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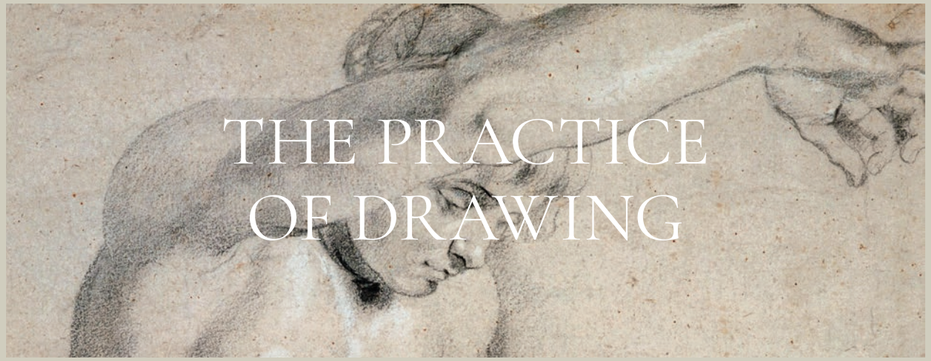

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“Et de presente habita ser vetor scarpaza depentor”: new documents on Carpaccio’s house and workshop at San Maurizio[1]

GABRIELE MATINO

Fig. 1 / Vittore Carpaccio, *Miracle of the Cross at the Ponte di Rialto* (detail), ca. 1494-1496, tempera on canvas, 371 x 392 cm, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

On 16 March 1526, Giacomo Corner won a lawsuit brought by Giovanni Pin over the construction of a wall that, according to the latter, would devalue his *casa da stazio* (family seat) as it deprived it of the sight of, and access to, the Grand Canal.[2] The verdict put to an end a forty-year quarrel over a plot of land adjoining Ca’ Corner della Ca’ Granda in the parish of San Maurizio.[3] Vittore Carpaccio found himself caught in the middle of this litigation, as new documents reveal that he had been living in Pin’s *casa da stazio* since at least 1513. The documents in question shed light on the location and immediate surroundings of Carpaccio’s house and workshop, and provide unexpected insight into the financial and social status that the painter had achieved in his later years. Before these documents are considered, it is necessary to outline the chain of events that culminated in the lawsuit, and introduce the actors involved in it.

Very little is known about the Pin family, whose origins remain obscure.[4] Giovanni Pin’s father, Francesco di Guglielmo, was a native-born Venetian citizen (*cittadino originario*) who lived in the parish of Santa Lucia, in the *sestiere* of Cannaregio.[5] From his testament (26 April 1484) it appears that Francesco was comfortably well-off: he owned a *casa da stazio* in Santa Lucia, an altar and a family vault in his parish church, some *case da serzenti* (houses to rent)[6] in the *sestiere* of Castello, two slaves, one boat and fifteen farmed fields in Schiavonia, a hamlet near Este.[7] In addition, Francesco managed his wife Ginevra’s estate in the parish of San Maurizio, to which we shall soon return.

The earliest document on Francesco dates back to 1475 and marks his membership at the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista, one of the most important lay confraternities of the time.[8] As proudly recorded by Marin Sanudo, it was in fact the only *scuola* that could boast of owning “a miraculous cross… which performs and has performed many miracles” in Venice.[9] In accordance with his social status and considerable means, Francesco was elected Guardian Grande twice (1490 and 1495);[10] he also played a key role in the construction and decoration projects carried out by the Scuola at the turn of the century.[11] As Carpaccio delivered his *Miracle of the Cross at the Ponte di Rialto* in 1494, or at the latest in 1496,[12] it is possible that Francesco and Vittore Carpaccio might have become acquainted at this stage (fig. 1). It is however certain that Carpaccio was living in Pin’s estate in San Maurizio about twenty years later, though by that time his landlord was Giovanni Pin, son of Francesco who had passed away in 1502.[13]

On 15 August 1479 Francesco Pin, acting as agent of his wife Ginevra, came into possession of a property worth 2,000 ducats in San Maurizio.[14] At that time, it included a large *casa da stazio* with a courtyard, a well, a vacant plot of land, and a two-storey *casa da serzenti* with a dovecote, all situated next to the Malombra Palace on the Grand Canal (fig. 2). Five months later, on 7 January 1480, the wealthy patrician and procurator of San Marco Giorgio Corner (brother of Caterina, the Queen of Cyprus), acquired the Malombra Palace for 20,000 ducats and became Pin’s new neighbour.[15] From that moment on the two families often put obstacles in each other’s path as they were trying to acquire land and consolidate their estates.

Fig. 2 / Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice* (detail highlighting the location of the Ca' Corner), 1500, woodcut, 135 x 282 cm.

The first bone of contention was a small parcel of land wedged between Pin's and Corner's properties. It consisted of a vacant plot with a small *casa da serzenti*. Acquired for 120 ducats by the heirs of a certain Maria widow of Bortolo Franceschi dell'Oro (20 June 1481), the property was sold for 250 ducats to Giorgio Corner on 20 December 1482.[16] Only two months later, however, Francesco Pin obtained the cancellation of the sale by making pre-emption claims on the land Corner had just bought.[17] By this sleight-of-hand, the Pin family became the owner of a large property – with some buildings already constructed and some in the planning. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it had in fact been improved greatly: along with the *casa da stazio*, the well, the two *case da serzenti*, and the vacant plot of land, the area included nine more *case da serzenti*, two courtyards, as well as a *squero* (boat-building yard). To Giorgio Corner's dismay, what had started as a modest landed property adjoining his palace soon turned into a housing estate.

Francesco Pin died in 1502,[18] bequeathing his heirs with the bulk of his wealth and, inevitably, the unresolved business with Giorgio Corner. Giovanni, the first and only legitimate male child of Francesco and Ginevra,[19] soon had to deal with this heavy legacy. On the top of that, another contender was about to enter the scene and further complicate the matter.

Francesco and Ginevra had four daughters: Cataruzza, Isabetta, Caterina, and Zanetta.[20] On 8 March 1507, Isabetta married Carlo da la Bassa di Giovanni, a Bolognese man of some means who owned a *casa da stazio* near the church of San Domenico and other rental properties within, and outside of, Bologna.[21] As specified by the wedding contract, Giovanni Pin promised his new brother-in-law a dowry of 1,000 ducats, plus the collection of a debt of 331 ducats.[22] Six years passed before Carlo decided to cash in on his investment. Lacking the money he owed his brother-in-law, Giovanni managed to buy time from the *Giudici del Proprio*, but this came at a cost: he had until the end of February 1514 (*m.v.*) to pay off his debt, or else a portion of his family's estate in San Maurizio – eleven *case da serzenti*, the *squero*, the well and the vacant plot of land – would be given to his creditor.[23] In short, Giovanni had five months to prevent his family's property from being partitioned, auctioned and bought by a third party, in all likelihood Giorgio Corner who had been waiting patiently for years.

It is within such an intricate plot that Vittore Carpaccio, at the time a successful painter in his fifties,[24] makes his first appearance. As indicated by a document dated 21 September 1513, Pin's confiscated land, "in the neighbourhood of San Maurizio", bordered the Grand Canal on the south, the Ca' Corner on the east, and properties of the Muazzo family on the west. To the north, it was delimitated by "a street which leads to said houses and attached land, in which ser Antonio de Sereni used to live, and [in which] the painter ser Vetor Scarpaza currently lives; the said house in which ser Vetor Scarpaza lives borders side by side on one of the said houses".[25]

Although obscure in a number of passages, the document proves that Carpaccio lived in San Maurizio in 1513, possibly occupying not just one, but in fact numerous houses ("said houses" and "said house") where a certain Antonio de Sereni had once lived. To clarify the rather ambiguous language of the document and determine the nature and extent of Carpaccio's home with more precision, it is necessary to turn to Giovanni Pin's *condizione di decima* (tax declaration) filed on 27 February 1514 (*m.v.*):

> And first the *casa da stazio* with ground floor and upper storey in the neighbourhood of San Maurizio [where] ser Antonio de Sereni used to live and painter ser Vetor Charpazio currently lives, old and in a poor condition with three small houses underneath it; renting all of them I earn 38 ducats, that is ducats thirty-eight.[26]

Giovanni's *decima* offers the opportunity to address some important issues. Firstly, it demonstrates without further question that Carpaccio lived in Pin's *casa da stazio* in San Maurizio, the same *casa da stazio* that Francesco Pin had acquired thirty-five years earlier. Secondly, it confirms that Pin's *casa da stazio* had been inhabited by Antonio de Sereni before Carpaccio moved in. According to current research, Pin's former tenant could be identified as a long-standing brother of the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista: in fact a powerful member of the *banca* (governing board) which he administered twice, in 1489 and 1496.[27] It would appear, then, that Francesco Pin had rented his *casa da stazio* to a person with whom he was acquainted, as they twice alternated in the role of Guardian Grande in the 1490s. Thirdly, although the document does not specify the layout and scale of the building, it clearly states that Carpaccio had a two-storey *casa da stazio* at his disposal – possibly featuring a ground-floor hall (*androne*) and reception hall (*portego*) on the upper *piano nobile*, two architectural elements common to all Venetian buildings of this type.[28] What is more, the *casa da stazio* stood along the Grand Canal – that is, Venice's grand ceremonial waterway – and shared borders with a palace, Ca' Corner, which Sanudo characterized as "the most beautiful house in Venice and I could say in Italy".[29] In other words, Pin's *casa da stazio* most certainly conferred an upscale social status on Carpaccio, especially as its alleged "poor condition" may actually reflect the landlord's attempt to lower the tax estimate.[30] Fourthly, the house included three *case da serzenti*. Further documents, which will be discussed below, may support the conjecture that Carpaccio had his workshop installed in them; for now, it shall suffice to observe that the three small houses were attached to the *casa da stazio* and, in all likelihood, stood along today's Calle del Dose da Ponte.[31] Finally, Carpaccio paid an annual rent of 38 ducats: 23 ducats for the *casa da stazio* and 15 ducats for the *case da serzenti*.[32] The rental charge seems relatively low and might suggest that Carpaccio was able to negotiate a special price,[33] perhaps as a consequence of his acquaintance with the Pin family since the mid-1490s. Be that as it may, it should be stressed that not all painters of the time could afford to spend that much on their residence. Giovanni Mansueti, for instance, lived in a house for 10 ducats, whereas Giovanni Buonconsiglio and Girolamo Mocetto paid 8 ½ and 13 ducats respectively for their rent.[34] It can thus be argued that by 1513, Carpaccio had reached a financially comfortable status, one that allowed him to afford not only a sizeable residence to live in, but also a relatively large workshop space in which he could carry out his commissions. Hence, one can only imagine how Carpaccio would have reacted to the news that Pin's neighbouring properties had been impounded.

As discussed above, on 21 September 1513, Giovanni Pin was granted five months to recover the 1,331 ducats he owed his brother-in-law Carlo da la Bassa. Carlo was certainly eager to collect his credit and yet, somehow, Giovanni managed to postpone the inevitable for another three years: Carlo finally claimed Pin's eleven *case da serzenti*, the well, the *squero* and the adjacent plot of land only on 28 January 1517.[35] At a single stroke, Giovanni had to give up the largest part of his family's estate in San Maurizio. Luckily, he did keep possession of his *casa da stazio* and the three *case da serzenti* in which, as we shall see, at that time Carpaccio was still living.

Carlo da la Bassa was definitely not attached to the property of which he had just come into possession: he only wanted to collect his credit and get back to his business in Bologna. The time had finally come for Giorgio Corner to recover what Francesco Pin had snatched from under his nose a long time before. On 1 April 1521, his pre-emption rights were granted and the transfer of property from da la Bassa to him was ratified by the *Giudici del Proprio* six days later.[36] Documents show that Giorgio wanted to use the new adjoining land to expand his palace, but this plan remained on paper as the property was left unchanged for years.[37] Only in 1526 Giacomo Corner, the son of Giorgio,[38] decided to build a wall to separate his family's estate from Giovanni Pin's – the same wall, it should be stressed, whose planned construction led to the lawsuit between the two neighbours.

Several records of the 1526 litigation have survived.[39] Most of them are concerned with identifying the successive owners (Pin, da la Bassa, Corner) and clarifying the boundaries of the estates involved. In one of them, an anonymous scribe goes over the estate's sale to Carlo de la Bassa in 1517 in order to establish the borders of the property Corner acquired in 1521. While describing the "*casa da statio* of said miser Zuan Pin", the author notes: "in which [*casa da stazio*] ser Vetor Scarpazo once lived".[40] In other words, a document datable to 1526, the year Carpaccio passed away,[41] provides evidence indicating that the painter lived in Pin's *casa da stazio* in 1517. Furthermore, it could be inferred that Carpaccio remained in Pin's estate until 1523, since scholars have long demonstrated that the painter witnessed the wills of Marietta de Canali (1 April) and Maria Contarini (5 September), both residing "in the parish of San Maurizio" in that year.[42]

Carpaccio lived in San Maurizio for many years. According to the evidence examined thus far, he occupied a sizeable house that overlooked the Grand Canal and shared its borders with a courtyard and a plot of land with several rental units. An original map, in all likelihood drawn during the 1526 litigation to identify the exact location where Corner planned to build his wall, offers the opportunity to have a closer look at Carpaccio's immediate neighbourhood (fig. 3).[43]

Despite the large stain on the left-hand side, certainly caused by humidity, the map is still clearly readable. The Grand Canal flows on the right, along the very edge of the paper, while there is a long *calle* leading towards Campo San Maurizio along the map's bottom side. To navigate it properly, the map thus needs to be rotated ninety degrees clockwise, in order for the sheet's left side to face north.

Arriving from Campo San Maurizio towards the Grand Canal, past three houses, there is a perpendicular *calle* which, after a couple of bends, connects to an irregular space enclosed by a number of structures. A few hand-written words help to clarify their nature and functions. Eight small houses ("*case*") stand next to a long narrow drainage canal that borders with the western side of Ca' Corner, which is not included in this map.[44] Towards their west, the eight houses face an irregular L-shaped open space consisting of a vacant plot of land ("*terreno vacuo*"), a court with a rainwater cistern ("*sponza*")[45], and a well-head ("*pozo*"). On the opposite side of the empty

land, the boat-building yard ("*squero*") is conveniently located along the Grand Canal to its south. Directly attached to the *squero*'s north-west, three additional small houses face the court. All of these structures and land were owned by the Corner family when the map was drawn. Finally, most of the northern side of the map is occupied by a very sizeable structure: a building, almost as large as the rest of the estate, which is described as "*casa de ser Zuan Pin*," that is the *casa da stazio* in which Carpaccio used to live. It is right in front of this building that a long-dotted line parallel to the *casa da stazio*'s facade marks the site where Giacomo Corner planned to build his wall.

This map reveals unique, unprecedented information about Carpaccio's home and its surroundings. As the wall had not yet been built when the plan was drawn, it can be assumed that Carpaccio had an easy, direct access to the Grand Canal through the common court and the vacant plot of land during his stay. Indeed, all the items listed in both property sale agreements from Pin to da la Bassa in 1517 and from da la Bassa to Corner in 1521 (eleven *case da serzenti*, the *squero*, the well and the vacant plot of land) are precisely rendered on the map as Corner intended to separate them from Pin's *casa da stazio*. The whole area thus remained exactly as Carpaccio had found it in 1513. It was only in 1526 that Corner decided to build a wall to cordon-off his property and make it inaccessible to Pin and his tenants. As documented in Gian Battista Arzenti's *View of Venice*, by the early seventeenth century the wall was turned into a long housing block standing right in front of a white two-storey house with an A-frame peaked roof, Carpaccio's home (fig. 4).

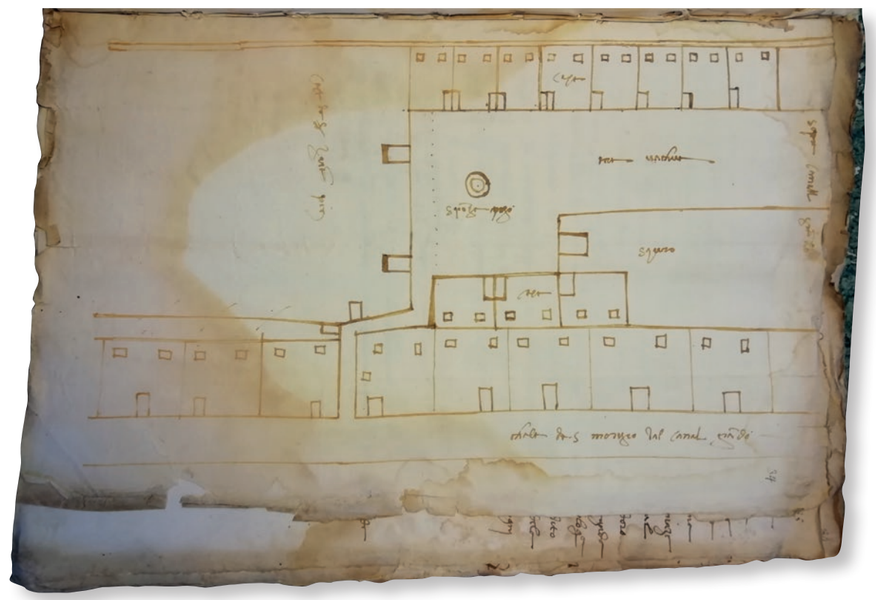

Fig. 3 / A Map of Pin and Corner's Neighbouring Properties in San Maurizio, ca. 1526, Venice, Archivio di Stato: Direzione Demanio Province Venete, Venezia, Fabbriche, b. 59, fasc. II/D, f. 34r.

Fig. 4 / Gian Battista Arzenti, *View of Venice* (with the location of Carpaccio’s dwelling indicated), 1620-1630, oil on canvas, ca. 205 x ca. 475 cm, Venice, Museo Correr.

The basic structure of the *casa da stazio* remained almost unchanged until the nineteenth century, when the whole plot of land was radically modified (fig. 5).[46] Carpaccio's residence was demolished to make way for a pavilion (*Sala consiliare*) attached to Ca' Corner which, it must be emphasized, nowadays stands exactly where the painter once lived (fig. 6); the eight *case da serzenti* and the *terreno vacuo* were knocked down and replaced by Ca' Corner's side garden; the *squero* and the three small houses met the same fate and accommodate the so-called Casetta delle Rose today. Just as in the sixteenth century, the narrow Calle del Tagiapiera still makes its way amongst these new buildings and connects Calle del Dose da Ponte (fig. 7) with what remains of Pin's court: the elongated Campiello del Tagiapiera (or del Pozzetto) with a modern well-head and, past it, a direct access to the Grand Canal (fig. 8).[47]

Unfortunately, the 1526 map does not provide any insights into the internal layout of Carpaccio's *casa da stazio*. A later document, however, offers some useful clues as it describes several inner sections of the house neglected so far by previous records. On 18 August 1534, Giovanni Pin sold what had remained of his father Francesco's property to Giacomo Corner for 2,200 ducats. The purchase deed describes the "domus a statio" fairly precisely. It features a "ground floor and upper storey with three small houses to rent placed below it with its vacant plot of land, or vegetable garden, and court and well uncovered in the backyard of said house".[48]

Evidently, Carpaccio's *casa da stazio* was anything but modest. Not only did it have two floors, but it also included three small houses below it and, at the rear of the building, a vegetable garden and an open court

Fig. 5 / Dionisio Moretti, *Corner della Ca' Grande ora I. R. Delegazione Provinviale,* in *Il Canal Grande di Venezia descritto da Antonio Quadri*, (Venice: Andreola, 1828).

Fig. 6 / Ca' Corner della Ca' Granda and the Sala consiliare.

Fig. 7 / A view of the crossroad between Calle del Tagiapiera and Calle del Dose da Ponte.

with a private well. This description allows us to address several critical issues. Firstly, the house was large enough to accommodate not only Carpaccio's household, with his wife Laura and two sons Benedetto and Pietro, but also his pupils, who must have been numerous considering the number of commissions Carpaccio was able to carry out by the late 1510s.[49] Secondly, the house came with three *case da serzenti* in which, one could assume, Carpaccio installed his workshop. The document specifies that they were located "subtus" the house, which allows us to identify them with the three houses standing along the northern side of Calle del Dose da Ponte on the map (see fig. 3). Carpaccio's workshop thus overlooked a highly symbolic (and, therefore, implicitly upscale) *calle*, as it hosted the annual triumphal parade of the Doge and his *Signoria* during the official *andata* to the church of San Vio.[50]

Fig. 8 / A view of the Campiello del Tagiapiera (or del Pozzetto) with modern well-head.

Thirdly, having the workshop attached to his home would prove quite appropriate, as it would have given Carpaccio and his assistants direct access to both the *androne*, where working materials could be stored, and the private court on the rear of the *casa da stazio*. In a city as humid as Venice, painters needed outdoor spaces where their paintings could air-dry. In 1512 Alvise Bastiani, for instance, managed to exchange his house in San Luca with a property close to Biri Grande from the Scuola della Carità, which would offer him a "wider and larger place to dry his paintings". It has also been argued that Titian moved to the same neighbourhood for identical reasons.[51] Finally, since Corner decided to build a wall to separate the two properties only in 1526, it can be inferred that Carpaccio had direct access to the Grand Canal through the vacant plot of land in front of the house during his stay. This would prove beneficial when delivering paintings, as it provided him with a semi-private space through which the works could be carried to the water. Indeed, it definitely was from here that the paintings were shipped not only to Carpaccio's Venetian patrons, but also to those who resided in much more distant cities like Pozzale di Cadore, Treviso, Chioggia, and even Piran and Koper.

Carpaccio's house in San Maurizio indicates that by at least 1513 the painter had secured himself a satisfactory income. Documents also show that his workshop was still successful ten years later, as Carpaccio received 317 ducats for various paintings in San Pietro di Castello from the Patriarch Antonio Contarini between October 1522 and November 1523.[52] It appears, then, that Carpaccio's earnings were certainly large enough to afford a *casa da stazio* along the Grand Canal, even in his later years. In Renaissance Venice, living in a *casa da stazio* was an expression of material wealth and personal standing, particularly when non-noble tenants were concerned.[53] Originally built as seats of patrician families, Venetian *case da stazio* were often rented to well-off middle-class families seeking an upper-class residence that, among other things, would proclaim their professional achievements and advance their social aspirations.[54] In this respect, a surprising parallel might be drawn between Carpaccio and Titian since they paid roughly the same, 38 and 40 ducats respectively, for the annual rent of their *case da stazio*.[55]

Just like Carpaccio, when Titian moved into his *casa da stazio* in Biri Grande (1531) he had two floors at his disposal: the *androne*, which he probably used for storage, and the upper *piano nobile* as his dwelling (fig. 9).[56] Evidence suggests that both Titian's and Carpaccio's houses were large enough to accommodate many people, including their respective households and pupils. The location of their workshops was also similar: in both cases they were separated from the rest of the house, although it seems that Carpaccio's was installed in a more dignified structure than Titian's, which was described as a *tezza* (shack), part masonry and part wood.[57] In addition, the two *case da stazio* featured a private open space in the backyard – a garden in the case of Titian, a courtyard in Carpaccio's – which afforded plenty of room to let their paintings air-dry and, one might add, to keep them out of sight from prying eyes. Both houses, finally, had direct access to water, so that paintings could be easily shipped to patrons. All things considered, it would appear that Titian's and Carpaccio's residences met needs specifically associated with work-related activities. Further evidence, however, suggests that they were also used for status-related issues such as social legitimacy and public reputation.

Recently, it has been argued that Titian's house was a polyvalent space in which the master would not only live and run his workshop, but also host friends, artists, men of letters, collectors, brokers and even ambassadors.[58] A place, as recorded by one of his guests, where "some of the most celebrated characters" of Venice would gather to admire Titian's "excellent pictures", praise the "real beauty and charm of [his] garden", enjoy the "most delicate viands and precious wines", and cherish the view of the "pretty little island of Murano, and other beautiful places".[59] Clearly, Titian's *casa da stazio* was much more than just a place to live and work. It was a place meant to impress visitors and display the host's professional success, refined taste, and personal status.

Standing along the Grand Canal, it is likely that Carpaccio's residence was also used to reinforce, and in fact promote, the painter's social status. Only recently Carpaccio's mature oeuvre has been re-assessed in view of his patrons' wealth, prestige, and socio-political power.[60] Between 1513 and 1523, the years he lived in Pin's *casa da stazio*, Carpaccio worked for some of the most renowned Venetians of the time: members of the high clergy, patrician magistrates and executives, well-off merchant citizens, celebrated sculptors, and perhaps even bankers.[61] Despite this, there is no evidence recording receptions or social gatherings at Carpaccio's residence, even if it offered appropriate spaces to accommodate distinguished guests either in the large *portego* or in the courtyard and garden overlooking the Grand Canal. It is in the context of this network of an upscale Venetian clientele that Carpaccio's house and workshop need to be appreciated and reflected on. And, in turn, it is in relation to the upper-class nature of his residence – its size, character, location, and neighbours – that Carpaccio's later professional standing must be re-evaluated and re-addressed.

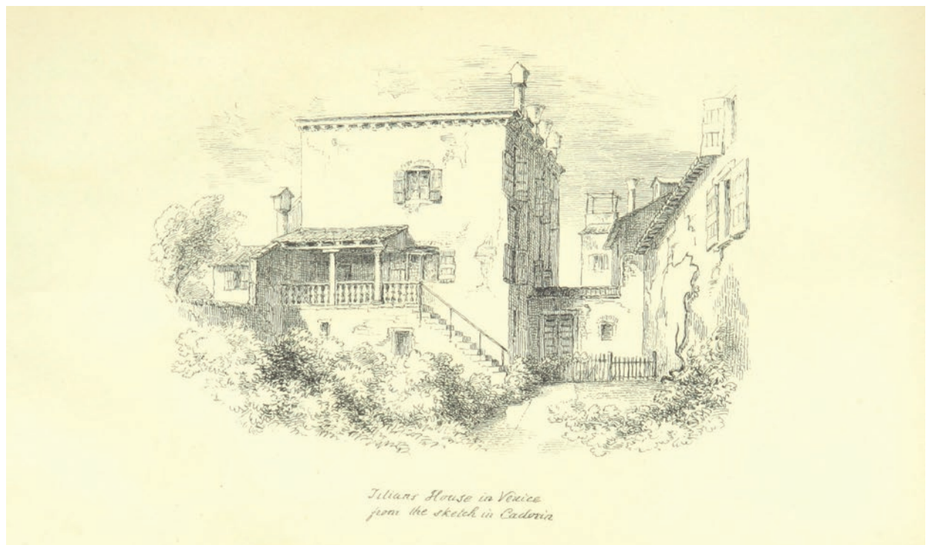

Fig. 9 / Anonymous after Cadorin, *La Casa di Tiziano da un disegno del Cadorin,* in Josiah Gilbert, *Cadore or Titian's Country* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1869), pl. 1.

NOTES

1. This article is the preliminary result of an ongoing research project on Vittore Carpaccio funded by Save Venice Inc., to which I am deeply grateful. My thanks also extend to Irene Brooke, Patricia Fortini Brown, Peter Humfrey and the anonymous CF reader for their comments on earlier versions of this article. I warmly thank Giovanni Caniato, Nora Gietz, Gianmario Guidarelli, Anna Pizzati, Ivana Ricci, Alessandra Schiavon and Giorgio Tagliaferro for their advice. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Paola Benussi for her generosity, suggestions and encouragement.
2. Venice, Archivio di Stato: *Direzione Demanio Province Venete. Venezia. Fabbriche*, b. 59, fasc. II/D, f. 25r: "La caxa granda [da stazio] laqual non valerebbe pocho o nulla tolendoli la vista et agere et la commodita dil destender et de la riva." The matter is briefly discussed in Giandomenico Romanelli, *Ca' Corner della Ca' Granda. Architettura e committenza nella Venezia del Cinquecento* (Venice: Albrizzi Editore, 1993), pp. 103, 178-179, doc. 40. For Ca' Corner see also: Deborah Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino. Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 132-146; Manfredo Tafuri, *Ricerca del Rinascimento. Principi, città, architetti* (Turin: Einaudi, 1992), pp. 328-338; Manuela Morresi, *Jacopo Sansovino* (Milan: Electa, 2000), pp. 118-128. On the meaning and etymology of *casa da stazio*, or *stacio*, see: Juergen Schulz, "The Houses of Titian, Aretino, and Sansovino," in *Titian. His World and His Legacy*, ed. David Rosand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 109-110 n. 30.
3. Venice: *Direzione Demanio Province Venete. Venezia. Fabbriche*, b. 59, fasc. II/B-D. See also Romanelli, *Ca' Corner*, pp. 103, 113, 172-173, docs. 21-24, 175-178, docs. 30-36, 180-182, docs. 45-47.
4. Giuseppe Tassini only mentions the Pin family branch from the parish of San Cassiano (Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr: Ms. P.D. c. 4, vol. 4, p. 90).
5. Paola Benussi, "Indizi e suggestioni per una committenza veneziana: Giovanni Galletti pievano della chiesa di Santa Lucia," in *Per Pier Maria Pennacchi. Un capolavoro restituito dal restauro,* ed. Roberta Battaglia, (Treviso: Zel Edizioni, 2016), pp. 91-102. On the *cittadini originari* see at least: Matteo Casini, "La cittadinanza originaria a Venezia tra i secoli XV e XVI. Una linea interpretativa," in *Studi veneti offerti a Gaetano Cozzi*, eds. Gino Benzoni et al. (Vicenza: Il Cardo, 1992), pp. 133-150; Andrea Zannini, *Burocrazia e burocrati a Venezia in età moderna: i cittadini originari (sec. XVI-XVIII)* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Lettere Scienze e Arti, 1993); James S. Grubb, "Elite Citizens," in *Venice Reconsidered. The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297-1797*, eds. John Martin and Dennis Romano (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 339-364; Anna Bellavitis, *Identité, mariage, mobilité sociale. Citoyennes et citoyens à Venise au XVIe siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2001); Kiril Petkov, *The Anxieties of a Citizen Class. The Miracles of the True Cross of San Giovanni Evangelista, Venice 1370-1480* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014).
6. On the *case da serzenti*, or *sarzenti*, see Ennio Concina, *Pietre, parole, storia. Glossario delle costruzioni nelle fonti veneziane (secoli XV-XVIII)* (Venice: Marsilio, 1988), p. 130; Idem, *Venezia nell'età moderna. Struttura e funzioni* (Venice: Marsilio, 1989), pp. 131-134.
7. Venice, Archivio di Stato: *Cancelleria Inferiore*, Notai. Miscellanea notai diversi, b. 27, n. 2675.
8. Venice, Archivio di Stato: *Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista*, Atti, b. 11 (unnumbered folio), "F"; Venice, Archivio di Stato: *Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista*, Atti, b. 12 (unnumbered folio), "F"; Venice, Archivio di Stato: *Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista*, Atti, b. 13, f. 75r. On the topic see also José Carlos Guerra Cabrera, "Los encargos pictóricos narrativos de la s confradas venecianas (1490/1535). Pintura, arte y sociedad" (PhD diss., Universidad de la Laguna, 2005), p. 203. On the Venetian *scuole* and, in particular, on the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista, see at least: Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: the Social Institutions of a Catholic State* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971); by the same author, "Natura e carattere delle Scuole," in *Le Scuole di Venezia*, ed. Terisio Pignatti (Milan: Electa, 1981), pp. 9-26; Ruggero Maschio, "Le Scuole Grandi a Venezia," in *Storia della cultura veneta*, III, *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento,* eds. Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1981), pp. 193-206; William B. Wurthmann, "The Council of Ten and the Scuole Grandi in Early Renaissance Venice," *Studi Veneziani* 18 (1989): pp.15-66; Patricia Fortini Brown, "Le 'Scuole'," in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, V, *Il Rinascimento: società ed economia*, eds. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), pp. 307-354; Dennis Romano, "L'assistenza e la beneficenza," in Tenenti and Tucci, *Storia di Venezia dalle origini*, V, pp. 355-406; Jonathan Glixon, *Honoring God and the City. Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Chiara Vazzoler, *La Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista* (Venice: Marsilio, 2005); Petkov, *The Anxieties*.
9. Marin Sanudo, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae ovvero la città di Venezia (1493-1530)*, ed. Angela Caracciolo Aricò (Milan: Cisalpino-La goliardica, 1980), pp. 51-52.
10. Venice, Archivio di Stato: *Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista*, Atti, b. 73, ff. 26r, 31r. See also Guerra Cabrera, *Los encargos*, p. 156.
11. Patricia Fortini Brown, "Honor and Necessity: The Dynamics of Patronage in the Confraternities of Renaissance Venice," *Studi Veneziani* 14 (1987): pp. 197-198; by the same author, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 283-284, docs. 2-6c; Guerra Cabrera, *Los encargos*, p. 464.
12. On the dating of the painting see: Stefania Mason Rinaldi, "Contributi d'archivio per la decorazione pittorica della Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista," *Arte Veneta* 32 (1978): pp. 293-294; John J. Bernasconi, "The dating of the Cycle of the Miracles of the Cross from the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista," *Arte Veneta* 35 (1981): pp. 198-202. For an overview and evaluation of Mason's and Bernasconi's studies, see Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative*, p. 285.
13. Venice: *Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista*, Atti, b. 13, f. 75r.
14. Romanelli, *Ca' Corner*, p. 173, doc. 21.
15. Romanelli, *Ca' Corner*, pp. 173-174, doc. 24. On Giorgio Corner see: Giuseppe Gullino, "Corner, Giorgio," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1983), vol. 29, pp. 212-216.
16. Romanelli, *Ca' Corner*, pp. 174-175, docs. 26-27, 29.
17. Romanelli, *Ca' Corner*, pp. 175-176, doc. 31.
18. See above, note 12.
19. Francesco Pin had an illegitimate son called Piero Lion of Federico: "Piero pin mio fiol fò chiamà per avanti piero lion de ser fedrigo" (Venice, Archivio di Stato: *Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista*, b. 4, fasc. B, f. 1v). At the time Francesco wrote his will, Piero Lion resided in Milan as he had been banned from Venice. He inherited from Francesco Pin fifteen farmed fields in Schiavonia and one of the *case da serzenti* in the *sestiere* of Castello. (Venice: *Cancelleria Inferiore*, Notai. Miscellanea notai diversi, b. 27, n. 2675).
20. Venice, Archivio di Stato: *Notarile*. Testamenti. Notaio Roberto Ranucci, b. 982, n. 35, 17 (November 1499).
21. Venice: *Direzione Demanio Province Venete. Venezia. Fabbriche*, b. 59, fasc. I/D, f. 35r.
22. Venice: *Direzione Demanio Province Venete. Venezia. Fabbriche*, b. 59, fasc. I/D, f. 15r.
23. Venice: *Direzione Demanio Province Venete. Venezia. Fabbriche*, b. 59, fasc. I/D, f. 15r.
24. Carpaccio's exact date of birth is unknown and has long been controversial. Scholars currently believe he was born between 1455 and 1460, or even 1465. For a brief discussion of this matter see: Sara Menato, "Un nuovo 'Salvator Mundi' di Carpaccio," *Prospettiva* 146 (2012), p. 31 n. 7; Idem, *Per la giovinezza di Carpaccio* (Padua: Padova University Press, 2016), pp. 9-12.
25. Venice: *Direzione Demanio Province Venete. Venezia. Fabbriche*, b. 59, fasc. I/D, f. 15v: "una strada la qual serve a le ditte case e terren obligado, ne le qual soleva habitar ser antonio de serenij, et de presente habita ser vetor scarpaza depentor, parte et parte confina con una de le dite casete la ditta casa che habita ser vetor scarpaza".
26. Venice, Archivio di Stato: *Dieci savi alle decime in Rialto*, redecima 1514, b. 39, cond. Santa Lucia 11-12: "e prima I[a] chaxa da statio a pe' pian et in soler in la contra' de San Morizio solea habitar ser Antonio de Sereni et al prexente habita ser Vetor Charpazio d[ep]entor, vechia e mal condizionata chon tre chaxete sotto di essa, de tute le qual ne trazo de f[ito] ducati 38, zoè ducati trentaotto". The document was found by Paola Benussi and kindly shared with me. I owe Paola my deepest gratitude.
27. On Antonio de Sereni's membership see Venice: *Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista*, Atti, b. 13, f. 56r. In addition to his two guardianships, Sereni was also elected *Degano* in 1466, *Guardian da matin* in 1474, and *Vicario* in 1476 (Venice: *Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista*, Atti, b. 73, ff. 2r, 8r, 12r, 25r, 32r; Guerra Cabrera, *Los encargos*, pp. 204 note 1, 209, 213, 501). It must be stressed, however, that Antonio died in 1502 (Venice: *Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista*, Atti, b. 13, f. 56r), whereas the documents under discussion are dated more than ten years later. Further research is needed to clarify this issue, however it is likely that Sereni's name was mentioned in the document simply because he had occupied Pin's *casa da stazio* for a long time.
28. On the Venetian *case da stazio* see Concina, *Venezia nell'età moderna*, pp. 127-138; Mario Piana, "Tecniche edificatorie cinquecentesche: tradizione e novità in laguna," in *D'une ville à l'autre: structures matérielles et organisation de l'espace dans les villes européennes (13.-16. siècle)*, conference proceedings (Rome: École française de Rome, 1989), pp. 631-639; Patricia Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice. Art, Architecture, and the Family* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2004), especially pp. 191-200.
29. Sanudo wrote this comment the day after the fire that destroyed Ca' Corner (the gothic palace acquired from the Malombra family in 1480) on the night between 15 and 16 August, 1532 (Marin Sanudo, *I Diarii*, 58 vols., eds. Federico Stefani, Guglielmo Berchet, and Nicolo Barozzi (Venice: Visentini, 1879-1903), LVI, col. 751): "In questa notte ha ore 5 seguite uno grandissimo caso de incendio in questa città, molto miserabile et lacrimoso si per il pubblico come per il palazzo over la caxa di fioli fo dil clarissimo cavalier et procurator Zorzi Corner sul canal grando a San Maurizio *olim* da cha Malumbra … caxa bellissima e la più bella di Veniexia e potria dir de Italia."
30. This was a common habit among Venetians, see Patricia Fortini Brown, *Private Lives*, pp. 181, 197-200.
31. On Calle del Dose da Ponte see Giuseppe Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane ovvero Origini delle denominazioni stradali*, ed. Lino Moretti (Venice: Filippi Editore, 1964), pp. 221-222.
32. This can be inferred by considering the price of the other *case da serzenti* rented by Giovanni Pin in 1514 (*m.v.*), each costing 5 ducats: "Ittem in dito luogo e contra' do chaxete de m[uro] a pe' pian afitasse tute do ducati 10, zoè ducati 5 l'una. Ittem in dito luogo e contra' una altra chaxeta [con] uno pezo de squero afitasse tuto per ducati 10." (Venice: *Dieci savi alle decime in Rialto*, redecima 1514, b. 39, cond. Santa Lucia 11-12).
33. Personal correspondence with Paola Benussi, September 2019.
34. Gustav Ludwig, "Archivalische Beiträge zur Geschichte der venezianischen Malerei," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preuszischen Kunstsammlungen* 26 (1905): pp. 64-65, 71, 91. On Giovanni Mansueti, see also: Gabriele Matino, "Gentile Bellini, Giovanni Mansueti e il *Riconoscimento del miracolo della reliquia della Croce al ponte di San Lio*: chiarimenti e proposte," *Venezia Cinquecento* 40 (2010): pp. 18-19; Fabio Agostini, "Giovanni Mansueti: la vita, la famiglia, l'eredità," *Venezia Cinquecento* 43 (2012): pp. 5-44.
35. Romanelli, *Ca' Corner*, pp. 176-177, docs. 33-34.
36. Romanelli, *Ca' Corner*, pp. 177-178, docs. 35-37.
37. Romanelli, *Ca' Corner*, p. 103. The Corners began to fund excavations on the site only in 1533 (Romanelli, *Ca' Corner*, p. 180, doc. 44; Morresi, *Jacopo Sansovino*, p. 120).
38. On Giacomo Corner see Giuseppe Gullino, "Corner, Giacomo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1983), vol. 29, pp. 206-208.
39. Venice: *Direzione Demanio Province Venete. Venezia. Fabbriche*, b. 59, fasc. I/D.
40. Venice: *Direzione Demanio Province Venete. Venezia. Fabbriche*, b. 59, fasc. I/D, f. 1r.
41. On Carpaccio's year of death see Michelangelo Muraro, *Carpaccio* (Florence: Edizioni d'arte il fiorino, 1966), p. 63.
42. Muraro, *Carpaccio*.
43. Venice: *Direzione Demanio Province Venete. Venezia. Fabbriche*, b. 59, fasc. II/D, f. 34r. The map was originally published, and briefly discussed, by Romanelli (*Ca' Corner*, pp. 40-41), who, however, was unaware of the fact that Carpaccio had lived in Pin's *casa da stazio*.
44. On the exact location of the drainage canal see: Venice: *Direzione Demanio Province Venete. Venezia. Fabbriche*, b. 59, fasc. I/A, ff. 13v-14r; Romanelli, *Ca' Corner*, pp. 37-41.
45. On the term *sponza*, or *spongia*, see Concina, *Pietre, parole*, p. 140.
46. Romanelli, *Ca' Corner*, pp. 147-160, 192-207, docs. 65-70.
47. On Calle del Tagiapiera and Campiello del Pozzetto see Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane*, p. 50. In the past, in the middle of the *campiello* stood a well-head in the form of a third-century Corinthian capital. It was replaced with the current, modern well-head between 1889 and 1905 (Alberto Rizzi, *Vere da pozzo di Venezia / The well-heads of Venice* [Venice: Stamperia di Venezia, 1992], p. 94).
48. Romanelli, *Ca' Corner*, pp. 180-182, docs. 45-47: "in solario et ad pedem planum cum tribus domunculis a sergentibus subtus illam posit cum suis terreno vacuo sive orto et curia ac putheo disco[ho]perto a parete posteriori domus predicte".
49. On Carpaccio's later years see: Peter Humfrey, *Carpaccio. Catalogo completo* (Florence: Cantini, 1991), pp. 110-153; Augusto Gentili, "L'ultimo Carpaccio (e anche il penultimo)," in *Carpaccio. Vittore e Benedetto da Venezia all'Istria*, ed. Giandomenico Romanelli, exh. cat. (Venice: Marsilio, 2015), pp. 59-105.
50. Lina Urban, *Processioni e feste dogali. "Venetia est mundus"* (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1998), pp. 117-125.
51. Jennifer Fletcher, "I Bellini," in *La bottega dell'artista tra medioevo e rinascimento*, ed. Roberto Cassanelli (Milan: Jaca Book, 1998), p. 133; Giorgio Tagliaferro and Bernard Aikema, *Le botteghe di Tiziano* (Florence: Alinari 24 ORE, 2009), p. 58.
52. Augusto Gentili, *Le storie di Carpaccio. Venezia, i Turchi, gli Ebrei* (Venice: Marsilio, 1996), pp. 107, 182-183 n. 54; by the same author, "L'ultimo Carpaccio," pp. 59-105. See also: Gianmario Guidarelli, *I patriarchi di Venezia e l'architettura. La cattedrale di San Pietro di Castello nel Rinascimento* (Venice: Il Poligrafo, 2015), pp. 79-104; Bertrand Jestaz, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la Renaissance à Venise* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2019), pp. 266-267.
53. Consider, for example, the *casa da stazio* owned by the Dardani family in *fondamenta della Sensa*, *sestiere* di Cannaregio, which featured on the facade a statue portraying the Cancellier Grande Alvise Daradani (Venice: Ms. P.D. c. 4, vol. 2, pp. 143-144 bister; Paola de Peppo, "*Memorie di veneti cittadini*: Alvise Dardani, Cancellier Grande," *Studi Veneziani* 8 [1984]: pp. 442-443; Deborah Howard, "Contextualising Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love*: The Cultural World of the Venetian Chancery in the Early Sixteenth Century," *Artibus et Istoriae* 67 [2013]: pp. 188).
54. Schulz, "The Houses of Titian," p. 83; Blake de Maria, *Becoming Venetian. Immigrants and the Arts in Early Modern Venice* (New Haven amd London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 95-113.
55. By 1549, however, Titian's rent had risen to 60 ducats: Schulz, "The Houses of Titian," p. 81; Giorgio Tagliaferro, "La casa-bottega a Biri Grande," in Giorgio Tagliaferro and Bernard Aikema, *Le botteghe di Tiziano* (Florence: Alinari 24 ORE, 2009), p. 55. Interestingly, in 1554 Jacopo Sansovino's house in San Trovaso yielded an annual income of 38 ducats. See Deborah Howard, "Jacopo Sansovino's House at San Trovaso," in *Interpretazioni Veneziane. Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, ed. David Rosand (Venice: Arsenale Editrice, 1984), pp. 242, 254-255.
56. Upon his arrival Titian did not have access to the mezzanine, which was divided into two rental units. Titian rented it only in 1537-1539 (Schulz, "The Houses of Titian," p. 79).
57. According to Tagliaferro ("La casa-bottega," p. 56), Titian might have used the *tezza* as a warehouse for his unfinished paintings.
58. Tagliaferro, "La casa-bottega," pp. 58-59.
59. The description was published by Francesco Priscianese in 1540, see Schulz, "The Houses of Titian," pp. 82, 108-109 n. 27.
60. Gentili, "L'ultimo Carpaccio," pp. 59-105.
61. Gentili, "L'ultimo Carpaccio," pp. 59-105. Banker Gerolamo Priuli, later known as Girolamo Priuli "dalle Porte", commissioned the *Supper at Emmaus* in the Venetian church of San Salvador in 1513. At present, the painting is dubitatively attributed to Vittore Carpaccio, Giovanni Bellini or one of his pupils: see Fritz Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini e i belliniani*, 3 vols. (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1962), I, no. 183 j, p. 55; Lorenzo Finocchi Ghersi, "Artisti e committenti a San Salvador," *Arte Veneta* 51 (1997): pp. 29-33; by the same author, *Il Rinascimento veneziano di Giovanni Bellini* (Venice: Consorzio Venezia Nuova, 2003), pp. 109-130; Ettore Merkel, "La cena in Emmaus," in *Incontrarsi a Emmaus*, eds. Giordana Mariani Canova, Ana Maria Spiazzi, Crispino Valenziano, exh. cat. (Padua: Messaggero di Sant'Antonio, 1997), pp. 235-236; Ettore Merkel, ed., *La Cena in Emmaus di San Salvador* (Milan: Electa, 1999), pp. 9-44; Roger W. Rearick, "The Discovery of Carpaccio's *Supper at Emmaus*, Dated 1513, in the Church of San Salvador," in *Studies in Venetian Art and Conservation* (New York and Venice: Save Venice Inc., 1999), pp. 14-17; Rona Goffen, "Cena in Emmaus," in *Il colore ritrovato. Bellini a Venezia*, eds. Rona Goffen and Giovanna Nepi Scirè, exh. cat. (Venice: Gallerie dell'Accademia, 2000-2001), pp. 166-167; Jennifer Fletcher and Reinhold C. Mueller, "Bellini and the Bankers: The Priuli Altarpiece for S. Michele in Isola, Venice," *Burlington Magazine* 147 (2005): pp. 5-15; Melissa Conn and David Rosand, eds., *Save Venice Inc. Four Decades of Restoration in Venice* (New York and Venice: Save Venice Inc., 2011), pp. 378-379.

A group of Madonnas by Carpaccio and Bartolomeo Veneto

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Fig. 1 / Vittore Carpaccio, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1488-1489, oil on panel, 75 x 57.8 cm, Florence, Private collection.

In recent years four paintings of the Virgin and Child with very similar figure compositions have appeared in the salesrooms of Sotheby's, both in New York and in London. Two of them have been traditionally associated with Carpaccio (figs. 1 & 2); a third was traditionally associated with Cima, but when presented for sale was more wisely described as by a Follower of Giovanni Bellini (fig. 3); and the fourth, while likewise once thought to be by Cima, is certainly by Bartolomeo Veneto (fig. 4).[1] The same composition is known from at least two more Venetian Madonnas datable to the years around 1500: one in the Fogg Museum at Harvard University, where it carries an attribution to Bellini's follower Lattanzio da Rimini (fig. 5); and the other, signed by Bartolomeo Veneto, in the Musée Fesch, Ajaccio (fig. 6). What follows here is a brief attempt to make sense of these diverse attributions, referring to several different workshops, by reconsidering the six paintings as a group.

In the respective sales catalogues, the first of the two Carpaccio Madonnas, which appeared in 2016 with no known history, was cautiously described as "Attributed to Vittore Carpaccio" (fig. 1). The main basis for the attribution was knowledge of the other version (fig. 2), which at that time was lost, but which reappeared for sale at the beginning of 2019. Formerly in the collection of Hermann Eissler, Vienna, this latter version, although accepted by Berenson following an inspection at some date in the 1920s, has occupied a somewhat marginal place in studies of the painter.[2] This is probably largely because it has rarely been seen since, and because of doubts about the authenticity of the signature VICTORIS CARPAT(IO) on the *cartellino* on the window-sill to the left. It is true that this has been crudely reinforced, but its form in the Latin genitive corresponds to that of his signatures on early works such as the *Virgin and Child with the Saint John the Baptist* in the Städel Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt. The chubby features of the Child also closely resemble those of the Baptist in the Frankfurt picture; and this, too, implies an early date, perhaps the early 1490s, and certainly much earlier than the only previously suggested date of ca. 1516-1518.[3] At the January 2019 sale the ex-Eissler painting was not unreasonably attributed to Carpaccio himself.

Fig. 2 / Vittore Carpaccio, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1492, oil on panel, 63.5 x 53.5 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 3 / Attributed to Bartolomeo Veneto, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1500?, oil on panel, 72 x 55.5 cm, formerly Vienna, Karner collection.

Fig. 4 / Attributed to Bartolomeo Veneto, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1505, oil on panel, 88.5 x 71.8 cm, Private collection.

Fig. 5 / Attributed to a follower of Alvise Vivarini, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1485/ 1490?, oil on panel, 41 x 39.7 cm, Cambridge, MA, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

Fig. 6 / Bartolomeo Veneto, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1504, oil on panel, 60 x 52 cm, Ajaccio, Musée Fesch.

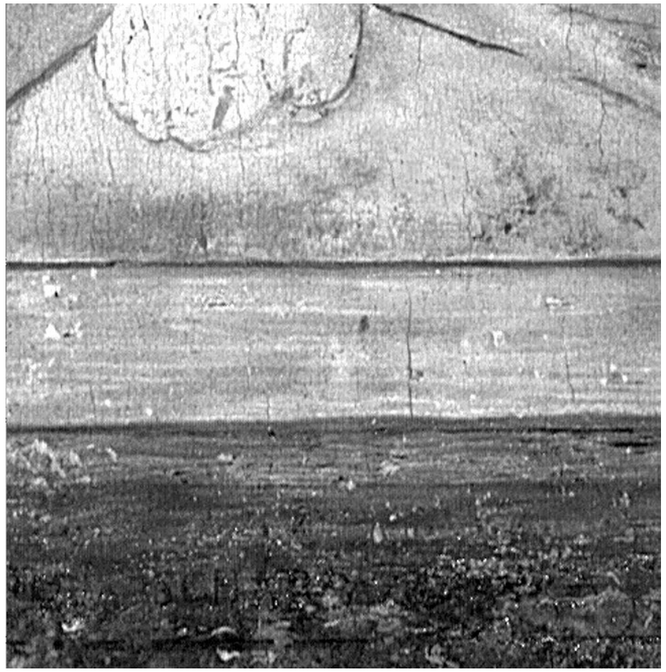


Fig. 7 / Infrared detail of fig. 1.

Fig. 8 / Vittore Carpaccio, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1485, oil on panel, 56 x 42 cm, Venice, Fondazione Musei Civici.

In the meantime, however, the "2016" version (see fig. 1) has re-emerged in a private collection in Florence, and has undergone both conservation, involving the removal of layers of repaint, and technical examination by means of X-radiography and infrared reflectography. Of particular interest, apart from the revelation of the painting's quality, is the emergence of a fragmentary signature on the foreground parapet, most clearly legible in the reflectograph but also visible to the naked eye: "… TOR(?) SCHARPAZ…" (fig. 7). This corresponds closely to the artist's name as it appears in another recently discovered signature ('VETOR[E] SCHARPACO OPV[S]') on a Madonna in the Museo Correr, Venice (fig. 8);[4] and as on a third painting universally agreed to be one of Carpaccio's very earliest, the *Salvator Mundi with Four Saints* (Fondazione Sorlini, Brescia), the artist writes his name in Venetian, and not yet in Latin. Since he had adopted Latin by the time of his earliest dated work, the *Arrival in Cologne* of 1490 for the *Life of Saint Ursula* cycle (Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia), the *Salvator Mundi* is usually and plausibly dated slightly earlier, to the late 1480s. The Florence Madonna is, in fact, very close in style to the *Arrival in Cologne*, and may accordingly be dated to ca. 1488-1489;[5] whereas the Correr Madonna remains stylistically much closer to Giovanni Bellini, and so probably dates from some years earlier, perhaps ca. 1485. By contrast, the Florence Madonna shows a new interest in another master of an older generation, Alvise Vivarini, as is particularly evident in the idea of showing the Virgin and Child in a dark interior, with a window to one side giving on to a view of landscape.

Fig. 9 / Alvise Vivarini, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1483, oil on panel, 69.2 x 53.3 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 10 / Alvise Vivarini *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1483/1485, oil on panel, 80.2 x 64.8 cm, London, on loan to the National Gallery.

Just such an arrangement is to be found in Alvise's two Madonnas in the National Gallery, London, both datable to the early 1480s (figs. 9 & 10);[6] and in both of these, as well as in the Carpaccio, the window motif prompts a treatment of the landscape as a funnel of deep perspective – in contrast to that of the earlier, Bellinesque Madonna, where the composition is more planar. Perhaps also inspired by Alvise (see fig. 10) is the motif of the transparent veil underneath the Virgin's white head covering.

Further confirmation that the ex-Eissler Madonna is a variant of the Florence Madonna, and not vice versa, is provided by another motif that may have a source in Alvise. More visible since the recent cleaning of the picture is the fact that the Child is holding in his right fist a length of string, to which is attached a little bird, now half cut-off at the left edge. This motif is not repeated in the ex-Eissler Madonna, in which the Child's clenched fist and sideways glance to the left no longer have any logical explanation.

