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COLNAGHI STUDIES JOURNAL – 17 OCT. 2025

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Director, Colnaghi Foundation: Candida Lodovica de Angelis Corvi

Designer: Laura Eguiluz de la Rica

Project coordinator and picture research: Sarah Gallagher

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COLNAGHI STUDIES JOURNAL–17

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Fig. 1 / Diego Velázquez, *El Almuerzo*, ca. 1616?, oil on canvas, 109 x 102 cm, Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum.

In memory of Jules Maidoff

Diego Velázquez: a decade after the exhibition at the Grand Palais[1]

PAUL JOANNIDES

It seems appropriate in 2025 to return, after a decade, to the epoch-making exhibition *Velázquez* at Paris's Grand Palais, and to reconsider some of the knowns, unknowns, and partially-knowns that still perplex students of Velázquez's art.[2] Vienna's sister show of 2014-2015 (hereafter V), which I was unable to see, concentrated on core works, with some thirty paintings of uncontested authenticity among its forty-six exhibits.[3] The Paris (hereafter P) exhibition took a wider view, embracing numerous marginal or controversial attributions plus a sampling of paintings, and a few sculptures, by relevant contemporaries. It offered an opportunity, probably unrepeatable, to undertake for Velázquez that most fundamental – and enjoyable – of art-historical exercises, the exploration of many related works collected in a single venue.

Divided into four chapters and various sub-sections, with 116 works on display the exhibition was the most extensive gathering since *Velázquez y lo velazqueño* of 1960-1961, and its catalogue was an admirably sustained effort of scholarship for which Kientz, author of most of the lucid entries, deserved unstinting praise.

The first sub-section "*Dans l'atelier de Pacheco*" opened many questions. Save for three dated pictures, there is little certainty about the sequence of Velázquez's youthful canvases and consensus seems distant. The opportunity to study Budapest's *El Almuerzo*, one of three variants of a tavern scene, invited a rethinking of their sequence. The vertical arrangement in the Hermitage (fig. 1; P12) is usually put first, but Garrido is probably correct to see the simpler arrangement formerly in the Garrouste collection as the earliest, and the Hermitage canvas and that in Budapest, in which a maidservant is substituted for the grinning boy, as later elaborations.[4] In the Hermitage picture the form of the leather hat hanging on the wall mimics a head. This, plus the doffed collar hanging below it, create a phantom participant, somewhere between a spectre and a scarecrow. Its presence transforms a genre-scene into a narrative – maybe sinister, maybe comic. Might Velázquez have been evoking one of those confusions to which Don Quixote was subject?[5] In any case, such a feature invites us to speculate on his poetic range.

This section displayed, next to the National Gallery's *Immaculata* (P10), the painting from the Focus-Abengoa Foundation (V1, P6), of which Velázquez's authorship, ca. 1617, was closely argued by Kientz (and Garrido).[6] But the picture, much doubted and ignored by Verdi, is hieratic and brittle in manner, with crisply contained contours and rhythmically controlled drapery combining to form a mandorla, suggesting elevation. Rather than "realistic", metaphoric shape is dominant – uniquely so in Velázquez's oeuvre – and the painting

Fig. 2 / Diego Velázquez, *Sebastián García de la Huerta*, ca. 1624?, oil on canvas, 121 x 101 cm, Private Collection.

fitted ill with that in London. Very different from both is Yale's recently revalued *Education of the Virgin* (P14; also ignored by Verdi), whose block-like but soft forms and rather lumpy arrangement also diverge – in the opposite direction – from pieces of the late 1610s like the Prado's *Adoration of the Magi* (dated 1619). Can the same artist have painted in three such different manners within so short a period? Is another hand involved? If not, the dating of these pictures demands greater precision.

The next section, "*La découverte du caravagisme*" treated paintings executed before Velázquez's move to Madrid. It included the *Penitent Saint Peter* from the Fondo Cultural Vilar Mir (P28; V6; Verdi, p. 23), rediscovered only in 1999, emphatically the most forceful of the dozen or so known versions. The intense colour of Peter's tunic and the sharp illumination of his face and hands recalls London's *Saint John the Evangelist*, while the dull yellow cloak resonates with that of Saint Anne in the *Education of the Virgin*.[7] Also in this section was Chicago's controversial *Saint John* (P31), dated between Velázquez's first and second Madrid visits; ignored by Verdi, it seemed unlike anything else on display; but Kientz stood firm in its favour.[8]

"*Entre Séville et Madrid: premiers portraits*" focused on the "hard" portraits, such as Boston's *Góngora* (P38), which hung beside Detroit's *Unidentified Man* (P39), widely excluded but surely compatible and immediately contemporary; who, other than Velázquez, could have represented porcine power so unflinchingly? On display too was the privately-owned *San Simón de Rojas* (P35), whose attribution to Velázquez by Pérez-Sánchez was contested by Kientz, who transferred it to Vicente Carducho; Verdi (p. 47), however, accepted it. A worthwhile addition to this section would have been Barcelona's *Raymond Lull*, given to Velázquez by Roberto Longhi but currently attributed to Francisco Ribalta, with whose work it shows, to my eye, minimal connection.[9]

At this point, the exhibition hiccoughed. The portrait of *Sebastián García de la Huerta* (fig. 2; P63) which re-emerged in 2012, should have hung with the "*premiers portraits*" instead of in "*Peindre la Cour*", juxtaposed with the 1630s images of the sculptor *Juan Martínez Montañés* (P64) and *Juan Mateos* (P65). In their company it seemed alien.[10] Only when shifted to ca. 1625-1626, as Kientz suggested, or even a little earlier, did it make sense. X-radiography reveals that it was painted, inverted, over a *María Magnificat* that corresponds exactly to one published by Gudiol as by the teenage Velázquez.[11]

Gudiol's attribution – subsequently ignored – rested largely on a monogram that he associated with Velázquez, but which has been more plausibly interpreted as Zurbarán's. However, the appearance of the same composition beneath the *Huerta*, which has no relation to Zurbarán, lends support to Gudiol's view. Whatever the case, either Velázquez painted the underlying *Maria Magnificat* or worked in close proximity to whomever did.

"*Le premier voyage en Italie*" included (as P42) the *alpha* of Velázquez's Roman achievement in one of his two Villa Medici views – which, if of ca. 1630, as most scholars agree, may be the first *plein-air* oil-sketches of an identifiable site – and the *omega* in the small, generally rejected, Bambocciesque *Brawl* (P41), another Longhi attribution. Although painted on wood, and notwithstanding the vast difference of scale, the latter fitted well in colour and character with *Vulcan's Forge* (P43). The *Forge* and *The Coat of Joseph Shown to Isaac* (P45) hung close to the *Temptation of Saint Thomas* (P46), whose airy space and colour combinations, especially the two angels' costumes, chimed harmoniously with the larger canvases. Nearby, the Focus-Abengoa's *Saint Rufina* (P54)[12] glowed: its ceramic still-life is inseparable from that placed above the fireplace in the *Forge*, and it has the lightness of the *Saint Thomas*. It is inexplicable that so beautiful and characteristic a Velázquez could ever have aroused doubts. Might her sister *Saint Justina* one day reappear?

In the *Saint Thomas* the discomfited temptress, scuttling away in the left background, painted in loose striated strokes that recall the Villa Medici sketches, pronouncedly – and amusingly – contrasts with the main figures in technique: in her figure, wit of execution accompanies wit of conception. The arrangement, as well as the juxtaposition of different modes of paint application, recall London's *Christ in the House of Martha* and Dublin's *Maidservant with the Supper at Emmaus* and announce the staging of *Las Hilanderas*, in which the gallery that opens beyond the shadowy workshop becomes a brightly-lit stage behind a proscenium. Velázquez's fascination with *mises-en-abyme* and light-filled chambers explains his choice to copy Tintoretto's San Rocco *Last Supper* (P40). If this little canvas is his, as its provenance suggests – judgement on style alone is difficult – then perhaps other copies historically given to Velázquez might be reconsidered.[13]

In Italy Velázquez's palette lightened but his colours remained restricted and his handling, although freer, did not differ vastly from that of Roman contemporaries like Andrea Sacchi and the French post- or anti-Caravaggesque painters around Vouet. But on his return to Spain, he stepped back before going forward. Thus, Boston's *Baltasar Carlos with a Dwarf* (P47), probably of March 1631, is sober and tight in execution: the gold weave on the child's robe, painstaking and densely registered but rather stiff, fails to respond to the folds' undulations.[14] It looks conservative in comparison with the Wallace's *Baltasar Carlos* of a year or so later; looser and more "evocative" in handling, that picture is, as Kientz remarked, a likelier candidate for the painting presented at the oath-taking of March 1632.

Velázquez's immediate post-Italian development – or oscillation – was hard to follow. Most scholars date to 1631-1632 four full-lengths: the Prado's *Doña de Ipeñarrieta y Galdós* and *Don Diego del Corral y Artellena*; the Kimbell's *Don Pedro* (P68); and the National Gallery's

Fig. 3 / Diego Velázquez, *Baltasar Carlos on Horseback*, ca. 1635, oil on canvas, 209 x 173 cm, Madrid, Museo del Prado.

Fig. 4 / Diego Velázquez, *Philip IV*, ca. 1628/1632, oil on canvas, 205 x 117 cm, Sarasota, Florida, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, The State Museum of Florida, Florida State University.

Philip IV in Brown and Silver (although that has been more plausibly connected with Philip's receipt of petitions in 1634).[15] But they are very unlike one another; and when the thirteen portraits grouped in those years by López-Rey are considered together, variations among them become bewildering.[16] If all are dated correctly, then Velázquez's production was phenomenal both in quantity and stylistic flux, and he would be so protean that dating would become virtually impossible. López-Rey cautioned against attempts to construct a tight chronology based upon visual similarities and differences; but surely the sequence of these portraits requires closer articulation. Perhaps some were begun before the Italian trip but completed after.

The paintings done from ca. 1634 onwards demonstrate startling changes in handling and colour. In *Baltasar Carlos on Horseback* of ca. 1635 (fig. 3; V25, P51, Verdi, p. 25), the gold trim on the costume of the princeling, perched on his barrel-bodied pony – a charmingly witty conception – differs vastly from that of the Boston portrait (P47). It is composed of dabs and strokes that bear no assessable relation to what they supposedly represent, but, as an ensemble, they are perfectly descriptive. This portrait and *Saints Paul the Hermit and Anthony Abbot* (P52) – perhaps dated somewhat too early, 1633-1634[17] – exemplify Velázquez's post-mimetic handling. This may originate in Rubens's sketches, with their watercolour transparency, and the backgrounds of late Titian, as in his *Europa* and Prado *Danäe,* a canvas acquired by Velázquez in Italy. But Velázquez's paintings move technically far beyond any source. His brush abandons any attempt to imitate the surfaces represented and instead seeks their purely optical equivalent.
It is as though Velázquez studied the world through

a pane of glass and, by constant experiment, determined which touches upon it best conveyed the visual experiences that they covered: touches of the brush and directional shifts of strokes defy rational interpretation. These paintings are emphatically daylight scenes, and their canvases were prepared with a white ground: they shimmer with light and air. *Baltasar Carlos* and *Saints Paul and Anthony,* together with the *Surrender of Breda*, probably represent the peak of Velázquez's "luminist" phase; although he painted still more loosely in the later 1630s and beyond, he did not again aim for so high a key.

"*Velázquez portraitiste*" fell loosely into three sections: "*Peindre la Cour*" addressed Royal and grandee portraiture. Kientz boldly and successfully re-valued Sarasota's imposing full-length of *Philip IV* supposedly of ca. 1628 (fig. 4; P 62). It contains massive pentiments, and the underlying armour is visible to the naked eye. Although Kientz contested the view that it might have been re-painted after Velázquez's Italian sojourn, this did not seem implausible. Velázquez, who witnessed Rubens's reworking of the *Adoration of the Magi*, returned to paintings, sometimes after several years, as Rouen's *Democritus* (P58) demonstrates, and the hue of the king's sash matches precisely that of his son's in Boston's *Baltasar Carlos* (P47).

Here too was the forceful and solidly painted *Pablo de Valladolid* (P66) which so excited Manet. It may date from nearer 1632, when Pablo entered the king's service, than 1635; its execution differs greatly from the thinly painted, unfinished *Don John of Austria*, whose background for Verdi evoked Turner, and was surely in Cy Twombly's mind when he began his *Lepanto* series. Equi-sized, the two canvases may have been planned

Fig. 5 / Diego Velázquez, *Philip IV as a Huntsman*, 1632, oil on canvas, 200 x 120 cm, Castres, Musée Goya.

for the same set but were surely not contemporary. *Pablo de Valladolid* was designed under the direct impress of Italy: the stance, however indirectly, derives from Donatello's *Saint George* and Castagno's *Pippo Spano*. It is characteristic of the mock-heroic thread that runs through Velázquez's work – apparent in the *Brawl* – and demonstrates the latent theatricalism in his temperament for which portraits of kings or courtiers offered small scope.

"*Peindre la Cour*" segued into *"Le second voyage en Italie*", addressing Velázquez's Roman sojourn between 1648 and 1651. The centrepiece was the majestic *Innocent X* (P71), whose loan was a triumph for Kientz. Washington's sketch of the pope's head (P72) was placed nearby, and in its vivacity and vitality seemed autograph; despite uncertainty over Innocent's eye colour, it hardly seems the work of an imitator. The head-and-shoulders portraits of *Camillo Massimi* (P74) and *Cardinal Astalli* (V32; P73), although diverse in execution, are intimate *ad vivum* responses to their sitters rather than formal portraits. Such paintings, and the *Innocent X*, raised the issue of Velázquez's pictorial athleticism, increasingly significant from the mid-1630s onwards. The Frick *Philip IV at Fraga* was reportedly painted in three days in June 1644; and when Velázquez was preparing to portray the pope, he exercised his hand by painting his assistant *Juan de Pareja*, training like a fencer, or rehearsing like a dancer, in order to produce fluent and unforced effects.[18]

Such magical virtuosity alerts us to a fundamental problem in Velázquez studies. What has not fully been resolved – perhaps never will be – is the range of achievement that lies within the perimeter of the "autograph". A "touch" painter, like a "flair" ballplayer, cannot maintain a constant level: hand-eye coordination relies on physical and mental equilibrium, which changes daily. The inherent difficulty that such painters face in performing on demand may account for Velázquez's frequent delays, exacerbated by what seems to have been a temperamental evasiveness: Philip IV's letters complaining of his favourite painter's deceit and unreliability are hard to parallel. When Velázquez was compelled to work against the grain, results may have become more laboured, and this raises the question of his studio.

While working in Seville the young Velázquez produced at least some autograph repetitions of subject-pictures such as *The Maidservant* (P15, P16); and the number of replicas of the *Penitent Saint Peter* implies he had colleagues available to deal with popular inventions.[19] But once he became a salaried court artist, imperatives of "business" no longer applied, and none of the few subject-pictures painted after Velázquez's transfer seems to have been repeated by him or his atelier. Portraiture was a different matter. Already in 1621, he had painted full and half-length replicas of *Madre Jerónimo de la Fuente* (P22, Verdi, pp. 32-33),[20] and once in Madrid, multiplication of Royal portraits became a central issue. Initially, it seems, Velázquez replicated his own work: his standing *Philip IV* in the Prado (before he revised it in 1628) was certainly autograph, and so, it seems, is the replica of it in the Metropolitan Museum, documented in a signed receipt. But inevitably, as a court painter, over-burdened with demands, Velázquez had to create a studio.[21] Much of its activity involved replication, and sometimes reduction, in which the original was imitated closely. Fine examples are the full-length of *Philip IV* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the versions of *Queen Mariana* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (V35) and in the Louvre (P86), both of which exactly follow the Prado's *Queen Mariana* and are of high quality.[22] Velázquez presumably oversaw their production without intervening physically. One of the procedures adopted by Velázquez to ensure quality control was parallel production. Castres's *Philip IV as a Huntsman* (fig. 5; P53) is generally regarded as a competent replica of the Prado's picture. Kientz, however, employing new technical evidence, found some pentiments to be common to both pictures. He concluded that they were prepared and corrected together; that an assistant followed Velázquez stroke by stroke. Recent technical studies have revealed that such practices were common to many painters, notably Titian, who habitually prepared two or more versions of a composition simultaneously. Yet even accepting that the Castres portrait was painted in tandem with the Prado's, it lacked that picture's vivacity and energy, qualities exceptionally difficult to define but readily apprehensible before the originals, if often the effect of only a few touches of the brush.

But judgement falters when repetitions modify originals sufficiently to be classed as versions; and still more so when they differ so greatly as to become variants, effectively (re)creative interpretations. Would Velázquez have relinquished these solely to assistants? Among other painters with productive workshops, studio repetitions or reductions rarely differ so greatly from originals as some of the paintings "around" Velázquez. Thus, the reduced equestrian portrait of *Olivares* in New York (see fig. 6; P98) debated since the early 1950s, was hung beside the Pitti's reduction of the Prado's equestrian *Philip IV* (P97), presumably sent to Italy in 1635 as a guide for Pietro Tacca.

The two are about the same size and their prototypes originated close to one another in date. Kientz attributed both to Velázquez's long-term assistant and son-in-law Mazo. But while the *Philip IV* follows Velázquez's prototype closely, the *Olivares* diverges considerably. Besides the different colour of the horse, there are many other changes, plus numerous minor *pentimenti*. A certain heaviness in paint application points to an assistant, but would an assistant have taken responsibility for *all* such changes? Although the Metropolitan's picture may be that inventoried as by Mazo in 1651, in which Olivares is described as mounted on a white stallion, this is not certain; the provenance is incomplete and there is an alternative in the duller Munich version.[23] The Metropolitan's *Olivares* did not fit comfortably with the exhibited works by Mazo and, however the division of hands and minds is finally resolved, it is hard to see it as wholly by him. Did Velázquez supervise the execution of this painting in some difficult-to-define manner and participate to some difficult-to-define extent?

Another portrait in the section "*Baltasar Carlos, L'Enfant chéri*" introduced a different aspect of the problem. No known prototype by Velázquez survives for the little-studied *Baltasar Carlos* from Hampton Court, delivered to Charles I in 1639 (P49); until recently impenetrably grimy, it emerged favourably after cleaning. The figure recurs same-size on a slightly shorter canvas in the Rijksmuseum.[24] In the Royal Collection's picture, the prince's head seemed lacking in life and expression, but the textures of sash and breeches are vigorous with flickering brushstrokes and an energetic play of highlights, which presupposes an odd division of labour.

The Hampton Court painting is generally attributed – as here – to Mazo, to whom a substantial section, "*Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo*", was devoted. It comprised P96-110 with another twelve paintings given to him as a whole or in part.[25] But despite Kientz's efforts, Mazo remains enigmatic. Thus, the portrait of *Baltasar Carlos* in the Kunsthistoriches Museum, executed by Mazo in 1645 (P50), displays a soberly firm execution which Kientz paralleled not with Velázquez's contemporary work but that of nearly two decades earlier, specifically his *Don Carlos* of about 1628 (V12). Unconvincing in spatial positioning and lacking in atmosphere, Vienna's *Baltasar Carlos* departs so greatly from Velázquez's style(s) of the mid-1640s that one would hardly think it painted by a close assistant. If the Hampton Court *Baltasar Carlos* (P49) is also by Mazo, he either possessed a remarkable stylistic range or, when paintings were produced under Velázquez's aegis, followed his master's dictation in choice of palette and broken brushwork. Another possibility is that the Royal Collection picture is a copy, by an associate, of a lost Velázquez.[26]

Even a relatively mediocre painter can produce good imitations of a range of works in different styles; but to confect such pictures in the absence of prototypes is more difficult, and it is unlikely that Mazo was able to do so.[27] Thus, New York's little-studied and rather stolid *Infanta María Teresa* of ca. 1645 (P90) is given to Mazo; but it too differs radically from the contemporary Vienna *Baltasar Carlos* (V23; P50). Moreover, the *María Teresa* includes a charmingly characterized and beautifully drawn lapdog, reminiscent, as Kientz observes, of that in Velázquez's *Felipe Próspero* of 1659 (V42). Is it likely that Mazo anticipated his master by fourteen years?

Fig. 6 / Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, *Don Gaspar de Guzmán (1587–1645), Count-Duke of Olivares*, ca. 1635, oil on canvas, 127.6 x 104.1 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Or did Velázquez, supreme master of canine portraiture, add this dog to his assistant's work? Or might the *Infanta María Teresa*, whomever it is by, record a lost original by Velázquez? Could the same be true of the National Gallery's impressive *Admiral Pareja* (P93), which Xavier Bray is inclined to return to Velázquez?[28] It seems likely that more than one lost Velázquez remains to be rediscovered.

Present-day conceptions of Velázquez's oeuvre rest largely on the monograph-catalogue of José López-Rey. First published in 1963, it has been reissued with revisions, most recently in a sumptuous volume which includes updates by Odile Delenda.[29] It is a compliment to López-Rey that his book should remain a standard for sixty years; but it now seems to be tiring, and the catalogue is *sommaire* rather than *raisonné*. López-Rey produced a purified Velázquez, excluding paintings accepted by scholars like Gudiol and Pérez-Sánchez. Contrastingly, the latest editions include works at which others cavil, and in which – if accepted – Velázquez fell below his habitual stratospheric levels. One is Cleveland's *Portrait of the Jester Calabazas* (P67), fiercely defended by López-Rey but transferred by Kientz to Velázquez's entourage and ignored by Verdi; another is Chatsworth's *Woman in a Mantilla*, admired by López-Rey but omitted by Verdi and tentatively transferred to Mazo by Kientz (P94).[30] López-Rey sometimes found the balance between qualified acceptance and qualified rejection delicate – he wavered about the *Saint Thomas*.[31] But uncertainties are made clearer in the first edition, which dealt with the entire attributed oeuvre: in later ones, nuances were suppressed, and the contours of Velázquez's oeuvre hardened, a gain in clarity perhaps but not in subtlety.

As with any professional portraitist – Velázquez's primary occupation for three decades – he surely executed some paintings on autopilot. And Velázquez certainly collaborated with assistants or retouched their work, although not necessarily in the most "significant" parts. The Uffizi's copy of Rubens's lost *Philip IV on Horseback*, probably from the mid-1640s, is recorded as early as 1651 as by Mazo but with the king's head by Velázquez (V24).[32] Furthermore, the first Vienna *Baltasar Carlos* (V23; P48), securely documented to 1639, is widely agreed – as López-Rey maintained – to be by an assistant, although the head and hands are given to Velázquez. Verdi too thought it collaborative but reduced Velázquez's contribution to the head (which seemed to me perhaps its least interesting part). And the portrait of *Cristoforo Segni* (fig. 7; P77) bears the joint signatures of Velázquez and Pietro Neri; here Velázquez was probably responsible for the flesh painting, the head, and some of the white drapery. After 1963, López-Rey referred to the *Cristoforo Segni* only in passing, it was ignored by Jonathan Brown, and Enriqueta Harris explicitly rejected it;[33] but rejection is easier than explanation, and to disregard a signature that has (largely) resisted modern cleaning is risky.[34] Parenthetically, while speaking of Pietro Neri, who did not visit Spain, the *Cristoforo Segni* and Neri's signed *Innocent X and a Prelate* (P78) cast doubt upon the attribution to him of the privately-owned *Portrait of Velázquez* (P114); this might be a retrospective evocation of the master, based on Velázquez's self-portrait in *Las Meninas*, by Juan de Pareja.[35]

Fig. 7 / Diego Velázquez and Pietro Neri, *Cristoforo Segni*, ca. 1650, oil on canvas, 121 x 99 cm, whereabouts unknown.

In the *Segni*, division of labour appeared fairly clear. But collaboration surely took subtler forms, for example in Vienna's *Infanta Margarita in a Blue Dress* (fig. 8; V39; P88) and Budapest's *Infanta Margarita in a Green Dress* (fig. 9; V40; P91) whose juxtaposition in both venues repeated one proposed by Javier Portús in Madrid in 2013.[36] The "blue Margarita", although rediscovered less than a century ago, is universally recognized as a painting of exceptional quality; the "green Margarita" is generally given to Mazo. *Green* follows *Blue* verbatim, with minimal differences in the background, and might have been laid-in from a tracing or from the same template. Its drapery is less vivacious, and Margarita's face and hair are distinctly duller; but the tonal and colouristic adjustments – from bright to sombre and from gold and blue to silver and green – within the same format are accomplished and demanded considerable pictorial skill. Nothing in the "green Margarita" is spatially discordant, and subtle changes, such as the enlargement and simplification of the panels in the infanta's sleeves, hold everything in place tonally. Can such mutations have originated with Mazo? Do they not reveal Velázquez exercising his creativity by proxy?

Fig. 8 / Diego Velázquez, *Infanta Margarita in a Blue Dress*, ca. 1659, oil on canvas, 126 x 106 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Fig. 9 / Assistant of Diego Velázquez (Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo?), controlled by Diego Velázquez, *Infanta Margarita in a Green Dress*, oil on canvas, 121 x 107 cm, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum.

It may be germane that the "green Margarita" covers another portrait, presumably also of Margarita, which Portús dated to the early-to-mid 1650s, and considered stylistically close to Velázquez; if so, this would support the view that the Budapest *Margarita*, rather than an entirely studio work, was painted to Velázquez's direction.[37] Incidentally, it is notable that even pictures commonly accepted as studio works are often painted on reused canvases; the Kunsthistorisches's 1638-1639 *Baltasar Carlos* (V23; P48) covers a different composition, as does the same museum's bust-length *Philip IV* (V34). It is impossible to determine who painted the underlying images, but the practice makes one wonder whether Velázquez was familiar with Titian's methods. It would be naively materialist to ascribe this practice to economy, as canvases hardly constituted a major expense. Perhaps both painters were stimulated by working over existing images which would affect, subliminally, the textures of subsequent paint-surfaces, introducing a frisson of unplanned life to the final image.

The *Infanta Margarita in Red and Silver* also from Vienna (V41; P92) presents a related but slightly different problem. Given confidently to Mazo, it is thinner in characterization and less substantial in modelling than either the "blue" or "green" *Margarita*s. It is an abbreviated version of another *Infanta Margarita in Red and Silver* in the Prado.[38] That painting is generally considered inferior to Vienna's,[39] but however judged, the princess is the same size in both, and her image was probably placed upon the two canvases simultaneously.[40] Nowadays both "red and silver" *Margaritas* are usually dated – as here – to 1663, based the sitter's perceived age, about twelve to thirteen; additionally, in the Vienna version, her brooch seems to bear a double-headed eagle, which has been connected with her formal betrothal of 1663. But her age is far from certain; she could be much younger. In Mazo's *Margarita in Mourning* (P102), painted in 1665-1666 when she was fourteen or fifteen, she appears more than two years older. Furthermore, the execution of the two "red and silver" canvases is again very different from that of paintings by Mazo which certainly post-date 1660, such as *Margarita in Mourning* or his *Family* (V43; P109). One might wonder why, in 1663, Mazo should have sought to paint it in a style not employed by him in other paintings executed after Velázquez's death?

López-Rey (followed by others) denounced the flickering lights of some of the later portraits as "garish";[41] highlights skid over the surface of the "red and silver" *Margarita*s more slickly than in Velázquez's secure work. But their aura was such that throughout most of the nineteenth century they were among his most admired pictures. Their colour organization – the play of reds in the bonnet, the fan behind the brooch, the infanta's cuffs, and the panels on her dress – shimmers both up close and at a distance, remaking Margarita as an exotic butterfly, an insect that frequently flutters into Velázquez's later female court portraits. Once more, are the selection and organization of colours and the deployment of highlights entirely due to Mazo? His certain works show neither this level nor type of technical inventiveness, nor so lively a sense of decoration. Mazo's earlier signed paintings, and those of his final seven years following his master's death, differ from Velázquez's work in various ways: handling is never evocative, colour range is narrower, touch is heavier, variety within areas of colour or tone is reduced, *chiaroscuro* is more pronounced, forms are more overtly plastic, space and depth less firmly controlled.

Mazo's painting tends toward the solidity that he absorbed during his training with Velázquez before 1630; his signed or secure work shows a sober and rather severe painter, neither an inventive colourist nor a natural virtuoso of the brush. In the "red and silver" *Margaritas* we may, once again, find arrangements conceived, and execution supervised, by Velázquez. Although the highlights on the dress are less structured and less structural than usual, this may be intentional. They fall like sparks from a sparkler, a deliberate effect to convey the shifting light of candles. More than any other painting by Velázquez or his school, this portrait evokes the dazzle of a ballroom at a *première sortie*. The effect is ingenious and lively – even if some find it meretricious. One might also note the transparency of the handkerchief held by the little girl which refracts the silver and pink layers of the costume that it covers: such effects are not found in Mazo, whose pigments are invariably opaque.

Fig. 10 / Associate of Diego Velázquez, *Dwarf with a Bitch*, ca. 1643?, oil on canvas, 142 x 107 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

The Paris exhibition probably credited Mazo with rather too much. Some of the paintings given to him appeared to be the products of more than one hand, with considerable internal differences of vision and facture. Others should probably be assigned to ill-defined collaborators. But this is a difficult task: when the (relatively) independent paintings of associates like Juan de Pareja are examined, all seem very different from – and inferior to – those supposed to have been painted when working on Velázquez's behalf.

For example, the Prado's *Dwarf with a Bitch* (fig. 10; P116) was for much of the nineteenth century among Velázquez's most loved canvases, but in the twentieth, it was demoted to the work of a follower.[42] It has been attributed to Carreño de Miranda, and while that view is now widely rejected, it does at least attach the picture to a major painter.[43] López-Rey rejected Mazo's authorship in vigorous terms; nor is it accepted by Kientz, who cautiously opts for "*entourage de Velázquez*". He dates it to 1660-1670 but notes that the bitch is a larger version of one that appears

Fig. 11 / Diego Velázquez, *Joseph's Bloody Coat Brought to Jacob*, 1630, oil on canvas, 223 x 250 cm, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

in Mazo's signed *Hunt at Aranjuez* of ca. 1640. If Kientz is correct in dating the dwarf's costume to the reign of Louis XIII (could he be French?), it would be a considerable coincidence that a painter working ca. 1660-1670 turned back two or three decades for a costume and then enlarged an animal included in a painting of that same period. Why assume that the large bitch was modelled on the small one, rather than vice versa? Her pose and the dwarf's outfit suggest a painting of ca. 1640,[44] a dating supported by artistic interest in dwarves at this time, demonstrated in Velázquez's famous group of paintings, and by obvious reference to his 1630s hunting portraits of the royal family. The *Dwarf with a Bitch* impressed critics and public for so long because it is an impressive picture. The sitter's self-aggrandizement is acutely observed but not without poignancy. His extravagant hat with cascading plume calls to mind Cyrano, and the painting wittily – and sympathetically – conveys his Cyrano-like predicament: a grand soul thwarted by a small body. It seemed to me to have strong executive links with Velázquez's Fraga portrait and the repainted areas of the *Democritus* (P56).[45]

Fig. 12 / Diego Velázquez, *Vulcan's Forge*, 1630, oil on canvas, 223 x 290 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

To conclude: Velázquez attribution is rather stuck between autograph and non-autograph. Technical examination has rebalanced some judgements, but its general effect has not been as striking as, for example, in the study of Titian. One way forward might be to study Velázquez's Madrid studio as a portrait factory, like that of Van Dyck in London, and focus, at least initially, on "product-lines" rather than individual examples. Once such lines have been classified and articulated, allocation of hands and responsibilities within individual portraits might begin to make sense. All in all, future research and discoveries seem likely to soften divisions between Velázquez and his immediate followers, allowing more emphasis to be placed on collaboration and collective production.[46] A more extensive programme of technical analysis might establish which paintings shared types, or even bolts of canvas, and thus clarify groupings and datings. Kientz's analysis of the Prado and Castres versions of *Philip IV as a Huntsman* provides a model for further analysis of closely related canvases.

The Paris exhibition raised other broader questions. One, relevant to recent scholarship, relates to dating.

Since Bardi's book, numerous pictures previously placed in the 1640s have been moved to the 1630s. Much of this redating is based on documentary evidence rather than stylistic analysis, and the possibility that some references are to lost paintings should be considered. The result is that a large quantity of work is bunched in the 1630s with rather little in the 1640s; even allowing for Velázquez's duties as a courtier, such collapse of production seems precipitate. López-Rey attempted to fill the gap with two great masterpieces, the Rokeby *Venus* and *Las Hilanderas*, but there are strong arguments for *Venus* having been painted in Italy, and most other scholars place *Las Hilanderas* in the 1650s.[47] The paucity of work in the 1640s remains unexplained.

Another issue is the extent to which Velázquez was an expatriate artist. The biographies of a surprising number of his paintings begin in Italy; this includes the *Baltasar Carlos and his Dwarf* (P47) of which there is no record in the Spanish Royal Collections. Perhaps it was painted as a gift for some Italian nobleman? Many of the pictures that Velázquez executed during his two Italian sojourns – numerous portraits of 1648-1651 recorded by Palomino are unidentified – would have remained with their subjects. If Velázquez was also solicited for paintings by Italians, or foreigners residing in Italy, he may have exported them privately – if not clandestinely – since he would have been aware that selling pictures would hinder his social aspirations.

In this connection, the *Coat of Joseph* (see fig. 11) and *Vulcan's Forge* (see fig. 12) raise issues that are rarely addressed. First recorded in Velázquez's 1634 sale of eighteen pictures to the king, and executed in Rome, as Palomino attests, they are wholly mysterious. Among Velázquez's largest canvases, they are intimately related in handling, figure-style, and colouring, and are so close in size that they must have been pendants – or components of the same scheme. That one is lit from the right and the other from the left suggests that they were site-specific, to hang on facing walls or either side of a window. Both treat recondite subjects: one a painful episode from the Old Testament, the other a risqué – even comic – encounter from classical mythology. As unlikely a duo as Fragonard's *Adoration of the Shepherds* and *Le Verrou*, this pairing has been interpreted in various ways. If seen to share a theme – perhaps *Deception Perpetrated* and *Deception Revealed* – one would have to explain why these stories, among the host of biblical and mythological options available, were chosen to illustrate it?[48]

Can Velázquez really have selected the subjects and pairing? He had a subtle mind but nowhere else does he indulge in such laborious iconography. And is it likely that Velázquez – or any other contemporary – would have painted such subjects on such a scale on his own initiative? Given the investment of time and effort that they would have represented, which Velázquez could gainfully have employed on portraiture, they were surely a commission. If so, might they have been planned as elements in a wider programme, soon aborted?[49] Subjects bizarre as a stand-alone pairing might have accrued meaning in a larger cycle, which perhaps paralleled Old Testament and mythological stories. Other painters may have been involved, Italians or perhaps a Frenchman like François Perrier, who also painted an *Apollo in Vulcan's Workshop*.[50] The putative patron was surely not Philip IV; if he was a Spaniard, why did he not accept them? He is more likely to have been Italian or French – one only has to think, for example, of the patronage of Louis Phélypeaux, Seigneur de La Vrillière, also –

NOTES

1. I roughed out a much longer version of the present piece in 2015-2016, without thought of publication, to try to clarify for myself some of the issues raised by Guillaume Kientz, ed., *Velázquez*, exh. cat. (Paris: Grand Palais, 2015). In 2023, following a conversation about Velázquez with friends, I returned to the essay and consulted Nicola Jennings, who thought at least some of it worth publishing; she generously produced an edit of my text and advised me on areas that required reworking. Her insistence that I should introduce references to more recent studies coincided with that of two simultaneous, but sadly posthumous, publications: Richard Verdi, *Velázquez* (London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 2023), much cited below, and Carmen Garrido, *Velázquez El fluir expresivo de su pintura* (Lleida: CAEM, 2022). I have referred to José López-Rey, *Velázquez* (London: Faber & Faber, 1963) where necessary but more frequently – although not systematically – to the one-volume edition (Cologne: Taschen, 1999), the most convenient of the later iterations. My thanks to Morlin Ellis, Jeremy Howard, and Isabelle Kent for astute comments; and to Syaivo Dmytryk for practical help.
2. Verdi, *Velázquez,* responds to issues raised in Kientz's catalogue, but it is absent from his bibliography. It is, however, extensively cited by Julia Vázquez, *Velázquez, Painter and Curator* (Leiden: Brill, 2025), an illuminating study of the relations between Velázquez's own work and the paintings and sculptures in the Spanish Royal Collection for which he had curatorial responsibility.
3. Sabine Haag, ed., *Velázquez*, exh. cat. (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2014-2015).
4. Contrast López-Rey, *Velázquez* (1999), p. 3 and p. 9, and David Davies and Enriqueta Harris in Michael Clarke, ed., *Velázquez in Seville*, exh. cat. (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1996), no. 26, pp. 142-143; no. 28, pp. 146-147; and no. 29, pp. 148-149 (the Moyne, not the ex-Garrouste version); with Garrido, *Velázquez El fluir expresivo*, pp. 38-55.
5. My thanks to Dr. Gloria Carnevali for advice on this point.
6. Garrido, *Velázquez El fluir expresivo,* pp. 57-64. For this and other early paintings see too Peter Cherry, "A Newly Discovered *Immaculate Conception* by Diego Velázquez," *The Burlington Magazine* 162 (2020): pp. 1028-1037.
7. In the example once owned by Aureliano de Beruete, exhibited in London in Spring 2025, contrasts of tone and colour are softened, features such as the saint's hands and beard are less plastic in treatment, and the landscape is different: see Stuart Lochhead et al., *The Tears of St Peter* (London: Stuart Lochhead Sculpture, 2025).
8. Javier Portús, *Velázquez su mundo y el nuestro* (Madrid: CEEH, 2018), pp. 15-27, also favours the attribution.
9. As Ribalta in López-Rey, *Velázquez* (1963), p. 501; but see the penetrating analysis by Gabriele Finaldi in Clarke, *Velázquez in Seville,* no. 12, pp. 122-123; as Kientz points out, the same model served for Joachim in the Yale picture.
10. It was rejected by Xavier Bray in his review, "Hits and Misses," *Apollo* 182 (2015): pp. 96-97.
11. Jose Gudiol, *The Complete Paintings of Velázquez 1599-1600* (New York: Grennwich House, 1974) (original edition Barcelona: 1973), pp. 16-17, fig. 8. At the time the painting was owned by Gudiol.
12. Verdi, *Velázquez,* no. 13, p. 63.
13. See José María Luzón Nogué, ed., *Velázquez en Italia*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 2022), pp. 54-70 and no. 1. This important catalogue, to which Nicola Jennings drew my attention, also discusses a little-known bust-length portrait of Philip IV in the Academia's collection, attributed to Velázquez's workshop (pp. 142-151) and confirms (pp. 90-100) the identification first proposed by Kientz (P75) of Juan de Córdoba as the subject of the famous portrait in the Capitoline Museum.
14. Fernando Checa, *Velázquez, The Complete Paintings* (Bruges: Abrams, 2008), p. 29, points to a possible model by Sanchez Coello. There is a fine interpretation of this painting by Bray, "Hits and Misses," p. 96.
15. Checa, *Velázquez, The Complete Paintings*; Gudiol, *The Complete Paintings of Velázquez 1599-1660;* Jonathan Brown, *Velázquez, Painter and Courtier* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), among many others.
16. López-Rey, *Velázquez* (1999), pp. 51-55, 57-58, 59-65.
17. The privately-owned *Head of a Bearded Man* (López-Rey, *Velázquez* [1999], no. 86), is, by those who accept it (like Garrido, *Velázquez El fluir expresivo,* pp. 239-253), generally considered to be a study for Saint Anthony. However, it is very much larger than the head in the altarpiece, which would make it unique among Velázquez's physiognomical studies, and it does not look like work of the mid-1630s. I suspect that it was painted in the later 1620s for some unknown purpose and subsequently used in the altarpiece.
18. For the *Juan de Pareja* see David Pullins, Vanessa K. Valdes et al., *Juan de Pareja,* exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2023), pp. 87-91.
19. The issue of Velázquez's repetitions is addressed in a fundamentally important article (to which Matteo Chirumbolo drew my attention) by Jaime García-Máiquez, "Squaring the Circle: Tracing and Originality in the Early Paintings by Velázquez," in *El joven Velázquez: a propósito de 'La educación de la Virgen' de Yale; actas del simposio internacional celebrado en el Espacio Santa Clara de Sevilla del 15 al 17 de octubre de 2014*, ed. Benito Navarete Prieto (Seville: ICAS, 2015), pp. 574-593. However, that a duplicate was produced via a tracing does not prove Velázquez's responsibility for it.
20. Checa, *Velázquez, The Complete Paintings,* no. 14C.
21. López-Rey judged two versions of the *Seated Dwarf* (Prado and Private Collection) to have been executed by Velázquez (*Velázquez* [1999], nos. 103 and 104); this would be the sole instance of an autograph repetition painted in Madrid.
22. The Louvre painting was not a contemporary gift to the French court but a transfer of 1941.
23. López-Rey, *Velázquez* (1963), nos. 216 and 217, pl. 248.
24. López-Rey, *Velázquez* (1963), no. 316: 148 x 111 cm as opposed to 211 x 111 cm. In portrait repetitions when canvas sizes change, the figure generally retains the same dimensions: compare the Prado's *Baltasar Carlos as a Huntsman* (191 x 103 cm) with Ickworth's version (155 x 92 cm); the possibility that the latter is an autograph painting is considered by Giorgia Mancini in Dawson Carr et al., *Velázquez*, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery, 2006-2007), no. 32, pp. 198-199; it would be desirable to see the Ickworth and the Prado canvases side-by-side.
25. nos. 49, 50, 59, 82, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 112, and 113.
26. This was Gudiol's opinion.
27. Mazo's reductions of two of Titian's Ferrara *Bacchanals*, on view in the Prado (February 2025), are glumly impervious to their models' colour and handling.
28. Personal communication.
29. López-Rey, *Velázquez: The Complete Works,* ed. Odile Delenda (Cologne: Taschen, 2014).
30. López-Rey, *Velázquez* (1999), nos. 19 and 80.
31. López-Rey, *Velázquez* (1999), no. 130.
32. Verdi, *Velázquez,* p. 140.
33. López-Rey, *Velázquez* (1963), p. 474.
34. Enriqueta Harris, *Velázquez* (London: Phaidon Press, 1981), pp. 151-152.
35. It seems compatible with Juan de Pareja's portrait of José Butes (P116) of ca. 1664 (Pullins, *Juan de Pareja,* no. 3, pp. 115-117).
36. Javier Portús Pérez, ed., *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2013-2015), nos. 19 and 20, pp. 132-135.
37. Portus Pérez, *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV*, pp. 142-145.
38. 121 x 94 cm vs. 212 x 147 cm.
39. But not by Verdi, *Velázquez,* p. 224.
40. Portús Pérez, *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV,* nos. 21 and 22.
41. López-Rey, *Velázquez* (1999), p. 191.
42. However, it was still assigned a prominent place in Miguel Ángel and P. M. Bardi, *Velázquez, Opera Completa* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1969), no. 108, p. 104, with an insightful entry.
43. See the various opinions cited by Kientz.
44. This is the date assigned to the painting in the Prado's current label.
45. Aureliano de Beruete, *Velázquez* (London: Methuen & Co., 1906), p. 92, who identified the subject as "El Primo", a famous dwarf in Philip's service, thought it contemporary with the Fraga portrait, then known only in copies.
46. For example, three portraits of Philip IV, all, I think, unstudied, have passed through Dorotheum in the past decade:
    1. A bust, probably of ca. 1630, that does not match any other known version (21 April 2015, lot 234; that this painting fetched a hundred times its low estimate suggests that at least two collectors thought it possessed quality).
    2. A rather imposing full-length of Philip IV wearing the order of the Golden Fleece of which, I think, no original is known (23 October 2018, lot 55).
    3. What looks like a good copy (maybe studio) of the famous full-length in the Prado as it was revised by Velázquez in 1628 (22 October 2024, lot 31).
47. Verdi, *Velázquez,* p. 210, to 1657-1658.
48. For what it is worth, none of the thematic interpretations, as summarized by Kientz, seems remotely satisfactory: all are *post-facto* attempts at justification, and none explains the *why* or *whys* of the founding choice or choices.
49. Of course, that neither composition resembles anything being produced in Rome ca. 1630 might have provoked the (putative) patron to reject them.
50. Noted by Kientz, *Velázquez,* p. 188. The resemblance between the two argues that they are related; but Perrier was absent from Rome between 1626 and 1634, and Velázquez's canvases returned with him to Madrid. Perrier's painting (dimensions unrecorded) is dated by Alvin L. Clark, Jr., *François Perrier: Les premières oeuvres de Lanfranco à Vouet* (Paris: Galerie Eric Coatalem, 2001), p. 30, fig. 26 and pl. 6, to ca. 1632, which would place its execution in Paris. Might the same patron have issued the same instruction to Perrier when Velázquez failed to satisfy?

