fig. 13. bpk/Staatliche Kumsthalle Karlsruhe/ Annette Fischer/Helke Kohler.
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Three pictures by G.C. Procaccini at Colnaghi: *The Agony in the Garden*; *Christ Meeting his Mother on the Road to Calvary*; *The Holy Family*

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Fig. 4. © National Galleries of Scotland.
Geneva
Fig. 7. Reproduced with kind permission of Rob Smeets Old Master Paintings, Geneva.
London
Fig. 2. © Christie's Images Limited 2016.
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San Diego
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