A combination of a very similar figure composition with the motifs of the window and of the bird-on-a-string is to be found in the above-mentioned, badly damaged painting in the Fogg Museum (see fig. 5). For at least a century this has been attributed to Lattanzio da Rimini;[7] but the case has never been argued, and in fact, does not stand up to close scrutiny. Although Lattanzio is recorded as an assistant of Bellini in 1492, knowledge of his independent style is based on only two signed and dated works: the *Saint Martin* polyptych of 1503 in the parish church of Piazza Brembana, near Bergamo, and the *Saint John the Baptist* altarpiece of 1505 in the nearby church of Mezzoldo.[8] The Fogg Madonna is not close to these altarpieces either in its figure types or in its arid and linear landscape. Yet in its style – as opposed to its composition – the Fogg Madonna does not closely resemble Carpaccio's Florence Madonna either; and it remains difficult to provide the former with a convincing alternative attribution,[9] or to guess which of these two

Fig. 11 / Bartolomeo Veneto, *Virgin and Child*, signed and dated 1505, oil on panel, 44 x 35 cm, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.

Fig. 12 / Niccolò Rondinelli, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1495, oil on panel, 63.5 x 50.5. cm, Rome, Galleria Nazionale di Palazzo Barberini.

should be given chronological priority. What can be confidently said, however, is that the arched (rather than rectangular) form of the window in the Fogg Madonna was a particular favourite of Alvise and makes a frequent appearance in his work (see fig. 10). Perhaps, therefore, the compositional similarity between the two Madonnas may be explained by the hypothesis that they are independently based on a lost prototype by Alvise.

Probably the least problematic work in the present group in terms of attribution and date is the one that emerged as recently as July 2019 (see fig. 4). Although traditionally given to Cima, there can be little question that it is by Bartolomeo Veneto, and that it should be added to the series of five Virgin and Child paintings generally accepted as this painter's earliest known works.[10] Of these five, four follow a composition invented by Giovanni Bellini, probably identifiable with the signed work of ca. 1495-1500 now in the Alana collection.[11] Two of them are signed and dated by Bartolomeo: the earlier, of 1502, is likewise now in the Alana collection;[12] the later, signed and dated 1505, is in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo (fig. 11). The fifth in the series, again signed by Bartolomeo but carrying a date that is no longer legible, is the Madonna in Ajaccio (see fig. 6), and is the only one to depart from Bellini's compositional type.

Although the new Madonna attributable to Bartolomeo corresponds fairly closely to that in Ajaccio in terms of its figure composition, the colour range of the Virgin's draperies and the treatment of the landscape background are not so obviously similar as immediately to confirm that they are by the same artist. Nevertheless, a comparison with Bartolomeo's Madonna in the Accademia Carrara shows very strong similarities indeed, from the packing of the grassy area immediately behind the foreground group with figures, animals, and birds, to the wooded hillside beyond, likewise packed with houses and towers, to the undulating planes of the distant mountains. Some of the background details are

even exactly repeated in the two paintings: the house on tall stilts seen to the left of the Child's shoulder in the Sotheby's picture, for example, reappears to the right of his counterpart in Bergamo. In both works, however, several of the other details belong to a repertory of motifs current in the workshop of Giovanni Bellini, whose pupil Bartolomeo declared himself to be.

Thus in the new Madonna, the turbaned figure walking off in the left middle-ground derives from that in Bellini's *Sacred Allegory* (Uffizi); the pair of rabbits, one brown and one white, appear frequently in the works of Bellini and his followers; and the apparently outsized goldfinch corresponds to the bird in a Madonna by Rondinelli, another of Bellini's pupils, in Palazzo Barberini, Rome (fig. 12). This last work helps, in fact, read the intended spatial relationships in the new work by Bartolomeo, since it strongly suggests that – as in the Florence Madonna by Carpaccio, although following a different design – the bird is meant to be tethered on a string that the Child is clutching in his little fist. Finally, the group of rustic buildings with steeply-pitched roofs on the right is borrowed directly from Dürer's *Prodigal Son* engraving of 1496.[13]

All this serves not only to confirm the attribution of the recently emerged painting to Bartolomeo Veneto, but to date it to ca. 1505 (or possibly to slightly earlier). In turn, it may also serve to provide a tentative attribution for the final Madonna in the group under discussion (see fig. 3). Formerly in the Karner collection, Vienna, this once also carried an unconvincing attribution to Cima, and remains in search of an author.[14]

This too combines our familiar figure composition (but no bird) with the Alvisesque motif of the arched window; and the landscape background is likewise much closer to that of the two Carpaccios than anything in Bartolomeo's known works, or indeed, anything by Bellini. Yet it may be observed that the treatment of the figures and draperies is near identical to that in the new Bartolomeo, down to the folds in the Virgin's veil, robe and mantle. While it is clear from the foregoing discussion that figure groups and motifs easily migrated from one Venetian workshop to another in these years, the closeness of this last correspondence prompts the suggestion that the ex-Karner picture may be another early work by Bartolomeo Veneto: perhaps the earliest in his series of Madonnas, and dating from about 1500.

NOTES

1. See respectively Sotheby's, New York, 29 January 2016, lot 427; Sotheby's, New York, 30 January 2019, lot 6; Sotheby's, London, 26 April 2007, lot 68; Sotheby's, London, 4 July 2019, lot 123. I am most grateful to Mauro Lucco for discussing the attributions of these Madonnas with me.
2. Although listed with an attribution to Carpaccio by Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Venetian School* (London: Phaidon, 1957), p. 59, the attribution was doubted by Guido Perocco, *Tutta la Pittura del Carpaccio* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1960), p. 84; by Jan Lauts, *Carpaccio* (London: Phaidon, 1962), p. 264; and by Michelangelo Muraro, *Carpaccio* (Florence: Edizioni d'arte Il Fiorino, 1966), p. 98. More recently it was rightly upheld by Vittorio Sgarbi and Giuseppe Pinna, *Carpaccio* (Milano: Fabbri, 1994), p. 234.
3. As proposed by Sgarbi and Pinna, *Carpaccio*, p. 234.
4. Andrea Bellieni, "Una Madonna col Bambino del giovane Carpaccio dai depositi del Museo Correr," *Bollettino dei Musei Civici Veneziani* 7 (2012): pp. 58-59.
5. In this connection it is also worth noting the similarity of the decoration of the Virgin's neckline with that of Saint Martin in Carpaccio's Zara polyptych (Zadar, Museum of Sacred Art), datable on circumstantial evidence to ca. 1487-1493.
6. For the former (NG1872), see John Steer, *Alvise Vivarini* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 141, with a convincing dating to ca. 1483. The latter (L1158), an unusually large and imposing Madonna picture on long-term loan to the Gallery, is unpublished, but may be likewise dated to the first half of the 1480s.
7. Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, p. 95; Fritz Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini e i Belliniani*, (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1962), p. 112; Burton Fredericksen and Federico Zeri, *Census of Pre-Nineteenth-Century Italian Paintings in North American Public Collections* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 103.
8. For these two altarpieces, see Francesco Rossi in *I Pittori Bergamaschi: Il Quattrocento* (Bergamo: Poligrafiche Bolis, 1994), pp. 135, 133.
9. Another work that may be attributed to the unknown "Master of the Fogg Madonna" is a painting formerly with Böhler and then with Scheidewimmer in Munich, published by Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini*, p. 290 and fig. 452, with an unconvincing attribution to Marco Basaiti. Although the figure of the Child differs from that in the present group, that of the Virgin is very similar, and the work repeats the motifs of the arched window and the bird. The motif of the Child clutching a bird in his hand recurs in several Madonna pictures by close followers of Alvise, such as that by Giovanni Martini da Udine in the Museo Correr.
10. See Laura Pagnotta, *Bartolomeo Veneto. L'Opera Completa* (Florence: Centro Di, 1997), nos. 1-5.
11. See Mauro Minardi in *The Alana Collection, II: Italian Paintings and Sculptures from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Miklós Boskovits (Florence: Centro Di, 2011), pp. 64-70.
12. Pagnotta, *Bartolomeo Veneto,* no. 2.
13. As kindly pointed out to me by Georgina Eliot.
14. Catalogued as Cima by Luigi Coletti, *Cima da Conegliano* (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1959), p. 74; attribution rejected, but with no alternative name advanced, by Peter Humfrey, *Cima da Conegliano* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 193-194. As mentioned above, in the sale catalogue of 2007 it was correctly but generically attributed to an unknown "Follower of Giovanni Bellini".

Fig. 1 / Titian, *Man of Sorrows*, 1547, oil on slate, 69 x 56 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Paintings of the *Man of Sorrows* by Titian and his studio, II[1]

PAUL JOANNIDES

VI. TITIAN'S TWO PAINTINGS OF THE *MATER DOLOROSA* FOR CHARLES V

A few years after its arrival in Augsburg in 1548, Charles V's *Man of Sorrows* (fig. 1) painted by Titian on slate was paired with a *Mater Dolorosa* on wood executed by Michael Coxcie, probably based on a Flemish fifteenth-century prototype. Charles seems to have felt Flemish fifteenth-century art to be the touchstone of piety, and pendant panels of the *Man of Sorrows* and the *Mater Dolorosa* had been painted by several artists including Dieric Bouts, Hugo van der Goes and Hans Memling.[2] In 1553, perhaps piqued that his *Man of Sorrows* had been paired with a painting by Coxcie, Titian dispatched to the emperor a *Mater Dolorosa* (fig. 2), rather Memling-esque in arrangement, also on wood, no doubt as a replacement pendant, which demonstrates that he was, at least on this occasion, prepared to pair pictures executed on different supports. But this pairing does not seem to have found favour and a year later, in October 1554, at the emperor's request, Titian sent him a second *Mater Dolorosa* (fig. 3), now painted on marble, based on a model that Charles had provided – a model that has not been identified but which, to judge from Titian's rendering, was of considerable intensity, and perhaps by – or by a painter close to – Rogier van der Weyden.[3] Nevertheless, despite Titian's concession to his patron's wishes, we learn from the emperor's posthumous inventory of 1558-1559 that the two paintings on stone by Titian had not then been united. Titian's *Man of Sorrows* on slate remained paired with Michael Coxcie's *Mater Dolorosa* on wood, and his *Mater Dolorosa* on marble was paired with a *Man of Sorrows*, again by Michael Coxcie and again on wood. Titian's *Mater Dolorosa* on wood remained unaccompanied, an isolated image of the Virgin's suffering.[4] As an aside, it might be worth underlining that if this sequence of events and relations were not documented in surviving letters and inventories, it would have been impossible to reconstruct.[5]

It was only after Charles V's death that Titian's *Man of Sorrows* on slate and *Mater Dolorosa* on marble were detached from Coxcie's panels and united, as Titian intended. They were transferred to the Escorial in 1571-1574 by Philip II and placed in the Sacristy, where they remained until Philip's death.[6] Shortly thereafter they were returned to the Alcázar in Madrid: they are recorded there in July 1600 and can be followed in various inventories up to the present.[7] It would be reasonable to expect that copies of them would have been made but, as already noted in Part I, whether this happened is debateable. No early Spanish copies of Charles V's *Man of Sorrows* are extant and as for the two versions of the *Mater Dolorosa*, there is only a coarsened pastiche of the first example, probably of the seventeenth century, in the *Iglesia Vieja* of Escorial which will be discussed below. No autograph or studio repetitions of the *Mater Dolorosa* on marble are recorded.[8]

Fig. 2 / Titian, *Mater Dolorosa*, 1553, oil on wood, 68 x 61 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 3 / Titian, *Mater Dolorosa*, 1555, oil on marble, 68 x 53 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

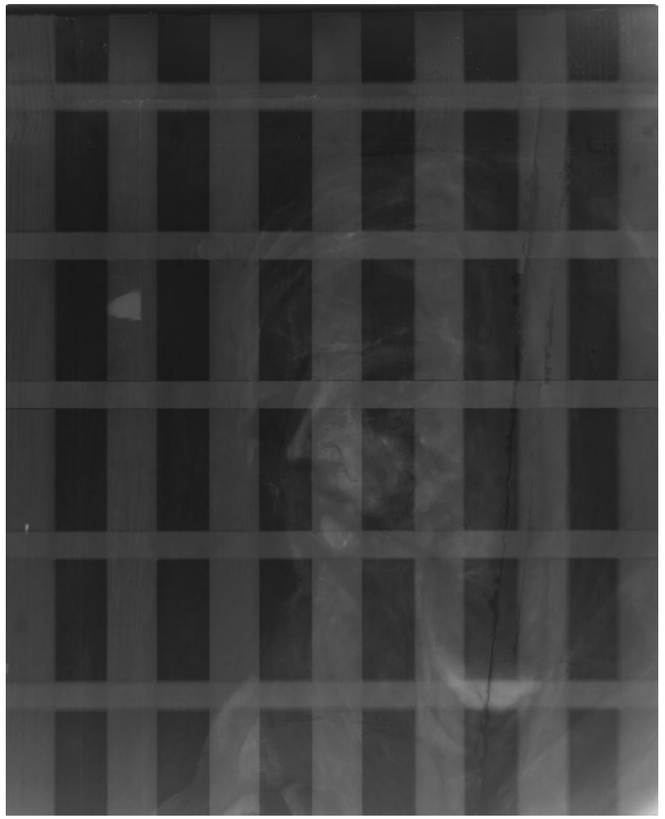


Fig. 4 / Titian, *Mater Dolorosa*, ca. 1568, oil on wood, 68 x 57 cm, ex-Brooklyn, Private Collection, USA.

Fig. 5 / X-ray fig. 4.

VII. THE *MAN OF SORROWS* AND *MATER DOLOROSA* FOR PHILIP II

Between 1539 and 1552, Titian's representation of the *Man of Sorrows* probably remained fairly constant. In the absence of visual evidence to the contrary, it is likely that the differences among the "Eleonora", "Pauline", and "Emperor" types were slight – mostly consisting in variatons of colour and tone and the presence or absence of a cane – and that Christ's pose underwent only small changes. But around the middle of the 1550s Titian seems to have decided to produce a new type of *Man of Sorrows* and to pair it – or at least some examples of it – with a new *Mater Dolorosa*: one that he and his studio were also to repeat and to recombine with yet other types of the *Man of Sorrows*, just as he had successively combined Charles V's *Man of Sorrows* with two different treatments of the *Mater Dolorosa*. It seems very likely – although it has been contested – that the this new pair was painted for the new Spanish monarch Philip II, either in response to a request or on Titian's own initiative, to update the pairing he had intended for Philip's father. The salient feature of the "Philipian type" of the *Man of Sorrows* is that the cane, now thicker and heavier than in the Chantilly and ex-Dorotheum examples (See Part I), rises in the opposite direction, from lower right to upper left, at an angle of about thirty-five degrees, traversing Christ's chest and intersecting His wrists just above the cords and His left upper arm just below the shoulder. This rearrangement creates a more geometrical, hence stronger, image of the Saviour and qualifies the desolation expressed in the "Emperor type".[9] As for the *Mater Dolorosa*, instead of looking towards her Son – as in the panel sent by Titian to Charles V – she bends her head downwards, tears falling over her cheeks, wringing her hands in distress. Titian and his studio seem to have executed several closely similar versions of this *Mater Dolorosa* over more than a decade, but the single autograph example known at present is that formerly in the Diocese of Brooklyn (fig. 4). Although, in my view, this painting is a late example of the type, of the second half of the 1560s, it establishes unequivocally that the new pattern was developed from the first *Mater Dolorosa* sent to Charles (see fig. 2), for X-rays reveal a lay-in of the earlier arrangement beneath the present surface (fig. 5).[10]

Fig. 6 / Luca Bertelli?, after Titian, *Mater Dolorosa*, early 1560s, engraving on paper, 38.5 x 31.2 cm, London, The British Museum.

Fig. 7 / Luca Bertelli?, after Titian, *Man of Sorrows*, early 1560s, engraving on paper, 38.5 x 31.2 cm, London, The British Museum.

The pair painted by Titian for Philip is apparently lost. To complicate matters, the evidence for the two pictures' appearance requires filtering. Thus, Wethey accepted that the *Mater Dolorosa* and *Man of Sorrows* are recorded in two large engravings (figs. 6 & 7; at 38.5 x 31.2 cm, about half the size of the paintings) issued by the Veronese printmaker and publisher Luca Bertelli.[11] Whether Bertelli acted as publisher and engraver or only as publisher is uncertain, but the latter is more likely. Bertelli seems to have worked – but not closely, unlike Cort – with Titian from the late 1560s onwards, when these engravings are generally dated; they were presumably made after drawn records or repetitions.[12] It is clear that the images they record were conceived as a pair, for while their backgrounds differ somewhat, the light which falls strongly from the left, and which casts deep shadows, unifies them. But when compared with surviving painted renderings of these types, the engravings cannot be deemed trustworthy. Both figures sport halos larger and brighter than those in any other picture by Titian and these are presumably the engraver's inventions – or those of the draughtsman who made the drawings from which the prints were cut. Furthermore, while the engraved *Mater Dolorosa* is similar in form to the ex-Brooklyn *Mater Dolorosa*, and to the other versions of that type, the *Man of Sorrows* differs considerably from all other examples of this *Man of Sorrows* type by Titian and his studio, and from the copies that survive in Spain. In the engraving Christ's drapery falls in a double lap below His bound wrists and the cord winds three times around them and hangs down in complicated loops. Such elaboration, which does not recur elsewhere in Titian's work, suggests that the engraver "decorated" Titian's compositions which, in turn, means that the prints, while conveying a general idea of what Titian conceived, cannot be trusted for precise information.[13] Engravings, especially when cut by engravers with artistic pretensions need to be treated with particular caution for they are likely to improve their models.[14]

Fig. 8 / Unidentified painter after Titian, *Man of Sorrows*, original ca. 1556, oil on canvas, 84 x 65 cm, Avila, Cathedral Museum.

Fig. 9 / Unidentified painter after Titian, *Mater Dolorosa*, original ca. 1556, oil on canvas, 84 x 65 cm, Avila, Cathedral Museum.

If the engravings cannot be relied upon – or relied upon fully – is there other evidence for the appearance of this pair? As Wethey pointed out, there is a *Man of Sorrows* and a *Mater Dolorosa* (figs. 8 & 9) in the Cathedral Museum in Avila and these canvases, while hardly masterpieces are, *pace* Wethey, better than "wretched" and more probably of the seventeenth than the eighteenth century.[15] This pair is virtually certainly, as Wethey thought, a replica of that owned by Philip, but the space surrounding the figures suggests that they may be a little enlarged from their prototypes.

Fig. 10 / Unidentified painter after Titian, *Man of Sorrows*, original ca. 1556, oil on canvas, 78 x 58 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, on loan to Ciudad Real.

Fig. 11 / Unidentified painter after Titian, *Mater Dolorosa*, original ca. 1556, oil on canvas, 67 x 56 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

The Prado also owns copies which appear to record the same originals: the *Man of Sorrows* (fig. 10; 78 x 58 cm, reasonably close in size to the Avila copy), on loan to Ciudad Real, and the *Mater Dolorosa* (fig. 11).[16] The two seem to be by different hands and their inventory numbers indicate that they entered the Prado separately. The difference between them in height might suggest that they originated from two different pairs of copies – unless the *Mater Dolorosa* has been trimmed.[17]

If we can be reasonably confident about the appearance of Philip's *Man of Sorrows* and *Mater Dolorosa,* their history is shadowy. According to Wethey, the earliest secure mention of the two comes in the account of the Escorial by Padre Sigüenza, who locates them in the room behind the Sacristy and adds that engravings had been made after them – not true of the paired *Christ* and the *Addolorata* of Charles V – and that many copies of them existed.[18] If Sigüenza does indeed refer to the pair on canvas, it seems that shortly after he wrote, and certainly by July 1600, they too had been transferred – or taken back – to the Alcázar, so the first secure reference to them would actually be one year later, hardly a matter of great moment. But it may be that Sigüenza actually saw Charles V's pair on stone and that Philip's two canvases had remained at the Alcázar in Madrid and were never installed in the Escorial, for no record confirms that they were sent there.[19] Whatever the truth of the matter, Philip's pendants are most fully recorded in the 1636 inventory of the Alcázar, when they were in the King's oratory [602 and 603]:

> Our Lord and the Virgin Mary. Two oils on canvas, by the hand of Titian, with black and gilded frames, almost one *vara* wide and a little more than one *vara* high, in which are painted, in the one an Ecce Homo with hands tied holding a cane, and in the other Our Lady, her fingers enlaced one over the other with a mantle over her shoulders.[20]

Wethey, not finding these pendants in the posthumous inventory of Philip IV of 1666, concluded that they had in the interim been transferred – or returned – to the Escorial; he writes:

Fig. 12 / Titian and/or Studio, *Man of Sorrows*, early 1560s, oil on canvas, 76 x 58 cm, Madrid, Escorial, The Iglesia Vieja.

Fig. 13 / Seventeenth-Century? Pasticheur of Titian, *Mater Dolorosa*, oil on canvas, 77 x 56 cm, Madrid, Escorial, The Iglesia Vieja.

> These two pictures later disappear from the Alcázar, a fact explained by Philip IV's gift of Titian's *Ecce Homo* and *Dolorosa* to the Escorial where they were placed over the same artist's *Adoration of the Shepherds* (sic) and *Entombment* respectively in the Iglesia Vieja...Thereafter the same pictures are recorded in the same place throughout the following century... Their disappearance during the occupation of the Escorial by the French Napoleonic troops marks the end of the story.[21]

While this conclusion is not inherently improbable, Wethey offers no evidence that a theft – or destruction – ever occurred. And the successive descriptions of the *Man of Sorrows* and the *Mater Dolorosa* in the Iglesia Vieja of the Escorial, from their first mention by Francisco de los Santos in 1667 (but not in 1654) through later accounts, are insufficiently precise to enable them to be distinguished from the alternative candidates for Philip IV's gift: the *Man of Sorrows* (fig. 12, bearing Inventory no. 473), and the *Mater Dolorosa* (fig. 13, bearing Inventory no. 470) that remain *in situ* above Titian's large canvases of the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Entombment* (the latter a copy of Titian's original transferred to the Prado in 1837).[22]

Wethey believed the *Man of Sorrows* and *Mater Dolorosa* presently *in situ* to be replacements for Philip II's pair and claimed that they were set in place only after the expulsion of Napoleonic troops. But, once again, he offered no evidence for his belief; all other scholars seem to have accepted – tacitly rather than explicitly – their identity with the canvases sent to the Escorial by Philip IV and this, while it cannot be proven, is probably correct.[23] If Philip IV's gift did indeed comprise the two pictures currently in place, they were clearly not created together. While the Iglesia Vieja's *Man of Sorrows*, which will be discussed below, seems a product of, at least, Titian's studio, the Iglesia Vieja's *Mater Dolorosa* is an evident – probably seventeenth-century – pastiche of the first of the two versions of the *Mater Dolorosa* sent to Charles V (see fig. 13), extended to match the *Man of Sorrows* (see fig. 12) and with the Virgin slightly more upright. The hue of her wimple is distinctive, as is the complexity of her drapery and the generally harsh colouring. The pairing is – and presumably always was – *ad hoc*.[24]

One of Wethey's reasons for identifying Philip II's *Man of Sorrows* and *Mater Dolorosa* with those sent to the Escorial by Philip IV was, as noted above, because he could not find them in the 1666 Alcázar inventory. However, in that inventory is a reference which he knew but seems to have misunderstood (and, it seems, misnumbered): no. 789, in the Galleria del Mediodia, just few footsteps away from the Oratorio, was a painting "one and a quarter *vara* in height and one *vara* in width, of an Ecce Homo by the hand of Titian, worth sixty *ducados*". It can be found in the same place in 1686 (no. 315) and 1701, (no. 106): "Another (painting) of an Ecce Homo of one and a quarter *vara* in height and one *vara* in width by the hand of Titian valued at 100 *Doblones*".[25] It seems likely – although, of course, not certain – that this is Philip II's *Man of Sorrows*, by then deprived of the companion *Mater Dolorosa*. I suspect that the original *Mater Dolorosa* exited the collection between 1636 and 1666 (deteriorated, lost, stolen, or gifted), and that while the original *Man of Sorrows* survived until 1701 it too was later lost, perhaps in the Alcázar fire of 1734.[26] However, in 1772, 1794, and 1814 (always unnumbered, always described as copies) a pair of the *Ecce Homo* and the *Dolorosa* are found framed together in the Sacrestia of Palacio Real; their dimensions are given in confusing form, but all the references must be to the same pictures. Martinez Leiva and Rebollo tacitly assume, that these – or at least the *Christ* – are also the same as those recorded in the inventories of 1601, 1623, and 1636, but this conclusion is open to question. The pair inventoried in 1772 and subsequently located in the sacristy of the Palacio Real was probably after the "Philipian Type", but the recorded dimensions of the two canvases forbid their identification with those now owned by the Prado (see figs. 10 & 11). But all this is very complicated and open to diverse interpretation: as in so many other instances, the matter can only remain open.

Returning to the lost originals of the *Man of Sorrows* and *Mater Dolorosa* on canvas, two questions arise: was Philip II really their intended recipient? And when were they painted? The dedication on Bertelli's two engravings is identical in content if slightly varied in form: *Philippo regi Catholico hispanarum Titianus pictor clarissimus D D*. It is hard to imagine that such inscriptions would be applied to engravings after paintings made for any patron other than Philip II. Furthermore, if it were to be argued that they were made for some other client and only after delivery presented or sold to Philip II, it would entail accepting that news of the transfer reached Venice and was then incorporated in the prints – possible, of course, but unlikely.[27] And although there is no reference to these paintings in the surviving correspondence between Titian and the king, that correspondence is far from complete. As for their date, Wethey suggested 1564, with reference to a short memo sent to Philip II.[28] This memo, unsigned, undated and now unlocated, was dated 1564 by Beroqui and by Hope, more specifically, to August that year. [29] It was certainly penned by a minister of Philip whom Beroqui believed to be Gabriel de la Cuevas but whom Hope, no doubt correctly, identified as Gonzalo Peréz. The relevant part of it reads:

> With regard to the paintings, it has been well done; I will send yours to your Majesty which the Empress has sent; the others are a small Our Lady and Christ which Titian sent me.[30]

Earlier in 1564, on 8 March, Gonzalo Peréz had written to Titian thanking him: "For the image of Our Lady that you say you made for me I kiss your hands, and when it comes, I will deliver the *Supper* to his Majesty".[31] The *Supper* refers to the *Last Supper* by Titian and his studio, then nearing completion and dispatched to Spain later that year. It is obviously tempting to connect the two references and assume that the painting mentioned in March, then still with Titian in Venice, was a *Madonna Dolorosa*, and half of the pair that in August had recently arrived, and this assumption is probably correct.[32]

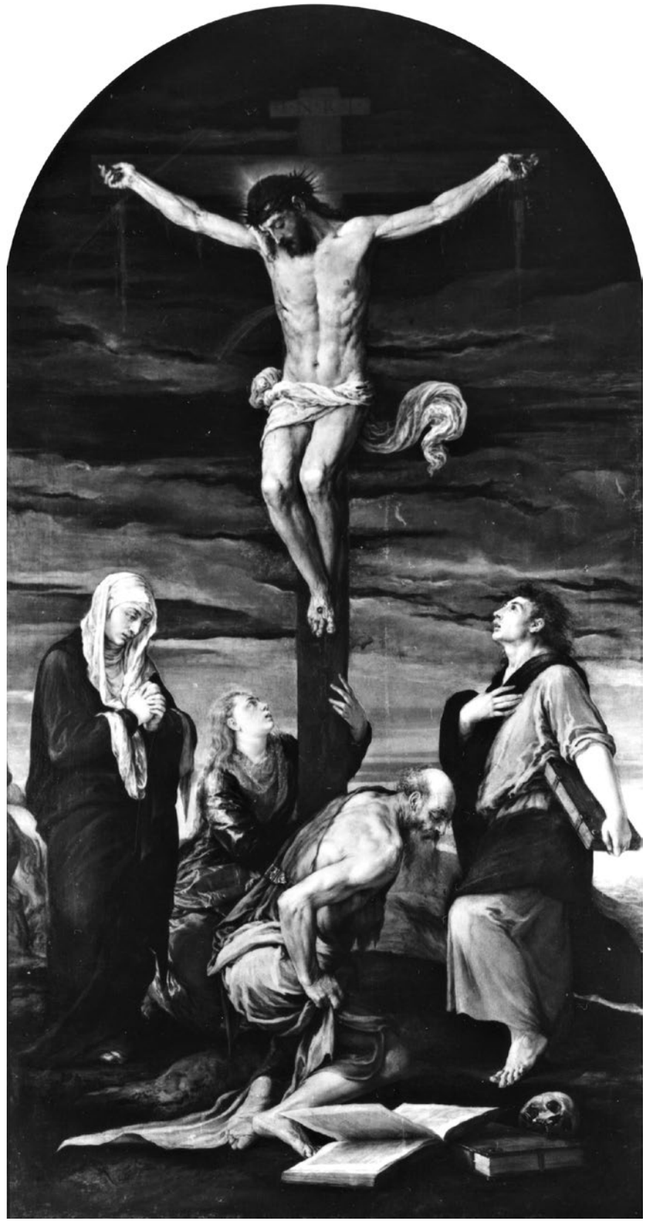


Fig. 14 / Jacopo Bassano, *The Crucifixion with the Virgin, Saint John and the Magdalene*, ca. 1562, oil on canvas, 300 x 157 cm, Treviso, Museo Civico Luigi Bailo.

Accepting that Gonzalo Peréz wrote the August memo, it seems clear from it that the two pictures of *Christo* and *Nuestra Senora* were his own property, sent by Titian to him and not to the king. Of course, they might later have been presented to, bequeathed to, or purchased by Philip II, in which case they could, in principle, be the *Man of Sorrows* and the *Mater Dolorosa* on canvas first securely recorded in the Alcázar in 1600. If so, it would follow that the iconographical development they embody was prompted by a commission from, or Titian's desire to serve, one of Philip's ministers, not Philip himself.[33] But such a contention would return us to the lettering on Bertelli's engravings, affirming Philip II's ownership – which, as Matthias Wivel suggests to me, probably reflects information provided to Bertelli by Titian. We also have to recall that Peréz's August memo refers to the two paintings owned by the writer as "pequeños". The word is relative but, in the memo, it is employed in relation to a portrait, so the pictures were probably nearer the smaller than the larger of Titian's dimensional range of treatments of these subjects.

It would be foolish to be assertive, but on balance it seems more likely that the original pair was indeed created for Philip II and not for one of his ministers. It is my – subjective – impression that the two canvases, so far as we can judge from the copies after them, antedate 1564 and are likely to have been painted around the mid-1550s: certainly the composition of the *Mater Dolorosa* was known by 1561-1562 to Jacopo Bassano who borrowed it, reversed, in his *Crucifixion* now in the Museo Civico Treviso (fig. 14).[34] If this dating is correct, the pair sent in 1564 to Peréz were probably reduced repetitions of the king's pair. Wethey's list of copies of the "Philipian type" of the *Mater Dolorosa* strongly suggests that the subject existed in different sizes.[35] References to other – now unidentifiable – copies, both of the *Man of Sorrows* and the *Mater Dolorosa*, to be found in Spanish collections of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries point to the same conclusion.[36] And, as we have seen, Titian and/or his studio produced variants at different sizes.[37]

Fig. 15 / Titian and/or Studio, *Man of Sorrows*, 1557?, oil on canvas, 52 x 44 cm, Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana.

Fig. 16 / Titian, *Man of Sorrows* (detail page 65), ca. 1558, oil on canvas, 74 x 64 cm, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland Collection.

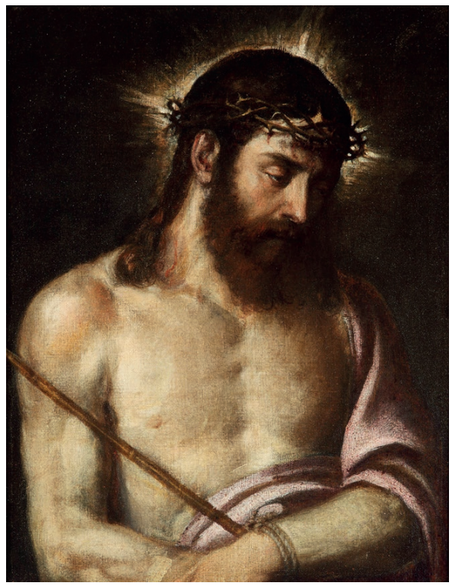


Fig. 17 / Titian, *Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1563, oil on canvas, 53 x 41 cm, USA, Private Collection.

VIII. VARIANTS OF THE PHILIPIAN *MAN OF SORROWS*

Four autograph or studio variants of the "Philipian type" of the *Man of Sorrows* are known at present; they fall into two different sizes and none can be connected to a patron. All are on canvas, so it is doubtful if any of them was paired with the ex-Brooklyn panel of the *Mater Dolorosa*, which presumably either functioned as an independent image, or was paired with a now-lost *Man of Sorrows* on wood.[38]

Two of these paintings are very close to one another in form: in both Christ's hair bifurcates on His right shoulder, the fall of His robe over His hand follows the same path, and the cane crosses over the drapery at a slightly steeper angle. One of these is the *Man of Sorrows* in the Iglesia Vieja of the Escorial, already mentioned (see fig. 12). In its present condition and at its present distance from the viewer, it cannot be judged satisfactorily and Wethey – who, it will be remembered, thought it a post-Napoleonic replacement for a canvas stolen or destroyed – wavered between "a ruined original, now dark and badly damaged... or an old copy".[39] It is currently inventoried as a later copy.[40] The other is a canvas in Milan (fig. 15), a two-thirds reduction presented by Cardinal Federico Borrommeo to the Ambrosiana in 1618 but whose earlier provenance is unknown.[41]

What are the statuses of the Ambrosiana and Escorial versions of the *Man of Sorrows*? They are similar but not identical. Christ's head is a little more upright in the latter, the run of the cord over His wrists is varied, the fall of His hair on the left, and the traces of the flails on His torso and dribbles of blood from the crowning with thorns are differently distributed. Their techniques also differ: the Ambrosiana canvas, unadventurous in execution, is generally considered to be a copy, but it is solidly painted and might have been produced in Titian's studio under his supervision; until it is examined technically and cleaned, it would be unwise to risk a judgement. Its manner is that of Titian's work of ca. 1560 and such a date is also suggested by the canvas weave, which is similar to that of the Ambrosiana's *Adoration of the Magi*.[42] The Escorial canvas is executed in the more broken manner of the slightly later Titian.

And a further difference needs to be stressed: Christ's robe in the Ambrosiana painting, which is undecorated, is executed in fused and quite dense brushstrokes, the modelling effective if somewhat perfunctory. In the Escorial canvas, Christ's robe is more thinly painted and is animated by many tiny stripes, applied with a fine brush, possibly indicating gold thread. As far as I am aware, this technique recurs only, and not in precisely the same form, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum's *Man of Sorrows*, to be discussed below; imparting to the painting a textural liveliness, it might well register the master's intervention. When such features are taken into account, it seems clear that neither picture can be a copy – in the full sense of the term – of the other, nor do both depend on a common prototype, unless one allows the executant(s) unusual latitude. It seems reasonable to propose that they are autograph, partly autograph, or studio variants of the "Philipian type".

The third example of this type is that in the Collection of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle (fig. 16), acquired with the Camuccini Collection in which, incomprehensibly, it was classed as by Tintoretto, whose name it carried until recently.[43] Its Roman provenance might suggest that it is identical with the "...Christ Ecce Homo who holds in his hand a cane by the hand of Titian" recorded in the Aldobrandini Collection in 1626, but this is probably a false trail.[44] It is richly and densely executed, and Christ has a glowing halo; the set of His head is a little more upright than in the other versions and the execution creates an impression of great solidity. In publishing the Alnwick canvas, I suggested for it a date ca. 1560, but I am now inclined to think it was painted a trifle earlier, ca. 1557-1558, contemporary with the Ancona *Crucifixion*.

A fourth *Man of Sorrows*, more tightly framed than the others and virtually identical in dimensions to the Ambrosiana version, is privately owned in the USA, with a provenance via the London Art Market from collections in France, Italy, and Switzerland (fig. 17).[45] It seems to be of high quality and its existence further substantiates that Titian issued the *Man of Sorrows* in – at least – two different sizes. Christ's drapery is quite summarily executed, with a *pentimento* visible to the naked eye along the upper edge of the passage that winds across His abdomen, and its arrangement differs a little from the other three; His halo is more emphatic than in the Escorial or Ambrosiana examples and closer to the Northumberland canvas.[46] Probably painted in the second half of the 1560s – perhaps not fully finished – it may be the latest example of the "Philipian type" that Titian produced.

IX. FOUR LATE VARIANTS OF THE *MAN OF SORROWS*

References to paintings of the *Man of Sorrows* in later inventories and other documents imply that Titian and/or his studio executed further examples of the subject.[47] It would be vain to speculate how many versions of which types might have emerged from the Biri Grande over the years, and previously unrecorded paintings by Titian and his studio – or copies of such – appear with sufficient frequency to enjoin caution. For the present, however, it seems clear that Titian painted at least four further variants of the *Man of Sorrows* and that his inventiveness increased rather than decreased. They differ in composition from each other and from the various types discussed hitherto. None has so far been connected with a patron.

Probably the earliest is a painting in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (fig. 18), which, so far as I am aware, has been ignored in Titian scholarship. Attributed to Titian's workshop in the museum's catalogue, it is there dated ca. 1570, but my impression is that it is about a decade earlier.[48] Christ's body is reduced in size in relation to the picture-field and extends a little further downwards than in most other versions. Christ is placed frontally, and His head is erect. His wrists are tied together at the lower centre of the painting, not displaced to the viewer's right, and the cords that secure them, more elaborated than in other examples, fall along the vertical axis. Christ's proper right arm is set at a more open angle and His right hand, fully visible, more prominent than elsewhere, cocooned in a scoop of drapery.

Fig. 18 / Titian (and Studio?), *Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1560, oil on canvas, 64 x 47 cm, Vienna, The Kunsthistorisches Museum.

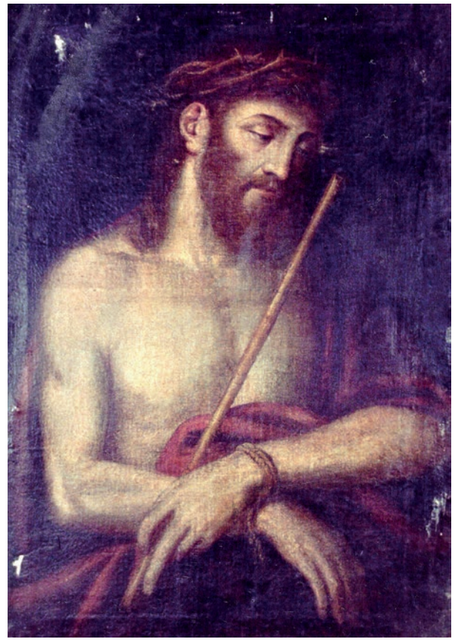


Fig. 19 / Titian, *Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1560, oil on canvas, 77 x 67 cm, X-ray of *Christ Carrying the Cross*, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 20 / Unidentified seventeenth-century painter, after Titian?, *Man of Sorrows*, original ca. 1560?, oil on canvas, 78 x 56 cm, Madrid, Palacio Real, reserves (formerly Escorial).

Fig. 21 / Titian, *Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1562, oil on canvas, 72 x 55 cm, Dublin, The National Gallery of Ireland.

The painting does not seem to be a later copy of an earlier model, although in the placing and angling of the cane it reprises the "Eleonora type", but more clearly than in that, Christ holds the cane between the first and second fingers of His left hand. Certain parts of the picture seem rather dull and it may not be entirely autograph; but the enlivening of the drapery folds with small brushstrokes, and the edge with a line of gold, relate it to the Escorial *Man of Sorrows*. The Kunsthistorisches Museum painting is noteworthy in that the space left at either side of Christ invites the entry of other figures and, in fact, His pose was reused, little changed, in the Prado version of the *Ecce Homo*.[49]

Two pieces of evidence suggest that Titian further exploited this arrangement. One is the X-ray of the Prado *Christ Carrying the Cross*, a painting universally dated to the mid-1560s, which reveals a *Man of Sorrows* beneath the present surface (fig. 19).[50] The other is a *Man of Sorrows* once in the Escorial but now held in the reserves of the Palacio Real in Madrid (fig. 20), currently attributed to an unidentified Spanish seventeenth-century painter.[51] The two representations, which are similar but not identical, show Christ posed as in the Kunsthistorisches Museum painting, although His forms are a little thickened.

Two other paintings of the *Man of Sorrows* are well known and often exhibited. There should be no doubts about the fully autograph nature of either. They are a little narrower than the other versions and Christ dominates the field more emphatically. In both paintings, the cane rises from lower right to upper left, following the "Philipian type" if at a slightly steeper angle, about forty-five degrees, crossing His right shoulder. But they differ in other respects. In the canvas in Dublin (fig. 21), Christ is placed more frontally than before although His head is turned to the viewer's left and His drapery is cast over the opposite shoulder: in short, His pose is reversed, for the only time, it seems, in Titian's oeuvre.[52]

His arms are held a little more horizontally than in other versions, with His right wrist bound over His left, and with a rather complex arrangement of cords. The drapery is more extensive than before, covering His right shoulder and, possibly for the first time, rising up His left arm above the elbow. A trickle of blood falls on His right breast, but the consequences of the Crowning are not stressed. The effect is to reduce the emphasis on Christ's physique. His head tilts downwards at three quarters left, eschewing the near profile of earlier types. Like the Northumberland *Man of Sorrows*, Christ has an intensely glowing halo, roughly pentagonal, with strongly protruding lateral rays. His cane is shown in two positions: either the canvas was never fully finished and, presumably, remained in Titian's studio, or else it has at some time been cleaned so enthusiastically as to expose a *pentimento* – the copy in Sarasota, which follows the lower position, implies the latter. The Dublin *Man of Sorrows*, whose figural arrangement is exceptionally effective, is a fascinating example of Titian's creative vitality; a date of ca. 1560 is generally accepted, but the broken contour, especially visible on the left shoulder, and the blurring of edges on His right forearm, suggest rather the middle of that decade.[53]

Titian, or a member of his studio, may also have produced a slightly modified variant, although our only evidence for this is a print issued in 1812, when the *Man of Sorrows* in question was in the collection of Lucien Bonaparte (fig. 22).[54] There is little change in the pose, but Christ's drapery is modified: a narrow section of cloak falls from His left – rather than right – shoulder and another section winds about His right, rather than left, elbow. But no judgement on Lucien's painting is possible unless or until it reappears. A further variant, attributed to Titian, but more probably after Veronese, is recorded in the illustrated catalogue of the Collection of Andrea Vendramin, on fol. 12 (fig. 23) but about this there seems to be no further information.[55] As far as we know, the Dublin type of the *Man of Sorrows* was never accompanied by a *Mater Dolorosa*.

The other "new" composition is the well-known Sibiu *Man of Sorrows*; at 66 x 53 cm it is effectively a mid-size canvas (fig. 24).[56] This painting too is distinctive in arrangement. Christ is shown in a frontal and still pose and His right forearm, covering His left, is held horizontally, paralleling the lower edge of the canvas. As in the Dublin painting, Christ's right shoulder is covered with drapery, as is His left arm, but in a more strikingly angular arrangement, opening a rectangle of flesh over His torso, the left two thirds of which His cane traverses at forty-five degrees, like the Dublin picture, but coordinated with the new arrangement of Christ's drapery; running diagonally from the lower right to the upper right corner, it bisects this rectangle and communicates an impression of firmness. Strikingly, although this painting shares motifs with the "reversed" Dublin arrangement, Christ looks to His left, not down to His right. His head is held erect and His gaze is outward and commanding. This is Christ superior to His sufferings, evincing His authority as King of Kings; the angularity of the drapery organization subliminally reinforces this effect.

The Sibiu *Man of Sorrows*, thinly painted, would be close in date to the Dublin picture, around the mid-1560s. Its first identifiable owner was Bartolomeo della Nave from whom it passed to the Duke of Hamilton and thence to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, in whose collection it appears in a gallery view by Teniers, known in two versions.[57] In Teniers's renderings it is

accompanied by a *Mater Dolorosa* of the "Philipian" or "Brooklyn type", apparently of identical size (fig. 25). This *Mater Dolorosa*, also on canvas, shared the Della Nave and Hamilton provenance of the *Man of Sorrows* and was listed in both their collections as an original. But by the 1659 inventory of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm – rather surprisingly – it had become a copy. Whatever the explanation of the perceived inferiority of the *Mater Dolorosa* – and this may have been a matter of condition rather than quality – it was etched in Prenner and Stampart (1735) as their plate 28 but is now lost.[58]

No early versions of the Sibiu painting are recorded but a similar painting, amplified by the inclusion of a head to the right of Christ, was known to Van Dyck who copied it (fig. 26) in his *Italian Sketchbook* and also owned it.[59]

Fig. 22 / Unidentified engraver after Titian?, *Man of Sorrows*, original ca. 1562?, support and dimensions unrecorded, Formerly collection of Lucien Bonaparte, recorded in *Choix de gravures à l'eau forte d'après les peintures de Lucien Bonaparte* (London: Bulmer, 1812).

Fig. 23 / After Titian?, *Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1562, support and dimensions unrecorded, Formerly Vendramin Collection, recorded in Sloane MSS 4004, London, British Library.

Fig. 24 / Titian, The *Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1563, oil on canvas, 67 x 53 cm, Sibiu, The Brukenthal Museum.

Fig. 26 / Sir Anthony van Dyck after Titian, *Man of Sorrows with Another Figure*, original of ca. 1563, pen on paper, 20.5 x 16.5 cm, London, The British Museum.

Fig. 25 / David Teniers the Younger, *The Brussels Picture Gallery of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria*, 1651, oil on canvas, 127 x 183 cm, Petworth House, The Egremont Collection, The National Trust.

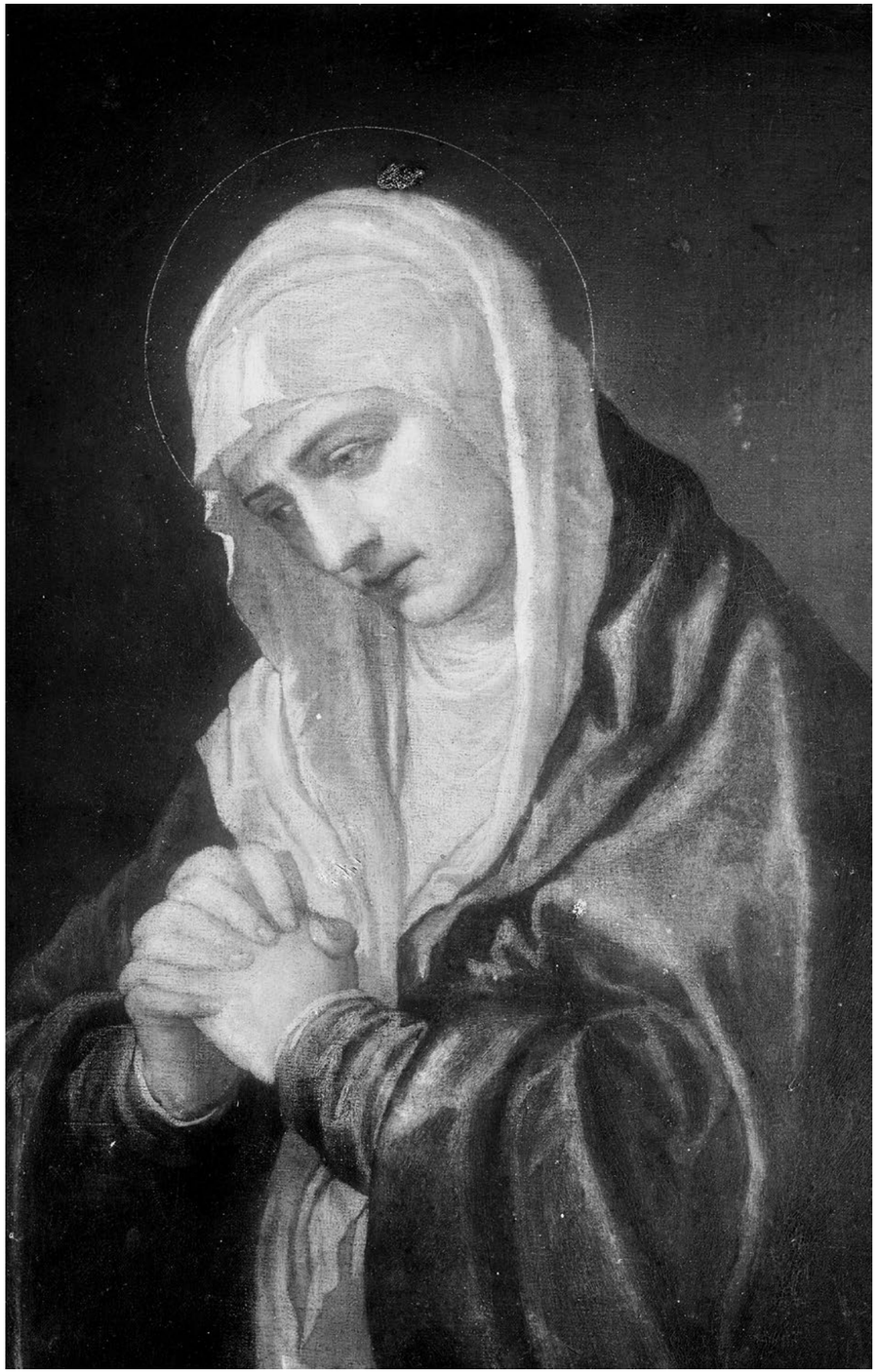


Fig. 27 / Unidentified seventeenth-century? artist after Titian, *Mater Dolorosa*, oil on canvas, 79 x 59 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi.

X. GUIDOBALDO II DELLA ROVERE AGAIN

Between 1564 and 1566 Titian executed a *Christ* and a *Madonna* for Guidobaldo II, Duke of Urbino. The project seems to have been initiated in December 1564 and in a letter of 6 January 1565, Titian specifically asked Guidobaldo whether the paintings should be on wood – so he was still painting on wood at this date – or canvas, and from which direction they should be illuminated; Guidobaldo's answer, unfortunately, is lost.[60] Titian does not mention their precise subjects which, presumably, had already been determined. A year later, on 26 January 1566, Guidobaldo's ambassador in Venice, Gian Francesco Agatone wrote to the duke:"Titan was here in my house yesterday evening to tell me that the two devotional paintings, that is of Christ and of the Madonna, have ben finished by his own hand, and that he will attend to the other one."[61] It sounds from this as though three paintings were in question, two of which were pendants, and that, in principle, the *Madonna* would have been a *Madonna Addolorata* and the *Christo* a *Man of Sorrows*. We cannot be certain of this: thus, Hope thought that the *Madonna* was in fact a *Virgin and Child with two Angels* on wood which also came to Florence from Urbino; this is now lost but a copy of it survives. However, it seems more likely that that picture was a separate, unrecorded, and somewhat an earlier commission.[62] Nor is the subject of the *Christo* certain: it could in principle have been a *Salvator Mundi.* That Titian was reconsidering this subject at about this time is demonstrated by his unfinished canvas in the Hermitage.[63] But, once again, this seems less likely than the alternative. A minor complication is that the third painting referred to, but unnamed, by Agatone in his letter of 6 January is likely to have been a *Madonna* – but not the one formerly in Florence – which was delivered to Guidobaldo in 1567 and is the subject of letters between Titian and the duke of, respectively, the 3 and 10 May.[64]

The *Christ* recorded in Urbinate inventories in the 1620s was probably – if not certainly – the Palatina *Man of Sorrows* discussed in the Part I of this article and not the *Christo* of 1565-1566. In any case no pendant *Madonna Addolorata* has been found, and none is to be found in the consignment that arrived in Florence in 1631. A *Madonna Addolorata* of the appropriate type, with an attribution to Titian, was listed in the apartment of Vittoria della Rovere at Poggio Imperiali in 1654, and was inventoried among her possessions in 1691 as: "A painting on canvas 1 1/8 *b.a* high, 7/8 *b.a* wide, painted by the hand of Titian with a bust-length *Sant.ma* Madonna in profile dressed in red with a white cloth over her head which is like a wimple and hands clasping a cross as she looks down at the ground."[65] But whether or not this now lost and rather small picture came from Urbino is conjectural, for another version of this type, plus at least two copies of that, was already in Florence.[66] What might seem to be a corresponding picture is in the Uffizi (fig. 27), but this canvas, which measures 79 x 59 cm, entered the museum only in 1898 as a gift of the English collector Arthur de Noé Walker.[67]

Rather than pursuing the Florentine trail, which seems to run into the sand, it may be more fruitful to propose a different hypothesis: that the pictures painted for Guidobaldo in the mid-1560s were the Sibiu *Man of Sorrows* (see fig. 24) and its lost companion *Mater Dolorosa*. If so, Guidobaldo, or a later Della Rovere would have gifted or sold them. The Della Rovere could, of course, have retained a copy of the *Mater Dolorosa*, which would be the picture recorded in 1654 and later, but that work might equally well have arrived in Florence from some other route.[68]

There is, however, an alternative possibility for Guidobaldo's pair. Around 1650, Lucas Vorsterman II issued pendant engravings of the *Man of Sorrows* and the *Mater Dolorosa* (figs. 28 & 29), both rare. The *Man of Sorrows*, which was certainly engraved in its source's original direction, has been described as after the Dublin painting, but it differs considerably from that.[69] Indeed, the representation of Christ in Vorsterman's print seems to be unique to Titian's work in that His

drapery, not a mantle but approximating to one, is knotted at His throat and falls rather widely across His proper left shoulder. The *Mater Dolorosa* has received little attention, but when it has been mentioned, has been said to be after the painting in Leopold Wilhelm's collection; but it too is different: the engraving shows the type with more corrugated drapery. It seems that Vorsterman's engravings reproduce another pair of paintings issued by Titian and/or his workshop which was presumably owned by an Italian couple resident in Flanders in the mid-seventeenth century but about which we have no further information.[70]

XI. POSTSCRIPT

The reader who has persisted to this point – or fallen by the wayside – will appreciate the fragility of many – perhaps most – of the hypotheses proposed. A chance documentary find, an unpublished inventory reference discovered or a published one overlooked, the appearance of a previously unknown painting, whether autograph or studio or copy – good or poor – even unconnected to a documentary reference, has the potential to overturn apparently secure structures.[71] We do not know how many paintings which have left documentary deposits but are presumed lost might survive unidentified; we have no idea how many undocumented ones have disappeared; and some surviving paintings have evaded record. When slightly differing versions of the same composition survive in obvious copies, we can never be certain whether those differences result from the personalities of the copyists or whether they register variations among different originals. For it is abundantly clear that Titian and his studio – like Giovanni Bellini and his – was prepared to execute modified – sometimes only very slightly modified – repetitions of successful and popular paintings and at short intervals, and we have no means of knowing how many might have been produced.