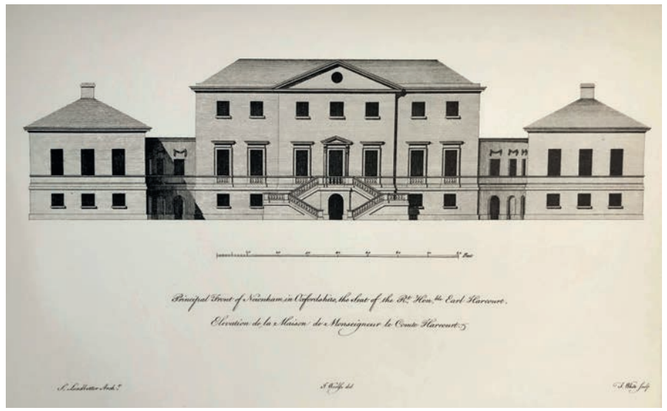
Fig. 1 / Benjamin Wilson, *Simon, 1st Earl Harcourt*, 1753, oil on canvas, 124.5 x 99 cm, Government Art Collection.

Collecting pictures for a Georgian villa: the Earls Harcourt at Nuneham

PETER HUMFREY

For nearly two hundred years, from the middle of the eighteenth century until the Second World War, Nuneham Courtenay in Oxfordshire was home to a picture collection that included works by such major names as Titian, Rubens, Poussin, Salvator Rosa, Chardin and Reynolds – and even a Caravaggio (albeit then in disguise as a Murillo). The nucleus of the collection of continental Old Masters was put together by Simon, 1st Earl (1714-1777; fig. 1), partly to reflect a refined taste formed during his youthful Grand Tour in the early 1730s, but more immediately as a complement to the Palladian villa he built for himself on his Nuneham estate from 1755. His architect-builder was Stiff Leadbetter, whose initial design followed the compact, near-square plan and single main storey of Lord Burlington's villa at Chiswick. Even before the building was completed, however, the earl enlarged it by adding the wings illustrated in volume V (1767) of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (see figs. 2 & 3).[1] The process of transforming the villa into a country seat, with the addition of further paintings, was then continued from the 1780s by his son George Simon, 2nd Earl (1736-1809; see fig. 4), and by his nephew Edward Vernon Harcourt, Archbishop of York, after 1832. The Harcourt family continued to live in the house until it was requisitioned by the RAF in 1939, and after the War it was saved from demolition by being sold to the University of Oxford.[2] Its current tenant is the Brahma Kumaris Global Retreat Centre. Meanwhile, the collection has been largely dispersed, principally at auction at Christie's in 1948,[3] but also piecemeal in previous and subsequent public and private sales.

The present discussion has the triple aim of reconstructing the contents of the now dispersed collection; of tracing its formation; and of visualizing the hang at Nuneham. All three tasks are much facilitated by the fact that from 1780 onwards the collection is described in some detail in successive editions of two publications: the *New Pocket Companion to Oxford*;[4] and an autonomous booklet entitled *Description of Nuneham-Courtenay: Seat of the Earl of Harcourt*, first published in 1783, and likewise republished in revised editions.[5] According to family tradition, the information they provide was based on a catalogue drafted by no lesser experts than Horace Walpole and Joshua Reynolds.[6] But no such manuscript has ever been found in the voluminous Harcourt papers now housed in the Bodleian Library, and it seems much more likely that these authorities, both of whom were family friends, simply gave independent, oral advice, and that the published information was compiled by the 2nd Earl himself, probably immediately after coming into his inheritance in 1777. The publications of 1780 and 1783 are already remarkable not only because the paintings are listed room by room, with frequent reference to their positions on the walls, but also because of the frequent references to the dates of acquisition and the names of previous owners.



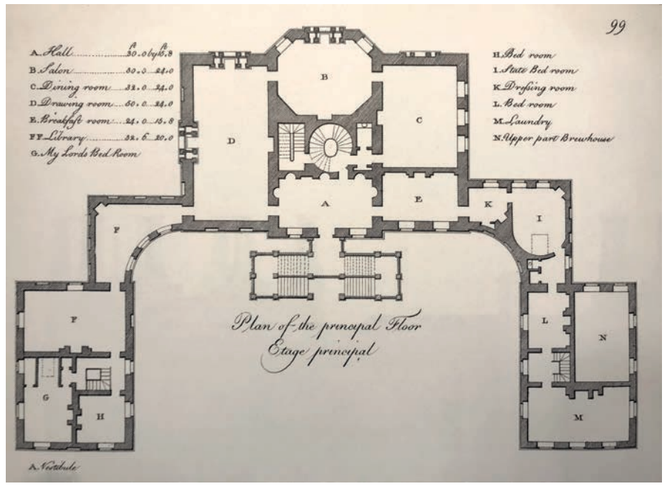


Fig. 2 / Façade of Nuneham Courtenay, from *Vitruvius Britannicus*, volume 5 (1767), p. 99.

Fig. 3 / First-floor plan of Nuneham Courtenay, from *Vitruvius Britannicus*, volume 5 (1767), p. 99.

But the various subsequent editions also usefully document the radically different hang prompted by the architectural alterations after 1777, as well as the occasional, but sometimes important additions to the collection; and the 2nd Earl continued to revise his descriptions up to 1806, three years before his death.

This final, 1806 edition of the *Nuneham-Courtenay* booklet provides the basis for the list of paintings in the Harcourt collection provided by the present Appendix. Thereafter, additions to the collection were minor, but alterations to the hang continued to be radical. The 2nd Earl's posthumous inventory of 1815 already documents a few of the changes that had taken place since his death,[7] and many more are recorded in various subsequent nineteenth-century accounts, including by G. F. Waagen in 1857, and by the then owner Edward Vernon Harcourt in 1880.[8] By the time the interiors were photographed, the hang bore little resemblance either to the 1st Earl's original, or to how it was rearranged by the 2nd; indeed, while the arrangement seen in the earliest photographs corresponds more or less to that described in 1880, it had already been changed once again by the beginning of the twentieth century (see figs. 5, 6, & 7). Despite all this, it remains possible to visualize the early display of the collection, as it was intended by its creator and then by the 2nd Earl, through careful consideration of the information provided by the early printed descriptions, combined with the plan of the main floor in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and with the surviving elements of the original architectural decoration.

But first, an outline of the family history and biographies of the two earls may be sketched.[9] The 1st was the first member of his family to achieve this elevated rank.

Fig. 4 / Joshua Reynolds, *George Simon, 2nd Earl Harcourt, Countess Elizabeth, and William (future 3rd Earl)*, 1780, oil on canvas, 148 x 172 cm, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

Fig. 5 / Nuneham Courtenay, the Octagon, ca. 1900/1910. The landscapes seen to the left and right of the mirror are respectively by Jacob van Ruisdael (fig. 12) and Salomon van Ruysdael; above the latter is Opie's copy of Reynolds's *Mary Danby* (the future 3rd Countess Harcourt); the oval to the right is Reynolds's *Maria, Countess Waldegrave* (the future Duchess of Gloucester); and above it is a view of Nuneham by Paul Sandby.

Fig. 6 / Nuneham Courtenay, the Great Drawing Room (looking east), ca. 1900/1910. The portraits on the east wall are Reynolds's Triple Portrait (fig. 4), and those of Viscount Newnham aged 17 and of the 1st Earl, with copies of Gainsborough's portraits of the king and queen to either side; to the left are Poussin's *Mars and Venus* (fig. 13), and below it, Rubens's *Charette Embourbée* (fig. 18).

Fig. 7 / Nuneham Courtenay, the Great Drawing Room (looking west), ca. 1900/1910. To the left of the fireplace is Poussin's *Moses Sweetening the Bitter Waters* (fig. 15); the landscapes on the west wall are both by Dughet (but that on the right catalogued as by Nicolas Poussin).

His grandfather, Lord Chancellor Harcourt, had been raised to the peerage (first to a barony and then to a viscountcy) as recently as 1711, during the reign of Queen Anne. Yet the Harcourts were of ancient lineage and could trace their ancestry to barons who had arrived in England with the Norman Conquest. In fact, the family continued to cherish its contacts with the branch that had remained in Normandy, and the 1st Earl received his Salvator Rosa (see fig. 8) as a gift from the French Duc d'Harcourt. Traditionally the heads of the English branch lived in their late medieval manor house at Stanton Harcourt, some fifteen miles to the west of Oxford; but finding this uncomfortably decrepit, the Lord Chancellor established his country base in nearby Cokethorpe. In 1710 he bought the estate of Nuneham Courtenay, on the opposite side of Oxford – without, however, building a habitable house there. During a lull in his distinguished political and legal career, he regularly entertained leading men of letters at Cokethorpe, including John Gay, Alexander Pope, Matthew Prior, and Jonathan Swift, some of whom presented him with their portraits. He also added to an existing collection of family portraits from the generations of Van Dyck, Cornelius Johnson, Richard Walker, and Peter Lely by commissioning portraits of himself and his son, his presumptive heir, from Godfrey Kneller. In 1720 he employed Thomas Archer to design an imposing town house in the south-east corner of the newly emerging Cavendish Square, but this was only just complete at the time of his death in 1727.[10] Since he was predeceased by his son, his viscountcy and extensive estates were inherited by his thirteen-year-old grandson.

The young 2nd Viscount undertook his Grand Tour in 1732-1734, before reaching his majority and taking control of his inheritance. Although he did not apparently buy any works of art during his time in Italy, soon after his return he became a member of the newly founded Society of Dilettanti, where he could share his experiences of art and architecture with other young aristocrats. During the 1740s he established himself as a leading member of the court of George II, and his elevation to an earldom in 1749 was followed by his appointment as tutor to the young Prince of Wales, and later as ambassador to Mecklenburg, to request the hand in marriage of Princess Charlotte for the new king. Further diplomatic missions were to follow. From 1768 to 1772 he served as British ambassador to Paris, and from 1772 to 1777 he served as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was an important early patron of Paul Sandby, whom he engaged as a drawing master to his children (including the future 2nd and 3rd Earls) in the later 1750s. To his inherited collection of portraits, he naturally added more, commissioned by himself or given to him by friends, relatives, or grateful protégés. Notable among the commissions were portraits of himself of 1753 by Benjamin Wilson (see fig. 1); again of himself and of the seventeen-year-old viscount in 1753-1755, both by Reynolds; one of the countess by George Knapton; one of his former tutor on his Grand Tour, the Poet Laureate William Whitehead of 1758-1759, again by Wilson; and another of himself, in the robes of Lord Lieutenant, by the Dublin painter Robert Hunter. Very soon after his return from this last posting he died in a freak accident on his Nuneham estate, in an attempt to save his favourite dog, Filu, from drowning in a well. Already in 1768, he had commissioned Reynolds's pupil Pierre-Étienne (Peter) Falconet to paint Filu's portrait.[11]

By contrast with the high-profile career of the 1st Earl, his elder son and heir played no part in public life; and despite the grandeur of his presentation in the group portrait painted by Reynolds in 1780 (see fig. 4) – wearing sumptuous coronation robes and displaying his coronet – he did not even attend court until the mid-1780s. As Viscount Nuneham (or Newnham) he undertook the Grand Tour in 1755-1756, and soon afterwards became an ardent admirer of Jean-Jacques Rousseau – both for his republicanism and, less surprisingly, for his sensibility to untamed nature.[12] The viscount also developed his skills as an amateur etcher and made copies of many watercolours by his former drawing master and continuing protégé Sandby. During his father's absences overseas, in Paris and Ireland, he created an extensive, Rousseau-inspired flower garden at Nuneham; and immediately upon coming into his inheritance in 1777, he employed Lancelot "Capability" Brown to redesign both the park and the house. As a middle-aged earl he discarded his early republicanism, and became keenly interested in genealogy, and in the history of the Harcourt family. King George III and Queen Charlotte, and several of their sons and daughters, now became frequent visitors to the considerably enlarged Nuneham.

The house, as conceived by the 1st Earl in about 1754/1755, had been begun as a modestly scaled villa, designed in a fashionably Italianate style that contrasted dramatically with the family's medieval manor house at Stanton Harcourt. Furthermore, as illustrated by a watercolour by Sandby (see fig. 9), the site was on a hill, and again in contrast to the low-lying houses at Cokethorpe and Stanton, it offered pleasing views of the river Thames in the valley below, and of "the majestic turrets of Oxford in the distance".[13]

Fig. 8 / Salvator Rosa, *Ulysses and Nausicaa*, ca. 1655, oil on canvas, 190.5 x 158.8 cm, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

By 1783, as must have always been intended, the surrounding 1200-acre park showed (in the words of Horace Walpole), "Scenes worthy of the bold pencil of Rubens", and "subjects for the tranquil sunshines of Claude le Lorrain".[14] Progress on the building is documented by several of the letters sent by his wife, Countess Rebecca, to their son when he was away on his Grand Tour.[15] By October 1755, work had begun; by July 1756, she could describe the layout of the house and listed the dimensions of each of the main reception rooms; and by December she reported that the building had reached "several feet above the windows of the first floor". Already in February she had been admiring the drawings made by James "Athenian" Stuart during his recent visit to Greece, sponsored by the Dilettanti Society; and during the next couple of years Stuart was to provide fashionably Grecian designs for details of the architectural decoration, including for windows, fireplaces, and friezes.[16] But the countess was more aware than her husband of the practicalities of household management, and the geometric compactness of the original design was soon to be compromised with the addition of the wings to accommodate bedrooms and service areas, as illustrated in 1767 in the elevation and plans in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. A year earlier, the earl had sold Cokethorpe, which was now superfluous to requirements. The process of transforming Nuneham from a villa into a country house then accelerated dramatically after the accession in 1777 of the 2nd Earl, when Brown and his assistant Henry Holland made radical alterations to the elevation of the façade, and to the internal arrangement, function, and decoration of the principal rooms. Most importantly, Leadbetter's imposing double-branch, exterior staircase to the *piano nobile* was replaced by a much smaller entrance porch on the ground floor, and by an internal staircase that ran the full height of the house from basement to attic. The original entrance hall thus became another reception room, while a large Breakfast Parlour to its right was chopped into two, with one space becoming a passage to the north wing and the other becoming part of an enlarged Dining Room.

Fig. 9 / Paul Sandby, *View of Nuneham House, Nuneham Courtenay*, ca. 1760, watercolour, 13.3 x 18.4 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 10 / Jan Wyck, *Turkish Army on the March in Egypt*, oil on canvas, 165 x 132.4 cm, Private Collection, on loan to Spencer House.

As described by the countess in 1756, and as marked alphabetically on the plan in *Vitruvius Britannicus,* there were four main rooms on the *piano nobile* in the 1st Earl's lifetime, arranged around the central staircase. Their names were variable, but until after 1777 their essential functions remained constant. To the east was the Entrance Hall, or Vestibule (A), adorned with five niches that were presumably intended to contain casts of antique statues, and which left no wall area for paintings. North of this was the Breakfast Parlour, or Ante-Room (E). The anticlockwise circuit continued with the Dining Room (C), followed by the Octagon (B) (see fig. 5), a drawing room (confusingly called the Salon on the *Vitruvius* plan) with a projecting bay with three windows that offered spectacular views towards Oxford to the west. Finally in this central area came the grandest of the reception rooms, the Great Drawing Room (D) (see figs. 6 & 7), which ran the full width of the house. It measured fifty by twenty-four feet, and all the rooms on this floor were eighteen and a half feet high. Space for a sixth large-scale room, the Library (F), was then provided by the addition of the south wing and was accessed from both the Hall and the Drawing Room by way of the linking quadrant.

Before his new house had even been roofed, the 1st Earl had begun to buy paintings to decorate the walls of the four main reception rooms. As previously mentioned, he was heir to a considerable collection of portraits, presumably kept in part at Cokethorpe and in part at Cavendish Square; and some of these could be usefully transferred to Nuneham, especially after the expansion of the house into the two wings. He may well have already have begun making a few purchases of his own, as is illustrated by the example of a *Turkish Army on the March in Egypt* by the immigrant Dutch painter Jan Wyck (fig. 10), which according to the Christie's sale catalogue of 1948 was acquired by him as early as 1741. Yet for a leading member of the Society of Dilettanti it was more important to adorn his Palladian villa with paintings that reflected a more fashionable taste for historical subjects, *vedute*, and Italianate landscapes. As mentioned above, the earliest listing of the picture collection at Nuneham is that included in the room-by-room account in the 1780 edition of the *New Pocket Companion to Oxford.*

Fig. 11 / Jan Asselijn, *Ponte Rotto in Rome*, 1652, Private Collection. Sold Sotheby's, New York, 28 January 2010, lot 159.

Fig. 12 / Jacob van Ruisdael, *Landscape with Waterfall*, ca. 1660, Private Collection. Sold Sotheby's, London, 4 July 2007, lot 27.

Although published three years after the 1st Earl's death, it is consistent with the much briefer and more selective notes included by Amabel, Countess Polwarth, in her diary entry for 11 September 1776;[17] and it certainly provides an accurate record of the collection as it was at the end of his life. By then it comprised about seventy continental Old Masters, a majority of which were bought at London auction houses in quick succession in the years 1756 to 1758. A brief chronology, based on the published guides and checked against the Getty Provenance Index, may be summarized as follows (and see further the present Appendix). In February 1756, at an anonymous sale, the earl bought a pair of evocative souvenirs of his time in Rome, in the form of *capricci* by Panini.[18] A couple of months later he bought five paintings at the posthumous sale of Christopher Batt of Kensington, including a supposed (but now unidentified) Claude, and Jan Asselijn's *View of the Ponte Rotto in Rome* (fig. 11), as well as an explicitly Dutch landscape by Jacob van Ruisdael (fig. 12). At the sales of the dealer Robert Bragge in February 1757 and March 1758, he bought a total of four, including a *Nymph with Cupids* by Valerio Castello and a pair of views attributed to another Italianate Dutch painter, Antonio Tempesta (but more probably by Marco Ricci), clearly envisaged, like the pair by Panini, as pendants. In March 1757 he bought a *Noah and Family* by Francesco Imperiali at the sale of Moses Hart, founder of London's Great Synagogue. In the same month he bought a *Dead Game* by Jan Fyt – surely destined for the Dining Room at Nuneham – at a sale from the collection of George Bagnall of Soho Square; not included in this sale, but perhaps acquired privately soon afterwards from the same source, were other paintings with a Bagnall provenance, including four large pendant landscapes by Jacques d'Arthois.

Fig. 13 / Nicolas Poussin, *Venus and Mars*, ca. 1630, oil on canvas, 154.9 x 213.7 cm, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

In February 1758 the earl bought Poussin's *Venus and Mars* (fig. 13) from the sale of Henry Furnese, Lord of the Treasury. In March he bought another supposed Poussin (a *Bacchus and Ariadne*, later recognized as a copy after Reni by Simone Cantarini) at the sale of the Earl of Pomfret, together with paintings by Snyders and Roos. And in April he bought a *Holy Family* by Rottenhammer from the collection of Francis Fauquier, just before he left England to become governor of Virginia. Somewhat later, in 1763, he bought a *Baptist Preaching* by Albani at the Waldegrave sale.

Further information on the circumstances of several more of the 1st Earl's acquisitions, in addition to these auction records, is provided by a later heir to Nuneham, Edward Harcourt (1825-1891), whose multi-volume history of the family, *The Harcourt Papers* (1880), is based on the compendious family archive. While this information must be treated with a certain amount of caution, since some details turn out to be not quite correct, it is especially useful in cases where the earl bought privately, or where he received a painting as a gift. Harcourt records, for example, that a *Landscape with a Hunter and Cowherds* – then attributed to Nicolas

Fig. 14 / Jean Siméon Chardin, *House of Cards*, ca. 1733/1734, oil on canvas, 76 x 99 cm, National Trust, Waddesdon Manor.

Fig. 15 / Nicolas Poussin, *Moses Sweetening the Bitter Waters of Marah*, ca. 1630, oil on canvas, 152.4 x 209.6 cm, Baltimore, MD, Baltimore Museum of Art.

Fig. 16 / Titian and Workshop, *Saint Margaret*, ca. 1565, oil on canvas, 198 x 167.5 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 17 / Eustache Le Sueur, *Holy Family*, 1651, oil on canvas, 91.4 cm diameter, Norfolk, Virginia, Chrysler Museum of Art.

Poussin, but in fact a masterpiece by Dughet[19] – was bought on the earl's behalf from the Houlditch collection on 15 March 1756 by his friend William Fauquier, a fellow collector and fellow member of the Society of Dilettanti, a relative by marriage, and brother of the above-mentioned Francis Fauquier. William had already advised the earl on his choice of site for the villa; and later, a painting by Chardin (fig. 14), one of the masterpieces of the Harcourt collection, was bought by the 2nd Earl at his posthumous sale in 1789. The letters of Countess Rebecca are again particularly helpful in recording private transactions: writing to their son in September 1755, she mentions their recent acquisitions both of a small copper by Jacopo Bassano, the *Cleansing of the Temple*, and of Poussin's *Moses Sweetening the Bitter Waters* (fig. 15). She expresses satisfaction that both were secured from their owners at bargain prices and also mentions that the former was acquired on the advice of Fauquier.[20] Probably likewise obtained in the later 1750s by way of private, but unrecorded transactions with owners or dealers, were a number of other prizes, notably Titian's *Saint Margaret* (fig. 16), which carried the cachet of having once belonged to the collection of Charles I; a *Susannah and the Elders*, supposedly by Annibale Carracci;[21] and Eustache Le Sueur's *Holy Family* (fig. 17).

Fig. 18 / Peter Paul Rubens, *Landscape with Overturning Cart by Moonlight ("La Charette Embourbée")*, ca. 1620, oil on canvas transferred from panel, 86.8 x 125.1 cm, London, Schorr Collection.

The pace of the earl's picture-buying seems to have slowed down by about 1760, perhaps because by then the walls were more-or-less satisfactorily covered. He continued, however, to take advantage of attractive opportunities, and during his mission to Paris from 1768 to 1772 he bought at least three paintings, including a spectacular landscape by Rubens, the so-called *Charette Embourbée* (fig. 18);[22] another by Pierre Patel; and a *Virgin and Child* attributed to Guido Reni. It may be that his acquisition of a small painting attributed to Watteau (a "Woman on horseback, with several figures and animals") also dates from this phase: although it is true that works by the painter appeared not infrequently on the London art market, this item does not quite conform with the earl's known taste at the height of his picture-buying in the 1750s. It was presumably on the occasion of his next mission, to Dublin, that he acquired a Cuyp, from the collection of "Lord Kingsland" – identifiable as the Irish peer the 4th Viscount Barnewall of Kingsland, who died in the west of Ireland in 1774.

The circumstances surrounding the acquisition of the numerous paintings the earl received as gifts are for the most part unrecorded and can only be guessed at. A currently untraced picture of *Beggar Boys* by Murillo is reported to have come from Penshurst Place in Kent; and in this case it may be

Fig. 19 / Nicolaes Berchem, *Landscape with Muleteer and Herdsman*, 1655, oil on canvas, 45.7 x 57.2 cm, San Francisco, De Young Museum.

suggested that it came not from any sale but as a gift from the earl's niece, Mary Anson, together with a miniature by Nicholas Hilliard, likewise from Penshurst.[23] More problematic is the case of Salvator Rosa's *Ulysses and Nausicaa* (see fig. 8), which, as mentioned above, came to the collection as a gift from a remote French cousin, the Duc d'Harcourt. In 1880 Edward Harcourt surmised that it was given in gratitude for help provided by the English branch of the family at the time of the French Revolution;[24] this cannot, however, be true, since the painting is already recorded in the collection by Lady Polwarth in 1776, and then in the publications of 1780 and 1783, and therefore it must have been given not to the 2nd Earl but to the 1st – perhaps during his time in Paris. The opposite is probably true of another pair of examples, landscapes by Berchem (fig. 19) and by the German Johann Franz Ermels, which are known to have been donated to the collection by his Chief Secretary in Ireland, John (later Sir John) Blaquière. It is not entirely clear whether the gift was made in the 1st Earl's lifetime, or soon after his death, in his memory; however, the fact that the two paintings are not included in the *New Pocket Companion* of 1780, but do appear in the booklet of 1783 implies the latter alternative. The same is probably also true of what, to twenty-first century tastes, is the most interesting of all the works in the Harcourt collection:

Fig. 20 / Caravaggio, *Boy Bitten by a Lizard*, ca. 1594/1595, oil on canvas, 66 x 49.5 cm, London, National Gallery.

Caravaggio's *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* (fig. 20), which then bore a surprising attribution to Murillo. According to early listings, this was a gift to the collection from Dr. George Jones, Bishop of Kildare (having previously been in the collection of Sir Paul Methuen).[25] Jones was the earl's chaplain in Dublin, and it might be natural to assume that he presented the gift before his patron returned to England in 1777. But again, the painting does not appear in the *New Pocket Companion* of 1780, nor indeed in the booklet of 1783, and it is not definitely recorded in the collection until the revised edition of the latter of 1797.[26] The inference must be that Jones made his gift rather later, to the 2nd Earl – as is perhaps confirmed by the fact that he did not become Bishop of Kildare until 1790.

The various editions of both the *New Pocket Companion* and of the booklet of 1783 lead the reader/visitor round the main reception rooms on more-or-less the same anticlockwise circuit as that indicated in the *Vitruvius Britannicus* (see fig. 2). Unlike the published guides from 1783 onwards, the *New Pocket Companion* of 1780 does not yet mention the design by Stuart of the chimneypieces and other decorative features, nor does it mention the colours or materials of the wall hangings. From the listings it is nevertheless possible to gain a good idea of how paintings were originally allocated to particular rooms, and to some extent how they were placed on the walls. In general, it may be said that all four of the main reception rooms show a mixture of subject pictures, topographical views, and generic landscapes by both Italian and Netherlandish masters; but within this mixture it is possible to detect certain emphases. Predictably, game pieces and fruit pieces were hung in the Dining Room, while most of the most prestigious Italian subject pictures were hung in the Octagon and the Great Drawing Room.[27] Two of the largest Italian paintings of a vertical format – Rosa's *Ulysses and Nausicaa* (see fig. 8) and Titian's *Saint Margaret* (see fig. 16), both over six feet tall – were placed over two of the most elaborate chimneypieces, both probably designed by Stuart,[28] and both extant. Each doorway had an overdoor, mostly apparently of a horizontal format, and smaller paintings were arranged in tiers: on either side of the chimneypieces; on either side of other larger paintings, notably Rubens's *Charette Embourbée*; and on either side of the large Palladian window in the Great Drawing Room. This was the position of six landscapes, including a supposed early work by Claude and two Claudian vistas by John Wootton – so that the viewer would have been encouraged to compare them with the real prospect over the Oxfordshire countryside. At this early date, relatively few portraits were displayed in the main rooms; and even in the Library these depicted members of the family – for example, Knapton's portrait of the Countess Rebecca – rather than literary figures. But significantly, there is no mention in the 1780 *New Pocket Companion* of Reynolds's portraits either of the 1st Earl or of the seventeen-year-old viscount, perhaps because they remained in the house in Cavendish Square.

When assembling his collection, the earl is likely to have already had in mind particular pictures for particular positions on the walls at Nuneham. With these otherwise left plain, a symmetrical, quasi-architectural arrangement is also likely to have been guided by Stuart as part of his concern with every detail of the decoration of his interiors, including the design of picture frames.[29] In these very years he is known to have designed frames of a matching Carlo Maratta type for the Great Room of Spencer House

in London;[30] and it is significant that between 1758 and 1763 the frame-carver John Adair – who soon afterwards is documented as working with Stuart at other houses – received payments from the 1st Earl for carving twenty-nine "Carlomarets", of varying sizes.[31] Particularly informative about Adair's work for the earl is a bill of September 1763, in which he itemizes a range of tasks undertaken over the previous thirteen months, including the carving and gilding of a four-poster bed, and the construction of a pair of console tables and the framing of sets of mirrors, all specified as following designs by Stuart.[32] In addition to his principal task of carving new Carlo Maratta frames, Adair undertook the alteration of an existing frame and the restoration of others, and in that month he and his team were responsible for hanging, taking down, and rehanging the entire collection ("To 2 men hanging 6 pictures and 12 Screwhooks; To men's Time taking down all y^e^ pictures and glasses; Cleaning and mending y^e^ frames & putting up D^o^").

Continuous in design along all four sides and lacking corner and centre ornaments, the relative simplicity of the Carlo Maratta type was in any case popular with collectors with large numbers of paintings to frame. But it was obviously also particularly appropriate in the context of the chaste, rectilinear architecture of Leadbetter, and the elegantly restrained interior decoration of Stuart. Unfortunately, the majority of Adair's frames for Nuneham are now lost, having been replaced by later owners and dealers; but several remain on paintings still in the possession of descendants from the Harcourt family, and others – including, for example, on a painting of Nuneham by Sandby (see fig. 9) – are clearly visible in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photographs of the interior; many of these, however, show added embellishments at the corners, in keeping with the less austere tastes of the mid-nineteenth century. At the same time, the picture frames at Nuneham, even in the 1st Earl's lifetime, and as implied by Adair's bill of 1763, were never completely uniform. The above-mentioned painting by Jan Wyck (see fig. 10), which Harcourt had acquired a decade or two earlier in 1741, retains a Kentian frame that appears to be exactly of this date, and which he may well have commissioned for it. Or if particularly prestigious acquisitions came in appropriately elaborate frames, he was apparently content to preserve them. Cases in point are the Louis XIV-style frames of the Poussin and the Rubens glimpsed at the extreme right of the Edwardian photograph of the Great Drawing Room (see fig. 6), with their exuberant and densely carved ornament, swept rails, and baroque cartouches at the corners and centres.

On the opening page of the 1783 booklet it is pointed out that the "House built by the late Earl has since been much altered and enlarged… according to the plans of Mr. Brown" – alterations that had radical implications for the way in which the paintings were displayed. As mentioned above, the formerly austere entrance hall (marked A in *Vitruvius Britannicus*) now became another reception room (confusingly called the "Salon") and was hung with blue damask. In keeping with the gradual transformation of the house from a compact Palladian villa into an ample country seat, the 2nd Earl transferred almost his entire inherited collection of portraits from his other houses to Nuneham. Here they were obviously especially useful for furnishing the Library, the bedrooms, and the dressing-rooms in the wings; but he also placed them, in an altogether more crowded hang, in the public rooms, where they served to advertise the owner's aristocratic ancestry and credentials as a courtier. To these he naturally also added more paintings, commissioned by himself, or given to him by friends, relatives, or grateful protégés. These included not only recent portraits, but also the above-mentioned Berchem, donated by Blaquière, and a portrait of the Duc de Vendôme by Mignard, a gift from Horace Walpole. Another pair depicted celebrated actresses in their roles: Sarah Siddons "in the character of Isabella in the *Fatal Marriage*" by William Hamilton, signed and dated 1783, and presumably acquired directly from the painter in that very year;[33] and the earlier *Hannah Pritchard as Hermione in The Winter's Tale* by Robert Edge Pine, probably of 1765.[34] Somewhat more surprising, and difficult to explain, is the occasional disappearance of a work from the collection at this time. In 1780, for example, a *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, considered to be a copy by Marcantonio Franceschini after Carlo Cignani, is recorded next to the Titian in the Great Drawing Room; but it is no longer listed in any of the rooms by 1783.

The effects of all of this on the existing hang may be briefly summarized as follows. The new Salon was decorated mainly with portraits (including that of Mrs. Siddons), except for its two chimneypieces, above which were now placed paintings by Annibale Carracci and Murillo that had previously served as overdoors in the Great Drawing Room. The adjoining Ante-Room, now much shrunk in size, lost the apparently rather large Italian paintings, by Francesco Grimaldi and Valerio Castello, previously displayed there. The correspondingly grander Dining Room now showed Reynolds's magnificent and very recent triple portrait of the earl, his countess, and his younger brother (the future 3rd Earl) in pride of place above Stuart's chimneypiece. On either side of it were smaller paintings, including the supposed Claude, transferred from the Great Drawing Room. The Octagon, now hung, like the Salon, with blue damask, contained largely the same Italian and Italianate paintings (including the two Poussins) as before, but apparently in a different arrangement. There is no mention here, or in the neighbouring Great Drawing Room, of any painting above the chimneypiece, and perhaps in both cases this position was occupied by a mirror. The latter room was now hung in a damask of contrasting crimson, and although again some Italian paintings, including the Titian, were retained, the short walls were articulated by two large, vertical landscapes by Jacques d'Artois. Rubens's middle-sized *Charette Embourbée*, transferred from the Octagon, was placed underneath one of them. The walls above the bookcases in the Library were now filled with portraits, including of Pope, Rousseau, Whitehead, and other literary figures. From all this it may be concluded that while the collection must have looked much larger and more splendid than before, its distribution among the different rooms was not any more logical in terms of subject-matter or school. In fact, its previous character as a direct reflection of Grand Tour taste was now considerably diluted.

The 1783 *Description of Nuneham-Courtenay* was reprinted in a revised edition in 1797, and again in a further revised and much more widely diffused edition in 1806, three years before the 2nd Earl's death. In the intervening years there were also a number of revised editions of the *New Pocket Companion*, which now took account of his alterations and additions. A comparison between these various publications shows that the post-1783 revisions to the same basic text were made to take account of by now relatively minor changes of

position, and sometimes to reflect a modified critical assessment. In 1806, for example, a portrait of Lady Anne Finch previously attributed unambiguously to Van Dyck was now accepted as possibly a copy by "Old Stone"; and, more positively (and not without reason, given her sentimental upward gaze), Reynolds's portrait of Maria, Duchess of Gloucester, was now declared to be "worthy of Guido, and the subject such as Guido would have chosen". The most significant revisions were naturally made to take account of additions to the collection. These were in fact relatively few, as if the earl, despite his own aesthetic inclinations, saw his role more as a curator or consolidator of his inherited collections than as the creator of a new one. Tracing the chronology of his additions to the collection is, however, somewhat complicated by the fact that while often receiving paintings as gifts, unlike his father he only rarely bought at auction. An outstanding exception to this generalization was his Chardin, *House of Cards* (see fig. 14), which he acquired in 1789 at the posthumous sale of his father's friend, William Fauquier.[35] Another important addition, likewise placed in the Dining Room, was the above-mentioned Caravaggio (then attributed to Murillo; see fig. 20), a gift from the Bishop of Kildare. Although he had been the 1st Earl's chaplain in the 1770s, the painting appears in the various guides for the first time in 1797, so presumably it had only recently entered the collection. It was placed as an overdoor, and a portrait attributed to Velázquez (but probably Dutch), of similar proportions and dimensions, was presumably purchased at around the same time to serve as a matching pendant for the other door.[36]

Other, apparently recent purchases by 1797 included a couple of landscapes by Karel Dujardin, another by Salomon van Ruysdael, and some French royal portraits by Mignard. Further gifts included a pair of copies after Gainsborough's 1781 portraits of the king and queen, presented by the sitters, and a Teniers from the king's sister, Princess Augusta, another frequent visitor to Nuneham. A particularly generous benefactor to the collection during the 2nd Earl's tenure was Walpole, who, as well as donating his own Mignard and other portraits, bequeathed three huge Elizabethan tapestry maps (now Weston Library, University of Oxford), representing Oxfordshire and adjoining counties. These evidently appealed greatly to the earl's antiquarian and genealogical interests, and in 1787 he created a Tapestry Room in the north wing to accommodate them. In the same room he placed in the frieze a series of heraldic shields, representing members of the Harcourt family stretching back to the ninth century; ancestral portraits on the walls, based off of tomb effigies; and above the doors "two curious and very ancient whole length pictures of St. Catherine, and of a male Saint... (originally) the two folding doors of an altar piece" – panels that Waagen was later to recognize as Swabian.[37] All this suggests that the 2nd Earl's aesthetic interests were much more heterogenous than those of his father, and, like that of Walpole, extended well beyond mid-eighteenth-century Grand Tour taste.

The room-by-room listing of the collection in the 2nd Earl's posthumous inventory of 1815 conforms essentially with that of the *Nuneham-Courtenay* guide of 1806, while providing just a few, minor changes of position – notably the removal of the Murillo/Caravaggio *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* from the Dining Room to an overdoor in the North Corridor.[38] The low esteem in which this was held is confirmed by its valuation at just £2. Indeed, the valuations provided by this document give an interesting general idea of the

Fig. 21 / Gentile Bellini, *Doge Agostino Barbarigo*, 1490-1493, oil on panel, 66.5 x 51.7 cm, Newark, DE, Private Collection.

relative esteem in which the paintings were held at the time, from the Titian at £600 (inflated, no doubt, by its provenance from Charles I), Poussin's *Venus and Mars* at £500, and Rubens's *Charette Embourbée* at £230, to the Paninis at £30 each, the Chardin at £2 (representing a demotion from the £5-15s the 2nd Earl had paid for it), and to family and literary portraits by Kneller ranging from £1 to £3. In general, even quite small Italian Old Masters were valued more highly than Netherlandish paintings, let alone those evidently considered to be of mainly antiquarian interest. Each of the rooms was also given a total valuation, with by far the most valuable paintings concentrated in the Great Drawing Room and the Octagon. The inventory also usefully itemizes the paintings kept at Harcourt House in Cavendish Square and confirms that they were few and relatively insignificant.

The childless 2nd Earl was succeeded in 1809 by his brother William (1743-1830), a military man, as already seen in Reynolds's group portrait of 1780 (see fig. 4). In 1798 he was made full general, and in 1820 field marshal; and because of his court appointments as Groom of the Bedchamber and Deputy Lieutenant of Windsor Castle, he continued to live mainly at Saint Leonard's Hill, near Windsor, rather than at Nuneham.[39] He is recorded as having bought a few minor works at auction, but did not add significantly to the collection. A likely exception is Gentile Bellini's portrait of Doge Agostino Barbarigo (fig. 21), which is first mentioned in volume VI (1823) of J. P. Neale's *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen*, in the Salon,[40] but which does not yet appear in the 1806 edition of the Nuneham-Courtenay guide, nor in the 2nd Earl's posthumous inventory of 1815. On the whole, however, Neale's account of the paintings is

not particularly helpful, since it consists of a simple list with little comment, and it conforms essentially to the accounts in the existing guides. The slightly earlier volume in the *Beauties of England and Wales* series, by the topographer James Norris Brewer (1813), offers much more in the way of critical comment, both positive and negative; but as the author admits, his "notice of these [the paintings] must necessarily be limited to the most interesting", and he has little to add in terms of new acquisitions or factual information.[41]

The 3rd Earl was likewise childless, and after his death in 1830 the noble titles of the Harcourt family became extinct until the viscountcy was recreated in 1917. As mentioned above, two important accounts of the collection at Nuneham were published during the Victorian period: by G. F. Waagen, following his visit in 1854; and in volume 3 of the multi-volume *Harcourt Papers* of 1880, edited by the owner, Edward Vernon Harcourt. Although as an art historian Waagen was much more experienced and knowledgeable than Brewer, his approach was rather similar, touring the house room by room, and offering his opinion on a limited number of paintings that had caught his eye.[42] He expresses his poor opinion of Titian's *Saint Margaret*; he doubts the reliability of the attribution of the *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* to Murillo; he reattributes the Le Sueur to Sébastian Bourdon; he declares the late medieval altarpiece wings to be Swabian, of the school of Martin Schaffner of Ulm, and identifies the male saint as the third-century Pope Cornelius. Waagen also visited the family house in London, by now transferred from Cavendish Square to Carlton Gardens, and mentions three paintings there: the Gentile Bellini, and the portraits of the 1st and 2nd Earls by Reynolds.

The fact, however, that these do not correspond to those recorded there in the 1815 inventory further suggests that the display at the London house was never permanent. The Harcourt volume of 1880 includes the most comprehensive of any listing of the collection, by then numbering more than three hundred items, some – like a watercolour by J. F. Tayler – acquired by Harcourt himself as recently as 1878.[43] But the listing includes framed prints, drawings and watercolours, and it is clear that very few or no important oil paintings had been added since the time of the 2nd Earl.