Remembering that occasional criticisms about the quality of Titian's execution were vented within his lifetime, it seems evident that he could sometimes employ assistants even on paintings which one might have expected him to execute himself. And despite the efforts that have been devoted to elucidating Titian's studio practice, few certainties have been reached. Furthermore, his practice was not singular but plural: practices varied, fluid and constantly in change. We must also accept that, in many cases, judgments of authorship are provisional or approximate; that Titian on a bad day, or bored, or impatient, or nearing a deadline, might produce work qualitatively – insofar as so subjective an estimate as "quality" can be determined – indistinguishable from that by an assistant or an associate is always a possibility, notwithstanding the over-confident pronouncements of some modern scholars. It is clear, too, from Eleonora Gonzaga's letters – however regrettable we may find it – that at least some of his clients believed Titian to be capable of sharp practice, prepared to substitute one picture for another, or to pass off a copy as an original[72]; and we know from other sources that he was willing to divert a painting from one client to another if he thought he could benefit from doing so.

To such problems must be added those of vocabulary. The writers and recipients of the letters cited here generally expressed themselves loosely. Imprecision is the norm, understandable in situations in which writers and readers knew what they were talking about and had no need to define their terms with contractual exactitude. Consequently, space opens for interpretation. And looseness in sixteenth-century vocabulary finds kindred in modern art-historical discourse. There are no commonly agreed definitions of the varying categories of pictorial creation: words such as

Fig. 28 / Lucas Vorsterman II after Titian, *Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1650, engraving, 22.8 x 15.2 cm, Rotterdam, Boijmans van Beuningen Museum.

Fig. 29 / Lucas Vorsterman II after Titian, *Mater Dolorosa*, ca. 1650, engraving and etching, 23 x 16.3 cm, Vienna, The Albertina.

version, variant, repetition, replica, or copy become meaningful only when qualified, and qualifications too are open to dispute. Thus, while I hope that there is some internal consistency in the vocabulary employed in this piece, it makes no pretence to "scientific" or even legalistic precision.

In short, this essay is an attempt – and no more than that – to make sense of a mass, or a mess, of disparate – and unequally reliable – pieces of information, documentary and visual. As a preliminary effort to map the territory, it is inevitably open to revisions large and small and even – but it is to be hoped not – complete demolition.

NOTES

1. This article is the continuation of the study on Titian's *Man of Sorrows* published in the last volume of this Journal. See Paul Joannides, "Paintings of the *Man of Sorrows* by Titian and his Studio," *Colnaghi Studies Journal* 5 (2019): pp. 125-139.
   Acknowledgements in Part I are common to Part II, but thanks should be repeated for Noel Annesley, Miguel Falomir, and Almudena Pérez de Tudela, and added for Piers Baker-Bates and Alexander Troubridge, who provided invaluable last minute help.
2. Interesting pendants attributed to the Southwest German School ca. 1480, on a scale that would have made them eminently portable, were offered at Christie's, London, 6 July 2018, lot 105.
3. Harold Wethey, *Titian, I, The Religious Paintings* (London: Phaidon, 1969), nos. 76 and 77; Peter Humfrey, *Titian, the Complete Paintings* (London: Phaidon, 2007), nos. 197 and 198. Diptychs of the *Man of Sorrows* and the *Mater Dolorosa* are quite common in Flemish fifteenth-century painting with examples by Rogier, Memling, and Hugo van der Goes, among others, but no *Mater Dolorosa* presently known shows her with open hands; however, as Paula Nuttall kindly pointed out to me, open hands are employed by Rogier in representations of Passion scenes, and it may be that he produced a close-up image with the same gesture.
4. Fernando Checa Cremades, ed., *Los Inventarios de Carlo V y la familia imperial/The Inventories of Charles V and the Imperial Family*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Fernando Villaverde, 2010), III, p. 299 (p. 79 of the inventory), with successive entries: "Otro tablero hecho de mano de Tiçiano en piedra que *es Cristo* azotado can una ymagen de Nuestra Señora junto con ella. Pintuda sobre madera, la qula hes de mano de maestre Miguel y el *Cristo* de Tiçiano.
   Otra pintura de *Nues*tro Señor Jh*es*u *cristo* en Madera q*ue* lleba la cruz a cuestas, de mano de maestre y otra ymagen junto con el, hecha en piedra, de *Nue*stra Señora de mano de Tiçiano. Otra pintura de *Nue*stra Señora pintada sobre madera hecha de mano de Tiçiano."
   The same information is repeated on p. 313 of the inventory.
   Coxcie's panels do not seem to have survived but we lack a catalogue raisonné of his work.
5. As Dr. Perez de Tudela Gabaldón pointed out to me, there is a single figure of the Virgin, 92 x 67 cm, painted on slate, in the Escorial (inv. 10014559), inventoried as a possible copy after Titian by an unidentified Italian painter. While I am aware of no other version of this arrangement, Titian's authorship of the design seems to me distinctly possible; however, given Mary's youthful features and modest pose, arms crossed over her breast, the painting is more likely to have originated as a *Virgin Annunciate* than a *Mater Dolorosa*. Nevertheless, this may be the *Mater Dolorosa* described together with a *Man of Sorrows*, by Padre Andrés Ximénez, *Descripción del real monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial* (Madrid: Antonio Marin, 1764), pp. 75-76 as placed in the upper cloister: "En los Testeros de los Cañones, que abrazan la Escalera principal, hay otros dos Quadros, que son un Ecce-Homo, y una nuestra Señora de la Soledad: el Divino Señor, expresado excelentemente: la Reyna Soberana, con rostro tan affligido, que infunde compassion en el Corazon mas duros representase lastimada y llorosa, en un accion que significa bellamente estos afectosd. Son ambas del celebre Ticano, y están executadas con particular cuidado y acierto." These are presumably the same pictures mentioned thirty-six years later by Juan Augustín Ceán Bermudez, *Dicionario historico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, 6 vols. (Madrid: Viuda de Ibarra, 1800), V, p. 42: "En el claustro principal alto un Eccehomo y una Dolorosa di medio cuerpo, pintados en pizzaras y colocados en los lados de la escalera principal sobre los arcos que van á los claustros chicos."
6. Fernando Checa Cremades, ed., *Los Libros de Entregas de Felipe II a El Escorial* (Madrid: Patrimono Nacional, 2013), p. 212, (p. 209 of the inventory): "Dos ymagines la una de C(h)risto Nuestro Señor, la otra de Nuestra Señora en piedra que fueron del Emperador Nuestro Señor. Cierranse la una con la otra. Son de mano de Tiziano de medio cuerpo." After the death of Philip II, Charles V's *Man of Sorrows* on slate and *Mater Dolorosa* on marble were transferred to the Madrid Alcázar where they are recorded in July 1600: see Fernando Checa Cremades, ed., *Inventarios de Felipe II: post mortem, almoneda, tapices* (Madrid: Fernando Villaverde, 2018), p. 104 (p. 57 of the inventory): "Un retabillo de Madera dorado y pintado de negro con dos pinturas la una C(h)risto y la otra de Nuestra Señora de medio cuerpo al ol(l)io sobre piedra pizarra de mano de Tiçiano puestas en sus marcos de madera con molduras doradas y azules que situe en el altar del oratorio del quarto vajo neba del Palacio tasado en ciento y veynte ducados."
7. For example, in 1636 they were in the *Pieça alta de la torre en que está la libreria de su majestad*, as nos. 658-659: "Ecçe Homo y Nuestra Señora. Dos pinturas de mano del Tiçian, sobre piedra, que tienen muldura dorada y negra, de dos pies y medio de ancho y uina bara escasa de alto poco má o menos, el uno es un Ecçe Homo atadas las manos, tiene un paño Colorado que le cubre el hombre izquierdo. El otro es Nuestra Señora con toca y manto açul y la saya morada, llorando, abiertas las manos." See Gloria Martínez Leiva and Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo, *Quadros y otras cosas que tienen su Magestad Felipe IV en este Alcázar de Madrid, Año de 1636* (Madrid: *Fundación Universitaria Española,* 2007), p. 93.
8. Wethey, *Titian*, *I*, p. 116, discusses and reproduces (pl. 215), a copy of this *Mater Dolorosa*, presumably the same size, on wood, formerly in the Carvalho Collection, Villandry, and another enlarged version (Museo Cerralbo, Madrid, oil on canvas, 84 x 69 cm) is mentioned by Francesco Valcanover, *Tutta la Pittura di Tiziano*, 2 vols. (Milan: Rizzoli, 1960), II, pp. 69-70.
9. This may recall Solario's first version of the subject, see David Alan Brown, *Andrea Solario* (Milan: Electa, 1987), no. 9.
10. This *Mater Dolorosa* was to be included in a sale at Christie's, London, 8 July 2005, lot 85 (the catalogue entry by Francis Russell exists in a separately paginated extract which I have used here), oil on wood, 68 x 57 cm, prominently signed TITIANUS at the upper right, but was withdrawn and instead sold in New York on 6 April 2006, lot 64. It is reportedly now in a private collection in the USA. It is recorded in the Colonna Collection in 1783 and is unlikely to have had any connection with Spain. Displayed in Belluno in 2008, see Enrico Maria dal Pozzolo in *Tiziano. L'Ultimo atto*, ed. Lionello Puppi, exh. cat. (Belluno: Palazzo Crepadona, 2008), no. 61, pp. 383-384, who fully analyzed this painting, as well as no. 62, pp. 384-385, the reduced version in San Gaetano, Padua, oil on wood, 50 x 38 cm. There is a northern copy of this *Mater Dolorosa*, perhaps indirect, in the Royal Collection (oil on oak, 78 x 62 cm); John Shearman, *The Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen, The Early Italian Pictures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), no. 289, and a variant copy in Budapest: Vilmos Tatrái, ed., *Old Masters Gallery, A Summary Catalogue of Italian, French, Spanish and Greek Paintings* (London: Visual Arts Publishing [u.a.]; Budapest: Startcolor Co., 1991), p. 119: inv. 857, oil on canvas, 75 x 63 cm, as a seventeenth-century copy. In the Budapest canvas the Virgin is set against a sky presumably invented by the copyist. She differs in minor particulars from the ex-Brooklyn version, and this copy probably derives, indirectly, not from that, but from Philip II's canvas, a hypothesis comforted by its size. It is widely accepted that the red drapery of the Virgin in the ex-Brooklyn panel is the result of the loss of a modifying layer of blue, and that her garment was originally purple. However, while losses have certainly occurred, several copies of lost versions – for example that in the Royal Collection – suggest that Titian or his studio did issue examples of the *Mater Dolorosa* with reddish or brownish outer garments.
11. Wethey, *Titian*, *I*, no. 35, figs. 218 and 219.
12. Bertelli also engraved Titian's Escorial *Last Supper* – or perhaps the Santi Giovanni e Paolo version – but with many variants: see [Sir Abraham Hume], *Notices of the Life and Works of Titian* (London: J. Rodwell, 1829), p. xvi; the print, examples of which exist in several collections, is quite large: 48.5 x 41.6 cm (information from Matthias Wivel).
13. As Matthias Wivel has also pointed out to me, a rather mechanical engraving of the *Man of Sorrows*, which bears Bertelli's name, exists in the Museum of Fine Arts Budapest; this seems to be a reversed copy with added border decoration of a superior but anonymous engraving published in Rome by Antonio Lafreri which carries the date 1566; see Christopher Witcombe, *Print Publishing in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Growth and Expansion, Rivalry and Murder* (London: Miller, 2008), p. 185; Matthias Wivel, "Colour in Line, Titian and Printmaking" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2010), P59, p. 316 as "Anonymous Roman Printmaker after Titian". Neither engraving carries a reference to Titian, and while the image obviously depends, in a general sense, on his work, I doubt it follows a specific prototype by him; Veronese might be a more suitable candidate for the design.
14. A parallel is Giulio Sanuto's 1559 engraving of *Venus and Adonis*, whose elaborate inscription claims it to be after the painting sent to Philip II in 1554, but which actually follows more closely the later version now in a Swiss private collection, presumably the example then available in Titian's workshop: see Matthias Wivel, "Titian's *Venus and Adonis* in Sixteenth-Century Prints," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 40 (2013): pp. 113-127, and Jane Shoaf Turner and Paul Joannides, "Titian's Rokeby *Venus and Adonis* and the Role of Working Templates within his Development of the Theme," *Studi Tizianeschi* 9 (2016): pp. 48-76, especially pp. 67-69.
15. Wethey, *Titian*, *I*, p. 89. It has proved impossible to obtain official photographs of these paintings, and we have relied on the snapshots of friends. In the museum, they cannot be seen together, being placed in different rooms and with the Man of Sorrows skied.
16. The Prado's *Mater Dolorosa* is on a canvas of the same type as the Avila copies and may have been painted by the same hand at the same time.
17. See for these Leiva and Rebollo, *Quadros y otras cosas,* pp. 151 and 152, who identify both as copies of Philip II's versions.
18. Padre Fray José de Sigüenza and Miguel Sanchez y Pinillos, *Historia Primitiva y Exacta del Monasterio del Escorial* (Madrid: Impr. y Fundición de M. Tello, 1881), p. 482, in the room behind the sacristy: "Hay otra figura de Nuestro Redentor que solemos llamar Ecce Homo, y la Santísima Madre, que le está mirando, en otro quadro, de que tambien andan infinitas estampas y copias." Since the pair painted on stone for Charles V were little copied and not engraved, it was accepted by Wethey that the pair Sigüenza describes was that painted for Philip II; but if so it is surprising that Sigüenza nowhere mentions Charles V's pair: maybe they had been transferred to the Alcázar by the time he wrote. However, Padre Sigüenza's accuracy cannot be taken for granted: he admits that he is ill-informed about painting and was not necessarily alert to fine distinctions, and the various versions of the *Man of Sorrows* and *Mater Dolorosa* have more in common than differentiates them. Furthermore, as far as we know from the *Entregas*, while Charles V's pair was sent to the Escorial and placed in the Sacristy (see note 31 in Part I of this essay), there is no mention in the *Entregas* that Philip's pair was sent there. Although Sigüenza's book was published in 1605, it is unclear when the manuscript was completed, and his reference to the *Man of Sorrows* and the *Mater Dolorosa* as in the sacristy, when we know that *both* pairs were in the Alcázar by 1600, presumably antedates Philip's death.
19. They cannot be found in any of the *Libros de entregas*. That Sigüenza might have been mistaken was suggested by Hope, reported by Russell, *Mater Dolorosa* sale catalogue entry, p. 12, but, if so, it would have to be assumed that Sigüenza knew numerous copies of this pair that have not survived.
20. Leiva and Rebollo, *Quadros y otras cosas,* nos.151-152, p. 91: "Nuestro Señor y María. Dos lienços al olio, de mano del Tiçiano, con molduras dorados y negras, que tienen de ancho una bara escasa y de alto otra poco más, en que están pintados en el uno un Ecçe Homo, atados las manos y una caña en ellas, y el otro de Nuestra Señora, enlaçadas las manos unos dedos en otros con el manto sobre los hombros." Previously recorded in Checa, *Inventarios de Felipe II*, p. 107 (p. 73 of the inventory, nos. 65 and 66): "Un lienzo al ol(l)io de mano de Ticiano de Xpo (*sic*. Christo) Ecçe Homo de medio cuerpo en marco con molduras dorados y negros. Tiene de alto bara y dos dedos y de ancho cinco sesimas. Esta colgada en el apos(s)ento de su Majestad. Tasada en quarenta ducados.
    Otro lienzo al olio del tamaño del de la partida antes de esta de Nuestra Señora de medio cuerpo as(s)idas las manos con manto azul y de la misma mano y guarnacion esta colgada en el apos(s)ento de su Magestad tasada en quarenta ducados."
21. Wethey, *Titian*, *I*, no. 35, p. 89, copy 3, referring to Padre Franciso de los Santos's *Descripción de San Lorenzo del Escorial* 1657 y 1698, in 1657, see Andrés Ximenez et al., *A Description of the Royal Palace and Monastery of St. Laurence, called the Escurial; and of the Chapel Royal of the Pantheon. Translated from the Spanish of Frey Francisco de los Santos, Chaplain to his Majesty Philip the Fourth. Illustrated with Copper Plates,* trans. George Thompson (London: Dryden Leach, for S. Hooper at Caesar's Head, in the Strand, 1760), pp. 243-244.
22. Ximenez et al., *A Description of the Royal Palace*, p. 152: "The piece, over the collateral altar, on the gospel side, is the adoration of the eastern magi; a most beautiful piece, in which the tints, figures and drapery admit of no improvement. On the epistle side is a burial of Christ, not to be viewed without the tenderest emotions. The figures in these two pictures are about half as big as life. Above them are two other small figures, the gift of Philip IV. One, an ECCE HOMO, the other, our Lady of the same size, beholding him with a look of sorrow and affliction. They are all by Titian, finely executed"; Ximenez et al., *A Description of the Royal Palace*, p. 110: "Sobre ellos hacen Frontispicio á sus retablos, otras dos Quadros pequeños. El uno es un Ecce-Homo, de medio cuerpo solo. El otro una nuestra Señora de la misma medida, que le está mirando afligida y triste. Todos son de mano del Ticiano, y admirables", and Ceán Bermudez, *Dicionario historico,* V, p. 43: "en le altar del del lado del evangel la adoracion de los Reyes y un Eccehomo; y en el de la epístola un entierro di Cristo y una dolorosa." Bermudez also mentions in the *aulillia*, a "un Eccehomo de medio cuerpo". Dos Santos describes the two paintings as "pequeños", but that, of course is in relation to the very large canvas of the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, and the sizeable ones of the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Entombment*.
23. Bonaventura Bassegoda, *El Escorial como Museo* (Bellaterra, Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Servei de Publicacions, 2002), p. 201, catalogues the *Man of Sorrows* and the *Mater Dolorosa* currently in place in the Iglesia Vieja as those first recorded there in 1667 as a gift from Philip IV. But they seem already to have been in the *Aulilla* of the Escorial by 1658: see Charles Daviller, *Mémoire de Vélazquez sur Quarante et un tableaux envoyé par Philiipe IV à l'Escorial, Réeimpression de l'exemplaire unique (1658) avec introduction, traduction et notes par le Baron C. Davillier et un portrait de Velazquez* (Paris, 1874), p. 57: "XX. Un Ecce Homo, de *Ticiano*, de medio cuerpo, colorido milagrosamente. Ay dél muchas copias. Su alto dos pies y tres quartos, de ancho poco más de dos
    XXI Otro quadro del mesmo tamaño de la Virgen ansiada y llorosa mirando á su Hijo, de mano de Ticiano."
    The text is ambiguous, but these paintings may have been among those presented to Philip IV by the Conde de Monterrey, who had brought them from Italy. In any case, the impression given in the *Memoria* is that most of the paintings listed in it were relatively new acquisitions, rather than works inherited by Philip IV.
24. The Iglesia Vieja's *Mater Dolorosa* resembles quite closely in drapery style and, as far as one can judge, surface texture, a *Mater Dolorosa*, somewhat different in arrangement, published in an article by August Mayer, "An unknown *Mater Dolorosa* by El Greco," *The Burlington Magazine* 52 (1928): pp. 183-185, pl. B, as by Palma Giovane. It does not seem to be by Palma (it is included in none of the catalogues of Palma's work), but it might be by one of the Northerners who worked in Titian's circle.
25. "de bara y quarta de alta y bara de ancho de un Ezeomo de mano del Tiziano, en sesenta ducados", and "Ottra de Un Excehomo de Vara y quartta de altto y Vara de Ancho de mano del tiçiano tasada en Cien Doblones 100". See Gloria Fernández Bayton, *Inventarios reales, testamentaria del Rey Carlos II 1701-1703*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Patronato Nacional de Museos, 1975-1981), I, p. 28, and Gloria Martínez Leiva and Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo, *El Inventario del Alcázar de Madrid de 1666. Felipe IV y su colección artística* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2015), no. 789, pp. 533-534. I cannot explain why Wethey, *Titian*, *I*, p. 88, gives inventory numbers different from those of Leiva and Rebollo in 1666 and 1686.
26. Morlin Ellis has pointed out to me that in the 1794 inventory of La Granja as 18172/243, is an unattributed "Nuestra Senora in contemplacion", measuring "dos pies en alto uno y medio de ancho", which is described as "esta quemado".
27. From what one can infer of the paintings' style from the prints, they would seem more appropriate for a date in the mid-1550s than the early 1560s. The *Mater Dolorosa* is a little more "impressionistic" in its burin work than the *Man of Sorrows* and might have been cut by a different engraver.

28. This memo was published by María del Rosario Falcó y Osorio, Duquesa de Berwick y de Alba, Condesa de Siruete, *Documentos escogidos del archivio de la casa de Alba* (Madrid, 1891), p. 465, together with Philip's holograph reply. Pedro Beroqui, *Tizian en el Museo del Prado* (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1946), p.122, was the first to draw attention to the exchange in an art-historical context.
29. Beroqui, *Tizian*, p.122; Charles Hope, "Studies in the Sources and Documents Relating to the Life and Work of Titian," 4 vols. (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1975), IV, no. 1324, as of August that year because Philip's response mentions the project of ordering the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* from Titian. Incidentally, while Philip says nothing about the *Nuestra Señora y Christo* he does refer to the portrait: "El retrato de my hermana ha recevido, y no es de los muy buenos ..." which demonstrates his awareness of qualitative variations in Titian's work.
30. "Con ésta embio á V. M la respuesta de los-dip[utados] de Aragon, que en lo del baul que traya cosas [de la]...] princesa no me paresce que ha avido remedio. Lo de los quadros hizieron bien: ay embio á V, mag.d uestra el suyo, que embia la Emperatriz; los otros son unos pequeños de *N.S.a y Christo* que me enbia Ticiano."
31. "Por la imagen de Nuestra Signora que dize tiene hecho para mi le beso las manos, y quando venga la cena yo acordaré à Su Magestad." Lionello Puppi, ed., *Tiziano. L'Epistolario* (Florence: Alinari, 2012), no. 219, pp. 267-268.
32. Of course "Nuestra Signora" could refer to a Virgin of any type, with or without the Child, but while it might be possible to argue that the Madonna of the March letter is distinct from the "Nuestra Signora" of the August memo, to do so would introduce an unnecessary complication.
33. Thus Russell, *Mater Dolorosa* sale catalogue entry, p. 12, following Hope, states that the pair was "in fact painted for Gonzalo Perez".
34. First noted by Detlev von Hadeln, "Some Little-Known Works by Titian," *The Burlington Magazine* 45 (1924): pp. 179-180; Dal Pozzolo in *Tiziano. L'Ultimo atto*, ed. Puppi, no. 61, pp. 383-384, proceeding from a different direction, places Titian's invention in the later 1550s and Humfrey, *Titian,* no. 219, p. 288, in 1555-1560.
35. Wethey's list of copies (*Titian*, *I*, pp. 116-117) of this type of the *Mater Dolorosa* (among which he included the ex-Brooklyn original) comprises twelve items, to which the examples mentioned above can be added. Dimensions are approximate, for historical measurements are notoriously unreliable and some trimming may well have occurred; but if those given by Wethey are accepted they divide roughly into five sizes:
    a. 82-85 x 68-69 cm.
    b. 78-81 x 61-63 cm.
    c. 74 x 59 cm.
    d. 60-63 x 50-57 cm.
    e. 45-50 x 32-39 cm.

    See also Carl Peez, *Tizians Schmerzenreiche Madonnen* (Vienna: Hölder, 1910).
36. What may be further copies of Philip's pair are listed in inventories published in Marcus Burke, Peter Cherry, and Maria L. Gilbert, *Spanish Inventories*, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601-1735*, 2 vols. (Los Angeles: The Getty Information Inst., 1997) I, no. 72, Inventory of Antonio Carnero 1662, p. 659 [14], "Otras dos pinturas Pequeñas de Un Tamaño de Una bara con marcos negros de nra S.a y Un ezeomo copia del Tiziano a ocho ducados Cada Una", and p. 660 [46], "otras dos pinturas de Un eceomo y nra señora Dolorida con marcos negros, copias. Vien echas del tiçiano en diez y seis Ducados cada una 352"; no. 99, Inventory of Ana María de Lezamo 1678, p. 689 [20], "...un quadro de un eccehomo copia del tiçiano con marco dorado y escarchado del mismo tamaño en en treentta ducados 330", and [21] "Una Pintura de N.r. S.r del mismo tamaño con el marco nero en treinta Ducadas 330"; no. 113, Inventory of Juan de Echauz 1687, p. 812 [28], "Dos pinturas La una de Un eccehomo – La otra de nuestra señora del trapasso Copias de El tiçiano de poco mas de Bara de Alto y tres quartas de Ancho con marcos negros y media caña Angosta Dorada y labrada se tasaron en Dosçientos Reales 200".
    Examples of the *Man of Sorrows* alone are found in no. 21, Inventory of Francisco de Eraso Conde de Humares 1635, p. 311 [18], "ottro ezeomo de dos tercia de largo copia del ticiano en ziente y cinquanta R.s 150", and [21], "Otro lienzo de nuestro señor con la cruz a cuestas en seis ducados (which might or might not be after Titian)"; no. 80, Inventory of Antonio de Mardones 1666, p. 611 [n. 21], "Un ecceomo del mismo tamaño copia del tiçiano en trecieno y treinta reales 330"; nos. 91and 92, Inventory and valuation of Diego de la Torre 1679, p. 656 [91], "Una pintura de un ecehomo del tiçiano con su marco dorado y concha de bara y quarto que tiene una Cortina encarnada", and p. 92 [66] "una pintura de un eceomo del tiçiano con su marco dorado entre tallado y concha de bara y quarta con una cortina encarnada tasado a once mil R.3 1100" (this was obviously believed to be an original and might be identical with one of the versions that survives); no. 124, Inventory of Nicolás González de Villa 1726, p. 989 [26], "Otra pintura de Un eze omo Copia del Tiziano de bara y quarta de Altto y bara de ancho Con marco de olibo e peral y molduras dorados en zientto y Veintte Rs 120".
    Of course, many other inventories list paintings of the *Man of Sorrows* and/or the *Mater Dolorosa* but without specific reference to Titian, such frequently represented subjects might be by or after many other painters.
37. A version of the *Mater Dolorosa*, oil on canvas, 82.7 cm x 68 cm, offered at Dobiaschofsky Auktionen AG, 13 November 2009, lot 306, and again at Dorotheum, 21 April 2010, lot 169, is close enough to the Avila copy to suggest that it derives from the same original; but another, oil on canvas, 85 x 64 cm, offered at Christie's, South Kensington, 2 December 2008, lot 201, and again on 28 October 2009, lot 23, shows the Virgin with a red outer garment and a more corrugated undergarment, close, if not identical, in design to the ex-Brooklyn panel but taller by 20 cm and wider by 10 cm.
38. Its dimensions, 68 x 57 cm, are the same as those of Prado canvas, inv. 358.
39. Wethey, *Titian*, *I*, no. 3, p. 89.
40. Leticia Ruiz Gómez, *Catálogo de las colecciones históricas de pintura Veneciana del siglo XVI en el Real Monastero de el Escorial* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1991), pp. 108-109, who, while acknowledging that it might be recorded in earlier centuries, notes that it can be traced securely only to 1857. It is currently dated to the later sixteenth century and attributed to an unidentified Spanish painter (information from Dr Perez de Tudela Gabaldón).
41. Bert W. Meijer in *Musei e Gallerie di Milano. Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, I*, *Dipinti dal medioevo alla metà del Cinquecento*, ed. Alessandro Rovetta et al. (Milan: Electa, 2005), no. 115, pp. 293-294. These dimensions are close to those of the reduced copy of the *Mater Dolorosa* in San Gaetano. It is presumably coincidental that the Ambrosiana and the Escorial both have versions of the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Man of Sorrows*.
42. An unusual technical feature of the Ambrosiana *Man of Sorrows* is that a strip some 2 to 3 cm wide along the right side is left virtually unpainted, as is another at the upper edge some 3 to 4 cm wide, with the exception of the top of Christ's head which extends into this strip. I am unable to offer a coherent explanation of this phenomenon, which I do not recall from any other painting by Titian. In this canvas the position of the cane was planned from the beginning, for a reserve was left for it in the drapery and the flesh. It is also worth mentioning that there is a ridging in the paint-surface just to the viewer's right of Christ's head which might indicate some form below the present surface in this area.
43. Paul Joannides, "Titian in London and Madrid," *Paragone* 58 (2004): pp. 3-30, p. 17.
44. Paola della Pergola, "Gli Inventari Aldobrandini," *Arte Antica e Moderna* 12 (1960): pp. 425-444, Inventory of 1626, Carta 98 (no. 181): "Un quadro con Christo Ecce Homo che tiene in mano una Canna di mano di Tiziano del n. 344". The "n. 344" must refer to a lost or unlocated earlier inventory; similar numbers are found with many of the paintings listed in 1626. It is more likely that this picture entered the collection of the Duke of Medina de las Torres-Stigliano, who acquired several Aldobrandini paintings, and is that recorded in the inventory of his collection of 1641: See Fernando Bouza, "De Rafael a Ribera y de Nápoles a Madrid. Nuevos inventarios de la colección Medina de las de las Torres-Stigliano (1641-1656)," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 27 (2009): pp. 44-71, and no. 21, p. 63: "Un eccehomo con la canna in mano con cornice indorata liscia d'altezza palmi tre e mezzo e larga dui e mezzo di mano del detto Titiano."
45. My thanks to Derek Johns for his help and to the present owner for a photograph; although this painting has not formally been published, those scholars who have seen it – I have not – concur with the attribution to Titian and approximate date.
46. Thanks to the kindness of Dr Andrea Bellieni, I was able to examine the version held in the reserves of the Museo Correr (oil on canvas, 76 x 60 cm; see Attilia Dorrigato, "Correr Museum Paintings Restored in Honor of Professor W. R. Rearick," in *Studies in Venetian Art and Conservation*, Venice, ed. Attilia Dorigato et al. [New York: Save Venice Inc., 2004] pp. 11-17) on 12 November 2018, together with Dr Bellieni, Dr Andrea Donati, and Mr Roberto Sgarbossa. We were in agreement in considering the painting to be a copy made by an artist outside Titian's immediate circle, probably in the early seventeenth century. It follows the Escorial and Vienna paintings in the fine hatching lines distributed over the drapery.
47. Wethey, *Titian*, *I*, p. 88. A "Christo in forma de Ecce Homo" was owned by Lucas van Uffel in the mid-seventeenth century (Carlo Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte: ovvero Le vite degli illustri pittori veneti e dello stato*, ed. Detlev von Hadeln [Berlin: G. Grote, 1914-1924] I, p. 198) and was, according to Von Hadeln engraved by Wenceslas Hollar in 1650 when it was in the Van Verle collection, see Gustav Parthey, *Wenzel Hollar. Beschreibendes Verzeichniss seiner Kupferstiche* (Berlin: Nicolaischen Buchhandlung, 1853), no. 1511
48. Inv. 3529; Wolfgang Prohaska, Karl Schütz, Martina Haja, and Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, *Die Gemäldgalerie des Kunsthistorisches Museums in Wien: Verzeichnis der Gemälde* (Vienna: Brandstätter, 1991), pl. 49 and p. 124.
49. Miguel Falomir, *Tiziano*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2003), no. 64, pp. 296-297.
50. Falomir, *Tiziano*, pp. 80-81, fig. 44 and p. 268.
51. Inv. 10078113; I owe knowledge of this picture to Dr Perez de Tudela Gabaldón.
52. The Dublin painting was, for some forty years, believed to be by Matteo Cerezo, but that attributional aberration has long since been discarded. See Wethey *Titian*, *I*, no. 33, Filippo Pedrocco, "Titian's *Ecce Homo* Reconsidered," *Artibus et Historiae* 56 (2007): pp. 187-196, no. 223, p. 264; Humfrey, *Titian,* no. 233, p. 304 and Raymond Keaveney in *Masterpieces from the National Gallery of Ireland*, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery, 1985), no. 2, pp. 7-9 (Keaveney plausibly suggests that it was originally accompanied by a *Mater Dolorosa*). Beverly Louise Brown and Bernard Aikema, eds., *Renaissance Venice and the North*, exh. cat. (Venice: Palazzo Grassi, 1999), no. 150, pp. 520-521; Bert W. Meijer in *Musei e Gallerie di Milano,* no. 115, pp. 293-294, refers to the models of Solario.
53. Two copies of the Dublin canvas are recorded by Wethey: one, according to him, is a much later work and need not be discussed; for the other, in the John and Mable Ringling Museum, Sarasota (oil on canvas, 73 x 59 cm) see Peter Tomory, *Catalogue of the Italian Paintings Before 1800*, *The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art* (Sarasota: John & Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 1976), no. 220, p. 182, and, now, Virginia Brilliant, *Italian, Spanish and French Paintings in the Ringling Museum of Art* (Sarasota and New York: Scala Arts Publishers, Inc., 2017), no. I.196, p. 325, where it is assigned to the studio of Titian. Interestingly, William Suida had suggested the authorship of Simon Peterzano but – as Peter Humfrey has remarked to me – from the technical evidence cited by Brilliant, the picture is probably of the early seventeenth century. A *Man of Sorrows* (oil on wood, dated 1562) by Martin de Vos, which probably depends on a Titianesque prototype similar in arrangement to the Dublin painting, is discussed and reproduced in Giorgio Tagliaferro et al., *Le Botteghe di Tiziano* (Florence: Alinari, 2010), p. 355 and fig. 206.
54. *Choix de gravures à l'eau forte d'après les peintures de Lucien Bonaparte* (London: Bulmer, 1812).
55. Tancred Borenius, ed., *The Picture Gallery of Andrea Vendramin* (London: Medici Society, 1923), pl. 12 and p. 26: "Attribution possible; the figure corresponding in reverse (accompanied by two others) in Titian's late picture of the same subject in the Hermitage".
56. Wethey, *Titian*, *I*, no. 33, p. 87; Roxelane Cicekli, "Le thème iconographique de l'ecce homo dans l'œuvre de Titien. Autour de la toile de la Collection Brukenthal," *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* 94 (2009): pp. 311-325.
57. Ellis Kirkham Waterhouse, "Paintings from Venice for Seventeenth-Century England: Some Records of a Forgotten Transaction," *Italian Studies* 7 (1952): pp. 1-23, (p. 15). Teniers's paintings are reproduced by Renate Schreiber, *"Ein Galeria nach meinem Humor": Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelm* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum; Milan: Skira, 2004), figs. 29 and 31.
58. Jeremy Wood, "Buying and Selling Art in Venice, London and Antwerp: The Collection of Bartolomeo Della Nave and the Dealings of James, Third Marquis of Hamilton, Anthony van Dyck, and Jan and Jacob van Veerle, c.1637-50," *The Walpole Society* 80 (2018): pp. 1-202, nos. 16 and 17, pp. 93-94.
59. Gert Adriani, *Anton van Dyck: italienisches Skizzenbuch eine Nachauflage der 1940 von Gert Adriani herausgegebenen Lichtdruck-Publikation mit Erläuterungen und Katalog versehen* (Vienna: Schroll, 1940), f. 21v, and Michael Jaffé, *The Devonshire Collection of Northern European Drawings*, 5 vols. (Turin: A. Allemandi, 2002), I, nos. 1024-1026, pp. 86-87. Including this drawing, Van Dyck made five copies after different versions of the *Man of Sorrows* or the *Mocking* or the *Ecce Homo*, all labelled as by Titian, grouped on fols. 20v-21v. None of them corresponds *precisely* to an example known in an autograph picture or a copy although Jaffé provides approximate comparatives. They comprise
    1. (20 verso, lower left): A *Man of Sorrows*, with Christ's head turned down to His right, as in the Dublin canvas, His forearms placed horizontally with the left wrist crossed over the right, the cane rising left to right across His left shoulder and a drapery more extensive than in other versions.
    2. (20 verso, lower right): A *Man of Sorrows* seen obliquely from the left, with Christ looking down, His arms angled downwards with the right wrist crossed over the left and drapery over His right shoulder, without cane. This corresponds reasonably closely, in reverse, to Van Dyck's own rendering of the subject in the canvas in Barber Institute, Birmingham and still more so to that in the Courtauld Gallery, which was engraved by Lucas Vorsterman II (see Richard Verdi, *Anthony Van Dyck, 1599-1641, 'Ecce Homo' and the 'Mocking of Christ'*, exh. cat. [Princeton: Princeton University Art Museum; Birmingham: the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, 2002-2003], pp. 22-29, 45-47.)
    3. (21 recto, centre left): *Man of Sorrows* seen frontally, with His head turned down to His right, His left wrist crossed over His right wrist and drapery over both shoulders. It is unclear whether this rendering includes a cane.
    4. (21 recto, centre right): *The Mocking with Christ* seen frontally, His head tilted back, His right wrist crossed over His left and with drapery across His chest at the level of His collar bone. The head of a middle-aged man in profile is directly to Christ's; left, the viewer's right, and another head, seemingly of a younger man, tilted forward, against Christ's left shoulder.
    5. (21 verso, upper centre) Christ seen frontally, as in the Sibiu painting, but with the head of a mocking man immediately to His left, the viewer's right.
60. Puppi, *Tiziano L'Epistolario,* no. 222, pp. 270-271.
61. "Il Titiano fù hiersera qui a casa a dirmi che li dui quadri devoti, cioè del Christo e della Madonna son finiti di man sua e che al altro vi attenderà." Georg Gronau, *Documenti Artistici Urbinate* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1936), no. 70, p. 103.
62. Gabriella Incerpi in *Tiziano nelle Gallerie Fiorentini,* eds. Mina Gregori et al., exh. cat. (Florence: Palazzo Pitti, 1979), no. 37, pp. 156-157; and the copy 37b (oil on canvas, 67 x 58 cm), pp. 158-160; Hope, *Titian,* 1980. This *Virgin and Child with two Angels* came with Vittoria della Rovere to Florence and remained there until 1802, after which it disappears from the record. The copy is plausibly attributed to Francesco Vecellio, who died in 1559 and if this is correct, it cannot be after a painting supplied to Guidobaldo in 1565 but would follow an earlier version of the same composition; which, in turn, would imply that Guidobaldo's painting – if it was his – was a repetition, not a new creation. See also Tagliaferro in *Le Botteghe di Tiziano*, pp. 97-99, and fig. 41, dated ca. 1540-1550. An apparently unpublished and rather attractive variant of this composition, omitting the left-hand angel, the Child more complexly posed, and the young Saint John inserted at lower left, was offered at Christie's, Paris, 19 September, 2017, lot, 2, oil on canvas, 78 x 71 cm, as from the studio of Titian.
63. Irina Artemieva in *Tiziano: L'ultimo atto*, no. 66, p. 387.
64. Puppi, *Tiziano. L'Epistolario,* nos. 238 and 239, pp. 293-294.
65. "Un quadro in tela alto b.a 1 1/8, large b.a 7/8,

dipintovi di mano di Tiziano la Madonna Sant.ma fino a mezzo in profile tutto vestito in rosso e panno bianco in capo che li fa ancho soggolo, con mani giunte in croce, in atto di mirare la terra." Gronau, *Documenti Artistici Urbinate*, p. 66; the reference to the Virgin being dressed in red is interesting in relation to the ex-Brooklyn *Addolorata* whose costume is now red but was originally a reddish purple. Ettore Allegri in *Tiziano nelle Gallerie Fiorentini*, no. 103, pp. 355-356 establishes that this picture, first recorded in the apartment of Vittoria della Rovere at Poggio Imperiali, in 1654, remained there until 1772 when it was destined for the Uffizi. It is now lost.

66. Allegri, as above, points out that what must have been another example of this type, a "Nostra donna in abito di vedova", was given by Cardinal Riario to Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici on 7 September 1579 and that two copies were soon made of this now-lost picture, respectively in 1580 and 1581.
67. Uffizi, inv. 1890, no. 3114; see Oskar Fischel, *The Work of Titian*, 5th ed. (New York: Brentano's, 1921), pl. 266b as possibly from Titian's workshop; Wethey, *Titian*, *I*, p. 116 (both authors give the dimensions, misleadingly, as 63 x 57 cm); it is considered by Allegri, in *Tiziano nelle Gallerie Fiorentini*, no. 103, pp. 355-356 to be a sixteenth-century copy.
68. Pedrocco, "Titian's *Ecce Homo* Reconsidered," pp. 187-196, identifies the painting commissioned by Guidobaldo with one in a private collection, oil on wood, 79 x 61 cm. I have not seen this painting, and, while acknowledging that it is accepted by an impressive roster of scholars, feel uneasy about the attribution to Titian. As Pedrocco notes, it does not resemble in composition any of the other versions and, in its obvious pathos, rather looks back to Milanese prototypes. Pedrocco accepts that Guidobaldo ordered a *Man of Sorrows* from Titian in 1552, and distinguishes the panel that he publishes, which has a reported provenance from Urbino, from that painting, which he seems to consider lost (he does not mention the Palatina picture). Referring to unpublished documents, he establishes that there seem to have been three or four possible candidates for the *Ecce Homo* in Urbino in the early seventeenth century, only one of which passed to Florence.
69. Wethey, *Titian*, *I*, no. 34, p. 88, and Keaveney in *Masterpieces from the National Gallery of Ireland*, p. 9; but see Verdi, *Anthony Van Dyck*, no. 13, pp. 59-60. A relation to the Dublin painting could be accepted only if that had been overpainted or if one allowed Vorsterman unusual latitude.
70. The two engravings, the first (22.8 x 15.2 cm.) inscribed *Titiaen*, the second (23 x 16.3 cm), *Titianus pinx* and generally dated ca. 1650, are reproduced by Hollstein, XLII, nos. 13 and 17, p. 92, . The paintings that the engravings follow were evidently owned by a couple. The *Man of Sorrows*, inscribed *ECCE HOMO*, bears the dedication: *Celeberrimus Ornatis-q Dño D JOANNI BAP FRANCO liberāl Artium amatory hoc munusculum*, while the *Mater Dolorosa*, inscribed MATER DOLOROSA, bears *Begnine pieque Dñe Marie Doedecum Coniugi D. Jöis Bte. Franx.*
71. While this article was in press, a previously unknown *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* (oil on canvas, 83 x 69 cm) of the "Philipian type", but accompanied on the right by a helmeted soldier, appeared at Christie's, New York, October 29, 2019, lot 772. It is hard to judge this painting's status from the photo in the catalogue but, as Derek Johns kindly pointed out to me, restoration might reveal a work of real quality, perhaps not far in date from 1560.
72. Eleonora's letters are discussed in the Part I of this article.

A lost fifteenth-century drawing rediscovered: *Donors Kneeling in Adoration before the Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*

CATHELINE PÉRIER-D'IETEREN

Fig. 1 / Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara (attr.), *Donors Kneeling in Adoration before the Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*, fifteenth century (last third), drawing, 32 x 16 cm, Private Collection (former Bacri collection).

A pen-and-ink drawing on parchment and treated with a wash, of which I found an old photograph in the Louvre Documentation archives in 2010, reappeared on the art market in March 2017 when the Bacri collection was sold by Sotheby's Paris (fig. 1).[1] Given the work's quality, it merited a thorough study and is the focus of this article.

The physical history of the drawing is eventful. Originally from the Warneck collection, it was first mentioned in Paris, in the sale catalogue of the Hôtel Drouot, 22 October 1924, under the title: *Seigneurs en adoration devant sainte Anne, la Vierge et l'Enfant Jésus* (Feudal Lords in adoration before Saint Anne, the Virgin and the Christ Child) and was put up for sale by Drouot on 13 February 1939.[2] At that point it was probably bought by the collector Bacri. More recently it was acquired in 2017 by the Parisian gallery Louis de Bayser. It then passed on to Hill-Stone in the United States and was exhibited by the Arnoldie-Livi Gallery in March 2018 at TEFAF in Maastricht. In January 2019, it was acquired by a New York collector.

The photograph examined at the Louvre in 2010 revealed a clear stylistic relationship with two fifteenth-century Flemish drawn portraits, preserved at the Adornes Museum in Bruges, which I was studying at the time: these represent the important merchant and diplomat, Anselme Adornes and his wife, Marguerite van der Banck (fig. 2).[3] For example, there are strong similarities between the physiognomy of the kneeling figure in the foreground in the newly discovered drawing and that of Anselme in the drawing in Bruges (figs. 3a & b). Indeed, they share the same devout expression, long, thick-ended nose, fleshy lower lip, and protruding chin. The shape of the faces of Saint Anne and the Virgin are reminiscent of that of Marguerite van der Banck, with small eyes and dark pupils which give the model an alert look. On the other hand, in the Bacri drawing, there is less attention paid to the modelling of the faces, which lack the fine hatching indicating darker areas, and likewise the details of the lineaments. These are only lightly sketched, but the few well-marked traits are enough to define the characters.[4] The precise design of the folds in the drapery, clearly delineated, highlighted here and there, as well as the fall of the drapery and the geometric shapes of the fabric panels, are also similar. The attitude of the feudal lord, with his cap held down by a scarf that he wears on his right shoulder and the position of his foot emerging from his cloak are identical.

Anselme Adornes, born of a Genoese family who moved to Bruges at the end of the thirteenth century, played a vital role in the political and economic life of the city. Attached to the court of Burgundy, he was a close advisor to Charles the Bold and, as such, served as an intermediary between the duke and James III, King of Scotland, in attempting to restore the broken trade links between Bruges and Scotland.[5]

The two portraits preserved in Bruges, drawn with pen on laid, watermarked paper, are independent. They present the Adornes couple kneeling, each in a niche, under a Gothic carved stone canopy supported by slender columns surmounted by pinnacles.[6] The ceiling piece, perforated and topped with a large floret, rests on consoles adorned with acanthus leaves. Anselme Adornes joins hands in prayer while his wife holds open a Book of Hours.

Fig. 2 / Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara (attr.), *Portraits of Anselme Adornes and Marguerite van der Banck*, fifteenth century (last third), drawing, 29.7 x 11.3 cm, Bruges, Adornes Domein.

Fig. 3a / Detail of Anselme Adornes in Fig. 1.

Fig. 3b / Detail of Anselme Adornes in Fig. 2.

He is dressed in a loose coat. His hood, thrown over his right shoulder, is held in place by a long scarf wrapped around his arm. He wears the collar of the Order of the Unicorn, probably received in 1472 from King James III of Scotland.[7] Marguerite van der Banck is dressed in the style fashionable in Burgundy in 1470-1480, with a wide belt-waist gown and a V-shaped bodice.[8]

My research on the drawings, undertaken in 2010, indicated that they were studies for sculpted portraits to be incorporated into the architecture of the city's Jerusalem Church, like the effigies of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders made by Claus Sluter for the portal of the charterhouse of Champmol.[9] In the drawings the Adornes appear, like the Burgundian sovereigns at Champmol, under a canopy, kneeling before the image of the Virgin and the Child attached to the trumeau of the gate.[10] By seeking to represent himself and his wife in the same way as this illustrious ruler, patron, and protector of the arts, could Anselme have wanted, in the manner of the House of Burgundy, to affirm the purpose of the Jerusalem Church as a family necropolis – founded in 1427 by his father and uncle to preserve the posterity of the Adornes family and descendants – and amplify its rich heritage? This hypothesis is worth considering even if it cannot be substantiated.

Fig. 4 / Gerard David, *Saint Anne Altarpiece*, central panel, ca. 1500-1506, oil on panel, 236 x 97.5 cm, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.

The Bacri drawing is in pen on parchment, in some parts layered with wash like the examples from Bruges. Its layout also evokes a votive composition, but on a larger scale, showing seven characters coiffed and dressed as Burgundian courtiers. They kneel behind a man whom I believe to be Anselme Adornes, the likely patron of the work. With his hands clasped, he is praying before the Virgin who holds out an apple with her right hand, while supporting the Christ Child with her left. The sacred group is placed at the feet of Saint Anne rather than on her lap, as was more usual, for example in the altarpiece of *Saint Anne* by Gerard David (fig. 4).[11] The saint, seated majestically on a throne surmounted by a canopy with thick curtains parted by a winged angel, lays her hand on an open book. The composition is, in its present state, incomplete on the right-hand side, as evidenced by the fragmented flaps of the curtain, the column, of which only part of the base remains, and the absence of a second angel. Another group, probably comprising Anselme Adornes's wife accompanied by her daughters, would have mirrored the male worshippers.[12] These missing elements probably formed the right part of a triptych composition divided by small columns.

The architectural decor in both drawings consists of heavy late Gothic canopies, evoking contemporary architecture and sculpture, as well as the decorative elements of Brabant altarpieces from the last third of the fifteenth century (figs. 5, 6 & 7). Key elements of the spatial construction, these canopies crown the donors and the sacred group. The rendering of volume is less sensitive in the Bruges drawing; the criss-cross of stone projects flatly in a somewhat lifeless interpretation. Its form might evoke the onion dome of the Holy Sepulchre which may have provided a model for the roof of the Jerusalem Church, a memorial to the Adornes family containing the Calvary relics which Anselme brought back from the Holy City. By including only the graphic outlines of forms in a contemporary Gothic vocabulary, the artist was able to display his drawing skills while leaving details of the production to the sculptor's creativity.

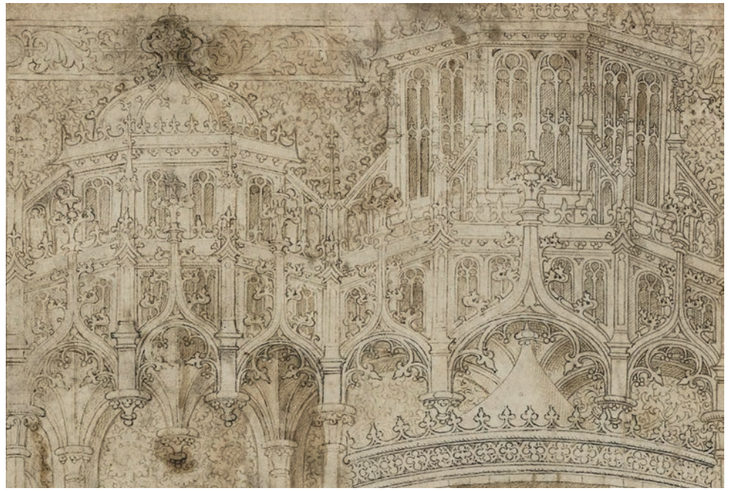


Fig. 5 / Detail of architectural canopy in Fig. 1.

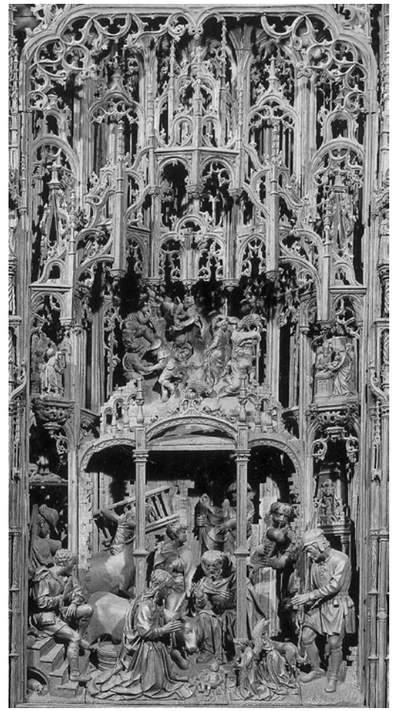


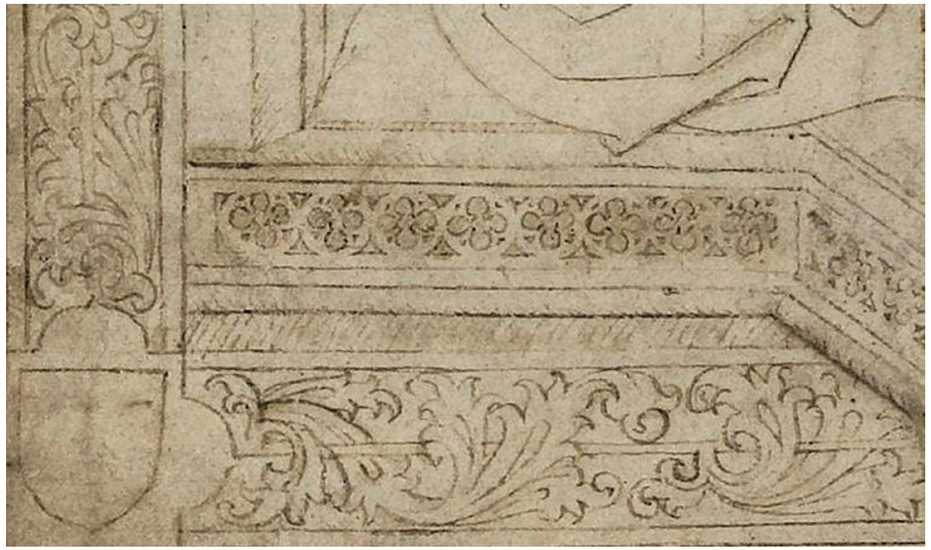
Fig. 6 / Jan Borman (workshop), *Altarpiece of the Virgin*, ca. 1520-1530, oil on oak, 245 x 528 cm, Lombeek, Church of Our Lady.

Fig. 7 / Anonymous, *Altarpiece of the Seven Joys of the Virgin*, ca. 1513-1522, sculpted alabaster, 550 x 325 x 75 cm, Bourg-en-Bresse, Royal Monastery of Brou, Church of Saint Nicholas of Tolentin.

In the Bacri drawing, on the other hand, the canopies display a very elaborate Brabant Gothic style with an extraordinary wealth of detail. Under the dome, there is a second style of twinned bays which do not feature in the Bruges drawings. All the ornaments fit clearly into the space, with different levels of depth. It should be noted that the crown of the canopy on the right is not included. Only the sketch of the dome and a stone band with a succession of small jewels are represented, a decoration which is repeated at the base of the left twin dome and above the throne of Saint Anne.

The Bacri and Bruges drawings both display fine oblique shading and cross-hatching that define the shadows on the clothing and architectural elements. In the Adornes portraits, shadows in the depths of the arches highlight the figures, while in the Parisian design the backgrounds are decorated with floral motifs around and behind the architectural elements.

The architectonic structures of the two compositions have several similar elements such as the slender columns with hipped bases framing the scenes, the



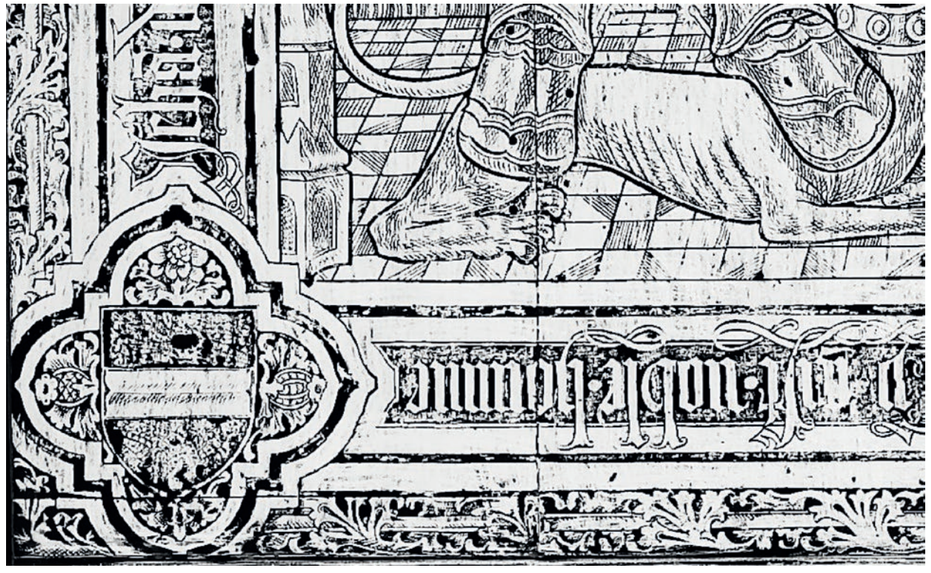


Fig. 8a / Detail of coat of arms and acanthus leaves in Fig. 1.

Fig. 8b / Anonymous, detail of coat of arms and acanthus leaves in the funerary monument of Jehan de Liedekerke and Joanna de le Douve, ca. 1519, copper plate, 244 x 136 cm, Bruges, Saint Saviour's Cathedral.

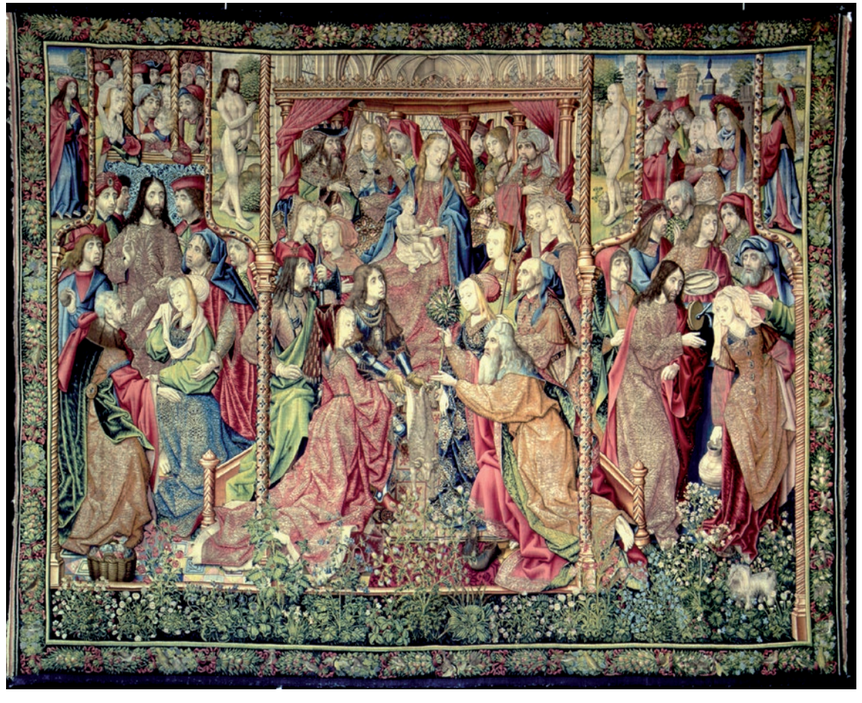
trefoil arches adorned with leaves and topped with high gables, and the drawing of the pinnacles and ornaments. Blank shields are also included in the drawings. In the Paris sheet, they are built into quatrefoils placed at the ends and in the centre of the left border; in the sheet from Bruges, they are placed on the consoles. In both cases, large acanthus leaves are used as decorative motifs; they are wrapped around a rod in the frame of the Bacri drawing (fig. 8a) while in the Bruges portraits, they surround the shields (see fig. 2). It is interesting to note that in both drawings the coats of arms are left unpainted, a common practice in the fifteenth century when the depiction of the emblem was entrusted either to a specialized heraldic painter or to an artist in possession of an example of the family coat of arms.

Further stylistic links between Anselme's figure in the Bruges drawing and that in the Paris drawing can be identified. These include the precise pattern of the voluminous drapery folds, some sharpened with an energetic black line, the fall and similar shapes of the fabric, and the donor's doublet extending to touch the base of the small column (figs. 9a & b). Finally, there are the similarities described above, such as the posture of the feudal lord and the detail and position of the foot emerging from beneath the mantle. However, in the drawings from Bruges – which function as a *vidimus* for sculptures – Adornes's foot and the bottom of the drape are placed outside the frame of the niche to indicate three-dimensionality. This is further proof of an intention towards volumetric work. In the Paris drawing, on the other hand, these same elements remain internal to the composition.

What then differentiates the drawings in Paris and Bruges, and what were their functions? Having initially worked from a very poor reproduction of the Bacri drawing provided by the Louvre's documentation service, examination of the original in 2017 (see fig. 1) led me to rethink my working hypothesis of a preparatory drawing for a tapestry. This was based on several factors. The impression of *horror vacui* that characterizes the composition is typical of tapestry, as is the framing device of a wide

Fig. 9a / Detail of drapery in Fig. 1.

Fig. 9b / Detail of drapery in Fig. 2.



band decorated with vegetal motifs. The flowers which fill the backdrops – dotted between the architectural elements – are also a common feature of tapestries. There is, furthermore, the staggered distribution of courtiers, the spread of the draperies, and above all, the lack of detail on the faces, which the weavers would have been able to incorporate (on the basis of models supplied by the painter) at a later stage. Furthermore, the compositional scheme, with a structure divided by columns, laying the scenes out in a triptych, evokes tapestries simulating an altarpiece (fig. 10). This type of tapestry, of which many were produced in the southern Netherlands in the second half of the fifteenth century, was very popular at the European courts. My conclusion that the drawing could be a rare example of a surviving *petit patron* or small cartoon for an "altarpiece tapestry", to submit as a model to the patron, was supported by several tapestry specialists.[13]

Fig. 10 / Brussels workshop, *Fulfillment of the Prophecies at the Birth of Christ*, before 1509, gold, wool, and silk, 360 x 446 cm, Madrid, Palacio Real.

Fritz Koreny, who saw the Bacri design after its sale in Paris in 2017, proposed an alternative theory: that the drawing was either a project for a funerary monument to be executed in stone or to be engraved on a brass (or, less often, copper) plate; or perhaps, given the high level of execution and the use of wash, a copy of a votive monument by a painter. However, I believe that the absence of a funerary inscription on the perimeter of the composition discredits this proposal, as I will discuss further below. Based on its iconography, Koreny furthermore situated the drawing in the context of a donation to a brotherhood dedicated to Saint Anne, whose cult was widespread in the Netherlands in the late fifteenth century; this scholar identified in the kneeling figures a group portrait of the members of this brotherhood, suggesting that other men in prayer would have occupied the right section that has now disappeared.[14]

The identification of the main character as Anselme Adornes, based on the obvious morphological similarities with his portrait in the Bruges drawing, and on the presence of the seven male characters, corresponding to the probable number of his sons, is convincing. On the other hand, the fact that he is represented in prayer before the Virgin and Child with Saint Anne does suggest a link with the brotherhood. Archival sources indicate that the family did indeed have a close relationship with the charterhouses of Sint-Anna-ter-Woestijne (Sainte Anne of the Desert) outside Bruges.

Fig. 11a / Anonymous, funerary monument of Kateline Daut, ca. 1460-1461, copper plate, 152 x 90 cm, Bruges, Saint Jacques Church.

Fig. 11b / Anonymous, funerary monument of Jacob Schalawaerts, ca. 1483, copper plate, 209 x 110 cm, Bruges, Saint Saviour's Cathedral.

Fig. 11c / Anonymous, funerary monument of Jehan de Liedekerke and Joanna de le Douve, ca. 1519, copper plate, 244 x 136 cm, Bruges, Saint Saviour's Cathedral.

A commission by Anselme Adornes or a member of his family of a commemorative work for this religious institution seems plausible and justifies the presentation of the donor praying before Saint Anne and the Virgin.

This led me to investigate the field of funerary monuments, and in particular memorial brasses, to look for examples that relate to the Bacri drawing.[15] As it seems too detailed to constitute a model for a work in stone, I instead began to think about it as a possible study for an engraved memorial brass, a type of monument which was very popular in fifteenth-century Bruges.[16] I discovered that no original models on paper or parchment for works of this kind have survived, even if they must have originally been plentiful in the workshops of tombstone carvers.[17] All that survives are copied drawings of funerary monuments. These could certainly help us to study the typology of the tombs, but not to characterize their style. Moreover, they are totally different, in their dry execution, from the fluid style of the Bacri drawing.

It became clear that the best way to approach the problem was to do a comparative study of the drawing and metalwork tombs, especially those remaining in Bruges, to identify their common elements.[18] In the drawing there are quatrefoils at the corners and centre of the strip that frames the composition. The central quatrefoil is bound by two narrow listels and a thin continuous stem which goes through the centre and around which acanthus leaves curl (see fig. 8). The background of the composition is decorated with textile motifs that evoke the cloth of honour or canopy present in contemporary paintings from Bruges and Brussels. All of these elements also appear in metalwork tombs. However, on surviving brasses with a typology like that of the drawing, the quatrefoils are decorated with either a heraldic emblem, a scene, or a carved pattern. They never present an empty shield as in the drawing. In addition, in all the brasses, acanthus leaves, often smaller, but also wound along a stem, adorn a narrow border that precedes the band or two borders that surround it (see figs. 8a & b). The band, on the other hand, consists of a solid surface that bears, without exception, the epitaph of the deceased on the perimeter of the composition, the characters of the lettering varying according to the period (figs. 11a, b & c).

The Bacri drawing, on the other hand, does not include any epigraphy; instead, the place usually devoted to epigraphic text is occupied by the acanthus. This observation seems crucial in the context of its function. How does one explain the absence of an epitaph if it is a study for a memorial brass? Even in other types of funerary monuments, the text appears below the scene. However, the other elements that the drawing shares with such plates, as described above, are not present. Would the painter have prioritized the aesthetics of the composition by decorating with acanthi the bands that are normally intended for inscriptions and left in reserve, to be completed by another artist at the execution phase? This question merits further thought.

The empty shields of the drawing were probably, furthermore, intended for heraldry or motifs specified by the patron. As the main figure in the Bacri drawing is Anselme Adornes, his coat of arms would not need to be depicted before the creation of the monument. It must therefore be a *vidimus* for an *ante mortem* project which he himself would have commissioned. Or, if the work was not executed during his lifetime, it could be a project undertaken by his son Arnold Adornes for a memorial made for the charterhouse of Sint-Anna-ter-Woestijne or that of Genadedal. These monasteries maintained close links with the Adornes family, consolidated by the Carthusians' involvement in the management of the accounts of the Jerusalem Chapel.[19] Regularly solicited to celebrate perpetual masses and welcome members of the aristocracy, they hosted Pierre Adornes, Anselme's father, and several of his children including his son Arnold who was a priest and prebendary there.[20]

Given the wealth of details, all executed with great care, in the Bacri drawing, and how different it is from the general, much more graphic style, of even the finest published monumental brasses, another hypothesis presents itself. Is the drawing a study for a commemorative monument painted on a panel or for a small epitaph-altarpiece? It seems to me that, if this were so, it would have the inscription dedicated to the deceased which usually accompanies this type of composition, and it would probably not feature acanthus leaves and quatrefoils.

This type of comparative study raises many questions and should discourage any hasty conclusions because none of the likely theories are entirely convincing. The drawing's function, be it a study for a tapestry, a monumental brass, or some other form of epitaph, remains hypothetical. Furthermore, the identity of the drawing's patron, Anselme or his son, and the purpose of the final work remain unresolved. The same goes for the fate of this work, since there is no trace of it. Was it made and then destroyed?

It is now necessary to situate the Bacri drawing historically and connect the work to a school or a master. In the Louvre Documentation archives, the drawing is attributed to the Bruges School of the fifteenth century, a fair assessment considering the composition and its very balanced organization.[21] However, as I have shown for the Adornes drawings, the more in-depth stylistic analysis above highlights peculiarities of style and invention which are also apparent in the work of the Brussels painter, the Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara and his immediate entourage.

At the end of the fifteenth century, there were several cases of collaboration between artists and workshops in Brussels and Bruges. There are many documented examples of one centre influencing the other.[22] Assuming that tomb sculptors worked from models produced by painters, the hypothesis of a design originating in Brussels for a Bruges monument is plausible. The decorative motifs in the Bacri drawing provide an interesting example of this transmission of influence. Under the canopy behind the angel and in the upper right side of the drawing (above Saint Anne), there is a repetitive floral design made of large flowers with rounded petals and a raised heart, similar to the flowers adorning the fabric stretched behind the Virgin in the *Virgin and Child with Canon Van der Paele* by Van Eyck (figs. 12a, b & c). On the other hand, in the right part of the composition, we find the traditional interlacing of acanthus leaves adorning the band of the drawing found, for example, in early sixteenth-century monumental brasses from Bruges (figs. 12d & e).[23] There were thus two styles being borrowed.

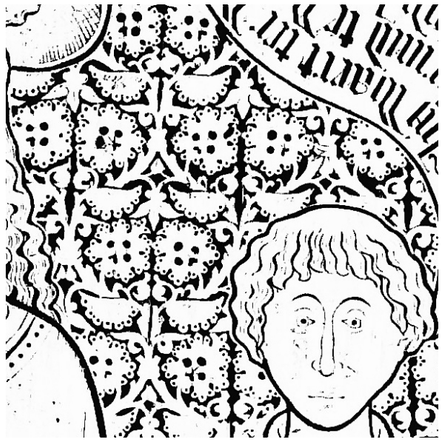


Fig. 12a / Detail of floral motifs on the left in Fig. 1.

Fig. 12b / Jan van Eyck, *The Virgin and Child with Canon Van der Paele*, detail of the brocade motif (IRR), ca. 1436, oil on panel, 122 x 157 cm, Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

Fig. 12c / Detail of floral motifs on the right side of the canopy in Fig. 1.

Fig. 12d / Detail of floral motifs on the right in Fig. 11a.

Fig. 12e / Anonymous, fragment from a funerary monument, early sixteenth century, Bruges, Private Collection. Rubbing by R. Van Belle.

These observations provide further evidence that models of ornamental motifs were kept for years in workshops and that the artists who worked there, temporarily or permanently, took inspiration from them according to their needs. They also corroborate, if we accept the attribution of the work to the Brussels Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara, the hypothesis that artists moved between cities and cultural centres depending on which patron they were working for.[24]

Fig. 13a / Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara, *Scenes from the Legend of Saint Barbara*, detail of first scene, ca. 1480, oil on oak panel, 73.2 x 124 cm, Bruges, Basilica of the Holy Blood.

Fig. 13b / Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara, *Scenes from the Life of Saint Barbara*, ca. 1480, oil on panel, 72.8 x 62.2 cm, Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium.

Fig. 14 / Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara, *The Martyrdom of Saint Barbara*, 1451-1500, drawing in pierre noire and brown ink, 19.8 x 14.3 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

The architectural vocabulary of the Bacri drawing, comprising three-lobed arches adorned with carved leaves, small columns, and suites of florets, is similar to that in the drawn and painted compositions of the Brussels master (figs. 13a & b, 14). The systematic presence of a tight network of short dark hatching arranged in diagonals and intersections that fill all the empty space is another common detail. They cover the walls, the structural parts of the throne of Saint Anne, the columns, the intrados of arches and vaults, and the twin windows of the canopies, as in the autograph paintings.[25] The same system of small, very tightly spaced lines indicates the parts of the clothing to be shaded, intermittently heightened with wash, especially in the drapery of the Virgin. A similar technique is employed for the curtains surrounding the throne of Saint Anne.

There are also formal similarities to the manner of the master and his workshop. Thus, the conical profile of the baldachin surmounted by a decorative motif and the rounded base of the throne are also observed in a drawing by the Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara or his workshop in Berlin (fig. 15).[26]

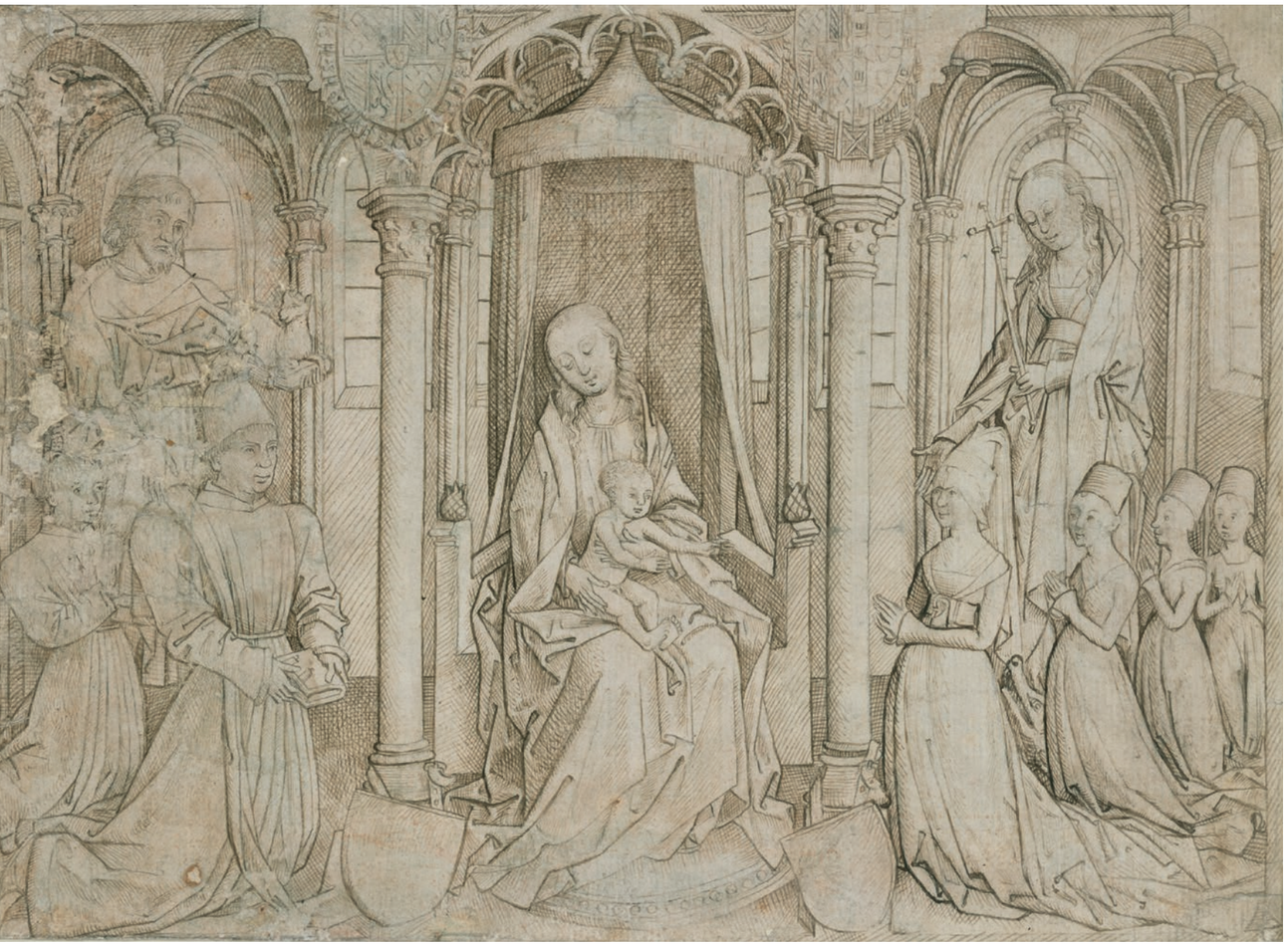


Fig. 15 / Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara (workshop), *Virgin and Child Enthroned, with Donors and Saint John the Baptist and Saint Margaret*, ca. 1465, drawing, 19.5 x 27 cm, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett - Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

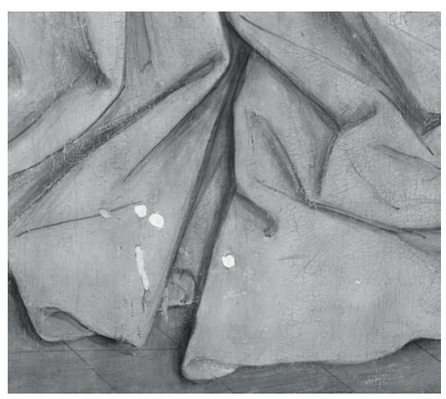


Fig. 16 / Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara, *Scenes from the Legend of Saint Barbara*, detail of first scene (IRR), ca. 1480, oil on oak panel, 73.2 x 124 cm, Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium.

Fig. 17 / Jan and Hubert van Eyck, *Altarpiece of the Mystic Lamb*, detail of underdrawing (IRR), 1432, oil on panel, Ghent, Saint Bavo Cathedral.

The linear contours of the figures and the placement of drapery folds in the Bacri drawing are precise, clearly outlining the shapes, as in all the compositions of the Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara. In the same way, the fabrics and their arrangement play an important decorative role, as is apparent in the mantle of Saint Anne, the halo of the angel and the dress of the Virgin. In the draperies, certain features are reinforced with black ink, an idiosyncrasy that is also reflected in the underdrawing of the eponymous painting of the Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara and in drawings by his entourage (fig. 16). This could be interpreted, in my opinion, as a desire to emphasize the main folds requiring particular care during the pictorial execution, as is the case in drawings by Van Eyck (fig. 17).[27]

There are also morphological analogies in the structure of the faces, such as simple lines which outline small eyes, long noses, and small mouths as in the eponymous painting (figs. 18a & b).[28] The hands are anatomically approximate, and are often disproportionate, like those of Saint Anne and the Virgin. Finally, the empty shields, of which there are three in the Paris drawing, reappear in several works attributed to the master and his studio, such as in the corner of the Louvre drawing (see fig. 14), a project for his autograph tableau, part of which is kept in Brussels and the other part in Bruges (see figs. 13a & b).

The context in which the Bacri drawing was made suggests information relevant to chronology. Thus, the patron in prayer, if one accepts my hypothesis of a portrait of Anselme Adornes, does not wear the collar of the Order of the Unicorn which would have been offered to him in 1469 or in 1472 by King James III of Scotland. On the other hand, it is present in the portrait in Bruges. The Bacri drawing was therefore either earlier than 1472, or made in a different political context, not relating to the missions Anselme led in Scotland on behalf of the Burgundian court, i.e. between 1475, when he became mayor of Bruges, and his assassination in 1483.[29]

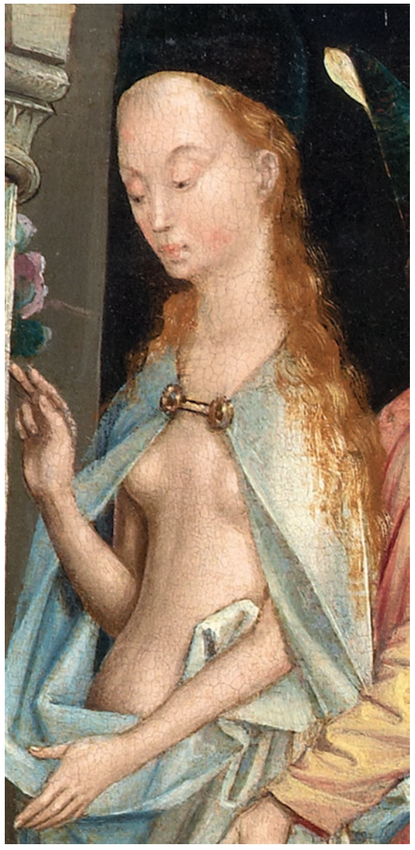


Fig. 18a / Detail of the morphology of the face of Saint Barbara in Fig. 13b.

Fig. 18b / Detail of the morphology of the faces of Saint Anne and the Virgin in Fig. 1.

As a great art lover, he could have commissioned a work featuring himself while renouncing the badge, his new function no longer allowing him to wear an honorific collar of Scottish origin.

In conclusion, to return to the hypotheses concerning the function of the Bacri drawing, a first idea would be to see it as a project for a tapestry for his mansion. A second, stemming from the iconography, would be to see it as a study for a funerary monument. This could have been either a memorial brass, a painted or carved epitaph-altarpiece that Anselme or his son would have ordered as a memorial, or even a votive monument related to the worship of Saint Anne to offer to the brotherhood. As things stand, there is not yet sufficient evidence to confirm or dismiss one hypothesis in favour of the other. Both functions fit perfectly into traditions of patronage and love of art characteristic of the Adornes family.[30] Nevertheless, I am inclined to favour the possibility of a study for a funerary monument, given the specifics of the layout of the part of the drawing that has survived.

No tapestry with the effigy of Anselme Adornes associated with an image of devotion to the Trinity of Saint Anne has been found and the religious buildings

Fig. 19 / Hugo van der Goes (attr.), *Angel Carrying a Shield,* probably from the funerary monument of Jan Wielant, ca. 1519, copper plate, 150 x 85 cm, Bruges, Saint Jacques church. Rubbing by R. Van Belle.

associated with this which could have been the recipients of a votive plaque or an epitaph monument were destroyed in 1581 by the Calvinists. The drawing would thus be a rare witness to an original work that has disappeared, and an important document for the study of models of funerary monuments and their creators. Little has been written on this subject, although we know that the models on paper for these were mainly done by painters. For example, Hugo van der Goes and Pierre Pourbus are listed in the archives as having delivered studies for copper monuments in Bruges (fig. 19).[31]

The Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara, who belonged to the circle of artists surrounding Hugo van der Goes, is thought by several art historians to have done studies for monumental brasses.[32] Some drawings from his studio, such as the one in Berlin, are thought to be studies for funerary monuments.[33] Nothing precludes him from being the author of the Bacri drawing, especially since he is documented during the last third of the fifteenth century, the suggested timeframe for the drawing, further corroborated by the watermark present in the portraits in Bruges to which the Bacri drawing is directly related, as well as by the garments worn by all the characters.

Finally, the obvious stylistic analogies shared by the master of the Bacri drawing with the works attributed to the Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara and his entourage justify, I believe, his inclusion in the Brussels School on the basis that collaboration with other artistic centres, like Bruges, was frequent.

One point is clear in all the hypotheses put forward: the authenticity of the drawings in Paris and Bruges is unquestionable in view of their style, the technique of their execution, and their historical context. Considering its quality, the Bacri drawing deserves, like the two Bruges drawings of Anselme Adornes and his wife, to be taken into account as part of the corpus of Flemish drawings of the late fifteenth century. Let us hope that the future discovery of still unpublished period drawings or unknown commemorative works brings a final answer to the questions raised here, questions which are deliberately bold in order to encourage future researchers to pursue cross-sectional studies.[34]

NOTES

1. Pen and brown ink on parchment with a brown wash, 32 x 16 cm. Title in the Hôtel Drouot sale catalogue of 22 October 1924, lot 47: *Seigneurs en adoration devant Sainte Anne, la Vierge et l'Enfant Jésus*. The drawing was once again put up for sale at Drouot on 13 February 1939. See catalogue of the sale in Paris, Hôtel Drouot, *Dessins anciens... dessin de l'École de Bruges, dessins de Rembrandt, dessin de Titien, tableaux anciens... Pietà de l'École française de la fin du XIVe siècle, Christ de l'École d'Avignon du XVe siècle, composant la collection d'un amateur* (Paris: Moderne Imprimerie, 1939). See the catalogue of Sotheby's, *Bacri Frères Antiquaires, Paris: Collection Jacques Bacri*, Paris, 30 March 2017, lot 25, p. 34.
2. At that stage it was presented as a preparatory drawing for an illumination.
3. Catheline Périer-D'Ieteren, "Deux *vidimus* flamands oubliés du XV^{e} siècle: les dessins Adornes," *Revue de l'Art* 178/4 (2012): pp. 19-31.
4. Périer-D'Ieteren, "Deux *vidimus*," pp. 19-31.
5. For detailed information on the biography of Anselme Adornes, see Noël Geirnaert and André Vandewalle, *Adornes en Jeruzalem. Internationaal leven in het 15de-en 16de-eeuwse Brugge*, exh. cat. (Bruges: Jeruzalemkapel, 1983), pp. 11-29.
6. Pen drawings using iron gall ink on laid watermarked paper, 29.7 x 11.3 cm, framed together after restoration (Adornes Collection, inv. AD 10052). Graphite pencil strokes can be seen along the sides of the passe-partout and, in the drawing of Marguerite, a tentative line in black stone, for example at the base of the niche, and to change the height of the shield. An unidentified white medium has been used to try and mask the corrections, leaving a blurred appearance.
7. Katie Stevenson, "The Unicorn, St Andrew and the Thistle," *The Scottish Historical Review* 83 (2004): pp. 3-22. The author also proposes 1469 as the year when the collar may have been given to Anselme Adornes. However, Adornes only returned from pilgrimage in 1470.
8. In the following text, I will use the drawing of Anselme most often as my reference point, it being more directly comparable to the Bacri drawing than the one of his wife. I will also refer to the new drawing by the name of the collection that owned it, or as "the Paris drawing".
9. Périer-D'Ieteren, "Deux *vidimus*," pp. 19-31, and Sacha Zdanov, "Quelques précisions sur deux dessins de la collection Adornes et sur l'oratoire de la chapelle de Jérusalem à Bruges," *Annales de la Société royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 73 (2015): pp. 10-39.
10. A similar presentation may be found in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* illustrated by Jean Colombe. The donors, each placed alongside an *Ecce Homo*, are on a dais, kneeling on carved plinths. Although the painter of the illumination came from a family of sculptors, the individual sculpted features are treated pictorially and look very different to the Adornes drawings. Jean Colombe, *Le Christ de Pitié*, in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, Ms. 65, f. 75r, between 1485 and 1486, tempera on velum, Chantilly, Musée Condé.
11. Max. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Paintings, VIb: Hans Memling and Gerard David* (Leiden and Brussels: A.W. Sijthoff, 1971), pl. 167, and John Hand, *The Saint Anne Altarpiece by Gerard David*, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1992).
12. However, this working hypothesis based on the function of the drawing could only be confirmed if the missing part of the drawing were discovered. If it turns out to be a study for a funerary monument the missing group would logically be that of Anselme's wife. Its presence would also be proof of the identity of the person who commissioned the work. On the other hand, if the funerary monument was given to a religious community, a possibility that is discussed below, the group corresponding to that of Anselme Adornes would in all likelihood be composed of members of that community.
13. A fine example of a tapestry in the form of an altarpiece is the *Triptych of the Nativity*, a Brussels tapestry dating to the end of the fifteenth century and preserved in the Royal Palace in Madrid (inv. 10005862). Other tapestries show the influence of altarpieces in their triptych-like composition. See Catheline Périer-D'Ieteren and Cecilia Paredes, "Rapport entre tapisseries et retables bruxellois," in *Age d'or bruxellois – Tapisseries de la couronne d'Espagne*, ed. Arlette Smolar-Meynart, exh. cat. (Brussels: Cathédrale des saints Michel et Gudule, 2000), pp. 113-129. Périer-D'Ieteren, "Deux *vidimus*," p. 31 n. 50. The specialists who supported this conclusion are Anna Rapp Buri, Monica Stucky-Schürer, Scot McKendrick, and Guy Delmarcel.
14. When he wrote his report, Fritz Koreny had not read the article from the *Revue de l'Art* in which I suggested that the kneeling figure should be identified as Anselme Adornes.
15. I am grateful to Noël Geirnaert (archivist) and Brigitte Beernaert (architect) for this information. I also wish to thank Véronique de Limburg Stirum for putting us in touch.
16. Bruges was a major centre for the production of memorial brasses in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the city played an active part in their trade in Europe. See Valentin Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578, I: Synthese* (Bruges: Raaklijn, 1976), pp. 211-214.
17. Vermeersch, *Synthese*, pp. 185-187. Sometimes there is reference to existing models that had to be reproduced. Often adaptations were requested for clothing, which had to match the fashion of the day. See Vermeersch, *Synthese*, p. 197.
18. See for example Valentin Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578, III: Catalogus* (Bruges: Raaklijn, 1976), p. 483, pl. 235 and Ronald Van Belle, *Corpus Laminae: Belgische koperen graf- en gedenkplaten 1143-1925, I: Synthese: Productie en uitstraling* (Bruges: Uitgeverij van de Wiele, 2017) and *Corpus Laminae: Belgische koperen graf- en gedenkplaten 1143-1925, II: Catalogus* (Bruges: Uitgeverij van de Wiele, 2017), pp. 479-559.
19. Founded in 1348, the Order was supported from the start by the Counts of Flanders and subsequently by the Dukes of Burgundy with whom he had excellent relations, as he did with other senior officials of the Bruges Court and Magistrate's Office. See Stanislas van O. d'Ydewalle, "Stichting van het Klooster," in *De Kartuize Sint-Anna Ter-Woestijne te Sint-Andries en te Brugge (1350-1792)* (Brussels and Bruges: De Kinkhoren, 1945), pp. 39-49.
20. On becoming a widower, Pierre Adornes withdrew to the charterhouse of Genadedal in 1452, and died there in 1465. Six children born to his son Anselme Adornes also entered charterhouses. They include Martin Adornes, a monk at the Genadedal charterhouse, and Margareta who was a nun at Sint-Anna, where her brother Arnold Adornes, widower of Agnès van Niewenhove, became a priest and prebendary in 1482. See d'Ydewalle, *De Kartuize*, pp. 119-121.
21. See note 1. The reverse of the drawing carries the words "Van Eyck".
22. Vermeersch, *Synthese*, pp. 201-202.
23. Catheline Périer-D'Ieteren, "Le rôle du dessin sous-jacent et de l'ébauche préparatoire au lavis dans la genèse des peintures de l'Agneau Mystique," in *Van Eyck Studies: Papers Presented at the Eighteenth Symposium for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting, Brussels, 19-21 September 2012*, eds. Christina Currie et al. (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2017), p. 130, fig. 8.9a-b.
24. I refer the reader to the detailed stylistic study of the Adornes drawing and its attribution to the Brussels master, published in the *Revue de l'Art* (see note 3 above).
25. Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara, *Scenes from the Life of Saint Barbara*, ca. 1480, oil on panel, 73.2 x 124 cm, Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, inv. 6149 and oil on panel, 72.8 x 62.2 cm, Bruges, Basilica of the Holy Blood. See Véronique Bücken and Griet Steyaert, *L'héritage de Rogier van der Weyden: la peinture à Bruxelles 1450-1520*, exh. cat. (Brussels: Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, 2013), nos. 62.1 and 62.2, pp. 270-271.
26. Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara, *Virgin Enthroned with Donors and Saints John the Baptist and Margaret*, ca. 1465, pen and brown ink on traces of black stone, 19.5 x 27 cm, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. KdZ 1965. See Stephanie Buck, *Die niederländischen Zeichnungen des 15. Jahrhunderts im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett: Kritischer Katalog* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), no. I.27, pp. 185-189 and 383.
27. The tendency to emphasize certain contours with a darker and stronger line is already apparent in underdrawing by Van Eyck, notably in the drapery of the Virgin and Child with Canon Van der Paele, and in the entire drawing for the Mystic Lamb. See Périer-D'Ieteren, "Le rôle du dessin sous-jacent," pp. 120-135. It is also apparent with Memling. Catheline Périer-D'Ieteren, "La technique de Memling et sa place dans l'évolution de la peinture flamande du XVe siècle," in *Hans Memling Essays*, ed. Dirk De Vos (Brussels: Ludion, 1994), p. 70.
28. Within his oeuvre, two male portraits attributed to him are worthy of note as characterizing the morphology of faces in the Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara in addition to the stylistic arguments set out above: those of Van Cleeve and Hugo de Gros. In making the comparisons, it should be understood that the Bacri drawing is a model drawing and the faces would have been quickly sketched in.
29. It is interesting to note that several memorial brasses, of which the composition is not unlike that of the drawing, occur during the 1480s. See for example the plate of Jacob Schelewaerts, 1483, Saint Jacques church in Bruges in Valentin Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578, II: Catalogus* (Bruges: Raaklijn, 1976), pp. 299-300, pl. 138-140.
30. On the memorial to Jacob Adornes and the tomb of Adornes in the Jerusalem Church, see Geirnaert and Vandewalle, *Adornes* and Sacha Zdanov, "Quelques précisions sur deux dessins de la collection Adornes et sur l'oratoire de la chapelle de Jérusalem à Bruges," *Annales de la Société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles* 73 (2015): pp. 9-39.
31. Vermeersch, *Synthese*, p. 186, Vermeersch, *Catalogus*, no. 468, pp. 507-509, and Van Belle, *Corpus Laminae II*, p. 504, fig. 692.
32. The style of the angel and the morphology of the face are indeed very close to the manner of Van der Goes.
33. See Karl Arndt, "Zum Werk des Hugo Van der Goes," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 15 (1964): pp. 85-88, 97 (n. 91), and 98.
34. This would be the case of the memorial plate of Machiele (Michiel) de Beckere and Marguerite d'Escornaix, see Van Belle, *Corpus Laminae II*, pp. 560-562 and pp. 737-739. The city of Tournai has been suggested as provenance for this plate, its drawing, attributed to the Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara, being comparable in style to the works of Robert Campin and Rogier van der Weyden. The Chapter of Tournai frequently called upon the services of Brussels artists, not least Rogier van der Weyden and Jacob Sourdiaus. Brine sees many similarities with the epitaph of Machiele de Beckere, supposedly written by Sourdiaus who worked in the entourage of the Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara and Aert van den Bossche. According to the author, the drawing style of the studio of the Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara, with its well defined lines and meticulous cross-hatching, was particularly well suited to engraving in brass, see Douglas Brine, *Pious Memories: The Wall-Mounted Memorial in the Burgundian Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 162-168. Stylistically speaking, Van Belle is not convinced by this attribution, though he does agree that the work is from Brussels, not least Rogier van der Weyden and Jacob Sourdiaus. Brine sees many similarities with the epitaph of Machiele de Beckere, supposedly written by Sourdiaus who worked in the entourage of the Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara and Aert van den Bossche. According to the author, the drawing style of the studio of the Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara, with its well defined lines and meticulous cross-hatching, was particularly well suited to engraving in brass, see Douglas Brine, *Pious Memories: The Wall-Mounted Memorial in the Burgundian Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 162-168. Stylistically speaking, Van Belle is not convinced by this attribution, though he does agree that the work is from Brussels.
35. Wooden models could also be provided by sculptors for funerary monuments. A famous example is that of Jan Borman who is credited with the model for the recumbent figure of Mary of Burgundy for her mausoleum at the Church of Our Lady in Bruges (ca. 1490-1502).
36. Buck, *Kritischer Katalog*, I.27, pp. 185-189 and 383.
37. Sincerest thanks go to all who assisted with my research, particularly N. Geirnaert, R. Van Belle, B. Bernaerts and the museum curators, researchers and art dealers who made photos available to me: V. Bücken, Sotheby's, Arnoldie-Livie and Hill-Stone. I was greatly helped by exchanges with Sacha Zdanov and Valentine Henderiks and by their critical reading of my work. Finally, I am grateful to Sacha for the demanding documentary work he performed with his customary scientific rigour.

Technical experimentation in the art of Sebastiano del Piombo: some further thoughts

PIERS BAKER-BATES

Fig. 1 / Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of a Man in Armour*, early 1530s, oil on slate, 47.5 x 36 cm, London, The Klesch Collection.

This brief article is a necessary addition to the literature on Sebastiano del Piombo. Even in the short space of time that has elapsed since I last wrote on the background to and the reasons for Sebastiano's continuing experimentation with artistic technique throughout his Roman career, especially his discovery and practice of painting on stone surfaces, two developments have changed the state of the question radically.[1] Firstly, a number of previously unknown works painted on stone supports by, or related to, Sebastiano have been discovered – or rediscovered – in recent years. Secondly, the restoration of some of his known works on stone has been revelatory, both in terms of techniques used, confirming much of what Vasari wrote, and in terms of the exceptionally high artistic quality.[2] These developments reveal that Sebastiano's fascination with technical experimentation was more continuous and wide-ranging than previously imagined; they also raise a number of important questions about his career, and his artistic practice more generally.

Vasari, and other contemporaries, state conclusively that the technique of painting on a stone support was Sebastiano's own invention.[3] My original research on this subject, which was framed within this parameter, examined what has become the standard *corpus* of paintings on stone by Sebastiano, the majority of which depict religious subjects. The newly discovered works, however, demonstrate that Sebastiano's technical experimentation was not confined to religious imagery, but that he also experimented extensively with technique in his portraiture.[4] This development also leads naturally into my continuing research on the role of copies and alternate versions in Sebastiano's art, as well as in sixteenth-century Rome more broadly. There is no mention by Vasari or others of this practice but it now seems clear that Sebastiano himself repeated his own compositions, sometimes more than once. On occasion, he reused the same composition over a broad period of time and on different supports, in a manner similar to his erstwhile colleague Titian in, for example, his series of *Ecce Homo*.[5] Finally, these discoveries also raise the question of Sebastiano's afterlife in Rome which was far greater in the second half of the sixteenth century than has previously been thought, and included conscious imitators of not only his style and subject matter, but also his technique.

From 1995 until very recently, the recognized *corpus* of surviving independent works on slate by Sebastiano (excluding the Chigi chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, a fixed structure and painted on a surface of peperino blocks) has remained the following: three versions of *Christ Carrying the Cross*, in Madrid, Saint Petersburg, and Budapest; the Úbeda *Pietà*, now in Madrid; the *Madonna del Velo* in Naples, the *Baccio Valori* in Florence; the double portrait of *Paul III and a Nephew* in Parma; and the half-length, unfinished *Clement VII* in Naples. This amounts to only eight paintings on a stone support in total, nine if one accepts the *Clement VII* acquired by the Getty as an entirely autograph work; furthermore, two of these are more or less unfinished. Combined with the fact that the techniques used by Sebastiano did not age well, this made it hard for earlier scholars to judge the quality of these works; indeed, the second *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Madrid was only returned to Sebastiano after restoration.

Fig. 2 / Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of Andrea Doria*, ca. 1526, oil on slate, 62.3 x 46.5 cm, Rome, Collezione Doria Pamphilij.

Fig. 3 / Sebastiano del Piombo, *Giulia Gonzaga*, ca. 1532, Wiesbaden, Museum Wiesbaden.

Although Vasari mentions several other portraits on a stone surface such as one of "a Signor Piero Gonzaga", these either no longer survive or have not been conclusively identified.[6] To the eight or nine previously known can now be added, however, three fascinating portraits on stone supports, that are either by Sebastiano or closely related to his work: these were either unknown to me or fell beyond the scope of my previous work. Two of these paintings have appeared only very recently in the Sebastiano literature: one is the *Portrait of a Man in Armour*, sometimes called *Ippolito de'Medici* (fig. 1), now in a private collection; the other is a second *Portrait of Andrea Doria* (fig. 2), still in the family's collection.[7] There is also the three-quarter length *Portrait of Giulia Gonzaga* (fig. 3), now held in the Museum at Wiesbaden, which has long been known but little discussed, and about which scholarly opinion has remained divided.

Accepting this addition of three works to the surviving corpus of paintings on a stone support by Sebastiano would represent a significant increase, adding a third to their number. They would also present a more productive picture of Sebastiano's later career, as these three were all painted between the Sack of Rome in 1527 and the mid-1530s. Elsewhere I have proposed a radical rethinking of Sebastiano's chronology, arguing that several works were painted earlier than previously thought, and that the artist had already virtually stopped painting by the mid to late 1530s, as the unfinished condition of several of these paintings on stone testifies.[8] Indeed, with regard to the lost *Portrait of Piero Gonzaga*, Vasari states specifically that Sebastiano: "laboured three years in finishing it".[9] Although, it might also be true, as Angela Cerasuolo has opined in conversation, that Sebastiano may have been interested in the effects of *non-finito* anyway.

MEN IN STONE

Discussion of the three paintings mentioned above should begin with the Doria portrait (see fig. 2), for two reasons: first because it is a version of an existing portrait, but on a different support (something not unknown elsewhere in Sebastiano's oeuvre), and because it is the first alternate version ever to be discovered of the original Doria portrait. Sebastiano's striking half-length *Portrait of Andrea Doria*, now on display in the Villa del Principe in Genoa (fig. 4), is one of very few portraits for which there is secure contemporary evidence, allowing it to be dated with certainty to the summer of 1526.[10] The painting has always been viewed as one of Sebastiano's masterpieces, and it had seemed unusual that no other version was known.[11] The newly emerged version, still in the family collection in Rome, presents an exact replica of the face – save for a longer beard – but it is painted on slate; furthermore, it has been reduced to just the head and the format has been revised to an oval *tondo*.

Perhaps most significantly, if this painting is indeed Sebastiano's own work, as I believe, it could throw new light upon the chronology of Sebastiano's paintings on stone surfaces. Andrea De' Marchi, who first published the portrait, remains convinced that it must also date to 1526.[12] Sebastiano's corpus of paintings on stone has traditionally been dated to after his sufferings in the Sack of Rome in 1527, in part as they have been perceived as a response to that traumatic event; and, more conclusively, on the basis of the famous letter written in June 1530 from Vittore Soranzo to Pietro Bembo, recording Sebastiano's discovery of the technique.[13] Thus, De' Marchi's dating of the second Doria portrait to 1526 would present a radical revision of Sebastiano's accepted chronology.

It is logical to question why a version of the *Portrait of Andrea Doria*, painted before the Sack, should be repeated later – especially since Doria was no longer in Rome, where his political importance had rapidly dwindled after the Sack?[14] If De' Marchi is

Fig. 4 / Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of Andrea Doria*, ca. 1536, oil on slate, 62.3 x 46.5 cm, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe.

correct, either Sebastiano had in fact begun painting on stone before the Sack, or else he was making versions of his own paintings several years *post factum*. Unfortunately, no other slate painting can be dated so early and, at present, little more can be said about the Doria painting as it has not yet been submitted to a sustained technical examination which could yield new information; although it would appear from the remains of mortar adhering to the rear surface that it was once attached to a wall.

The *Portrait of a Man in Armour* (Ippolito de' Medici?) (see fig. 1), in a private collection, can be dated to around the early 1530s.[15] Recent restoration has revealed that this this figure is painted in oils over a grey under-layer on the same thinly sliced support

as others of Sebastiano's paintings on slate, using the same innovative techniques. It not only has the restricted colour palette typical of Sebastiano's late work, but the surface also allows for the stone support to show through in places, an effect often used in his works on slate. The work might have been conceived primarily as a study rather than a finished portrait – like the head of Clement VII in Naples (fig. 5) – or may, like a number of Sebastiano's other late works, have remained unfinished. The portrait itself shows the head of a bearded man, turned to three-quarter profile and clad in highly polished armour; he gazes directly at the viewer and is set against a neutral background.

The head itself has the blocky solidity and fixed gaze characteristic of Sebastiano's late portraiture, which has been so well revealed by the recent restoration of the Pitti *Baccio Valori*. In addition, the *paragone* with

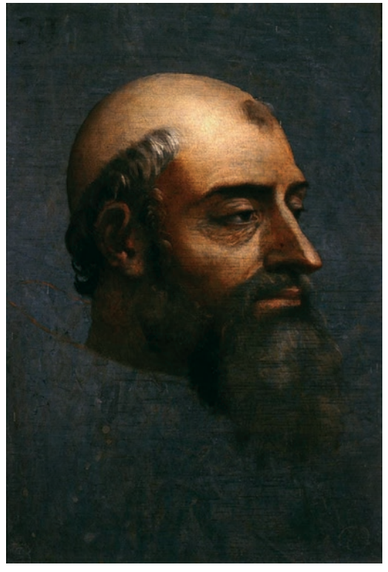


Fig. 5 / Sebastiano del Piombo, *Head of Clemente VII*, early 1530s, oil on slate, 145 x 100 cm, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte.

sculpture, always present in Sebastiano's works on slate, is particularly evident here. Alessandro Ballarin draws an interesting parallel with the statue of Giuliano de' Medici that was carved by Michelangelo for San Lorenzo in the late 1520s and early 1530s; both figures for example have the same "swan neck".[16] Furthermore, two late letters from Sebastiano in Rome to Michelangelo in Florence, dated 17 July and 25 July 1533, prove that Sebastiano had seen the Giuliano statue for himself when it was being completed by Fra' Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli.[17] This visual evidence could be used to date this *Portrait of a Man in Armour* more precisely to around the time of the final rift between the two artists later that year.

In relation to the possibility that this painting remained unfinished, or formed a study for a larger work, the inventory of the contents of Sebastiano's studio, discovered and published by Michael Hirst, has been endlessly discussed. However, the fact that the inventory lists a great number of alternate versions of known works, painted on surfaces that differ to the surviving originals, has never been remarked on. For example, the inventory's listing of a reduced version on canvas of the Pitti portrait of Baccio Valori on slate has been barely considered in the Sebastiano literature: nor for that matter have the different stone surfaces that were ready for use and also listed in the inventory.[18] Vasari says that Sebastiano experimented with several different surfaces besides slate – "*l'argento, rame, stagno e altri metalli*" – but no further evidence has survived for this.[19] Were these works on different surfaces recorded in his studio studies for the final versions? Or were they secondary versions of his own compositions made by Sebastiano himself? Were they finished or unfinished? This inventory in fact presents more questions than answers. As will be explored below, Sebastiano would appear to have used slate at least not just for finished paintings. Still, what would be the reasons behind this reiteration of the same composition on different supports?

Fig. 6 / Titian, *Portrait of Ippolito de Medici in a Hungarian Costume*, ca. 1532, oil on canvas, 138 x 106 cm, Florence, Palazzo Pitti.

This new *Portrait of a Man in Armour* was first published by Alessandro Ballarin, who identified the sitter as Ippolito de' Medici (1511-1535), the illegitimate son of Giuliano de' Medici and nephew to Leo X. The portrait can be related to a similar head that recurs in a number of problematic paintings that have been dated to around the early 1530s, in particular a three-quarter length so-called Ippolito de' Medici in a private collection.[20] One problem with the identification is that the date of this three-quarter length painting is more likely to be in the mid-1520s. The armour of the figure portrayed here could also present a problem as Ippolito, from 1529, was made (very reluctantly) cardinal, although he was famously portrayed around 1532 by Titian in secular Hungarian garb as a huntsman (fig. 6)

A similar head can also be found in the *Man in Armour* in the Wadsworth Athenaeum (fig. 7) – a painting whose date has fluctuated, until recently, over an even greater period of time, roughly a decade – and in a related image, painted in oils on paper, that has been recently discovered at Capodimonte and attributed to Daniele da Volterra.[21] While the new *Portrait of a Man in Armour* is certainly by Sebastiano's hand, who the actual sitter is remains uncertain; however, it is certainly too early in date to show Ippolito. When the Wadsworth *Man in Armour* is taken as a portrait, it is now usually identified as a member of the Gonzaga family – indeed I remain unconvinced that even the three-quarter length portrait represents Ippolito – and it seems more likely that these identifications represent wishful thinking on the part of those with a very specific view of Sebastiano's life and career.

The armour in both the Wadsworth painting and the newly emerged portrait on slate are strikingly similar, although much less of it is depicted in the latter work. This armour itself, that of a heavy cavalryman, poses a problem too as it is dateable to the late fifteenth century and thus a conscious anachronism.[22] Nonetheless, given the military connotations of the armour worn by this figure, he may indeed be a younger member of one of the various Gonzaga of the cadet branches, a number of whom were, according to Vasari, painted by Sebastiano. These men, like Ludovico "Rodomonte" Gonzaga, made their careers as soldiers of fortune.[23] But one could make other hypothetical identifications for these men in armour, as there were in the 1520s and 1530s several leading soldiers of fortune active in the papal service whom Vasari also states were painted by Sebastiano: for example, Marc'Antonio Colonna and Ferdinando, Marchese di Pescara.[24]

Fig. 7 / Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of a Man in Armour*, ca. 1512-1520, oil on canvas, 87.63 x 66.67 cm, Hartford, CT, Wadsworth Atheneum.

GIULIA

Perhaps the most controversial of Sebastiano's paintings has been the famous portrait of Ludovico and Piero Gonzaga's sister, Giulia, painted at the request of Ippolito de' Medici and extolled both by the poets of her circle, as well as by Vasari.[25] The date of the painting is the only certain fact, as Sebastiano records himself in a letter of 8 June 1532 as having been sent to Fondi to take the portrait. While arguments around the *Spirituali* and Sebastiano's relationship with this group of religious dissidents to which Giulia belonged remain inconclusive, no fewer than nine portraits of Giulia Gonzaga survive, in two different compositional types and on a variety of supports. Around this group there has been much animated debate which shows no signs of resolution.[26] The compositions are Sebastiano's but which, if any, is the original portrait? The most plausible candidate is the only one painted on slate, the three-quarter length portrait now in the Museum at Wiesbaden (see fig. 3).[27] Here the sitter, clad in sombre widow's dress, stands before a table, with one hand resting on it and the other holding a small animal that has been muzzled; there are no other props. She has the same swan neck that appears in the new *Portrait of a Man in Armour* in a private collection and the *Portrait of a Lady*, painted on panel and currently on loan to the National Gallery from a Private Collection.