Unlike many aristocratic collections in the first half of the twentieth century, the Harcourt collection remained in its traditional home and more or less intact until after World War II. Immediately after the War, however, the family was forced to sell Nuneham and the greater part of the collection. Enough remained for it to lend generously to the *Treasure Houses of Britain* exhibition in Washington in 1985-1986, but further sales have followed.[44] While many of the paintings acquired for by the 1st Earl and sold in 1948 are currently untraced, at least two of the masterpieces added by the 2nd Earl are fortunately now on easily accessible public view, appropriately enough not far from Nuneham: Chardin's *House of Cards* at Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury; and Reynolds's triple portrait at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

NOTES

1. John Woolfe and James Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. 5 (London: 1767), p. 99. Leadbetter's preliminary designs are preserved in the Sir John Soane Museum, Robert and James Adam Office Drawings, volume 34, nos. 32-38.
2. Histories and descriptions of the house and estate include Edward Vernon Harcourt, ed., *The Harcourt Papers*, 14 vols. (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1880-1905), here vol. III, pp. 187-219; Mavis Batey, *Nuneham Courtenay, Oxfordshire* (Abingdon: Abbey Press, 1970); Jennifer Sherwood and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Oxfordshire* (Harmondsworth: Peguin Books Ltd., 1974), pp. 724-730; Giles Worsley, "Nuneham Park Revisited," *Country Life* 3 (January 1985): pp. 16-19, 64-67; Simon Bradley, Nikolaus Pevsner and Jennifer Sherwood, *Oxfordshire: Oxford and South East* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2023), pp. 703-706; Malcolm Airs and Geoffrey Tyack, with a foreword by Julian Gascoigne, *Nuneham Courtenay: the House, the Landscape, the Village* (forthcoming).
3. Christie's, 11 June 1948, lots 75 to 199.
4. *New Pocket Companion to Oxford* (Oxford: 1780), pp. 121-127, and numerous subsequent editions.
5. *Nuneham-Courtenay: Seat of the Earl of Harcourt* (privately printed, 1783); revised editions, 1797 (*Description of Nuneham-Courtenay in the County of Oxford*) and 1806.
6. *Harcourt Papers*, vol. III, pp. 194-195.
7. Oxford, Bodleian Library: MS D.D. Harcourt c. 34, fols. 45-56 ("Inventory and Appraisal of the Pictures at Nuneham," 20 January 1815).
8. Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain* (London: J. Murray, 1857), pp. 347-352; *Harcourt Papers,* vol. III, pp. 220-289.
9. For the following, see *Harcourt Papers*, vol. III, pp. 155-175, and vol. VI, pp. 1-3; John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701-1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 718-719, 463-464; entries on the 1st Viscount and the 1st Earl in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), https://www.oxforddnb.com/ (accessed February 2024), respectively by Stuart Handley and Martyn. J. Powell.
10. For this Harcourt House, and its successor on the other side of the Square (retained by the family until 1826), see *Survey of London*, draft chapter online at: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/architecture/sites/bartlett/files/chapter07_cavendish_square.pdf (accessed March 2025).
11. See Xavier Bray in *Faithful and Fearless: Portraits of Dogs*, exh. cat. (London: Wallace Collection, 2021), p. 35.
12. For Viscount Newnham and Rousseau, see Ann-Marie Thornton, "A gift from Jean-Jacques Rousseau to George Simon Harcourt: etchings and proofs of the illustrations to his works," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 29 (2002): pp. 441-463.
13. James Norris Brewer, *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. XII part 2 (London: J. Harris et al., 1813), p. 273.
14. *Nuneham-Courtenay* (1783), p. 2.
15. Oxford, Bodleian Library: Mss. Engl. d. 3829, fols. 76-174; *Harcourt Papers*, vol. III, pp. 78 and 90.
16. Much of this was altered by Holland, but for Stuart's surviving work at Nuneham, see David Watkin, *Athenian Stuart: Pioneer of the Greek Revival* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1982), pp. 28-30; Julius Bryant, "'The purest taste.' James "Athenian" Stuart's Work in Villas and Country Houses," in *James "Athenian" Stuart 1713-1788: The Rediscovery of Antiquity*, ed. Susan Weber Soros (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 273-281; Jason M. Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 155-156.
17. Leeds, West Yorkshire Archive Service: Diary of Lady Amabel Yorke (later Lady Polwarth and Countess De Grey), Vyner of Studley Royal, Family and Estate Records, WYL150/6197, V, fols. 21-22.
18. 23 February 1756, lots 55-56, with the earl named as the buyer. By 1783 there were two pairs of Roman *capricci* by Panini at Nuneham, but it is not clear when the second was acquired. All four are inscribed with dates between 1738-1740, and according to the *Harcourt Papers*, vol. III, pp. 237, 267-268, both pairs were direct commissions by the 1st Earl, in 1742 and 1754 respectively. This is the information followed by Watkin, *Athenian Stuart*, nos. 267-268, 299, 292. This does not, however, take account of the purchase in 1756, and especially also given their much earlier dates, it seems more likely that both pairs were acquired at second hand in England.
19. *Harcourt Papers*, vol. III, p. 231. For this work, see Marie Nicole Boisclair, *Gaspard Dughet: sa vie e son oeuvre* (Paris: Arthéna, 1986), no. 133, pp. 212-213, with a colour reproduction in Plate III (then in a French private collection). It had already been engraved (in reverse) by François Vivares in 1741. Boisclair was mistaken, however, in tracing the provenance to the collection of the Earl of Suffolk.
20. *Harcourt Papers*, vol. III, pp. 225, 233.
21. The latter, now untraced, was presumably a painting based on Annibale's celebrated engraving. In 1880, E. V. Harcourt (*Harcourt Papers*, vol. III, pp. 229, 279) reported that in 1848 it had been transferred from Nuneham to London because its subject was no longer considered to be fit for a drawing room; he also declared that its quality was too poor to be by Annibale.
22. For the Rubens and for the circumstances of its acquisition, see Jamie Mulherron, "*La Charette embourbée*: The forgotten Rubens of Nuneham Park," *Journal of the History of Collections* 32 (2020): pp. 63-71.
23. For Hilliard's miniature portrait of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, see the entry by Roy Strong in Gervase Jackson-Stops, ed., *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, exh. cat. (Washington: The National Gallery of Art, 1985), no. 40 and p. 117, with the information that it was given to the Harcourt collection by Mary Anson (died 1789). Mary had inherited it – and presumably also the Murillo – from her father's sister-in-law Lady Yonge, who in 1758 had been an executor and a major beneficiary of the estate of Lady Mary Sidney Sherrard of Penshurst.
24. *Harcourt Papers*, vol. II, p. 226.
25. As was first suggested by Alastair Laing (letter on file in the National Gallery), the painting is very likely to be identical with one recorded at the Duke of Chandos sale, 6 May 1747, lot 37, as Guercino; the identification is confirmed by Susan Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron: The Patronage and Collecting of James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 132-133, who points out that the buyer was Sir Paul Methuen. The painting is not subsequently recorded in the catalogue of the Methuen collection, and it is not clear when or how it came to be acquired by Jones, or to be attributed to Murillo rather than the more plausible Guercino. See further Letizia Treves, *Beyond Caravaggio,* exh. cat. (London: The National Gallery, 2016), p. 47.
26. By now entitled *Description of Nuneham-Courtenay* (see above, note 5), p. 30.
27. Francis Russell, "The Hanging and Display of Pictures, 1700-1850," *Studies in the History of Art* 25 (1989): pp. 133-153 (pp. 141-143).
28. The design of the chimneypiece in the Great Drawing Room was traditionally attributed to the painter Paul Sandby, but Worsley, "Nuneham Park Revisited," pp. 18-19, more plausibly, has re-attributed it to Stuart.
29. Bryant, "'The purest taste,'" p. 278.
30. Joseph Friedman, *Spencer House: Chronicle of a Great London Mansion* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1993), pp. 142 and 154.
31. Russell, "The Hanging and Display of Pictures," pp. 141-143. For Adair, see Geoffrey Beard, "Appendix: James Stuart and his Craftsmen," in Weber Soros, *The Rediscovery of Antiquity*, p. 551; and the entry by Jacob Simon in the National Portrait Gallery database, *British Picture Framemakers 1600-1950*, https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/research/programmes/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/a (accessed March 2025).
32. Oxford, Bodleian Library: MS D.D. Harcourt, c. 174.
33. For Willian Hamilton's portrait of Sarah Siddons as Isabella, see Robyn Aleson, "'She was Tragedy Personified': Crafting the Siddons Legend in Art and Life," in Robyn Aleson, ed., *A Passion for Performance: Sarah Siddons and her Portraits*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1999), pp. 41-95, here p. 53.
34. 1765 is the date of the engraving by G. F. Aliamet after the currently untraced painting; Pritchard died in 1768.
35. See David Carritt, "Mr. Fauquier's Chardins," *The Burlington Magazine* 116 (1974): pp. 502-509. Although the painting was acquired some thirty years after John Adair supplied the 1st Earl with a set of Carlo Maratta frames, it is interesting to note that the frame it retains to the present day follows a similar pattern.
36. *Description of Nuneham-Courtenay* (1797), p. 30. The Caravaggio measures 66 x 49.5 cm (26 x 19 ½ inches); the dimensions of the "Velázquez" (currently untraced) are recorded as 29 ½ x 27 inches.
37. Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art*, p. 351.
38. For the 1815 inventory, see above, note 7.
39. For the 3rd Earl, see the entry by R. N. W. Thomas in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), https://www.oxforddnb.com/ (accessed February 2025).
40. John Preston Neale, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, London*, vol. VI (1823), unpaginated.
41. Brewer, *Beauties of England and Wales*, pp. 269-277.
42. Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art*, pp. 347-352.
43. *Harcourt Papers*, vol. III, p. 266.
44. *Treasure Houses of Britain* (1985), nos. 40, 74, 152, 391, 410; David Littlejohn, *The Fate of the English Country House* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 14-17.

APPENDIX

The Harcourt Collection at Nuneham before 1806
The following list is based on the catalogue of 1806, and does not include later additions to the collection. The headline attributions follow those of the period.

Abbreviated dates are as follows:
1780: *New Pocket Companion to Oxford*, Oxford, 1780
1783: *Nuneham-Courtenay: Seat of the Earl of Harcourt*, privately printed, 1783
1797: *Description of Nuneham-Courtenay in the County of Oxford*, privately printed, 1797
1806: *Description of Nuneham-Courtenay in the County of Oxford*, privately printed, 1806
1948: Christie's, 11 June 1948

Albani, Francesco, *Holy Family*. 1780, p. 125; 1783, p. 4; 1806, p. 72.

Albani, Francesco, *Saint John Preaching in the Wilderness*. Waldegrave sale, 19/11/1763 lot 16 (buyer not recorded). 1780, p. 125; 1783, p. 7; 1806, p. 19.

Andrea del Sarto, *Trinity* (on a gold ground). 1780, p. 124 (gift from George Knapton); 1783, p. 8; 1806, p. 21. Perhaps a reduced and partial version of the *Disputation on the Trinity* in Palazzo Pitti, Florence.

Anguissola, Sofonisba, *Self-Portrait*. Acquired 17/3/1757 from an unknown source (*Harcourt Papers*, III, pp. 248-249). 1780, p. 125; 1783, p. 8; 1806, p. 20.

Anon, *Jonathan Swift*. Gift from Capt Edward Hamilton. 1806, p. 17. 1948 lot 84.

Anon, *Queen Anne of Denmark*. 1806, p. 13. 1948 lot 180 as by Van Somer.

Anon, Two shutters of an altarpiece: *Saint Catherine* and a *Male Saint*. 1797, p. 49; 1806, p. 38. Attributed by Waagen, 1857, p. 351, to School of Martin Schaffner of Ulm.

Arthois, Jacques d', Two large Landscapes. Previously collection of George Bagnall. 1780, p. 123; 1783, p. 8; 1806, p. 21.

Arthois, Jacques d', Two large Landscapes. 1780, p. 126; 1783, p. 9; 1806, p. 23.

Asselijn, Jan ("Krabbetje"), *Ponte Rotto in Rome*, 1652. Christopher Batt sale, 14/4/1756 lot 66. 1783, p. 4; 1806, p. 12. 1948 lot 90. Sold from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art at Sotheby's, New York, 28/1/2010, lot 159.

Barocci, Federico, *Madonna of the Cat*. Pomfret sale, 17/1/1754 lot 50 (buyer unrecorded). 1780, p. 124; 1783, p. 7; 1806, p. 19. 1948 lot 91; W. R. Hearst gift to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. A version or copy of the painting in the National Gallery, London.

Bassano, Jacopo, *Purification of the Temple* (on black marble). Previously in the collection of a Dr. Peters; acquired 23/9/1755 (*Harcourt Papers*, III, p. 225). 1780, p. 125; 1783, p. 4; 1806, p. 12.

Beale, Mary, *Anne, Lady Harcourt*. 1780, p. 127; 1783, p. 10; 1806, p. 27. Sotheby's, 10/6/1993 lot 860.

Beale, Mary, *Rebecca, Lady Moyer as Saint Catherine*. 1806, p. 33. 1948 lot 92.

Bellini, Gentile, *Doge Agostino Barbarigo*. Not recorded at Nuneham until 1823, and probably therefore acquired by the 3rd Earl: see p. 49. Sotheby's, 10/7/2003 lot 33; bought for the Alana Collection, Delaware.

Berchem, Nicolaes, *Landscape with Figures and Cattle*. Gift from Sir John Blaquière. 1783, p. 7; 1806, p. 20. 1948 lot 93. De Young Museum, San Francisco.

Both, Jan, *Landscape*. 1780, p. 125; 1783, p. 8; 1806, p. 22.

Bril, Paul, Pair of Landscapes. 1806, p. 10.

Brompton, Richard, *4th Earl of Jersey*. 1806, p. 30. 1948 lot 95.

Bronzino, *Nativity*. Dated 1547 (*Harcourt Papers*, III, p. 224). 1780, p. 124; 1783, p. 7; 1806, p. 19.

Campidoglio, Michele Pace del, Two Fruit Pieces. 1780, p. 123; 1783, p. 6; 1806, p. 19. Private Collection (with an attribution to Abraham Bruegel).

Cantarini, Simone (da Pesaro), *Bacchus and Ariadne* (copy after Guido Reni). Pomfret sale, 10/3/1758 lot 20 (as Poussin). 1806, p. 32. 1948 lot 161.

Cantarini: see also Reni

Caravaggio: see Murillo

Carracci, Annibale, *Susanna and the Elders*. 1780, p. 126; 1783, p. 2; 1806, p. 8. 1948 lot 98. See note 21.

Carriera, Rosalba, *Richard Grenville (later Earl Temple)*. 1783, p. 5 (legacy from Anna, Countess Temple, 1777); 1806, p. 34.

Castello, Valerio, *Nymph with Cupids*. Robert Bragge sale, 18/3/1758 lot 58. 1780, p. 122; 1783, p. 3; 1806, p. 9. 1948 lot 99.

Chardin, *House of Cards*. William Fauquier sale, 30/1/1789 lot 75. 1808, p. 18. Acquired by Rothschild Family Trust, 2007; now National Trust, Waddesdon Manor.

Claude, *Landscape with Figures and Cattle*. Christopher Batt sale, 15/4/1756 lot 16. 1780, p. 126; 1783, p. 6; 1806, p. 19.

Clouet, François, *Michel de Montaigne*. 1797, p. 44 (as "Jannet"); 1806, p. 34.

Cowden, William, Two Marine pieces. Gifts from the painter. 1806, pp. 12, 34.

Cuyp, Aelbert, *Landscape with Cattle*. Previously in the Kingsland collection, Dublin. 1780, p. 123; 1783, p. 9; 1806, p. 22.

Dahl, Michael, *Elizabeth Evelyn, Mrs. Harcourt*. 1780, p. 127; 1783, p. 4; 1806, p. 12.

Dahl, Michael, *Matthew Prior*. 1806, p. 14. Now National Portrait Gallery.

Decker, Cornelis, *Landscape with Ruinous Cottage*. 1780, p. 126; 1783, p. 7; 1806, p. 18. 1948 lot 103; Christie's, 8/7/2016 lot 145.

Domenichino, *Saint Cecilia* (on slate). 1780, p. 124; 1783, p. 8; 1806, p. 21.

Doughty, William, *William Mason*. 1783, p. 5; 1806, p. 14. 1948 lot 105.

Dughet, Gaspard, Landscape. 1780, p. 124; 1783, p. 6; 1783, p. 9; 1806, p. 10. 1948 lot 156.

Dughet, Gaspard, Landscape. 1780, p. 126; 1806, p. 22. 1948 lot 157.

Dughet: see also Poussin

Dujardin, Karel, *Herdsman with Cattle*. 1797, p. 44; 1806, p. 10.

Dujardin, Karel, Landscape. 1797, p. 44; 1806, p. 10.

Ermels, J. F., Landscape. Gift from Sir John Blaquière. 1783, p. 12; 1806, p. 30. 1948 lot 106.

Franceschini, Marcantonio (after Carlo Cignani), *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*. 1780, p. 125. Recorded at Harcourt House in London in 1815 ("An Historical Picture of Joseph &c"; see note 7), and presumably removed from Nuneham soon after 1780. Perhaps a version or copy of the painting in Dresden.

Fyt, Jan, *Hare and Dead Game*. Bagnall sale, 1757 lot 79. 1780, p. 123 (as Murillo); 1783, p. 3; 1806, p. 18.

Gainsborough (after), *John, 1st Earl Spencer*. 1806, p. 33.

Gainsborough (copies after, by C. W. Hünnemann), *King George III* and *Queen Charlotte*. Gifts from the sitters. 1797, p. 38; 1806, p. 27.

Gainsborough (copy by Gogain after), *Georgiana Poyntz, Countess Spencer*. 1783, p. 5; 1806, p. 33. 1948 lot 109.

Gherhaerts the Younger, Marcus, *King James I*. 1783, p. 11; 1806, p. 30. 1948 lot 111.

Gherhaerts the Younger, Marcus, *Lettice, Lady Paget*. 1783, p. 10; 1806, p. 30.

Gherhaerts the Younger, Marcus, *Nicholas Fuller*. 1806, pp. 30-31. 1948 lot 112.

Goyen, Jan van, *Landscape with Figures*. 1780, p. 126; 1783, p. 6.

Greffier the Elder, *Two Views on the Rhine*. 1780, p. 125; 1783, p. 8; 1806, p. 20.

Grimaldi, Francesco ("Bolognese"), Landscape. 1780, p. 122; 1783, p. 9; 1806, p. 22. 1948 lot 114.

Hamilton, William, *Mrs. Siddons as Isabella in The Fatal Marriage*. 1783, p. 3; 1806, p. 9.

Holbein (copy by Edward Luttrell), *Erasmus*. 1806, p. 35.

Honthorst, Gerard van, *Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia*. Gift from the sitter. 1783, p. 3; 1806, p. 34. 1948 lot 118.

Hünnemann, C. W., *Ferdinand, Infante of Spain*. Previously in the collection of the Viscountess of Galway. 1797, p. 44; 1806, p. 31. 1948 lot 189, as copy after Van Dyck.

Hunter, Robert, and William Doughty, *Simon 1st Earl Harcourt as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*. 1780, p. 127; 1783, p. 10; 1806, p. 28.

Hunter, Robert, *Capt Edward Hamilton*. 1806, p. 33.

Imperiali, Francesco Fernandi, *Noah and his Family*. Moses Hart sale, 23/3/1757 lot 62. 1780, p. 124; 1783, p. 6; 1806, p. 33. 1948 lot 119; Sotheby's, 23/4/1998 lot 113.

Johnson, Cornelius, *Elizabeth Vernon, Countess of Southampton*. 1806, p. 8.

Johnson, Cornelius, *Portraits of a Lady and a Gentleman*, 1632. 1783, p. 4; 1806, p. 13. 1948 pp. 120-121; sitters identified as Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe.

Johnson, Cornelius, *Portraits of Mr Witham and his Wife*, 1628. 1783, p. 5; 1806, p. 35. 1948 lot 122.

Jordaens, Jacob, *Nymph and Satyr*. 1783, p. 11; 1806, p. 31.

Kent, William, *Self-Portrait*. 1806, p. 14. 1948 lot 123.

Knapton, George, *Rebecca Sambourne le Bas, Countess Harcourt*. 1780, p. 127; 1783, p. 10; 1806, p. 27.

Kneller, (after), *Thomas Harley (later Earl of Oxford)*. 1806, p. 13. 1948 lot 127.

Kneller, (after), *John Evelyn*. Gift from Sir Frederick Evelyn. 1806, p. 15. 1948 lot 126.

Kneller, (copy after), *Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*. Gift from the sitter. 1783, pp. 3-4; 1806, p. 33. 1948 lot 170.

Kneller, *Alexander Pope*. 1783, p. 4. Gift to the 1st Viscount from the sitter. 1806, p. 14. 1948 lot 170, as by Jonathan Richardson.

Kneller, *Duke of Schomberg*. 1806, p. 13. 1948 lot 129.

Kneller, *John Dryden*. 1806, p. 16. 1948 lot 128. Now National Trust, Canons Ashby, Northants.

Kneller, *Lord Chancellor Harcourt*. 1783, pp. 9-10; 1806, p. 27. Sotheby's, 10/6/1993 lot 863.

Kneller, *Nicholas Rowe*. 1806, p. 14. 1948, lot 125.

Kneller, *Simon Harcourt* (son of 1st Viscount), 1719. 1783, p. 4; 1806, p. 12.

Kneller, *George Simon Harcourt* (future 2nd Earl). 1783, p. 3.

La Tour, Quentin, *Mary le Pel, Lady Hervey of Ickworth*. 1783, p. 5 (gift from Horace Walpole); 1806, p. 32.

Laer, Pieter van ("Bamboccio"), *Setting Sun with Shepherd and Sheep*. 1780, p. 123; 1783, p. 7; 1806, p. 20. 1948 lot 135.

Lauri, Filippo, *Scene of Ruins*. Previously collection of Dr. Richard Mead (died 1754). 1780, p. 125; 1783, p. 7; 1806, pp. 19-20.

Lauri, Filippo, *Spring, with Four Cupids*, 1780, p. 125; 1783, p. 8 (gift from William Fauquier); 1806, p. 21. Probably the painting in the Francis Fauquier sale, 12/4/1758 lot 23 (unsold).

Le Sueur, Eustache, *Holy Family*. 1780, p. 126; 1783, p. 9; 1806, p. 23. 1948 lot 181. Now Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, VA.

Le Bel, Jean-Baptiste, *Hon. Simon Harcourt*. 1780, p. 122; 1783, p. 10 (formerly in the collection of Matthew Prior).

Lely, Peter, *Lady Mary Tufton* (*Lady Waller*). 1783, p. 3; 1806, p. 9. 1948 lot 136.

Lely, Peter, *John Jolliffe*. 1783, p. 11; 1806, p. 34. 1948 lot 138.

Lely, Peter, *Nathaniel, Lord Crewe*. 1806, p. 9. 1948 lot 139.

Lely, Peter, *William, 5th Lord Paget*. 1783, p. 2; 1806, p. 8. 1948 lot 137.

Luttrell, Edward, *Head of Old Man*. 1783, p. 12; 1806, p. 30.

Mierevelt, Michiel Janz van, *Prince Maurice of Orange*. 1797, p. 22; 1806, p. 13. 1948 lot 142.

Mignard, Pierre, *Duchesse de Fontange*. 1806, p. 33. 1948 lot 144.

Mignard, Pierre, *Louis XIV*. 1797, p. 23; 1806, p. 9. 1948 lot 145.

Mignard, Pierre, *Madame de Maintenon*. 1797, p. 43; 1806, p. 33.

Mignard, Pierre, *Philip, Duc de Vendôme*, 1710. 1783, p. 6 (gift from Horace Walpole); 1806, p. 8 (no attribution). 1948 lot 143.

Morland, George, Three landscapes. Gifts from William Cowden. 1797, p. 23; 1806, p. 12.

Murillo, *Boy Bitten by a Lizard*. Previously in the collections of the Duke of Chandos and Sir Paul Methuen; gift from Dr. George Jones (see note 38). 1806, p. 18. 1948 lot 97. Now National Gallery, London.

Murillo, *Beggar Boys*. Previously Sidney collection, Penshurst Place; probably a gift from Mary Anson (see note 23). 1780, p. 126; 1783, p. 2; 1806, p. 8. 1948 lot 146.

Murillo, *Farmyard, with Peasants and Animals*. Previously in the collection of George Bagnall (according to *Harcourt Papers*, III, p. 224, acquired in 1740, but this is likely to be a mistake). 1780, p. 125; 1783, p. 7; 1806, p. 31. 1948 lot 147.

Murillo, *Herdsman and Cattle*. 1780, p. 123.

Opie, John, *Duke of Gloucester in Garter Robes*. Gift from the sitter. 1783, p. 6; 1806, p. 33. 1948 lot 149.

Opie: see also Reynolds

Oudry, Jean-Baptiste, Two sketches of animals (overdoors). 1783, p. 11; 1806, p. 28.

Panini, *Two Views of Roman Ruins*. 1780, p. 123; 1783, p. 6; 1806, p. 18. This and the following pair were sold at Christie's, 19/7/1974 lots 184-187, and all four were subsequently recorded in a private collection, Rome. One pair was acquired in February 1756; see note 18.

Panini, *Two Views of Roman Ruins*. 1783, p. 6; 1806, p. 19 (see preceding item).

Patel, Pierre, *Landscape with Ruins*. Previously in the collection of Ange Laurent de La Live, Paris; acquired there 1768/72. 1780, p. 124; 1783, p. 9; 1806, p. 22. 1948 lot 151.

Peeters, Bonaventura, Marine. 1797, p. 41; 1806, p. 30.

Peeters, Bonaventura, Marine. 1797, p. 41; 1806, p. 31.

Pietri, Pietro, *Nativity*. Christopher Batt sale, 15/4/1756 lot 53. 1783, p. 3; 1806, p. 9. 1948 lot 154.

Pine, Robert Edge, *Hannah Pritchard as Hermione in The Winter's Tale*. 1783, p. 5; 1806, p. 15. 1948 lot 155.

Pourbus, *Baron Rhynwick*. 1806, p. 9.

Poussin, *Landscape with a Hunter and Cowherds*. Previously in the collection of Richard Houlditch, and acquired 15/3/1756 (*Harcourt Papers*, III, p. 231). 1780, p. 126; 1783, p. 9; 1806, p. 22. In fact by Dughet, and inscribed as such in the engraving by Vivares of 1741. See note 19.

Poussin, *Mars and Venus*. Henry Furnese sale, 3/2/1758 lot 55. 1780, p. 124; 1783, p. 7; 1806, p. 19. Now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Poussin, *Moses Sweetening the Bitter Waters of Marah*. Acquired 23/9/1755 (*Harcourt Papers*, III, 1880, p. 233). 1780, p. 124; 1783, p. 7; 1806, p. 20. Now Baltimore Museum of Art, MD.

Poussin: see also Cantarini.

Ramsay, Alan, *George III*. 1780, p. 122.

Ramsay (copy by Gogain), *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*. 1783, p. 4. A copy of the painting now in the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Ramsay (copy by Gogain), *Horace Walpole*. 1783, p. 5; 1806, p. 17. A copy of the painting now in the Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington, CT.

Reni, *Virgin and Child*. Acquired from the Hôtel de Hautefort, Paris, 1768/1772. 1780, p. 124; 1806, p. 19. 1948 lot 162. In January 1809 Benjamin West wrote to the 2nd Earl to give his opinion that this was a copy after Reni by Cantarini (*Harcourt Papers*, III, p. 255). To judge, however, from glimpses of the painting in early photographs of Nuneham, it is more likely to have been an original by Cantarini.

Reni: see also Cantarini.

Reynolds (copy after, by Opie), *Mary Danby* (wife of future 3rd Earl). 1783, p. 4; 1806, p. 28. 1948 lot 167.

Reynolds, *Maria, Countess of Waldegrave* (later Duchess of Gloucester), 1762 (oval). 1783, p. 8; 1806, p. 21. 1948 lot 163. Christie's, New York, 6/10/1994 lot 116.

Reynolds, *Maria, Duchess of Gloucester* (Countess Dowager of Waldegrave) (small full-length). 1783, p. 8; 1806, p. 21. 1948 lot 166.

Reynolds, *George Simon Harcourt at age of 17*, 1753-1754. 1783, p. 3; 1806, p. 8.

Reynolds, *Lionel, 1st Duke of Dorset*. Gift from Lady Cecilia Johnson. 1806, p. 34. 1948 lot 164. Now Government Art Collection.

Reynolds, *Simon, 1st Earl Harcourt*, 1754-1755. 1806, p. 9.

Reynolds, *George Simon, 2nd Earl, Countess Elizabeth, and William (future 3rd Earl)*, 1780. 1783, p. 6; 1806, p. 17. Now Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Riley, John, *John Phillips*. 1806, p. 16. 1948 lot 173.

Riley, John, *Sir Samuel Moyer*. 1783, p. 11; 1806, p. 33. 1948 lot 172.

Roghman, Roehlant, *Landscape with Cattle*. 1783, p. 4; 1806, p. 12.

Roos (Rosa da Tivoli), *Landscape with Cattle*. Pomfret sale, 9/3/1758 lot 51. 1780, p. 123; 1783, p. 6; 1806, p. 18. 1948 lot 176.

Rosa, *Ulysses and Nausicaa*. Gift from the Duc d'Harcourt. 1780, p. 123; 1783, p. 6; 1806, p. 18. 1948 lot 162. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Rottenhammer, Hans, *Holy Family*. Francis Fauquier sale, 12/4/1758 lot 40. 1780, p. 124; 1783, p. 8; 1806, p. 20.

Rubens (School), *Christ and Saint John Playing with a Lamb*. 1783, p. 12; 1806, p. 34.

Rubens, *Landscape with Cattle*. 1780, p. 125 (as Van Uden); 1783, p. 9; 1806, p. 22. 1948 lot 178; Christie's, 29/6/1973 lot 39. A version or copy of Rubens's *Watering Place* (National Gallery).

Rubens, *Landscape with Overturning Cart by Moonlight "La Charette Embourbée"*. Comte de la Guiche sale, Paris, 1771. 1780, p. 124; 1783, p. 8; 1806, pp. 21-22. 1948 lot 85, bought. Sotheby's 4/12/2014 lot 85; bought for Schorr Collection, London. See note 22.

Ruisdael, Jacob van, *Landscape with Waterfall*. Christopher Batt sale, 14/4/1756 lot 70. 1780, p. 123; 1783, p. 6; 1806, p. 17. Sotheby's, 4/7/2007 lot 27.

Ruysdael, Salomon van, *River Landscape with Ferry Boat*. 1780, p. 126; 1783, p. 6; 1806, p. 19. Sotheby's, 4/7/2007 lot 26.

Ruysdael, Salomon van, *Landscape*. 1797, p. 40; 1806, p. 30.

Scott, Samuel, *Seastorm*. Gift from Maria, Duchess of Gloucester. 1797, p. 42; 1806, p. 31.

Snyders, *Dogs and Dead Game*. Pomfret sale, 9/3/1758 lot 61. 1780, p. 123; 1783, p. 6; 1806, p. 18. 1948 lot 179.

Staveley, William, *Henrietta Hay*. 1806, p. 30.

Stone, Henry (after Van Dyck), *Philip, Earl of Pembroke*. 1806, p. 13. 1948 lot 190.

Swanevelt, Herman van, *Landscape*. 1783, p. 6; 1806, p. 10. 1948 lot 182.

Swanevelt, Herman van, *Landscape*. 1806, p. 19.

Taverner, William, *Landscape*. 1783, p. 7 (gift from Miss Fauquier); 1806, p. 20.

Tempesta, Peter, Views of a Seaport and of Roman Ruins. Robert Bragge sale, 8/2/1757, lots 64-65. 1780, p. 122; 1783, p. 11; 1806, p. 31. Private Collection (with an attribution to Marco Ricci).

Teniers the Younger, David, *Flemish Peasants Playing at Ninepins*. Gift from Princess Augusta. 1797, p. 42; 1806, p. 31.

Titian, *Saint Margaret*. Previously in the collections of Charles I and Richard Norton (died 1732). 1780, p. 125; 1783, pp. 8-9; 1806, p. 22. 1948 lot 184. Sold from the Kisters collection at Sotheby's, New York, 1 February 2018 lot 27.

Turchi, Alessandro, *Christ Crowned with Thorns*. 1780, p. 124; 1783, p. 8; 1806, p. 21. 1948 lot 104.

Van Bloemen ("Orrizonte"), *Cascade at Terni*. 1780, p. 123; 1806, p. 33.

Van de Velde the Elder, Willem, *Embarkation of Charles II at Schevening*, 1661. 1780, p. 126; 1783, p. 9; 1806, p. 23. According to Michael S. Robinson, *A Catalogue of the Paintings of Willem van de Velde* (London: National Maritime Museum, 1990), pp. 776-777, the painting is a collaborative work by Adriaen and Willem the Younger, and it represents *The Yacht Mary and Other Vessels under Sail off Amsterdam*.

Van der Leeuw, Pieter, *Herdsman with Cattle*. 1783, p. 4.

Van der Meulen, Adam Frans, *Louis XIV on Horseback with Courtiers*. Acquired 1751 (letter from Countess Rebecca to her son; *Harcourt Papers*, III, p. 244). 1780, p. 126; 1783, p. 9; 1806, p. 23. 1948 lot 141.

Van der Myn, Herman, *Self-Portrait*, 1806, pp. 12-13. 1948 p. 148.

Van der Neer, Aert, *Moonlit Landscape*. Robert Bragge sale, 18/3/1758 lot 46. 1780, p. 124; 1783, p. 9; 1806, pp. 22-23.

Van Dyck (after), *Earl of Portland*. 1806, p. 13. 1948 lot 188.

Van Dyck (or Henry Stone?), *Lady Anne Finch*. 1780, p. 123; 1783, p. 2; 1806, p. 8. 1948 lot 187.

Van Dyck, *Queen Henrietta Maria*. 1783, p. 3; 1806, p. 9. 1948 lot 186.

Van Dyck: see also Hünnemann

Van Wittel, Gaspar ("Occhiali"), *Colosseum and Temple of Vesta at Tivoli*. 1780, p. 123; 1783, pp. 4, 11; 1806, p. 18. 1948 lot 191 (paired with the following).

Van Wittel, Gaspar ("Occhiali"), *Quay and Bay of Naples*. 1783, p. 4; 1806, p. 18.

Van Wittel, Gaspar ("Occhiali"), *Rome and the Tiber*. 1806, p. 18.

Vandergucht, Michael (after Kneller), *Joseph Addison*. 1806, p. 17. 1948 lot 132.

Vandergucht, Michael (after Kneller), *Charles, 1st Earl of Halifax*. 1806, p. 17. 1948 lot 131.

Vandergucht, Michael (?), *John Milton*. 1806, p. 16.

Vandergucht, Benjamin (after Benjamin Wilson), *Thomas Gray*. 1806, p. 15.

Vandergucht, Michael, copy after Chandos portrait of Shakespeare. 1797, p. 28; 1806, p. 15.

Velázquez, Portrait. 1797, p. 30; 1806, p. 18. 1948 lot 192, as School of Haarlem, *Portrait of a Sculptor*.

Viviani, Ottavio, *Architecture with Figures*. Acquired 31/3/1756 (*Harcourt Papers*, 1880, III, p. 268). 1780, p. 122; 1783, p. 11; 1806, p. 33.

Vosterman, Lucas, *View on the Rhine*. 1780, p. 124; 1783, p. 7; 1806, p. 20.

Walker, Robert, *Aubrey de Vere, 20th Earl of Oxford*. 1783, p. 3; 1806, p. 9. 1948 lot 194.

Walker, Robert, *General John Lambert*. 1806, p. 13. 1948 lot 194.

Walker, Robert, Portrait of Margaret, daughter of 13th (?) Baron Dacre. 1806, p. 10.

Walker, Robert, *Sir William Waller*. 1806, p. 10.

Watteau, *Woman on Horseback*. 1780, p. 125; 1783, p. 11; 1806, p. 31. 1948 lot 196.

Wilson, Benjamin, *William Whitehead, Poet Laureate*, 1758-1759 (*Harcourt Papers*, III, p. 251). 1783, p. 5; 1806, p. 15.

Wootton, John, Two landscapes. 1780, p. 126; 1783, p. 12; 1806, pp. 31, 35.

Wootton, John, *King William III Stag Hunting*. 1783, p. 4; 1806, p. 10. 1948 lot 197. Sotheby's, 4/12/2019 lot 28.

Wyck, Jan, *Battle Piece*. Probably Christopher Batt sale, 14/4/1756 lot 13. 1783, p. 11; 1806, p. 29. 1948 lot 198.

Wyck, Jan, *Turkish Army on its March in Egypt*. 1783, p. 11; 1806, p. 32. 1948 lot 199 "Purchased by Simon 1st Earl Harcourt, 1741". Christies's, 7/7/2017 lot 150; Private Collection, on loan to Spencer House, London.

A supplement to *Richard Parkes Bonington, the Complete Paintings*

PATRICK NOON

Of the ninety-five oil paintings catalogued in *Richard Parkes Bonington, the Complete Paintings* in 2008,[1] seventy-two were of French and Italian landscape subjects. Figural illustrations to Shakespeare, Scott, Goethe, Cervantes, French historical texts, and contemporary *Keepsake* poems comprised the remaining twenty-three. All were painted within a feverish span of creativity between 1824 and 1828. One third of those oils might be classified as studies or unfinished sketches, although with Bonington it is often impossible to distinguish between a study and a finished picture, given the artist's bravura execution. That imprecision is evident even in the cataloguing of the various studio sales following the artist's death in 1828, where *plein-air* studies painted in Italy were often listed as finished pictures by executors who were themselves practising artists. Such was the case with *Interior of Sant' Ambrogio, Milan,* discussed below (see fig. 10).

Bonington's habitual practice was to first assay a composition in watercolour or brown wash and then execute the final oil *en premier coup*. Eugène Delacroix, with whom Bonington shared a studio in 1825-1826, was in awe of such exceptional skill, about which he reminisced three decades later in his *Journal* on New Year's Eve 1856:

> Some talents come into the world fully armed and prepared. The kind of pleasure men of experience find in their work must have existed since the beginning of time. I mean a sense of mastery, sureness of touch going hand in hand with clear ideas. Bonington had it, but especially in his hand. His hand was so skilled that it ran ahead of his ideas. He altered his pictures because he had such facility that everything he put on canvas was charming. Yet the details did not always hold together, and his tentative efforts to get back the general effect sometimes caused him to abandon a picture after he began it. Note that another element, colour, is crucial to this type of improvisation.[2]

The passage appears to allude to the one work by Bonington that Delacroix actually owned, an "unfinished picture *Page and Chavalier*" (fig. 1).[3] He would bequeath that painting to Baron Charles Rivet (1800-1872), his friend from childhood and Bonington's most important patron and protégé. Another of the numerous Bonington oils that belonged to Rivet is among those under consideration here.

Catalogues raisonnés are rarely if ever definitive. In the fifteen years since the publication of Bonington's *Complete Paintings*, twenty-eight watercolours and the five oils discussed in this article have come to my attention.[4] The latter in particular are further evidence of Bonington's singular talent.

Fig. 1 / R. P. Bonington, *Knight and Page (Coetz von Berlichingen)*, ca. 1826, oil on canvas, 46.5 x 38 cm, New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

Fig. 2 / R. P. Bonington, *Christ Preaching, after Rembrandt*, ca. 1818, oil on canvas, 32.4 x 40.7 cm, New York, Private Collection.

CHRIST PREACHING, AFTER REMBRANDT
(FIG. 2)

Little is actually recorded of Bonington's childhood, although it appears to have been mundane and lacking any evidence of precocity. Reports circulating shortly after his death of a prodigy dashing off polished drawings at the age of three were pure fabrications. His earliest recorded works of art, probably executed in England and preserved by his parents until their deaths but now untraced, included a sepia illustration to Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe,* "being the artist's first design"; a sepia sketch after Rembrandt's *Christ Casting out the Money Changers*; a district election map of Nottingham for 1815; a drawing of *Peter the Hermit Preaching to the Crusaders,* "sketched at the age of fourteen and a half"; and an oil painting after an engraving of Raphael's *Elymas the Sorcerer Struck with Blindness by the Apostle Paul,* "painted when only 14 years old".

This partial oil sketch after Rembrandt's etching, *Christ Preaching, called La Petite Tombe*, also belongs to the artist's juvenilia and passed through both studio sales following the deaths of his father and then mother. In the latter sale, the lot following this copy was a picture described as "An Interior with many figures … painted in March 1818 … one of the earliest of the artist's productions in oil". Other lots included oil copies after Henry Tresham's illustration, *Imposture of the Holy Maid of Kent* from Robert Bowyer's edition of David Hume's *History of England* (London: 1806), "painted by the artist when 16 years old", and *Jeptha and his Daughter,* after John Opie's illustration for Thomas Macklin's *Bible* (London: 1791-1800). It is likely that this copy after Rembrandt was also begun before the family relocated from Calais to Paris in the autumn of 1818. He would have been sixteen at the time. Painted over what appears to be elements of a landscape sketch, it is Bonington's earliest documented work.

Prior to emigrating from Nottingham to France in 1817, Bonington's father, Richard Bonington (1768-1835), had amassed a sizable collection of old master and modern prints, including dozens of Rembrandt etchings, which, like the engravings from Bowyer's and Macklin's *magna opera,* had served initially as teaching models for his son and his other students. The sale of this collection after his death also included "two lithographic imitations of Rembrandt" by his son, although these have never been identified and were probably unique impressions.[5] After moving to Paris, Bonington Sr. set his son to copying in watercolours the Dutch old master paintings in the Louvre and enrolled him in the academy of Baron Antoine-Jean Gros, where the monotonous routine of sketching plaster casts of antique sculpture soon impelled the young tyro to abandon academic tuition altogether. However, he would not resume painting in oils until 1824.

Attached to the verso of this unlined canvas is a manuscript letter in the hand of another Bonington protégé, Thomas Shotter Boys (see Documentation below). His attestation that this painting belonged to Bonington's "old servant" does not comport with its history of ownership in the posthumous estate. Boys was very close to Bonington during his final illness in 1828, but he was probably mistaken in thinking that this picture had been a gift to Bonington's French housekeeper, who was indeed an elderly, devout Catholic, and who might well have prayed to it during his final illness. She is pictured in several Bonington paintings and was portrayed by Delacroix in 1827 (fig. 3).

Fig. 3 / Eugène Delacroix, *Study of Bonington's Housekeeper*, ca. 1827, oil on canvas, 39.4 x 32.4 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 4 / R. P. Bonington, *The Use of Tears*, ca. 1827, oil on canvas, 38.6 x 31.7 cm, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 5 / R. P. Bonington, *Invitation to Tea*, ca. 1826, watercolour and bodycolour with gum arabic, 11.7 x 16.3 cm, France, Private Collection.

One of those paintings, *The Use of Tears* (fig. 4), also of 1827, coincidentally – or perhaps presciently – records a contemporary sick bed scene with the attending matron based on both Bonington's housekeeper and the figure of Hannah in the Rembrandt School oil *Hannah and Samuel* (Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery). Both Delacroix and Bonington had studied that oil in London in 1825. The elderly domestic also appears in the watercolour *Invitation to Tea* (fig. 5), which depicts Bonington entertaining Charles Rivet and his mother, Baroness Geneviève Rivet.

Enthusiasm for Rembrandt was at a fever pitch among the artists who would comprise Bonington's immediate circle in Paris. Hippolyte Poterlet actually travelled to Holland in 1827 to study and copy the Dutch master.[6]

Bonington's interest in Rembrandt probably piqued when his friendship with both Delacroix and Paul Huet intensified towards the end of 1825. It is manifest in his *Don Quixote in his Studio* (Nottingham Castle Museum, ca. 1825),[7] which like so many other contemporary illustrations of alchemists or the opening scene of Goethe's *Faust* relates ultimately to Rembrandt's "Philosopher" pictures, and such etchings as *Abraham Francen, Apothecary*. Similarly, Bonington's *Cottage and Pond* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ca. 1825)[8] is an obvious pastiche of Rembrandt's *Cottage with a White Paling*.[9] Huet painted a replica of Bonington's oil and in 1826 etched a copy of Rembrandt's *Three Trees* from a plate in John Burnet's *A Practical Treatise on Painting* (London: 1826).

Fig. 6 / R. P. Bonington, *On the Côte d'Opale, Picardy*, ca. 1825, oil on canvas, 24.2 x 33.1 cm, New York, Private Collection.

ON THE CÔTE D'OPALE, PICARDY
(FIG. 6)

Following several productive years as a watercolourist of topographical views for the print publishers and of literary illustrations for the "friendship albums" that had become popular among private French collectors, Bonington recommenced painting in oils in anticipation of the seminal Paris Salon exhibition of 1824. His public debut as an oil painter included five marine and coastal views, for which he was awarded a gold medal along with the more established British artists John Constable, Copley Fielding, and Sir Thomas Lawrence. Only one of Bonington's exhibited paintings has been identified, *Coast Scene with Fisherfolk* (London, Tate Britain).[10] Two others, *Etude de Flandres* and *Une plage sablonneuse*, were of smaller dimensions approximating those of the painting under consideration.

Relying solely on black and white photographs in 2008, I catalogued this painting as a much-reduced copy by an anonymous artist after an authentic Bonington of 1827 in the collection of the Duke of Bedford (fig. 7).[11] After examining the painting for the first time in 2016, I revised my previous opinion, concluding that this version of *On the Côte d'Opale, Picardy* was an earlier Bonington rendering of the subject, and that on the evidence of the execution, dimensions, and palette it should be dated ca. 1824-1825. It was probably in Bonington's Paris studio when the 6th Duke of Bedford, on the advice of the artist Augustus Wall Callcott, visited in 1826 and purchased from stock a different Bonington oil, *On the Coast of Picardy*, now in the Wallace Collection.[12] However, it seems likely that Bedford encountered our picture during that visit and commissioned the larger version, which was delivered to him in 1827 following its exhibition at the Royal Academy. Of the Bedford picture, the artist William Wyld later recollected, "It struck me as a great revelation of beautiful truth by the side of the Callcotts, the Turners and other splendid conventionalities."

Fig. 7 / R. P. Bonington, *On the Côte d'Opale, Picardy*, 1827, oil on canvas, 66.2 x 99 cm, His Grace the Duke of Bedford and Trustees of the Bedford Estate.