Inspecting at first hand the Wiesbaden painting it becomes clear immediately that the picture surface is in a parlous condition and that the painting is in urgent need of restoration. If conservation treatment were undertaken it is plausible that the lost original might be revealed; there is a monumentality and a presence to the painting even in its current state. Another obstacle to a certain identification, however, is presented by a lack of information for the Wiesbaden painting's provenance before the early twentieth century, when it was in a private collection in Kiel. Vasari makes no mention of the original portrait's support, although he does specify that the portrait of Piero Gonzaga, Giulia's younger brother, was painted "*in una pietra*".[28] A version of the portrait of Giulia went to France after Sebastiano's death, although its surface is unknown; the Wiesbaden painting may or may not then be the painting on "*preda*" of Giulia that was inventoried in Sebastiano's studio at his death.[29]

Finally, to round off this debate, a similar discussion continues to surround the versions of the portrait of Clement VII, of which one was also included in the same consignment for France. There are innumerable versions of these, even more than there are of the Giulia, and on a variety of supports. Again, in particular, there are a number of versions listed in Sebastiano's *post-mortem* inventory on varying surfaces – although neither here nor in Vasari are there any references to a version painted on slate – and new versions continue to come to light. Two well-known versions survive on a slate surface: the head in Naples (see fig. 5) is universally accepted as Sebastiano's own work; the Getty painting may also originally have been only a head, with the remainder of the painting completed by a later artist (fig. 8).[30] This is not implausible in light of Vasari's comment that Sebastiano was asked to send a head of Clement – probably on paper – to Florence so that Giuliano Bugiardini could make use of it for a large double portrait.[31] With the various images of Clement VII then, there is rare hard evidence for Sebastiano's working practices, at least for his later career.

THE LEGACY

By way of a conclusion, another point, beyond the question of surface, raised by a discussion of these paintings is the continued popularity of Sebastiano's compositions and technique in Rome in the second half of the sixteenth century. Several volumes have recently been published that examine Michelangelo's legacy into the second half of the sixteenth century, but there has been little or no discussion of Sebastiano's.[32] Subsequent artists working at Rome and elsewhere continued to look to Sebastiano as a model and some of the copies and versions of his compositions on varying supports must have been painted by this later generation; these were also, in their turn, copied more than once.

Elsewhere, I have discussed this transmission process through the case study of Sebastiano's *Saint Anthony Abbot*.[33] Little is known about this securely autograph painting, other than that there are at least five surviving versions of the original; one or more of these is the work of Girolamo Muziano. Another, more problematic, example concerns the only known

Fig. 8 / Sebastiano del Piombo, *Pope Clement VII*, ca. 1531, oil on slate, 105.4 x 87.6 cm, Los Angeles, Getty Centre.

alternate version of the magnificent *Portrait of a Lady*, painted on panel and currently on loan to the National Gallery, itself a puzzling portrait with fundamental questions about the sitter's identity and the date still open. The other version of the painting in the Louvre is of not the highest quality and certainly not by Sebastiano, but it is executed on a slate surface.[34]

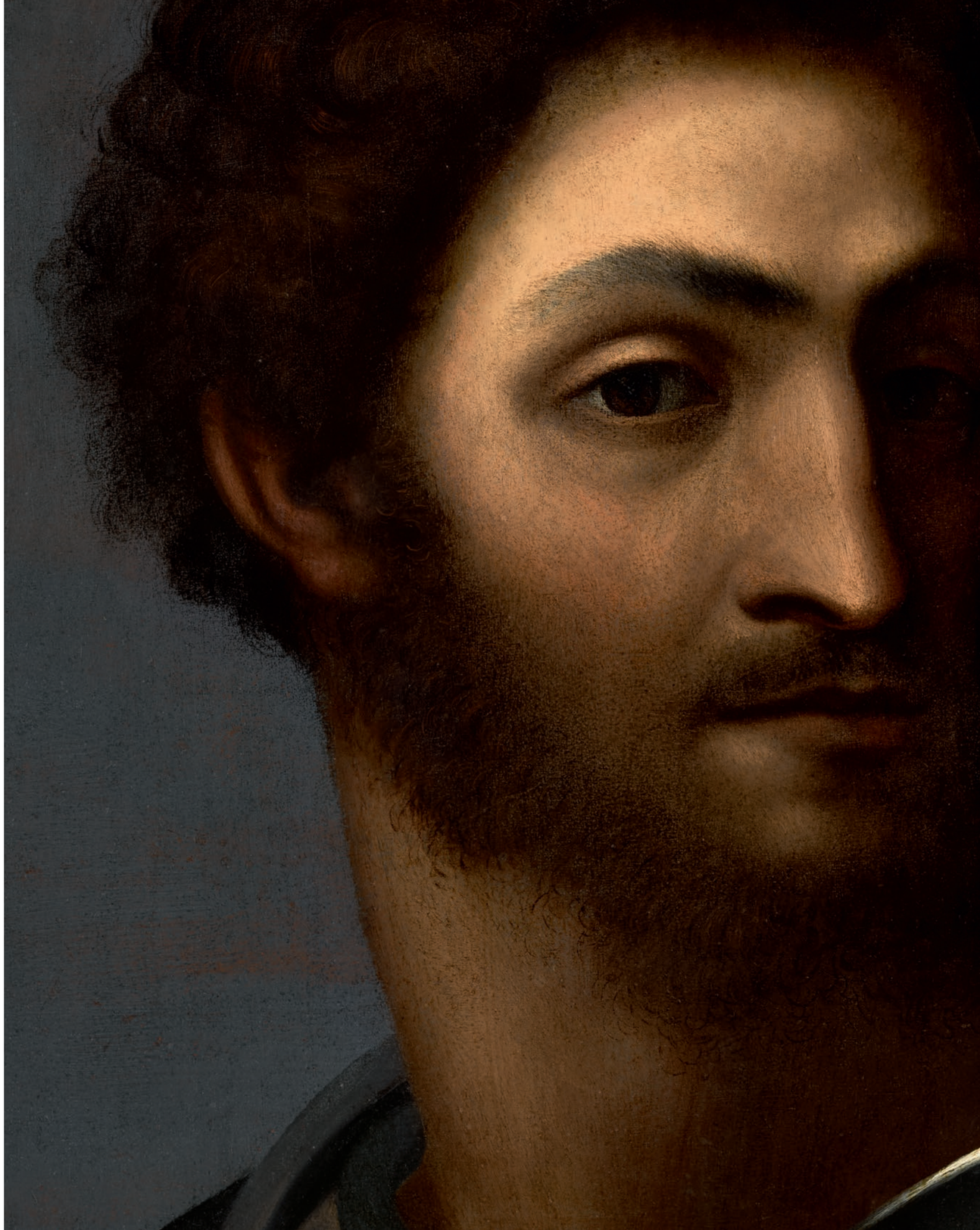
Indeed, the use of slate as a support was far more widespread than is usually thought, albeit in the main for religious subject matter. Almost every important late sixteenth-century artist working in Rome chose this surface at least once, and often for important commissions, as did Giovanni De' Vecchi in the case of his altarpiece of *Saint Jerome*, painted on slate for the Delfini chapel in Santa Maria in Aracoeli; the work constituted his major public debut in Rome and seems to represent the only example of the artist employing this support.

For all that it presents an original take on its subject, in style and technique this altarpiece has correctly been described as having "put down its roots in the late work of Sebastiano del Piombo": this is true not only in terms of the style, but also the technical means used.[35] The *Saint Jerome* presents an excellent example of visual dissemination too as several versions of it survive, the majority of which are now in Spain. Another classic case of both phenomena is that of Marcello Venusti, an artist who was in close contact with both Sebastiano and Michelangelo and painted on a slate surface a number of times, but also on paper: some of these works have sometimes even been mistaken for Sebastiano's own.[36] It was in Spain that Sebastiano's compositions had a resounding success and thanks to Spain's global reach they spread throughout the known world.

What conclusions can be drawn from this study of these three paintings? On the one hand our thinking about Sebastiano needs to be less fixated on certain preconceived ideas about his life and career, while on the other there evidently remains a wealth of new information that is still to be discovered. Such rethinking, and the continuing discovery of new material, will allow for an expanded understanding of the fundamental importance of Sebastiano as an artist for the sixteenth century, both within his lifetime and after his death, in Europe and beyond.

NOTES

1. Piers Baker-Bates, "A Painting Little less than Eternal," in *Michelangelo & Sebastiano*, ed. Matthias Wivel, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery, 2017), pp. 128-132; Piers Baker-Bates, "'Un nuovo modo di colorire in pietra': Technical Experimentation in the Art of Sebastiano del Piombo," in *"La pittura poco meno che eterna": Paintings on Stone and Material Innovation*, eds. Piers Baker-Bates and Elena Calvillo (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), pp. 47-73.
2. Alessandro Cecchi, Marco Ciatti, and Oriana Sartiani, eds., *Sebastiano del Piombo e la pittura su pietra: 'il Ritratto di Baccio Valori'. Restauro e ricerche* (Florence: Edifir, 2014); Angela Cerasuolo, *Diligenza e prestezza. La tecnica nella pittura e nella letteratura artistica del Cinquecento* (Florence: Edifir, 2014), pp. 231-242; Ana González Mozo, *In Lapide Depictum. Pintura italiana sobre piedra* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2018).
3. *Delle Lettere da diversi Re, et Principi, et Cardinali, et altri huomini dotti a Mons. Pietro Bembo scritte* (Venice: Francesco Sansovino, 1560), p. 110; Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, eds. Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi, 9 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1967-1987), V, pp. 97-99.
4. Angela Cerasuolo, "Sebastiano e la tecnica della pittura su pietra: moventi, modalità e fini di una invenzioni di successo," in *Sebastiano del Piombo e la pittura su pietra*, eds. Cecchi, Ciatti, and Sartiani, p. 49.
5. Christopher J. Nygren, "Titian's *Ecce Homo* on Slate: Stone, Oil, and the Transubstantiation of Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 99/1 (2017): pp. 36-66. See Paul Joannides's articles on this subject in this and the previous volume of this Journal.
6. Vasari, *Le Vite*, V, p. 99.
7. Andrea G. De'Marchi, "Il Ritratto di Andrea Doria: una nuova versione e possibili antecedenti," in *Sebastiano del Piombo e la Cappella Borgherini nel contesto della pittura rinascimentale*, eds. Santiago Arroyo Esteban, Bruno Marocchini, and Claudio Seccaroni (Florence: Nardini Editore, 2010), pp. 123-125; Alessandro Ballarin, "Un nuovo ritratto su lavagna di Sebastiano del Piombo," *Nuovi Studi. Rivista di Arte Antica e Moderna* 20/21 (2015): pp. 71-80; Andrea G. De'Marchi, *Collezione Doria Pamphilj. Catalogo generale dei dipinti* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2016), p. 342.
8. Baker-Bates, "'Un nuovo modo di colorire in pietra'," p. 39.
9. "penò tre anni in finirlo"; Vasari, *Le Vite*, V, p. 99.
10. Alessandro Luzio, *Isabella d'Este e il sacco di Roma* (Milan: L. F. Cogliatti, 1908), p. 118.
11. Philippe Costamagna, "Entre Raphaël. Titien et Michel-Ange: les portraits d'Andrea Doria par Sebastiano del Piombo et Bronzino," in *Les portraits du pouvoir*, eds. Olivier Bonfait and Brigitte Marin, exh. cat. (Paris: Palais du Luxembourg, 2003), pp. 24-33; Claudia Cieri Via, "L'immagine del potere: il ritratto di Andrea Doria di Sebastiano del Piombo," in *Les portraits du pouvoir*, eds. Bonfait and Marin, pp. 34-47.
12. De' Marchi, "Il Ritratto di Andrea Doria," p. 125; De' Marchi, *Collezione Doria Pamphilj*, p. 342.
13. *Delle Lettere da diversi Re*, p. 110.
14. Matteo Salonia, *Genoa's Freedom, Entrepreneurship, Republicanism, and the Spanish Atlantic* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017).
15. Angela Cerasuolo, "Un nuovo ritratto su lavagna di Sebastiano del Piombo Osservazioni sulla Tecnica," *Nuovi Studi. Rivista di Arte Antica e Moderna* 20/21 (2015): pp. 81-86.
16. Ballarin, "Un nuovo ritratto su lavagna di Sebastiano del Piombo," p. 75.
17. Paola Barocchi and Renzo Ristori, *Il Carteggio di Michelangelo*, 5 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1965-1983), IV, pp. 17-19 and 22-23.
18. Michael Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 154-157.
19. Vasari, *Le Vite*, V, pp. 98-99.
20. The identification was first made unconvincingly in Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, p. 114 and has not remained uncontested since. See Mauro Lucco, "Ritratto d'Uomo," *Sebastiano del Piombo (1485-1547)*, exh. cat. (Rome: Palazzo Venezia, 2008), pp. 198-199. An ongoing problem with Sebastiano's chronology is the continuing difficulty of access to certain key works.
21. When the portrait was first published by George Martin Richter, "A Portrait of Ferruccio by Sebastiano del Piombo," *Burlington Magazine* 69/151 (1936): pp. 88-90, it was dated to 1516-1519, but this has been gradually pushed back to as early as 1511-1512, see David Alan Brown, "Man in Armor," in *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting*, eds. David Alan Brown and Sylvia Ferino Pagden, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2006), pp. 258-261, and Bastian Eclercy, "Portrait of a Man in Armour," *Titian and the Renaissance in Venice*, eds. Bastian Eclercy and Hans Aurenhammer, exh. cat. (Frankfurt: Städel Museum, 2019), pp. 178-179. For the Naples head see Angela Cerasuolo, "Approfondimenti su Sebastiano del Piombo a Capodimonte," *Konsthistorik Tidskrift* 81/4 (2012): pp. 254-261, (259-260); Costanza Barbieri, "Rodomonte Gonzaga, Il Sacco di Roma e un riscoperto ritratto di Sebastiano del Piombo," in *I Gonzaga e i Papi. Roma e le corti padane fra Umanesimo e Rinascimento (1418-1620). Atti del Convegno Mantova – Roma 21-26 febbraio 2013* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2013), pp. 331-351 (339ff).
22. Eclercy, "Portrait of a Man in Armour."
23. Vasari, *Le Vite*, V, p. 9; Barbieri, "Rodomonte Gonzaga," pp. 335-343.
24. Vasari, *Le Vite*, V, p. 93.
25. Vasari, *Le Vite*, V, p. 97; Pierantonio Serassi, ed., *Delle Poesie Volgari e Latine di F M* Molza, 2 vols. (Bergamo: Pietro Lancelloti, 1747-1754), I, pp. 135-161.
26. The literature on these is enormous so it is perhaps best to discuss only the most complete list and the most recent studies, as these summarize earlier discussions; the first attempt was that made by Luitpold Dussler, *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Basel: Holbein-Verlag, 1942), pp. 71-73 and 132, while the most complete listing of these is still Roggero Roggeri, "I ritratti di Giulia Gonzaga contessa di Fondi," *Civiltà Mantovana* 28/29 (1990): pp. 61-84. For more recent interpretations see: Costanza Barbieri, "Rodomonte Gonzaga," pp. 331-351; Paul Joannides, "The Portraits of a Lady," in *Artistic Practices and Cultural Transfer in Early Modern Italy*, eds. Nebahat Avcioglu and Allison Sherman (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 233-241.
27. This portrait, then in Kiel, was accepted as the original until Düssler, but has ever since been denied to Sebastiano, and in particular both by Rodolfo Pallucchini, *Sebastiano Viniziano* (Milan: Mondadori, 1944), pp. 72 and 135, and Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, p. 116. until Barbieri, "Rodomonte Gonzaga."
28. Vasari, *Le Vite*, V, p. 99.
29. Michael Hirst, "Sebastiano's *Pietà* for the Commendador Mayor," *Burlington Magazine* 114 (1972): pp. 585-595 (592ff); Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, p. 155.
30. Stefano Pierguidi, "Le Portrait de *Clement VII* par Sebastiano del Piombo du J. Paul Getty Museum," *Revue de l'Art* 160/2 (2008): pp. 55-59.
31. Vasari, *Le Vite*, V, pp. 99-100.
32. Tamara Smithers, ed., *Michelangelo in the new Millennium. Conversations about Artistic Practice, Patronage and Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Marco Simone Bolzoni, Furio Rinaldi, and Patrizia Tosini, eds., *Dopo il 1564. L'eredità di Michelangelo a Roma nel tardo Cinquecento* (Rome: De Luca Editori, 2016); Barbara Agosti, "Assimilazioni di Michelangelo nella pittura romana del tardo Cinquecento," in *L'Eterno e il tempo tra Michelangelo e Caravaggio*, eds. Antonio Paolucci et al. (Milan: Silvana, 2018), pp. 65-73.
33. Piers Baker-Bates, "Copies and Versions in Sebastiano's Art? The *Christ Carrying the Cross*," in *Michelangelo and Sebastiano. The Compass and the Mirror*, ed. Matthias Wivel, forthcoming.
34. Pallucchini, *Sebastiano Viniziano*, pp. 72 and 135.
35. "affondare le sue radici nell'opera tarda di Sebastiano del Piombo"; Patrizia Tosini, "Giovanni De'Vecchi, 'amante segreto' di Michelangelo e il milieu del cardinal Alessandro Farnese," in *Dopo il 1564*, eds. Bolzoni, Rinaldi, and Tosini, pp. 100-119 (102-103).
36. Federico Zeri, *Pittura e Controriforma: l'arte senza tempo di Scipione Pulzone da Gaeta* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1957), p. 27; Simona Capelli, "La Flagellazione Borghese: Marcello Venusti e le copie da Sebastiano del Piombo," *Studi di Storia dell'Arte* 14 (2003): pp. 241-248 (241); Andrea Donati, "Marcello Venusti, Michelangelo and the Legacy of Sebastiano del Piombo," in *Michelangelo and Sebastiano*, ed. Wivel.



Hendrik van Balen's interpretation of the *Rape of the Sabine*s in a newly discovered work

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Fig. 1 / Hendrik van Balen the Elder, *Rape of the Sabines*, 1620s, oil on panel, 174 x 187.4 cm, Collection of David Dreman and Abraham Joel.

A previously unpublished monumental painting by one of the leading masters in early seventeenth-century Antwerp appeared on the art market in 1996 (fig. 1).[1] Recently cleaned, its full power has only now been revealed. This article, the first in-depth study of the painting, begins by establishing its attribution, dating, and subject. Then it considers the panel in ever widening contexts. How does it fit within the artist's oeuvre? Who were its possible patrons? And, finally, what is the painting's relationship to the city in which it was created, a cosmopolitan global trading center, and to Italy, the culture that produced its subject and visual sources?

There can be no doubt that the *Rape of the Sabines* was painted by Hendrik van Balen. The only publication on the painting, a brief entry in the 1996 sales catalogue, attributed it to him on the basis of similarities to two works ascribed to the artist, another *Rape of the Sabines* (fig. 2) and a *Moses Striking the Rock*.[2] Although the entry did not specify the nature of these similarities, the attribution is certainly correct. Van Balen is known for his small cabinet paintings, but this very large work – among his largest at 187.4 cm in width – displays his typical style.[3] A figure specialist active in Antwerp in the early seventeenth century, Van Balen often painted scenes from Roman mythology that included a great number of female nudes. As early as 1718, Arnold Houbraken highlighted Van Balen's plastic modelling of nudes, shadowy forms in the foreground, and crowds of figures in the background, all features that are visible in the *Rape of the Sabines*.[4] The painting shows other typical stylistic elements of Van Balen, which were noted by Hans Vlieghe, such as the "evocative use of *repoussoir* figures", seen in the couple in the right foreground, and the "effective contrast between darker and lighter passages", employed throughout the composition.[5] The *Rape of the Sabines* also betrays the painter's characteristic refined colour scheme, which includes yellowish ochres, clear blues, and creamy whites.[6] Its composition also resembles the *Israelites in the Desert*, designed by Van Balen, but today only preserved in copies (fig. 3); both show a similar screen of large figures in the foreground, some cast in shadow, and a grisaille crowd in the middle ground set against barren hills.[7]

Van Balen's early style, which was greatly influenced by the German Mannerist Hans Rottenhammer, shows somewhat isolated nudes who strike complex, artificial poses and are painted in a precise, detailed manner in refined colours applied with smooth brushwork. After December 1608, when Rubens returned to Antwerp, Van Balen adopted a slightly larger format and fuller figures who move in a more natural and lively manner, form more unified groupings, and are better integrated into their settings. The *Rape of the Sabines* is typical of this late period. It shares with his *Rape of Proserpina* (fig. 4) the soft faces, large eyes, fuller bodies, and fluttering drapery that Bettina Werche, who recently wrote a monograph on the artist, argues point to a date after 1616, and likely after 1625.[8] Furthermore, Werche notes that around 1616 Van Balen often includes a row of figures in a single rather rigid plane in the foreground.

Fig. 2 / Hendrik van Balen the Elder, *Rape of the Sabines*, 1620s, 161.29 x 215.9 cm, Location unknown.

Fig. 3 / After Hendrik van Balen, *The Israelites in the Desert*, 1620s, 184.15 x 240.03 cm, Location unknown.

Fig. 4 / Hendrik van Balen and Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Rape of Proserpina*, ca. 1610, oil on wood panel, 39.4 x 53 cm, Brighton, Brighton and Hove Museums and Art Galleries.

The foreground figures in the *Rape of the Sabines* avoid such rigidity, which confirms a date after 1616. Perhaps the closest comparison is with the painter's *Altarpiece of the Cabinetmakers*, dated ca. 1622, which is remarkably similar to the *Rape of the Sabines* in its fuller figures, the large-patterned brocade garment in the foreground, and the ghostly crowd in the middle ground, which is painted largely in grisaille (fig. 5).[9] The two paintings also share faces with double chins and large eyes, blond curly-haired children, red ribbons woven into women's braided buns, and fabrics of transparent gauze or shimmering, clinging silk that are shot with fluid highlights. In short, evidence supports the conclusion that Van Balen painted the *Rape of the Sabines* certainly after 1616, and probably in the 1620s.[10]

Van Balen was born in Antwerp in 1575 and became a master there in 1592-1593.[11] Many Flemish artists visited Italy shortly after becoming masters, and evidence confirms such a trip for Van Balen.[12] Not only was his early style strongly influenced by the Venetian manner of Rottenhammer, but also Van Balen was able to join the Guild of Romanists in 1605, which required that members had visited the tombs of Saints Peter and Paul in Rome.[13] The painter must have returned to Antwerp by 1600, when he collaborated on a *Judgment of Paris*, painting the figures for Jan Brueghel the Elder's landscape. In 1602-1603 he began accepting apprentices in Antwerp, in 1604 he bought his first house there, and the next year he married. Financially successful, Van Balen purchased a larger home in 1622, and the inventory drawn up after his wife's death, which shortly followed his own in 1632, reveals his upscale furnishings, large library, and extensive art collection.[14]

Van Balen was a leading member of Antwerp's cultural and humanist circles. Not only was he dean of the painter's guild in 1609, but four years later he became dean of the Guild of Romanists. This exclusive organization was limited to twenty-five members who were drawn from the elite classes: noblemen, canons, wealthy merchants, councilmen, and prominent artists.[15] Another indication of the high regard in which Van Balen was held comes from his large number of apprentices, twenty-seven in all, including such renowned painters as Frans Snyders and Anthony van Dyck. Furthermore, for a series illustrating the Mysteries of the Rosary, which was commissioned in 1615 from eleven leading Antwerp artists, Van Balen received the highest pay (216 florins). By contrast, Rubens, Van Dyck, and Jordaens were each paid only 150 florins, even though Van Balen's contribution, an *Annunciation,* had fewer figures.[16] Van Balen was also a prolific painter with an international reputation whose works were very much in demand. His patrons included Archbishop Federico Borromeo in Milan, Emperor Rudolf II in Prague, Prince Frederik Hendrik in The Hague, the Elector Maximilian I of Bavaria, Archduchess Isabella and Archdukes Albert and Leopold Wilhelm in Brussels, and numerous merchants and other burghers, especially in Antwerp.[17] Elizabeth Honig has shown that Van Balen is among a handful of painters who are the most frequently represented in Antwerp art collections.[18] Yet despite his immense popularity during his lifetime, Van Balen is all too often unfairly dismissed by modern scholars. Erik Larsen, for example, praises his colouring and modelling, yet terms him "a minor member" of the generation of Flemish artists who practised late Mannerism.[19] Clearly Van Balen's contemporaries would have vehemently disagreed with this assessment.

Fig. 5 / Hendrik van Balen, Altarpiece of the Cabinet Makers, *The Preaching of Saint John the Baptist*, ca. 1622, 270 x 201 cm, Antwerp, Cathedral of Our Lady (on temporary loan from Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium).

Both Van Mander and Van Dyck viewed Van Balen as a figure specialist and with good reason: he often added figures to the scenery painted by the most celebrated landscapists in Antwerp, especially Jan Brueghel the Elder.[20] Van Balen was part of a group of Antwerp painters who worked collaboratively, attended banquets together, lived near each other, and even travelled together.[21] For example, by 1604 he lived on the same street, the Lange Nieuwestraat, as Jan Brueghel the Elder, and in 1613 he travelled with a group of painters, including Rubens, on a diplomatic mission to Haarlem and perhaps Leiden. However, although he often collaborated with landscape painters, there is no evidence of their contribution in the *Rape of the Sabines*. Indeed, the barren mountains and the middle ground filled with figures rather than lush vegetation suggest that the painting is the work of Van Balen alone.[22]

The *Rape of the Sabines* illustrates an episode from the legendary history of ancient Rome.[23] The Romans, unable to obtain wives peacefully, staged a festival, invited the neighbouring Sabines, and, at a signal from their leader Romulus, each violently seized a Sabine woman. At the centre foreground of the painting a young man, wearing armour reminiscent of ancient Rome, seizes a Sabine woman around the waist, making clear the violent sexuality that is at the heart of this subject. He lifts her so that her feet cannot touch the ground, insuring her impotence. She turns away from him in a futile effort to escape, flinging up her arms in a gesture of distress and protest, and raising her large watery eyes to the heavens in an expression of despair. Her bun has loosened, and her dishevelled hair falls around her shoulders. Her clothes are in disarray, her bodice partially unlaced, her breasts exposed. Van Balen reveals her lower legs and contrasts their light colour with the bronzed skin of her assailant. He further accentuates her sensuousness through the olive-coloured satin cloth that flutters before her, and the luxuriousness of her garments, whose gold patterns are painted on luscious rose and creamy white. The sumptuousness of her clothing and the jewelled chain that falls over her shoulder and clasps the olive cloth make clear that she is a member of the elite class. Beneath this central group, a young woman and elderly woman have fallen to the ground. The elderly woman crouches low, while the young woman, hair dishevelled, turns to the viewer with a frightened expression, as the soldier towering above them tramples their garments.

To the left, a second Roman, wielding a long-handled spear, draws blood from the shoulder of a fallen Sabine warrior who still grasps the hilt of his sword, having failed in his attempt to defend the women. At the far right, a third Roman soldier mounts a staircase while gazing up at the woman whom he lifts in his arms, which encircle her hips. A phallic sword, silhouetted against a light-coloured cloth, dangles between his legs, alluding to his sexual intentions. His victim throws her arms out in protest and turns away from her abductor so that the viewer cannot see her face. Her dark body is dramatically silhouetted against the light sky, her nudity eroticized by the two cloths – one crimson, the other transparent – that flutter against her body. Restless white highlights on the transparent cloth underline the victim's agitation.

To the left of this couple, two frightened children are pressed by the crowd. Beside them, a Sabine woman exchanges glances with a Roman soldier as he chases her. Her drapery has fallen off, baring her back as she flees with one arm raised. To the left of the central couple, in the middle ground, an equestrian soldier seizes a woman around her waist, while she looks imploringly towards an elderly man, presumably her father, who returns her glance but is unable to help her. She extends one arm, but is also helpless to stop her violation. Like the fallen young woman in the foreground, she wears a sparkling pearl earring, which makes clear once again that the seized women are no ordinary Sabines, but rather those of high status. Perhaps this is Hersilia, Romulus's future wife, since

just above the father figure at the left edge of the painting, a soldier, who may be Romulus, stretches his arm out in a commanding gesture. The outstretched and highlighted arms of so many distressed women form a staccato rhythm that leads the viewer's eyes across the painting.

Van Balen suggests distance in part through shifts in colour. Figures nearer to the middle ground are painted in full, but subdued, hues. Those further away are rendered largely in grisaille. Both zones are filled with Romans assaulting Sabines. A military note is sounded by the blowing of the bugle, the glittering metal helmets, the galloping horses, and the unfurled flags. The victims are not an opposing army, however, but rather unarmed women who are acutely distressed as they futilely try to escape their assailants. One, seen as a dark silhouette just above the right hand of the woman in the centre foreground, runs straight towards the viewer. Further to the right, a Roman removes a woman's clothes with both his hands as she pulls away, visibly distraught. A second Roman assailant cradles her head. Nearby, just above the left hand of the large central Sabine, the crowd clears to reveal yet another chase scene. Further to the right, a soldier seizes his victim's wrist. The grasped wrist, loosened hair, dishevelled clothes, men pursuing women, and outstretched arms seen throughout Van Balen's painting, are all traditional signs denoting rape.[24] Van Balen also visualizes the chaotic swirl of the crowd, which includes a few turbaned soldiers. In the far distance he creates a desolate mood through grey-leafed trees, barren mountains, a ghostly cityscape, and a gloomy sky.

Van Balen's *Rape of the Sabines* is extremely large. Whereas the average size of paintings that he produced between 1609 and 1625 is 60 x 80 cm, this panel measures 174 x 187.4 cm.[25] For this reason, it was probably commissioned rather than made on speculation for the art market. But who might have commissioned it? Only twenty-four of the 204 paintings that Werche attributes to Van Balen are of comparable or larger size, and more than half of these are religious, mostly intended for churches in Antwerp.[26] Of the secular works in large format, only one patron is known; two allegories of the senses were sent from Flanders to Spain in 1623 for Isabella of France, the queen consort of King Philip IV.[27] Scholars have explored the taste among aristocratic rulers for imagery of Greek and Roman gods and heroes forcibly seizing women for sexual purposes, which reflected their own potency and offered a justification for autocratic actions.[28] Of Van Balen's "heroic" rape scenes, only one early owner is known. A small *Rape of Europa* belonged to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in 1659.[29] For these reasons, it is certainly possible that a king or aristocrat commissioned the *Rape of the Sabines*.

However, other types of patrons could have ordered such a painting and for very different reasons. Wealthy merchants are known to have collected paintings of classical themes. For example, Emmanuel Ximenez, one of the wealthiest men in Antwerp, whose family had a commercial network on three continents, owned a *Rape of the Sabines*.[30] Ximenez's interest in classical culture and his taste in art are made clear in the inventory composed after his wife's death in 1617.[31] His library was filled with classical and Neo-Latin texts, and he was particularly interested in ancient history.[32] He also favoured paintings of nudes and those showing Roman history and mythology.[33] He owned twelve paintings of the lives of Claudius Civilis and Paulus Julius, and several heroic scenes of Roman history, including a battle between the Horatii and the Curatii. Such themes were, as Christine Göttler observes, considered appropriate for aristocratic households and confirm Ximenez's social ambitions. He also favoured recently deceased or still living Antwerp painters, and owned at least one work by Van Balen. For these reasons Van Balen's *Rape of the Sabines* would have appealed to him, although the painting under discussion was completed too late to have been included in the preserved inventory of his collection.

Fig. 6 / Frans Francken II, *Supper at the House of Burgomaster Rockox*, 1630-1635, oil on panel, 62 x 97 cm, Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

Fig. 7 / Frans Francken II's *Supper at the House of Burgomaster Rockox* digitally modified by the author to fit Van Balen's *Rape of the Sabines* above the fireplace.

But there is another reason why Ximenez may have favoured this subject. At least a thousand permanent residents of Antwerp were foreign merchants from Spain, Italy, and Portugal, and some of these, including Ximenez, had close ties to Italy.[34] Ximenez's attachment to the Medici was particularly strong, since Cosimo I had fostered the family's trade and exalted many members by appointing them Knights of Saint Stephen. Ximenez, in turn, honoured the Medici in his large sitting room at the back of his magnificent residence on the Meir. In this salon, which was his most lavishly furnished public room, Ximenez displayed twenty-five portraits of Medici princes and princesses, and three showing Medici popes. As Jeffrey Muller has observed, "Portraits of illustrious and historical figures were viewed as expressions of political and personal allegiance and were to be displayed in the most public rooms."[35] The first item listed in Ximenez's inventory for this room is, however, "A painting, oil on panel in a gilded frame, rape of the daughters of the Sabines".[36]

In this case, then, the painting was chosen in part because its Italian theme formed a link with the Medici portraits in the room.

Evidence suggests that the patron may well have lived in Antwerp. Veerle De Laet's research reveals the distribution and location of paintings of nudes in Flemish cities. If, in the court city of Brussels, nudes were owned by only nine percent of the testators, in mercantile Antwerp more than a third possessed them.[37] Furthermore, such nudes were reserved for private rooms on an upper floor in Brussels, but in the more cosmopolitan city of Antwerp they were generally displayed in public reception rooms on the ground floor where visitors could see them.

Since no provenance for Van Balen's painting is known before it appeared on the art market in 1996, it is at this time impossible to identify the person

who commissioned it. However, its monumental size suggests that it may have been displayed on the mantelpiece of a sitting room. The fireplace was deemed the "monumental centre" of such spaces and was a common site for large paintings, including those showing nudes.[38] Rubens's *Samson and Delilah* in London, which is approximately the same size as Van Balen's panel (183 x 205 cm), was placed above the mantelpiece in the large sitting room of the residence of Nicolaes Rockox, a very wealthy and politically powerful merchant in Antwerp.[39] It is shown there in Frans Francken the Younger's painting of 1635 (fig. 6). Such a work was sometimes designated in inventories as a *schouwstuk*, or show piece, a term that underlines its importance. These paintings were hung high; the stone columns to either side of the only remaining fireplace in Antwerp that dates at the turn of the seventeenth century, which is in the reception room of the Osterriethhuis, rises 2.5 m above ground.[40] Thanks to digital imaging, we can now more easily imagine Van Balen's painting displayed above a fireplace (fig. 7).

If the painting was intended to be raised high above eye level, did Van Balen take this into account when designing the work? One aspect that would look different to the viewer gazing up at the painting is the central woman's face, breasts, and outstretched arms, as well as the raised arm of the woman beside her. Because they are so brightly lit, when viewed from below, they seem to emerge from the painting: the central woman appears to bend forward into the observer's space, increasing the dramatic intensity of the work. Van Balen would certainly not have been alone in adapting images to their settings.[41]

It is unclear whether Van Balen painted other versions of the *Rape of the Sabines*. None is mentioned in Werche's monograph, but a few are cited in travel guides and auction catalogues. A handbook for travellers, published in 1864, records a *Rape of the Sabines* attributed to Van Balen at Streatlam Castle.[42] It remains unidentified today, but another version, which was sold as a work by Van Balen in Paris in 1852 together with a companion piece showing the *Reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines*, may be identical to a painting in oil on copper, which was auctioned at Christie's London in 1925.[43] However, neither the style nor the composition of these works corresponds to the painting that is the subject of this study. By contrast, another painting attributed to Van Balen, which was sold at Sotheby's in London in 1953, resembles the newly discovered painting in both its style and a few compositional elements (see fig. 2).[44] It, too, emphasizes the Sabines' raised arms, and shows a tumultuous crowd and flags, including one inscribed S.P.Q.R., the acronym for the Latin phrase "Senatus Populusque Romanus", that is the Senate and People of Rome. Like the painting currently under investigation, this work was painted on panel and is quite large, ca. 161.3 x 215.9 cm. Unfortunately, its present location is unknown, so comparisons must rely on old black-and-white photographs.

Van Balen did, however, paint several other "heroic" rape themes, that is, subjects in which the rapist is an ancient Greek or Roman god or hero.[45] As noted above, two images of Proserpina are listed in the inventory of his goods.[46] Surviving paintings of Europa offer no hint of violence, but those depicting other subjects do.[47] The *Pan and Syrinx*, now in the National Gallery, shows the god chasing the nude nymph who is clearly frightened and tries to escape (fig. 8). Closest to the *Rape of the Sabines* is Van Balen's Proserpina, whose garment has fallen down, exposing her breasts, as she spreads her arms and raises her eyes to the heavens in desperation (see fig. 4). Her abductor seizes her around her waist and lifts her in his arms as her companions echo her gesture, raising their arms in protest and distress.[48] Like the *Rape of the Sabines*, the scene of Proserpina offers the viewer glimpses of women's exposed breasts and backs, melding sexual violence with eroticism.

Van Balen was an ideal candidate to paint a theme like the Rape of the Sabines since he not only specialized in the human figure, especially nude women, but was also a humanist. A member and dean of the Guild of Romanists, he had travelled to Italy, and his art collection included numerous works with classical themes, including a plaster cast of the *Laocoön* and a stone sculpture of the infants Romulus and Remus, founders of ancient Rome. Van Balen had a deep interest in antiquity; most of his paintings present mythological subject matter, and it is not surprising that Van Balen's portrait for the *Iconography*, a series of half-length prints of famous contemporaries, portrays him with his hand resting on the head of an ancient sculpture.[49] Van Balen also owned a large library of books in four languages, including Latin. It contained Dutch translations of the life and letters of Marcus Aurelius, and two volumes that could have included the story of the Rape of the Sabines, one by Livy in High German and another by Plutarch in Dutch. Van Balen was also interested in Italian Renaissance culture. He owned, for example, architectural treatises by Sebastiano Serlio, Andrea Palladio, and Vicenzo Scamozzi.

Van Balen would have known representations of the Rape of the Sabines dating from antiquity through the early seventeenth-century. When he visited Rome, he could have seen at the Villa Medici a Hadrianic sarcophagus that shows the Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus but was misidentified during the Renaissance as the Rape of the Sabines.[50] This subject was very popular in the Renaissance and Baroque periods, both north and south of the Alps, and most of the motifs that Van Balen includes are found in earlier examples: the crowded, chaotic scene filled with flailing arms, fleeing women, partially nude women seen from the front and back, Romans lifting Sabines in their arms, an old woman fallen to the ground, a Roman mounting stairs while carrying a Sabine, a defeated Sabine soldier lying below a victorious Roman, with children, horses, flags, and turbaned figures enlivening the scene.[51]

"Heroic" rapes were especially popular throughout Europe beginning with Rubens's *Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus* in 1618 and continuing through Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* and *Rape of Proserpina* of 1621-1625. Other renderings of the Rape of the Sabines, produced in the 1620s alone, include paintings by the German artists Christoph Steinhammer and Hans Rottenhammer, the Italian Pietro da Cortona (fig. 9), as well as the Fleming Van Balen. Nevertheless, in Antwerp it was not a particularly popular theme. It is rarely mentioned in inventories and is uncommon among surviving works.[52]

But Rubens produced several "heroic" rape scenes, and much has been written about them. A humanist who read Latin texts in the original and knew Ovid's work intimately, Rubens and "like-minded contemporaries" would have believed, according to Elizabeth McGrath, in "the Ovidian truism" that "decent and delicate young women will be shy and at first reluctant to yield to male embraces, and so need to be swept up in the heat of passion".[53]

Fig. 8 / Hendrick van Balen the Elder and Follower of Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Pan Pursuing Syrinx*, possibly after 1615, oil on copper, 25 x 19.4 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 9 / Pietro da Cortona, *Rape of the Sabines*, ca. 1627-1629, oil on canvas, 280.5 x 426 cm, Rome, Pinacoteca Capitolina.

Rubens had encouraged his brother Philip to act more decisively in his pursuit of Maria de Moy, as he reported in a letter. "Courtship," he wrote, "should be conducted with fervour ("*con ogni fervore*"), not coolness."[54] Fervour does not imply force, but Rubens's art certainly celebrates the latter. McGrath concludes, concerning Rubens's *Boreas and Orithyia*, "Again the subject is the resort to force, exerted in pursuit of love by an impulsive and impatient lover."[55] For McGrath, the Romans in Rubens's *Rape of the Sabines* in London, dated ca. 1635-1640, compel the women to go with them, but they also exhibit love and tenderness (fig. 10).

Ethan Matt Kavaler stresses that Rubens viewed the Rape of the Sabines as an example of ethical statecraft. Kavaler argues that the painting in London reflects Plutarch's statement that the Romans showed restraint and were not "incited to this violence by lust or injustice, but by their desire to conciliate and unite the two nations in the strongest ties".[56] Indeed, Rubens's painting in London emphasizes Romulus, who sits at the upper right in a controlled but commanding posture. Kavaler further notes that images of the Rape of the Sabines were sometimes displayed in spaces that were associated with governance. Giambologna's sculpture, commissioned by Francesco I de' Medici,

Fig. 10 / Peter Paul Rubens, *Rape of the Sabines*, probably 1635-1640, oil on oak, 169.9 x 236.2 cm, London, The National Gallery.

Fig. 11 / Giambologna, *The Rape of a Sabine Woman*, 1583, marble, h. 410 cm, Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi.

Fig. 12 / Giovanni Battista Galestruzzi after Polidoro da Caravaggio, Facade of Palazzo Milesi (destroyed), etching, 17.3 cm x 11.5 cm, London, Wellcome Collection.

Fig. 13 / Raphael, *Saint Michael Vanquishing the Devil*, 1518, oil on wood transferred on canvas, 30 x 26 cm, Paris, Louvre.

was exhibited in Florence's Loggia dei Lanzi, which Yael Even has termed "a politically oriented sculpture gallery" (fig. 11).[57] A fresco by Giuseppe Cesari, the Cavaliere D'Arpino, appeared in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, a building that served the magistrates who administered the city of Rome. Nor was this link to statecraft confined to Italy. In the Queen's cabinet in the Louvre, the subject was included among a series of frescoes concerned with "patriotism and leadership".[58] Similarly, according to Kavaler, Rubens portrays the Roman assailants as virtuous, not only through their restrained behaviour, but also through the time-honoured motif of a man controlling a horse by firmly holding its bridle (see fig. 10).[59] Kavaler concludes that educated viewers would have "recognized the higher significance of the subject ... Rubens's painting stresses the virtue and restraint of Romulus, an exemplary ruler and fitting general in Love's victorious campaign."[60]

Rubens painted several versions of the theme, but none closely resembles that of Van Balen.[61] Although both painters make clear that the Romans restrain their lust while seizing Sabines against their will, Van Balen's Romans do not express tenderness, and Romulus, if he is present, is an insignificant figure hidden in the background. Unlike Rubens, then, Van Balen does not allude to either statecraft or tender love. The central Sabine in Rubens's painting turns towards and gazes up at Romulus, bringing the viewer's eye back to him. By contrast, Van Balen's central Sabine is almost frontal. As a result, our eye rests on her: on her distress, on her struggle to escape, on her dishevelled hair and desperate, pleading glance to the heavens. Another striking difference between the interpretations of Rubens and Van Balen is that the former strives to recreate visually the essential meaning of the ancient text, whereas Van Balen is primarily concerned with inter-visuality.[62]

It should not be surprising, given the appeal of the theme and Van Balen's interest in ancient and modern Italy, that he used his *Rape of the Sabines* as a vehicle to demonstrate his knowledge of particular cinquecento and seicento works.[63] After all, at least one of Rubens's versions of the theme echoes Giambologna's model (see fig. 11).[64] Similarly, the foreground couple at the far right of Van Balen's panel is reminiscent of Giambologna's colossal statue, which was completed in 1583 and publicly displayed in Florence, but whose design Van Balen could also have known through smaller versions.[65] Van Balen includes the elevated position of Giambologna's Sabine, her outstretched arm, and the turn of her head away from her assailant. But unlike Giambologna's Roman, Van Balen's soldier mounts stairs, a feature visible in Polidoro da Caravaggio's fresco on the facade of the Palazzo Milesi in Rome, a composition now destroyed but recorded in an etching by Giovanni Battista Galestruzzi (fig. 12). Raphael's *Saint Michael Defeating Satan,* dated 1518, served as a model for the Roman soldier who spears a Sabine opponent on the far left of Van Balen's painting (fig. 13).

Fig. 14 / Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Moses*, ca. 1515, marble, h. 235 cm, Rome, San Pietro in Vincoli.

Although Van Balen paints them in mirror image, the two figures resemble each other in their long-handled spear, the arrangement of the arms and the upper hand, and the prone position of the vanquished enemy who still holds a weapon. In addition, the gesture of the aged father at the left edge of Van Balen's painting who combs his long beard with his fingers recalls Michelangelo's monumental *Moses* (fig. 14). It is also possible that for the central couple, Van Balen intended to refer to Pietro da Cortona's *Rape of the Sabines*, with its dramatic motif of a Roman grasping a woman with both arms around the hips and raising her, while she bends her legs and lifts her arms in distress, baring one breast in the process (see fig. 9). Furthermore, the composition based on three major groups in the foreground, with secondary scenes behind, stems from such Italian prototypes as the relief at the base of Giambologna's statue and the painting by Pietro da Cortona. In short, Van Balen includes references to Italian Renaissance works in his painting, in part to demonstrate his knowledge.

Art produced in seventeenth-century Antwerp often referred to the art or artists of that city. Long ago Julius Held concluded that Willem van Haecht's rendering of an Antwerp art collection, *The Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest*, dated 1628, "expresses something of the pride and the deep affection which its owner appears to have felt for his native town" (fig. 15).[66] It features a painting by Quentin Massys, believed at that time to be a founder of the Antwerp school, and portrays contemporary works, including one by Van Balen. The living figures depicted in the painting reveal Van der Geest's social circles, which included Flemish aristocrats as well as Antwerp painters. Whereas Rubens and Van Dyck discuss paintings with collectors, Snyders and his teacher Van Balen stand on the far right, just below the statue of the Farnese Hercules, engaged in a conversation concerning a globe.[67]

Fig. 15 / Willem van Haecht, *The Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest*, 1628, oil on panel, 100 x 130 cm, Antwerp, Rubenshuis.

The gallery also includes Italian works; on a foreground table are bronzes by Giambologna, who was Flemish born and Antwerp trained, but active from 1550 in Italy. Similarly, Frans Francken the Younger's "*Preziosenwände*", which depict small collections of objects, show an overwhelming preference for the work of his fellow Antwerp artists and often make historical and allegorical references to Antwerp, but, like Van Haecht's painting, sometimes include works produced in Italy.[68] One, dated 1615, depicts a sculpted "heroic" rape reminiscent of Giambologna's.[69]

Van Balen's *Rape of the Sabines* is similar to these paintings in its references to other works of art. What was the function of such compositions? Elizabeth Honig argues that a market scene produced in Antwerp "is in fact a representation not of its ostensible subject but of its beholder's artistic knowledge".[70] Victor Stoichita agrees that just as a painting of an art cabinet was a site for discussions among those who were knowledgeable about art, as Van Haecht shows, some images were intended to spark "*entretiens*" or conversations.[71] Stoichita writes specifically about "pictures within pictures" in such self-aware images. Guided by such theorists as Giorgio Vasari, Karel van Mander, Peter Paul Rubens, collectors and their guests could celebrate their taste and knowledge by gathering before paintings such as Van Balen's to engage in conversations about art. Such discussions no doubt reassured the elite of their own status in society. As Honig notes, "Antwerp's upper crust now aspired to the manners and eventually the status of nobility."[72] In this way, Van Balen's panel, with its many references to Italian art, would have represented a challenge to humanist viewers. But why does he focus on Italian works rather than those from Antwerp, as Van Haecht and Francken had done?

Italy held a multifaceted attraction for Flemish artists and patrons. Rome was a beacon for Catholics, including Van Balen and probably his patron if he or she lived in Antwerp, since after the Spanish regained control of that city, Protestants and Jews were expelled. Furthermore, humanism had deep roots in Antwerp, the city of Erasmus and Rubens. Christopher White has concluded, "So deeply was Rubens imbued with the ideals of the classical world that to write about the artist and humanism is to attempt an assessment of virtually his entire life and art."[73] Antwerp was also a highly literate city, as a major centre of publishing. For the numerous amateur classical scholars living there, Italy represented a hub of learning and culture. Rome had also long been the goal of Flemish painters who wished to study ancient and contemporary works of art. It is not surprising, then, that Van Balen filled his composition with references to Italian art.

In Italy, in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, the Rape of the Sabines was viewed as a heroic, patriotic act.[74] The rape was considered essential to the founding of Roman family life and to the future of the nation. The many Italian images of this subject aestheticize, glorify, and sanitize the event (see figs. 9, 11 & 12). Although men are shown seizing women, they do not use weapons against them, and little blood is spilled. Depictions of sexual intercourse are avoided, yet the artists eroticize the women whose resistance is made clear. They also often suggest or depict the happy ending: eventually the Sabines accepted their assailants as husbands and facilitated peace between the Sabines and Romans. In doing so, Italian artists portray the ideal traits of a wife: chastity and submission to one's husband. But most Italian representations also make clear the harm that the Romans inflicted on women, children, and the elderly.

When Van Balen adopted the theme, he accepted many of the ideas inherent in it. Like so many earlier images of the Rape of the Sabines, his panel sanitizes the story by avoiding the explicit portrayal of sexual intercourse, by minimizing the use of force, and by eroticizing the female victims. He displays both front and back views of the female nude, titillating the viewer by partially concealing the women's bodies with sensual textiles and sheer fabrics. In this way he associates sexual pleasure with violence. Yet he makes clear the vicious nature of the crime through the grasped wrist, dishevelled hair, disarrayed clothing, bleak landscape, and terrified expressions of the women who try to flee or pull away from their assailant. Unlike some earlier artists, Van Balen does not suggest a happy ending, but does clearly show who paid the steep price for the founding of the nation.

Why wasn't there more of a change when the subject moved from Rome to Antwerp? After all, Van Balen was not portraying the founding of his own nation. In fact, Antwerp was under Spanish rule at this time. There is nothing in the painting that explicitly recalls local history, for example, the Sack of Antwerp by Spanish soldiers that occurred when Van Balen was a child. The painter's approach is typical of the southern Netherlands, which under the Habsburgs wished to forget those difficult years.[75] Instead Van Balen and presumably his patron saw themselves as part of an international group of humanists and art lovers, rather than as representatives of a particular city or nation.

In 1869, almost forty years after Belgium was founded as a nation, the Franco-Flemish art historian Alfred Michiels denied that Van Balen had learned anything of significance from Italy:

> How do these studies [in Italy] serve him [Van Balen]? They gave him absolutely nothing, because they didn't change or add to his talent, which continued to reflect like a mirror the calm and precious style of Martin de Vos. Maybe only the country of Virgil and Horace communicated to him a more pronounced taste for mythology and for figures without clothes … Isn't it strange that after having imitated this fashion of the Italian painters, he didn't keep any trace of their style?[76]

Since Belgium seemed to some an artificial creation, because it lacked a common language or a history of independent nationhood and was formed in large part through international diplomacy, rather than citizen uprising, historians attempted to identify unifying factors for the new country in its culture.[77] This tendency has persisted in more recent scholarship, for example, Svetlana Alpers in *The Art of Describing*, argues that Italian and northern artists had diametrically different ways of conceptualizing art.[78]

Nationality has long been an organizing principle in the history of art. Museums often display their collections by country, sometimes even distinguishing each nationality with a different wall colour. Similarly, art historians generally specialize in the art of a particular nation and structure their curriculum according to national schools. Such practices are rooted in the history of the discipline. Giorgio Vasari, often termed the "father of art history", judged the greatest art to be that of his native city-state, Florence, whereas Karel van Mander of Haarlem highlighted the contributions of artists working north of the Alps.[79] Artists, too, contributed to the formation of national identities, for example, during the early years of the Dutch republic, the United States, and Israel.[80] But counteracting these nationalistic forces were others that served to unite patrons, artists, and art historians across political borders. In early modern Europe, aristocrats, Catholics, humanists, and merchants were among those who forged international networks that facilitated the exchange of art objects and ideas. Artists, too, often crossed borders, but even those who stayed home could be exposed to new ideas from abroad if they lived in cities that were centers for international trade.[81] Although many art historical publications have explored the transnational aspects of art, they are still sometimes overlooked today.[82] Nicolas Poussin's *Rape of the Sabines*, for example, illustrates a Roman legend and was painted in Rome, yet the curators of the Metropolitan Museum of Art oversimplify this history by displaying it in a room of French art. Similarly, less famous artists who looked beyond their national borders for inspiration are often dismissed as derivative. Van Balen's *Rape of the Sabines*, by contrast, reveals the complexities and fruitfulness of cultural exchange.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank Abraham Joel for inviting me to study this painting and for his and Christine Göttler's many astute observations. The painting was sold at Christie's, New York, 15 May 1996, lot 9.
2. See Sale, Christie's, New York, 15 May 1996, lot 9. The *Rape of the Sabines* is painted in oil on a panel composed of eight vertical planks. This is not at all unusual for Flemish supports, for which see Jorgen Wadum, "Historical Overview of Panel-making Techniques in the Northern Countries," in *The Structural Conservation of Panel Paintings*, eds. Kathleen Dardes and Andrea Rothe (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 1998), pp. 149-177. The *Rape of the Sabines* is not mentioned in Bettina Werche's recent monograph *Hendrick van Balen (1575-1632): Ein Antwerpener Kabinettbildmaler der Rubenszeit*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).
3. For Van Balen's stylistic development, see Werche, *Hendrick van Balen*, I, especially pp. 44-54.
4. Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen,* 3 vols. (Amsterdam: Arnold Houbraken, 1718), I, p. 82.
5. Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585-1700* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 105.
6. Ria Fabri, "Altarpiece of the cabinetmakers," in *From Quinten Metsijs to Peter Paul Rubens: Masterpieces from the Royal Museum Reunited in the Cathedral*, eds. Ria Fabri and Nico van Hout (Antwerp: The Cathedral, 2009), p. 197.
7. See Werche, *Hendrick van Balen*, I, no. E2, p. 235.
8. See Werche, *Hendrick van Balen,* I, no. A113, pp. 180-181.
9. For this altarpiece, see Fabri, "Altarpiece of the Cabinetmakers," pp. 194-203.
10. Van Balen's painting seems to fit squarely within the context of other late Mannerist painters of the 1620s. Joachim Wtewael's *Moses Striking the Rock*, dated 1624, similarly shows foreground figures in shadow, a background filled with grisaille figures. See James Clifton, L. M. Helmus, and Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., eds., *Pleasure and Piety: the Art of Joachim Wtewael,* exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Gallery, 2015), pp. 168-169.
11. For Van Balen's biography, see Werche, *Hendrick van Balen*, I, pp. 17-20.
12. For the tradition of Flemish artists travelling to Italy, see Nicole Dacos, *Voyage à Rome: les artistes européens au XVIe siècle* (Brussels: Fonds Mercator, 2012); Christopher White, "Rubens and antiquity," in *The Age of Rubens*, ed. Peter C. Sutton, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1993), p. 147.
13. For Van Balen's involvement in the Broederschap van de HH Petrus en Paulus, see Émile Dilis, "La confrérie des Romanistes," *Annales de l'Académie royale d'archéologie de Belgique* 70 (1922): no. 62, p. 356.
14. For the inventory, see Werche, *Hendrik van Balen*, I, pp. 266-272.
15. For the Guild of Romanists, see Dilis, "La confrérie des Romanistes," p. 456.
16. Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 79.
17. See Werche, *Hendrik van Balen*, I, p. 12, and, for Borromeo see David Freedberg, "The Origins and Rise of the Flemish Madonnas in Flower Garlands," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 32 (1981): pp. 116-117.
18. Elizabeth Alice Honig, "The Beholder as Work of Art: a Study in the Location of Value in Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painting," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995): pp. 253-283, especially pp. 267-269; Elizabeth Alice Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 232-233.
19. Erik Larsen, *Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painting* (Freren: Luca Verlag, 1985), p. 62.
20. Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters,* ed. Hessel Miedema, 6 vols. (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994-1999), I, p. 440: "Adam van Oort who is also clever at figures. Likewise Hendrick van Balen." The inscription on the print of Van Balen after Van Dyck's drawing reads "PICTOR ANTV: HVMANORVM FIGVRARVM VETVSTATIS CULTOR" or "Antwerp Painter of human figures [and] admirer of antiquity". For his collaborations, see Freedberg, "Flemish Madonnas," pp. 115-150; Honig, "The Beholder as Work of Art," pp. 253-283; and Anne T. Woollett and Ariane van Suchtelen, eds., *Rubens and Brueghel: A Working Friendship,* exh. cat. (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006).
21. See note 20 for collaborations.
22. There is a small patch of greenery in the lower left. This could have been painted by another artist, perhaps a member of Van Balen's shop.
23. For this narrative, see Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita,* trans. Benjamin O. Foster, 14 vols., 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1976), I, pp. 32-49; Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives,* trans. Bernadotte Perrin, 11 vols., 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1982), I, pp. 125-151; Ovid, *The Art of Love and Other Poems*, trans. J. H. Mozley, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1969), pp. 18-23; Julie Hemker, "Rape and the Founding of Rome," *Helios* 12 (1985): pp. 41-47.
25. Diane Wolfthal, *Images of Rape: The "Heroic" Tradition and its Alternatives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
26. For average size, see Werche, *Hendrik van Balen*, I, p. 51.
27. Werche, *Hendrik van Balen,* I, nos. A52, B1-5, 7, 10, and 12, pp. 153-154, 217-221, 223-224.
28. Werche, *Hendrik van Balen,* I, pp. 208, 209.
29. See, among others, Margaret Carroll, "The Erotics of Absolutism: Rubens and the Mystification of Sexual Violence," in *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History,* eds. Mary Garrard and Norma Broude (New York: Icon Editions, 1992), pp. 138-158; Wolfthal, *Images of Rape*, pp. 7-35.
30. Werche, *Hendrik van Balen*, I, no. A92, pp. 170-171, which measures 42 x 63 cm. The other heroic rape scenes are nos. A90, 91, 93, 105, 113.
31. I would like to thank Christine Göttler for referring me to her excellent website on Ximenez and for many fruitful conversations. See also her "The Ximenez Family in Antwerp, Lisbon, Florence, and the Wider World," http://ximenez.unibe.ch/historical/ accessed 24 July 2015.
32. For the inventory, see Sarah Joan Moran, "The Ximenez-da Vega Inventory: Introduction" at http://ximenez.unibe.ch/inventory/ and her transcription and translation of the inventory, "Inventory of Moveable Marital Property, Made on the Occasion of the Death of Isabel da Vega, Wife of Emmanuel Ximenez, Antwerp, 13-28 June 1617 [Antwerp, Stadsarchief (FelixArchief), N 1489 (1615-1617), fols 1-31]," at http://ximenez.unibe.ch/inventory/reading/ both accessed 24 July 2015.
33. Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, "Classical and neo-Latin texts," http://ximenez.unibe.ch/library/latin/ accessed 24 July 2015.
34. Christine Göttler, "Paintings in the Ximenez house on the Meir," http://ximenez.unibe.ch/material/paintings/ accessed 24 July 2015.
35. Hugo Soly, "Social Relations in Antwerp in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis: 16th-17th Century*, ed. Jan van der Stock (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju, 1993), p. 38.
36. Jeffrey M. Muller, "Private Collections in the Spanish Netherlands: Ownership and Display of Paintings in Domestic Interiors," in *Age of Rubens,* ed. Peter C. Sutton, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1993), p. 200.
37. "Eene schilderye olieverwe op panneel in vergulde lysten Roof van de dochters van Sabina," fol. 30v; Moran, "The Ximenez-da Vega Inventory: Introduction."
38. Veerle de Laet, "Een *Naeckt Kindt, een Naeckt Vrauwcken ende Andere Figueren:* An Analysis of Nude Representations in the Brussels Domestic Setting," in *The Nude and the Norm in the Early Modern Low Countries,* eds. Karolien de Clippel, Katherina van Canteren, and Katlijne van der Stighelen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 117-128.
39. Muller, "Private Collections in the Spanish Netherlands," pp. 202-203.
40. See Muller, "Private Collections in the Spanish Netherlands," p. 202. For other paintings on fireplace mantels, see Hans Vlieghe, "Jan Siberechts, *domestic tasks,* 1671," pp. 338-339 and Steven Jacobs, "Epilogue: Story of an Exhibition," in *Antwerp: Story of a Metropolis,* ed. Van der Stock, p. 138 (discussing Frans Francken II's *The Art Gallery of Sebastian Leerse*).
41. David Jaffé, *Rubens's Massacre of the Innocents: the Thomson Collection at the Art Gallery of Ontario* (Toronto: Skylet Publishing/ The Art Gallery of Ontario, 2009), p. 60.
42. Jaffé, *Ruben's Massacre of the Innocents,* p. 60.
43. John Murray, *Handbook for Travelers in Durham and Northumberland* (London: Murray, 1864), p. 63.
44. "Paris, 1852: *Battle of the Sabines and the Romans*, FRF 1,920; *Rape of the Sabine Women*, FRF 1,505", listed in Pierre Defer, *Catalogue général des ventes publiques de tableaux et estampes*, 2 vols. (Paris: Aubry, Clement, Rapilly, 1863), I, pt. 2, pp. 207-209; "BALEN, Hendrik van, the Elder," *Benezit Dictionary of Artists. Oxford Art Online,* Oxford University Press, accessed 14 September 2015, http://www.oxfordartonline.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/subscriber/article/benezit/B00010688. See also Christie's, London, 6 March 1925, lot 70, oil on copper, 27 ½ x 37 ½ in.
45. Sale, Sotheby's, London, 16 December 1953, lot 124.
46. Wolfthal, *Images of Rape.*
47. Werche, *Hendrik van Balen*, I, p. 267, "1 ontschaeckinge van proserpins op doeck olie verve in lijste" (1 rape of Prosepina on cloth in oils in a frame) and p. 269, "1 ontschakinge van prosarpia olie verve in lijste" (1 rape of Prosepina in oils in a frame).
48. For Europa, see Werche, *Hendrik van Balen*, I, nos. A 90-93, pp. 169-171.
49. Werche, *Hendrik van Balen*, I, nos. A 105 and 113, pp. 177, 180-181.
50. Ger Luijten, "The *Iconography*: Van Dyck's Portraits in Print," in *Anthony van Dyck as a Printmaker*, eds. Carl Depauw et al. (Antwerp: Antwerpen Open; Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1999), pp. 72-217.
51. Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: a Handbook of Sources*, 2nd ed. (London: Harvey Miller, 2010), pp. 126-127.
52. For a list of Mannerist and Baroque images of the Rape of the Sabines, see Andor Pigler, *Barockthemen eine Auswahl von Verzeichnissen zur Ikonographie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), pp. 421-422.
53. The theme is not mentioned, for example, in Nora de Poorter, "Of Olympian Gods, Homeric Heroes and an Antwerp Apelles: Observations on the Function and 'Meaning' of Mythological Themes in the Age of Rubens (1600–1650)," in *Greek Gods and Heroes in the Age of Rubens and Rembrandt*, eds. Peter Schoon and Sander Paarlberg (Athens: National Gallery, 2000), pp. 65-85.
54. Elizabeth McGrath, "Rubens and Ovid," in *The Afterlife of Ovid*, eds. Peter Mack and John North (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2015), p. 168.
55. Peter Paul Rubens, *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres*, eds. and trans. Max Rooses and Charles Ruelens, 6 vols. (Antwerp: Veuve de Backer, 1909), VI, p. 323.
56. McGrath, "Rubens and Ovid," p. 169. Of this painting, McGrath concludes, "Boreas and Orithyia thus serve as another instance of what, doubtless, was to Rubens and many of his contemporaries, a fact of life, or rather of love: that the natural reluctance of modest women may need to be overcome by more than mere words of persuasion." For this quote, see p. 170.
57. Ethan Matt Kavaler, "Peter Paul Rubens's Abduction of the Sabine Women: Violence and Virtue Reconciled," *Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen. Jaarboek* (1987): p. 243; Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives,* trans. John Langhorne and William Langhorne, 6 vols. (London and New York: F. Warne, 1833), I, p. 70.
58. Yael Even, "The Loggia dei Lanzi: A Showcase of Female Subjugation," in *The Expanding Discourse,* eds. Garrard and Broude, pp. 126-137.
59. Kavaler, "Peter Paul Rubens's Abduction of the Sabine Women," p. 247.
60. Kavaler, "Peter Paul Rubens's Abduction of the Sabine Women," pp. 248-250.
61. Kavaler, "Peter Paul Rubens's Abduction of the Sabine Women," p. 256.
62. For versions of the theme by Rubens and his shop, see, among others, Elizabeth McGrath, *Subjects from History* (London: Harvey Miller, 1977); *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard: An Illustrated Catalogue Raisonné of the Work of Peter Paul Rubens Based on the Material Assembled by the Late Dr. Ludwig Burchard in Twenty-Seven Parts Burchard* (Brussels: Arcade Press, 1968-1997) I, pt. 13 (1), figs. 123-124, 126. The best known is in the National Gallery, London.
63. McGrath, *Subjects from History*, p. 120.
64. That Van Balen was paraphrasing poses from Italian sources was first proposed in the auction catalogue of 1996, for which see note 1.
65. David Jaffé and Amanda Bradley, "An Introduction to the Creative Process," in *Rubens: A Master in the Making* (London: National Gallery, 2005), p. 27 n. 25.
66. For smaller versions, see, among others, Hans R. Weihrauch, *Die Bildwerke in Bronze* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1956), pp. 84-87; Simone Speth-Holterhoff, *Les peintre flamands de cabinets d'amateurs au XVIIe siècle* (Brussels: Elsevier, 1957), pp. 111, 129, 137.
67. Julius Held, *Rubens and his Circle: Studies by Julius S. Held,* eds. Anne W. Lowenthal, David Rosand, and John Walsh, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 43. This is a reprint of an article first published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1957.
68. For that statue, see Bober, *Renaissance Artists*, pp. 179-180.
69. Anne Connor, "Inventio and the Love for a City: The 'Prezionsenwände' of Frans Francken II in Antwerp" (M.A. diss. Arizona State University, 2004), pp. 67, 68.
70. Connor, *Inventio and the Love for a City*, p. 68.
71. Honig, *Painting and the Market*, p. 216.
72. Victor Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting,* trans. Anne-Marie Glasheen (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
73. Honig, *Painting and the Market*, p. 121.
74. White, "Rubens and Antiquity," p. 147.
75. See Wolfthal, *Images of Rape.*
76. Jasper van der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).
77. My translation. See Alfred Michiels, *Histoire de la peinture flamande depuis ses débuts jusqu'en 1864*, 10 vols. (Paris: Librairie Internationale, 1869), VII, pp. 256, 257: "A quoi ces études lui servirent-elles? Absolument à rien, car elles ne modifièrent et n'accrurent pas son talent, qui continua de refléter comme un miroir le style calme et précieux de Martin de Vos. Peut-être seulement la patrie de Virgile et d'Horace lui communiqua-t-elle un goût plus prononcé pour la mythologie et pour les figures sans vêtements…N'est-il pas estrange qu'après avoir imité de cette façon les peintres italiens, il n'ait gardé aucune trace de leur manière."
78. See Lisa Deam, "Flemish versus Netherlandish: A Discourse of Nationalism," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1995): p. 6.
79. Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).
80. See Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*; Giorgio Vasari, *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari,* ed. Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1973).
81. The literature on the construction of a national identity is voluminous. See, among others, Mariët Westermann, *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic 1585-1718* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1996), pp. 99-129; Alec Mishory, *Visual Israeliness* (Ra'ananah: ha-Universitah ha-petuḥah, 2007); William H. Truettner and Nancy K. Anderson, *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1991). I would like to thank Leo Costello for the last reference.
82. Peter Burke, "Hosts and Guests: A General View of Minorities in the Cultural Life of Europe," in *Minorities in Western European Cities (Sixteenth-Twentieth Centuries),* eds. Hugo Soly and Alfons K. L. Thijs (Brussels: Brepols, 1995), pp. 43-54.
83. To name just a few: Jay A. Levenson, ed., *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991); Claire Farago, ed., *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), Eddy de Jongh, "Real Dutch and not-so real Dutch Art: Some Nationalistic Views of Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Painting," *Simiolus* 20 (1990/1991): pp. 197-206; Deam, "Flemish versus Netherlandish," pp. 1-33.

Fig. 1 / Louis-Léopold Boilly, *The Visit Returned*, 1789, oil on canvas, 45.8 x 56 cm, London, The Wallace Collection.

Boilly at the Wallace Collection[1]

YURIKO JACKALL & NICOLE RYDER

The 2018 conservation treatment of the Wallace Collection's three paintings by the French artist Louis-Léopold Boilly (1761-1845) occasioned a dramatic visual rehabilitation (figs. 1, 2 & 3). The canvases emerged, jewel-toned, from under thick, obscuring layers of yellowed varnish, making it possible to appreciate many of their finer details for the first time in decades. Limited technical analysis was undertaken in concert with a campaign of close looking at other works by Boilly.[2] These studies were initially intended to facilitate what proved to be a relatively difficult conservation treatment due to the high degree of solubility of the artist's paint layers.[3] But the process also provided the authors with a valuable opportunity to consider the working practice of one of the most versatile and commercially savvy artists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is in order to add these observations to the growing body of information on eighteenth-century French painting technique and to update, where possible, the relevant entries in the Wallace Collection's *Catalogue of French Paintings* that this article is conceived.[4]

Indeed, little has been said of the technical decisions or materials that underlay Boilly's immense productivity. This is not to imply that he has been overlooked by scholars. His oeuvre has been celebrated in monographic exhibitions in France, the United States, and the United Kingdom.[5] And the sheer volume of his accomplishment is detailed in the two-volume catalogue raisonné that encompasses some 2,853 paintings, small-format portraits, drawings and prints.[6] This publication demonstrates the degree to which Boilly's practice was remarkably versatile, able to change direction at a moment's notice. When the tongue-in-cheek depictions of bourgeois love affairs that were his initial bread and butter were denounced on moral grounds to Robespierre's puritanical Committee of Public Safety in 1794, Boilly pivoted seamlessly to patriotic celebrations of the newly democratic Republic and vignettes of urban life unfolding on Paris's busy boulevards.[7] Later, he forged new genres: *trompe l'oeil* still lifes designed to deceive the eye and small-scale, proto-photographic portraits made with the commercial art market firmly in mind.

But how was this fluidity sustained in practice? What practical considerations – cost of materials, choice of supports, need for efficiency – shaped his manner of working? Conducted through the highly specific prism of the Hertford-Wallace pictures, the present study seeks to illuminate at least some of those considerations during a circumscribed but important period of Boilly's life: 1789 to ca. 1795 when the art market itself was reverberating from the financial turmoil triggered by the demise of the *ancien régime*.[8]

WORKING FROM THE GROUND UP: *THE VISIT RETURNED*

Chronologically the earliest of the Wallace Collection's three pictures by Boilly, *The Visit Returned,* dates to 1789 (see fig. 1). Along with *The Sorrows of Love* (see fig. 2), it belonged to a group of four paintings commissioned by Alexandre Tulle, Marquis de Villefranche for his friend Joseph François Calvet de Lapalun, a wealthy lawyer and former musketeer from Avignon.[9]

Fig. 2 / Louis-Léopold Boilly, *The Sorrows of Love*, 1790, oil on canvas, 46 x 55.7 cm, London, The Wallace Collection.

Fig. 3 / Louis-Léopold Boilly, *The Dead Mouse*, oil on canvas, 41.2 x 32.6 cm, London, The Wallace Collection.

The latter went on to purchase an additional seven works directly from the artist. Both Tulle and Calvet de Lapalun actively dictated the subjects they wished to see in paint, providing Boilly with explicit instructions to this effect.[10] The result was a suite of eleven paintings meditating upon the manifold pleasures and pitfalls of romance.

The dimensions of *The Visit* and *The Sorrows of Love* conform to the French standard size "10". The use of standard sized canvases in eighteenth-century Paris has only recently begun to be noted in art-historical literature. However, it was clearly a widespread phenomenon, particularly from the middle part of the century onwards when artists appear to have converted increasingly to using standard-sized canvases, which were attractive for offering convenience at a reasonable price.[11] Boilly appears to have used standard-sized formats regularly. His *Dead Mouse* (see fig. 3), probably made in ca. 1795-1796, corresponds to the French size "6". The little portraits he made from 1800 onwards are on standard size "1" canvases, with frames to match. Working on these commercially-sized supports, Boilly standardized the visual appearances of the portraits themselves – the frontally-facing sitters are, almost without exception, shown cropped to the shoulders looking solemnly out at the viewer. Many of these small paintings are still on their original expandable stretchers (fig. 4).[12]

By regularizing his portraits in this fashion, Boilly would have been able to adhere to a clearly fixed budget while meeting clients' expectations as to the scale and look of his works.[13] Similarly, it is logical that he would have opted to employ standardized supports in his earlier commission for Calvet de Lapalun: this was a complex, multi-work production in which standardization of sizes would naturally have promoted a sense of visual uniformity while streamlining costs for materials and framing. Each of the Calvet de Lapalun paintings were priced at about 300 francs plus twenty francs for the frame.[14] Hidden fees for labour – such as those for the studio assistants who would historically take on the work of cutting and stretching canvases – would also have been eliminated in this manner.

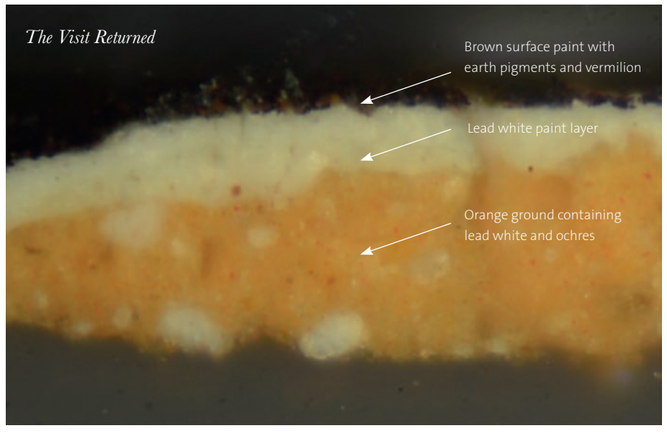
The question of whether standard-sized canvases were primed – and not simply cut and stretched – in the colourman's shop also bears consideration. Cross-sectional analysis of *The Visit* and *The Sorrows of Love* suggests that both canvases were prepared with a reddish-orange lower ground containing lead white and ochres in oil covered by a second, thinner layer predominantly comprised of lead white paint (fig. 5).

Fig. 4 / Original stretchers in Boilly portraits as follows: *Portrait of a Young Boy Wearing the Décoration du Lys* (top left); *Portrait of Isaac Cox Barnet* (top right); *Portrait of a Young Girl in a Grey Shift* (bottom left).

Fig. 5 / Cross-sections taken by Ryder and analyzed by Chaplin in reflected white light at x200. The samples were also examined under UV light and FTIR analysis was carried out to look at the possible varnish layers.

French art treatises of the period uniformly recommend a double ground of a red lower layer underneath a white or grey second layer.[15] It is thus likely that standard-sized canvases were sold already prepared according to these specifications. However, some artists also appear to have made their own preparations, particularly when they needed specific formats that were not commercially available. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, for instance, seems to have used self-prepared canvases for his large-scale decorative ensembles in addition to pre-primed supports. In some cases, he may have tailored such supports to his own needs with the application of *imprimatura* colour washes.[16]

Given the appearance of the preparations for *The Visit* and *The Sorrows of Love*, it is worth wondering



whether Boilly may not have played some role in their confection, perhaps dictating instructions to his suppliers. The priming is clearly intended to enhance the final results. The white ground shining through the paint surface lends a spot-lit luminosity to the scenes, particularly in the more translucent passages. Moreover, the relative thickness of the priming preparation in comparison with the visible paint surface eliminates the appearance of canvas weave and texture, creating a smooth, flat working surface similar to a prepared panel. Boilly thus used a surface intended to showcase his technique, one that channels the refined precision of the Dutch *finschilders* whose work he had ample opportunity to study during his upbringing in northern France. The background of *The Visit* is thinly painted with smooth brown tones interposed with linear architectural motifs. These sombre tones are contrasted with the bright pastels used to depict the figures where the application of creamy paint evokes a wide range of fabrics and textures, from fur and silk satin to transparent muslin, stiff taffeta, and lush velvet.

The use of a preparation evoking the surface of a panel may hint at the importance Boilly attached to the commission for Calvet de Lapalun. As a counterpoint, *The Dead Mouse*, made some years later, appears to have a slightly different lead white ground preparation, one that has now resulted in the eruption of abundant tiny craters probably caused by the formation of lead soaps.[17] While the only definite conclusion to be derived from this observation is that the preparations differ in some fashion, it is a fact that *The Dead Mouse* does not quite approach the exquisite refinement of the Calvet de Lapalun commissions.[18]

Boilly's preparation may belie an awareness (whether on the part of the preparing colourman or the artist himself) of the artists dominating the art market. The sought-after society portraitist Élisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun began to paint on wooden panels regularly following a visit to Flanders in 1782, with the result that many of her major works, including *Madame de Perregaux* (London, The Wallace Collection), are painted on this support.[19] Perhaps even more relevant is the fact that Jean-Baptiste Greuze, the most expensive artist of his day, also used panel with regularity from the early 1780s onwards.[20] At the same time, Boilly's version of a panel-like preparation betrays a concern for expense. Panel was an expensive support; we must admire the way in which this preparation managed to recreate its effect, presumably at a fraction of the cost.

CITATIONS: *THE SORROWS OF LOVE*

Boilly regularly looked at the work of earlier artists, emulating his models with enthusiasm. Not only did he reproduce the polished technique of artists such as Gerrit Dou and Frans van Mieris but he borrowed themes from their works. *The Dead Mouse,* for instance, may be read as an allegory of innocence in peril, a subject popular in Dutch genre scenes. He also copied, expressly lifting passages, figures, and attitudes from contemporary sources. In subject, spirit, and composition, *Les Coeurs reconnaissants* (Wiltshire, The Ramsbury Manor Foundation) of 1790 recalls Greuze's *Dame de Charité* (Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts), a painting that had famously moved the Parisian public in 1775 and remained at the forefront of visual culture thanks to widely circulated engravings.[21] Another source of inspiration was Antoine Watteau whose canon of female figures with their triangular-shaped heads and dainty extremities seems to have found an outlet in Boilly's early work.

As Boilly's birthplace, Lille, is not far from Watteau's hometown of Valenciennes, it is possible that regional pride informed this instance of emulation. And even more notable is Boilly's play with statues in his compositions, a conceit that recalls Watteau's habit of staging complex relationships between sculpture and people in his own work.[22] It was not unusual for portraitists to refer to classical statuary in order to fill out or enhance aspects of their compositions. Nor was it atypical for genre painters to incorporate statues into their works, often as a sly comment upon some amorous theme. Artists such as Gabriel Metsu and – closer to Boilly's own country and era – Joseph-Marie Vien, Hubert Robert, or Fragonard all did so frequently. However, Watteau went further than most in this regard, even inventing statues, presumably to ensure that his stone figures could adequately comment upon their human counterparts. Thus, the sleeping nymph who introduces a flicker of eroticism into the civilized group disporting themselves in the lower right

Fig. 6 / Augustin Pajou, *Psyche Abandoned*, 1790, marble, 177 x 86 x 86 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Fig. 7 / Detail, *The Sorrows of Love* (belt-buckle of the swooning protagonist; the crouching figure appears in the left medallion).

of *Les Champs Elisées* (London, The Wallace Collection) is drawn from Watteau's own *Jupiter and Antiope* (Paris, Musée du Louvre) of a few years prior.

Statues play a similar role in Boilly's *Sorrows of Love*. Painted as part of the initial four works destined for Calvet de Lapalun, this is a dramatic composition in which love has gone wrong. An unfortunate damsel swoons as her portrait and a sealed letter are presented to her while a manservant, the likely bearer of these items, speedily exits the scene. On the right-hand side of the painting, the small female figure perched on the mantlepiece beside the clock resembles *Psyche*, the plaster model shown at the Salon of 1761 by Étienne-Maurice Falconet as a pendant to his *Menacing Cupid* and subsequently used as a model for the Sèvres Manufactory.[23] This clever allusion to Psyche – who like the subject of Boilly's painting, was abandoned – is repeated in the pose of the swooning protagonist. She flings her arm across her chest in a manner recalling the marble sculpture by Augustin Pajou, for which a plaster model was exhibited at the Salon of 1785 (fig. 6).

Cleaning has suggested a third allusion to Psyche in the previously invisible detail of a nude hidden at the centre of the composition in the woman's belt buckle (fig. 7). It is not unusual to find a classical motif embedded within such an accessory. Boilly appears to have reproduced with great precision the contemporary vogue for belts worn high on the waist, made of cut steel with Jasperware medallions, into which were inserted depictions of classical themes.[24] Here, however, the figure in the buckle may be a private joke, made for the delectation of those who knew where to look for it. This tiny figure, created with a few brushstrokes and measuring just 5 mm, resembles a naked woman in the pose of the *Crouching Venus* of which several examples were known in the eighteenth century.[25] But it also curiously resembles another figure of a Psyche, this time by the rising leader of the French school: Jacques-Louis David (fig. 8).

Fig. 8 / Jacques-Louis David, *Psyche Abandoned*, ca. 1795, oil on canvas, 80 x 63 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 9 / Jacques-Louis David, Study after *Crouching Venus* (f. 8r from Album David Jacques-Louis-1, RF 4506, 13), drawing, 18.9 x 13.3 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des arts graphiques.

Fig. 10 / Louis-Léopold Boilly, *La Peur enfantine*, black chalk and stumping, heightened with white chalk and touches of red chalk, 58.5 x 44.7 cm, Private Collection.

His *Psyche Abandoned* is generally dated to ca. 1795, making it too late to serve as a reference for Boilly. However, at several reprises throughout his career, David associated *Psyche Abandoned* with his *Vestal* (Private Collection), a work that seems indisputably to have been completed prior to 1789.[26] It has thus been suggested that David conceived both pictures prior to the Revolution, finishing the *Vestal* and returning to the figure of *Psyche* at a later period.[27]

David's engagement with the formal aspects of this composition may indeed predate the Revolution, since he made a study after *Crouching Venus* (fig. 9) in a carnet dated to his return to Rome (1784-1785) to work on the *Oath of the Horatii*.[28] Could Boilly have seen some sort of untraced, early study for David's desperate heroine? His good relations with David in ca. 1808-1810 – when he requested and received permission to study the painting universally known as *Le Sacre* or *The Coronation of the Emperor and Empress* (Paris, Musée du Louvre) – are well established.[29] But there would have been earlier opportunities for Boilly to cross paths with the artist who, even in the final days of the *ancien régime*, was widely acknowledged as the leader of the French school. Both were averred and active members of Paris's Freemasonic milieu.[30] If so, it would be entirely in keeping with Boilly's enterprising habit of citation to have wittily referenced David's crouching and wild-eyed *Psyche* in his own representation of contemporary abandonment.

BOILLY, DRAUGHTSMAN: *THE DEAD MOUSE*

Boilly's conceptual interest in the melding of artistic techniques and media is amply demonstrated in his *trompe l'oeil* compositions, in which paint is seamlessly made to evoke the look and texture of paper or crayon or grisaille. It is equally evident that he prized his practice of draughtsmanship on its own terms.[31] His highly finished, carefully planned drawings fetched high prices on the art market and were engraved. He also made compositional studies for paintings. For instance, John Hallam published a compositional sketch made by Boilly for Calvet de Lapalun, a pen and ink line drawing for *The Improvised Concert* (Saint-Omer, Musée de l'Hôtel Sandelin).[32]

However, the relationship between Boilly's drawings and paintings is frequently confused precisely because so many of his sheets are highly finished and larger than his paintings, implying that they cannot be easily categorized as preparatory sheets. For instance, *The Dead Mouse* may be seen in conjunction with two related sheets, both of which feature the same elegantly dressed mother and frightened child. In *La Peur enfantine,* the pair is seen in a loosely rendered outdoor setting (fig. 10). And in *L'Effroi* they are shown indoors (fig 11).[33] Should *The Dead Mouse* be considered a final step in a traditional working process beginning with these two drawings? Each appears to function as an independent work of art in its own right. However, in light of the fact that the mother and child travel from one composition to the next, it is reasonable to look for a certain logic governing their (re)appearance. What follows is a proposal for an order behind the repetition of this motif.

An infrared reflectogram of *The Dead Mouse* shows extensive underdrawing throughout (fig. 12). This drawing resembles the outlined sketch for *The Improvised Concert*. Ruled lines delineate architectural elements such as the window, and fine, lightly sketched lines outline parts of the figures such as the young boy's back.[34] Once Boilly drew in the placement for fundamental elements directly atop the prepared white surface, he seems to have augmented his underdrawing with a broader, liquid medium applied with a brush. Signs of this technique are particularly apparent in the figures, where it adds a sense of contour and modelling.[35]

Subsequently Boilly seems to have followed a fairly straightforward order of operations. First, he painted in the architectural background. Then he painted primary subject matter – the figures and other compositional elements such as the chair – into areas already left in reserve. He made several final adjustments. For instance, he painted a curtain across the chair. The cat is also painted directly onto the background suggesting that it was not part of the original plan. Moreover, as the infrared reflectogram makes clear, he also changed the position of the feline's head as he worked.

The fact that the cat was a late addition implies that the mouse – the source of the little boy's fear – was also conceived further into the process. And indeed, while the arm and hand of the figure holding the mouse were painted in an area of reserve, some of the fingers extend over the background, suggesting that Boilly was still working out the placement of the arm when he began. Perhaps Boilly envisaged the original source of fright to be the child who leans abruptly into the window to the discomfort of his younger sibling. He may have decided mid-course that this scenario was not sufficiently convincing and chosen to add the mouse and cat.

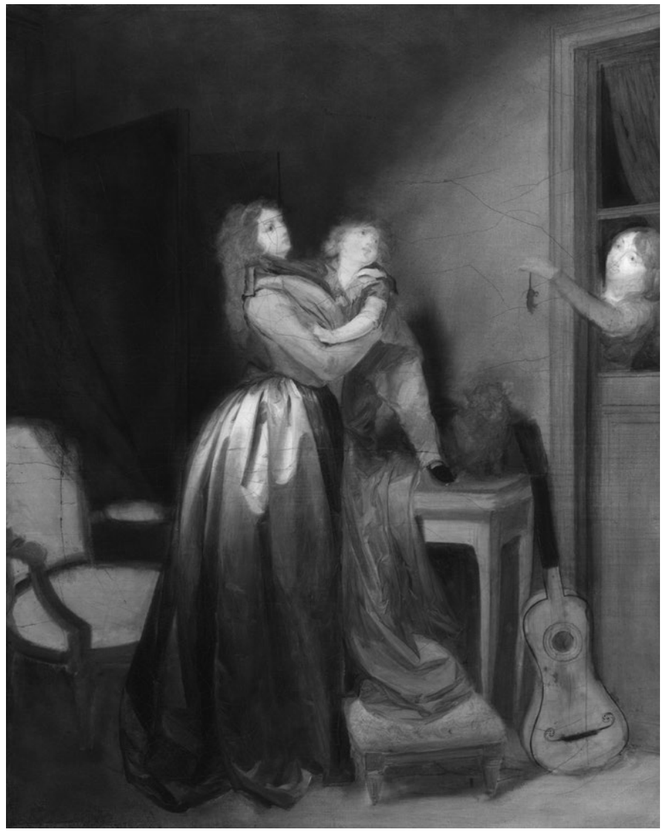


Fig. 11 / Louis-Léopold Boilly, *L'Effroi*, black chalk and stumping, heightened with white chalk, 58.7 x 42.8 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 12 / Infrared reflectogram, *The Dead Mouse* taken by Tager Stonor Richardson using an OSIRIS camera with an InGaAs array sensor, operational wavelength 0.9-1.7 µm.

This makes sense in the context of the drawings in which both animals are absent. In *La Peur enfantine* the little boy appears to react to some unseen element in the natural landscape. Overall it should be said that this drawing is characterized by a more spontaneous atmosphere than either *The Dead Mouse* or *L'Effroi.* The mother is simply dressed and the little boy appears to have just climbed onto the low crumbling stone bench on which he stands.[36] In contrast *L'Effroi* is a more staged composition. The mother's dress and coiffure recall the magnificent jacket and formal hairdo of *The Dead Mouse.* As in the painting, the table on which the little boy stands is incongruously high. Looking at the three compositions as a group, it is arguable that Boilly began with the more naturalistic *Peur enfantine*, then transported his pairing indoors in *The Dead Mouse* – where he was obliged to invent a new reason for the boy's fright. Perhaps ultimately he felt that the composition could be made even more effective. In *L'Effroi* he kept the mother and child, but – in keeping with the progressive theatricality of these three compositions – juxtaposed them with the striking addition of the lively little monkey.

Admittedly these conjectures remain impossible to prove barring in-depth examination of all three works. But what can be said is this: if Boilly relied upon Watteau for visual inspiration, he also appears to have modelled certain aspects of his working process on the example set by the Valenciennes master. His manner of drawing appears for all intents and purposes to conform to the "cut and paste" technique perfected by Watteau in which figural groups and motifs are studied on the page, then migrate from one canvas to another.

There remains much to be said about Boilly and his painterly process. The issues touched lightly upon here – commercialization of supports, use of citations, and repetition of motifs – show how richly deserving Boilly's oeuvre is of further technical examination, one that encompasses the entirety of his production, accounting for the many periods he traversed and the numerous genres he attempted. But what emerges from this summary look at the three paintings in the Wallace Collection is that – even at a relatively early stage in his career – Boilly was unquestionably an artist whose practice and instincts set him on the cusp of modernity.

NOTES

1. We are grateful to Étienne Bréton and Pascal Zuber, authors of the recently-published catalogue raisonné of Boilly's oeuvre, who funded the conservation of the Wallace Collection's three paintings and provided invaluable advice along the course of this research. Xavier Bray, Director of the Wallace Collection, graciously supported this project throughout, offering helpful feedback and pithy suggestions at key moments. For their advice and assistance in various matters, it is also a pleasure to thank Paul Ackroyd, Philippe Bordes, Tracey Chaplin, Trevor Cumine, Will Elliott, Poppy Harvey-Jones, Helen Jacobsen, Richard Mansell-Jones, Susan North, Clare Phillips, Alan Salz, Perrin Stein, Catrin Treadwell, Francesca Whitlum-Cooper, Tager Stonor Richardson, and those who wish to remain anonymous.
2. Infrared reflectography was performed on all three paintings. The external works studied visually over the course of this project were: the ensemble of twenty-one paintings and drawings exhibited at the National Gallery, London during the run of *Boilly: Painter of Parisian Life, Vaccination Scene* (Wellcome Collection, London), and *La Jarretière* (ca. 1789-1793; courtesy of Richard Green, London). In addition, *Portrait of a Young Boy Wearing the Décoration du Lys* (1814; courtesy of Colnaghi Gallery, London), *Isaac Cox Barnet* (ca. 1831, Private Collection), and *Portrait of a Young Girl in a Grey Shift* (n.d., Private Collection) were studied and the latter two conserved in Ryder's studio.
   Portrait of a Young Girl in a Grey Shift is reproduced in Susan L. Siegfried, *The Art of Louis-Léopold Boilly, Modern Life in Napoleonic France*, exh. cat. (Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum; Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1995), p. 120, fig. 94.
3. The Wallace Collection's paintings are catalogued in Étienne Bréton and Pascal Zuber, *Boilly. Le Peintre de la Société Parsienne de Louis XVI à Louis-Philippe*. 2 vols (Paris : Arthena, 2019), II, 66 P, 99P, and 313P. It is possible that Boilly used local intermediary varnishing layers during his painting process along the lines of the technique advocated by Jean-Baptiste Oudry earlier in the eighteenth century; see Michael Swicklik, "French Painting and the Use of Varnish, 1750-1900," *Conservation Research. Studies in the History of Art* 41 (1993): pp. 157-171. This may explain some of the solubility issues encountered during treatment.
4. John Ingamells, *The Wallace Collection Catalogue of Pictures, III: French before 1815* (London: Wallace Collection, 1989), pp. 24-29. The three paintings at the Wallace Collection were acquired in the nineteenth century by the 4th Marquess of Hertford whose collection once encompassed an additional twelve paintings and three drawings by Boilly.
5. See notably Siegfried, *The Art of Louis-Léopold Boilly*; Annie Scottez-De Wambrechies and Florence Raymond, *Boilly (1761-1845)*, exh. cat. (Lille: Palais des Beaux-Arts, 2011-2012); Francesca Whitlum-Cooper, *Boilly, Scenes of Parisian Life* (London: National Gallery, 2019).
6. The Wallace Collection's paintings are catalogued in Étienne Bréton and Pascal Zuber, *Boilly. Le Peintre de la Société Parsienne de Louis XVI à Louis-Philippe*. 2 vols (Paris : Arthena, 2019), II, 66 P, 99P, and 313P. We are grateful to Bréton and Zuber for sharing with us their entries on the Wallace Collection paintings prior to publication.
7. See John Stephen Hallam, "The Two Manners of Louis-Léopold Boilly and French Genre Painting in Transition," *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): pp. 618-663.
8. The others are now widely dispersed, finding new homes in institutions such as the Norton Simon Museum in southern California and notable private collections.
9. The remaining two paintings from this initial group are *La Visite rendue* (Saint-Omer, Musée de l'Hôtel Sandelin) and *Les quatre âges de la vie* (untraced). The commission was studied in detail, first by John Hallam, "Boilly et Calvet de Lapalun, ou la sensibilité chez le peintre et l'amateur," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1984): pp. 177-192 and subsequently by Christoph Martin Vogtherr in Scottez De-Wambrechies and Raymond, *Boilly*, pp. 103-107.
10. Hallam, "Boilly et Calvet de Lapalun," pp. 189-191, published the original list or catalogue of paintings made by Calvet de Lapalun as well as his detailed instructions for some of the works.
11. See Yuriko Jackall, *Fragonard: The Fantasy Figures*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2017), pp. 14-17. Artists such as Hubert Robert charged with producing paintings that needed to conform to specific formats, such as decorative ensembles designed to fit into panelling, gilding or other wall treatments continued to size and stretch their own canvases.
12. Visual study was made of four little stretchers for small-sized portraits. On this basis, it seems that the design alters little over the years. All have expandable corner joints with miniature stretcher keys, and a horizontal central bar with a variation on dovetail joints into the side bars and deep chamfers along the edges. On a stretcher of this size the central bar does not have an obvious structural function, suggesting that its presence served a separate purpose. Perhaps this was one connected with Boilly's working methods: it may have enabled the portraits to be handled when wet without disturbing the thin smooth paint, or allowed them to be fixed or tied to a structure while they were being painted or while they were drying. Siegfried provides an illuminating discussion of the formal aspects of these portraits: *The Art of Louis-Léopold Boilly*, p. 118.
13. Many of the small portraits bear their original frames which Boilly included with the portrait. Henry Harisse cites receipts indicating that these little works were priced at 120 francs each in *L.L. Boilly, peintre, dessinateur et lithographe. Sa vie et son oeuvre, 1761-1845. Étude suivie d'une description de treize-cent soixante tableaux, portraits, dessins et lithographes de cet artiste* (Paris: Société de propagation des livres d'art, 1898).
14. Hallam, "Boilly et Calvet de Lapalun," pp. 187 and 188 n. 22.
15. Pascal Labreuche, *Paris, capitale de la toile à peindre* (Paris: CTHS-INHA, 2015), p. 50.
16. Jackall, *Fragonard*, p. 15.
17. This observation was not confirmed by paint analysis.
18. Examination of Boilly's paintings shows that the canvas used ranges from a very open weave to a more tightly woven, better quality product. It is likely Boilly was buying ready primed canvas, but it is not possible to tell if he bought the stretchers with the canvas attached or whether this was done in the studio. A single sample was taken from the edges of four paintings to characterize the ground preparations: *The Visit*, *The Sorrows of Love* and the *Portrait of Isaac Cox Barnet* have a double ground composed of a lower reddish-orange layer followed by an off-white layer, but one portrait – *Young Girl in a Grey Shift* – has a single off-white ground. It would be interesting to chart shifts in Boilly's materials more systematically to see whether there is any correlation between tumultuous political events such as the Revolution or the Napoleonic blockade (when good materials would have been less readily available), and his technical choices.
19. Joseph Baillio, "Identification de quelques portraits d'anonymes de Vigée Le Brun aux États-Unis," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 96 (1980): pp. 159-168.
20. Yuriko Jackall, "Les têtes d'expression du peintre Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805)," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Université Lyon 2, 2014), I, pp. 249-252.
21. See Hallam, "Boilly et Calvet de Lapalun," p. 620.
22. See Calvin Seerveld, "Telltale statues in Watteau's Paintings," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 14 (1980-1981): pp. 151-180.
23. Falconet's *Amour Menaçant* makes an appearance in another Calvet de Lapalun picture, *Ce qui allume l'amour l'éteint ou la jeune philosophe* (Saint-Omer, Musée de l'Hôtel Sandelin).
24. In an e-mail message to Nicole Ryder of 1 October 2018, Clare Phillips gave several examples in the collections of the Victoria & Albert Museum. See for instance the Wedgwood buckle in which a jasper medallion of ca. 1790-1800, depicting classical figures, is mounted on cut steel (inv. 414:1295-1885). See also Diana Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain 1066-1837: A Documentary, Social, Literary, and Artistic Survey* (Norwich: Michael Russell Publishing, Ltd, 2000), p. 332, which refers to the late eighteenth-century vogue for clasps. She cites the *Lady's Monthly Museum* for July 1801 reporting on the fashion for yellow and white muslin dresses belted with one gem in front and two behind. Wedgwood buckles were popular in late eighteenth-century France and appear in portraiture such as Vigée Le Brun's *Madame d'Aguesseau de Fresnes* of 1789 (Washington, National Gallery of Art).
25. Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 321-323.
26. Antoine Schnapper, "Après l'exposition David. La 'Psyché' retrouvée," *Revue de L'Art* 91 (1991): pp. 60-67.
27. Guillaume Faroult in Guillaume Faroult, Christophe Léribault, and Guilhem Scherf, *L'Antiquité Rêvée: Innovations et Résistances au XVIIIe Siècle*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2010-2011), pp. 460-463.
28. See Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat, *Jacques-Louis David. Catalogue raisonné des dessins*, 2 vols. (Milan: Leonardo Arte, 2002) II, p. 894 (no. 1291). The authors suggest that David studied after the version of the statue then in the Villa Medici, Rome (now conserved in the Uffizi, Florence under inv. 1914, no. 188).
29. Their exchanges are published by Gary Tinterow and Asher Ethan Miller, "The Public Viewing David's 'Coronation' at the Louvre, 1810," in *The Wrightsman Pictures*, ed. Everett Fahy (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), pp. 282-288.
30. Claire Stoullig and Frédérique Thomas-Maurin, *Une fraternité dans l'histoire: les artistes et la franc-maçonnerie au XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, exh. cat. (Besançon: Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, 2005-2006), pp. 42-43. The authors publish a drawing by Boilly showing sixteen portraits of artists, ten of whom were closely involved with Freemasonry.
31. Philippe Bordes has called for closer consideration of Boilly's drawings and the way in which they relate to the paintings in "Review: Boilly. Lille," *Burlington Magazine* 154 (2012): pp. 139-140. The new catalogue raisonné contains much new information permitting a useful discussion of the interconnectedness of paintings and drawings in Boilly's oeuvre. See in particular Bréton and Zuber, *Boilly*, I, pp. 187-197.
32. See Hallam, "Boilly et Calvet de Lapalun," p. 181, fig. 5.
33. Neither of these are mentioned in Ingamells, *Wallace Collection*, pp. 25-26.
34. There may be other lines that are not apparent. Boilly may have relied upon a brown or iron gall ink, materials which are usually transparent in infrared. Ryder also identified ruled scoring marks in the floor of the composition of *The Sorrows of Love*.
35. Based upon visual examination, his small portraits *Portrait of a Young Boy Wearing the Décoration du Lys* and *Portrait of a Young Girl in a Grey Shift* seem to have some brown under modelling as well.
36. The costume, hairstyle, and overall sense of spontaneity on offer in this drawing is repeated in the painting known as *The Young Mother* (Christie's, New York, 28 January 2009, lot 93). This work is catalogued in Bréton and Zuber, *Boilly*, II, as 312P. See also the composition listed under 311P. The children in this painting are not posed like the ones in *The Dead Mouse* but they may be the same models.

The politics of masterpieces: the failed attempt to purchase Rembrandt's *The Mill* for the National Gallery

BARBARA PEZZINI

Fig. 1 / Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Mill*, 1645/1648, oil on canvas, 87.6 x 105.6 cm, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.

The first decades of the twentieth century in Britain have been described as a time when "treasures depart"; that is, when swathes of Old Master paintings left the country to be purchased by wealthy American collectors.[1] This phenomenon is often explained by the spiralling prices of works of art and the consequent inability of British buyers – especially cash-deprived public collections – to afford world-class masterpieces. Art dealers have also been held responsible for this situation, as they, so the story goes, did not hesitate to create thriving businesses by selling pictures they purchased in the domestic market beyond the national borders. In this narrative, the desire for financial gain and a lack of scruples were the driving forces. However, when analyzed at close range, the stories of these "endangered treasures" show a much more nuanced reality: one which presents a complex equilibrium between sellers and dealers, and between private and public buyers.

Of the three important works which were offered to London's National Gallery – Diego Velázquez's *Rokeby Venus* in 1905, Hans Holbein's *Christina of Denmark* in 1909, and Rembrandt's *The Mill* in 1911 (fig. 1; now Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art) – much more attention has focused on the first two sales, both of which resulted in a National Gallery acquisition, whereas the third transaction, which concluded with a sale to the United States, has been, up until now, less investigated. Yet the sale of *The Mill*, further elucidated by new documents published in this article, illustrates another distinctive case of such nuanced reality. The episode shows, firstly, that price was only one variable within a complex equation in which social and political circumstances played an equally important role; and secondly, the art dealer's role could be supportive as well as disruptive.

The sale of *The Mill* was concluded in a relatively short time: the purchase was first announced in February 1911, and by mid-April of the same year the painting had already reached its new owner, Peter Arrell Browne Widener, in Philadelphia.[2] Esmée Quodbach, in her excellent reconstruction of the Widener Collection, has briefly recounted this sale, defining it as "one of the most controversial in the art trade". Nevertheless, the detailed history of the sale and the political background, that arguably played a fundamental role and likely caused the loss of this painting for Britain, has so far been unexplored.[3]

The Mill, attributed to Rembrandt since at least 1723, came to Britain from the illustrious Orléans Collection and had been in the possession of a long-standing British aristocratic family since 1824, when it was reportedly bought for £840.[4] *The Mill* owed much of its nineteenth-century fame to its subject matter, considered at the time to be a romantic landscape.[5] The picture had been often exhibited and written about in the course of the nineteenth century and praised as one of Rembrandt's most important works.[6] It had an equal impact on artistic practice, inspiring British painters such as J. M. W. Turner and John Constable (fig. 2).

The owner of *The Mill* in 1911, Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 5th Marquess of Lansdowne (fig. 3), was an important politician, a National Gallery trustee, as well as a major landowner and art collector.[7] The majority of his paintings was displayed in his principal country residence, Bowood in Wiltshire, but notable works of art adorned his other properties, including his London mansion, Lansdowne House. Indeed, Lansdowne's works of art were many: he came from a family of collectors and possessed an exceptional, although somewhat uneven, art collection. When the Lansdowne pictures were catalogued in 1897, the collection included 363 eclectic works. These were principally by Old Masters, such as Murillo, Sebastiano del Piombo (fig. 4), and works by Carracci (fig. 5), Mola, Luini (fig. 6; then attributed to Leonardo), but also by major Victorian artists, including John Everett Millais, John Linnell, Frederic Leighton, and Edwin Landseer. Two friezes by George Frederick Watts (fig. 7; now Compton Varney, Watts Gallery) had been commissioned for the marquess himself. The Lansdowne collection was not a static ensemble, gathered by earlier generations and remaining unchanged: the Agnew's stock books bear witness to the marquess's additions to the collection as well as the frequent sales.

Lansdowne's wealth, as was the case with much of the British aristocracy, came from land. The family owned vast estates in Scotland and was the second largest landholder in Ireland, claiming over 120,000 acres there.[8] The 5th Marquess, however, had inherited with these estates an equally large debt and, despite his many properties, his income remained inadequate for the lavish standard of living to which the family was accustomed. For example, his mother had transformed, at great expense, one of their properties in Scotland, Meikleour, into a French chateau.[9]

Fig. 2 / J. M. W. Turner, *Windmill and Lock*, ca. 1811, etching and watercolour on paper, 17.7 x 25.8 cm, London, Tate Britain.

Fig. 3 / E. H. Mills, *Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 5th Marquess of Lansdowne (1845-1927)*, early 1900s, bromide postcard print, 13.7 x 8.6 cm, London, National Portrait Gallery.

The Lansdowne family's important position in society translated into political leadership, and the Lansdowne heirs held a seat in the House of Lords as life peers. Originally Whigs, the Lansdowne family joined the Liberals when the Party was founded in 1859. Lansdowne had been supportive of William Gladstone's Liberal ministries until 1886, when the latter attempted to introduce the First Home Rule Bill, which would have resulted in a considerable loss of estates for British landowners in Ireland. A major Irish landowner, Lansdowne opposed Gladstone and took part in a splinter group from the Liberals that founded the Liberal Unionist Party, which soon joined the Conservatives in a Unionist coalition (the Liberal Unionists would finally merge with the Conservatives in 1912).[10] The Unionists and the Liberals' policies differed in many ways, but perhaps their strongest point of dissent – and this is a point that became very important for the sale of *The Mill* – was on trade, with the Liberals arguing for free trade, whereas the Unionists campaigned for a protectionist policy on commerce, imposing tariffs on imports.

Lansdowne enjoyed a successful political career as a Unionist. In 1911, when the sale of the Rembrandt occurred, he held the office of Leader of the House of Lords. The Unionists, allied with the Conservatives, were then the official Opposition of Herbert Henry Asquith's minority Liberal government.[11] Furthermore, Lansdowne was not only a collector and a politician, but also (like his grandfather the 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne) a senior trustee of the National Gallery, a diligent and assertive official who often disagreed with the National Gallery directors, especially regarding acquisitions. Lansdowne could be fiercely authoritative, even aggressive: in 1902 he had attempted to curb the National Gallery director's executive powers with a memorandum known as the Lansdowne Resolutions, which prescribed that at least four trustees had to agree with the director before an acquisition could proceed.[12] Even though the document was rejected, Lansdowne retained his belligerent attitude, and the National Gallery Board Minutes record his continued opposition to the directors and other gallery officials.[13]

Fig. 4 / Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of a Humanist*, ca. 1520, oil on panel transfered to hardboard, 134.7 x 101 cm, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.

Fig. 5 / Ludovico Carracci, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, 1607, oil on copper, 29.8 x 25.1 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

According to his biographer, Lansdowne came to the decision to sell *The Mill* in 1911 "to benefit his younger children".[14] In reality, this painting had been unofficially on the market for some time. In 1897 Bernard Berenson had negotiated with Lansdowne at length, and in vain, on behalf of Isabella Stuart Gardner; subsequently in 1905, whilst working as an advisor for P&D Colnaghi, Berenson finally negotiated a purchase price for *The Mill* of £40,000, however, by this stage Gardner was no longer interested.[15] Unpublished letters show that, in these years, Colnaghi operated in the background for a joint deal with other partners. In January 1906, Otto Gutekunst, the expert director of Colnaghi, asked Charles Carstairs of the American dealers Knoedler, "How would you like to buy Lansdowne's Rembrandt's Mill with us? £30,000-£35,000. I once offered him 25,000."[16] The deal, however, perhaps in the absence of a buyer, was not sealed.

A real chance to sell *The Mill* occurred in February 1911 when the London art dealer Arthur J. Sulley made Lansdowne a conspicuous offer on behalf of an unnamed client, later to be revealed as the American millionaire collector Widener.[17] The offer of £100,000 was a record price at the time and, by comparison, made previous records pale into insignificance: it was more than double the price paid for Velazquez's *Rokeby Venus* in 1905 (£45,000) and nearly a third higher than the cost of Hans Holbein's *Christina of Denmark* in 1909 (£70,000).

In both cases the National Gallery had succeeded in purchasing the works, although the museum had had to depend on public appeals and private donations, and, in both cases, the required sum had been raised only at the last minute.

Fig. 6 / Bernardino Luini (formerly attributed to Leonardo da Vinci), *The Magdalene*, ca. 1525, oil on panel, 58.8 x 47.8 cm, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.

Fig. 7 / George Frederick Watts, *Achilles and Briseis*, ca. 1858-1860, fresco, mixed media and oil on plaster, 122 x 518.5 cm, Compton, Watts Gallery Trust.