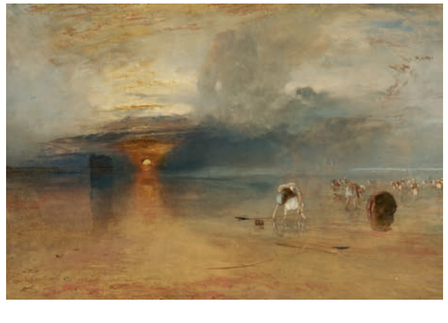


Fig. 8 / J. M. W. Turner, *Calais Sands, Low Water, Poissards Collecting Bait*, 1830, oil on canvas, 73 x 107 cm, Bury Art Museum and Sculpture Centre.

The earliest recorded owner of this earlier version, H. A. J. Munro of Novar, was one of the most avid collectors of J. M. W. Turner's paintings. He also owned two of Bonington's most ambitious canvases, *A Fishmarket near Boulogne* (New Haven, Yale Center for British Art) and *Entrance to the Grand Canal with Santa Maria della Salute* (Private Collection).[13] Paul Huet once observed that Bonington admired Turner, of whom he "spoke without cease", above all other artists. Although they probably never met, Turner had professed to Munro admiration for the Bonington marine paintings he had seen in the London exhibitions. He purportedly also asked that his *Venice, from the Porch of Madonna della Salute* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), a Munro commission, hang next to Bonington's *Grand Canal* view. His poignant *Calais Sands, Low Water, Poissards Collecting Bait* (Bury Art Museum & Sculpture Centre; fig. 8), with its sinking sun reflected in sands glistening at low tide, was painted shortly after Bonington's death and is generally perceived as Turner's eulogy to his promising younger colleague.

ROUEN CATHEDRAL, SUNRISE (FIG. 9)

Bonington's first landscape oils of 1824 were studio productions based largely on preliminary watercolours that he had painted directly from nature. In this, he differed markedly from the general practice of French artists of the period, who commenced with *plein-air* oil sketches on paper mounted on canvas. With the discovery in London in 1825 of a more portable, commercially manufactured millboard with a prepared off-white gesso ground, patented by the London firm of Robert Davy, he was able to attempt outdoors in oils what he had previously been accomplishing in watercolours – a spontaneous *alla prima* rendering of naturalistic effects.

The vast majority of Bonington's oil sketches on millboard are accurate records of a particular site or natural formation. *Rouen Cathedral, Sunrise* exhibits an entirely different character. In the context of Bonington's oeuvre and prevalent notions of his era, it is perhaps best described not as a sketch but as an impression or sensation, in that it concerns itself less with what is being depicted than with the very process of painterly transcription, or what Delacroix called the beauty of "the abstract side of painting". Dashed off directly from the motif, it is the work of probably no more than a half hour, yet it robustly illustrates the acuity of observation and the facility of execution that Delacroix so envied and admired in his friend's work.

Rouen Cathedral – Sunrise was probably executed on the same day in 1825 as another *plein-air* study on millboard, the *View of Rouen* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) formerly in the collection of the Earls of Normanton.[14] An earlier watercolour of the cathedral from a similar vantage point is in the British Museum, while a more panoramic chalk view of the city from across the Seine is in the Mead Art Museum, Amherst.[15] An untraced oil, *Vue de la Cathédrale de Rouen*, exhibited at the Paris Salon in November 1827, might have been a worked-up version of the Minneapolis composition.

Fig. 9 / R. P. Bonington, *Rouen Cathedral, Sunrise*, ca. 1825, oil on Davy millboard, 28.7 x 22.7 cm, Minneapolis, Minneapolis Institute of Art.

Fig. 10 / R. P. Bonington, *Interior of Sant' Ambrogio, Milan*, 1826, oil on Davy millboard, 34.9 x 42.8 cm, Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum.

THE INTERIOR OF SANT' AMBROGIO, MILAN
(FIG. 10)

Following Bonington's success at the 1824 Salon and his visit to London in the summer of 1825 where he met Delacroix, the two artists shared a studio in Paris during which time they began planning a trip to Italy. Delacroix had written in February 1826 to his friend Charles Soulier, "I have a grand worldly desire, which is to find myself in Italy… it is one of the dreams I have most cherished…"[16] From London in March, Thales Fielding chided Delacroix for "thinking of going to Venice instead of returning to England… as you sort of promised".[17] In the end Delacroix withdrew, intimating that professional and financial obligations impeded his joining the expedition. Bonington had no such financial unease, having recently sold his entire stock of paintings for "a capital sum of 7 to 8 thousand francs", according to his lone travelling companion, Charles Rivet.[18]

They began their three-month tour of Switzerland and Italy in April. The itinerary that Bonington charted was an atypical course of study that kept them well north of Rome and only marginally traversing Tuscany. It was our artist's fascination with Venice's flamboyant gothic architecture, its historical association with Shakespeare, and its abundance of paintings by Titian and Veronese that determined their course.

On 11 April after a harrowing Alpine crossing, Rivet wrote to his parents:

> We are in Milan, where at last we have unpacked and put to use our colour boxes. We have painted the interior of the cathedral, nocturnal effect, and I think that if Bonington can produce the paintings he has sketched his reputation will be made. As for me… I am seriously preoccupied with painting, drawing and writing, so as to be less conscious of the tedium of inn life.[19]

The authorship of this unsigned "sketch" by Bonington was somehow lost by the middle of the next century, when an unidentified owner added the false signature "David Roberts 1841". Given that Roberts was well known for such interior architectural scenes, whereas the subject matter is unique to Bonington's known oeuvre, that duplicitous attribution would have been commercially plausible. However, when the painting was brought to the Kimbell Art Museum for expertise in 2015, it was recognized by the curators as a possible untraced Bonington. This author subsequently confirmed that attribution. The false signature was removed by Kimbell conservators during cleaning. Two variants of the composition exist – an on-site watercolour sketch (Private Collection) and a highly wrought studio watercolour painted in 1827 (London, Wallace Collection).[20]

Sant'Ambrogio is the oldest monument of Christian antiquity in Milan. Bonington's rare representations of church interiors are an obvious dalliance with the type of subject with which Charles Caius Renoux (1795-1846) and Francois-Marius Granet (1775-1849) were readily identified, but stripped of the atmosphere of Gothic-novel mysticism and nostalgia for a more spiritual age that pervades the Frenchmen's finest conceptions. For several decades Granet's speciality had been tenebrous scenes of Italian monastic and religious ritual, usually set in voluminous, vaulted spaces. It was perhaps his pre-eminence in this genre and his celebrity throughout Europe that Bonington thought to test.

Fig.11 / R. P. Bonington, *Naufrage (Vessel in Distress off Calais Pier)*, ca. 1827, oil on canvas, 27 x 35 cm, France, Private Collection.

NAUFRAGE (VESSEL IN DISTRESS OFF CALAIS PIER) (FIG. 11)

Although brief in duration and plagued by inclement weather, the Italian excursion furnished Bonington with abundant source material for future projects. However, since the dates for the 1827 Paris Salon were yet to be determined, the Venetian showstoppers he envisioned for that event were allowed to gestate. Not that he was at all idle – the last two years of Bonington's life were a whirlwind of professional activity. His meteoric rise following his celebrated successes at the 1824 Salon and his first public appearance in London at the 1826 British Institution's annual exhibition garnered him a plethora of commissions for oils and watercolours from private collectors, the fine art trade, and the publishers of illustrated annuals and travelogues in both Paris and London.

Fig. 12 / R. P. Bonington, after a sketch by G. W. Manby, *Secours aux naufragés*, 1827, lithograph on chine, 11.3 x 16.8 cm, London, British Museum.

Fig. 13 / Thomas Lupton, after J. M. W. Turner, *The Eddystone Lighthouse*, 1824, mezzotint, 26.4 x 36 cm, London, British Museum.

This unpublished oil study represents a single-masted vessel foundering in high seas just off a Calais pier. Above Fort Rouge, a red distress flag battles gale-force winds. Such a dramatic subject is thoroughly uncharacteristic of Bonington.[21] Like John Keats, his art was the agency for isolating moments of beauty from the flux of time. As Delacroix's cousin, the landscape painter Léon Riesener (1808-1878) remarked, Bonington may never have sought to depict the extraordinary or sublime events of nature, such as tempests and shipwrecks, but his sensibility was no less uplifting for its discretion.

There were numerous skilled French and British marine painters to whom one might convincingly attribute such an unsigned study, but the fact that its ownership can be traced to Bonington's patron, Charles Rivet, through Rivet's direct descendants, makes for an unimpeachable attribution to our artist. It is unlikely that this was an initial foray into a new sub-genre of marine painting for Bonington; rather, it probably relates to a commission he received to illustrate a French edition of Captain George William Manby's treatise on an apparatus he invented in 1807, the "Manby Mortar", for rescuing sailors and passengers from a coastal shipwreck. Bonington's lithograph, based on a drawing by Manby, appeared in *Essai pratique et démonstratif sur les moyens de prévenir les naufrages et de sauver la vie aux marins naufragés etc.* (Paris: Pochard, 1827) (fig. 12).

Engravings after J. M. W. Turner were probably inspiration for the present sketch; in particular, Thomas Lupton's mezzotint after Turner's *Eddystone Light House*, an impression of which Bonington acquired from the publisher W. B. Cooke during his visit to London in 1825 (fig. 13).

DOCUMENTATION

Christ Preaching, after Rembrandt, ca. 1818
Oil on canvas, 32.4 x 40.7 cm.
Inscriptions: attached to the verso of this unlined canvas is a manuscript letter in the hand of Thomas Shotter Boys:

In reference to the little / oil sketch after Rembrandt / that I saw this morning / at your house, I assure / you that it is an *authentic* / 'Mis en couleur' by Bonington / I recollect it was possessed / by his old servant when residing / with him in his last illness at / the rue St. Lazare. She used / to keep it at his bed head / & pray before it for her master's / recovery. It was given by him / to her. / March the 3rd,1840 Thomas S. Boys

Provenance: *The Late Richard Bonington, Sr.* (Foster's, London, 6 May 1836, lot 56, as *Christ Preaching to his Disciples; an unfinished picture, after Rembrandt,* bought in); *Catalogue of a Collection of Original Sketches, in pen and ink, and pencil, Highly Finished Drawings, in watercolors and sepia, and Cabinet Pictures … the property of the late Mr. Bonington Sr.* (Sotheby's, London, 10 February 1838, lot 117, as *The Raising of Lazarus, after Rembrandt*, bought Turner); R. E. Cowburn, Llangovan, Monmouthshire (Christie's, London, 1 March 1946, lot 104, as *Christ Rising from the Tomb*, bought Fine Art Society); The Fine Art Society, London, 1946, from whom acquired, and by descent to *Property of a Lady* (Christie's, London, 5 July 2019, lot 204, bought in, and again 30 July 2020, lot 102, bought Anthony Joseph).

References*:* Andrew Shirley, *Bonington* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., 1940), p. 140*;* Noon, *Paintings,* p. 448; Patrick Noon, *Richard Parkes Bonington, Le virtuose romantique* (Paris: Braun et Cie., 1950), p. 28, ill. 11.

Private Collection

On the Côte d'Opale, Picardy, ca. 1825
Oil on canvas, 24.2 x 33.1 cm.
Signed, lower right: *R. P. Bonington*
Two unidentified wax seals, verso of stretcher: escutcheon with five branching stars and sun (?).

Provenance: Hugh A. J. Munro of Novar (1797-1864) (Christie's, London, 6 April 1878, lot 1, as *A Normandy Coast-Scene,* bought Adair); Sir Hugh Adair (1815-1902), Flixton Hall, Suffolk (Christie's, London, 28 February 1903, lot 34, as *View on the French coast, near Dieppe, with fisher-children,* bought Gooden); Sir John Charles Robinson (1824-1913), by 1913 (?); Thomas Agnew & Sons, London, where acquired by Andrew T. Reid (1863-1940), Auchterarder House, Perthshire, by 1934 (Christie's, London, 27 March 1942, lot 65, as *Environs de Dieppe,* bought Smith); Walter Stoye (1886-1974), Oxford, by 1962, and by descent to Dr. Enid Stoye (1919-2015) (Christie's, London, 30 June 2016, lot 9, bought Moretti); Moretti Fine Art, London, 2017, from whom acquired by present owner.

Exhibitions: London, Royal Academy of Arts, *Exhibition of British Art*, 1934, no. 634, as *The Environs of Dieppe*; London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, *R. P. Bonington and His Circle*, 1937, no. 47, as *Coast Near Dieppe*; London, Agnew's, *Pictures and Drawings by R. P. Bonington (in Aid of the King's Lynn Festival Fund)*, February-March 1962, no. 23; on loan to the Frick Collection, 2017.

References: Dubuisson, *Bonington,* p. 196; Shirley, *Bonington,* pp. 144-145, pl. 26; The Tate Gallery, *Illustrated Catalogue of Acquisitions 1984-86* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1988), p. 10, under no. T03857, as a version; Patrick Noon, *Richard Parkes Bonington, On the Pleasure of Painting* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 242, under no. 120, incorrectly identified as a copy; Noon, *Paintings*, p. 259, under no. 206, incorrectly identified as a copy; Noon, *Virtuose Romantique*, repr. opp. 423 (detail), p. 430, ill. 345.

Private Collection, New York

Rouen Cathedral, Sunrise, ca. 1825
Oil on Davy millboard, 28.7 x 22.7 cm.
Signed, marked or inscribed, verso: red wax atelier seal with initials *RPB;*[22] paper etiquette inscribed in pen and black ink by the artist's father: *View of Rouen, a sketch / £5*

Provenance: *A Catalogue of the Collection of Exquisite Pictures, Watercolor Drawings and Sketches of that Celebrated Painter, The Late Richard Parkes Bonington* (Christie's, London, 23-24 May 1834, lot 136, *View of the cathedral and town of Rouen from the opposite side of the river with admirable effect of sunset* [*sic*]*, a sketch*, bought in, Sibley); *The late Richard Bonington, Sr.* (Foster's, London, 6 May 1836, lot 64, *A view on the Seine, below Rouen; daybreak*, bought in); probably Sir Henry Webb (Paris, 23-24 May 1837, lot 47, *Vue de la Ville de Rouen, ébauche)*; Henri Michel-Levy (1844-1914) (Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 10-11 May 1919, lot 1, *View of Rouen, sketch, on board, 27 x 22 cm)*; Galerie Maurice Gobin, Paris, by 1936 and by descent to 2011; Galerie de Bayser, Paris, 2012, from whom acquired by the Minneapolis Institute of Art.

Exhibitions: *Bonington Exhibition*, Cosmorama Rooms, 209 Regent Street, 1834, no. 33, as *View of Rouen*; *Exposition d'oeuvres inedités de R. P. Bonington et Sir David Wilkie*, Paris; Arthur Sambon Galerie, 1932, no. 7; *Peintres, aquarelles et dessins de R. P. Bonington, 1802-1828*, Paris, Galerie Maurice Gobin, 1936, no. 39.

References: Maurice Gobin, *R. P. Bonington* (Paris: Braun et Cie., 1950), pl. 28; Shirley, *Bonington,* p. 96, pl. 58, as "Gobin Collection" with incorrect measurements; Noon, *Virtuose Romantique*, repr. frontispiece (detail), p. 194, ill. 155.

Minneapolis Institute of Art

Interior of Sant' Ambrogio, Milan, 1826
Oil on Davy millboard, 34.9 x 42.8 cm.
Inscriptions: false inscription, lower right: *David Roberts 1841* (removed during conservation in 2015)

Provenance: *Catalogue of the Pictures, Original Sketches, and Drawings of the late much admired and lamented artist, R. P. Bonington* (Sotheby's, London, 30 June 1829, lot 212, *Interior of a Church, Milan,* bought Townshend); Lord Charles Townshend (1785-1853), Rainham Hall, Norfolk (Christie's, London, 11 April 1835, lot 15, as *Bonnington* [sic] *Interior of an ancient Italian church,* bought Hume for Beckford); William Beckford (1760-1844), Bath, England; D. Bennett, Ash Tree Cottage, Burwash, Sussex, England (Christie's, London, 13 December 1946, lot 128, as David Roberts*, Serving Mass*, bought Lesser); (Lilla Bukowskis, Stockholm, 22 May 1995, lot 33, as David Roberts, *Serving Mass*); Leonard Walley, Garland, Texas, by 2003 (Neal Auction Company, New Orleans, 5 April 2003, lot 87, as David Roberts, *Interior of Cathedral*, bought in); Leonard Walley, Garland, Texas, from whom purchased by Mac Shafer, Mineral Wells, Texas, 19 June 2004; from whom purchased by the Kimbell Art Foundation, Fort Worth, 2015, AP2015.01.

References: Noon, *Paintings*, p. 272, under nos. 216-217; Noon, *Virtuose Romantique*, p. 269, ill. 223; Gilles de Blignières et al., "Les Voyages de Bonington en Italie," *Les Cahiers d'Histoire de l'Art* 22 (2024): p. 83, fig. 20.

Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth

Naufrage (Vessel in Distress off Calais Pier), ca. 1827
Oil on canvas, 27 x 35 cm.

Provenance: Baron Charles Rivet (1800-1872); his eldest daughter, Josephine Bourdeau de Lajudie (1834-1907) (*Inventaire après le décès de Mad. J. Bourdeau de Lajudie, 23 Décembre 1907*, no. 34, *Un tableau "Naufrage" de Bonington 300 francs);* and by descent to the present owner.

Exhibitions: *Gros, ses amis et ses élèves*, Petit Palais, Paris, 1936, no. 151, as *La Tempête.*

References: Raymond Escholier, *Gros, ses amis et ses élèves* (Paris: Librairie Floury, 1936), no. 826, p. 323.

Private Collection, France

NOTES

1. Patrick Noon, *Richard Parkes Bonington, the Complete Paintings* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008).
2. Michèle Hannoosh, ed., *Eugène Delacroix, Journal,* vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie José Corti, 2009), p. 1051.
3. Noon, *Complete Paintings*, no. 401, pp. 432-433.
4. For the watercolours, see Patrick Noon, "A Supplement to *Richard Parkes Bonington, the Complete Paintings and Drawings*," *Master Drawings* 63 (2025): pp. 167-196.
5. *Catalogue of a Miscellaneous Collection of Engravings, including those of the late Mr. Richard Bonington* (Leigh Sotheby's, London, 24 February 1838, in lot 23).
6. Eugène Delacroix to Hippolyte Poterlet (9 August 1827), *Correspondence Générale de Eugène Delacroix*, ed. André Joubin, vol. 1 (Paris: Plon, 1935), p. 193. "J'en ai vu des fruits et j'ai bien admiré votre envoi. Votre Rembrandt particulièrement, grand et petit, m'a paru un vrai chef-d'oeuvre."
7. Noon, *Complete Paintings*, no. 399, p. 428.
8. Noon, *Complete Paintings*, no. 196, p. 242.
9. See Eric Hinterding and Jaco Rutgers, *New Hollstein* (Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel: Sound and Vision Publishers, 2013), nos. 301 and 246.
10. Noon, *Complete Paintings*, no. 172, p. 199.
11. Noon, *Complete Paintings*, no. 206, pp. 258-259.
12. Noon, *Complete Paintings*, no. 187, pp. 230-231.
13. Noon, *Complete Paintings,* no. 171, pp. 196-198 and no. 226, pp. 284-287.
14. Noon, *Complete Paintings,* no. 194, p. 239.
15. A. Dubuisson and C. E. Hughes, *Richard Parkes Bonington: his Life and Work* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head Ltd., 1924), repr. opp. 41, a panoramic view of Rouen from the collection of Victor Rienaecker, although the attribution of that untraced oil painting should be queried.
16. Joubin, *Correspondance,* vol. 1, p. 175 (13 February 1826). "J'ai un grand désir au monde, ce serait de me trouver avec toi en Italie. En Italie! ... c'est un des rêves que j'ai le plus caressé. Si j'avais fait fortune, ce serait déjà fait."
17. Los Angeles, CA, The Getty Research Institute: Ms. letter, Thales Fielding to Eugène Delacroix (10 March 1826). "Il y a une chose que ne me plait trop c'est ou vous dites que vous pensez d'aller à Venise en lieu de faire un voyage en Angleterre le printemps prochain car vous l'avez en quelque sorte promis."
18. Saint-Martin-le-Vieux, Archives du Château de Lajudie: Ms. letter (10 May 1826), *Lettres du Baron Jean-Charles Rivet à ses parents pendant son voyage en Italie du Nord.*
19. Ms. letter (12 April 1826); see Gilles de Blignières et al., "Le Voyage de Bonington en Italie (avril-juin 1826)," *Les Cahiers d'Histoire de l'Art* 22 (2024): p. 83.
20. Noon, *Complete Paintings*, nos. 216-217, pp. 272-273.
21. Although lot 165 in the 1829 studio sale was another, possibly related, oil sketch titled *Storm with Shipwreck*, bought Tiffin for £4.
22. The initials in the red wax seal on the verso are in Gothic script. The initials in the wax seal used for the 1829 Bonington atelier sale are interlaced cursive letters. It would appear that a new seal was created for the 1834 sale, although this is the only example of its use known to this author.

Atmospheric effects and *plein-air* quality in the etchings of Henry James Stuart Brown: a technical and aesthetic analysis

JASMIN KLEINMAN

Detail of fig. 2.

The etchings of Henry James Stuart Brown (1871-1941) offer a compelling case study in the representation of atmospheric phenomena through the demanding medium of etching. Born in Bathgate, Linlithgowshire, in 1871, Brown pursued etching alongside his primary occupation as a managing director of his family's manufacturing firm. Despite exhibiting at prestigious venues – including a 1924 showcase of fifty-six etchings at Colnaghi & Co. (prefaced by Hugh Stokes) and a 1928 solo exhibition at Sydney's Macquarie Gallery – Brown remains a marginal figure in art historical scholarship. The most comprehensive studies to date consist of R. A. Walker's 1927 feature in *Print Collector's Quarterly* and Harold J. Wright's accompanying catalogue raisonné.[1] Kenneth Guichard, in his survey of British etchers (1850-1940), credits Wright with "rescuing the works of many etchers from oblivion", while singling out Brown as "one of the best of British landscape etchers at the beginning of the century, despite his relatively unknown status".[2]

Brown's peripheral position in printmaking historiography reflects the Victorian era's emphasis on professional credentials and institutional validation as prerequisites for artistic recognition. Contemporary responses to his work underscore this tension: Walker, comparing Brown to Francis Seymour Haden, noted that both gentlemen practised etching "with more than the average professional skill", yet were constrained by prevailing attitudes toward non-professional artists.[3] The "amateur" designation was considered a weakness by print scholars who emphasized technical mastery of complex printmaking processes, engagement with art historical discourse, and validation through institutional networks – criteria that privileged formal training and professional credentials over innovative practice. This reception history reveals how the institutional structures of Brown's era shaped – and constrained – artistic recognition, often obscuring significant technical and aesthetic innovations emerging outside formal art networks. Brown's limited representation in major museum collections – concentrated primarily in institutions like the British Museum, the University of Melbourne, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Kelvingrove Gallery, and the Ashmolean – has created a cyclical problem where limited institutional presence has hindered comprehensive scholarly study, which in turn has perpetuated his marginal position in printmaking historiography. This pattern demonstrates how curatorial research, dependent on accessible institutional holdings, can inadvertently reinforce existing gaps in art historical knowledge.

Drawing on Brown's original etchings (notably the University of Melbourne's Prints and Drawings collection as well as the British Museum's collection), Wright's catalogue raisonné, and contemporaneous

writings on meteorology and aesthetics, this study employs three interconnected methodologies: (1) close visual analysis of Brown's techniques for rendering atmosphere, (2) historical contextualization within both printmaking traditions and scientific discourses, and (3) examination of how non-professional practice enabled distinctive artistic innovations. This article argues that Brown's *plein-air* practice – working directly on copper plates outdoors – enabled him to develop groundbreaking methods for capturing ephemeral weather effects, bridging artistic and scientific observation in ways that illuminate how early twentieth-century printmakers engaged with an increasingly environmentally conscious worldview.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE EVOLUTION OF *PLEIN-AIR* PRACTICE IN PRINTMAKING

The practice of working *en plein air* emerged as a revolutionary approach to landscape representation during the late eighteenth century, coinciding with broader epistemological shifts in European thought. This movement away from studio-based idealization toward direct observation reflected the growing influence of Enlightenment empiricism and Romanticism's celebration of nature's sublime qualities. Pierre-Henri de Valencienne's seminal treatise *Éléments de perspective pratique* (1800) not only advocated for working outdoors but systematically outlined methodologies for capturing nature's transient effects, particularly the complex interplay of light and atmosphere that would become central to later *plein-air* practices.[4] His insistence that "the sky is the principal source of light in a landscape" established a conceptual framework that artists would develop throughout the nineteenth century.[5]

By the 1830s, the Barbizon School had transformed these principles into a comprehensive artistic programme. Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot's meticulous studies of dawn and twilight effects, such as his *Ville d'Avray* series (ca. 1825-1870), and Théodore Rousseau's obsessive documentation of specific forest locales in varying weather conditions demonstrated a systematic approach to environmental observation that distinguished their practice from earlier landscape traditions. This methodical attention to natural phenomena aligned with the period's broader intellectual emphasis on empirical observation and scientific methodology.[6] Building on these foundations, the subsequent Impressionist movement would radicalize these approaches, with artists like Monet conducting serial observations of singular subjects under changing atmospheric conditions, as exemplified by his *Haystacks* (1890-1891) and *Rouen Cathedral* (1892-1894) series.

The translation of *plein-air* practice from painting to printmaking presented unique technical challenges that would ultimately expand the expressive possibilities of both media. While traditional printmaking, particularly etching, had long been associated with workshop reproduction and collaborative production, the British Etching Revival (1880-1930) reimagined the medium as a vehicle for direct personal expression. This shift was facilitated by the Impressionists' advocacy for printmaking as an equally viable medium for observational methods and formal innovation – as seen in Degas's monotypes of landscapes – alongside technological developments, including the advent of portable etching grounds and lightweight copper plates that enabled artists to work outdoors with greater ease. Haden, a surgeon-etcher

Fig. 1 / Francis Seymour Haden, *Harry Kelly's Putney*, 1864, etching, plate 11.1 x 17.6 cm, sheet 16.7 x 26.5 cm, Melbourne, University of Melbourne, Baillieu Library Collection.

Fig. 2 / Henry James Stuart Brown, *King's Lynn*, 1920, etching, image (sheet trimmed to image) 16.6 x 28.8 cm, Melbourne, University of Melbourne, Baillieu Library Collection.

whose dual career paralleled Brown's own position between professional worlds, became a vocal advocate for *plein-air* etching. His 1879 lecture to the Royal Society, later published as "The Relative Claims of Etching and Engraving", articulated a rigorous argument for working directly from nature, stating, "the Etcher it is true works, or should work, from nature, because only thus can he seize those fugitive truths of atmosphere and light which constitute landscape's essential poetry".[7] Haden's *Harry Kelly's Putney* (1864) exemplifies this philosophy, its densely-worked surface capturing not just topographical details but the very quality of afternoon light reflecting off the Thames (fig. 1). The etching's dynamic composition and attention to meteorological effects establish clear visual correspondences with Brown's later *King's Lynn* (fig. 2), particularly in their shared emphasis on the interaction between water and sky.

James Abbott McNeill Whistler's contributions to *plein-air* etching proved equally transformative, though conceptually distinct from Haden's approach. Whistler's Venetian series (1879-1880) and earlier Thames studies (1859-1871) demonstrated how selective wiping and plate tone manipulation could evoke atmospheric conditions with unprecedented subtlety. His famous pronouncement that an etching was "finished from the beginning" reflected an aesthetic philosophy privileging spontaneous response over laborious refinement; this may have directly influenced Brown's rapid "scribbled line" technique, discussed further below, although this remains to be seen.[8] Art historian Katharine Lochnan has noted Whistler's "concern to capture atmospheric effects and the transient aspects of nature", which may have led him to develop wiping techniques that transformed plate tone from a mechanical necessity into an expressive device.[9] This innovation proved particularly crucial for etchings like *Nocturne: Palaces* (1879-1880), where carefully modulated ink residues combined with strategic drypoint create the illusion of Venetian mist dissolving architectural forms.

Contemporary critics recognized the particular challenges of achieving *plein-air* effects in etching. R. A. Walker's 1927 text stated that these qualities were "so hard to define or create in prose or line. In etching and engraving it is exceptionally so". He observed that Brown's success in this regard stemmed from both technical mastery – particularly in plate wiping – and what he defined as depending "on a subtle appreciation of atmosphere felt by the artist himself" as well as "part of the emotional composition of the artist".[10] This dual requirement highlights the unique synthesis of empirical observation and technical innovation that characterized the most significant *plein-air* etchings of the period.

Brown's practice emerges from this rich tradition while introducing distinct modifications tailored to East Anglia's unique topography and climate. For instance, his development of the "scribbled line" technique for cloud formations – characterized by rapid, directional strokes that follow the natural movement patterns of wind-driven clouds – represents both an extension of Whistler's apparent spontaneity and a departure from his aestheticizing tendencies, thus replacing Whistler's harmonious atmospheres with meteorologically precise renderings of cumulus and stratus patterns.

The connection between Whistler and Haden as etchers proves crucial for understanding Brown's synthesis, as both advocated for spontaneous *plein-air* work, yet their approaches to atmospheric effects diverged significantly: where Haden emphasized topographical accuracy and the documentary potential of direct observation, Whistler prioritized tonal harmonies and aesthetic unity over literal representation. Haden's commitment to depicting the nuances of atmosphere and light through precise line work contrasted with Whistler's use of selective wiping and plate tone to create poetic rather than documentary effects. Brown's innovation lay in combining Haden's observational rigour with Whistler's technical innovations in plate manipulation, while adding his own meteorologically-informed approach to cloud formation and light effects. Similarly, Brown's adaptations of Haden's compositional strategies to East Anglia's expansive horizontality demonstrate how *plein-air* printmaking evolved to address specific regional characteristics. Placed within this context, Brown emerges not as a derivative figure but as an innovator who extended the technical and conceptual parameters of *plein-air* etching by synthesizing the documentary and aesthetic approaches of his predecessors into a distinctly scientific yet artistic practice. Brown's commitment to topographical specificity, evident in his precise rendering of East Anglian light and weather patterns, distinguishes his work from the more generalized landscape approaches of his notable contemporaries and demonstrates his unique contribution to the medium's development.

The critical and commercial success of Brown's etchings during his lifetime, evidenced by his 1924 exhibition at Colnaghi & Co. and acquisition by major collections like the British Museum, suggests that contemporary audiences recognized these innovations regardless of his amateur status. While Brown's dissemination methods reflected his non-professional position, they nevertheless demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of print markets. His 1924 Colnaghi exhibition featured fifty-six works, suggesting substantial production runs, and his inclusion in Wright's catalogue raisonné indicates systematic documentation of his output. The presence of multiple states in institutional collections suggests Brown either printed small editions himself or worked closely with professional printers to control distribution. The British Museum's acquisition of his work reflects both the encyclopedic collecting practices of national institutions – which sought to document all practitioners regardless of professional status – but also the important role of curatorial scholarship in determining the later reception of works of art. This disjunction between contemporary reception and subsequent art historical neglect underscores a wider need to reevaluate the professional/amateur distinctions and institutional validation systems that have shaped printmaking's historiography. This is especially true given the crucial yet understudied position that Brown's work occupies in the development of *plein-air* printmaking – one that reflects both the medium's technical evolution and its capacity to register environmental particularity with unprecedented specificity.

TECHNICAL INNOVATION AND METEOROLOGICAL AWARENESS

As we have seen, Brown's technical approach to etching demonstrates a sophisticated adaptation of traditional methods to address the unique challenges of *plein-air* practice and represents a distinctive synthesis of technical innovation and empirical observation within the British Etching Revival.[11] The process of working directly on copper plates in the field demanded a combination of careful preparation and spontaneous execution qualities that Brown skilfully balanced through distinctive techniques, as documented in Wright's catalogue notes and evident in the works themselves. Reflecting on Brown's artistry, Walker observes that "there is nearly always a suggestion of airiness, wind or warm, sunny freshness which is essential to his compositions".[12] These innovations can be understood within the framework of the "material resistance" inherent in adapting etching to outdoor practice, an obstacle that Brown overcame through systematic technical strategies.

Fig. 3 / Henry James Stuart Brown, *A Fen Landscape*, 1927, etching, drypoint with plate tone, plate 17.3 x 28.7 cm, sheet 20.6 x 33.4 cm, Melbourne, University of Melbourne, Baillieu Library Collection.

Fig. 4 / Henry James Stuart Brown, *Saint Audrey's City: Twilight*, 1924, etching, plate 10.4 x 22.2 cm, sheet 14.7 x 25.7 cm, Melbourne, University of Melbourne, Baillieu Library Collection.

The "scribbled line" technique, seen in *A Fen Landscape* (fig. 3), constitutes Brown's most radical departure from academic conventions. Where contemporaries like James McBey employed orderly parallel hatching in *The Ebb-Tide, Dordrecht* to create decorative sky effects, Brown's irregular, overlapping strokes mimic cumulonimbus formations with morphological precision. This approach reflects the growing late-Victorian intersection of art and meteorology: while Malcolm Salaman praised McBey's "vivacious spontaneous expression",[13] Brown's method suggests familiarity with the cloud classification systems popularized by Luke Howard's *Essay on the Modifications of Clouds* (1803).[14] The etched lines' variable pressure and density replicate updraft dynamics in a manner that calls to mind John Ruskin's admonition that "the artist's cloud study must begin with scientific truth".[15]

Brown's engagement with atmospheric science becomes particularly evident in his plate tone manipulations. While Whistler employed selective wiping and residual ink retention for aesthetic harmonization, Brown deployed these same techniques to precisely render meteorological phenomena. While his exact printing arrangements remain undocumented, the consistency of atmospheric effects across multiple impressions indicates either personal mastery of the printing process or sustained collaboration with a printer who understood his meteorological objectives. In *King's Lynn* (see fig. 2), cross-hatched structures emerge through carefully graduated harbour mist, while *Saint Audrey's City: Twilight* (fig. 4) employs tonal modulation to simulate the optical effects of dusk on Ely Cathedral. The successive states of *Evening, Morston* (figs. 5 & 6) reveal his process: luminosity in the upper register is achieved by leaving thicker ink deposits near the horizon, a technique requiring exact timing during the wiping process to capture transient light conditions.

Brown's technical achievements coincided with both the professionalization of meteorology and what art critic Clive Bell called "the new empiricism in landscape representation".[16] While direct documentation of Brown's engagement with scientific circles remains elusive, the accuracy of his cloud forms and light effects suggests awareness of the Royal Meteorological Society's publications, which regularly featured articles on observational techniques during this period.[17]

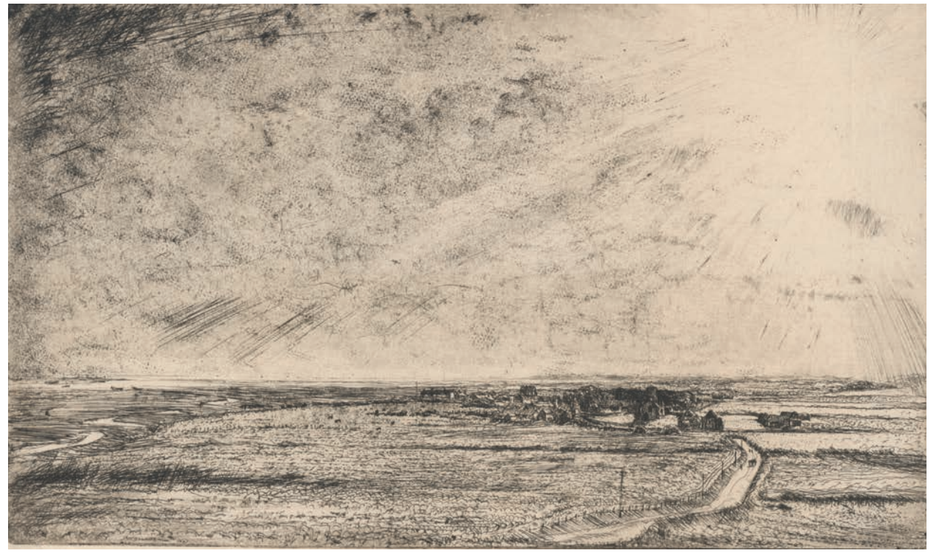


Fig. 5 / Henry James Stuart Brown, *Evening, Morston*, 1927, etching with plate tone, plate 16.2 x 17.2 cm, sheet 20.1 x 29.6 cm, Melbourne, University of Melbourne, Baillieu Library Collection.

Fig. 6 / Henry James Stuart Brown, *Evening, Morston*, 1927, etching with plate tone, plate 16.1 x 27.4 cm, sheet 23 x 33.8 cm, Melbourne, University of Melbourne, Baillieu Library Collection.

In exploring etching's capacity for precise environmental documentation, Brown's methods – from the "scribbled line" to meteorologically calibrated wiping – expanded the medium's descriptive potential while challenging the artificial divide between scientific and artistic observation. In this regard, his work represents both a culmination of the British Etching Revival's ideals and a bridge to later developments in landscape representation.

PHILOSOPHICAL DIMENSIONS: THE SUBLIME, THE BEAUTIFUL, AND ATMOSPHERIC EMBODIMENT

Brown's aesthetic approach invites analysis through theoretical frameworks that illuminate how his technical innovations engaged with philosophical discourses surrounding landscape that were prevalent at the end of the nineteenth century. Employing complementary perspectives – Edmund Burke's concepts of the sublime and beautiful and Henri Bergson's theory of duration – it is possible to reflect on how Brown's etchings employ technical virtuosity to engage profound questions about human relationships with atmospheric phenomena. By "atmospheric embodiment", this article refers to Brown's distinctive fusion of meteorological observation with the artist's physical presence before climatological events, creating works that translate the felt experience of standing within changing weather conditions rather than merely documenting their visual appearance. His etchings capture not just what atmospheric phenomena look like, but how it feels to encounter them directly in the landscape.

Before exploring the philosophical dimension of Brown's work, it is worth reiterating his unique position within the artistic culture of his time. Unlike his professional contemporaries who often relied on patronage and institutional support, Brown was able to pursue his artistic practice independent of market pressures. He came to etching relatively late in life, approaching the medium with the fresh perspective of someone unburdened by established career trajectories. This independence from academic conventions and commercial considerations allowed him to develop a highly personal approach to landscape representation, one characterized by patient observation and technical experimentation rather than adherence to established styles. This freedom also allowed for a personal philosophical engagement with the landscape, pursuing atmospheric effects and environmental concerns that might have seemed commercially unviable to his more professionally constrained peers.

Edmund Burke's concept of the sublime can be seen to inform Brown's engagement with vast atmospheric expanses. Burke's influential treatise *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) established a the notion of the sublime as a personal response to an aesthetic experience of natural phenomena.[18] Brown's fascination with vast horizontal expanses populated by diminutive human figures or structures evokes Burke's theories on the sublime, while simultaneously diverging from them in several ways. While no direct evidence exists of Brown's familiarity with Burke's treatise – neither correspondence nor archival records have been located – the longstanding and widespread influence of Burke's ideas on artistic discourse suggests that Brown would at the least have encountered these concepts through contemporary art criticism and educational contexts.

This connection is particularly evident in works such as *A Fen Landscape*, where towering cumulonimbus formations dominate the composition, dwarfing the human-made structures beneath (see fig. 3). The cloud formations rise massively from the horizon line, creating a dramatic contrast between earth and sky that emphasizes human vulnerability against natural forces. Yet Brown's handling of light – with delicate gradations of tone that reveal rather than obscure the clouds' internal structure – suggests a more contemplative relationship with these powerful natural phenomena.

While Burke's notion of the sublime emphasizes the "power to compel and destroy" and elicits a sense of awe and terror, Brown's interpretation offers a more subdued, contemplative experience. The dramatic contrast between light and dark in the first and second states of the work *Evening, Morston*, achieved through deep biting of the plate and strategic use of plate tone, creates an atmosphere that, rather than overwhelming the viewer, invites quiet reflection (see figs. 5 & 6). The intimate scale of Brown's prints – with their modest platemarks and sheet sizes – further reinforces this contemplative approach, as the physical dimensions preclude the kind of immersive disorientation that larger works might induce. This deliberate choice of scale, practical for field work yet purposeful for viewer reception, ensures that the softly illuminated clouds against darkening skies create a mood of tranquil observation rather than Burkean terror. The prints' modest size transforms what might otherwise be sublime vastness into accessible scale for meditation, inviting close, personal engagement rather than overwhelming spectacle.

This approach aligns more closely with what philosopher Friedrich Schiller – who refined Burke's ideas through a Kantian lens – identifies as the "contemplative sublime": awe tempered by rational understanding.[19] Where Burke identified the viewer's psychological displacement through terror, Schiller recognized a more reflective sublime experience where reason maintains equilibrium with sensory overload. Brown's etchings exemplify this Schillerian refinement, inviting viewers to contemplate vast atmospheric expanses while maintaining a sense of composed observation. His horizon lines, carefully positioned to maximize the sky without inducing vertigo, create what might be called a "habitable sublime", awesome but not alienating.

Beyond considerations of the sublime, Brown's etchings engage profoundly with the temporal dimension of landscape experience. His atmospheric effects capture what philosopher Henri Bergson termed "duration" (*durée*) – the subjective experience of time's passage as a continuous flow rather than a sequence of discrete moments.[20] This is particularly evident in the progressive states of *View of Lochwinnoch*, where Brown renders the transient quality of light not as a frozen instant but as an unfolding process (see figs. 7, 8 & 9).

Sequentially, the different states of *View of Lochwinnoch* materialize Bergson's concept of *durée* through their evolving plate tone and atmospheric effects. Each state represents not merely a technical refinement but a different temporal moment in the landscape's atmospheric life. The modulation of light across these states – from diffused brightness in the early impression to more dramatic contrasts in later ones – suggests continuous flux rather than static

Fig. 7 / Henry James Stuart Brown, *View of Lochwinnoch*, 1913, etching, drypoint with plate tone, plate 18.1 x 24.7 cm, sheet 19.2 x 25.2 cm, Melbourne, University of Melbourne, Baillieu Library Collection.

Fig. 8 / Henry James Stuart Brown, *View of Lochwinnoch*, 1913, etching, drypoint, plate 18.1 x 24.2 cm, sheet 19.1 x 24.5 cm, Melbourne, University of Melbourne, Baillieu Library Collection.

Fig. 9 / Henry James Stuart Brown, *View of Lochwinnoch*, 1913, etching, drypoint, plate 18.2 x 24.6 cm, sheet 19.3 x 25.2 cm, Melbourne, University of Melbourne, Baillieu Library Collection.

representation. What Brown achieves is not simply a series of isolated images but a record of perceptual experience unfolding through time – the visual equivalent of Bergson's insistence that true temporality cannot be divided into discrete units but must be understood as continuous becoming.[21]

This temporal dimension gains significance when considered alongside developments in environmental consciousness during the early twentieth century. Brown's career coincided with what environmental historian Peter Coates identifies as the "growing awareness of anthropogenic landscape transformation", particularly in East Anglia, where drainage and development threatened wetland ecosystems.[22] This growing awareness of environmental change in East Anglia manifested in various forms, from public debates about land use to the rise of conservation societies such as the Society for the Protection of Birds (founded 1889), which responded directly to habitat loss in the region.

The draining of the Fens, for example, transformed vast stretches of wetland into agricultural land, with significant consequences for biodiversity and water management. Brown's etchings, while not explicitly propagandistic, often depict these transitional landscapes, areas where the natural world is being visibly being altered by human intervention. *View of Lochwinnoch*, with its subtle depiction of cultivated fields encroaching upon wilder areas, can be interpreted as a visual meditation on the complex relationship between human progress and environmental preservation (fig. 9). Whistler's documentation of London's industrializing waterfronts, bridges, and neighbourhoods might be viewed as analogous, though Brown's work demonstrates a more socially conscious engagement with environmental transformation. In this way, his work shares concerns with contemporaries like Eric Ravilious, whose interwar landscapes similarly documented the English countryside at a moment of technological and agricultural transformation; however, Brown's atmospheric focus places greater emphasis on the ephemeral qualities that such transformations might erase.

Moreover, Brown's meticulous attention to atmospheric conditions can be seen as a way of preserving a sense of place in a region undergoing rapid transformation. By capturing the unique light and weather patterns of East Anglia – the characteristic flat horizons with dramatic cloud formations, the interplay of land and water, the quality of light reflected from wetlands – Brown's etchings offer a powerful reminder of the environmental values at stake. His focus on these transitional spaces – neither fully cultivated nor pristinely wild – can be understood as documenting landscapes undergoing significant change while preserving their atmospheric qualities through artistic representation.

If Bergson's *durée* captures the temporal dimension of Brown's landscapes, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology reveals their spatial immediacy – the sense of being physically present within the scene.[23] The phenomenological dimension of Brown's work is perhaps most evident in his compositional choices. In *View of Lochwinnoch*, for example, Brown positions the viewer amid foreground vegetation, fostering what philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty might describe as "embodied perception" – an experiential, immersive engagement with the landscape rather than

a purely visual one. Working during the rise of the photographic medium, Brown's approach underscored the unique qualities that printmaking could offer beyond mere documentation, creating atmospheric effects and subjective experiences that the camera could not capture.

This embodied perception operates through his specific technical and compositional strategies. The tactile quality of Brown's etched lines in the foreground vegetation – with their varied pressure, direction, and density – evokes not just visual but haptic sensations. The subtle gradation of spatial depth from immediate foreground through middle-distance to far horizon creates a sense of being physically situated within the landscape rather than observing it from a detached viewpoint. Unlike the classical picturesque tradition that positioned viewers as external spectators, Brown's compositional approach places us within the atmospheric environment itself.

This strategy resonates with contemporary ecocritical theorist Timothy Morton's concept of the "poetics of ambience", where atmospheric conditions take centre stage as the primary subject rather than serving as mere background elements.[24] For Morton, true ecological awareness involves recognizing our immersion within environments rather than viewing them as separate objects of contemplation. Brown's etchings, with their exploration of the surrounding atmospheric medium rather than isolated pictorial objects, contribute to a long artistic tradition from Rembrandt to Turner of foregrounding atmospheric effects, while adding a distinctly regional perspective rooted in his specific environmental concerns and contemporary ecological awareness.

Brown's choice of printmaking over simpler sketching methods suggests a commitment to the medium's reproducibility and potential for sharing his atmospheric observations with broader audiences. Economic independence enabled Brown to pursue the labour-intensive processes of etching as a means of documenting and disseminating his environmental encounters, rather than merely creating unique artistic objects.

Outside of established professional artistic networks, Brown was able to develop an approach to landscape representation that transcends simple pictorial documentation. His etchings demonstrate how technical innovation can serve deeper philosophical engagements with landscape, particularly in commenting on the relationship between humans and atmospheric phenomena during a period of environmental transformation. Brown's etchings allow for a profound meditation on how we experience, comprehend, and value our atmospheric surroundings.

REASSESSING AMATEUR STATUS IN ARTISTIC PRODUCTION

Brown's marginal place within art historical scholarship exposes how canon formation has privileged institutional affiliation over technical mastery. His case reveals the epistemic bias embedded in the amateur/professional dichotomy, a hierarchy that has obscured innovations which emerge from outside academic or commercial frameworks. While the term "amateur" traditionally denotes non-professional practice, Brown's oeuvre complicates this distinction. Trained by Miss Susan Crawford at the University of Glasgow and deeply engaged with Rembrandt, Whistler, and Haden, his technical prowess rivalled that of his professional peers. Crucially, Brown's amateur status should not be conflated with "outsider" practice, as he maintained access to elite fine art education and intellectual resources. Despite being hailed as "one of the best of British landscape etchers", his self-identification as an amateur has perpetuated his peripheral status.[25]

This tension was not lost on contemporaries. Francis Seymour Haden, himself a surgeon-etcher, noted in 1883 that the line between amateur and artist could blur "from mere force of work".[26] Yet as Pierre Bourdieu's "field of cultural production" illustrates, the art world actively constructs value systems that marginalize such ambiguities.[27] Rather than viewing Brown's amateur status as a limitation, as observed, it was precisely this that facilitated his innovations and allowed him to pursue labour-intensive techniques, like multiple states, and complex atmospheric effects that might have had limited appeal in a wider market. His manufacturing background provided practical knowledge of industrial processes while his amateur status granted him intellectual freedom to experiment across disciplinary boundaries, combining artistic practice with meteorological observation. His position enabled Brown to develop what might be called "serious amateur practice", distinguished from hobbyist activity by its technical rigour and scholarly engagement, yet freed from the commercial and institutional constraints that limited professional innovation. Brown's initial institutional recognition – a 1924 exhibition of fifty-six of etchings at Colnaghi & Co., acquired by the British Museum – paradoxically underscores how his amateur label limited subsequent scholarly engagement. The gendered dimensions of this exclusion further illuminate its arbitrariness: while Brown's masculinity afforded him exhibition opportunities, etchers like Ethel Gabain were dismissed as "amateurs" regardless of skill, revealing how categorical distinctions served to police artistic legitimacy.[28]

Brown's privileged position as a white, male, upper-middle-class manufacturer illuminates the broader social hierarchies that governed artistic legitimacy in early twentieth-century Britain. The social structure of the United Kingdom has historically been highly influenced by the concept of class, which continues to affect British society today, and the art world reflected these stratifications with particular intensity. While Brown's amateur status ostensibly positioned him outside professional networks, his access to elite education at the University of Glasgow, financial independence through his family's manufacturing business, and social connections within Scotland's industrial bourgeoisie provided cultural capital unavailable to working-class practitioners or colonial subjects within the British Empire. The very notion of "amateur" practice, pursuing art for personal fulfillment rather than economic necessity, presupposed a level of financial security that excluded vast segments of society. During this period, the British art establishment maintained implicit barriers against practitioners from the empire's colonies, working-class backgrounds, and racial minorities, creating what Bourdieu would later theorize as "distinction" through cultural taste.[29] Brown's case thus reveals how the amateur/professional dichotomy masked deeper structural inequalities: while his technical innovations challenged aesthetic hierarchies, his social position allowed him to navigate institutional gatekeeping mechanisms that remained closed to

artists lacking similar class privilege, gender and racial positioning, or imperial citizenship. This recognition does not diminish Brown's artistic achievements but contextualizes them within the broader exclusionary systems that shaped who could participate in Britain's cultural production and whose innovations received recognition.

CONCLUSION: BROWN'S LEGACY AND CONTEMPORARY RESONANCE

Brown's etchings exemplify a remarkable mastery of atmospheric effects achieved through technical innovation and an intimate engagement with nature. This study has situated his work within the broader contexts of *plein-air* practices, meteorological observation, and amateur artistic production, highlighting his significant yet underappreciated contributions to British printmaking.

Brown's focus on atmospheric phenomena resonates powerfully with contemporary concerns about environmental representation. His sensitive depictions of East Anglian wetlands – now recognized as vital ecosystems – serve not only as historical records but also as models of how artistic practice can foster ecological awareness. The interplay of scientific observation and aesthetic refinement in his etchings anticipates later intersections of art and environmental science, offering a precedent for today's interdisciplinary approaches to landscape.

Reevaluating figures like Brown enriches our understanding of early twentieth-century artistic networks by revealing the fluid boundaries between amateur and professional practice. His connections with figures such as Harold J. Wright and his participation in exhibitions alongside celebrated contemporaries demonstrate how cultural capital could accrue through alternative pathways, as evidenced by Brown's acceptance into certain levels of artistic and social recognition. While the amateur/professional dichotomy undoubtedly contributed to Brown's later peripheral status, his exclusion from art historical canons also reflects the entrenched hierarchical positioning of printmaking as subordinate to the media of painting and sculpture within traditional academic frameworks. Moreover, the twentieth century's privileging of abstract experimentation over naturalistic observation in dominant art historical narratives further marginalized practitioners whose work, like Brown's, remained rooted in empirical engagement with landscape phenomena. Brown's legacy suggests the potential value of looking beyond traditional hierarchies of artistic legitimacy to uncover previously overlooked innovations and practitioners.

Ultimately, Brown's etchings demonstrate how artistic innovation can emerge from deep, sustained engagement with the natural world, irrespective of professional designation. In an era of environmental crisis, his work gains new urgency – not only as a historical corrective but as an inspiration for rethinking humanity's relationship to atmosphere and place. By attuning viewers to the ephemeral and the everyday, Brown's art suggests how creativity might document, interpret, and even intervene in our changing world.

NOTES

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2. Kenneth Guichard, *British Etchers, 1850-1940* (London: Robin Garton, 1977), pp. 7-30.
3. Walker "Etchings of Henry James Stuart Brown," p. 364.
4. Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes, *Éléments de perspective pratique* (Paris: 1800), p. 89.
5. Valenciennes, *Éléments de perspective pratique*, p. 89.
6. Auguste Comte, *Cours de philosophie positive*, vol. 1 (Paris: Bachelier, 1830), p. 22.
7. Francis Seymour Haden, *About Etching* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1879), pp. 23-25.
8. Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler* (London: William Heinemann, 1908), p. 201.
9. Katharine A. Lochnan, *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 223.
10. Walker, "Etchings of Henry James Stuart Brown," p. 368.
11. Emma Chambers, *An Indolent and Blundering Art?: The Etching Revival and the Redefinition of Etching in England* (London: Routledge, 2018).
12. Walker, "Etchings of Henry James Stuart Brown," p. 368.
13. Malcolm C. Salaman, *The Graphic Arts of Great Britain: Drawing, Line-Engraving, Etching, Mezzotint, Aquatint, Lithography, Wood-Engraving, Colour-Printing*, ed. Charles Holme (London: The Studio Ltd., 1909), p. 8.
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15. John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 1 (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1856), p. 78.
16. Clive Bell, *Since Cézanne* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1922), p. 134.
17. C. K. M. Douglas, "Clouds as seen from an Aeroplane," *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society* 46 (1920): pp. 233-242.
18. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: 1757), p. 56.
19. Friedrich Schiller, *Of the Sublime, in Essays*, ed. Walter Hinderer (New York: Continuum, 1993), pp. 22-45.
20. Henri Bergson, *Time and Free Will*, trans. F. L. Pogson (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1910), p. 73.
21. Bergson, *Time and Free Will,* p. 309.
22. Peter Coates, *Nature: Western Attitudes Since Ancient Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 77-78.
23. Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Phenomenology of Perception* (Paris: Gallimard, 1945), pp. 70-85.
24. Timothy Morton, *Ecology Without Nature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 32.
25. Guichard, *British Etchers*, p. 45.
26. Francis Seymour Haden, *The Relative Claims of Etching and Engraving* (London: 1879), p. 24.
27. Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*, p. 78.
28. Joseph Darracott, *The Art of Ethel Gabain: A Catalogue Raisonné* (London: Scholar Press, 1980), p. 33.
29. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 6.

Fig. 1 / W. & D. Downey, *Portrait of (William) Martin Conway, 1st Baron Conway of Allington*, published by Cassell & Company, 1893, carbon print, London, National Gallery.

What ever happened to Giorgione's Paris?

JAYNIE ANDERSON AND JANE E. BROWN

Many optimistic attributions are made to young artists, assuming that their early works are of a lesser quality than their later ones. Our article analyzes several presumed early works by Giorgione, all depicting the infant Paris, that emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century in the collections of Lord Conway of Allington (1856-1937) and Frank Jewett Mather (1868-1953) of Princeton. It is prompted by Jane Brown's discovery of correspondence about Giorgione in the Visual Cultures Resource Centre at the University of Melbourne, between Conway (fig. 1), Mather (see fig. 2), and other experts. The documentary evidence comes from Lord Conway's archive, which was sold from the Courtauld Institute under the directorship of Anthony Blunt to Joseph Burke, Herald Professor in Fine Arts at Melbourne University in 1959.[1] The sale was negotiated by Franz Philipp – a legendary lecturer in Renaissance art at Melbourne and pupil of Julius Von Schlosser – who was able to recognize the collection as of "inestimable value".

CONWAY AND PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVES

Lord Conway held professorships in different universities, most memorably the Slade visiting professorship for four years in Cambridge (1901-1904), and was a trustee of important London museums. As the author of Conway's obituary in *The Times* recognized, he had two great passions, which he pursued equally successfully: mountaineering and art.[2] His principal expertise was in the northern Renaissance, and he published numerous books in that field, notably *Woodcutters of the Netherlands* (1854) and a lengthy study of Dürer's writings, *Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer* (1889). Sometimes his interests intersected, as when he attempted to justify a Giorgione attribution by geographical comparisons obtained on car journeys through the Veneto, comparisons which he described in words but did not illustrate. Among Conway's greatest legacies, however, was his recognition of the importance of photographic collections, and he duly donated his own to the Courtauld in 1932. The Melbourne archive has many of the same photographs, but with the added value of annotations and related correspondence. Although Margaret Manion (Herald Chair Professor of Fine Arts at Melbourne from 1979-1995), erroneously claimed that the archive was given to the University as it contained only duplicates, the Conway reproductions are often earlier, nineteenth-century versions of those held by the Courtauld.

In 1911 Conway tried to persuade Frank Jewett Mather (Professor of Art and Archaeology at Princeton 1910-1933, and Director of Historic Art for the future Princeton Art Museum 1922-1946) to create a similar photographic collection for his University: "You should make Princeton start an organised chronological collection of art – no other arrangement is of the least value.

Fig. 2 / Pirie MacDonald, *Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.*, photograph 22.5 x 15 cm, mount 35.4 x 27.9 cm, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Art Museum.

When you come over here come and see 100,000, properly arranged photographs – ten years work".[3] Nothing came of the idea. As early as 1901, well before André Malraux's famous essay *Le musée imaginaire* (1947), Conway envisaged a museum of photographs: "It [the museum of photographs] would bring together as complete a series as possible of all kinds of artists in ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, China, Peru – in fact of every country where Art ever existed and enshrined the idea of human aspiration."[4]

The Melbourne archive resembles Bernard Berenson's *fototeca* at I Tatti which contains much about the critical reception of works of art as they came onto the art market. Some of this correspondence between Conway and Mather is reproduced in the Appendix and contains some surprises. As with Conway's Allington panels that he hoped were by Giorgione (figs. 3 & 4), comparisons can be made using various institutional collections of photographic reproductions. The University of Melbourne holds an early photograph of Mather's *Infant Paris Abandoned on Mount Ida* (fig. 5), which he had sent to Conway. The uncropped photograph shows the outer edge of the panel and damage on the left side (fig. 6). It also shows the imprint of a wedge in the upper centre of the painting mentioned in the correspondence.[5] Indeed, in a letter to Conway of 22 March 1926, Mather remarked on "the difficulty of establishing the attribution from a damaged painting badly photographed", but both he and Conway believed the attribution.

Fig. 3 / *Finding of Paris*, photograph by Ira W. Martin from William Gray photograph lent by Sir Martin Conway, December 1926, New York, Frick Art Reference Library.

Fig. 4 / *Paris Given to Nurse*, photograph by Ira W. Martin from William Gray photograph lent by Sir Martin Conway, December 1926, New York, Frick Art Reference Library.

Fig. 5 / Circle of Giogione, *Infant Paris Abandoned on Mount Ida*, ca. 1510, oil on wood panel, 38 x 57 cm, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Art Museum.

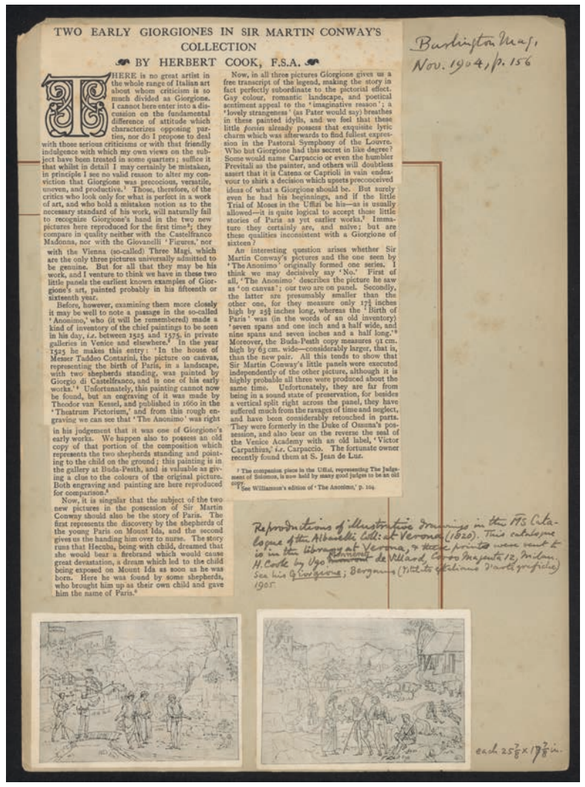
Fig. 6 / Unknown photographer, silver gelatin photograph after *Infant Paris Abandoned on Mount Ida*, ca. 1510, by unknown Venetian artist, sent from Mather to Conway, 1926, Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection.

THE CONWAY ALLINGTON "GIORGIONES"

In the summer of 1903 Conway acquired his two little panels in an antiques shop in Saint- Jean-de-Luz for eight pounds, while on holiday in France. Then Slade Professor at Cambridge, Conway pronounced them to be by Giorgione, seemingly on his own authority. After Conway purchased them, the panels, *The Discovery of the Infant Paris* and *Paris Given to Nurse*, were first published by Herbert Cook in the *Burlington Magazine* in 1904 (fig. 7).[6] In a letter (Appendix, Letter 1) from 1911, Conway described Cook to Mather as "the best man for out of the way pictures as he is always on the wander and hunt, whilst I never stir from home".

The Melbourne archive has a cut-out of Cook's article, with annotations and line engravings pasted in (see fig. 8), which had been sent to Conway by Ugo Monneret de Villard (1881-1954), the author of an early monograph on Giorgione in which the paintings were published prior to Conway's purchase.

Fig. 7 / *Finding of Paris* and *Paris Given to Nurse*, two panels printed in reverse from Herbert Cook's "Two early Giorgiones in Sir Martin Conway's collection," *Burlington Magazine* (November 1904): p. 156, cut and pasted on card by Conway, Melbourne, University of Melbourne, Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection.



TWO EARLY GIORGIONES IN SIR MARTIN CONWAY'S COLLECTION

BY HERBERT COOK, F.S.A.

Burlington Mag., Nov. 1904, p. 156

THERE is no great artist in the whole range of Italian art about whom criticism is so much divided as Giorgione. I cannot here enter into a discussion on the fundamental difference of attitude which characterizes opposing writers, nor do I propose to deal with those serious criticisms or with that friendly indulgence with which my own views on the subject have been treated in some quarters; suffice it that whilst in detail I may certainly be mistaken, in principle I see no valid reason to alter my conviction that Giorgione was precocious, versatile, unoven, and productive.[1] Those, therefore, of the critics who look only for what is perfect in a work of art, and who hold a mistaken notion as to the necessary standard of his work, will naturally fail to recognize Giorgione's hand in the two new pictures here reproduced for the first time[2]; they compare in quality neither with the Castelfranco Madonna, nor with the Giovanelli 'Ficuera,' nor with the Vienna (so-called) Three Magi, which are the only three pictures universally admitted to be genuine. But for all that they may be his work, and I venture to think we have in these two little panels the earliest known examples of Giorgione's art, painted probably in his fifteenth or sixteenth year.

Before, however, examining them more closely it may be well to note a passage in the so-called 'Anonimo,' who (it will be remembered) made a kind of inventory of the chief paintings to be seen in his day, *i.e.* between 1525 and 1375, in private galleries in Venice and elsewhere.[3] In the year 1525 he makes this entry: 'In the house of Messer Taddeo Contarini, the picture on canvas, representing the birth of Paris, in a landscape, with two shepherds standing, was painted by Giorgio di Castelfranco, and is one of his early works.' Unfortunately, this painting cannot now be found, but an engraving of it was made by Theodor van Kessel, and published in 1660 in the 'Theatrum Pictorium,' and from this rough engraving we can see that 'The Anonimo' was right in his judgement that it was one of Giorgione's early works. We happen also to possess an old copy of that portion of the composition which represents the two shepherds standing and pointing to the child on the ground; this painting is in the gallery at Buda-Pesth, and is valuable as giving a clue to the colours of the original picture. Both engraving and painting are here reproduced for comparison.[4]

Now, it is singular that the subject of the two new pictures in the possession of Sir Martin Conway should also be the story of Paris. The first represents the discovery by the shepherds of the young Paris on Mount Ida, and the second gives us the handing him over to nurse. The story runs that Hecuba, being with child, dreamed that she would bear a firebrand which would cause great devastation, a dream which led to the child being exposed on Mount Ida as soon as he was born. Here he was found by some shepherds, who brought him up as their own child and gave him the name of Paris.[5]

Now, in all three pictures Giorgione gives us a free transcript of the legend, making the story in fact perfectly subordinate to the pictorial effect. Gay colour, romantic landscape, and poetical sentiment appeal to the 'imaginative reason'; a 'lovely strangeness' (as Pater would say) breathes in these painted idylls, and we feel that these little *poesies* already possess that exquisite lyric charm which was afterwards to find fullest expression in the Pastoral Symphony of the Louvre. Who but Giorgione had this secret in his degree? Some would name Carpaccio or even the humbler Previtali as the painter, and others will doubtless assert that it is Catena or Caprioli in vain endeavour to shirk a decision which upsets preconceived ideas of what a Giorgione should be. But surely even he had his beginnings, and if the little Trial of Moses in the Uffizi be his—as is usually allowed—it is quite logical to accept those little stories of Paris as yet earlier works.[6] Immature they certainly are, and naïve; but are those qualities inconsistent with a Giorgione of sixteen?

An interesting question arises whether Sir Martin Conway's pictures and the one seen by 'The Anonimo' originally formed one series. I think we may decisively say 'No.' First of all, 'The Anonimo' describes the picture he saw as 'on canvas'; our two are on panel. Secondly, the latter are presumably smaller than the other one, for they measure only 17½ inches high by 25¾ inches long, whereas the 'Birth of Paris' was (in the words of an old inventory) 'seven spans and one inch and a half wide, and nine spans and seven inches and a half long.' Moreover, the Buda-Pesth copy measures 91 cm. high by 63 cm. wide—considerably larger, that is, than the new pair. All this tends to show that Sir Martin Conway's little panels were executed independently of the other picture, although it is highly probable all three were produced about the same time. Unfortunately, they are far from being in a sound state of preservation, for besides a vertical split right across the panel, they have suffered much from the ravages of time and neglect, and have been considerably retouched in parts. They were formerly in the Duke of Ossuna's possession, and also bear on the reverse the seal of the Venice Academy with an old label, 'Victor Carpathius, &c. Carpaccio. The fortunate owner recently found them at S. Jean de Luz.

[1] The companion piece in the Uffizi, representing The Judgment of Solomon, is now held by many good judges to be an old copy.

[2] See Williamson's edition of 'The Anonimo,' p. 104.

Reproductions of illustrative drawings in the MS Catalogue of the Albarelli Collection at Verona (1820). This valuable MS is in the Library at Verona, & which, previous to 1820, was in the possession of de Villard, Corso Magenta 12, Milan. H. Cook in the Commercial Museum, Bergamo (Title to Albarelli Drawings); Bergamo (Title to Albarelli Drawings); Bergamo (Title to Albarelli Drawings); 1905

end 25¾ x 17½ in.

Fig. 8 / Herbert Cook, "Two Early Giorgiones in Sir Martin Conway's collection," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* (November 1904): p. 156, article with annotations and line engravings pasted on card, Melbourne, University of Melbourne, Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection.

These line engravings were the earliest reproductions of Conway's panels, made for a manuscript catalogue of the Albarelli Collection in Verona. In Villard's monograph on Giorgione, they are described as drawings after "lost" paintings by Giorgione.[7] Cook unreservedly believed the attribution, although he had reservations about their condition, especially *The Discovery of the Infant Paris by the Shepherds on Mount Ida*, writing: "they are far from being in a sound state of preservation, for besides a vertical split right across the panel, they have suffered much from the ravages of time and neglect and have been considerably retouched".[8] Roger Fry then conducted a "band aid restoration", though Fry made it clear he did not believe the attribution. Any qualification about attribution was ignored, and the pictures were exhibited at Burlington House in 1912, in the *Exhibition of Pictures of the Early Venetian School and other Works of Art*. Conway had them restored and tried unsuccessfully in 1915 to sell his collection to Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919) and later to Joseph Duveen (1869-1939).[9] Eventually he wrote, with varying success, to a number of art historians outside his circle to endorse the attribution, including Wilhelm von Bode, Osvaldo Sirén, and Lionello Venturi.

Conway and Mather each hoped their works were versions of a lost composition by Giorgione about the youth of Paris. Each collector hoped that the other would authenticate the work they owned. Their letters are reproduced in the Appendix with other correspondence about Giorgione from experts in Italian Renaissance art. They were aware of Marcantonio Michiel's description of a lost canvas by Giorgione, one of his first works, *The Birth of Paris*, made for his patrician patron Taddeo Contarini[10] and

Fig. 9 / David Teniers the Younger, *The Birth of Paris*, 1656, oil on panel, 21 x 30.5 cm, Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium.

Fig. 10 / Unknown photographer, carbon photograph after David Teniers the Younger, *The Birth of Paris*, photograph sent to Conway from Charles Loeser, ca. 1925-1927, Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection.

Fig. 11 / Conway's cutout of Albrecht Dürer, *Christ Child*, Florence, Uffizi Museum, seen here in reverse and compared to the abandoned infant Paris from *Finding of Paris*, Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre.

recorded in a painted copy by David Teniers (fig. 9), then in the collection of Charles Loeser, an American collector and friend of Bernard Berenson, in Florence.[11] The Teniers copy was first photographed by Loeser for Conway's project (fig. 10). It is now in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Brussels. Oral tradition suggests that the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria gave her careless daughters works by Giorgione as wedding presents, and their paintings, like the *Birth of Paris*, have since been lost in their European castles. A fragment of two figures from the *Birth of Paris*, a sixteenth-century variant, exists in Budapest.[12]

Conway believed that the *Finding of Paris* could be dated to 1494, in part because he thought the artist had borrowed a motif from a well-known sheet of drawings by Albrecht Dürer, now in the Uffizi, datable to Dürer's first visit to Italy between the autumn of 1494 and the spring of 1495.[13] The Christ child in Dürer's drawing is very similar to the infant Paris, but borrowed in reverse (fig. 11). Conway did not speculate on how Giorgione might have known Dürer's work. It was, however, a motif that Dürer copied from an altarpiece by Lorenzo da Credi, known in many versions, but none so precisely similar that the borrowing might be explained. The new biography that is emerging for Giorgione, following the discovery of an inscription about the artist in an incunabulum in Sydney and the work of scholars in the Veneto, would make Giorgione twenty years old in 1494, and locate him in Venice.[14] A meeting between Giorgione and Dürer, when they were both unknown young artists, is possible but undocumented. In our view, the comparison is not so close as to justify the assertion that the artist of Conway's panels copied Dürer.

In Conway's memoir, *The Sport of Collecting* (1914),[15] which is dedicated to Wilhelm von Bode and deserves to be better known, there is an entire chapter entitled "A Find of Giorgiones", where he describes in dramatic detail his discovery of the panels; Conway's later typewritten accounts are in the Melbourne archive. Conway was an admirer of the accomplished connoisseurs Giovanni Morelli and Gustavo Frizzoni, whom he met in Milan in May 1887 and who together inspired him to become a collector.[16] Morelli sought to persuade the British to buy Lombard paintings, in order to make the art of the northern Italian Renaissance better known, and he influenced Conway's taste for artists like Lotto and Foppa. Earlier, Morelli had persuaded Sir Charles Eastlake, Director of the National Gallery in London, to buy the Della Torre portrait by Lotto. After a lengthy search, Conway acquired Foppa's *Virgin and Child in a Landscape*, which was proven to be authentic in a restoration by Luigi Cavenaghi and is now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art; he also owned the Giorgionesque Lotto, *Allegory of Chastity*, now in the National Gallery, Washington. On some of the photographs there are annotations in pencil where Conway records his friends' attributions. A case in point is a panel painting of Apollo and Daphne from a marriage chest, now in the Seminario, next to Santa Maria della Salute, Venice. Conway has written: "Morelli says Giorgione. C[rowe] + C[avacaselle]. Schiavone" (fig. 12). The attribution of this panel is still controversial.

Conway's panels were shown in 1912 at the exhibition of *The Early Venetian School* at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London,[17] one of a series of exhibitions on Italian art, arranged by a society of collectors and connoisseurs responsible for the display of works from friends' collections, without the intervention of public galleries.[18] The exhibition provides a window into connoisseurship in early twentieth-century England, practised by a patrician club of celebrated English collectors, and very occasionally Europeans like Morelli and Bode.[19] The Venetian exhibition was highly innovative as it was the first attempt to define Giorgione's earliest works. Since then, they have never been shown together in this grouping. An important section concentrated on the works of Giovanni Bellini and his pupil Giorgione, and included the Benson *Holy Family* and the Allendale *Adoration* (both now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington). Also included was a red chalk drawing of an older man, originally from Filippo Baldinucci's collection, from Christ Church, Oxford, perhaps an early idea for Giorgione's Saint Joseph in the Holy Family.[20] At the same exhibition there were other paintings that Roger Fry described as showing that "the habit of giving to Giorgione almost any agreeable Giorgionesque work is still common, and more than one picture bore his name at this exhibition without as I think any sufficient justification".[21]

Fry was referring to other pictures, such as those owned by Robert and Evelyn Benson: one representing *Pan and a Nymph*; and another entitled *The Lovers and the Pilgrim*. The latter is a strange iconographic puzzle that had been in the collection of Sir William Neville Abdy, where it was believed to represent "*Pandolfo Malatesta and his mistress receiving the Papal Legate*".[22] Both could be classified by that vague term "Giorgionesque". A further drawing from Christ Church, of a young patrician conversing with two peasants by a lake in a mountainous landscape, was also presented as by Giorgione.[23]

Fig. 12 / Letterpress halftone by Verlagsanstalt F. Bruckmann AG of Munich with pencil annotations by Conway, after *Apollo and Daphne*, panel painting from a marriage chest (now in Venice, the Seminario, next to Santa Maria della Salute), Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection.

Fig. 13 / Titian, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, oil on canvas, 39 x 53 cm, Bergamo, Accademia Carrara, Lochis Collection.

After 1912, a second restoration of Conway's panels was undertaken in Milan, by Luigi Cavenaghi, who had in conservation at the same time a painting of *Orpheus and Eurydice,* also traditionally attributed to Giorgione, from the Lochis Collection, in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo (fig. 13). According to Conway, Cavenaghi endorsed Conway's attribution of the panels in the strongest terms:

> This panel, out of its frame, was standing on an easel and faced us as we entered. Of course, one of the first questions I asked was whether Cavenaghi was satisfied that our pictures were by Giorgione. He replied, 'Undoubtedly,' and, taking up one of them and the Bergamo picture, he placed them close together upon a single easel, remarking, 'You see, either of those might be a piece cut out of the other,' so absolutely did they agree in colour scheme, in forms, in construction, and in all the elements that unite to make a picture. It would not be possible for anyone in presence of the two, thus displayed together before him, side by side, without frames, and under the same illumination, to doubt for one instant that both had been painted about the same time by the same artist, using the same colours, similarly mixed and employed.[24]

The Bergamo panel depicts the fable of Orpheus in a Venetian sunset landscape of exquisite quality with rugged rocks, lush with bushes, grass, and flowers, reminiscent of Giorgione's *Tramonto* in the National Gallery, London. Eurydice is fatally bitten by an unusual serpent in the left foreground, which condemns her to hell. On the right, Orpheus strides away from the underworld, having secured Eurydice's release, on condition that he not look back at her as they walk away from the underworld. Failing to hear her steps following him, Orpheus turns around, only to lose her forever. The lovers are portrayed as two agitated figures leaving the entrance to hell. In another, now lost painting (later engraved by Teniers), Giorgione imagined himself as Orpheus in a self-portrait, at that same dramatic moment of loss. In the nineteenth century, when the landscape was in the collection of Count Guglielmo Lochis, it was described as by Giorgione in the catalogues of 1846 and 1858.[25] Antonio Morassi suggested the attribution to the young Titian in his 1930 monograph, while at the same time appreciating the Giorgionesque quality of the painting.[26]

The records of the Accademia Carrara do not mention Cavenaghi's restoration of the Orpheus panel, though they do record some others: Giuseppe Fumagalli in 1867, and Mauro Pellicioli in 1932. Looking at the three panels together, it is hard to believe that anyone could have thought they were by the same hand. The style is so very different. The author of *The Times* obituary defined Conway as a man of "amusing obstinacy" with "an indifference to the evidence of the eye", who refused to change his mind about the attribution of the Wilton Diptych, insisting that it was English. The same could be said about his Giorgione panels. Was Conway easily duped by his determination to own a Giorgione? Can Cavenaghi have really believed they were all by Giorgione?

Following the outbreak of World War I, in 1915 Conway proposed to sell fifteen Italian "primitives" to Henry Clay Frick, for the sum of $250,000, the most important works being the Giorgiones.[27]

The offer was refused. He later tried to sell the pictures via Duveen but failed. That Duveen understood Giorgione is demonstrated by his endorsement of the Allendale *Adoration*, unlike Berenson.[28] Conway's paintings were exhibited in New York in January 1927 and garnered extensive press coverage.[29] The Duveen archives reveal that on 15 February 1927, Conway was concerned that his panel paintings were flaking, and he agreed to send them to an expert restorer at Duveen's in Paris.[30] Conway then considered having the panels transferred to canvas, but clearly that did not happen. On 4 December 1928, Duveen recorded that Professor Arthur Pillans Laurie (1861-1949), the foremost expert on the scientific evaluation of painting, travelled from Paris to London to X-ray the pictures and wrote a now lost report that included a sketch. This was an early use of X-radiography to examine a Renaissance painting, but unfortunately to date we have not found this material.[31] It may be that Conway destroyed the report.

Subsequently Conway wrote a short monograph: *Giorgione: A new Study on his Work as a Landscape Painter* (1929), with the signature frontispiece being Mather's Princeton landscape, *The Discovery of the Infant Paris on Mount Ida* (see fig. 5). He did not mention Laurie's investigations, and the panels were sold by his descendants at auction in 1951.[32]

MATHER'S "GIORGIONE" AND THE CONNOISSEURS

In 1916 Mather began a correspondence with Lord Duveen. The first mention of his painting, which he believed to be by Giorgione, is in Duveen's letter of 26 March 1928. Duveen replied: "I have just received a letter from my friend, Sir Martin Conway of London, enclosing a photograph of what he says he believes may well be really an early Giorgione. He says it is in the Princeton University Gallery, and he would feel very much obliged if I would procure a really good photograph of it."[33] Duveen was not tempted to acquire any of these paintings for his stock.

Much of Mather's collection, including the Giorgione, was given to the museum during his lifetime. Mather was an ambitious writer, attempting a quirky survey of Renaissance art (*A History of Italian Painting*, 1923), dedicated to Bernard Berenson. He was most successful as a journalist, and to this day the College Art Association gives an award for journalism in his name.

Mather wrote some short stories about collecting, amassed in a volume called *The Collectors being Cases mostly under the Ninth and Tenth Commandments* (1912), including "The del Puente Giorgione", a story about an early work by the artist rumoured to be of great beauty but always mysteriously out of sight. It was said to be unfinished, first in the possession of the art critic, Mantovani, who bequeathed it to the Marquesa del Puente; both were said to be fictional personalities, but in fact Mantovani was based on Morelli, while the Marchesa del Puente was a caricature of Donna Laura Minghetti, née Acton. Berenson was personified by Anitchkoff. In his preface Mather acknowledged:

> Many readers will note the similarity between the story *The del Puente Giorgione* and Paul Bourget's brilliant novelette, *La Dame qui a perdu son Peintre*. My story was written in the winter of 1907, and it was not until the summer of 1911 that M. Bourget's delightful tale came under my eye. Clearly the same incident has served us both as raw material, and the noteworthy differences between the two versions should sufficiently advise the reader how little either is to be taken as a literal record of facts or estimate of personalities.

The incident to which Mather refers was the real story of a painting that Giovanni Morelli had bequeathed in his will to a woman he loved, Donna Laura Minghetti. He did so on the assumption that Donna Laura would be able to sell it without difficulty even though it could never have had anything to do with Leonardo da Vinci. Donna Laura sold it to Bernard Berenson in a darkened room. Mesmerized by Donna Laura's flamboyant beauty and amorous relationship with Morelli, Berenson was duped.[34] The painting is from time to time offered to American museums in the hope that they might be deceived, but so far no one has ever followed Berenson. The characterizations of Morelli, Donna Laura, and Berenson reveal that Mather knew them well.

In his editorial for the January 1926 issue of *The Burlington Magazine*, Herbert Cook defended the attribution of the Allington panels to Giorgione, summarizing the results of the restorations and exhibitions.[35] Conway then took advantage of the article to send it to European experts on Giorgione.

Lionello Venturi, the foremost Italian expert on Giorgione, was in London staying at the Savoy and he replied briefly and wittily in no uncertain terms:

> My judgment is based primarily on internal evidence, that is, on comparison with works that Marcantonio Michiel judged to be paintings by Giorgione... I know that in London they say that I am Giorgione's enemy, but I do not believe that to be Giorgione's friend, one must give him paintings that are not of the first order.[36]

Conway received a more positive reply on 15 October 1925 (Appendix, Letter 2), from Wilhelm von Bode, aged eighty, who was in an extremely grumpy mood about how the Berlin museums were being reorganized. Bode found the attribution of the Allington panels "enticingly convincing". He took the opportunity to boast about his previous record in relation to Giorgione, and to berate Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933), the Minister for Culture in Prussia from 1925-1930, who since 1924 had proposed new installations in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum and other departments of which Bode disapproved: "Our very peculiar minister does me the favour of still keeping me here, just so I see him destruct our museums under my eyes!" The new design of the *Museumsinsel* was challenging for everyone. The Bode letter that brags about his past is a mendacious construct and deeply revealing about his character.

The two Allington panels are now inaccessible. They were last shown publicly as the earliest works by Giorgione, described as *Paris Given to a Wetnurse* and *The Finding of Paris,* in an exhibition curated by Pietro Zampetti, *Giorgione e i Giorgioneschi*, in Venice in 1955.[37] They were then in the collection of Count Paolo Gerli, Milan, and are said to have remained in the Gerli family. They have never been photographed in colour and are not known to have been examined in a modern conservation laboratory after Laurie.

No Princeton catalogue gives a provenance for Mather's panel, but in his monograph on Giorgione, George Martin Richter, who knew Mather well, mentions the famous Broadway playwright Clyde Fitch.[38] The sale of Fitch's collection, which postdates Mather's acquisition, reveals Fitch to have been a collector of expensive decorative art objects, rather than paintings: *Catalogue of the Valuable Art Property, Antiques, Curious and Artistic Objects of Utility removed from the residence of the Noted Playwright*, sold by the American Art Association, Madison Square, New York, 1918.

Fig. 14 / Attributed to Giorgione, *The Hourglass*, eighteenth century or earlier, oil on wood panel, 11.43 x 19.36 cm, Washington, DC, Phillips Collection.

Fig. 15 / Unknown photographer, silver gelatin photograph after Giogrione (attributed), *The Hourglass*, photograph sent to Conway by Julia Eva Vajkai of Budapest, Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre.

Conway included Mather's painting in the Burlington winter exhibition of 1928. He had previously only glimpsed it in a dingy photograph (see fig. 6). In his letter of 17 July 1929 (Appendix, Letter 5), Mather described to Conway a seventeenth-century Querini seal on the reverse of his painting, which is no longer visible.

Mather had reviewed Richter's monograph on Giorgione in a way that annoyed the author, who replied questioning the authenticity of the Princeton painting, in a rather angry exchange in the *Art Bulletin* for 1938.[39] At the end of his review, Richter mentions the little Paris in Mather's collection and surmises that:

> I would not have suggested a shortening of the picture on the left if I had noticed that a wedge of wood had been let into the top of the panel at the centre. If the inference that the panel has not been cut is correct, then the question of attribution will have to be reconsidered. It is unbelievable, that a master of about 1500 should have painted the child Paris lying alone and forsaken in the wilderness of the mountains and placed, moreover, in the corner of the picture. But could it not be possible that the wedge was inserted after the picture had been cut?[40]

THE CIRCULATION OF "GIORGIONESQUE" WORKS THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHS AND EARLY PHOTOGRAP"HIC RECORDS OF THE ALLINGTON "GIORGIONES"

On 13 June 1928, Conway received a letter and photograph from Budapest. Julia Eva Vajkai was seeking advice on a painting thought to be by Giorgione. The work, now known as *The Hourglass*, hangs in the Phillips Collection, Washington, DC (figs. 14 & 15).[41] We see this repeated throughout the Conway archive – requests for photographic copies of artworks and the global circulation of photographic images between Conway, art dealers, and collectors. Conway was the author of several articles on the painter and by 1929 had published his book on Giorgione. Conway had previously seen *The Hourglass* firsthand, but much of his connoisseurship was reliant on photographic evidence, which could be compromised. At times, photographs could be retouched, as when Morelli famously asked Cavenaghi to retouch the photographs of paintings in the late editions of his works.

The biggest surprise in the archive is a letter to Conway from a British restorer, William Drown (Appendix, Letter 7),[42] then staying at Barrow Court Farmhouse, a former Benedictine nunnery, at Barrow Guernay, Somerset; it is dated 15 May but without a year. Presumably it was written after 1929, when Conway's book on Giorgione – mentioned in the letter – was published. The Drown family were active in picture restoration over four generations, and the eldest son always took the name William (see fig. 16). Drown sent Conway a photograph of the large "Giorgionesque" painting he had of Venus and Cupid in a landscape, that he may have hoped Conway would identify as a Giorgione, or perhaps acquire.[43] We have not found the photograph in the archive but suggest it is a version of Palma Vecchio's *Venus and Cupid*, of which there are many variants. We considered that it might be the version in the Norton Simon Museum (fig. 17), as the description of the red-haired Venus is unusual if not unique. But in correspondence with

Fig. 16. *Present Managers of the Business – Centre W.H.J. Drown – Left F.E. Drown – Right D.R. Drown – Background W.J. Drown*, from "On restoring a picture," *New Era Illustrated* (August 1926).

Sir Nicholas Penny, who is writing a catalogue of the Norton Simon Collection, he suggests it was one of the variants of the Fitzwilliam painting (fig. 18). Yet none of the provenances of extant versions of the Fitzwilliam Venus suggest it might have been for sale at the time of the Drown letter. The unwritten histories may later reveal an occasion when one of Palma's Venuses was worked on by Drown while in a private collection, but to date we have found no evidence.

The first record of the provenance of the Norton Simon painting is in a sale of May 1911 to the dealer Sir George Donaldson (1845-1925). Donaldson specialized in sixteenth-century Venetian Renaissance paintings and musical instruments. *The Times* Obituary, 20 March 1925, mentions that he possessed Titian's *chitarra*, among other treasures. Little is known about how Donaldson sourced his remarkable Venetian pictures.

Philip Rylands identified the Norton Simon *Venus* as an unfinished work listed in Palma's studio after his death.[44] The painting has an unusually complex restoration history, not yet fully published. Rylands discussed the fact that Palma's painting was "finished" by a northern artist at the end of the sixteenth century. In 1977 it was restored by Lucilla Kingsbury, who found that the Cupid had been overpainted, and the landscape considerably altered.[45] If we compare Drown's description of Venus and Cupid with the actual painting, we see now that Cupid does not wear the crimson sash that Drown described and that the interpretation of the landscape as a bridge and a mill may not be accurate. The temptation to finish a painting proved irresistible to many a later restorer. As a result, unfinished pictures are often the most misunderstood.