Lansdowne provisionally accepted Sulley's offer. He then informed the National Gallery of the offer for *The Mill*, but claimed that he was willing to sell the picture to the nation for the same amount, contributing himself £5,000 of the purchase price as a goodwill gesture – in other words he would have accepted a reduced sum of £95,000 from the National Gallery; he extended his offer until 31 March.[18] On 21 February 1911, a National Gallery Board meeting, understandably held without Lansdowne present, discussed this proposal.[19] As a trustee, Lansdowne must have known that the chances of the museum purchasing the picture were very slim: the National Gallery had only £2,283 available to spend on purchases at that moment.

Because of this lack of funds, the trustees agreed that the remaining amount could only be obtained either from the government or by public subscription. They also decided that, if the government was not prepared to assist, support would be sought from the National Art-Collections Fund, a relatively new organization which had helped raise money for the acquisitions of both the *Rokeby Venus* and *Christina of Denmark*. Thus, on 24 February, the National Gallery first appealed to the government, sending a deputation of trustees headed by George Howard, the Earl of Carlisle, to make a plea to the Liberal Prime Minister, Henry Herbert Asquith, and the Secretary to the Treasury, George Murray. Carlisle, who had himself been a Liberal MP in the previous decades, did not mince his words and stated, perhaps not very diplomatically, that because of the recent taxation of works of art, the government had a moral claim upon "a more lavish expenditure on national pictures".[20] Carlisle's point was that, because the government had started to receive more money through the recently increased fiscal pressures on art ownership, at least some of these funds should be devolved to support public art purchases. Asquith, however, deflected the responsibility of securing works for the national collection to private initiative, stating that "the liberality of private persons" was better equipped to provide "nearly all the sum required". The Government, at most, might have covered a small deficit, although, as Asquith said, this was "by no means a promise".[21] The meeting clearly communicated that no significant financial help would be forthcoming from the government.

Among the reasons behind this categorical refusal is that the National Gallery's request coincided with a period of intensified and divisive political conflict focused on public spending. The conflict heightened after the House of Lords' rejection of the budget proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, David Lloyd George, to the House of Commons on 29 April 1909. This financial plan – famously nicknamed "the People's Budget" because it funded a programme of social welfare by introducing higher taxes on land, property, and income – had been passed by the House of Commons. The House of Lords, on the other hand, had at first rejected it and, only after a lengthy and confrontational negotiation process, finally approved it a year later. The sequence of events was closely followed by the press and was also represented in political cartoons, often with caricatures parodying Lansdowne's regal but uncompromising persona.[22]

Following this delay, the elected House of Commons, where the Budget had originated and was passed, set out to limit the legislative power of the hereditary aristocratic peers in the House of Lords.[23] The conflict between the two Houses, which lasted three years, had intensified at the beginning of 1911, when the sale of *The Mill* took place. Articles in the press reported the heated debate and tone of discontent towards the Lords, and Lansdowne in particular, in the House of Commons.[24]

The House of Lords was finally defeated in May 1911, with the passing of the Parliament Act, in which the Lords' power to veto a Finance Bill was removed. However, in February 1911, when the other trustees and Lansdowne were discussing the possible purchase of *The Mill* for the National Gallery, this defeat was still to come, and Asquith's cabinet, as well as the national press, was still in the heated process of crossing swords with Lansdowne as Leader of the House of Lords.

A clear, underlying political *ressentiment* could be perceived in both Lansdowne's nominal discount to the National Gallery and his subsequent refusal to negotiate, as well as Asquith's categorical denial of state support for this purchase.[25] At the end of February 1911, when the proposed sale of the Rembrandt was disclosed to the public, the reciprocal acrimony between the trustees and the government was reported in articles and letters in the press, especially the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Manchester Guardian*, which harshly criticized Lansdowne, questioned his public spirit, his lack of stewardship, and even doubted his right to leadership altogether.[26]

This harsh appraisal was not confined to the press: on 27 February, the National Art-Collections Fund's executive committee, which had been asked by the National Gallery to support a public appeal for the purchase, took the unprecedented decision not to support the acquisition and voted against holding a public appeal for *The Mill*.[27] The reasons for the rejection were not stated by the committee, but the National Art-Collections Fund's records, noting the existence of other versions of the work, reported growing suspicions about the painting's authorship. For instance, the minutes cited an article in the *Morning Post* from 7 March 1911, which quoted the renowned Dutch art connoisseur Hofstede de Groot stating that "he could not help thinking that £100,000 was too high a price for a canvas possessing no pedigree prior to its entrance into the Orlèans Collection, lacking the master's signature and covered with a thick coating of yellow varnish".[28]

Perhaps matters of connoisseurship were merely a red herring; it seems very possible that the decisive factor in the National Art-Collections Fund's refusal to support the acquisition was in fact Lansdowne himself and his attitude towards this sale. Indeed, an assertive editorial in the *Burlington Magazine* – a publication that was from its inception closely linked to the National Art-Collections Fund and whose editors and principal contributors were Fund committee members – openly condemned Lansdowne's behaviour. The *Burlington Magazine* recognized the clear conflict of interest raised by Lansdowne's role as both a private seller and a National Gallery trustee; it was judged that he should have first offered the Gallery the option to purchase, without waiting for an external offer.[29] Lansdowne had abdicated his duty of stewardship to the nation's art, and the sale could be supported neither morally by the *Burlington*, nor practically by the Fund.

In the meantime, others were looking for alternative ways to purchase the picture for the nation. The National Gallery and Agnew's archives contain hitherto unpublished letters that show the proactive manner in which two principal art dealers, Henry Wallis and Lockett Agnew, reacted to the news of the sale. Henry Wallis, whose grandfather had succeeded Ernest Gambart in running the French Gallery, wrote to Lansdowne on 3 March suggesting a possible solution.[30] Wallis proposed that Lansdowne should sell *The Mill* directly to "a syndicate of connoisseurs", which he volunteered to form with the objective "to gain time [for the National Gallery] to collect the required sum".[31] Wallis placed this acquisition within the contemporary political context and made a revealing plea to Lansdowne: "as fellow Unionist", he stressed the importance of avoiding a controversial sale to America, lest it should supply their common adversaries with political ammunition.

Lansdowne, however, did not oblige and proceeded to deny this request in an oblique manner: even though Wallis had written specifically to him as the private owner of the painting, he refused to engage personally with the dealer. Rather, perhaps not entirely in good faith, Lansdowne interpreted the letter as addressed to him in his capacity of National Gallery trustee, and brought forward Wallis's proposal at the following National Gallery Board meeting, hence the letter's presence in the National Gallery archive. Wallis's request would have put the trustees in the unprecedented position of having to establish an official collaboration with a syndicate of art dealers for an acquisition: the trustees, perhaps understandably, refused this association.[32]

Another letter from the Agnew's archive demonstrates more clearly that Lansdowne in fact did not want to facilitate the National Gallery's purchase of *The Mill*. Two days before Wallis wrote his letter, Lansdowne had already given a negative response in private to a similar proposal put to him by Lockett Agnew, another art dealer and fellow Liberal Unionist, who had suggested purchasing the picture himself, while waiting for the National Gallery to gather the necessary funds.[33] Agnew had already proven himself trustworthy in such a capacity, as his firm had similarly facilitated the National Gallery's acquisition of the *Rokeby Venus*, negotiating the price with the original owner, giving donations and loans to the museum, and actively discouraging other buyers to purchase the painting. Lansdowne, however, refused to collaborate with Lockett Agnew, declaring that he had already agreed a sale with Sulley, even though their agreement was still only provisional. Lansdowne had evidently already decided on the conditions of the sale of *The Mill* to the National Gallery and left no room for compromise. Even if Lockett Agnew could not convince Lansdowne to sell to the National Gallery, he continued to support the attempt to raise the funds for *The Mill* in other ways. When, on 7 March, the trustees decided to exhibit the painting at Trafalgar Square to solicit donations, it was Agnew's who provided transport and insurance for the picture at "greatly reduced prices".[34]

Fig. 8 / Frederick De Haenen, *Right Be'ind for 'The Mill'*, in *Illustrated London News*, 25 March 1911, p. 3.

Fig. 9 / *Lost to this Country Unless £95,000 Can Be Raised*, in *Illustrated London News*, 11 March 1911, p. 17.

Fig. 10 / *Portraits and World's News*, in *Illustrated London News*, 18 March 1911, p.7.

The Mill's exhibition at the National Gallery created a stir: the picture was reportedly seen by over 10,000 people each day, and the crowds were later depicted in the *Illustrated London News* (fig. 8).[35] The principal interest was undoubtedly created by the painting's price: *The Mill* had been dubbed by the press "the £100,000 Old Master" (fig. 9).[36] The *Illustrated London News*, the periodical that followed this sale most closely, not only published several spreads on the picture, but even took the unprecedented step to promote an art dealer's stock by publishing a drawing in the possession of Frank Sabin, which was believed to be a preparatory study for *The Mill* (fig. 10).[37]

Fig. 11 / Thomas Gainsborough, *Elizabeth and Thomas Linley*, ca. 1768, oil on canvas, 69.8 x 62.3 cm, Williamstown, The Clark.

Other newspapers and art journals published many articles about *The Mill*, although this sale was given considerably less column space than that of *Rokeby Venus* or the *Christina of Denmark*. Several voices lamented the loss for British heritage that the export of *The Mill* would bring. It is worth noting, however, some inconsistencies in the press's approach. In March 1911, in parallel with the sale of *The Mill*, Lord Sackville sold, from his collection at Knole House, a portrait of two children, *Elizabeth and Thomas Linley* by Thomas Gainsborough (now Williamstown, The Clark) for £40,000, and the picture soon left for the United States (fig. 11).[38] Likewise, in August 1911, two portraits, Thomas Gainsborough's *Frances Duncombe* and George Romney's *Lady Charlotte Milnes* (both New York, Frick Collection), sold to Henry Clay Frick via Duveen, reportedly for a total of $500,000 (about £100,000 for both).[39] Similarly, in October 1911, another important Gainsborough, *Anne Ford, 'Mrs Thicknesse'*, was imported by dealers Scott & Fowles to New York (now Cincinnati Art Museum).[40] None of these pictures, despite being executed by British artists, and thus arguably more significant to British heritage than *The Mill*, was ever mourned as "lost" in the press.

The news of the sale of *The Mill* reached Parliament, and on 9 March the question of its purchase was raised in the House of Commons.[41] There was, however, no support for the purchase of this picture. Lansdowne did not want to sell it to the National Gallery, nor did the British MPs wish to buy it from Lansdowne. In the Commons, among "ironical cheers" (supposedly principally addressed towards Lansdowne), the Liberal MP Frederick Kellaway asked the Financial Secretary of the Treasury Charles Hobhouse about the circumstances of the sale.[42] As the report from the House of Commons reads:

> [Kellaway] asked the Secretary to the Treasury whether his attention has been called to the statement issued by the director of the National Gallery that Lord Lansdowne, having been offered a large price for his picture, *The Mill*, by Rembrandt, has offered the refusal of the picture, which is still in his possession, to the trustees of the National Gallery, and has promised a donation of £5,000 towards the purchase of the picture for the nation, and that the matter is now under the consideration of the National Gallery Board; whether the price Lord Lansdowne is asking for his picture is £95,000; whether the picture was bought for less than £1,000 by an ancestor of Lord Lansdowne; and whether, before consenting to subscribe any money from national funds towards the purchase of the picture, he will give the House an opportunity of discussing the proposal?

Hobhouse responded confirming all the figures cited by Kellaway, and pacified Kellaway's concerns by stating that there was, in fact, no intention to purchase this picture:

> The funds at the disposal of the trustees are not sufficient to enable them to acquire the picture, and an appeal to the public for subscriptions in aid of purchase could not, in their opinion, properly be made by them. I do not think it would be desirable, in the event of a subscription being raised by other means for the purchase of the picture, to fetter the discretion of Government by giving the pledge requested in the last sentence of the question.

Hobhouse's final comment against the purchase of the painting was received among cries of "hear hear", and the matter was not discussed any further in the Commons.[43]

Due to the lack of support from the National Arts-Collection Fund, the trustees were unable to announce a public appeal. Instead, they released an official communication to the press on 14 March, only two weeks before Lansdowne's ultimatum, asking for money in an oblique way.[44] But time was slipping away, and without the Fund's assistance, it was difficult to co-ordinate and promote any fundraising efforts, also because of the limited support from the press. As art writer Frank Rinder complained, "several of the most influential papers have been silently indifferent".[45] A remarkably silent publication was *The Morning Post*, which had greatly supported the *Rokeby Venus* acquisition. The harsh social conditions at the time were also contributing to this decision, as the writer Edward Harold Physick stated, "while we have slums, disease, dirt, cancer and all kinds of misery in London the expenditure of £100,000 on a single picture would be disgraceful".[46] Ultimately, on the final day to collect funds, the National Gallery had only gathered £17,233, and Sulley acquired *The Mill* from Lansdowne for Widener.[47]

The sale of *The Mill* was characterized by hostility, rigidity, and intransigence, and was the result of a tense, divisive, and contentious period in British politics. Lansdowne's steely determination not to facilitate a sale to the Gallery was based on matters of control at a moment when both his political and financial privileges were threatened. It is perhaps not entirely speculative to argue that Lansdowne's decision not to negotiate, with either Agnew or Wallis, was caused by a desire to impose his own will in the management of his property, an area where he could still exert absolute power. Perhaps Lansdowne's decision was also affected by the need to make a strong political point against the consequences of increased taxation combined with unregulated free trade. As an added difficulty, maybe Lansdowne simply could not bear to do business with a syndicate of art dealers, a group of tradesmen who would be, *de facto*, purchasing for the nation. Whatever his motivation, it was Lansdowne who put a stop to the negotiations aimed at finding an alternative solution and it was through his doing that *The Mill* was sold to Widener. The loss for London's National Gallery was to become America's gain.

NOTES

1. Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, 3 vols. (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961-1963), I, pp. 175-206; see also Cynthia Saltzman, "Old Masters, New World: America's Raid on Europe's Great Pictures," *ARTnews* 108 (2009): p. 70.
2. London, National Gallery Archive: NG1/8, National Gallery Board Minutes (hereafter cited as NGBM), 21 February 1911, vol. 8, p. 47.
3. Esmée Quodbach, ""The Last of the American Versailles': The Widener Collection at Lynnewood Hall," *Simiolus* 29 (2002): pp. 42-96.
4. Arthur K. Wheelock, *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century. The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 230-241, with bibliography. The Lansdowne collection in 1897 comprised 363 eclectic works, many Old Masters but also modern artists including Edwin Landseer. See Henry C. K. Petty-FitzMaurice Marquess of Lansdowne, *Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures Belonging to the Marquess of Lansdowne* (London: Woodfall and Kinder, 1897), no. 100 (*The Mill*), pp. 82-83.
5. Quodbach, ""The Last of the American Versailles'," pp. 83-84.
6. Quodbach, ""The Last of the American Versailles'," p. 83. Wheelock, *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 230-241; Ben Broos, *Great Dutch Paintings from America*, exh. cat. (The Hague: Mauritshuis, 1990-1991; San Francisco: the Fine Arts Museums, 1991), p. 122.
7. For a biography of Lansdowne, Thomas W. Legh Lord Newton, *Lord Lansdowne. A Biography by Lord Newton* (Edinburgh: R. and R. Clark, 1929) and Hugh Cecil, *Lord Lansdowne. From the Entente Cordiale of 1904 to the 'Peace Letter' of 1917: a European Statesman Assessed* (London: Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 2004).
8. Cecil, *Lord Lansdowne*, p. 7.
9. Cecil, *Lord Lansdowne*, p. 7.
10. Cecil, *Lord Lansdowne*, p. 12.
11. The General Election of December 1910 had resulted in a deadlock and the Liberals succeeded in forming a government only because of their alliance with the Irish Nationalists. See Neal Blewett, *The Peers, the Parties and the People; the General Election of 1910* (London: Macmillan, 1972), pp. 85-102.
12. For Lansdowne's activity as National Gallery trustee, see Andrea Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art: Contested Cultural Authority 1890–1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), pp. 82-83.
13. Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, pp. 41-45.
14. Legh, *Lord Lansdowne*, p. 488.
15. Rollin van N. Hadley, *The Letters of Bernard Berenson and Isabella Stewart Gardner 1887-1924* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987), nos. 356 and 486, pp. 75-81.
16. Waddesdon Manor, Colnaghi Archive: COL1/4/8, Colnaghi Letter Book, fol. 26.
17. Quodbach, ""The Last of the American Versailles'," p. 83. "News in Brief," *Times*, 6 March 1911, p. 6.
18. London, National Gallery Archive: NG7/389/1, Carlisle to Turner, 16 February 1911.
19. National Gallery Archives: NGBM, 21 February 1911, p. 47. Carlisle, Heseltine, Plymouth and Redesdale, plus the Keeper and Secretary were present.
20. National Gallery Archives: NGBM, 14 March 1911, pp. 49-50.
21. National Gallery Archives: NGBM, pp. 49-50.
22. On the period, George Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England*, 2nd ed. (New York: Capricorn Books, 1961), with discussion in Michael Brock, "The Strange Death of Liberal England," *Albion* 17 (1985): pp. 425-447; *Élie Halévy*, *The Rule of Democracy, 1905-1914* (London: E. Benn Ltd, 1952). Further discussion and bibliography in David Powell, *The Edwardian Crisis: Britain, 1901-1914* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 10-38, 44-48 and 201-206. See especially Bruce K. Murray, *The People's Budget: Lloyd George and Liberal Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 17-48.
23. Chris Ballinger, "Hedging and Ditching: The Parliament Act 1911," *Parliamentary History* 30 (2011): pp. 19-32.
24. See "The Parliament Bill" series in *The Morning Post*, 1-31 March 1911. Murray, *The People's Budget*, pp. 17-48; Ballinger, "Hedging and Ditching," pp. 19-21.
25. Murray, *The People's Budget*, pp. 17-34.
26. News of this sale first reported in the *Evening Standard*, 27 February 1911, and then reported nationally in newspapers such as the *Nottingham Evening Post*, the *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, the *Cork Examiner* and many others. Criticism of Lansdowne in "The Bowood Rembrandt," *Daily Telegraph*, 1 March 1911, p. 5, and 2 March 1911, p. 6; repeated in "A Remonstrance with Lord Lansdowne," *Manchester Guardian*, 2 March 1911, p. 14 and, especially, "The Lansdowne Rembrandt," *Manchester Guardian*, 3 March 1911, pp. 7-9; and "Art Treasures and the Nation," *Manchester Guardian*, 6 March 1911, p. 6. A rare defence of Lansdowne in "Lord Lansdowne's Picture," *Dublin Daily Express*, 9 March 1911, p. 4.
27. National Art-Collections Fund Archive, held in the Tate Archive: National Art-Collections Fund Minute Book, 27 February 1911, pp. 359-360: Balcarres, Benson, Sidney Colvin, Herbert Cook, Lionel Cust, Charles Hercules Read, Isidore Spielmann, A. B. Terrell, Fred A. White and Robert Witt were present at the meeting. The attribution to Rembrandt was then openly disputed by W. Seidlitz, "Rembrandts Mühle," *Kunst und Künstler* 9, 10 July 1911, pp. 550-552.
28. National Art-Collections Fund Archive, held in the Tate Archive: National Art-Collections Fund Minute Book, 15 March 1911, p. 361.
29. "Rembrandt's Mill," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 19/97 (1911): pp. 3-4; "The Passing of Rembrandt's Mill," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 19/ 98 (1911): p. 66. Also discussed in Helen Rees, "Art Exports and the Construction of National Heritage in late-Victorian and Edwardian Great Britain," *History of Political Economy* 31 (1999): pp. 187-208.
30. National Gallery Archive: NG7/389/3, Wallis to Lansdowne, 3 March 1911.
31. National Gallery Archive: NG7/389/3, Wallis to Lansdowne, 3 March 1911.
32. National Gallery Archives: NGBM, 14 March 1911, pp. 49-50.
33. National Gallery Archive: NGA27/23/8/11, Lansdowne to Lockett Agnew, 2 March 1911.
34. National Gallery Archives: NGBM, 14 March 1911, pp. 49-50. "Rembrandt's The Mill," *Times*, 7 March 1911, p. 8 announced that the painting was going to be exhibited at the National Gallery.
35. Frederic De Haenen, "The Mill," *Illustrated London News*, 25 March 1911, p. 411. Many newspapers reported on the crowds that visited the exhibition of the Mill, for instance, "Crowds Visit the Mill," *Leeds Mercury*, 13 March 1911, p. 4;"The Mill," *London Daily News*, 13 March 1911, p. 4; a picture of the crowds was published by in *London Daily News*, 14 March 1911, p. 12.
36. "Lost to This Country," *Illustrated London News*, 11 March 1911, p. 345.
37. "Portraits and World's News," *Illustrated London News*, 18 March 1911, p. 374.
38. "Gainsborough's Portraits of The Linleys," *Times*, 2 March 1911, p. 8.
39. "Frick Collection Enriched," *American Art News* 9/32 (17 June 1911): p. 1; "A Half Million Paid for Gainsborough," *Fine Arts Journal* 25/ 2 (1911): pp. 95-96.
40. "An important Gainsborough," *American Art News*, 10/ 10 (16 December 1911): p. 1.
41. Hansard, House of Commons Debates, 9 March 1911, vol. 22, cc. 1406-1407.
42. Reported in "House of Commons," *Times*, 10 March 1911, p. 10.
43. "House of Commons", p. 10.
44. The press release is reported in National Gallery Archives: NGBM, 14 March 1911, p. 50. Also published in *Times*, 15 March 1911, p. 11.
45. F. Rinder, "The Lansdowne Rembrandt," *Daily London News*, 17 March 1911, p. 5.
46. E. H. Physick, "The Mill," *London Daily News*, 20 March 1911, p. 12.
47. Reported in National Gallery Archives: NGBM, 11 April 1911, pp. 53-54. Widener at first denied his involvement: "I have never thought of making such a purchase and I do not know who the purchaser is," quoted in "Rembrandt's 'Mill'," *Times*, 31 March 1911, p. 8. A few days later he confessed, "The Bowood Rembrandt," *Times*, 7 April 1911, p. 8. His collection, containing seven Rembrandts, was praised in: "Mr. Widener's Collection," *Times*, 7 April 1911, p. 8.

The Ca' Capello Layard and its art collection: a forgotten Anglo-Venetian treasure house of the late nineteenth-century

CECILIA RIVA

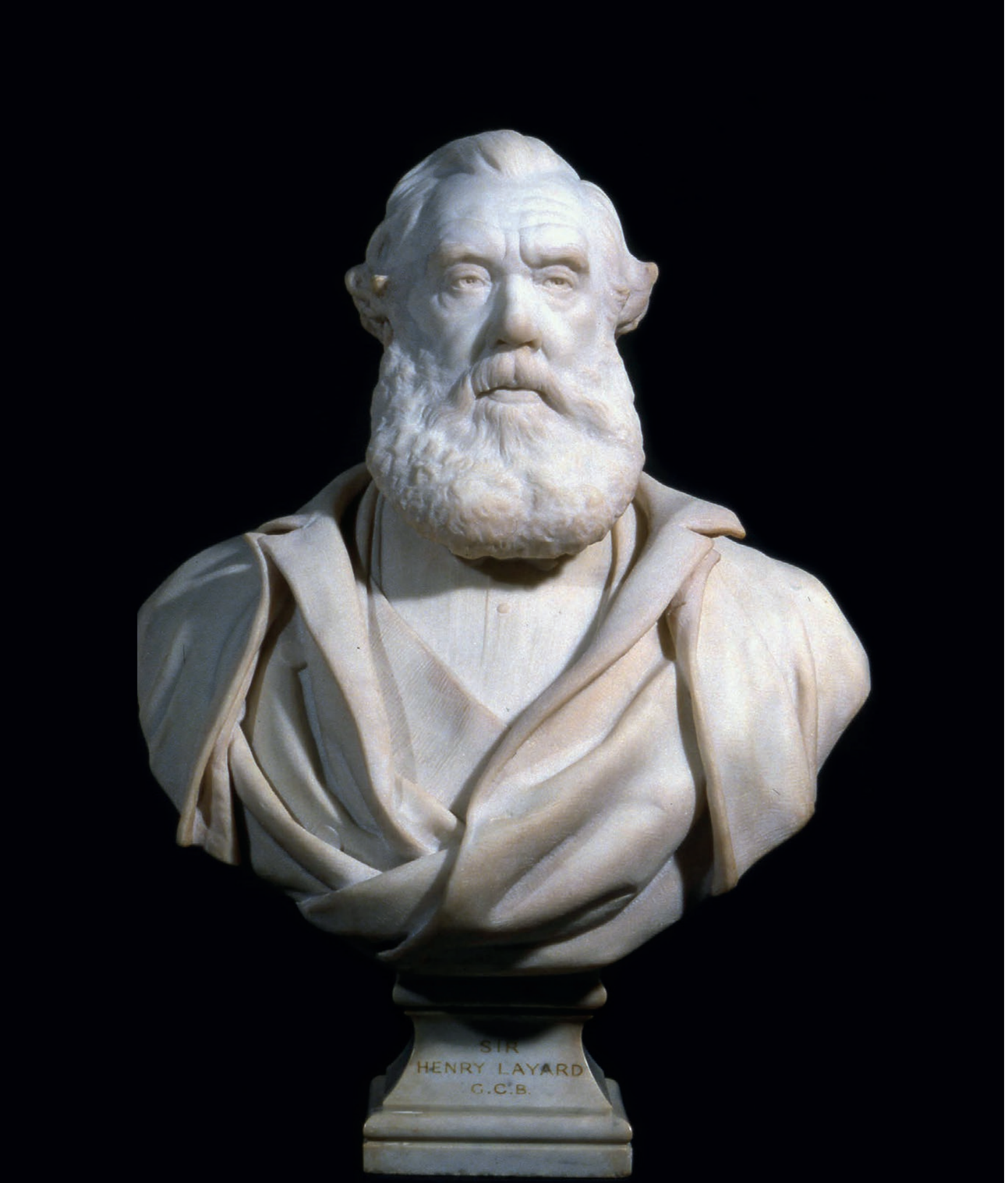


Fig. 1 / Joseph E. Boehm, *Bust of A. H. Layard*, 1890, marble, 81.4 x 58.7 cm, London, British Museum (inv. 1891,0613.27).

In 1896, *The Magazine of Art* gave an account of the "admirable collection of pictures" that the celebrated archaeologist and diplomat Sir Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894) had gathered at Ca' Capello, Venice, and "which, thanks to his generosity, [were] eventually to become the property of the [British] nation".[1] In that same year, the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* published an extensive article by Gustavo Frizzoni, one of the most distinguished pupils of the art critic Giovanni Morelli, on "La Galerie Layard".[2] Towards the end of the nineteenth-century, the collection achieved international fame not only for its valuable content, but also for the promotional policies of its creator. Although the Layard Gallery and its home enjoyed a rather short life – Ca' Capello was sold in 1917 and subsequently underwent radical renovations – between 1880 and 1912 both the palace and the collection became one of the important sites of Venice and were widely known throughout Europe. In addition to extending loans of works to British exhibitions, the Layard collection also gained fame through mentions in popular handbooks, such as *Der Cicerone*, Baedeker's guide, and Kugler's *Handbook of Painting*, as well as references to individual pictures within articles, monographs, and essays. No doubt Layard's relish for extensive and increasingly better-quality photographic illustrations fostered the study and increased public awareness of his paintings.

The purpose of the present article is to investigate the strategies devised by Layard in order to promote his Old Masters, and his reasons for doing so. The analysis will focus on the reception of the collection among contemporary audiences, as well as the diverse modes of access to Ca' Capello Layard, either in reality (as recorded by the visitor book and private correspondence) or virtually (i.e. publications and illustrations). Drawing on published and unpublished archival sources, new evidence will be presented from the Layards' private papers, along with the descriptions and visual records relating to the collection.

THE MAN, THE COLLECTOR

Sir Austen Henry Layard is remembered today principally as the archaeologist who excavated Nimrud and Nineveh. His activities as an art collector are less well known and a brief summary of his biography and collecting career seems appropriate within the context of the present article (fig. 1). He was born in Paris in 1817 to expatriates of Huguenot origins. Peter, his father, had served as a civil servant in Ceylon until his ill-health compelled him to return to the Continent; Marianne, his mother, was a Spaniard, daughter of a banker in Ramsgate. At the time of Henry's birth, they were in Paris heading south towards Tuscany, where they would reside for almost a decade, before moving to Switzerland, France, and finally England. Admittedly, these years travelling around Europe allowed the young Henry to expand his education and acquire a certain worldview. As Jonathan Parry has pointed out: "Layard grew up a Romantic, desperate for fame and exotic experiences, and contemptuous of English professional mores".[3] In 1862, soon after his long sojourn in the Middle East, during which he discovered Nineveh and Babylon, Henry returned to London, where he entered politics and eventually served as Minister

Fig. 2 / Giovanni Battista Brusa, *Bartolomeo Suardi (called Bramantino), The Adoration of the Kings*, albumen, paper, 25.5 x 22 cm, Bologna, Fondazione Federico Zeri (inv. 58277).

Fig. 3 / Ed. Alinari, Carpaccio, *The Departure of Ceyx*, positive, 20 x 25 cm, Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Fototeca dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Arte, Fondo Pallucchini (inv. 13589).

Plenipotentiary first in Spain (1869-1877), and then in Constantinople (1877-1880). His extensive travels also enabled him to accrue a wide – though selective – collection, including a few hundreds of pieces, among them antiquities, sculptures, manuscripts, carpets, glass, metalwork, prints, and of course paintings.

After having begun with antiquities, Layard gradually turned to collecting pictures during the 1850s. Reflecting, perhaps, his archaeological background, Henry seems to have been drawn to early Italian masters.[4] His first purchase of "fine art" consisted of three portions of a detached fresco by Spinello Aretino – representing the *Fall of the Rebel Angels* and two decorative borders – acquired in 1855, subsequent to the dismantling of the chapel of the Compagnia di Sant'Angelo in the Church of San Michele, Arezzo (London, National Gallery, NG1216.1-3).[5] Following this initial purchase, his most active period of collecting occurred between 1859 and 1866, though he continued to buy the occasional piece until 1892. Layard succeeded in purchasing masterpieces that had once belonged to celebrated Venetian and Ferrarese collections, such as *The Adoration of the Kings* by Bramantino (NG3073, fig. 2), the *Departure of Ceyx* by Vittore Carpaccio (NG3085, fig. 3), an *Allegorical figure*

Fig. 4 / Giovanni Battista Brusa, *Cosmè Tura, Musa*, 1883-1886, albumen, paper, 26 x 19.3 cm, Bologna, Fototeca Federico Zeri (inv. 67248).

Fig. 5 / Ed. Alinari, *Cosmè Tura, Allegorical Figure*, albumen, paper, 25 x 18.6 cm, Bologna, Fototeca Federico Zeri (inv. 67249).

by Cosmè Tura (NG3070, figs. 4 & 5), but also works by Lombard painters from Brescia and Bergamo, like the *Saint Jerome* by Savoldo (NG3092, fig. 6), and the two portraits by Giovanni Battista Moroni (NG3128-9, figs. 7 & 8), which are among the many other paintings now in the National Gallery in London from the Layard Bequest.[6] Layard was a dedicated trustee of the National Gallery, which he served from 1866 to 1894, additionally acting as an expert adviser to the British Museum and the South Kensington Museum (later Victoria and Albert Museum), and subsequently he became a pillar of the art world in London. His donations to different institutions in Britain and Italy demonstrated of his enlightened spirit of generosity.[7] Complementing his contribution to the development of the history of art, Layard penned articles and papers on Italian Renaissance masters, writing for *the Quarterly Review*, the *Murray's Magazine*, and the *Athenaeum*, as well as participating in the meetings of the *Arundel Society* and the *Fine Arts Club*. Yet his commitment to art extended to the reviving of the art of glassmaking in Murano; in particular, he financed both the glass school opened by abate Zanetti and Antonio Salviati's manufacture.[8]

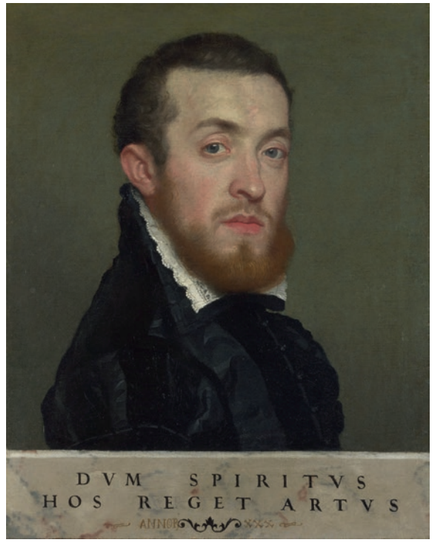


Fig. 6 / Giovanni Battista Brusa, *Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo, Saint Jerome*, 1883-1886, albumen, paper, 19.3 x 26 cm, Bologna, Fondazione Federico Zeri (inv. 100026).

Fig. 7 / Giovanni Battista Moroni, *Portrait of a Man with Raised Eyebrows*, between ca. 1570-1575, oil on canvas, 45.7 x 37.8 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 8 / Giovanni Battista Moroni, *Bust Portrait of a Young Man with an Inscription*, ca. 1560, oil on canvas, 47.2 x 39.8 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 9 / Fratelli Giuseppe e Luigi Vianello, *Portrait of Enid Layard*, 1880s, albumen, Ms. 42408, fol. 3, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland.

CA' CAPELLO LAYARD

Unlike the majority of their compatriots who preferred Florence or Rome, Layard and his wife Enid, née Guest (1843-1912, fig. 9), longed to buy a home in Venice, at least from the early 1870s, when they began to spend part of the year there.[9] In October 1874, after having visited several properties, they resolved to buy Ca' Capello (fig. 10).[10] A fifteenth-century building, it had a "whitewashed & plain"[11] facade that had once been frescoed with mythological subjects by Paolo Veronese and Giovanni Battista Zelotti.[12] This fact, however, does not seem to have been known to the Layards,[13] who in 1887 painted the façade "old Venetian red".[14] In addition, it was adorned with a typical Venetian decorative feature, the *patere* (small, circular reliefs) as well as with their coat of arms – an operation intended to give a sound historical underpinning and to convey dignity to the palace.[15]

Overlooking the Grand Canal at the corner of the Rio of San Polo, Ca' Capello "is capitally situated and gets all the sun that there is to be had"[16] from both facades as it is slightly positioned towards the centre of the canal, wrote Layard. The palace was, therefore, ideally suited to becoming a picture gallery, where paintings could be fully appreciated in excellent natural light. Curiously enough, initially Ca' Capello was intended "as a pied-à-terre", and Layard noted that, "if we don't go, we can always let the house so as to give a very fair return for one's money".[17] Indeed, they intended to let the upper floor in order to "get about £80 a year".[18]

But primarily the palazzo had been purchased as "a delightful place for repose and the enjoyment that one requires […] when the time of rest comes".[19] An ideal opportunity to move in presented itself at the end of 1880, when Layard's ambassadorial career suddenly came to an end.[20] He immediately felt the need to redefine himself and develop a new public persona. At this point Layard decided to make Ca' Capello his principal abode, in order "to avoid the turmoil of English life and to escape London and the London fogs".[21] The decision stemmed also from a necessity to find a refined, though not too expensive, place to settle down, "renouncing the pomp and amenities of the Ambassadorial world".[22] The Layards thus "propose[d] to seek for a small house in London

to serve as a pied-à-terre for a part of the year – the remainder [they would] spend at Venice where [they could] live pleasantly and comfortably".[23] The much-coveted ambassadorship to Rome was never attained; nonetheless, Layard continued acting in an ambassadorial role in his new Venetian home.[24]

Ca' Capello Layard was a hub of cultural activities and receptions, enjoying a reputation for being "one of the gayest and most liveable of Venetian residences", where "a large proportion of passing visitors to Venice, as well as English and American resident artists and many distinguished Italians"[25] mingled (see fig. 11). Among the most illustrious personalities of European society were the Empress Frederick and her son Kaiser Wilhelm, Princess Charlotte of Prussia, Queen Alexandra, the Crown Princess of Greece, Count Paul von Hatzfeldt-Wildenburg, Lord Kitchener, the Dukes of Sermoneta, the Baroness Angela de Reinelt, and many more.[26] As John Pemble has observed:

> Although Ca' Cappello is one of the smaller palaces on the Grand Canal, Layard and his wife never contrived to make it intimate. Their style of life was public rather than private, and the atmosphere of their Venetian home was more institutional than domestic.[27]

Fig. 10 / Ed. Alinari, *Canal Grande. Palazzo Cappello ora Layard*, Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Fototeca dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Arte.

Accordingly, in early 1880-1881 the palace underwent a systematic renovation project aimed at "making Ca' Capello the gem of the Gran Canale [sic]"[28] and creating a dignified environment, befitting the couple's social role and economic prospects. It was rearranged into two principal stories: on the ground floor there were kitchens, storerooms, and some guest rooms. The *piano nobile* consisted of a long hall, a dining room, a drawing room, a music room, a boudoir and a small card room. The second floor was reserved for the couple, with their bedrooms and dressing rooms, Henry's library, and a studio for Lady Layard, while the servants had rooms in the attic.[29] The remaining rooms were intended for guests; the couple had "the rooms on the waterfront lined with wood and parquetted [forming] a very comfortable suite of three bed rooms and a sitting room for friends".[30] This sequence of rooms – overlooking the Grand Canal – corresponded to the State Apartments and provided an adequate backdrop of sociability. From 1875, in these light and spacious rooms, Henry provisionally arranged part of his painting gallery with the assistance of Giovanni Morelli, a friend as well as one of the most distinguished art critics of the time.[31] The walls were lined with carpets and fabric hangings, of all kinds and ages. As a sale catalogue records, there were over seventy specimens of Oriental carpets at Ca' Capello Layard.[32] According to this catalogue and to other literary sources, the majority of the furniture was in the style of Louis XIV, XV, and XVI, which of course continued to represent "the epitome of good taste within plutocratic circles".[33] In general, as a reviewer later reported,

> The various objets d'art harmonise admirably with the pictures and charm the eye without undue insistence upon their number or their preciousness […] the residence of Sir Henry Layard has none of that character which demands the hushed voice and silent tread as in a museum, but remains the home of a gentleman of good taste, to whom perhaps the great picture galleries do not give a sufficiently convincing proof of their utility.[34]

"IL SUO PALAZZO A S. POLO È UN MUSEO VENEZIANO"

The visitor response was, however, that Ca' Capello "had become a museum thanks to Layard's care".[35] It aroused significant admiration from connoisseurs and others for the individual works of art it contained; but it also piqued public interest as it had been formed in part through the advice of Giovanni Morelli, and that "was considered, in a way, a guarantee".[36] Although the palace represented a platform for presenting Layard's multifarious activities and personal taste, he actively sought to encourage the study of his works of art "in the flesh". To this end, his collection went on tour to the *Fine Arts Club* (1861), the British Institution (1862), the *National Exhibition of Works of Art* in Leeds (1868), the South Kensington Museum (1869-1874), the Royal Academy (1870), and the National Gallery of Ireland (1874-1876).[37] Besides reflecting Layard's sense of public duty, these temporary loans and exhibitions were aimed at educating the public by granting a broader access to works of art, while equally promoting his image as a knowledgeable collector. Furthermore, they provided the collection with considerable visibility, including several mentions in newspapers and magazines. In line with this educational pursuit, from the 1880s, the painting gallery at Ca' Capello was made accessible to scholars, connoisseurs, and other select visitors.[38] This resulted in the Layard collection being frequently referred to not only within monographs on individual artists and general art historical surveys, such as Crowe-Cavalcaselle's histories of Italian painting, but also in guidebooks, for example Burckhardt, Baedeker, Kugler, Karoly, and Lafenestre Richtenberger's.[39] According to several descriptions, the collection "proved a constant source of attraction to those strangers who have made proper application in advance [though] the Ca' Capello has not always been as easy of access as the Giovanelli and other palaces of lesser importance".[40] The gallery was not completely isolated from the private realm and could not be accessed by just anyone.[41] It is difficult, however, to ascertain how admittance was regulated when not by express invitation. It is most likely that visitors were required to apply for access well ahead of time and preferably would be introduced by an acquaintance of the Layards.

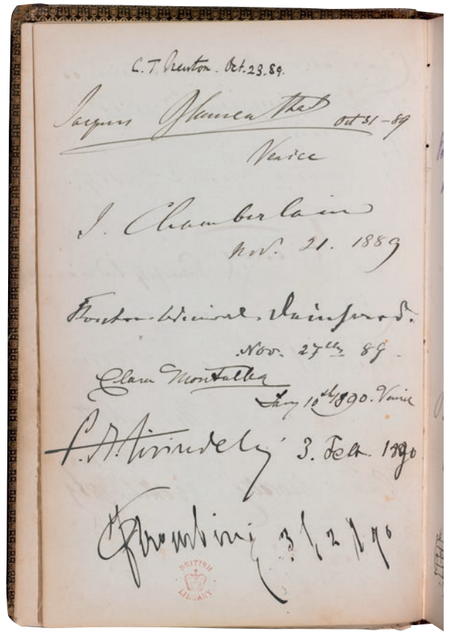


Fig. 11 / Signatures found on the back of the X page of Lady Layard's Autograph Book (Add. MS 50149), London, British Library.

An early case in point is the visit of Enrico Costa and Bernard Berenson. They were granted access to the Layard Collection thanks to a letter of introduction by Lady Eastlake in 1890.[42] The two young scholars "found [Layard] on the point of going out", and he evidently "was unable to do more for them than to take them through the rooms, and then to leave them […] in undisturbed possession of the house – [Lady Eastlake's] recommendation being sufficient guarantee for their honesty and good conduct".[43] Curiously, Layard's main fear of unaccompanied guests is expressed in the following excerpt: "They spent, I believe, more than an hour over my pictures, and being alone they could criticise them and me as much as they thought proper."[44] This might be possible, though Berenson confirmed most of the attributions in his indices of the *Italian Painters of Renaissance*.[45] Later on Berenson would go back both alone and in the company of Mary Costello, his future wife, who also "seized upon the opportunity to visit the collection twice to make a complete inventory".[46] The gallery was accessible not only to scholars, but also to royalty and the cultured élite.[47] Lady Layard's journal, as well as her autograph album, which served as a visitor book (fig. 11), provide an indication of the number and variety of people who visited the palace until 1912.[48] Among many leading personalities from the international art and archaeological world were Charles Ephrussi with the Marquis D'Azeglio (1880); Gustave Dreyfus (1880, 1903); Pasquale Villari (1881-1882); Károly Pulszky (1890); Henrietta Hertz (1892); Nellie Jacquemart and her husband Édouard André (1893, 1912).[49]

Germans, however, stood out foremost among the visitors of Ca' Capello. This should come as no surprise being that the collection was widely mentioned in the *Der Cicerone*, Kugler, and Baedeker guides.[50] From a letter that Layard wrote to Lady Eastlake we learn that "some of [her] German friends, Dr Richter […], Dr Lipmann and other learned and tasteless professors," as Layard jokingly referred to them, "have been to see my collection and have contented to express themselves satisfied with it."[51] A decade later Layard still observed: "I have constant applications from Germans and others to see the house, which is somewhat of a bore. I had the Director of the Vienna Gallery a few days ago."[52] Despite the fact that admission policies might have been implemented in order to retain a degree of privacy and tranquillity, it is certain that Layard took great pride in showing and discussing his collection with the guests. Interestingly, next to the *Saint Jerome* by Savoldo (NG3092, see fig. 6) was hung "for comparison, a photograph of the drawing in the Louvre".[53] It is clear that Layard intended to elicit discussion with the visitor, possibly engaging with matters of connoisseurship. During his absence, however, it was, possible to examine the gallery unaccompanied by the owner, as was the case with Berenson and Costa. Presumably, the visitor was guided by a list of the paintings provided by Layard himself, which specified the author and some further information.[54]

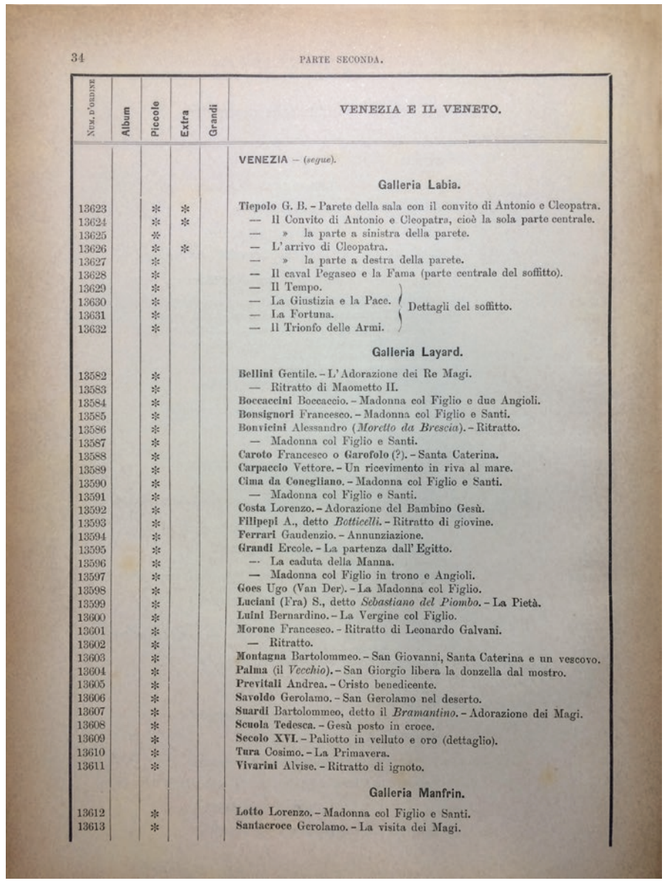
The gallery continued to be visited after Henry's death in 1894. The 1st Baron Burton and his wife, Harriett Georgina, were the first to be received in 1895.[55] Notable people added to the list of visitors were Walter Armstrong, Gertrude Bell, Emil Jacobsen, Henry Thode, Gabriele D'Annunzio and Eleonora Duse,[56] Giorgio Franchetti, Ugo Fleres,[57] Emilio Visconti Venosta,[58] Giacomo Boni, Ugo Ojetti and Corrado Ricci.

No doubt the main attraction of the collection was represented by the Old Masters, but visitors also appreciated other pieces of fine and decorative art. J. Pierpont Morgan, for example, was not only "duly impressed with the [pictures] & of other things in the house [but] he also admired "the Hispano mauresque [sic] plates, [Antonio] Cortelazzo's works & the Bourges [sic] enamel vases given [to Lady Enid] by Queen Margherita".[59] Interestingly, after his visit to the house Henry Hucks Gibbs, 1st Baron Aldenham (1819-1907), wrote to Layard: "I am delighted with it and that which it contains. Of course, the Alonso Cano caught my eye at once!"[60] This little wooden statue representing a Franciscan saint also captured the attention of Lady Augusta Gregory (1852-1932), to such an extent that she made a drawing of it upon her sojourn at Ca' Capello in 1896.[61] Numerically the Old Master paintings made up a minor, albeit distinguished part of the overall collection, when compared to the large number of other works of art dispersed posthumously, but they are likely to have been the only works to have been considered a collection *tout court*. Layard never referred to his acquisitions of decorative arts in any connoisseurial way, nor made a record of them, with the exception of two tapestries that he listed together with the paintings in his manuscript inventory.[62] No doubt the Old Masters could be better employed as a marker of cultural distinction, alongside the construction of a social identity, both in a public and domestic context, as discussed below.

"A WELL-KNOWN SUBJECT FOR PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION"

Visiting Ca' Capello was not the only way to explore the Layard paintings. Along with verbal descriptions, photography provided access to the collection for those who wished to see it but could not travel, thus enabling its study from further abroad. Even though Layard did not produce a proper guidebook or catalogue of his house and art collection, he seriously considered having the paintings illustrated in an article written by Gustavo Frizzoni. From 1883 the critic and art historian had been planning to publish a description of the pictures "in the light of their merit and the interest which they arouse as an artistic monument".[63] The terms of publication were set out again in a letter dated 21 November 1888,[64] but the lack of good photographic reproductions may have deferred publication until 1896.[65] Photography represented a new, powerful tool for the study of the history of art; due to its documentary potential and relevance, it was soon to become indispensable to nineteenth-century connoisseurship.[66] In Frizzoni's view the aim would be to "make the paintings known to connoisseurs",[67] and, thus, the photographs needed to be of the best quality.

Ultimately the Layard painting collection was to become "a well-known subject for photographic reproduction", but this followed at least four attempts of varying degrees of success.[68] The first of these was probably that undertaken by Giovanni Battista Brusa, who had an atelier at 3833-44 San Pantalon, Venice, and a shop in the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele, Milan.[69] As Layard's paintings were not included in the photographer's catalogue dated January 1882, it has been assumed that his albumen prints were executed between 1886 and 1887, when Brusa was in Venice photographing the *Esposizione Artistica Nazionale di Venezia*.[70] However, Layard's correspondence with Frizzoni between 1882 and 1883 proves that the campaign must have occurred then.[71] The letters reflect their dissatisfaction with Brusa's slowness in delivering the work, to the extent that the Frizzoni suggested that Layard should call upon another photographer in Venice, Antonio Fortunato Perini, and experiment with heliogravure.[72] It is unclear whether Layard tried out this technique, and in any case Brusa eventually accomplished his task (see figs. 2, 4 & 6). The Prints and Drawings Library of the British Museum holds a selection of "Photographs from pictures in the collection of the Right Hon. Sir A. H. Layard",[73] which can be connected with this first attempt. According to the museum's register, Layard presented twenty-four albumens on 13 May 1886.[74]



34 PARTE SECONDA.

Num. d'ordine	Album	Piccole	Extra	Grandi	VENEZIA E IL VENETO.
					VENEZIA – (*segue*).
					Galleria Labia.
13623		✲	✲		**Tiepolo** G. B. – Parete della sala con il convito di Antonio e Cleopatra.
13624		✲	✲		— Il Convito di Antonio e Cleopatra, cioè la sola parte centrale.
13625		✲			— » la parte a sinistra della parete.
13626		✲	✲		— L'arrivo di Cleopatra.
13627		✲			— » la parte a destra della parete.
13628		✲			— Il caval Pegaseo e la Fama (parte centrale del soffitto).
13629		✲			— Il Tempo.
13630		✲			— La Giustizia e la Pace. (Dettagli del soffitto.)
13631		✲			— La Fortuna. (Dettagli del soffitto.)
13632		✲			— Il Trionfo delle Armi. (Dettagli del soffitto.)
					Galleria Layard.
13582		✲			**Bellini** Gentile. – L'Adorazione dei Re Magi.
13583		✲			— Ritratto di Maometto II.
13584		✲			**Boccaccini** Boccaccio. – Madonna col Figlio e due Angioli.
13585		✲			**Bonsignori** Francesco. – Madonna col Figlio e Santi.
13586		✲			**Bonvicini** Alessandro (*Moretto da Brescia*). – Ritratto.
13587		✲			— Madonna col Figlio e Santi.
13588		✲			**Caroto** Francesco o **Garofolo** (?). – Santa Caterina.
13589		✲			**Carpaccio** Vettore. – Un ricevimento in riva al mare.
13590		✲			**Cima da Conegliano.** – Madonna col Figlio e Santi.
13591		✲			— Madonna col Figlio e Santi.
13592		✲			**Costa** Lorenzo. – Adorazione del Bambino Gesù.
13593		✲			**Filippi** A., detto *Botticelli*. – Ritratto di giovine.
13594		✲			**Ferrari** Gaudenzio. – Annunziazione.
13595		✲			**Grandi** Ercole. – La partenza dall'Egitto.
13596		✲			— La caduta della Manna.
13597		✲			— Madonna col Figlio in trono e Angioli.
13598		✲			**Goes** Ugo (Van Der). – La Madonna col Figlio.
13599		✲			**Luciani** (Fra) S., detto *Sebastiano del Piombo*. – La Pietà.
13600		✲			**Luini** Bernardino. – La Vergine col Figlio.
13601		✲			**Morone** Francesco. – Ritratto di Leonardo Galvani.
13602		✲			— Ritratto.
13603		✲			**Montagna** Bartolommeo. – San Giovanni, Santa Caterina e un vescovo.
13604		✲			**Palma** (il *Vecchio*). – San Giorgio libera la donzella dal mostro.
13605		✲			**Previtali** Andrea. – Cristo benedicente.
13606		✲			**Savoldo** Gerolamo. – San Gerolamo nel deserto.
13607		✲			**Suardi** Bartolommeo, detto il *Bramantino*. – Adorazione dei Magi.
13608		✲			**Scuola Tedesca.** – Gesù posto in croce.
13609		✲			**Secolo XVI.** – Paliotto in velluto e oro (dettaglio).
13610		✲			**Tura** Cosimo. – La Primavera.
13611		✲			**Vivarini** Alvise. – Ritratto di ignoto.
					Galleria Manfrin.
13612		✲			**Lotto** Lorenzo. – Madonna col Figlio e Santi.
13613		✲			**Santacroce** Gerolamo. – La visita dei Magi.

Fig. 12 / Page of the Alinari catalogue published in 1897.

This first selection of photographs seems not to have fulfilled Layard's expectations. Given the poor legibility of details, Layard gradually substituted them with images taken in later photographic campaigns. In July 1885, he consulted the Florentine brothers Alinari, but the estimate was initially so high that no agreement was reached.[75] The chronology of the photographs eventually taken by the Alinari is not clear, but they probably date from after 1891. By mid-October of that year, Frizzoni renewed his enquiry about obtaining a good reproduction of the *Annunciation* by Gaudenzio Ferrari (NG3068.1-2), which was not among the subjects reproduced by Brusa, but does appear in Alinari's album.[76] In 1897 Alinari published a catalogue about Venice including thirty works of art (to be precise twenty-nine full-length pictures, plus a detail of a *paliotto* or small altarpiece, [fig. 12]) from the "Galleria Layard".[77] Eleven photographs had already been included in *The Magazine of Art* (January 1896) to illustrate an article by Horatio Brown,[78] five of which did not appear in Brusa's album. Therefore, Alinari's photographs must have been taken between late 1891 and 1895. This time span can be further restricted to the first quarter of 1894, when Henry Layard was still alive, in view of the inscription, which reads: "Galleria di Sir H. Layard". Later illustrations are merely inscribed "Palazzo Layard".