It is unknown what Conway replied to Drown. Throughout the Conway correspondence there is a concern with "Giorgionesque" pictures of pastoral subjects which were coming on the market with unsatisfactory attributions, a phenomenon which persists to this day. It is a long time since Lionello Venturi wrote his classic study of Giorgione and *Giorgionismo* in 1913. A new definition of Giorgione's influence is long overdue.

By carefully looking at the photographic records related to Conway's Allington Giorgiones and Mather's *Infant Paris Abandoned on Mount Ida*, we can start to piece together a timeline for the documentation and restoration of the paintings. The earliest photographic record of the Allington Giorgiones was by the photographer William Edward Gray, active from 1896 to 1908. Gray had a studio at 92 Queen's

Fig. 17 / Jacopo Palma il Vecchio, *Venus and Cupid in a Landscape*, ca. 1515, oil on canvas, 88.9 x 167 cm, Pasadena, California, Norton Simon Art Foundation.

Fig. 18 / Jacopo Palma il Vecchio, *Venus and Cupid*, ca. 1523-1524, oil on canvas, 118.1 x 208.9 cm, Cambridge, The Fitzwilliam Museum.

Road, Bayswater, London, and Conway used Gray's studio regularly – many photographs in the Melbourne collection bear Gray's familiar purple stamp on the verso of the print. Conway purchased the panels in 1903, and Gray's business activities ceased in 1908. We can therefore reasonably assume these are the earliest photographs of the works. The location of Gray's original negatives for Conway's pictures is unknown, but the Frick Art Reference Library records a William Gray photograph lent by Sir Martin Conway in December 1926.

The Federico Zeri Foundation in Bologna has a slightly different photographic record of the Allington panels. The anonymous photographs remain uncropped and give us the best clue to the state of the outer edges of the paintings. Based on "a formal technical analysis" by the Zeri archive, the photographs are dated ca. 1880-ca. 1920. The prints are described as "platinotype photographs". These are platinum prints, admired for giving the best tonal range of all photographic processes. Platinum was used for explosives in WWI, and as a result the production of platinotype papers for photography stopped in 1914. Notably, on this version of *Paris Given to Nurse*, a metal name plate with the word "capstan" appears on the outer left edge of the painting. A capstan is a trolley like device, possibly used in a printmaker or restorer's studio. While the origin of these anonymous photographs is unclear, they warrant further investigation and reflection. It is also notable that the damage seen on *Paris Given to a Nurse* (found on the lower right corner) is less pronounced on this version when we compare it to the photograph by Gray. This is possibly the result of Fry's "band-aid restoration" (figs. 19 & 20).

Another photographic studio linked to the documentation of the Allington Giorgiones was the London based A. C. Cooper Ltd. As photographers of works of art, the studio commenced business in 1918, and the Zeri Archive lists the work as being produced from 1949 to 1951. This date and location correspond with the Sotheby's London sale: *A.E. Horsfield and Other Collections,* 31 January 1951. Attributed to Giorgione, lots 28 and 29 were sold to the art dealer Giuseppe Bellesi (1873-1955) following the death of Conway's daughter Agnes Horsfield. The last known photographic documentation of the Allington Giorgiones was on 10 May 1956, by the well-known Florentine firm Alinari.[46] By comparing the earliest reproductions with the later photographs, we can see the figures are more clearly defined in both panels, (possibly due to cleaning), while the damage seen on *Paris Given to Nurse,* evident through the centre of the panel and the lower right corner, have been restored.

We hope that these panel paintings, now in Milan and Princeton, will be examined by the latest scientific means so that scholars will be able to understand them in the future, asking – if not resolving – questions of who made them and what functions they had in the decoration of Italian houses. One might question the integrity of Conway and Mather, but our reading of the correspondence suggests they were stubborn optimists and that they did not have an eye. Among the art historians whom Lord Conway consulted, only Lionello Venturi had the connoisseurly knowledge of Giorgione to dismiss the attribution without wasting time on it. In our view, neither the works owned by Mather nor Conway should be included in Giorgione's catalogue raisonné. Given the evidence shown here, we are surprised that they ever were. Giorgione's Paris continues to be elusive.

Fig. 19 / Unknown photographer, platinum photograph after Giorgione (attributed), *Paris Given to Nurse*, ca. 1880-1920, Bologna, Fondazione Federico Zeri, Archivio fotografico.

Fig. 20 / Unknown photographer (possibly William E. Gray), albumen-silver photograph mounted on card after Giorgione (attributed), *Paris Given to Nurse*, ca. 1904, 28 x 18.5 cm, Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre.

APPENDIX

Correspondence from the Conway archive held at the University of Melbourne, Visual Cultures Resource Centre, about Giorgione between collectors and art historians Wilhelm von Bode, Sir Martin Conway, William Staples Drown, Frank Jewett Mather, George Martin Richter, and Lionello Venturi

Letter 1
Sir Martin Conway to Frank Jewett Mather

11 June 1911[1]
Allington Castle, Maidstone

Dear Mr Mather
Your photograph preceded your letter by ten days. It is very interesting and is clearly of the same family with my pictures, but by another hand. The whole question of all these pictures seems to me still *sub judice*. I have no photos of my pictures. I gave the negatives to Mansell in Oxford St. but I fear he has lost them. I could not get copies last time I tried. I will send you a photogravure of the Lotto not Danaë. I have no cassone panels.
My own work for a long time has wandered away from the Renaissance to the Völkerwanderung Zeit earlier. Herbert Cook is the best man for out of the way pictures as he is always on the wander and hunt, whilst I never stir from home. I am glad to hear of your vocation and am sure and to see you happily occupied.
You should make Princeton start an organised chronological collection of art – no other arrangement is of the least value. When you come over here come and see 100,000 properly arranged photographs – ten years work.
Yours very sincerely
Martin Conway.

Letter 2
Wilhelm von Bode to Sir Martin Conway, translated by Leo von Kretzenbacher

Berlin C.2, on October 15, 1925

Esteemed Colleague,
You will allow me to write in German, which you know so much better than I do English! I am very grateful to you for sending me your paper on the 'Allington Giorgiones'. It is enticingly convincing; it is a pity that I have not seen the pictures and – sadly will never see them either, since my attempt to see the London collections (after 14 years!) once more in my life unfortunately failed miserably. Already at a short visit at the Dresden gallery I suffered a relapse of my old phlebitis. At 80 years of age, one should not travel anymore! As far as Giorgione is concerned, I still am very sceptical. As the former owner of the *Tempest* at Giovannelli's (we had bought it for 27,000 Italian Lire at Palazzo Manfrin)[2] I personally have always been enthusiastic about the magnificent master, all the more since I later bought the portrait at Palazzo Giustiniani together with 4 Titians, which Lenbach stole from me. However, pictures such as the two at the Uffizi do look much more like Ferrarese works to me; and the concert at the Pitti I am sure is by Sebastiano del Piombo, half a dozen of whose pictures have gone through my hands – just recently again a very early Giorgionesque picture of the Madonna with saints and 2 donors, in half-figures. In spite of my 80 years, I am still the director of the gallery; our very peculiar minister does me the favour of still keeping me here, just so I see him destroy our museums under my eyes! Since the war, we hardly ever see Englishmen here, except for generals looking for cannons and dealers looking for Raphaels and Rembrandts!
With kind regards, All respectfully yours,
W. Bode

Berlin C.2, den Oct. 15. 1925

Sehr verehrter Herr Kollege,
Sie erlauben mir, daß ich Deutsch schreibe, das Sie so viel besser kennen als ich da Englisch[e]! Für Zusendung Ihres Aufsatzes über die 'Allington-Giorgiones' bin ich Ihnen sehr dankbar. Er ist bestrickend überredend; schade, daß ich die Bilder nicht gesehen habe und – leider auch nicht mehr sehen werde, da mein Versuch, in diesem Leben noch einmal die Londoner Sammlungen (nach 14 Jahren!) wiederzusehen, leider elend mißlungen ist. Ich bekam schon bei einem kurzen Versuch der Dresdener Galerie einen Rückfall meiner alten Phlebitis. Mit 80 Jahren soll man nicht mehr reisen! Was Giorgione anlangt, so bin ich noch immer sehr skeptisch. Als einstiger Besitzer des "Gewitters" bei Giovanelli (wir hatten es um 27000 Lire ital. im Pal. Manfrin gekauft) war ich persönlich immer sehr für den herrlichen Meister begeistert, um so mehr als ich später das Porträt im Pal. Giustiniani kaufte – zusammen mit 4 Tizians, die mir Lenbach stahl. Aber Bilder wie die beiden Uffizienbilder sehen mir vielmehr aus wie ferraresische Werke; und das Konzert im Pitti halte ich bestimmt für Seb. del Piombo, von dem ½ Dutzend Bilder durch meine Hand gegangen sind. Jetzt grade wie- der ein ganz frühes, giorgioneskes Bild der Madonna mit Heiligen und 2 Stiftern, in Halbfiguren.
Ich bin, trotz meiner 80 Jahre, noch immer Director der Galerie; unser sehr eigentümlicher Minister tut mir den Gefallen, mich hier noch festzuhalten, damit ich sehe, wie er unter meinen Augen unsere Museen zerstört! Wir sehen hier seit dem Kriege nur selten Engländer außer Generalen, die nach Kanonen suchen und Händler[n], die nach Rafaels und Rembrandts suchen!
Mit freundlichem Gruß
Ihr ganz ergebener
W. Bode

Letter 3
Frank Jewett Mather to Sir Martin Conway,

22 March 1926
Princeton New Jersey,

I have felt sure that you would eventually discover my little Giorgione. For fifteen years I have been pretty sure of the case, but have never mentioned it, knowing the difficulty of establishing the attribution from a damaged painting badly photographed.
You have received two prints of the best photographs that can be made with our local resources. If they are not sufficient, I will take the little panel into Sir Joseph [Duveen]. He has all my annotations on the work.[3]
Unquestionably the subject is Infant Paris abandoned on Mt Ida. An old Italian Gray book which I can't for the moment locate says that he was left 'near a mill'. You will find the reference in "Su leggenda Troiana in Italia", I think by Gorra.[4]
Presumably a companion piece showed the Finding of the Shepherds. My piece seems complete.
I enclose four photographs of two cassone panels also in my private collection in which the landscape is beautiful and of distinct Giorgione inspiration. The figures are so splendid in colour that I have dared to think of early Titian, about 1512-15. Perhaps Campagnola is more likely. You may have something in your remarkable files which is similar.
I think of my Paris as more concentrated and unified, and a little later than your pair, say about 1500.
I hope to see you within a year or two but am terribly tied down to committees.
With best regards,
Sincerely
Frank Jewett Mather

Letter 4
Lionello Venturi to Sir Martin Conway

Savoy Hotel London, Le 13 Juin 1926

Cher monsieur,
Je vous remercie bien vivement de votre letter et de l'article sur Giorgione que vous avez eu l'obligeance de m'envoyer. Je l'ai lu très attentivement et je serais très heureux de partager votre avis, car vos hypothèses historiques sont très intéressants. Mais puisque mon jugement se fonde surtout sur l'évidence intérieure, c'est-à-dire sur la comparison avec les oeuvres que M. A. Micheil a judiquées comme peintures di Giorgione, je ne peux partager votre avis. Je sais qu'à Londres on dit que je suis l'ennemi de Giorgione, mais je ne crois pas que pour être l'ami de Giorgione il faille lui donner des peintures que ne sont pas de premier ordre.
Je vous prie de recevoir, cher Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments les meilleurs. Lionello Venturi.

Letter 5
Mather to Conway

Three Evelyn Place, Princeton, New Jersey, 17 June, 1929

Dear Sir Martin
Thank you for the little article in the *Burlington*. The somewhat battered little picture comes out surprisingly in the reproduction. If I can find a safe way of shipping it, I will let you have it for Burlington Club show. Please let me know the date of the opening. You doubtless have noticed the identical tower in my picture and the Giovanelli piece – a tower with a top gallery but no battlements. Doubtless such a tower exists or existed, and it would be interesting to locate it. My picture has on the back a seventeenth century seal, apparently arms of the Querini who were both at Padua and Venice.

By the way, I note that in your interesting discussion of the Paris panels you interpret *nocte* as a nocturne. I should like it to be so, for then my picture would be a *nocte*. But doesn't the word without a qualifier always mean the nativity the night *par excellence*. I have always supposed that Herbert Cook was right in attaching the *nocte* in Isabella d'Este's correspondence to something like the Allendale piece.
I assume you have seen the lovely Moses before the burning bush which Ulmlacher (?) has or had. I feel sure it is a right Giorgione. When I last heard of it, it was on approval with friends of mine at Cleveland Ohio. You might [like] to have it for the Burlington show.[6]
With this goes a photograph of a picture on loan at the University Museum here. It is of a certain importance as a contemporary imitation of the Christ of San Rocco. The head is closer to Giorgione's intention than the assured original. And I think the colouring of the imitation settles the case against Titian and for Giorgione, if it needs settling. The picture belongs to the Rev. Mr W. J. Dawson, Newark, N. J. and he calls it a Speranza. Please return the photograph when you have studied it. The hair is much done over, but the mask is pure.
Politically we are likely to have the uncommon luxury of two good presidential candidates, indeed three for the socialist candidate, Norman Thomas, is a superior candidate also. I'd rather like to vote for Al Smith, a very able opportunist and zealous in social reform if only to prove that we are tough enough to bear the administration of an ex-Catholic and an ex-guttersnipe.[7]

With cordial regards, Sincerely, Frank Jewett Mather.
Sir Martin Conway, Allington Castle, Maidstone, Kent

Letter 6
George Martin Richter to Mather

Corfe Cottage
Corfe Mullen
Dorset
17 VIII 1939

My dear Professor Mather
Thank you for your letter of July 9th, which was forwarded to my London address. However, I am planning to return to the States during the winter or next year, in fact we would like to move to the States. I should then very much like to see your little Giorgione again and study the problem of the wedge. Did you ever have the picture X-rayed or photographed with infra-red rays? It might be worthwhile to have your picture X-rayed.
In the September issue of the Burlington Magazine you will find an article, in which I publish a Christ carrying his cross, which I believe, is the original of the Gardner Christ.[8] And in one of the following numbers I hope to publish an article on Lost Giorgiones + new Giorgiones, which, I am sure will interest you.

With kindest regards
Very sincerely Yours
George M. Richter

Letter 7
William Drown to Conway[9]

May 15th [after 1929]
Telephone Nailsea 86
Barrow Court Farm, Tickenham, Nailsea, Somerset
Dear Lord Conway

You have been kind enough once or twice to try + help me with a picture and though you may have forgotten me I am taking the liberty of sending to you a photograph of a large picture which I have recently acquired – evidently Giorgionesque. The drapery on which Venus lies is brightish crimson – Cupid's sash a lighter red, Venus hair Titian red – the larger trees will be green when cleaned, the trees and landscape you will see a bridge like the one in the Tempest of Giorgione – this the most visible part of the landscape is very fine. Alongside the bridge is a mill wheel + apparently a mill house + a figure – apparently there are one or two other figures on the opposite side of the bridge.
The pointing finger of Venus, the straight line made by Cupid's arrow, the faded brown trees, the type of Venus etc. – all these details seem to point to someone connected at any rate with Giorgione. You will see that I have been reading with interest your small book on Giorgione.
The picture seems unarguably to belong to the period; it is in part in excellent condition + nowhere very bad. There has been some repainting along the curve of Venus' body from the waist to the knee – and in other parts of the body too – the upper part is quite untouched except the hair that falls on the shoulder – the hair of the head is all original. The model for Venus seems to me rather like the standing woman in the Fete Champêtre. The picture is now as I bought it. When cleaned the landscape will I think be very beautiful – the hillside is very dark now much of the varnish darkened.
The picture is now in London at a restorers.
W. Drown.

APPENDIX NOTES

1. Princeton University Library, Department of Special Collections, Manuscripts Division: Conway, Sir Martin; Frank Jewett Mather Papers, C0025.
2. Here Bode does not speak the truth. In fact, unlike other Germans, he was not in favour of the acquisition and his letter is a boastful tissue of lies. Finally, it was acquired from the Manfrin collection by Prince Giovanelli, on the advice of Morelli; for the complex story see Jaynie Anderson, *Giorgione. The Painter of 'Poetic Brevity'* (Paris and New York: Flammarion, 1997), pp. 251-253.
3. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute: Duveen Brothers Records, *Correspondence, Mas to May, 1917-1950.*
4. Egidio Gorra, *Testi inediti di storia trojana preceduti da uno studio sulla leggenda trojana in Italia* (Torino: Carlo Triverio, 1887).
5. Now in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, London, described as early sixteenth-century Venetian school. There is a pamphlet about the attribution and provenance in the Duveen Brothers stock documentation from the dealer's library, 1829-1965. Series IV. Brochures, 1910-1962. Series IV.A. Painting and sculpture, 1910-1962. The complex provenance in this unsigned and undated brochure does not mention this dealer, whose name is hard to decipher.
6. A delightful canvas with a representation of Moses in the sunset, now in the limbo of unattributed Giorgionesque works in the Courtauld Collection, London, bequeathed by Lord Lee in 1947.
7. A rather harsh judgment on Alfred Emanuel Smith (1873-1944), a politician who served four terms as the 42nd Governor of New York. He was the Democratic presidential nominee in 1928.
8. George Martin Richter, "Christ Carrying the Cross by Giovanni Bellini," *The Burlington Magazine* 75 (1939): pp. 94-97, where he attributes a painting in a French patrician collection to Bellini.
9. CC24.001.050 / Letter to Martin CONWAY from W. DROWN. Dated: 15 May, Barrow Court Farm, Tickenham, Nailsea, Somerset which contained two photos of the *Sleeping Venus* (or *Dresden Venus*), CC24.001.051 *Sleeping Venus* (reproduction by Alinari) and CC24.001.061. There is no reply from Conway nor any indication to show that he was interested in late Giorgione.

NOTES

1. On how this archive came to be in Melbourne, see Jane Brown, "An Original Courtauld Copy: Lord Conway's Photographic Collection in Australia," *Colnaghi Studies Journal* 15 (2024): pp. 96-119. In Melbourne, our documentation shows the working material of Lord Conway as an early art historian, his photographs with annotations, his correspondence with other collectors, and a collection of his off prints. A comparison with the online catalogue of the Courtauld collection for Giorgione reveals the importance of the documentation in Melbourne; see https://photocollections.courtauld.ac.uk/sec-menusearch/?mode=gallery&view=horizontal&page=1&reverse=0&fq%5B%5D=search_s_collection:%22The%20Witt%20Library%22&q=Giorgione%20Paris (accessed March 2025). The archive held in Melbourne at the University of Melbourne, Visual Cultures Resource Centre, will be referred to as VCRC.
2. *The Times,* 20 April 1937.
3. *The Times*, 20 April 1937.
4. Sir W. Martin Conway, *The Domain of Art* (London: J. Murray, 1901), pp. 135-136.
5. In email correspondence with Bart J. C. Devolder, chief conservator at the Princeton Museum, he explained that the panel is thinned down and a very simplistic cradle is applied to the back. Devolder: "The support has a large knot, 21 cm from the bottom left corner, from which a number of breaks in the wood radiate. Along the top edge, 20.5 cm from the top left corner, there is a swallow-tailed insert, measuring 10.5 cm along the broad edge, which then tapers inward toward the top edge. It measures 8.1 cm long. The entire insert is 2.7 cm wide, and is trapezoidal in shape. This insert, which is probably half of a butterfly-button insert that spanned a wood join, was usually a means of strengthening a glued join." Email correspondence, 17 October 2024.
6. Herbert Cook, "Two Early Giorgiones in Sir Martin Conway's Collection," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 6 (1904): p. 156.
7. Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Giorgione da Castelfranco, studio critico* (Bergamo: Istituito italiano d'arte grafiche, 1904), pp. 25-27.
8. Herbert Cook, "Two Early Giorgiones," pp. 156-157, 160-161.
9. Discussed by Simon Thompson, *A Long Walk with Lord Conway: An Exploration of the Alps and an English Adventurer* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2013).
10. Conway, "Giorgione's *Birth of Paris*," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 51 (1927): pp. 204-211.
11. Charles Loeser delayed before sending it to Conway, undervaluing the importance of the copy, when on 17 July 1927 he wrote: "I hardly thought you serious about wanting the photo of my Teniers-Giorgione." VCRC, Melbourne.
12. For a discussion of the complex, erudite sources for Giorgione's *Birth of Paris*, see Anderson, "Giorgione the 'Dream maker' of Renaissance Venice," in *Giorgione, Leonardo and the Sydney Incunable*, forthcoming in 2025.
13. Giovanni Maria Fara, "Due volte a Venezia," in *Corpi Moderni*, exh. cat. (Venice: Gallerie dell'Accademia, 2025), pp. 68-74.
14. See Anderson, *Giorgone the Dream Maker*, forthcoming.
15. Sir Martin Conway, *The Sport of Collecting* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1914).
16. "The famous Giovanni Morelli, the great connoisseur of Italian Art, was then living, and mine was the good fortune to be brought much in contact with him... Morelli was no dry-as-dust student, but a fully equipped man of the world, active in politics, socially gifted and with a force of character that could not but impress himself on a youthful admirer." Conway, *The Sport of Collecting*, p. 8.
17. The painting was in these English exhibitions always as by Giorgione: New Gallery London, 1894-1895, *Venetian painting chiefly before Titian*; Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1905-1906; National Loan Exhibition, Grafton Galleries, London, 1909-1910; Benson Collection, Manchester, 27 April to 30 July 1927.
18. For an overview see Stacey J. Pierson, *Private Collecting, Exhibitions and the Shaping of Art History in London, The Burlington Fine Arts Club* (New York and London: Routledge, 2017), who does not discuss the Venetian shows.
19. Editorial, "The Burlington Fine Arts Club," *The Burlington Magazine* 94 (1952): pp. 96-98.
20. Terisio Pignatti, *Giorgione* (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 1970), p. 106, claimed to have attributed the drawing to Giorgione for the first time, but he was preceded by the curator of the Burlington exhibition. For a full discussion, see J. Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church Oxford*, vol. I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 193-194; vol. II, plate 412.
21. Roger Fry wrote three separate reviews of the exhibition of Venetian pictures at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, but it was in the third that he described the works by Giorgione; Roger Fry and Tancred Borenius, "Exhibition of Pictures of the Early Venetian School at the Burlington Fine Arts Club-III," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 21 (1912): pp. 95-101.
22. *Catalogue of Highly Important Pictures by Old Masters of Sir Willian Neville Abdy Bart,* Christie, Manson and Woods, 5 May 1911, lot 107, p. 135. Recently rediscovered in the basement of the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, by Sergio Alcamo, "Un detto con l'astrologo in mano del Palma Il Vecchio nei depositi del Gemäldegalerie di Dresda. 'L'Oroscopo' giorgionesco creduto distrutto," *Arte veneta* 79 (2020): pp. 39-51.
23. Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church Oxford*, I, p. 194.
24. Conway, *The Sport of Collecting*, pp. 115-117, describes the restoration in some detail.
25. We are grateful to Dr. Paolo Plebani for information about the landscape in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.
26. Antonio Morassi, *Giorgione* (Milan: Hoepli, 1930), pp. 134 and 181. The following passage defines the dilemma of attribution:
"A Tiziano stesso deve altresì essere restituita la deliziosa tavoletta con l'Euridice dell'Accademia Carrara di Bergamo in cui è tuttavia presente, nel paesaggio, tanta arcadicità giorgionesca. Ma i gesti drammatici delle figure, il masso centrale con gli alberi sottili contro il cielo come nell'affresco padovano del 'marito geloso', la veduta di città già avvolta nell'atmosfera serotina dell'orizzonte infocato dal tramonto come nella pala d'Ancona, e infine proprio la pasta del colore e il 'ductus' del pennello – per dire soltanto degli elementi più esteriori – non lasciano dubbio sulla paternità dell'opera, che taluni ancora si ostinano a considerare come copia di un Giorgione perduto! È ben vero, peraltro, che senza i precedenti giorgioneschi – del tipo delle tavolette di Padova, poniamo – opere simili non sarebbero state create. Paesaggi così pieni di masse frondose, di rupi accidentate, rigogliose d'erbe e di fiori, orchestrati in scandimenti cromatici sì da sembrare quasi pretesto a questi, non s'erano ancora veduti: agli spiriti di Giorgione prima, di Tiziano subito poi, si deve la loro genitura."
27. Letter from Alice Creelman to Henry Clay Frick, 7 December 1915, https://transcribe.frick.org/items/show/188 (accessed September 2024).
28. Anderson, *Giorgione*, pp. 99-102.
29. See the cutting in the Melbourne archive, from the *New York Herald Tribune*, 2 January 1927, where the pictures are described as by Giorgione, "Two early paintings by him brought from obscurity".
30. Los Angeles, The Getty Research Institute: Duveen Brothers, *Correspondence: Conway, 1927-1931,* 1927. Duveen Brothers stock documentation from the dealer's library, 1829-1965, T, Accession no. 2007.D.1. Gift of Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute. https://www.getty.edu/research/collections/collection/113YF8 (accessed March 2025).
31. Library Reference Email Request – Jaynie Anderson from The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, email message to the authors on 1 May 2025.
32. Sotheby's, London, A. E. Horsfield and Other Collections, 31 January 1951, lots 28 and 29 (£550 and £500, to Bellesi).
33. Los Angeles, The Getty Research Institute: Duveen Brothers, *Correspondence: Mas-May, 1917-1950*, image 046 and onwards: https://primo.getty.edu/permalink/f/mlc5om/GETTY_ROSETTAIE1019510 (accessed September 2024).
34. For more details see Jaynie Anderson, *The Life of Giovanni Morelli in Risorgimento Italy* (Milan: Officina Libraria, 2019), pp. 76-78.
35. Herbert Francis Cook, "A Giorgione Problem," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 48 (1926): pp. 23-24.
36. Printed in the Appendix.
37. Pietro Zampetti, *Giorgione e i Giorgioneschi*, exh. cat. (Venice: Palazzo Ducale, 1955), pp. 2-5.
38. George Martin Richter, *Giorgio da Castelfranco, called Giorgione* (Chicago: Univeristy of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 77 and 235.
39. Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., "Review of Giorgio da Castelfranco, Called Giorgione, by G. M. Richter," in *The Art Bulletin* 19 (1937): pp. 596-601; and George Martin Richter "Note on Review by Frank Jewett Mather, Jr. of Giorgio da Castelfranco, Called Giorgione, by G. M. Richter," *The Art Bulletin* 20 (1938): pp. 443-444.
40. Richter, "Note on Review by Frank Jewett Mather, Jr," p. 444.
41. Anderson, *Giorgione,* pp. 120-121.
42. The Drown family worked on almost every British collection of significance, but to date the only study of their activities is on the website of the National Portrait Gallery, London: https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/restorers-d (accessed September 2024).
43. Two black and white photographic reproductions of the Dresden Venus (Titian/Giorgione ca. 1510) were found with letter, but to date we have not located the *Venus* Drown describes in his letter.
44. Philip Rylands, *Palma Vecchio* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 229.
45. Norton Simon discovered the painting in an auction catalogue and asked Lucilla Kingsbury to investigate it prior to his acquisition. She discovered that the painting had been overpainted. This fascinating story is told by Sara Campbell, *Norton Simon: Collector without Walls* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 173-174.
46. The reproduced prints are in the Frick Photo archive. Photograph, Alinari, Florence 51364 Purchase, Sansoni, Florence, shipment 189, 10 May 1956 (*Infant Paris Handed to Nurse*). Photograph, Alinari, Florence 51365 Purchase, Sansoni, Florence, shipment 189, May 10, 1956 (*Finding of Paris*).

Fig. 1 / Francesco Jacovacci, *Michelangelo at the Deathbed of Vittoria Colonna (or Michelangelo davanti alla Salma di Vittoria Colonna)*, 1880, oil on canvas, 151.5 x 273 cm, Naples, Museo e Real Bosco di Capodimonte.

Showcasing "Modern Italian art" in Britain: the Fine Art Pavilion of the Italian Exhibition in London of 1888

EDUARDO DE MAIO

On 12 May 1888, the opening day of the Italian Exhibition in London, a writer for *The Morning Post* reported, "The opening of the Italian Exhibition at West Brompton to-day marks a pleasant incident in the *entente cordiale* happily existing between the subjects of Queen VICTORIA and King HUMBERT."[1] Almost three decades after the unification in 1861, and eighteen years after the annexation of Rome to the Kingdom of Italy in 1870, Italy was awarded the prestigious opportunity to showcase itself as a unified nation through a national exhibition entirely dedicated to it in Britain. The aforementioned columnist continued, "No more advantageous method of exhibiting could be devised for any country, and particularly for Italy, than that of exhibiting alone, freed from the immediate rivalry of other countries",[2] showcasing in Britain "the Arts, Manufactures and Products of the newest Great Power of the Old World – UNITED ITALY".[3] Widespread enthusiasm accompanied the launch of the event, viewed by reporters as the definitive manifestation of "a friendship which seems to deepen with succeeding decades… cemented by unity of aim and identity of aspirations".[4]

The connections between Britain and Italy at the time of the Italian Exhibition were the outcome of centuries of longstanding economic and cultural relationships between the two countries, which reached their peak between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, as exemplified by the phenomenon of the Grand Tour.[5] However, it was during the Italian *Risorgimento*, in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, that political and cultural ties between the two nations were most significantly reinforced. Italy occupied a privileged position, largely because of the significant number of British expatriates and travellers who had chosen the country as a second homeland, as an economic resource, or as primary destination for their sojourns abroad. The newly formed Kingdom of Italy regarded Britain as a trustworthy ally, a firmly established commercial partner, and a strategic power during the years of European territorial and political reconfiguration. At the same time, Britain supported (or, in some instances, interfered with) the Italian *Risorgimento* to strengthen its influence in the Mediterranean area, in opposition to French political, territorial, and naval power in the control of ports in Sardinia and Liguria, and the expansion of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in northern Italy.[6] Given this historical context, it was crucial for Britain to promote Italy as an innovative and powerful nation, encouraging a commercial partnership which was epitomized by the launch of the Italian Exhibition in London in 1888.

Therefore, it can be argued that, beyond the standard rhetoric that accompanied such events at the end of the nineteenth century, the enthusiasm surrounding the inauguration of the Italian Exhibition in London in fact concealed a more complex dynamic, one rooted in a deep interweaving of culture, politics, and society. These forces shaped the entire system of world's fairs and international exhibitions during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The profile of such dynamics was delineated in a seminal essay published in 1988, in which the sociologist Tony Bennett coined the concept of "exhibitionary complex" to identify a cultural system that aimed to control populations and shape individuals' perspectives through culture, and which was employed by western European nations to showcase national power and identity through constructed displays of "Other" populations and communities. This system comprised museums, national and international exhibitions, amusements, and spectacles, and fuelled nationalistic and imperialistic agendas by presenting a distorted, commodified, or even an overly magnified image of other nations and peoples in an age of colonialism.[7] Specific to the location and historical, social, and cultural period in which these exhibitions occurred, these aspects affected the way such exhibitions were planned, curated, and, eventually, visited and experienced by the public, unveiling a complex universe of values, ideologies, and distorted stereotypes.[8] And this of course influenced the creation of national identities – as well as the circulation of knowledge – eventually acquiring a social and cultural role that originated from a true "exhibition culture" embedded in and stemming from these events.[9]

These dynamics became particularly evident during the Italian Exhibition in London, especially in the arrangement of the pavilion devoted to contemporary Italian art. At the time, this exhibition was regarded as the most comprehensive display of the latest developments in Italian art outside of Italy's borders and represented a significant opportunity for Italian artists to present their innovations to an international audience. In the decades preceding this event, the interest in nineteenth-century Italian art in Britain was negligible. The few notable exceptions were largely confined to the displays at the prestigious Royal Academy of Arts in London, often facilitated by the influential patronage of wealthy private collectors in the first half of the century, or to a cautious yet meteoric emergence in the British art trade in the third quarter of the century.[10] At a moment of rising infrastructures and circulation of commodities, culture, and people, art exhibitions across the European continent became the preferred place for artists to encounter and acknowledge national and international art. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the Fine Art pavilions of international, national, and world's fairs constituted a point of artistic convergence – particularly at the Expositions Universelles in Paris of 1878, 1889, and 1900 – becoming a privileged opportunity to encounter the latest developments in international contemporary art. Indeed, Italy also became an alternative and prestigious stage in the international artistic landscape, starting with the opening of the Esposizione Nazionale d'Arte in Venice in 1887.[11] However, the name of Italy would only truly resonate in the realm of international art exhibitions in 1895 with the launch of the Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte (the first Venice Biennale). This event became an unprecedented occasion to present contemporary art to both the Italian and the international public, leading to a widespread phenomenon of reception and, quoting the scholar

Marie Tavinor, even "consumption" of international art – including Italian – by audiences coming to Venice from around the world.[12] The late 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century witnessed a heightened international interest in contemporary Italian art, epitomized by the international acclaim accorded to Giovanni Boldini's portraits and Giovanni Segantini's symbolist works, and culminating in the wide resonance of Italian Futurism throughout Europe in the early 1910s. In this light, the Italian Exhibition in London of 1888 can be understood as a precursor to these developments, the inaugural moment that fostered the gradual but eventually widespread recognition of the cultural role and significance of nineteenth-century Italy on the international stage.

However, despite initial praise from both critics and the public, the Italian Exhibition highlighted the difficulties inherent in defining a coherent national identity for contemporary Italian art and culture. On the basis of these premises, this essay seeks to explore how the promotion of nineteenth-century Italian art in Britain at the *fin de siècle* was profoundly intertwined with broader efforts to construct Italy's international image and, in a wider context, with Britain's late-century expansionist ambitions – not only territorial but also, by extension, cultural. By focusing on the Fine Art Pavilion of the Italian Exhibition, firstly through its exhibition spaces and the types of works presented and subsequently through its critical reception, this study will demonstrate how the display of Italian art reflected these dynamics and mirrored the country's enduring geographical and cultural fragmentation, an issue only partially resolved by the unification process of the early 1860s. These internal tensions, combined with the selective promotion of certain artists and the expectations of a part of the British public – rooted in persistent stereotypes of Italy – significantly influenced the reception of the exhibition within the contemporary British art scene.

In the history of nineteenth-century national and international fairs and, more broadly, the international circulation of culture and national identities at the *fin de siècle*, the Italian Exhibition of 1888 should be situated within the wider phenomenon of national exhibitions that emerged in Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century, when London consolidated its position as the world's leading commercial hub and one of the most dynamic centres of international cultural exchange.[13] In these same years, London became the stage for an overwhelming number of exhibitions and fairs – a real "exhibition fever",[14] as *The Graphic* observed – which intensified with the opening of the Earl's Court Exhibition Grounds in the late 1880s by the entrepreneur and philanthropist John Robinson Whitley (1843-1922), who by the final decade of the century had become a pioneer in the world of exhibitions.

Described at the time as a man with "overflowing energy and incisive edge, a keen business faculty, a high degree of administrative skill, a daring spirit of enterprise, a personal knowledge of foreign countries and customs… a philanthropic heart, dauntless courage and an inflexible will",[15] Whitley was the son of the inventor, metallurgist, and foundry owner Joseph Whitley. Like many Englishmen from affluent backgrounds in the nineteenth century, John travelled extensively around the world, an experience that enabled him to attend prestigious universities, cultivate an expansive network, acquire fluency

in multiple languages, and, most importantly, visit numerous world's and international fairs. These experiences intensified his aspiration to bring "home to the minds and doors of his fellow-countrymen the life of foreign nations in concrete and concentrated form".[16] Sustained by his family's wealth, Whitley not only contributed to his father's business but also invested heavily in the realization of his own vision. This ambition took shape through the acquisition of a vast plot of land in West Brompton, London, formerly used as a railway depot, where he established the exhibition space which he named the Earl's Court Exhibition Grounds, better known today as Earl's Court Exhibition Centre, maintaining its original purpose.[17]

In just four years, these grounds hosted four national exhibitions dedicated respectively to the United States (American Exhibition, 1887), Italy (Italian Exhibition, 1888), France (French Exhibition, 1890), and Germany (German Exhibition, 1891). The rare catalogue *Four National Exhibitions in London*, published by Charles Lowe in 1892, just a few months after the conclusion of the German Exhibition, provides a detailed account of these events. According to the catalogue, the entire initiative was conceived by Whitley himself, who secured the financial and organizational backing of international committees to realize his vision. The arrangements for the four national exhibitions drew inspiration from the grand models of the world's fairs, featuring themed pavilions, entertainment events, dioramas, and scale reproductions of monuments, with the aim to "familiarize Englishmen, who never travelled in any of these countries, with the arts, the industries, the products, the life and customs of America, Italy, France and Germany".[18]

The Italian Exhibition in London of 1888 was organized by Whitley in collaboration with both public and private investors, Italian institutions, and, at a later stage, with the "blessing" and support of the Italian Royal Family. The Exhibition was divided into two main sections: a vast area presenting amusements, dioramas and reproductions of Italian buildings and monuments, and a second section, hosted in the main exhibition pavilions, which included a total of 1,743 exhibitors, 1,083 of whom were in the Industrial Sections. The Exhibition Pavilion was divided into fifteen sections, fourteen of which were devoted to various classes of industrial, manufactured, and agricultural products. The fifteenth and final section/pavilion represented the most ambitious enterprise of the entire exhibition: dedicated to the fine arts, it was arranged by the British art critic T. Carew Martin, who also curated *The Official Art Catalogue* to illustrate the display. The reasons behind Martin's appointment as Chief Director of the Fine Art Pavilion remain unclear, though they may have been linked to his alleged standing in the London art world. Reliable biographical details on Carew Martin remain scarce and fragmentary and come chiefly from a series of newspaper articles published in the spring of 1910, when he faced accusations of forging artworks and embezzling funds belonging to the Royal Society of British Artists (RBA), of which he had served as secretary since 1898.[19] Most of these articles, some of which were accompanied by a photographic portrait of the art critic, describe him as the fifty-two-year-old grandson of the painter John Martin (1789-1854) – suggesting a birth date of 1857 or 1858 – and sketch the outline of his career: studies in Brussels and Paris; extensive contributions to art and literary periodicals; editorship of the *White Hall Review* and the *Indian Pioneer*; and later, work as a dealer in Victorian art before his appointment as secretary of the RBA. Following the accusations and a consequent imprisonment in 1910, Martin's name and reputation appear to have faded almost entirely from public view.

However, at the time of the Italian Exhibition in London, Martin's reputation was likely at its highest, and thus he was able to conceive and orgainze the ambitious project of presenting a complete survey of contemporary Italian art: a total of 660 exhibitors – including commercial galleries, private collectors, and cultural and Italian state institutions – contributed to a display of 1,590 artworks, comprising paintings, sculptures, and decorative art. These were installed across twenty-six alphabetically arranged rooms, each dedicated to a different Italian region or area, with the intention of offering a comprehensive overview of Italy's diverse regional and artistic identities. The first room beyond the entrance to the Pavilion displayed a selection of artworks from the personal collection of the King of Italy, Umberto I (Room A),[20] followed by a central sculpture gallery, and then extending to further adjacent rooms (C, W, and X). Moving right from the sculpture gallery, the visitor could go through three rooms dedicated to Turinese art (B, E, and D), followed by three rooms of Milanese art (H, J, and M), art from Florence (F, G, and L), and a central room entirely dedicated to the Rome-based international cultural society *In Arte Libertas* (K). Next to the latter, two rooms were respectively dedicated to Italian artists living or working in London (N) and Paris (O). The following rooms displayed Venetian art (Q), watercolours (T), and art from Rome (S and T); one sizeable room for Neapolitan art (R) and a final room entirely focused on large canvases depicting historical subjects by the Sicilian painter Giuseppe Sciuti followed (V). This "admirable system", Martin argued, was organized through the international collaboration of Whitley, the Central Committee in Rome, and a series of regional and local boards, which made it possible "to obtain from each of these important centres a representative collection of pictures and sculpture, each Committee being entrusted with the selection of those works best fitted in their opinion".[21] With regard to "his" Fine Art Pavilion, in the introductory notes to *The Official Art Catalogue*, Martin wrote:

> Not only does it constitute the most important display of Italian art ever made in this country, but… it may be considered the most representative collection of works of Modern Italian art brought together beyond the Alps, surpassing in this respect the Exhibitions held of late years in Paris, Vienna, Munich, and Antwerp.[22]

What, in fact, was the "Modern Italian art" to which Martin referred? Did this expression designate a clearly identifiable movement? The term – adopted here for convenience from the title of this article to describe Italian art at the turn of the twentieth century – was introduced and widely employed by British art critics of the period, including Martin, to denote the artistic production of the Kingdom of Italy from the second half of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth, as differentiated from the art of the Italian Old Masters.[23] However, both the designation of "Modern Italian art" and the concept of "modern/modernity", as applied to Italian art of this era, were interpreted in different ways depending on the cultural context. In Britain,

the frequent reference to "Modern Italian art" in the art press from as early as the mid-nineteenth century was, in part, compensatory. On the one hand, British culture had developed a profound familiarity with the regional distinctions that characterized the art of the Italian Old Masters, who were meticulously classified by geographic centres, "schools", and "workshops". On the other hand, although British culture recognized an evident "modernity" in late nineteenth-century Italian art, perceiving it as something "new" or "different" from that of the Old Masters, it often failed to grasp its true innovative essence. This was largely the result of a partial and decontextualized view of Italian artworks, frequently presented at exhibitions and art fairs that rarely reflected the complex cultural mosaic of the Italian peninsula.

In Italy, by contrast, where an acute awareness of regional and cultural particularities persisted, the British notion of "Modern Italian art" and the indigenous understanding of "modernity" diverged markedly. For Italian artists at the turn of the twentieth century, "modern" did not mean merely offering alternatives to the Italian Old Masters; above all, it signified an original and anti-establishment stance adopted by a substantial number of artists in opposition both to the cultural stagnation of the fine art academies as well as against the dictates of "official taste", which constrained the expression of artistic individuality. This cultural awakening further marked a departure from the limitations imposed by the prevailing cultural fragmentation that continued to characterize the Italian peninsula in spite of national unification. In this context, "modern" rapidly became associated with "international" and "cosmopolitan", signifying the innovative quality of Italian art in its progressive transcendence of geographic and regional boundaries. This evolution led to its increasing engagement with international art currents, and, ultimately, to its deprovincialization. In these terms, how effectively did the Kingdom of Italy, under the supervision of Martin, present artistic innovations at the Italian Exhibition in London? To what extent did the selection of works affirm the prestige of "Modern Italian art" as the artistic expression of a culturally "modern" and unified nation? And, moreover, how decisive was Britain's role in shaping the conception and the reception of this display?

The ambitious system of local entities that cooperated in the organization of the Fine Art Pavilion, although officially overseen by a central committee, retained a high degree of independence, ultimately contradicting Martin's initial ambition to create a cohesive image of a nationally unified Italian art and culture. In order to grasp fully the complexities of regional specificities and institutional agendas in shaping the display strategies at the Italian Exhibition, it is helpful to turn to the *Official Art Catalogue*. Far more than a mere inventory of works, Martin's text provides a revealing insight into how Italian art was officially framed and presented to a British audience at the end of the nineteenth century. Following the path laid out in the catalogue – from the emblematic works of the King of Italy's personal collection to the thematic and regional rooms curated by various committees – this analysis will focus on the most significant spaces: the room dedicated to the Royal Collection and those representing Florence, Venice, Rome, the *In Arte Libertas* cultural association, and Milan.

Presented by Martin as the paradigm of Modern Italian art,[24] the group of twelve artworks selected from King Umberto's personal art collection included the "noble 'Vittoria Colonna and Michelangelo'" by Giuseppe Jacovacci,[25] which depicts the Renaissance Italian master at the bedside of his spiritual muse, Vittoria Colonna (see fig. 1), and "the scarcely less characteristic" *Bersaglieri Taking the Porta Pia* (1871) by the Neapolitan painter Michele Cammarano, representing with dynamism the topical and final moment of the *Risorgimento*, when a light-infantry corps of the Italian army, known as the *Bersaglieri*, breached the Porta Pia in Rome in 1870 (fig. 2). Martin continues his itinerary by illustrating "the sobriety and melancholy pathos of [Luigi] Nono's *Refugium Peccatorum*" (see fig. 3), a poignant depiction of an abandoned woman kneeling and praying in despair; the "dazzling brilliancy and thoroughly modern spirit" of Guglielmo Ciardi's *Messidoro* (ca. 1883, under the title *Harvest* in Martin's report) (see fig. 4); and the neo-Renaissance inspired pastoral genre painting *Un Riflesso* (1887) by Filadelfo Simi (see fig. 5).[26] These works were presented as an indicator of the "official taste" in art, which the Italian central government promoted through Fine Art Academies and institutional patronage. However, this "official taste" was limited to specific artistic categories, namely *pittura di storia* (historical painting), bucolic landscape painting, neo-Renaissance revivals, picturesque genre painting, and moralistic depictions. In addition, through these artworks, the Italian State presented itself as a nation grounded in its history and heroic actions, and highlighted the rich art historical tradition long admired by international audiences, as well as the beauty of Italian landscape.

Fig. 2 / Michele Cammarano, *Bersaglieri Taking the Porta Pia*, 1871, oil on canvas, 290 x 467 cm, Naples, Museo e Real Bosco di Capodimonte.

Fig. 3 / Luigi Nono, *Refugium Peccatorum*, 1882, oil on canvas, 202 x 332 cm, Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna.

The following rooms largely retained the same artistic categories, often at the expense of more innovative or contemporary currents within Italian art of the period. This was particularly evident in the sculpture selection, which promoted a revival of the heroic past of the Italian peninsula. Nevertheless, works of a more modest character were not absent, including pastoral scenes evoking a humbler, more popular aesthetic which celebrated Italy's rural traditions. Within the exhibition's ideological framework, both aspects were seen as foundational to Italy's national identity. Both in painting, as will be discussed further below, and in sculpture did more experimental artists – represented only marginally by figures like Medardo Rosso, Leonardo Bistolfi, and Paolo Troubetzkoy – struggle to assert themselves within a context that presented a strongly moralizing and often anachronistic official vision of art.[27]

Alongside these broader aesthetic and ideological tendencies, regional specificities emerged, particularly within the display of paintings, reflecting the enduring cultural and geographic fragmentation that characterized post-unification Italy. For instance, the Florence committee presented a selection of rural and pastoral scenes and landscapes, which reflected the long-lasting legacy in Florentine art of the group of painters who emerged in the 1850s and were known as the *Macchiaioli*. In particular, works by the second generation of the *Macchiaioli*, while revealing

Fig. 4 / Guglielmo Ciardi, *Messidoro*, ca. 1883, oil on canvas, 136 x 277 cm, Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna.

Fig. 5 / Filadelfo Simi, *Un Riflesso*, 1887, oil on canvas, 230 x 176 cm, Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna.

an awareness of international art, especially mid-century French Naturalism, presented a stereotypical vision of the Tuscan landscape, rooted in bucolic imagery that appealed to tourists and expatriates, and resonated with the sentiments expressed in the writings of English travellers, such as Ruskin's *Mornings in Florence*.[28] For instance, the painting *Le Macchiaiole* (1866) by one of the founding members of the movement, Giovanni Fattori, which depicts a group of peasants in the Tuscan countryside, was welcomed as the "keynote of the Florentine modern school".[29]

While the Florentine committee based its selection on a bucolic vision of the *bel paese*, celebrating the lush

Tuscan countryside and its modest rural inhabitants, the Venetian committee instead sought to capitalize on the strong demand for Venetian views that had swept the London art market from the late 1870s through the early 1880s. This enthusiasm was sparked by the success of Cecil van Haanen's painting *The Pearl-Stringers* (1876) first at the Exposition Universelle in Paris of 1876, and four years later at the Royal Academy in London; it was further sustained by the promotion of his Venetian and British followers and the short-lived "Neo-Venetian School". This label was cleverly coined by the London dealer Arthur Tooth to identify a heterogeneous and international group of painters, working or sojourning in Venice in the 1870s and early 1880s, who shared an interest in the iconography of humble Venetian daily life and sentimental scenes of the local markets, *calli* and *campi*, as well as gondoliers, bead stringers, and lace makers. In his conception of the "Neo-Venetian School", Tooth included the British painters William Logsdail and Henry Woods, the Italo-Dutch Eugenio De Blaas, and the Italians Ettore Tito, Luigi Nono, and, most notably, Giacomo Favretto. Following his official debut in Britain at Tooth's gallery in 1884-1885, Favretto, who embodied a renewal of Venetian painting in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, achieved rapid success. The inclusion of his painting *L'Eté* (*Dopopranzo in Giardino*, 1879) at the Royal Academy exhibition in 1886 reflected this popularity and the interest in his work among collectors in London across the 1880s. However, by the time of the Italian Exhibition in London, the fashion for Venice was already waning,[30] a shift reflected in the Venetian committee's rather strategic choices: the committee paid homage to "the lamented Venetian painter, [Giacomo] Favretto",[31] who had prematurely passed away the previous year and was still sought after in the London art market.[32] The committee also obtained the support of one of the most prominent collectors of Favretto's works in Britain, the Anglo-Dutch entrepreneur James Staats Forbes, who loaned three of the four "exceptionally brilliant canvases"[33] on display – *Venetian Rag Market*, *A Wedding on the Canal*, and *Courtship* (curiously on display in the Naples room).[34] The fourth painting, displayed with the title *Summer* (no. 500, Room O) might be identified with *L'Eté* presented at the Royal Academy in 1886.[35] The fact that the Venice committee deliberately chose to focus solely on Favretto in response to the fading of the vogue for the "Neo-Venetian School" is apparent in Martin's written account of the Venetian rooms. Although the *Official Art Catalogue* lists artworks by other Venetian or Venice-based painters, such as Pietro Fragiacomo, Guglielmo Ciardi, and Clara Hilda Montalba, the author's accompanying text only mentions Favretto.

Unlike the committees of Florence and Venice, which respectively focused on an idealized, bucolic image of the *bel paese* and responded to prevailing commercial trends in the London art market, the rooms dedicated to Rome revealed a pronounced cultural tension. On the one hand, the official line was maintained with artworks that reflected institutional taste; on the other hand, a clear opposition emerged, represented by cosmopolitan artists such as Giovanni "Nino" Costa and his society *In Arte Libertas*, a group dedicated to fostering cultural exchange in Rome, engaging with the innovative artistic movements of the era, particularly the Pre-Raphaelites, and asserting stylistic and ideological independence from academic and institutional directives.[36] The decision to dedicate an entire room – disntinct from the official Roman rooms – to Costa's cultural association was not a simply an organizational choice, but rather the result of Costa's opposition to the official art establishment, and his decade-long resonance within the British milieu in Rome. Throughout the 1870s and early 1880s, Nino Costa distinguished himself in Rome and the broader Italian cultural scene through his cosmopolitan and international approach.[37] He gathered a vibrant circle of artists – mostly English – drawn not only by his personal charisma but also by a fascination with the Roman countryside, where Costa often organized *plein-air* painting sessions. Among his supporters were notable figures such as Frederic Leighton, George Howard, and Marie Spartali Stillman, who helped Costa establish the circle *In Arte Libertas* in the mid-1880s.[38] Costa's international prestige ultimately secured him considerable independence from the wider context and objectives of the Italian Exhibition in London.

Although not rooted in ideological reasons, but rather commercial interests, a similar subdivision characterized the Milanese rooms, which, while arranged by the official Milanese Committee, were in part entrusted to two Milanese gallery owners, the brothers Alberto and Vittore Grubicy. These rooms presented a distinctive approach, combining official institutional tastes with the ambitions of progressive commercial galleries. Whilst the Milanese Committee presented a comprehensive selection of the currents that had defined art in Lombardy during the third quarter of the nineteenth century – highlighting the generation of *Risorgimento* painters and patriots, with works like Gerolamo Induno's *In Time of Peace*[39] – the Grubicy gallery also promoted the latest innovations in northwestern Italian art, with the aim of redefining northern Italian art's place within the international market and art world. The Grubicy gallery's exhibition, carefully curated by Vittore Grubicy, included fifty works by artists of an older generation who embraced the Milanese bohemian movement of *Scapigliatura* – epitomized by the painters Tranquillo Cremona and Daniele Ranzoni. But it also featured the rising younger generation of northwestern Italian painters, represented by Angelo Morbelli and Giovanni Segantini.[40] This display was accompanied by great optimism, particularly in relation to the younger artists. Interestingly, among the artists missing from the Grubicys' exhibition was the Ferrarese painter Gaetano Previati (1852-1920), who within a few years would emerge as a leading figure of Italian Divisionism and Symbolism and would in fact become associated with the Grubicys' commercial enterprise, particularly after the artist's participation at the First Brera Triennale in 1891 with the painting *Maternità*. Previati's absence from the Italian Exhibition is probably due to timing: the relationship between the painter and the Grubicy brothers does not appear to have begun before 1889, the year following the exhibition, even though the artist had been active in the Milanese artistic milieu since the previous decade. At the time of the exhibition, the Grubicy brothers' promotional efforts were primarily focused on Segantini. Only after the latter's premature death in 1899 did Alberto Grubicy – by then professionally separated from his brother – devote his attention to Previati. However, Alberto's promotional campaign was rather behind the shifting trends in international artistic taste at the dawn of the new century.[41]

As observed, Vittore's selection at the Italian Exhibition clearly aimed to highlight the pinnacle of artistic developments in northern Italy, emphasizing

a continuity between two generations of artists from the Italian regions of Piedmont and Lombardy. Underlying the display was an attempt to challenge the frequent accusation that recent Italian art was dependent on foreign influences. The works chosen by Vittore were intended to demonstrate a purely national artistic and iconographic origin of northern Italian art; at the same time, he hoped to make an artistic and commercial impact on the contemporary British art trade. As a skilled dealer and charismatic socialite,[42] Vittore was confident in the international network he had developed since the mid-1870s, when, as an agent for Dutch dealers, he had access to the London market and quickly grasped its dynamics.[43] The iconography and subjects of most of the artworks that he selected for the Italian Exhibition aligned with the taste for and trends of social realism and Naturalism promoted by commercial galleries such as Goupil's, Dowdeswell's, or the French Gallery in London. Angelo Morbelli's and Attilio Pusterla's works – in particular Morbelli's *Giorni…ultimi!* (1882-1883) (fig. 6), *Venduta! Pall Mall Gazette* (1887), *Ubriachezza* (1880, untraced), and *Il Viatico* (1882-1883), and Pusterla's *Alle Cucine Economiche di Porta Nuova* (1886-1887) (fig. 7)[44] – were reminiscent of the dramatic images reproduced in the British periodicals *The Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic*. On the other hand, Giovanni Segantini's bucolic and pastoral painting *Ave Maria a Trasbordo* (fig. 8) and the drawing *Alla Stanga*[45] could appeal to collectors of the then-fashionable French painters Jean-François Millet, Jules Bastien-Lepage, and the Dutch School of The Hague.

Fig. 6 / Angelo Morbelli, *Giorni… ultimi!* (detail), 1882-1883, oil on canvas, 98 x 157.5 cm, Milan, Galleria d'Arte Moderna.

Yet, Vittore's strategy (or venture) was broader: in 1886 he secured a job as a London correspondent for the Roman magazine *La Riforma*, for which he wrote reviews and reports about the Italian Exhibition in London under the elusive pseudonyms "Vittore" and "Will". However, realizing that his double role as a reviewer and exhibitor could lead to accusations of conflicted interests, Vittore registered the Grubicy gallery under his brother Alberto's name and self-funded the publication of a catalogue written in English, which illustrated the artworks presented by the gallery. Vittore gifted the catalogue to prominent British artists visiting the Italian Exhibition.[46] In the catalogue, he presented himself simply as "Vittore. Art-critic of the *Riforma*, of Rome", and wrote the preface and biographical notes of the artists on display.[47] Inspired by exhibition catalogues published by prominent London art dealers of the time, Vittore used the catalogue of what was now labelled the Alberto Grubicy Picture Gallery as a sort of manifesto to advocate a new conception of painting being developed by northern Italian artists in the period. The art critic not only presented his artists

Fig. 7 / Attilio Pusterla, *Alle Cucine Economiche di Porta Nuova*, 1886-1887, oil on canvas, 136 x 205 cm, Milan, Galleria d'Arte Moderna.

Fig. 8 / Giovanni Segantini, *Ave Maria a Trasbordo, (Second Version)*, ca. 1886, oil on canvas, 120 x 93 cm, St. Gallen, Switzerland, Otto Fischbacher Stiftung. Reproduced from *Illustrated Catalogue of Alberto Grubicy's Picture Gallery in the Italian Exhibition in London* (Milan: Alberto Grubicy, 1888) with the title *The Avae Maria (Lake at Pusiano)*.

as the epitome of cutting-edge artistic trends, but he also assumed the role of cultural reformer through his enterprising endeavours. Vittore demonstrated his forward-looking aspirations by addressing his catalogue to the nascent generation of British art students, the sole individuals able to discern, according to Vittore, the role of "Modern Italian art".[48] In this way, the Alberto (and Vittore) Grubicy Picture Gallery ambitiously aspired to establish itself as the principal source for innovative and alternative directions in the international artistic landscape, in opposition to the "invading crowd of workmen of the brush",[49] through showcasing the richness and originality of the Lombard and Piedmontese schools, thereby asserting their national identity and international contemporary relevance.

Although this subdivision of the Fine Art Pavilion was designed with the intention of offering an "excellent and representative display of modern Italian Art",[50] by demonstrating the unification of the several artistic and cultural territorialities that characterized the Kingdom of Italy, the most visible aspect of this configuration was its evident fragmentation. The display ultimately privileged the art production of northern and central Italian centres, where artistic circles and currents were more prevalent and from which, moreover, most of the funding originated, given the political and economic prominence that these regions acquired after unification. Consequently, southern regions were given limited representation in the Fine Art Pavilion, despite the apparent aim of projecting a unified national identity – a central ambition of post-unification Italy more broadly. Curiously, southern artists appear to have benefited

from this strategy in terms of sales. The only confirmed and recorded sale at the exhibition consisted of all the paintings by Giuseppe Sciuti, purchased by the controversial businessman John Thomas North.[51] On the other hand, the promising Alberto Grubicy Picture Gallery experienced a total financial failure, with none of their artworks documented as having been sold.[52]

It is somewhat surprising that the organizing committee of the exhibition, including Carew Martin, did not acknowledge any limitations in the layout, but rather proclaimed that the Italian Exhibition showed "ample evidence of the ability of modern Italian art to assert its individuality"; was "a brilliant proof of the vitality of the art of modern Italy, too long allowed to languish under the disturbing influences of political disunion"; and demonstrated "how essentially modern Italian art is able to stand alone undisturbed by those outer influences which, till within a few years, made it but the reflex of the art of its neighbours".[53] These statements reveal that Martin's celebration of Italian geographical and, thus, cultural unity was not entirely impartial, and, a few paragraphs later, he pronounced his views even more strongly, declaring that Italian art had turned "into the right path… in the direction of producing a purely national and independent style", after depending for decades on "the dictates of France… [and] Germany".[54] Such rhetoric was likely shaped not only by artistic preference but also by broader political and economic rivalries that reflect long-lasting political and economic frictions between Britain and France in the second half of the nineteenth century, as well as an urgency to secure Italy as a reliable territorial ally. Therefore, the laudatory portrait of Italy as "one of the great powers of Europe", becomes extremely condescending:

> [Italy] had played a more important part in the history of the world than any other nation of either ancient or modern times, and although, after a varied and chequered career, it now ranks as one of the great Powers of Europe, it, nevertheless, is to many even usually well-informed people like a sealed book.[55]

The project of the Italian Exhibition was also evidently intended to convey the message that Britain was instrumental in Italy's becoming a powerful nation. The opportunity for Italy to have an entire national exhibition in Britain, namely "in the centre of the most flourishing and wealthy European state", was, according to Charles Lowe a few years later, "of incalculable advantage to Italy to develop her relations with England … which was the first country to proclaim, and which so staunchly maintains, free trade principles".[56] At the moment when Italy was in the process of defining its political and economic role on the European continent after its unification, Britain sought to secure a mutually beneficial commercial and political relationship with the newly unified nation; at the same time, Italian politicians, investors, art dealers, and artists saw the Italian Exhibition as a prestigious opportunity to position the country as a leading political, economic, and cultural power on the continent. The triumphant appeal that the Italian Exhibition in London elicited among British and Italian reviewers in 1888 should be interpreted in this context.[57] By presenting Italy as a unified and culturally relevant new power in Europe, Britain could legitimize its own ambitions through the projection of a specific – and often constructed – image of the country, turning the exhibition into a platform for the further commodification of Italy.

At this point, it is useful to consider the extent to which the Italian Exhibition might have impacted the reception of "Modern Italian art" in Britain, and whether Italian art and artists benefited from this event. The geographical limits of the display profoundly affected this reception, providing a fragmentary view of the latest innovations in Italian art. Furthermore, the British art press also betrayed the prevailing preferences of the contemporary British art world. Despite a supposed desire for artistic innovation, the majority of reviewers curiously hoped to encounter specific traits and tendencies, such as depictions of episodes from Italy's glorious history, Italian bucolic landscapes, stereotyped scenes of humble Venetian daily life, graceful figures recalling the Italian Renaissance, and subjects reminiscent of ancient Roman heroes. Their expectations fuelled, fulfilled, and thus reiterated the stereotypical image of Italy as the land of the past which was so fashionable in Britain at the time. Therefore, any other artistic direction in "Modern Italian art" that did not adhere either to the "official taste" or to these categories was particularly challenging for the British press to interpret – or to accept. A review from *The Morning Post* offers a clear depiction of this scenario:

> modern Italian art… must [be] criticize[d]… on its own merits, and not by the standard of the great masters of the past; for, since the middle of the eighteenth century until quite recently, Italy has produced no artist of exceptional distinction. Modern Italian art, both in sculpture and painting, is entirely new.[58]

However, the same columnist continued:

> the vast majority of the pictures shown at the Exhibition appear carelessly and hastily painted, the details slovenly, the figures out of proportion and drawing, and the architecture and landscape not in perfect perspective.

An even harsher critique came from *The Portfolio*, which highlighted that among "many noble works, [there] are also an astonishing number of productions so bad in taste and execution as to be beneath contempt".[59]

The group of artists from Piedmont and Lombardy – and particularly those presented by the Alberto Grubicy Picture Gallery – provoked the most polarized reactions. As far as northern Italian art was concerned, Carew Martin was aware that the realism in painting presented through the Milanese works on display could "meet with some degree of severe criticism on the part of the English visitors";[60] however, Martin argued, northern art should be

> judged from the standpoint of genuine Art, these twenty or thirty canvases are worthy of much reverence… both in quantity and quality to prove the marked individuality of the artists of the great northern capital.[61]

A similar sentiment was expressed in the *The Magazine of Art*: "The works of the Milanese artists are especially interesting to us just now, for they prove that the Italian school is no less 'peril' than the English".[62] Other reviewers praised Tranquillo Cremona's "delightful" and "very pretty" paintings, or Angelo Morbelli's "savour of morbid taste",[63] notably in his painting *Il Viatico*, which "deserves notice; the effect of the light… being particularly striking".[64]

However, as Grubicy had predicted, it was Segantini who received the most commentary, particularly his painting *Ave Maria a Trasbordo*, which *The Portfolio* described as "a curious *naiveté* and a sincere search after special truth".[65] There was, however, also negative coverage in the British art press. According to *The Magazine of Art*, "The sculptors of Italy have carried 'realism', in the bad sense of the term, to the utmost limits of vulgarity".[66] The "horrible Zolaistic realisms" of these artworks led one reviewer to wish them "to be burnt".[67] Furthermore, pictorial and technical aspects prompted considerable perplexity among British art journalists; several columnists labelled "Modern Italian art" "too much addicted to imitating the French". According to *The Magazine of Art*, the "modern French influence" was clearly visible in the works of the modern Milanese school, in particular in Segantini: "Look at Segantini's 'Ave Maria,' [*Ave Maria a Trasbordo*] for instance, or his exquisite water-colour drawing, called 'May' [*Im Mai, Ebbrezza di Sole*] and you will see at once how thoroughly the artist is dominated by the spirit of Millet".[68] Such comparisons with the art of Jean-François Millet precluded a fair reception of Segantini in Britain at the turn of the twentieth century.

Another aspect of the Italian works that received a great deal of commentary was the use of colour. In the introduction to the *Official Art Catalogue*, Martin pointed out that "To the English public the works of Morbelli and Segantini should prove of no small interest, as the creation of a new school of what is nowadays so much misunderstood as 'impressionism'".[69] Martin's argument casts light on the general misunderstanding and partial knowledge not only of Italian art of the period, but also of French Impressionism in Britain through the 1880s. Despite being displayed in Britain since the 1870s and throughout the 1880s at Durand-Ruel's Gallery in London, French Impressionism was not wholeheartedly embraced by the British art world, though it occasionally provoked cautious interest, but mainly indignation.[70] It is not then surprising that French Impressionism provided a reference point for British journalists attempting to categorize Italian art of the period, which was largely unfamiliar to them. Nor is it, therefore, a coincidence that *The Illustrated London News* identified "Morbelli and Sequirini [sic, Segantini] the leaders of the Impressionists in Italy",[71] and *The Saturday Review* praised the "collection of pictures by two well-known Italian 'impressionists' Cremona and Segatini [sic]".[72]

The misleading association between "Modern Italian art" and "Impressionism" laid the groundwork for further misunderstandings, particularly in the British reception of the Italian strand of Divisionism, to which both Segantini and Morbelli belonged. The *Saturday Review* columnist quoted above wrote one of the earliest descriptions of Italian Divisionist technique in the British art press, stating that "Segantini depicts dry and hard fashion scenes of rural life, and indulges in curious effects of white and blue, yellow and green, which at a distance produce effects quite lost on close inspection".[73] On the other hand, *The Magazine of Art* stated that "Many of the painters of modern Italy seem to be absolutely oppressed by the gorgeous colouring and picturesque effects of their every-day life", and "Unable to make a selection from the brilliant scenes which surround them… with the result that their achievement falls short of their design".[74]

The success of the Italian exhibition was, therefore, only partially a cultural achievement. The main

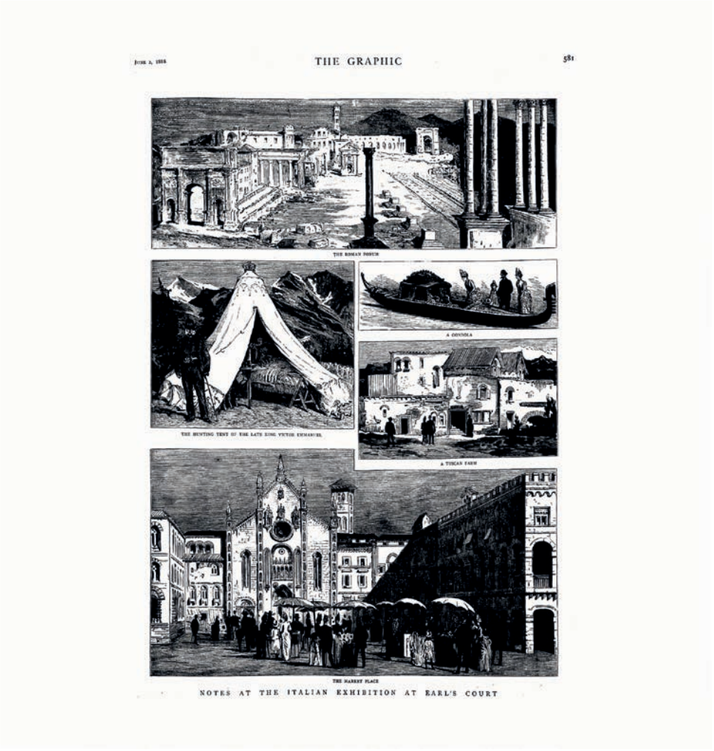


Fig. 9 / "Dioramas and attractions at the Italian Exhibition in London in 1888," in *The Graphic*, 2 June 1888, p. 581.

attraction for more than 1,258,000 visitors was not, in fact, the Fine Art Pavilion, but rather the exhibition gardens, where John Whitley developed a series of elaborate dioramas for the event. By analyzing these dioramas and spectacles, the commodifying logic of the exhibition – or, borrowing the title of a volume edited by Robert W. Rydell and Nancy E. Gwinn,[75] the lack of "fair representation" of Italy – becomes especially evident. It is well known that international and world's fairs of the period frequently relied on ethnographic displays and immersive spectacles to attract mass audiences. As Burton Benedict has observed of nineteenth-century mass culture events, "a chief reason for attending a world's fair is to be entertained",[76] and the Italian Exhibition was no exception. In the gardens of the Earl's Court Exhibition grounds, dioramas and attractions included a reconstructed Tuscan Farm with actors in peasant costumes, the hunting tent of the late King Vittorio Emanuele, and a reproduction of the Bay of Naples. More ambitious and gigantic displays were a reproduction of the Gardens of Villa Borghese in Rome, the Blue Grotto of Capri and, most impressively, a full-scale replica of the Roman Forum and Colosseum hosting gladiatorial re-enactments (fig. 9). While it would be inappropriate to fault the public for seeking entertainment – "visitors," Benedict continues, "flocked to… [fairs] out of curiosity and because they wanted to learn about the way people from foreign lands lived, the skills they possessed and the objects they produced"[77] – the Italian Exhibition ultimately failed to portray the country's traditions with accuracy. These "acquired new referents on the world's fair stage"; yet, paradoxically, their abundance

– reinforced by "showing living people and their artifacts" – served to remake rather than challenge the reductive logic of ethnic stereotyping.[78] It should, therefore, come as no surprise that all of this was ultimately reflected in the Fine Art Pavilion, further exacerbating an already compromised situation regarding the "fair representation" of Italian art of the period.

In conclusion, the Fine Art Pavilion of the Italian Exhibition in London in 1888 encapsulated the tensions involved in articulating a unified cultural identity for a nation still grappling with regional divisions and divergent artistic priorities. The general geographic fragmentation of the display, the questionable choices made by some regional committees regarding artist selection, and the often naïve or opportunistic approach of certain dealers and promoters toward the British market and critics, all undermined the Fine Art Pavilion's ambition to present a cohesive image of a nationally unified "Modern Italian art". While the exhibition sought to position Italy as a modern European power, its internal structure laid bare the conflicting agendas of local committees, commercial interests, and avant-garde aspirations. Compounding this was the influence of British politics, audiences, and press, whose expectations were shaped by Britain's expansionist ambitions, both cultural and political, as well as by enduring stereotypes of Italy as a land of picturesque landscapes and nostalgic echoes of the past. Yet despite its inconsistencies, the Pavilion offered an unprecedented survey of Italy's vibrant artistic landscape at the *fin de siècle*: though it failed to construct a singular narrative of "Modern Italian art", it brought to light the interplay of national ambition, cultural diplomacy, and market forces on an international stage. The Pavilion's enduring legacy lies not in its ability to resolve these tensions, but in the complex dialogue it initiated – between official and experimental currents, and Italian self-representation and foreign reception – that would continue to shape the global circulation and interpretation of Italian art in the decades that followed. One British reviewer, writing for *The Illustrated London News*, recognized the potential significance of the event: "Their special characteristics [of the currents within Italian art] are sufficiently interesting to make them worthy of separate study".[79] That call would begin to be answered in the following decade, when art writers such as Helen Zimmern and Ashton Rollins Willard brought sustained critical attention to nineteenth-century Italian art in British publications, responding to an urgency to investigate, acknowledge, and do justice to the status and role of "Modern Italian art" in the international art world.

NOTES

1. "The Opening of the Italian Exhibition," *The Morning Post*, 12 May 1888, p. 5.
2. Charles Lowe, ed., *Four National Exhibitions in London and their Organizers* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1892), p. 131.
3. *Italian Exhibition in London, 1888. Official Guide* (London: Waterlow & Sons, 1888), p. xxii (uppercase in original).
4. "The Opening of the Italian Exhibition," p. 5.
5. See Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour. Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London and Portland: Frank Cass, 1998).
6. See J. A. S. Grenville, *Europe Reshaped, 1848-1878* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 130; Martin Clark, *The Italian Risorgimento* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 78-79; and Owain J. Wright, *Great Britain and the Unifying of Italy: A Special Relationship?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 8-9.
7. Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," *New Formations* 4 (1988): pp. 73-102.
8. Richard Altick, *The Shows of London: A Panoramic History of Exhibitions* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978); Karen Eifler, "Between Attraction and Instruction: Lantern Shows in British Poor Relief," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 8 (2010): pp. 362-384.
9. Joe Kember, John Plunkett, and Jill Sullivan, "What is an Exhibition Culture?," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 8 (2010): pp. 347-350.
10. For instance, see the success of Antonio Canova. For Canova's critical fortune in Britain, see Timothy Clifford, "Canova in Context: The Sculptor, his Reputation, his British Patrons and his Visit to England," in *The Three Graces. Antonio Canova*, ed. Timothy Clifford, Hugh Honour, and Aidan Weston-Lewis (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1995), pp. 9-17.
11. See Rosella Mamoli Zorzi, *Ralph W. Curtis, un pittore americano a Venezia: Biografia* (Venice Lido: Supernova, 2019), pp. 63-64. For a list of the artworks on display, *Esposizione nazionale artistica, Venezia 1887: Catalogo ufficiale* (Venice: 1887).
12. Marie Tavinor, "'Try what my Credit can in Venice do': The Consumption of British Painting at the Venice Biennale, 1895-1914" (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2016).
13. Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).
14. "The Exhibition Fever," *The Graphic*, 19 May 1888, p. 518.
15. Lowe, *Four National Exhibitions*, p. 17.
16. Lowe, *Four National Exhibitions*, p. 17.
17. For biographical information about Whitley, see Lowe, *Four National Exhibitions*, pp. 13-30.
18. Lowe, *Four National Exhibitions*, p. 13.
19. See "Art critic's frauds," *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 7 February 1910, p. 2; and "Art critic sentenced. Carew Martin sent to prison for embezzlement," *Reynold's Newspaper*, 13 March 1910, p. 9.
20. T. Carew Martin, "Introduction," in *The Italian Exhibition in London, 1888. The Official Art Catalogue* (London: Waterlow & Sons Limited, 1888), pp. xviii-xix. At first, King Umberto showed reluctance to subsidize the exhibition. Lowe, *Four National Exhibitions*, p. 147.
21. Martin, "Introduction," p. xvi.
22. Martin, "Introduction," p. xvi.
23. See "The Pictures at the Italian Exhibition," *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 23 June 1888, p. 759; also Martin, "Introduction," p. xvi.
24. Martin, "Introduction," p. xviii.
25. Vittore [Grubicy], "L'Esposizione Italiana di Londra. L'Arte in Rialzo," *La Riforma*, 31 May 1888, n.p.
26. Martin, "Introduction," p. xviii.
27. For images of the sculptures on display, see Luigi Chirtani, *Ricordo della Esposizione italiana, Londra 1888* (London and Milan: Walter Hill and Treves, 1888). For a full list, *The Italian Exhibition in London, 1888. The Official Art Catalogue*, pp. 55-68. Classically-inspried sculptures included Francesco Jerace's *Germanico* (1880), Ettore Ferrari's *Ovidio* (1887), and *Cum Spartaco Pugnavit* (1877). Medardo Rosso exhibited four works: *Golden Wedding* (290; *Aetas Aurea*, bronze, 1885-1887), *"Oh that it were Whiskey"* (291; *Scaccino – Sagrestano*, bronze, 1883-1887), *A Scamp* (292; *Birichino*, bronze, 1882-1887), and *A Street Boy* (295; *Locch*, bronze, 1883); Leonardo Bistolfi exhibited four works: *Sunset* (54), *It Rains* (57; *Piove – Le Oche*, 1887), *Country People* (58; *I Contadini*, 1887), and *Trio* (171; possibly *Il Terzetto*); Paolo Troubetzkoy (misspelled "Trombetzkoi") exhibited three works: *Bronze dog* (113), *Bronze Figure of an Elephant* (302), and *Group of Cows* (303).
28. Hilary Fraser, *The Victorians and Renaissance in Italy* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 212-256.
29. Martin, "Introduction," p. xix.
30. "The Royal Academy (Fourth Notice)," *The Athenaeum*, 12 June 1886, p. 785.
31. Martin, "Introduction," p. xx.
32. See Paul Nicholls, "Favretto e il Collezionismo Inglese," in *Giacomo Favretto. Venezia, Fascino e Seduzione*, ed. Paolo Serafini (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2010), pp. 72-75.
33. "Art in July. Exhibitions of the Month," *The Magazine of Art* (1888): p. xxxviii.
34. Nicholls, "Favretto e il Collezionismo Inglese," pp. 72-75. *Venetian Rag Market* can be identified with *Venezianischer Trodelmarkt* on sale at E. A. Fleischmann's in 1906. *A Wedding on the Canal* can be identified with *La Partenza degli Sposi* (1881), possibly the same painting exhibited at St. James's Gallery in 1885 as *Return from the Wedding – a Scene on the Grand Canal, Venice*. Vittore, "L'Esposizione Italiana di Londra," *La Riforma*, 17 May 1888, n.p. Grubicy described *Courtship* as "'Gl'innamorati,' delightful scene, in last century's style [eighteenth century], face-powder scented and exquisitely good taste". Therefore, *Courtship* might be identified with *Soli (Alone, a Corner of the Salon*, 1883).
35. See the description of the painting *Summer Recreation*, on display at Mendoza's Gallery in Spring 1883, "Mr. Mendoza's Fine Art Collection," *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette*, 9 March 1883: "We are introduced to a number of high bred dames, solemnly going through the ceremony of receiving a visit from their children. The tiny things are brought forward by their nurses… The surroundings are all of a luxuriant nature." Paul Nicholls, "Dal mito alla realtà: Gli Anglosassoni e la mutata percezione di Venezia," in *Il Mito di Venezia: da Hayez alla Biennale*, ed. Elisabetta Chiodini (Novara: METS Percorsi d'Arte, 2021), p. 93.
36. See Francesco Parisi, "Una confraternità preraffaellita in Italia, 'In Arte Libertas', 1886-1902," in *Preraffaelliti. Rinascimento moderno*, eds. Cristina Luchinat Acidini, Francesco Parisi, Elizabeth Prettejohn, and Peter Trippi (Milan: Dario Cimorelli, 2024), pp. 125-135.
37. Arnika Schmidt, *Nino Costa (1826-1903): Transnational Exchange in European Landscape Painting* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2016).
38. Christopher Newall, ed., *The Etruscans. Painters of the Italian Landscape 1850-1900* (London: Fennprint, 1989).
39. *The Official Art Catalogue*, no. 314, p. 16 (Room H). Possibly identifiable with *In Tempo di Pace* (1880) of the Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna in Turin.
40. Over thirty artworks by Giovanni Segantini were on display. *The Official Art Catalogue*, pp. 19-20 and catalogue. Room L: 232 and 233. Room H: 382, 384 to 387, 390, 391, 394 to 418.
41. See Fernando Mazzocca, ed., *Gaetano Previati 1852 – 1920: un protagonista del simbolismo europeo* (Milan: Electa, 1999), in particular Sergio Rebora, "Arte come impresa. Il caso Previati-Grubicy," pp. 46-53. Also, Gianna Piantoni, "Nota su Gaetano Previati e la cultura simbolista europea," in *Divisionismo Italiano*, ed. Gabriella Belli (Milan: Electa, 1990), pp. 230-241; and, Elisabetta Staudacher, ed., *Brera 1891. L'esposizione che rivoluzionò l'arte moderna* (Milan: Gallerie Maspes, 2016), in particular Aurora Scotti, "Milano 1891: la Prima Triennale di Brera," pp. 83-103.
42. Giovanni Segantini, quoted in Annie-Paule Quinsac, "Grubicy. Dicotomia di un viaggio: dal sogno di un mercato internazionale per l'Arte Italiana alla pittura come autobiografia," in Annie-Paule Quinsac, *Vittore Grubicy e l'Europa. Alle radici del Divisionismo* (Milan: Skira, 2005), p. 13.
43. Quinsac, "Grubicy. Dicotomia," pp. 13-14.
44. In *Illustrated Catalogue of Alberto Grubicy's Picture Gallery in the Italian Exhibition in London* (Milan: Alberto Grubicy, 1888), as *The End (the Triwulzio Charitable Institute in Milan)*, *"Pall Mall Gazette". A Subject, Intemperance*, *The Viaticum (the Triwulzio Charitable Institute in Milan)* all by Morbelli; and *Soup-Kitchens (Charitable Institute in Milan)* by Pusterla.
45. In *Alberto Grubicy's Picture Gallery*, as *The Ave Maria (Lake at Pusiano)*, and *At the Tether*. In Annie-Paule Quinsac, *Segantini. Catalogo generale*, vol. 2 (Milan: Electa, 1982), as *Ave Maria a Trasbordo (Second Version)*, no. 506, p. 412; and Quinsac, *Segantini, Catalogo generale*, vol. 1, no. 370, p. 288.
46. Writing to Vittore Grubicy, Frederick Leighton, Lawrence Alma Tadema, and Philip Wilson Steer expressed their gratitude to Vittore for sending copies of the catalogue of the *Alberto Grubicy's Picture Gallery*. Alma Tadema to Vittore Grubicy, 14 June 1888; and Philip Wilson Steer to Vittore Grubicy, undated, possibly summer 1888. Rovereto, Archivio del 900 MART: Fondo Grubicy-Benvenuti, Gru.I.1.1.16 (29); Gru.I.1.1.939 (49).
47. Anne Helmreich, "The Art Market and the Spaces of Sociability in Victorian London," *Victorian Studies* 59 (2017): p. 441; and Anne Helmreich, "The Art Dealer and Taste: The Case of David Croal Thomson and the Goupil Gallery, 1885-1897," *Visual Culture in Britain* 6 (2005): p. 34.
48. *Alberto Grubicy's Picture Gallery*, pp. 7-8 and 24.
49. *Alberto Grubicy's Picture Gallery*, p. 10.
50. Martin, "Introduction," p. xviii.
51. Vittore Grubicy, "L'Esposizione Italiana di Londra. La vendita Sciuti," *La Riforma*, 9 June 1888; and Vittore Grubicy, "L'Esposizione Italiana di Londra. Notizie spicciole," *La Riforma*, 20 June 1888. The Leeds-born investor John Thomas North (1842-1896) became famous for his controversial business in the nitrate industry, which he established between Great Britain and South America at the turn of the 1880s. North rapidly turned it into a highly lucrative monopoly, earning the nickname "the Nitrate King". North's monopoly would collapse shortly after his death; today, his name is associated with reckless investments practices and human right abuses in his industries.
52. Annie-Paule Quinsac, "Londra 1888: 'The Italian Exhibition'," in Quinsac, *Vittore Grubicy e l'Europa*, pp. 151-152.
53. Martin, "Introduction," pp. xvi-xvii.
54. Martin, "Introduction," p. xviii.
55. *Official Guide*, p. 7.
56. Lowe, *Four National Exhibitions*, pp. 131-132.
57. Lowe, *Four National Exhibitions*, pp. 131-132; *The Times*, 11 May 1888.
58. "The Pictures at the Italian Exhibition," p. 759.
59. "Art Chronicle," *The Portfolio: An Artistic Periodical* (1888): p. 144.
60. Carew Martin, "Introduction," p. xix.
61. Carew Martin, "Introduction," p. xix.
62. "Art in July," p. xxxviii.
63. "Art Chronicle," p. 144.
64. "The Pictures at the Italian Exhibition," p. 759.
65. "Art Chronicle," p. 144.
66. "Art in July," p. xxxviii. Grubicy in his reviews on *La Riforma* referred to critics frequently pronouncing the term "pacotille" to describe the sculptures on display. Vittore (Vittore Grubicy), "L'esposizione Italiana di Londra. Delle arti – una questione importante," *La Riforma*, 16 May 1888, n. p.
67. "The Pictures at the Italian Exhibition," p. 759.
68. "The Pictures at the Italian Exhibition," p. 759.
69. Martin, "Introduction," p. xix.
70. See Kenneth McConkey, *British Impressionism* (London: Guild Publishing-Phaidon, 1989), p. 63.
71. "Art at the Italian Exhibition," *The Illustrated London News*, 23 June 1888, p. 691.
72. "The Pictures at the Italian Exhibition," p. 759.
73. "The Pictures at the Italian Exhibition," p. 759.
74. "Art in July," p. xxxviii.
75. Robert W. Rydell and Nancy E. Gwinn, eds., *Fair Representations. World's Fairs and the Modern World* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994).
76. Burton Benedict, "Rituals of Representation: Ethnic Stereotypes and Colonized Peoples at World's Fairs," in *Fair Representations. World's Fairs and the Modern World*, eds. Robert W. Rydell and Nancy E. Gwinn (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), pp. 28-29.
77. Benedict, "Rituals of Representation," pp. 28-29.
78. Benedict, "Rituals of Representation," pp. 28-31.
79. "Art at the Italian Exhibition," p. 691.

Fig. 1 / Salvator Rosa, *Portrait of a Man with a Headband*, ca. 1650, oil on canvas, 65 x 48 cm, Columbus, OH, Croce Collection.

BOOK REVIEW

The Collecting of Art
Under the Lens: The Art of Discovery

Edited by Francesca S. Croce
(Rome: Campisano Editore, 2024)

TIMOTHY REVELL

The book here under review is a Festschrift dedicated to the collector Dr. Carlo Croce who, since the tender age of twelve, has assembled, in the words of Richard Spear, "the largest private collection of Italian Baroque paintings in the United States".[1] Although his collection has long been known to scholars and museum curators, this is the first major publication devoted to it. Rather than a comprehensive catalogue raisonné, the book's purpose is to examine the collection through multiple interpretive lenses and investigate distinct components, including drawings and oil sketches. Edited by Croce's daughter, the art historian Francesca Croce, the volume features contributions by ten international scholars, with essays in English, Italian, and French.

Dr. Carlo Croce himself is a medical doctor and scientist, to whom several important discoveries are attributed.[2] His interest in art, however, started humbly with the purchase of an unattributed picture. His youthful eye was apparently extraordinarily discerning since the painting was eventually identified as a portrait by Salvator Rosa (fig. 1). This precocity calls to mind Bernard Berenson's assertion that Renaissance art embodied the essence of youth and its fervent desire to explore, understand, and transform the human experience.[3]

Dr. Croce also participates in a centuries-long convergence of medical and artistic interest. Indeed, in the early Renaissance, doctors and artists were part of the same guild.[4] In the first artist-autobiography, Benvenuto Cellini, who was sceptical of doctors, nevertheless admitted that the physician and anatomist Giacomo da Capri was "a great connoisseur in the arts of design".[5] The collector, cultural broker, and famous biographer Giulio Mancini was a doctor.[6] The Italophilic Flemish master Peter Paul Rubens spent much of his life in the company of intellectual doctors and scientists, including Johann Faber in Rome.[7] During Rubens's time in England (1629-1630), the doctor Théodore de Mayerne interviewed the painter on his pigments and varnishes, eventually writing a study on these materials.[8] Rubens made one of his best *en trois crayons* drawings of Mayerne and made another luminous portrait of the doctor Ludovicus Nonnius positioned before a bust of Hippocrates (London, National Gallery).[9] There is perhaps something of a Hippocratic mode to the assembled essays which are investigative and probing. One of the most famous scientists of the early modern period, Galileo Galilei, is traditionally recognized as the sitter, looking through a monocular, in a picture attributed to Pietro Paolini and highlighted by Francesca Croce in her introduction (see fig. 2).[10] In order to confirm the identity of the depicted monocularist, Francesca Croce identifies a medical condition – a sebaceous cyst under the left eye.[11] The often-depicted cyst under his left eye was also recently used to identity Galileo in Rubens's famous *Mantuan Friendship Portrait* of 1604-1606 (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum).[12]

Francesca Croce also introduces us to other masterpieces in the collection, in both painting and drawing: firstly, Giovanni Lanfranco's *Diana at the Bath with Three Putti* (fig. 3), an amusing and playful picture with Diana splashing frolicking putti, reminding us that seventeenth-century Italian artists did not just "paint black";[13] secondly Guercino's virtuosic drawing of *David and Abigail* (fig. 4) which relates to a famous lost painting by the artist. The latter sheet was thought to be a studio copy when it was sold at a sensational sale of drawings at Sotheby's in 1972.[14] In 2010, Dorotheum catalogued it as by Guercino himself, citing the view of Nicolas Turner, who subsequently included it in his 2017 catalogue raisonné.[15] According to Turner, it is "a spectacular drawn *modello*":[16] he identifies it as the preparatory study for the gigantic painting of the same subject formerly (now destroyed) in the celebrated Bridgewater collection, which also at one time included the drawing. This interesting history and provenance warrants a closer look. Francesca Croce reiterates the provenance given by Dorotheum in 2010 which ultimately derives from the Sotheby's sale catalogue of 1972.[17] This traces the drawing as having come from the collection of Lord Francis Egerton (later 1st Earl of Ellesmere). However, the drawing shows up in the 1851 catalogue of the Bridgewater collection as number 302 with the description: "Abigail meeting David with presents. A drawing in bistre for the large picture described in No. 27 of the Catalogue".[18] As the catalogue tells us, the entries that are marked with an asterisk "were added to the Collection by the EARL of ELLESMERE".[19] The Guercino drawing has no such asterisk. Thus, the drawing seems not to have been purchased by the 1st Earl of Ellesmere himself.[20] Who then could have acquired it? The drawing might have been purchased either by the 2nd Marquess of Stafford (Ellesmere's father, created 1st Duke of Sutherland in 1833) or by the progenitor of the Bridgewater collection, the 3rd Duke

Fig. 2 / Pietro Paolini, *Portrait of Galileo Galilei*, ca. 1631-1633, oil on canvas, 66 x 92 cm, Columbus, OH, Croce Collection.

Fig. 3 / Giovanni Lanfranco, *Diana at the Bath with Three Putti*, ca. 1630-1633, oil on canvas, 110 x 93 cm, Columbus, OH, Croce Collection.

Fig. 4 / Guercino, *David and Abigail*, 1626-1637, pen and brown wash on two sheets of paper, 62.5 x 75.7 cm, Columbus, OH, Croce Collection.

of Bridgewater. The complicated will of the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater (who died without issue) stipulated that his nephew the 2nd Marquess of Stafford would inherit the pictures with a life interest, but the collection would then pass on to his younger son Lord Francis Leveson-Gower, with the stipulation that he change his family name to Egerton (created Earl of Ellesmere 1846). After the death of the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater, the 2nd Marquess of Stafford inherited the pictures and combined them with his own collection, forming the Stafford Gallery from 1806-1830.[21] In 1830, Lord Francis Leveson-Gower took over.[22] The 2nd Marquess of Stafford moved his acquisitions to York House (renamed Stafford House – now Lancaster House).[23] Presumably, if the 2nd Marquess of Stafford had collected the drawing, he would have taken it with him, as he did other acquisitions. Given this evidence, it seems probable that the sheet had already entered the collection under the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater. This hypothesis seems especially plausible given that he had also secured the renowned painting at the Orléans sale of 1798-1799.[24]

Fig. 5 / Jan van Orley and Augustin Coppens, *The Miraculous Draught of the Fishes*, ca. 1727, oil on canvas, 265 x 370 cm (280 x 390 before restoration), Columbus, OH, Croce Collection.

A closer look at the Sotheby's sale of 1972 reveals perhaps another clue. The catalogue states that every drawing in the sale had been purchased by Lord Ellesmere from the sale of the Thomas Lawrence drawings in 1836.[25] That is, every drawing except for the Guercino. This could also indicate it was already in the collection.

The volume continues to present much fascinating art historical "detective work".[26] But this relates not only to seicento Italian art. Larissa Mohr, herself known for discoveries, presents a new reassessment of a Flemish artwork in the Croce collection.[27] The painting in question depicts the *Miraculous Draught of the Fishes* (fig. 5) and at first glance seems to be a copy after the famous Raphael cartoon. In 2022, the painting was a late addition to the works on display at the second venue (the Columbus Museum of Art) of Stephan Koja's and Larissa Mohr's 2020 exhibition on the Dresden Raphael tapestries. As Mohr explains, at that time, the exhibition catalogue had already been printed, so the picture was not included.[28] One can view this essay as the missing catalogue entry.

With penetrating detail, Mohr examines the difference between the Croce picture and the Raphael cartoon, showing that it is not a direct copy or tracing. Both the Croce painting and the Raphael cartoon are wonderfully illustrated beside each other so the reader can easily follow Mohr's visual comparisons. After exploring variances, Mohr asserts, "it turns out that, out of the many re-weavings of the highly popular *Miraculous Draft of the Fishes*, only one corresponds".[29] That is, the painting is not just a painting but in fact, as she identifies it, an eighteenth-century cartoon for a set of tapestries now at Arundel Castle in West Sussex (fig. 6).[30] This group of four tapestries illustrates scenes inspired by Raphael's series of *Acts of the Apostles*, though they were not woven after his original cartoons, but rather after designs by Jan van Orley and Augustin Coppens, one of which appears to be the Croce painting. These were woven in the 1720s in Brussels at the workshop of the Leyniers family.[31] In the sixteenth century, most cartoons were made on paper, but in the seventeenth century designs for tapestries were increasingly executed as full scale oil-on-canvas paintings, an innovation that Rubens might have invented.[32] As Mohr suggests, the Croce painting (or cartoon) was likely used as a template in a manner comparable to the *Decius Mus* cartoons by Rubens (and Van Dyck). This practice was reported by Bellori, who noted that Van Dyck was responsible for both the oil-on-canvas paintings and the paper cartoons, the latter of which were most likely employed as working materials by the weavers.[33]

Fig. 6 / Leyniers workshop after Jan van Orley and Augustin Coppens (after Rapheal), *The Miraculous Draught of the Fishes*, ca. 1727, wool and silk, 375 x 410 cm, Arundel Castle, the Collection of the Duke of Norfolk.

Another attentive observation made by Mohr is the absence of halos in the Croce picture, unlike the Raphael cartoons where the apostles are haloed. Mohr attributes this innovation to the later tapestries' Protestant patronage, namely to "the Duke of Norfolk… certainly Protestant as a British Duke of the eighteenth century".[34] However, it should be noted that the dukes of Norfolk family name is Howard (becoming Fitzalan-Howard beginning in 1842), and the Howards were (and still are) one of the oldest and most prominent Catholic families in England.[35] The present dukes of Norfolk are descended from the eldest son of the 4th Duke of Norfolk, Saint Philip Howard (1557-1595), who was canonized as a martyr saint by the Roman Catholic Church in 1970.[36] The patron of the tapestries for which the Croce cartoon was designed was the 8th Duke of Norfolk (d. 1732), as demonstrated by the display of his armorial bearings on the tapestries, who was most certainly a Catholic.[37] If Protestant patronage was not the driving force behind the commissioning of the tapestries, one wonders what prompted the commission, and indeed why there are no halos?

Charles I imported the Raphael cartoons to England in 1623. They were not immediately displayed as artworks in their own right (as they are now at the V&A) but instead used to make tapestries at Mortlake, the Stuart tapestry firm founded by James I and subsequently patronized by his son Charles I. During the Stuart reign in the seventeenth century, staunch royalists commissioned sets of Raphael's *Acts* at Mortlake.[38] The 1st Earl of Holland, who commissioned the first non-royal set, was later put to death for fighting for Charles I in the Civil War.[39] The next set was commissioned by the 4th Earl of Pembroke, who was part of Charles I's inner circle in the 1630s,[40] and the next set was commissioned by Christian, Countess of Devonshire, who was linked to the infamous "Sealed Knot" plot during the Interregnum which sought to re-establish the Stuart monarchy.[41]

This history is significant as many members of the Howard family displayed Stuart royalist and later Jacobite tendencies.[42] In the early eighteenth century, the family still fervently hoped for the restoration of the Stuart monarchy. The 8th Duke of Norfolk's wife, Maria Shireburn, openly denounced George I as a usurper, and the 8th Duke himself was arrested in 1722 in Bath for suspicious Jacobite intrigues and imprisoned in the Tower of London.[43] His brother (later the 9th Duke) was arrested and tried for High Treason after having taken part in the infamous Jacobite rebellion of 1715. It was against this backdrop that the Norfolk tapestries were commissioned in the 1720s.

The fact that new cartoons needed to be made for the Norfolk tapestries, woven in Brussels, reflects the fact that in the mid-eighteenth century, Mortlake had been dissolved – but the Stuart cause was still very much alive. In light of this context, the tapestries functioned as a visual expression of allegiance to both original Catholic provenance – as a papal commission[44] – and also to the Stuart dynasty and Jacobitism.[45]

But what about the lack of halos? Is this a Protestant innovation, reflecting "the cult of saints [being] attacked"?[46] Part of the argument put forward is a comparison to the Dresden set, which also lacks halos.[47] However, none of the other Mortlake sets of Raphael's *Acts*, commissioned for Protestant patrons, are without halos. It therefore seems improbable that this is a Protestant element. The de-haloed Dresden set was offered for sale in Paris in 1723, coinciding with the period during which the Norfolk set was being executed in nearby Brussels.[48] It is worth questioning whether the Dresden tapestries played a role stylistically in the Croce cartoon and Norfolk tapestries. Nonetheless, the absence of halos could just as easily be understood as a stylistic development, consistent with the broader decline of their use in art during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Another set executed after these cartoons was created for Empress Maria Theresa, a devout Catholic who persecuted Protestants; accordingly, she would not have interpreted the absence of halos as a marker of Protestant iconography.

Fig. 7 / Antonio Circignani, *Madonna of the Rosary*, ca. 1621-1629, oil on canvas, 236 x 181 cm, Columbus, OH, Croce Collection.

In Mohr's introduction, she reiterates the often-repeated view that Rubens may have been the agent in the sale of the Raphael cartoons to the Prince of Wales (later Charles I) in 1623. This is a common trope in Raphael studies; however, in this writer's view it is unlikely and does not correspond to Rubens's ideological orientation or his established contact with the Caroline court.[49] Only a few years later in 1628, when Charles I acquired the collection of the dukes of Mantua, Rubens indicated vehement opposition to its export out of Italy, claiming that the duke should have died before he was able to sell to "the English".[50] Moreover, on 15 June 1628, Rubens wrote a damning critique: "This sale displeases me so much that I feel like exclaiming, in the person of the Genius of that state: *Migremus hinc!*".[51] Bearing this in mind, it is highly questionable that Rubens only a few years earlier would have facilitated the export of one the greatest papal commissions by one of the (if not the) most revered artists of the Italian Renaissance. Additionally, we do not know if Rubens ever saw the cartoons himself, let alone acted as an agent for Charles I.[52]

Other essays seek to highlight larger themes within the Croce collection, including the excellent essay by Helen Kohn titled, "Divine Depictions: Analyzing the Heavenly Representations of Mary in the Croce Collection". The seventeenth century saw a sudden boom in new saints and reports of visions. As Kohn notes, it was during this period that the traditional Renaissance *sacra conversazione* began to take on new dramatic and narrative elements, which were often linked to mystical qualities.[53] She focuses on three paintings in the Croce collection to illustrate these shifts in seicento art, the first being Antonio Circignani's *Madonna of the Rosary* (fig. 7). Using a Friedländerian method of comparison (to Roncalli's

Fig. 8 / Pietro da Cortona, *Age of Iron*, 1641, oil sketch on canvas, 80 x 62 cm, Columbus, OH, Croce Collection.

Fig. 9 / Pietro da Cortona, *Age of Iron*, 1641, fresco, Florence, Palazzo Pitti.

frescos at Loreto), she dates the picture to the first two decades of the seventeenth century.[54] Kohn admirably breaks down the complex iconography of saints in the picture, identifying them one by one. The principal saint, Saint Dominic, in his characteristic black and white, is depicted receiving the Rosary, a popular Dominican theme. Kohn identifies the kneeling saint behind Dominic as Saint Francis, and beside him a pope whom she assumes must bear a crypto-portrait;[55] the figure could, she speculates, be "a deceased pope in the guise of a contemporary counterpart".[56] As options, she mentions both Pope Gregory XV and Pope Urban VIII and then judiciously compares the image to the sculptural busts of the respective popes created by Bernini. However, she comes up empty-handed. It is possible, on the other hand, that the figure is not a contemporary pope representing a deceased pope, but rather a deceased pope alluding to a contemporary one. In this case, it could be that Saint Gregory the Great is intended to be recognized as the namesake of Pope Gregory XV. The saint is depicted with Gregory the Great's typical shimmering gold vestments, just visible, and although often depicted with his papal tiara, both Annibale Carracci and Guercino depicted Saint Gregory wearing the papal *camauro*, a red-velvet hat with ermine trimming.[57] Both of these depictions lack beards, but in 1607-1608, Rubens had created a very similar Saint Gregory for the Oratorians at Santa Maria in Vallicella. Namesake popes were not atypical, as Kohn herself points out. Annibale Carracci's *Saint Gregory the Great* meant for San Gregorio al Celio in Rome was long identified with Pope Gregory XIV (r. 1590-1591).[58]

Anna Lo Bianco, in her well-written essay on Pietro da Cortona, showcases yet another element of the Croce

collection – oil sketches (or here *bozzetti*). She begins by boldly stating that Cortona's engagement with Rubens represented "a turning point" in Baroque art, citing Rubens's *Horrors of War* which arrived in Florence in 1637.[59] A young Cortona had also lingered for extended periods before Rubens's paintings at Santa Maria in Vallicella, an experience, as Lo Bianco maintains, that proved formative.[60] Although Cortona is often associated with his Roman commissions – particularly his renowned ceiling at the Palazzo Barberini – in 1637, he notably interrupted work on this major project, which for him was comparable to

the Sistine Chapel or the Farnese ceiling, to travel to Florence. This visit coincided with the arrival of the above-mentioned *Horrors of War* by Rubens. The purpose of Cortona's trip was the decoration of the *Sala della Stufa* at the Palazzo Pitti. This must have been prearranged, as Francesco Solinas has suggested.[61] Cortona was to decorate the Four Ages of Man according to Ovid (Gold, Silver, Bronze, Iron), but after completing the Golden and Silver Ages, he scurried back to Rome to finish his great ceiling for Pope Urban VIII. When he returned in May 1641 to finish the last two, he also executed the Croce oil sketch of the *Age of Iron* (fig. 8), which reveals, in Cortona's Rubensian "horror", the brutality of that age. A solider attacks another man, pinning him down with his knee and about to thrust an iron knife into the pulsating body beneath him. The "freedom of execution" increases the feeling of chaotic brutality and "highlights the violent nature of the episode".[62] Cortona creates a preparatory work that is more atmospheric than precise. The details are hazy and darkness engulfs the scene, whereas the finished fresco (fig. 9) is lighter and more colourful, which makes the scene, in the words of Lo Bianco, "perverse".[63] Perhaps the difference in colour palette and the lightening of the fresco was required to unify the overall décor of the room which already boasted the earlier Golden and Silver Ages.

Rounding out the volume are two contributions on drawings. Cristiana Romalli provides an insight into Dr. Carlo Croce, the collector, and his presence "in the world of drawings since the early 1980s".[64] As she recalls, this was the period that saw an uptick in drawings on the market and interest from collectors.

She reports that the Croce collection has significant holdings of drawings, including examples by Fra Bartolomeo and Gian Lorenzo Bernini, but Romalli focuses her tribute to Dr. Croce on two drawings on blue paper, one by Tintoretto (fig. 10) and another of *Saint Jerome* which Romalli here reattributes to Paris Bordone. The Tintoretto drawing is a study for the figure of Christ in the *Raising of Lazarus* in Minneapolis. Romalli suggests that Tintoretto used a wooden mannequin swathed in drapery in order to understand the falling folds of cloth.

Turning to the drawing of *Saint Jerome* (fig. 11) she comments on the "decisive and rapid style" and the "touches of white chalk, scattered throughout, that create a play of light".[65] To Romalli, this is the signature of Paris Bordone. Comparing it with other sheets, particularly the *Musician Playing a Viola de Gamba* in the Morgan Library, and citing the influence of Titian on the youthful Bordone, she dates the drawing to the 1520s.

Francesca Croce, in her closing essay, returns to another drawing by Guercino (see fig. 12). This is also a study for a large painting, in this case the sensational altarpiece of *Saint William Receiving his Monastic Habit*, for Santi Gregorio e Siro in Bologna (now Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna; see fig. 13). The Croce drawing, as Francesca Croce suggests, uses brown diluted wash to accentuate gradations of shadow which "demonstrates Guercino's skill in using shading to enhance the dramatic intensity of the scene".[66] Despite its gestural and seemingly cursory approach, the drawing demonstrates a confident hand and solid grasp of underlying structure. It depicts a critical moment of revelation. Saint William looks up with "spiritual transcendence" as he embarks

Fig. 10 / Jacopo Tintoretto, *Study of a Figure*, ca. 1580, black chalk with white heightening on blue paper, 42.4 x 26.2 cm, Columbus, OH, Croce Collection.

Fig. 11 / Paris Bordone, *Saint Jerome*, 1520s, black and white chalk on blue paper, 22.2 x 17.9 cm, Columbus, OH, Croce Collection.

on the humble beginning of a new monastic life.[67] The Croce drawing displays the new-found "piety and pensiveness" that comes with trading armour for asceticism. The painting itself became the most famous altarpiece in Bologna. As Francesca Croce reports, Malvasia called it "incomparably beautiful".[68] Not only that, but he also claimed that all other painters were terrified of it, for viewers were so "dazzled by the excessive light" that they were blinded to anything else nearby.[69] This also seems to be true of Napoleon, who seized the altarpiece in 1796, carrying it off to the Louvre among other Italian treasures.[70] Croce reminds the reader that Ludovico Carracci was the hero of Malvasia's *Felsina Pittrice* and, seen in this context, Malvasia's comments on the greatness of the Guercino are significant.[71]

Fig. 12 / Guercino, *Study for Saint William Receiving his Monastic Habit*, 1620, drawing in pen, brown ink and wash, 15 x 11.4 cm, Columbus, OH, Croce Collection.

Fig. 13 / Guercino, *Saint William Receiving his Monastic Habit*, 1620, oil on canvas, 348.5 x 231 cm, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale.

To conclude, this volume shows Dr. Carlo Croce's considerable enthusiasm for new discoveries, and his bid to uncover new knowledge. The Croce collection is far from being solely a private collection; it also constitutes a significant site of academic study and critical investigation. Moreover, the volume highlights the ongoing nature of the scholarly inquiry into these works. For example, Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée does not provide a definitive attribution for a Croce painting of a woman with paint brushes and holding a portrait of man (called *Allegory of Painting*), although he dismisses earlier attributions to Artemisia Gentileschi and Virginia da Vezzo, the wife of Simon Vouet, suggesting that the matter remains open for further investigation.[72] Also included in the catalogue are essays by Emilio Negro on Pietro Faccini, Nicola Spinosa on Filippo Falciatore, and Francesca Baldassari on other key paintings housed in the Croce collection. Bringing together scholars of different generations and academic backgrounds, the volume underscores the important role that private collections can play in terms of new discoveries in the field of early modern art, as well as the vital necessity of bringing artworks in private collections "under the lens".

NOTES

1. Richard Spear, "An Invisible Web: Art Historians Behind the Collecting of Italian Baroque Art," in *Buying Baroque. Italian Seventeenth-Century Paintings Come to America*, ed. Edgar Peters Bowron (New York, NY: The Frick Collection; University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), p. 63. Referred to in the introduction, see Francesca Croce, "From the Laboratories to Allegories: An Introduction to the Croce Collection," in *Under the Lens: The Art of Discovery*, ed. Francesca Croce (Rome: Campisano Editore, 2024), p. 9.
2. These are delineated by Francesca Croce; see Croce, "From the Laboratories to Allegories," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 7.
3. "[The Renaissance] stands for youth, and youth alone – for intellectual curiosity and energy grasping at the whole of life as material which it hopes to mould to any shape." Bernard Berenson, *The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance, with an Index to their Works* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894), p. vii.
4. "Painters were admitted to the guild of doctors and pharmacists in 1314, perhaps because they had to grind their colors just as pharmacists ground materials for medicines." Frederick Hartt and David G. Wilkins, *History of Italian Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture*, 7th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2011), p. 24.
5. Cellini also reports that the famous doctor bought a pair of vases from him. *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, trans. John Addington Symonds (Cleveland, OH: Five Editions Press, 1952), p. 49.
6. Mancini was made papal physician in 1623. Frances Gage calls him a "cultural broker" instead of "dealer". For more on his engagement with art see chapter one in Frances Gage, *Painting as Medicine in Early Modern Rome: Giulio Mancini and the Efficacy of Art* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016), pp. 17-36; for him as "cultural broker", p. 22.
7. Rubens wrote one of his friendliest and then one of his most melancholic letters to Johann Faber; see letters 20 and 21 in Ruth Saunders Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955), pp. 52-54.
8. For an introduction to Mayerne and his numerous artist acquaintances, including Rubens and Van Dyck, see Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Mayerne and his Manuscript," in *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Court: Essays in Honour of Sir Oliver Millar*, ed. David Howarth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 264-293 and esp. p. 269. As Trevor-Roper aptly observed, "The function of a physician at that time, and especially of a chemical physician, was not narrowly specialised, and many physicians had experimented with pigments, jewellery and the decorative arts." The Mayerne manuscript on pigments was on display at the National Gallery in 2014 as part of the exhibition *Making Colour* (18 June – 7 September 2014, no catalogue).
9. For the drawing of Mayerne see the British Museum online catalogue: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1860-0616-36 (accessed August 2025).
10. This instrument was identified by Dr. Carlo Croce as Galileo's refracting telescope of 1609-1610. Croce, "From the Laboratories to Allegories," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 9.
11. Croce, "From the Laboratories to Allegories," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 17.
12. Cleaning and X-rays revealed the cyst under the left eye which had previously been "toned down" by retouching; see Sven Schütte, *Rubens' Mantuan Self Portrait with Companions: Fact Checking, New Insights and a Book* (Heidelberg: ART-Dok on arthistoricum.net, 2023), pp. 1-50, esp. pp. 22-28. https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/8452/1/Schuette_Rubens_mantuan_self_portrait_with_companions_2023.pdf (accessed August 2025).
13. Max Rooses noted that in the seventeenth century there was "a whole series of painters who painted black". Max Rooses, *Rubens*, trans. Harold Child, vol. I (London: Duckworth & Co, 1904), p. 61.
14. *The Times* reported the following day on 12 July 1972: "Carracci drawing doubles auction record" and reported that the film star Alain Delon was bidding (against Tim Rice of *Jesus Christ Superstar*) on a day of "ferocious bidding battles". See *The Times*, 12 July 1972, written by Geraldine Norman (Sale Room Correspondent). The Sotheby's catalogue for the sale on 11 July 1972 preserved at the National Art Library at the V&A records that the Guercino drawing (lot 97) sold for £250.00. This low price was comparable to other studio works sold on the day. *Catalogue of the Ellesmere Collection of Drawings by the Carracci and Other Bolognese Masters Collected by Sir Thomas Lawrence*, Part I, London, Sotheby's & Co., 11 July 1972, lot 97, p. 197; N.B. NAL copy with inserted price list at the end of the volume.
15. In the Dorotheum sale of 13 October 2010, lot 379. It was here that Nicholas Turner first raised the drawing out of the workshop and into the hand of Guercino, see: https://www.dorotheum.com/en/l/4662587/ (accessed August 2025).
16. Nicholas Turner, *The Paintings of Guercino: A Revised and Expanded Catalogue Raisonné* (Rome: Ugo Bozzi Editore, 2017), p. 123.
17. *Catalogue of the Ellesmere Collection of Drawings*, lot 97, p. 197. The only provenance is Francis Egerton, 1st Earl of Ellesmere. In the Dorotheum sale of 13 October 2010, lot 379, this is repeated; see https://www.dorotheum.com/en/l/4662587/ (accessed August 2025).
18. *Catalogue of the Bridgewater Collection of Pictures* (London: 1851), no. 302, p. 48.
19. *Catalogue of the Bridgewater Collection of Pictures*, p. 5.
20. The drawing is not named in the Bridgewater catalogue of 1830, although there are blank entries (no. 292-302) that could represent folios or albums of drawings. See *Catalogue of the pictures belonging to Lord Francis Leveson Gower at Bridgewater House* (London: 1830). In 1851, the renovated Bridgewater House was rehung and a new numbering system for the catalogues was established. Peter Humfrey contends that new catalogue numbers were probably added to the frames at the same time since the catalogues were meant for visitors to match the entries with numbers on the frames. The fact that the Guercino drawing was catalogued with the number 302, which is the number recorded in the Sotheby's catalogue of 1972 as "on the frame of this drawing", could very well mean the drawing was framed and on display starting in 1851 with the new rehang. Moreover, the framing and cataloguing of the drawing (instead of storage in an album or folio) could be the reason the Guercino drawing does not appear in the Bridgewater catalogue of drawings of 1898. *Catalogue of the Ellesmere Collection of drawings at Bridgewater House* (London: 1898). For the numbering system and framing see Peter Humfrey, *The Stafford Gallery: The Greatest Art Collection of Regency London* (Norwich: Unicorn Press, 2019), pp. 252-253. The drawing continues to appear in subsequent additions of the catalogue at 302; see *Catalogue of the Bridgewater and Ellesmere Collections* (London: 1897), no. 302, p. 55.
21. Humfrey, *The Stafford Gallery*, pp. 137-138 and pp. 197-198.
22. Hence the first catalogue appears: *Catalogue of the pictures belonging to Lord Francis Leveson Gower at Bridgewater House* (London: 1830).
23. Humfrey, *The Stafford Gallery*, pp. 125-127.
24. The painting was destroyed by German bombardment on the night of 10/11 May 1941, the most severe air raid of the entire Blitz. However, it is curious that the picture was still in London when the rest of the pictures had been spirited (in fact, motored) to safety in Scotland in 1939. The pictures that were not taken were seventeenth-century Italian, Victorian, or nineteenth-century French pictures. The decision to omit these pictures seems attributable less to issues of transport and more to matters of taste or selection criteria. Later in the war, the librarian to Lord Ellesmere asked to have pictures stored in Manod with the National Gallery pictures. He provided a select list of pictures which is now persevered at the National Gallery, London. None of the pictures on the list are seicento Italian works. For the list see London, National Gallery Archive: "Wartime Storage: Non-National Gallery pictures," NGA35/1/3. I thank Nicholas Smith, archivist at the National Gallery, for bringing this to my attention. Susanna Avery-Quash stated, "although Bridgewater House was bombed… the Diana Titians remained unscathed." Susanna Avery Quash, "The Bridgewater Collection: Its Impact on Collecting and Display in Britain" (lecture, London: National Gallery, 7 December 2009); and see "Permanent Art Galleries", https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/research/about-research/buying-collecting-and-display/the-bridgewater-collection-its-impact-on-collecting-and-display-in-britain?viewPage=6 (accessed August 2025). In truth, they had already been removed in 1939. See Peter Humfrey, *The Stafford Gallery*, pp. 258-259. Also preserved in the same file is letter from E. Galen Thompson, librarian to Lord Ellesmere, who writes on 15 December 1944 that the pictures had been motored to Scotland: "we took them [the pictures] by road, which was a very nerve-racking business".
25. "Of the one hundred drawings in the Lawrence gallery catalogue only two are missing… and it should be noted that lot 97 is not from Lawrence's collection." *Catalogue of the Ellesmere Collection of Drawings by the Carracci and Other Bolognese Masters Collected by Sir Thomas Lawrence*, Part I, London, Sotheby's & Co., 11 July 1972, unpaginated.
26. Croce, "From the Laboratories to Allegories," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 9.
27. See Larissa Mohr, "Sheets of Studies with Cranes," in *Raphael: The Power of Renaissance Images. The Dresden Tapestries and their Impact*, eds. Stephan Koja in collaboration with Larissa Mohr, exh. cat. (Dresden: Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, 2020), pp. 54-57; and also Larissa Mohr, "A Rediscovered Drawing by Giovanni da Udine," *Master Drawings* 59 (2021): pp. 345-360.
28. See the preface in Larissa Mohr, "Copy or Cartoon? A Painting after Raphael's *Miraculous Draft of Fishes* from the Croce Collection," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 69.
29. Mohr, "Copy or Cartoon?" in Croce, *Under the Lens*, pp. 72-73.
30. Mohr, "Copy or Cartoon?" in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 73. However, the set originally hung at Worksop Manor, Nottinghamshire and was only later, probably in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, moved to Arundel Castle. In an inventory from 1777, preserved at Worksop Manor (IN 55) it states that the "Tapistry Dressing Room" is "Hung with the Cartoons in Tapistry". Three paintings were also hung in the same room, including one "of Saint Peter, over the Chimney". Albeit this inventory was created after the Worksop Manor fire of 1761 when "furniture and furnishing were scattered", so probably does not reflect the original hang. I am grateful to Craig Irving for this information (email correspondence 20 August 2025) and for sending a photograph of the inventory.
31. Mohr, "Copy or Cartoon?" in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 75. The tapestries are labelled with the famous Brussels logo of double Bs separated by a red shield. This is followed by V. Leyniers (Urbanus Leyniers).
32. Rubens was highly innovative in his engagement with tapestry. He was probably the first artist to create full scale paintings as designs for tapestries. There has been much debate about whether the paintings were actually used as functional cartoons. Reinhold Baumstark gives a summary of the various scholarly opinions in Reinhold Baumstark and Guy Delmarcel, *Subjects from History II: The Decius Mus Series*, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, Part XIII (London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2019), pp. 210-211 and n. 211. Raphael may have been the first to create narrative scenes in the borders, whereas Rubens integrated borders and treated tapestry as "very close to that of a fresco wall painting". See Nora De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, Part II (Brussels: Arcade, 1978), p. 84.
33. "Fece li cartoni e quadri dipinti per le tapezzerie dell'istorie di Decio": Giovanni Bellori, *Vita di Pietro Paolo Rubens & Vita di Antonio Van Dyck – Das Leben des Peter Paul Rubens & Das Leben des Anthonis van Dyck*, ed. Fiona Healy (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2020), pp. 128-129.
34. "The absence of halos in the re-weavings of the Duke of Norfolk can even be explained by the commissioner of the tapestry set, who was certainly Protestant as a British Duke of the eighteenth century." Mohr, "Copy or Cartoon?" in Croce, *Under the Lens*, pp. 72-73.
35. For a history and lineage of every duke of Norfolk, their titles, and order of precedence, see *Burke's Peerage & Baronetage*, ed. Charles Mosely, vol II. 106th Edition (London: Burke's Peerage – Genealogical Books, 1999), pp. 2090-2101; and for a more biographical history, see John Martin Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk: A Quincentennial History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1982.
36. The 4th Duke's eldest son was styled the Earl of Arundel as the dukedom had been attainted, and it was not restored until the Restoration. Philip, Earl of Arundel (1557-1595) was part of the "first stage of the English Counter-Reformation… the heroic years of English recusancy; the period of priests in hiding, covert masses, the music of Byrd, secret tragedies, which even now, after four centuries, shed a certain romantic glamour over the English Catholics". He was condemned to death for adopting Catholicism, trying to flee the country, and for allegedly praying a Mass of the Holy Ghost for the success of the Spanish Armanda. Robinson states that it is "the only case in English legal history where somebody has been condemned as a traitor for *praying* for something to come about." His death sentence was reprieved to life, and he died in the Tower on 19 October 1595. He was canonized by Pope Paul VI in 1970. See the chapter on Saint Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel in Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk*, pp. 68-79.
37. For more on the 8th Duke of Norfolk see Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk*, pp. 148-154.
38. These included sets for the 1st Earl of Holland, 4th Earl of Pembroke and the widow of the 2nd Earl of Devonshire. Lord Holland and Lord Pembroke were part of Charles I's inner circle and Lady Devonshire was a well-known royalist in the 1630s. For these sets see Anna Maria de Strobel and Cecilia Mazzetti di Pietralata, "Tapestries with the Acts of the Apostles from the Cartoons of Raphael. List of Weavings and Copies," in *Leo X and Raphael in the Sistine Chapel: The Tapestries of the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Anna Maria De Strobel, vol. I (Vatican: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 2020), pp. 145-161. This volume contains some confusing typographical errors and translation discrepancies. There has never been a "Duke of Pembroke" (they possess the title of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery); there is no British title of "count".
39. For more on the 1st Earl of Holland see R. Malcolm Smuts, "Rich, Henry, 1st Earl of Holland (bap. 1590, d. 1649)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23484 (accessed August 2025).
40. Some royalist families also patronized Charles I's artists themselves. The 4th Earl of Pembroke invited Van Dyck to Wilton, where he created the largest canvas he ever painted.
41. As Helen Wyld admits, "the tapestries she commissioned would have been a statement of loyalty to the exiled Stuarts." Helen Wyld, "The Dresden Acts of the Apostles," in Koja and Mohr, *Raphael: The Power of Renaissance Images*, p. 95.
42. As J. Douglas Stewart has shown, the Howard family used the depiction of the Solomonic column to show adherence to the Stuart dynasty, and in general "the [Solomonic] column seems to have become an exclusively 'royalist' symbol." J. Douglas Stewart, "Rome, Venice, Mantua, London: Form and Meaning in the 'Solomonic' Column, from Veronese to Vertue," *British Art Journal* 8 (2007/2008): p. 22. It could be this was a recognized symbol in the *Healing of a Lame Man* for tapestries coming out of Mortlake to royalist families.
43. The 8th Duke's wife was, as J. M. Robinson puts it, "an out-and-out Jacobite". The 8th Duke was the last Duke of Norfolk to be imprisoned in the Tower of London. Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk*, pp. 149-150.
44. As is well-known, Pope Leo X commissioned the tapestries to hang in the Sistine Chapel, where seven out of ten tapestries were first displayed for Saint Stephen's Day in 1519. It could be significant that out of the only four Norfolk tapestries, two of them were *Christ's Charge to Peter* and the *Death of Ananias*, both of which subjects were associated with papal authority. The remaining two were *The Sacrifice at Lystra* and *The Miraculous Draught of the Fishes*.
45. In 1913, in the Great Hall at Arundel, two of the tapestries were displayed in the same room as a portrait of James II and his wife Mary of Modena. Even if this does not indicate the original display of the tapestries (in fact, at Worksop Manor), it indicates how the tapestries were a key part of a collection that displayed a complex Catholic family heritage. Amusingly, the *Christ and the Apostle Fishermen* was in the Billiard Room. See Gwendolen, Duchess of Norfolk, *Arundel Castle* (London: William Heinemann, 1913), pp. 19-35, esp. p. 20 and p. 33.
46. Helen Wyld claims, "The cult of saints was attacked by Protestants in northern Europe from the early sixteenth century onwards, and the omission of halos can be read in these terms." See Helen Wyld, "The Dresden Acts of the Apostles and the Fortunes of Raphael's Designs, c. 1623-1728," in Koja and Mohr, *Raphael: The Power of Renaissance Images*, p. 95. This is tentative ground.

Whilst it is true that the cult of saints was progressively de-empathized by Elizabeth I and James I, Charles I promoted Laudianism, which advocated for High Church saints and feast days. Perhaps even more to the point, Charles I himself was made into saint and martyr after the Restoration, and his feast day is recorded in 1662 version of the Book of Common Prayer on 30 January. See *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662*, ed. Brian Cummings (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 655-660: "A Form of Common Prayer, to be used yearly upon the 30. Day of *January*, being the day of the Martyrdom of K. CHARLES the First".

47. Oddly, Helen Wyld suggests the lack of halos and the omission of the *Death of Ananias* (which "supports the spiritual authority of the papacy") represents Protestant theology, yet at the same time suggests that the lack of keys could represent French Gallicanism (shift from papal to royal authority). Conversely, the Norfolk version of *Christ's Charge to Saint Peter* continues to depict Peter firmly holding the keys, and *The Death of Ananias* was notably one of only four scenes commissioned. I am grateful to Craig Irving for providing a photograph of *Christ's Charge to Saint Peter*. Helen Wyld, "The Dresden Acts of the Apostles," in Koja and Mohr, *Raphael: The Power of Renaissance Images*, pp. 95-96; for possible French Gallican commission, p. 102.
48. Strobel and Pietralata, "List of Weavings and Copies," in Strobel, *The Tapestries of the Acts of the Apostles*, p. 148.
49. Ana Debenedetti claims the assertation is likely since, as she maintains, Rubens had seen the cartoons in Genoa and also made drawings after the Raphael cartoons. As Jeremy Wood has pointed out, we do not know if Rubens saw the actual cartoons, and the well-known drawing in Berlin (inv. no. KdZ 3240) replicating the proconsul from Raphael's *Conversion of the Proconsul* comes from a print. Debenedetti wrongly cites Rubens's study of the proconsul in the drawing "The Discovery of Calispo" (inv. no. KdZ 3239). Moreover, the author must mean Callisto not Calypso. Ana Debenedetti, "The Afterlife of the Cartoons: Their Copies and British Art," in *The Raphael Cartoons*, ed. Ana Debenedetti (London: V&A Publishing, 2020), p. 82 and n. 13. This drawing has been catalogued by Anne-Marie Logan; see Anne-Marie Logan and Kristin Lohse Belkin, *The Drawings of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalogue, Vol. I 1590-1608*, Pictura Nova XXII (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), no. 28, pp. 66-67; for the actual Berlin drawing containing the figure after Raphael's proconsul – dated before Rubens left for Italy – see no. 21, pp. 56-59. For Jeremy Wood's identification of the proconsul figure after a print see Jeremy Wood, *Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists. Italian Artists I. Raphael and His School, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, vol. I, Part XXVI (London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2010), pp. 199; for detailed analysis on Rubens's engagement with the Raphael designs see pp. 194-205. Helen Wyld in the Dresden catalogue also invokes Rubens's time in Genoa. She incorrectly claims that Rubens was engaged to paint the Whitehall Banqueting House ceiling canvases, "when the cartoons were purchased". Helen Wyld, "The Dresden Acts of the Apostles and the Fortunes of Raphael's Designs, c. 1623-1728," in Koja and Mohr, *Raphael: The Power of Renaissance Images*, p. 88. As Gregory Martin long ago discussed, Rubens did not fully secure the Whitehall Banqueting commission until his English visit of 1629-1630, long after the Raphael cartoons had been purchased. See Gregory Martin, *The Ceiling Decoration of the Banqueting Hall*, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, Part XV, ed. Arnout Balis (London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2005), pp. 23-53.
50. On 13 January 1628 Rubens wrote, "The Duke of Mantua ought to have died some months earlier, before selling his collection to the English," see letter 142 in Magurn, *Letters*, p. 230. Rubens, in effect, advocated for the duke's death before facilitating the collection's acquisition by "the English".
51. See letter 171 in Magurn, *Letters*, pp. 268-269.
52. See note 49.
53. Helen Kohn, "Divine Depictions: Analyzing the Heavenly Representations of Mary in the Croce Collection," in Croce, *Under the Lens: The Art of Discovery*, p. 29.
54. The author makes a typographical error here and states that Antonio Circignani's work shows strong *chiaroscuro* and naturalism in "the second decade of the sixteenth century", which should be the seventeenth century. Kohn, "Divine Depictions," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 29.
55. Kohn, "Divine Depictions," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 29.
56. Kohn, "Divine Depictions," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, pp. 29-31.
57. Annibale Carracci, *Saint Gregory Attended by Angels Praying for Souls in Purgatory* (Chatsworth). This is a drawing for the painting also destroyed on 10/11 May 1941 at Bridgewater House. See Micheal Jaffé, *The Devonshire Collection of Italian Drawings: Bolognese and Emilian Schools* (London: Phaidon Press, 1994), no. 435, p. 83. Guercino, *Saint Gregory the Great with Jesuit Saints*, about 1625-1626 (National Gallery, London. inv no. NG6622).
58. This was still being added to footnotes of the painting by the translator of Passavant; see Johann David Passavant, *Tour of a German artist in England: with Notices of Private Galleries, and Remarks on the State of Art*, vol. I (London: Saunders and Otley, 1836), p. 131.
59. Anna Lo Bianco, "Gli eroi del passato nel racconto epico di Pietro da Cortona," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 53.
60. It was "an unforgettable lesson" of "vital narrative capacity, energy of presentations, and the ability to reinvent history". Anna Lo Bianco, "Pietro da Cortona," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 53.
61. Anna Lo Bianco, "Pietro da Cortona," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 53.
62. "la libertà dell'esecuzione" and "per evidenziare il carattere violento proprio dell'episodio". Anna Lo Bianco, "Pietro da Cortona," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 56 and p. 58.
63. Anna Lo Bianco, "Pietro da Cortona," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 56.
64. Cristiana Romalli, "Due studi di figura: Tintoretto e una proposta per Paris Bordone," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 91.
65. Romalli, "Tintoretto e una proposta per Paris Bordone," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 96.
66. Francesca Croce, "Quel Quadro che atterrische tutti: Ludovico Carracci and Guercino for Bologna's Santi Gregorio e Siro," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 105.
67. Croce, "Ludovico Carracci and Guercino," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 105.
68. Quoted at length by Croce in original Italian. Croce, "Ludovico Carracci and Guercino," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 105.
69. "così abbacinati dall'eccessiva luce, ch'ogn'altra delle più anche eccellenti, e perfette non trova più luogo nel gusto de' Dilettanti". Quoted by Croce, "Ludovico Carracci and Guercino," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 105.
70. For Napoleon's taste and collecting habits see Cecil Gould, *Trophy of Conquest: The Musée Napoleon and the Creation of the Louvre* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), esp. pp. 50-52. Timothy Revell, "Napoleon Favourites: Raphael and Rubens," (lecture, the National Gallery, London, 21 April 2022).
71. Croce, "Ludovico Carracci and Guercino," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, p. 109.
72. Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée, "Un portrait peint par Vouet représenté dans un tableau italien du XVIIème siècle: une Allégorie de la peinture," in Croce, *Under the Lens*, pp. 49-52.

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Paul Joannides

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New York
Fig. 6 Metropolitan Museum of Art

San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid
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Fig. 4 Bequest of John Ringling, 1936 Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, the State Art Museum of Florida

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Collecting pictures for a Georgian villa: the Earls Harcourt at Nuneham
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Fig. 1 UK Government Art Collection
Fig. 9 Courtesy of Christies
Fig. 10 Photograph by Paul Highnam
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Fig. 17 Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia Gift of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr. 71.675

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Fig. 14 Waddesdon Image Library / Mike Fear

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Fig. 7 His Grace the Duke of Bedford and Trustees of the Bedford Estate
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Minneapolis
Fig. 9 Minneapolis Institute of Art

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Fig. 1 Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

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Jasmin Kleinman

Melbourne
Fig. 1 Purchased 1991. Prints and Drawings Collection, Archives and Special Collections, The University of Melbourne
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The Collecting of Art
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Timothy Revell

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