A third nucleus of twenty-seven photographs relating to the Layard paintings can be identified in the archive of another Venetian photographer, Tomaso Filippi.[79] The dating and details of these negatives are also uncertain, but the photographs are relevant here as they record the only visual evidence known so far of the so-called Juan Carreño de Miranda, *Portrait of wife of Charles IV of Spain* (fig. 13), whose whereabouts remain unknown.[80]

It is certain that it was Lady Layard who gave permission to Domenico Anderson "to photograph the pictures in this house".[81] They became acquainted through the Venetian art dealer Michelangelo Guggenheim in September 1897. She might, however, have already

Fig. 13 / Tomaso Filippi, *Juan Carreño de Miranda (?), Portrait of the wife of Charles IV of Spain*, Venice, I.R.E., Fondo fotografico Tommaso Filippi (inv. TFN2521).

been familiar with him, as Frizzoni had mentioned his name to Henry on more than one occasion.[82] Anderson photographed nineteen works in the Layard collection, four of which were unedited (i.e. Moretto da Brescia's *Portrait of a man Praying with a long Beard*, NG3095 [fig. 14]; Bellini's *Virgin and Child*, NG3078; Mazzolino's *Nativity*, NG3114; and Garofalo's *Virgin and Child with Saints Dominic and Catherine*, NG3102), the rest had previously been reproduced by either Brusa or Alinari. By 1898, the carbon prints were available in Anderson's catalogue, listed under the heading "Palazzo Layard".[83]

ARTICLES AND DESCRIPTIONS OF THE LAYARD GALLERY

The articles written both by Horatio Brown and Gustavo Frizzoni in 1896 extensively illustrated the collection for the first time, as well as providing the fullest published account on it. Whilst Brown aimed at making Layard's pictures known among the British public, stressing their importance in view of the "noble bequest"[84] to the National Gallery, Frizzoni addressed the refined readership, notably scholars, of the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (fig. 15). His article tackled the chronology of works and divided paintings into the various schools, with a clear historical-critical approach. He began with works produced in the Veneto, "which represent the core of the collection",[85] and moved to the Florentine school, concluding with a brief comment on the "the art produced in the Bas-Rhin regions".[86] For Frizzoni, the collection provided a valuable opportunity to demonstrate his critical ability; he was able discuss and argue for new attributions, not only in the case of the allegorical figure by Cosmè Tura (NG3070, see figs. 4 & 5), but also for several other pictures produced by different schools of painting.[87]

Articles, however, were not enough to satisfy Lady Layard. Along with the public recognition of Henry Layard's merits, beginning with the erection of his bust in the British Museum in 1891 (see fig. 1), Lady Enid was anxious to publish an autobiography of her husband,[88]

Fig. 14 / Moretto da Brescia, *Praying Man with a Long Beard*, ca. 1545, oil on canvas, 103.7 x 89.4 cm, London, National Gallery.

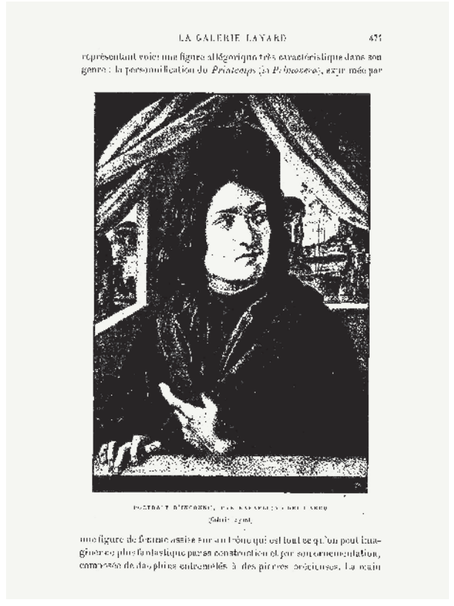


Fig. 15 / Gustavo Frizzoni, "La Galerie Layard," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 38 (1896): pp. 455-476, (p. 471).

as well as a proper catalogue of his paintings collection, complete with exhaustive scholarly descriptions. To this end, she rearranged the contents of Sir Henry's notebook relating to the paintings in a typewritten catalogue set out as a room-by-room inventory and dated 1896.[89] In line with the current practice of having illustrated catalogues of collections commissioned from well-known art historians, Lady Layard enlisted another prominent figure of Italian connoisseurship, Adolfo Venturi (1856-1941), to write a study of the collection.[90]

Their earliest documented meeting took place on 15 July 1901, when Lady Enid recorded a visit from "Professor Venturi"[91] to her London flat, at 3 Savile Row, but they may well have become acquainted earlier at the Ferrarese exhibition held at the *Burlington Fine Arts Club* in 1894.[92] Sir Henry Layard had lent a copy of the Borghese *Circe* by Dosso Dossi to the exhibition and four photographs of some of his other paintings: Garofalo's *Virgin and Child with the Saints Domenic and Catherine* (NG3102); two scenes from Niccolò Pisano's *The Story of Moses (The Israelites Gathering Manna*, NG3103, and *The Dance of Miriam*, NG3104*)*; Lorenzo Costa's, *The Adoration of the Shepherds with Angels* (NG3105).[93] Since his appointment at the "Minerva", the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione (1888), in order to catalogue the national works of art, Venturi had been compiling a list of paintings in private collections, so it is not surprising that Venturi's early notebook, which became known as the "Taccuino Europeo" (1896/1897 – before 1901), recorded the Layard collection.[94]

During one of his summer continental tours in 1901, Venturi visited London and "asked [Lady Layard] to publish an illustrated catalogue of Henry's collection of pictures", something she "was willing to do but did not know how to set about doing".[95] In this respect, the typewritten record could be intended as the first stage of a catalogue. At the same time, Lady Layard had also sought advice from the orientalist and art historian Sandford Arthur Strong (1863-1904), whom she recorded as having promised to help her.[96]

In spite of the initial enthusiasm, the project lingered until 1906. In fact, a new law regulating the exportation of the Italian monuments, antiquities, and works of art was passed on 12 June 1902 (No. 185/1902, known also as Nasi Law) and seven paintings of the Layard collection were included in the "Catalogue of objects of great artistic and historical values", which forbade their exportation.[97] It is unsurprising that Lady Layard

Fig. 16 / Gentile Bellini, *The Sultan Mehmet II*, 1480, oil (nineteenth-century repaint) on canvas, perhaps transferred from wood, 69.9 x 52.1 cm, London, National Gallery.

set aside the idea of a catalogue until the issue had been resolved with the assistance of the diplomatic corps.[98] Meanwhile, in 1905, Lady Layard received another offer from the Venetian publisher Rosen to publish the catalogue, but she declined having "already promised to let S[igno]r Venturi do it".[99] A few months later, Carlo Malagola, then Director of the State Archive of Venice and friend of both Lady Enid and Venturi, addressed a letter to the scholar, in which he urged Venturi to confirm his interest and set his conditions of engagement on the cataloguing project of the Layard collection.

> Dear friend, one or two years ago, I wrote to you on behalf of Lady Layard, asking whether you would be interested in writing the catalogue of her gallery. You agreed and suggested publishing it, along with several illustrations, in your magazine *L'Arte*. Lady Layard begs me now to ascertain whether you are still intending to do this and to ask how you would like to examine the paintings and how long it would take. In addition, I must ask you more precisely what fee you would require for your work and the possible expenses involved in the proposal to publish one or two hundred copies of the magazine; or to publish it separately. I think that Lady Layard would prefer the first option, saving money from a possibly useless expense.[100]

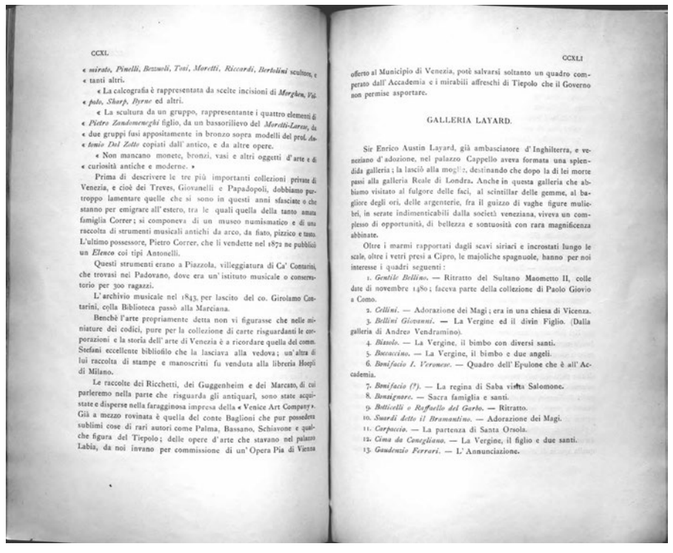
It becomes apparent that the original plan was to publish the catalogue "in the Illustrated paper *L'Arte*";[101] however, in the letter of engagement dated 21 October 1906, Lady Layard asked for a separate catalogue.

> In reference to agreements made through prof. Malagola, I am delighted to entrust you with the task of writing the historical and artistic catalogue of the Layard Collection, which I own in Venice. I promise to pay you It. Lire 1300. It is agreed that I will be entitled to all of the rights of the manuscript and of its translation in any foreign language, and that I will retain the right to have it printed and published with the appropriate illustrations in one or more editions. It is also agreed that the manuscript should be delivered ready for printing within the month of December 1907. I am sure that you will do what is worthy of your name.[102]

In spite of these precise agreements, Venturi started late on the task, and it was not until September 1907 that he visited Ca' Capello Layard. On that occasion, he spent a whole "week working at the text of the catalogue of Henry's collection of pictures w[hic]h I am going to publish",[103] as Lady Enid proudly reported in her journal. Six months later the project was still in abeyance. Venturi "was getting on slowly with the catalogue of my pictures & would come again to Venice in the summer to put the finishing touches".[104] In fact, the scholar was besieged by many commitments, including university teaching, the catalogue of Giulio Sterbini's collection, and, above all, the colossal enterprise of the *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*.[105] The project

may have still been incomplete at the time of Lady Enid's death in 1912, but this is difficult to ascertain fully as no surviving documents mention it after 1908.[106]

As it turned out, Venturi published an extensive article on the formation of the Layard collection in the last issue of *L'Arte* in 1912, which subsequently appeared as an offprint.[107] The essay marked the beginning of the crucial debate on whether, and how, to apply the new legislation on the exportation (no. 364/1909) of a collection that had already travelled around Europe – even if without any license – and had returned to Italy only by chance.[108] Although Venturi stated that the exportation of the Layard collection was a legal matter which did not concern him, there are hints which suggest that his neutral stance did not reflect his private feelings. His main focus in the catalogue was to provide details on the paintings' provenance and an accurate selection of photographs, most of them previously unpublished. Yet, in his conclusion, Venturi went on to complain about the wretched state of things in Italy, undoubtedly referring to the reproachable practice of favouring foreigners in the purchase of Italian artworks, as Morelli did, and hoping that the new legislation would prevent further dispersing the national heritage abroad.[109]



CCXL

« mirato, Pinelli, Bezzoli, Toni, Moretti, Riccardi, Barbolini scultori, e « tanti altri.

« La calcografia è rappresentata da scelte incisioni di *Morghen*, Fiı « *pato*, *Sharp*, *Byrne* ed altri.

« La scultura da un gruppo, rappresentante i quattro elementi d « *Pietro Zandomeghi* figlio, da un bassorilievo del *Moretti-Lorenzi*, da « due gruppi fusi appositamente in bronzo sopra modelli del prof. *An* « *tonio Dal Zotto* copiati dall'antico, e da altre opere.

« Non mancano monete, bronzi, vasi e altri oggetti d'arte e di « curiosità antiche e moderne. »

Prima di descrivere le tre più importanti collezioni private di Venezia, e cioè dei Treves, Giovanelli e Papadopoli, dobbiamo purtroppo lamentare quelle che si sono in questi anni sfasciate o che stanno per emigrare all'estero, tra le quali quella della tanto amata famiglia Correr; si componeva di un museo numismatico e di una raccolta di strumenti musicali antichi da arco, da fiato, pizzico e tas. L'ultimo possessore, Pietro Correr, che li vendette nel 1872 ne pubblicò un *Elenco* coi tipi Antonelli.

Questi strumenti erano a Piazzola, villeggiatura di Ca' Contarini, che trovasi nel Padovano, dove era un'istituto musicale o conservatorio per 300 ragazzi.

L'archivio musicale nel 1843, per lascito del co. Girolamo Contarini, colla Biblioteca passò alla Marciana.

Benchè l'arte propriamente detta non vi figurasse che nelle miniature dei codici, pure per la collezione di carte riguardanti le corporazioni e la storia dell'arte di Venezia è a ricordare quella del comm. Stefani eccellente bibliofilo che la lasciava alla vedova; un'altra di lui raccolta di stampe e manoscritti fu venduta alla libreria Hoepli di Milano.

Le raccolte dei Ricchetti, dei Guggenheim e dei Marcato, di cui parleremo nella parte che riguarda gli antiquari, sono state acquistate e disperse nella faraginosa impresa della « Venice Art Company ». Già a mezzo rovinata è quella del conte Baglioni che pur possedeva sublimi cose di rari autori come Palma, Bassano, Schiavone e quelche figura del Tiepolo; delle opere d'arte che stavano nel palazzo Labia, da noi invano per commissione di un'Opera Pia di Vienna

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offerto al Municipio di Venezia, potè salvarsi soltanto un quadro comperato dall'Accademia e i mirabili affreschi di Tiepolo che il Governo non permise asportare.

GALLERIA LAYARD.

Sir Enrico Austin Layard, già ambasciatore d'Inghilterra, e veneziano d'adozione, nel palazzo Cappello aveva formata una splendida galleria; la lasciò alla moglie, destinando che dopo la di lei morte passi alla galleria Reale di Londra. Anche in questa galleria che abbiamo visitato al fulgore delle faci, al scintillar delle gemme, al bagliore degli ori, delle argenterie, fra il guizzo di vaghe figure muliebri, in serate indimenticabili dalla società veneziana, viveva un complesso di opportunità, di bellezza e sontuosità con rara magnificenza abbinate.

Oltre i marmi rapportati dagli scavi siriaci e incrostati lungo le scale, oltre i vetri presi a Cipro, le majoliche spagnuole, hanno per noi interesse i quadri seguenti:

1. *Gentile Bellino.* — Ritratto del Sultano Maometto II, colle date di novembre 1480; faceva parte della collezione di Paolo Giovio a Como.
2. *Cellini.* — Adorazione dei Magi; era in una chiesa di Vicenza.
3. *Bellini Giovanni.* — La Vergine ed il divin Figlio. (Dalla galleria di Andrea Vendramino).
4. *Bianchi.* — La Vergine, il bimbo con diversi santi.
5. *Boccaccino.* — La Vergine, il bimbo e due angeli.
6. *Bonifacio I. Veronese.* — Quadro dell'Eputone che è all'Accademia.
7. *Bonifacio (?).* — La regina di Saba visita Salomone.
8. *Bonsignore.* — Sacra famiglia e santi.
9. *Botticelli o Raffaello del Garbo.* — Ritratto.
10. *Busordi detto il Bramantino.* — Adorazione dei Magi.
11. *Carpaccio.* — La partenza di Santa Orsola.
12. *Cima da Conegliano.* — La Vergine, il figlio e due santi.
13. *Gandenzio Ferrari.* — L'Annunciazione.

Fig. 17 / Cesare Augusto Levi, *Le collezioni veneziane d'arte e d'antichità dal XIV secolo ai giorni nostri* 2 vols. (Venice: Ongania, 1900), pp. CCXL- CCXLI.

CONCLUSION

In the growing advertising era of magazines and photographs, the collection received extensive and positive coverage from influential specialist art magazines, as well as from newspapers, testifying to Henry Layard's public recognition as collector and benefactor. A close examination of the articles and references to the collection published between 1871 and 1912 shows that Ca' Capello and its contents were considered a visitor attraction in their own right. The principal highlights were the *Portrait of the Sultan* by Gentile Bellini (NG3099, fig. 16), the *Portrait of a Man* variously attributed to Antonello or Alvise Vivarini (NG3121), as well the works by Carpaccio (NG3085, see fig. 3), Luini (NG3090), Moretto (NG3095, see fig. 14; NG3096), Moroni (NG3123, NG3124, NG3128, NG3129, see figs. 7 & 8), Previtali (NG3087), Savoldo (NG3092, see fig. 6), Cosmé Tura (NG3070, see figs. 4 & 5), Raffaellino del Garbo (NG3101), and the supposed Sebastiano del Piombo (NG3084). Only a handful of articles mentioned the paintings of non-Italian masters and even rarer were those relating to the decorative arts, whose records appear only in Cesare Augusto Levi (fig. 17) and Alfredo Melani's accounts.[110] The main concern of the articles published in early twentieth century, both in England and Italy, was the exportation issue of Italian paintings.[111] The litigation had sparked off a fierce debate primarily in the Italian Parliament and the National Gallery Board. After lengthy discussions and, ultimately largely for political reasons, the collection was authorized to leave Italy, as an *act of grace*, and in 1917 the pictures were displayed in the main rooms of the National Gallery.

Paradoxically, a complete overview of the composition and richness of the Layard collection can only be gained from the catalogues compiled after its dispersal, when it passed through the salerooms or ended up in museums. As a matter of fact, at Lady Layard's death, the remainder of the collection was immediately sold and scattered across the world. According to the terms of her will, Ca' Capello and all its contents, except for a few things, were bequeathed to her niece Olivia Blanche Du Cane.[112] The latter, upon taking possession of the palace, soon tried to get rid of it, being apparently in financial straits, and auctioned almost the entirety of its contents. The Moorish plates were the first nucleus to be sold at Christie's in 1918.[113] The most extensive sale,

however, took place several years later at the auction house Guglielmi in Rome (1939), when the auction stretched over nine days and included 1042 lots.[114] Despite comprising a very wide selection of objects, the collection is more notable for its multifarious nature than its the overall size. The pages of the catalogue reflect Layard's taste and interests, mainly paintings, sets of majolica, Murano glass, tapestries, precious textiles, chandeliers, objects of vertu, prints, books, and drawings. Another conspicuous element of the collection originally housed at Ca' Capello were the prints, which were sold by anonymous owners at a judicial sale in Venice in 1969.[115]

Photographic catalogues also enable one to retrace some missing paintings once belonging to the collection. These include the *Portrait* by Juan Carreño de Miranda and a cassone with the *Journey of the Queen of Sheba* by Apollonio di Giovanni, recorded in Federico Zeri's archive as part of the Layard Collection around 1880 (see fig. 13 & 18).[116]

Layard's bequests and loans were philanthropically motivated. At the same time, the ways in which the collection was publicized in order to promote public and scholarly awareness of Layard's Old Masters served to disguise his social ambitions. In the arts, as well as in politics, Layard was an outsider who sought inclusion and recognition and made use of his abilities to demonstrate his merits and credit. By bequeathing his pictures to the National Gallery in London, he wished to leave a legacy which might perpetuate his name and gain him the highest distinction, along with his successes as an archaeologist. In doing so, the exclusivity of a private pursuit was undoubtedly transcended, as it became an integral part of the country's heritage and contributed "to convey instruction to the art-student, and to afford enjoyment to the lover of art".[117] This was an aim which Layard had frequently reiterated and which could finally receive general validation. However, the fact that the majority of the pictures are currently in depots or on loan may be taken as evidence of an apparent reluctance on the part of the National Gallery to display problematic or unfashionable paintings or those of doubtful attribution and, even if the pearls of his collection are greatly admired by visitors to Trafalgar Square, few people, perhaps, stop to consider the collector who donated them. Ironically, had he left the collection intact at Ca' Capello, he might have achieved greater posthumous fame.

Fig. 18 / Apollonio di Giovanni, *The Journey of the Queen of Sheba*, 1440-1460, gelatin silver print, 109 x 204 mm, Bologna, Fototeca Federico Zeri (inv. 36358).

NOTES

1. Horatio Brown, "Sir Henry Layard's pictures," *The Magazine of Art* 19 (1896): pp. 417-423, (p. 417). For the terms of the bequest see London, British Library (hereafter BL): Layard Papers, vol. XLVIII, Add. Ms. 56196, fols. 36-37: Last Will and Testament of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Austen Layard.
2. Gustavo Frizzoni, "La Galerie Layard," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 38 (1896): pp. 455-476.
3. Jonathan Parry, "Layard, Austen Henry," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, accessed 10 May 2019, doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/16218.
4. See also Nicholas Penny, "Appendix of Collectors' Biographies, Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894)," in *National Gallery School Catalogues: The Sixteenth-Century Italian Paintings, I: Paintings from Bergamo, Brescia and Cremona* (London: National Gallery Publications, 2004), pp. 372-380, at p. 372; Susanna Avery-Quash and Julie Sheldon, *Art for the Nation: the Eastlakes and the Victorian Art World* (London: The National Gallery Company, 2011), p. 149.
5. See London, National Gallery Archive (hereafter NGA): NG1216 dossier. Henceforth, the National Gallery paintings will be marked only by NG before the number.
6. For a general account on the Layard collection see Cecilia Riva, "Austen Henry Layard Collector and Amateur. Diplomacy, Art History and Collecting in Nineteenth-century Europe" (PhD diss., Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, 2009), pp. 117-119. For the history of the palace and its frescoes, see Alessandra Lotto, "Aspetti della committenza veneziana" (PhD diss., Università Ca' Foscari, Venice, 2018); Penny, "Appendix of Collectors' Biographies, Austen Henry Layard," pp. 372-380. For particular collections from which Layard acquired some of his paintings, see Linda Borean, *La Galleria Manfrin a Venezia. L'ultima collezione d'arte della Serenissima* (Udine: Forum, 2018); Emanuele Mattaliano and Grazia Agostini, *La collezione Costabili* (Venice: Marsilio, 1998).
7. See Cecilia Riva, "An Art World Insider: Austen Henry Layard and the Nineteenth-Century European Art Trade," *Journal for Art Market Studies* 2 (2018): pp. 1-22, (pp. 16-17, 21).
8. During the International conference *Rethinking Layard 1817-2017*, held at the Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti, Venice (5-6 March 2018), Rosa Barovier Mentasti gave a paper on this topic entitled "La promozione del vetro di Murano: Austen Henry Layard e Lady Enid Layard", accessed 10 December 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9rNOVI6EwE&list=PLfcFPNXyAOqbGjoVWP2VErZn-HRPSHLlk&index=6.
9. BL: vol. LXXVI, Add. Ms. 39006, fol. 164. On the Anglo-American community in Rome, see Christina Huemer, *Spellbound by Rome: the Anglo-American Community in Rome 1890-1914* (Rome: Palombi, 2005); Carl B. Strehlke, "Filadelfia-Roma: George Washington Wurts e Henrietta Towers da Lincoln a Mussolini," in *Voglia d'Italia. Il collezionismo internazionale nella Roma del Vittoriano*, ed. Emanuele Pellegrini (Naples: arte'm, 2017), pp. 49-79. For the Anglo-Americans in Florence see Marcello Fantoni, *Gli Anglo-Americani a Firenze, idea e costruzione del Rinascimento* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2000); Claudio Paolini, *A Sentimental Journey: inglesi e americani a Firenze tra Ottocento e Novecento. I luoghi, le case, gli alberghi* (Florence: Ed. Polistampa, 2013). For the Venetian community, see Hanne Borchmeyer, *Die Entwicklung des amerikanische Künstlermilieu in Venedig von 1880 bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013).
10. Venice, Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereafter ASVe): Notarile, II Serie, Angelo Pasini, b. 2371, n. 4801/2306, 31 October 1874. See also ASVe: Censo stabile attivato, San Polo, mappale 1305, 3 November 1874, petizione n. 111. For a complete account of the purchase, see Riva, "Austen Henry Layard," pp. 219-221.
11. This and the subsequent quotes from Lady Layard's Journal (below LLJ) follow the online transcription of the manuscripts, kept in the British Library: Department of Manuscripts, Add. Ms. S 46153–46170, 58173, 50182. <https://www.browningguide.org/lady-layards-journal/> accessed 10 December 2019. LLJ: Venice, 25 August 1874.
12. Most of the fresco decoration perished soon after its realization and was greatly damaged by a fire in 1627. Antonio Zanetti was thus able to engrave only the remaining frescoes by Zelotti and included them in his volume *Varie Pitture a fresco de' principali maestri veneziani. Ora la prima volta con le stampe pubblicate* (Venice, 1760), pp. X-XI, ill. 15-18. A few coloured specimens have survived and are housed at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome; Houghton Library, Harvard. For a full account on the coloured copies, see Chiara Piva, "Le copie a colori delle 'Varie pitture a' fresco dei principali maestri veneziani' di Anton Maria Zanetti," *Arte Veneta* 72 (2015): pp. 160, 164, pl. 11. On the history of the palace and its frescoes, see Alessandra Lotto, "Aspetti della committenza veneziana" (PhD diss., Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, 2009), pp. 117-119.
13. This is rather curious because Sir Charles Eastlake had a copy of Zanetti in his library [NGA: NG Lib. (O.S.) NH 1076.3 Zanetti].
14. LLJ: Venice, 25 January 1887. The intervention was criticized in a Venetian guide: "Cappello (ora A. H. Layard). S. Polo – stile del decadimento semplice che vorrebbe essere lombardesco. Il recente restauro tolse lo scarso effetto di quella facciata la male suggerita tinta rossa, e peggio l'abbassamento a lastroni di marmo di Carrara". Ernesto Volpi, *Tre giorni a zig-zag per Venezia e isole* (Venice: F.lli Visentini, 1888), pp. 80-81. On the nineteenth-century fashion to paint Venetian palaces in red, see Giacomo Boni, *Venezia imbellettata* (Rome: Stab. Tip. Italiano, 1887), p. 43.
15. See BL: Vol. CXII, Add. Ms. 39042, fol. 35: "From your account the exterior adornment of your house, Ca' Capello, with marble panels must look lovely at the corner of the two canals now that it has the colour and material befitting a Venetian Palace." See also Henri de Régnier, *Portraits et Souvenirs* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1913), p. 322.
16. BL: Vol. XLII, Add. Ms. 38972, fol. 47.
17. Oxford, Bodleian Library (hereafter OBL): Gregory Papers: Dep. d. 970, fols. 58, 59. Interestingly, a letter to Morelli informs us that until 1880 the palace had been rented: "J'ai l'intention de me défaire de mon [*locataire], et d'occuper toute la maison". BL: Vol. XXXVI, Add. Ms. 38966, fol. 297v: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Therapia, 21 Mai 1880.
18. Newcastle, Philip Robinson Library: Layard Collection, Lay1/1/1/64, fol. 2v: E. Layard to M. Guest, 9 June 1875. I am grateful to Stefania Ermidoro for sharing with me the information. Elizabeth Rigby, best-known as Lady Eastlake, resided at Ca' Capello during the winter season 1876/77, see BL: Vol. 42, Add. MS. 38972, fols. 46-47. See OBL: Dep. d. 970, fol. 75: A. H. Layard to W. H. Gregory, Madrid, 30 November 1876; and Julie Sheldon *The Letters of Elizabeth Rigby* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), pp. 419, 435.
19. BL: Vol. XIX, Add. Ms. 38949, fol. 137: A. H. Layard to W. H. Gregory, 17 December 1874.
20. On this account, see Ashley Clarke, "Layard and diplomacy," in *Austen Henry Layard: tra Oriente e Venezia*, eds. Mario F. Fales and Bernhard J. Hickey (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1987), pp. 95-100; Parry, "Layard, Austen Henry."
21. BL: Vol. XX, Add. Ms. 38950, fol. 160: A. H. Layard to W. H. Gregory, Venice, 28 December 1890.
22. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, John Murray Archive (hereafter NLS): Ms. 42338, fol. 22: A. H. Layard to E. Rigby, Rome, 21 January 1881. It is worth mentioning that "leave on full pay had ended in the autumn. [Layard] had lost about £5,000 in the failure of his banker Willis Percival, a few years earlier, so that there was a problem of money, for the Layards had acquired a liking for good living with plenty of entertaining". Gordon Waterfield, *Layard of Nineveh* (London: John Murray, 1963), p. 457.
23. NLS: Ms. 42338, fol. 22.
24. Parry, "Layard, Austen Henry."
25. "Lady Layard. A personal reminiscence," *Pall Mall Gazette*, 6 November 1912.
26. Most of the names that visited Ca' Capello are listed not only in Lady Layard's Journal, but also in her autograph album (1881-1912), now BL: Add. Ms. 50149: Autograph Album of Mary Enid Evelyn Layard, 1881-1912.
27. John Pemble, *Venice Rediscovered* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 35.
28. BL: Vol. LXXVI, Add. Ms. 39006, fol. 164: J. Hudson to A. H. Layard, 8 June 1875.
29. See NLS: Ms. 42338, fol. 16: A. H. Layard to E. Rigby, 30 October 1880.
30. NLS: Ms. 42338, fol. 16: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 30 October 1880. From the correspondence, it results that the Layards had reserved a room to use of Morelli exclusively. See BL: Vol. XXXVI, Add. Ms. 38966, fol. 242: A. H. Layard to A. Malcolm, Madrid, 10 February 1876.
31. As regards the arrival of the paintings at Venice, see OBL: Dep. d. 970, fol. 61: A. H. Layard to W. H. Gregory, Madrid, 8 May 1875. See also Adolfo Venturi, "La Formazione della Galleria Layard," *L'Arte* XV (1912): pp. 449-62, (p. 456). For a detailed description of the gallery and its display, an article is forthcoming.
32. See *Catalogo delle importanti raccolte d'arte e de pregevoli dipinti, antichi tappeti e mobile che arredavano il Palazzo Cappello a Venezia*, Guglielmi, Rome, 11-20 December 1939.
33. Barbara Lasic, "Dignity and Graciousness: Mewès and Davis and the creation of the 'Tous les Louis' period room," *Furniture History* 48 (2012): pp. 193-210, (p. 194).
34. Alfredo Melani, "The Layard collection in Venice," *The Studio. An illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art* 57 (1913): pp. 303-318, (p. 314).
35. "Devenu par [les] soins [du Layard] un musée": "Review

of *The Magazine of Art*," *La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité. Supplément a la Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 18 April 1896, p. 149. The same idea was reported in Layard's obituary, which appeared in the Venetian newspaper; "Sir Henry Layard," *Gazzetta di Venezia*, 7 July 1894.

36. "Équivaut, en un sens, à une garantie". Review of *The Magazine of Art*, p. 149.
37. See London, National Art Library: MSL/1952/1315: Fine Arts Club. Minute book from 1857, fol. 28: Conversazione at the room of the Arundel Society, 30 January 1861; on the Royal Academy's loan, see *National Exhibition of Works of Art at Leeds. Official Catalogue* (Leeds: Edward Baines and Sons, 1868); *Exhibition of the works of the Old Masters, Associated with a Collection from the Works of Charles Robert Leslie, R.A., and Clarkson Stanfield, R.A.* (London: Clowes and sons, 1870), nos. 16, 54, 62. On the loan to the South Kensington Museum, see *17th Report of the Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education* (London: G. E. Eyre-W. Spottiswoode, 1870), p. 379. For the loan to the National Gallery of Ireland, evidence can be gleaned from Layard's correspondence with the director of the museum, Henry Doyle, and from the documents in Layard's nominal file, held in the archive of the Victoria and Albert Museum, MA/1/L561.
38. The practice to open the doors of the house to a select audience and present one's collection derived from Horace Walpole and William Beckford, and continued with the members of the *Fine Arts Club*. The loans of private collections at the South Kensington Museum were in a sense a continuation of this tradition, as well as an opening to a broader public. See Christopher S. Sykes, *Private Palaces: Life in the Great London Houses* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1985), pp. 231-267; David Pearce, *London's Mansions: the Palatial Houses of the Nobility* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1986), pp. 167-171; Ann Eatwell, "The Collector's or Fine Arts Club 1857-1874. The First Society for Collectors of the Decorative Arts," *The Decorative Arts Society Journal* 18 (1994): pp. 25-30.
39. John Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in North Italy* (London: John Murray, 1871), pp. 63, 78-8, 128, 130, 183, 185, 190, 204-5, 212, 214, 236, 265, 282, 295, 307, 318, 319, 342, 343, 380; Karl Baedeker, *Italy. Handbook for Travelers*, vol.1 (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1886), p. 262; Karl Karoly, *A Guide to the Paintings of Venice Being an Historical and Critical Account of all the Pictures in Venice, with Quotations from the best Authorities and Short Lives of the Venetian Masters* (London: George Belle and Sons, 1895), pp. 161-162; George Lafenestre and Eugène Richtenberger, *La peinture en Europe. Venise* (Paris: Mainson Quantin, 1897), pp. 303-312. As regards monographs, see Giuseppe Colombo, *Vita ed opere di Gaudenzio Ferrari pittore* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1881), p. 23; Louis Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mohammed II: notes sur le séjour du peintre vénitien à Constantinople (1479-1480)* (Paris: Leroux, 1888), just to name a few.
40. Maurice W. Brockwell, "The Layard collection. Magnificent Bequest to the National Gallery," *Morning Post*, 4 November 1912.
41. Brockwell, *The Layard collection.*
42. NLS: Ms. 42173, fol. 29: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 28 October 1890. Also quoted in Sheldon, *The Letters*, pp. 612-613.
43. NLS: Ms. 42340, fol. 33: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 2 November 1890.
44. NLS: Ms. 42340, fol. 33: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 2 November 1890.
45. Bernard Berenson, *The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance, with an Index to Their Works* (New York: Putnam, 1894), pp. 81, 89, 92, 93, 102, 105, 112, 117, 121, 126, 129, 149. Curiously enough, most of the attributions in the first index of the Venetian painters corresponded to those given by Layard, including the Sebastiano del Piombo and the Carpaccios.
46. T. Latham Johnston, "Mary Berenson and the conception of connoisseurship" (PhD diss., Indiana University 2001), pp. 447-448. See also Angela Emanuel, "Lady Layard and Julia Cartwright," in *Austen Henry Layard*, eds. Fales and Hickey p. 169.
47. An English tour guide reported in 1896: "The Palazzo Cappello contains many beautiful works of art, including the celebrated Sultan Mehemet by *Gentile Bellini*. The palace, however, is not shown." Augustus J. C. Hare, *Venice* (London: G. Allen, 1896), p. 217. Nevertheless, a more precise guide specified "Palazzo Capello (now Layard) containing a fine collection of pictures of the best masters, especially Venetians. Admission by personal introduction only". Hugh A. Douglas, *Venice and her Treasures* (London: Methuen, 1909), p. 145.
48. BL: Add. Ms. 50149: Autograph album, 1881-1912.
49. The spouses visited the collection for the first time on 27 February 1893, and again in 1912; "Mme Jacquemart André came to see me in the morn[in] g and more specially to look at the pictures. She has a fine collection, I believe in Paris & is a painter. She seemed to enjoy herself & sat down opposite the different pictures to gaze at them – chatting the while." LLJ: 11 April 1912.
50. See Jacob Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone: eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens*, ed. W. von Bode (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1884), pp. 620, 633, 634, 638, 643, 658, 776; Franz Kugler, *Handbook of Painting. The Italian Schools*, ed. Austen Henry Layard, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1887), I, pp. 304; II, pp. 356, 380; Karl Baedeker, *Handbook for Travellers. Northern Italy* (Leipzig: Baedeker, 1895), p. 265. See also LLJ: Ca' Capello, Venice, 23 September 1912: "German professors came with letters of introduction to view the pictures."
51. NLS: Ms. 42338, fol. 16 A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 30 October 1880.
52. BL: Vol. XX, Add. Ms. 38950, fol. 73: A. H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 6 November 1891.
53. Brockwell, *The Layard Collection.* Before Morelli recognized the connection between the painting and the drawing, the latter was assigned to Titian. See Giovanni Morelli, *Die Werke italienischer Meister in den Galerien von München, Dresden und Berlin* (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1880), no. 1, p. 254.
54. Sheldon, *The Letters*, p. 441.
55. LLJ: Ca' Capello, Venice, 5 April 1895.
56. It seems that Eleonora Duse decided to visit Lady Enid on account of the very glowing report D'Annunzio made her. See LLJ: 16-17 October 1897.
57. Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, Fondo Adolfo Venturi (below SNS): Carteggio, VT F2 b38,7. See Ugo Fleres, "La Pinacoteca dell'Ateneo di Brescia," *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane* 3 (1895/1896): pp. 267, 285, 286, 290.
58. LLJ: Venice, 25 May 1908.
59. See LLJ: 17 June 1907.
60. BL: Layard Papers, vol. XIX, Add. Ms. 58167, fol. 23: H.H. Gibbs to A.H. Layard, 11 November 1885.
61. Lady Gregory's drawing is kept at the Prints and Drawings Collection of the National Library of Ireland, Dublin (inv. PD 3032 TX 35). This pencil drawing, together with a watercolour representing the interior of the British Legation at Madrid (reproduced in Waterfield, *Layard of Nineveh*, p. 343), are the only visual sources that testify to its presence in the Layard collection.
62. NGA: NG7/292/13(ii): List of pictures and tapestries in the possession of A. H. Layard. Manuscript notebook with descriptive notes of each picture, no. 85, 86.
63. "Illustrer [les tableaux] en rapport à leur mérite et a l'intérêt qu'ils offrent comme monument de l'art". BL: vol. CVI, Add. Ms. 39036, fol. 182: G. Frizzoni to A. H. Layard, Milano, 16 January 1883.
64. BL: vol. CXIII, Add. Ms. 39043, fol. 73: G. Frizzoni to A. H. Layard, Milano, 21 November 1888.
65. See BL: vol. XXXIV, Add. Ms. 38967, fol. 188: A. H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 10 July 1885.
66. For a general overview, see Paola Callegari, *Collezioni d'arte e fotografia artistica nell'Italia del Risorgimento* (Rome: Gangemi, 2010); Nicola Gronchi, *La fotografia come mezzo di riproduzione delle opere d'arte: storia, critica e tecniche della fotografia d'arte letta attraverso le immagini di Alinari, Brogi e Anderson* (Rome: Aracne Editore, 2016). On more specific cases, see Marco Mozzo, "Il fondo fotografico di Cavalcaselle alla Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana: ricognizione preliminare," in *Gli Archivi delle Soprintendenze*, ed. Anna Maria Spiazzi (Vicenza: Terra Ferma, 2010), pp. 34-49; Marco Mozzo, "La raccolta di fotografia d'arte di Henry Thode e Gabriele D'Annunzio: un progetto di riordino e schedatura informatica," *Quaderni del Vittoriale* 5 (2009): pp. 91-103; Paola Callegari, *Pietro Toesca e la fotografia, "saper vedere"* (Milan: Skira, 2009).
67. "Faire connaître [les œuvres] aux amateurs". BL: vol. CVI, Add. Ms. 39036, fol. 182: G. Frizzoni to A. H. Layard, Milano, 16 January 1883.
68. NGA: NG14/3/6: Affidavit of Robert Clermont Witt, 16 March 1915.
69. He was awarded the "Grande Médaille l'Exposition de la Société de Photographie à Paris en 1876; Seule Médaille d'Or et Diplôme à l'Exposition Universelle de Paris 1878; Seule Médaille d'Or à l'Exposition de Milan 1881". For a complete account on his activity, see Francesca Mambelli, "Giovan Battista Brusa e i dipinti della collezione Layard," in *I colori del bianco e nero. Fotografie storiche nella Fototeca Zeri 1870-1920*, eds. Andrea Bacchi et al. (Bologna: Fondazione Federico Zeri, 2014), pp. 64-70. My thanks to Francesca Mambelli for exchanging her views with me.
70. Mambelli, *Giovan Battista Brusa*, pp. 64-70. See Giovanni Battista Brusa, *Photographies éditées* (Milan: Tip. E. Quadrio, 1882).
71. "A ce qui semble M. Brusa s'est tout à fait éclipsé". BL: vol. CVI, Add. Ms. 39036, fol. 182: G. Frizzoni to A. H. Layard, 16 January 1883.
72. BL: vol. CVI, Add. Ms. 39036, fol. 182: G. Frizzoni to A. H. Layard, 16 January 1883. On Antonio Fortunato Perini (1830-1879), see Federigo M. Zinelli, *Osservazioni intorno alla daguerrotipia, alla fotografia e alla stereoscopia* (Venice: G. Grimaldo, 1859), p. 19; Alberto Errera, *Storia e statistica delle industrie venete e accenni al loro avvenire* (Venice: Antonelli, 1870), p. 483; Italo Zannier, "Fotografia a Venezia nell'Ottocento," in *Venezia nella fotografia dell'Ottocento,* eds. Paolo Costantini and Italo Zannier (Venezia: Arsenale Editrice, 1986), p. 20; Paolo Costantini, "L'immagine di Venezia nella fotografia dell'Ottocento," in *Venezia nella fotografia*, p. 33; John Hannavy, *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 1059-1060.
73. London, British Museum (hereafter BM), Prints and Drawings Library: inv. PD10017467. I am grateful to Hugo Chapman for the assistance with this.
74. BM, Prints and Drawings Library: *Print room register of purchases and presentation* XL (Aug. II 1883-May 13 1886). In addition to these, the Fototeca Federico Zeri, Bologna, has another fifteen albumens with Brusa's stamp on the back (inv. nos. 56889; 58277; 62093; 62113; 62117; 62692; 63125; 64192; 67248; 67562; 67803; 92935; 93061; 933551; 100026), four of which illustrate different subjects to those in London.
75. See BL: vol. XXXIV, Add. Ms. 38967, fol. 188: A. H. Layard to G. Morelli, 10 July 1885.
76. See BL: vol. CLXVIII, Add. Ms. 39098, fol. 86v: G. Frizzoni to A. H. Layard, 13 October 1891.
77. Fratelli Alinari, *Venezia e il Veneto: vedute, bassorilievi statue, quadri, affreschi. Catalogo IV* (Florence: Tip. Barbera, 1897), p. 34, no. 13609.
78. Brown, *Sir Henry*, p. 219.
79. On Tomaso Filippi, see Daniele Resini and Myriam Zerbi, eds., *Venezia tra Ottocento e Novecento nelle fotografie di Tomaso Filippi* (Rome: Palombi, 2013).
80. It was bought by Layard in Madrid. See NGA: NG7/292/13(ii): no. 87.
81. See LLJ: Ca' Capello, Venice, 15-17 September 1897.
82. "Que Vous ferez photographier de nouveau vos beaux tableaux quand l'excellent photographe Anderson de Rome reviendra à Venise". BL: Vol. CLXX, Add. Ms. 39100, fol. 233: G. Frizzoni to A. H. Layard, Milan, 29 January 1894.
83. Domenico Anderson, *Catalogo delle fotografie di D. Anderson. Catalogo III: Venezia, Ferrara, Castelfranco, Conegliano, Fontanellato, Modena, Padova, Parma, Vicenza* (Rome: Tipografia Editrice Romana, 1898), p. 27. Surprisingly, none of the later articles on the Layard paintings ever made use of any Anderson photographs, but instead continued to reproduce those by Alinari or Filippi.
84. Brown, *Sir Henry*, p. 223.
85. "Qui a fourni […] le contingent le plus abondant". Frizzoni, *La Galerie*, p. 456.
86. "Productions de l'art cultivé dans les régions du Bas-Rhin". Frizzoni, *La Galerie*, p. 476.
87. On this account see, BL: vol. CXIII, Add. Ms. 39043, fol. 87: G. Frizzoni to A. H. Layard, Milan, 13 December 1888. See Fabrizio Lollini, "La nascita di un nuovo linguaggio," in *Cosmè Tura e Francesco del Cossa: l'arte a Ferrara nell'età di Borso d'Este,* ed. Mauro Natale (Ferrara: Ferrara Arte, 2007), pp. 241-247. See Fritz von Harck, "Verzeichnis der Werke des Cosma Tura," *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen* 8 (1888): no. 65, p. 38.
88. W. N. Bruce, ed., *Sir A. Henry Layard G.C.B., D.C.L. Autobiography and Letters from his Childhood until his Appointment as H. M. Ambassador at Madrid, with a Chapter on his Parliamentary Career by the RT. Hon. Sir Arthur Otway*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1903).
89. For an analysis of the typewritten catalogue see Cecilia Riva, "La collezione Layard nel catalogo dattiloscritto 1896," *Predella* 35 (2014): pp. 53-78.
90. For a biography of Venturi, see Giacomo Agosti, *Introduzione al carteggio 1876-1908* (Genova: Pantograf, 1990); Mario D'Onofrio, ed., *Adolfo Venturi e la storia dell'arte oggi* (Modena: Panini, 2008), and Venturi, "La Formazione." A few copies of the offprint published in 1913 have survived: one is in the Dutch University Institute at Florence, the other in Venturi's own Library, now at the Istituto Superiore per la Conservazione ed il Restauro in Rome.
91. LLJ: 3 Savile Row, 15 July 1901.
92. The Layards succeeded in visiting the exhibition on 9 June 1894 (see the entry in LLJ). Henry would die a few weeks later, on 5 July. No documentary evidence can be found in Venturi's archive with regards to a letter from Henry Layard.
93. LLJ: Venice, 15 January 1894. On the photographer Carlo Naya and his studio, see Hannavy, *Encyclopedia*, p. 1145. See the catalogue, *Exhibition of Pictures, Drawings, and Photographs of the Work of the School of Ferrara-Bologna, 1440-1540, also of Medals of Members of the Houses of Este and Bentivoglio* (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1894), pp. xxiv, 22, 38, 43.
94. On Venturi's lists of private collections, see Sandra Sicoli, "1891, una 'lista di appunti' per Adolfo Venturi, il catalogo delle opere private 'di sommo pregio' nel carteggio tra Pasquale Villari ed Emilio Visconti Venosta," *Arte Lombarda* 179/180 (2017): pp. 138-145. SNS: Taccuini; Taccuino Europeo, fol. 112r, quotes: "No. 1981. 1120. Piccolo San Girolamo di Cima. Come quello di Layard!" On Venturi notebooks and their classification, see Emanuele Pellegrini, "Il viaggio e la memoria: i taccuini di Adolfo Venturi," *Studi di Memofonte* 6 (2011): pp. 13-38, (pp. 19-27).
95. LLJ: 3 Savile Row, 17 July 1901.
96. LLJ: 3 Savile Row, 17 July 1901.
97. "Catalogo degli oggetti di sommo pregio per la storia e per l'arte appartenenti a privati": The disputed paintings were Jacometto Veneziano, *Portrait of a Man* (NG3121); Gentile Bellini, *Portrait of Mehmet II* (NG3099); Vittore Carpaccio, *The Departure of Saint Ursula* (NG3085); Andrea Busati, *The Entombment* (NG3084); Cosmè Tura, *Figure of Spring* (NG3070); *The Adoration of the Kings* attributed to the workshop of Giovanni Bellini (NG3098), and a *Madonna and Child* attributed to Giovanni Bellini (NG3078). For a detailed account on the issue, see Cecilia Riva, "'Un velenoso pasticcio' made in Italy. Il caso della donazione Layard," in *Donare allo Stato*, eds. Lorenzo Casini and Emanuele Pellegrini (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2017), pp. 165-173. It is worth mentioning that, when informing about the new Italian legislation in 1902 and the subsequent *Official Catalogue of Valuable Works of Art in Private Collections* (1903), *The Connoisseur* illustrated the note exclusively with photographs of Layard's paintings. See "Modifications in Italian Art Legislation," *The Connoisseur* 7 (1903): p. 258; and "Notable collections," *The Connoisseur* 8 (1904): pp. 178-180.
98. Lady Layard had satisfactorily proved that six out of seven of the disputed paintings had been reimported to Italy from England. Therefore, on 21 September 1906 the Italian Council of State resolved "to consider as not inscribed in the Catalogue of objects of great artistic and historical values in the possession of private person the pictures of which Lady Layard has the right of usufruct, with the exception of the *Portrait of a Man* by Antonello da Messina [now considered Jacometto], the inscription of which in the aforesaid catalogue is confirmed". See NGA: NG7/315.
99. LLJ: Ca' Capello, Venice, 7 July 1905.
100. "Amico Carissimo, un anno o due fa, io ti scrissi, interpellandoti a nome di Lady Layard, se tu fossi disposto ad assumere l'incarico di redigere il catalogo della sua galleria, e tu mi rispondesti adesivamente [sic], proponendomi di stamparli [sic] nell'Arte, con molte illustrazioni. Lady Layard mi ha ora pregato di sentire da te se sei sempre dello stesso parere, e quale sarebbe il modo che vorresti tenere per l'esame dei quadri, e in qual tempo te ne potresti occupare. Io poi debbo chiederti più precisamente quale sarebbe il compenso che tu chiederesti al tuo lavoro, e quale altresì sarebbe la spesa che esso potrebbe importare sia nel modo proposto, per la tiratura a parte per Lady Layard di 100, o di 200 copie; o quale per una edizione fatta direttamente e non inserita nell'Arte. Ma ritengo che Lady Layard preferirà il primo modo a risparmio di spesa di un tutto forse inutile." SNS: Carteggio: C. Malagola to A. Venturi, Venice, 19 October 1905. The underlining is Malagola's.
101. LLJ: 3 Savile Row, 20 January 1903.
102. "A norma delle intelligenze precorse a mezzo del S. Prof. Malagola, io son lieta di affidare alla S. V. Ch.a l'incarico di comporre l'illustrazione storico-artistica in forma di Catalogo da stamparsi, della Galleria Layard da me posseduta in Venezia, obbligandomi di contribuire a titolo di compenso la somma italiana di lire mille trecento (L. It. 1300). Resta convenuto che per tal modo io acquisto la proprietà del manoscritto e di qualsiasi sua traduzione, colla piena facoltà di farlo stampare e pubblicare colle necessarie illustrazioni in una o più edizioni, e resta pur convenuto che esso manoscritto dovrà da Lei essermi effettivamente consegnato pronto per la stampa, entro il mese di Dicembre del prossimo anno 1907. Sicura che Ella farà cosa degna del suo nome." SNS: Carteggio: E. Layard to A. Venturi, Venice, 21 October 1906. The underlining is Lady Layard's.
103. LLJ: Ca' Capello, Venice, 21 September 1907. Curiously enough, her name recurs several times throughout Venturi's so-called "Taccuino Pittorico" (after 1906-before 1910). See SNS: Taccuini: Taccuino Pittorico, fols. 82r, 84r, 86v. The works associated with the Layard collection found place also in Venturi's main publications; to name just a few, see Adolfo Venturi, "Maestri ferraresi del Rinascimento," *L'Arte* 6 (1903): p. 141; *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, 9, 3 (Milan: Hoepli, 1928), p. 437; and *La pittura del Quattrocento nell'alta Italia: Lombardia, Piemonte, Liguria* (Bologna: Apollo, 1930), pp. 39-40.
104. LLJ: Rome, 31 March 1908.
105. On the Sterbini collection, Adolfo Venturi, "La Quadreria Sterbini in Roma," *L'Arte* 8 (1905): pp. 422-440; and by the same author, *La Galleria Sterbini in*

Roma (Rome: Casa Editrice L'Arte, 1906). See Luisa Morozzi, "Da Lasinio a Sterbini: 'primitivi' in una raccolta romana di secondo Ottocento," *Aei mnēstos* 2 (2006): pp. 908-916.

106. The last letter concerns a missing appointment to visit the crypt of St. Peter in Rome. SNS: Carteggio: E. Layard to A. Venturi, 11 April 1908. See also LLJ: Rome, 11 April 1908.
107. See notes 31 and 90.
108. On the law no. 364/1909, see Roberto Balzani, *Per le antichità e le belle arti. La legge n. 364 del 20 giugno 1909 e l'età giolittiana* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003).
109. "Morelli stesso si unì al Layard per aiutarne l'incremento, per rallegrarsi ogni qualvolta arrivavano casse di bei quadri dall'Italia a Trafalgar Square, per segnalare al Burton quadri in vendita pubblica, presso privati". Yet, to this strong criticism, Venturi bitterly added: "In Italia era un continuo disfacimento delle collezioni private, né contrastava all'esodo lo spirito patriottico dei cultori dell'arte, pochi e incompresi da un pubblico non educato a godere delle cose belle […] Ed eran gli anni in cui la ricchezza del patrimonio artistico italiano, per continuo esodo delle collezioni private, veniva scemata, o si raccoglieva a Londra e a Berlino nelle grandi collezioni di Stato, a Parigi nelle raccolte private." Venturi, "La Formazione," pp. 458, 460.
110. Cesare A. Levi, *Le collezioni veneziane d'arte e d'antichità dal XIV secolo ai giorni nostri,* 2 vols. (Venice: Ongania, 1900), p. CCXLI. Melani published a photograph of a *paliotto* in the Layard collection, see Alfredo Melani, "The Layard collection in Venice," *The Studio. An illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art* 57 (1913): p. 318.
111. A variety of articles and essays ensued. The Venetian newspapers *L'Adriatico* and the *Gazzetta di Venezia* paid almost daily attention to the matter, but also the *Corriere della Sera*, *Il Marzocco*, *Nuova Antologia*, and *Il Giornale d'Italia*. This growing apprehension on the destiny of the Layard collection had filtered through to English newspapers and magazines as well. *The Burlington Magazine* concentrated on the legal problem and donation policies of the National Gallery, whilst *The Times*, the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Telegraph* focused on the composition of the collection and its importance. See Riva, "Un velenoso pasticcio."
112. Venice, Archivio Notarile: Atti Carlo Candiani, vol. 296 (1913), rep. N. 29782: Last Will and Testament of Lady Mary Enid Evelyn Guest Layard.
113. Christie's, 11 June 1918.
114. Guglielmi, 11-20 December 1939.
115. *Vendite all'asta di stampe antiche dalla raccolta di S. E. Sir Henry Layard*, Istituto di vendite giudiziarie, Venice, 15-16 March 1969.
116. The information is reported by Ellen Callmann, *Apollonio di Giovanni* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), n. 26. The picture has been traced until 1979 when it was sold at Christie's. Zeri erroneously retained that by 1880 the panel was already in the collection of Alfred Moritz Mond (1868-1930), who was only twelve years old by that time. It is more likely that the cassone was purchased by his father, the well-known chemist and industrialist Ludwig Mond, before passing into that of his younger son, later Baron Melchett. The panel is recorded in Christie's sale catalogue 23 April 1936 (lot 75), when it was acquired by Lady Merton.
117. Austen H. Layard, "Annual Report of the Director of the National Gallery to the Treasury for the year 1885," *The Quarterly Review* 163 (1886): p. 407.

An exotic visitor to Paris: context and possible identities for Claude-Marie Dubufe's portrait

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Fig. 1 / Claude-Marie Dubufe, *Portrait of a Man with Turban*, 1826-1827, oil on canvas, 56 x 46.5 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

In March 2017, in Robert de Balkany's Christie's estate sale, a striking portrait was offered for auction (fig. 1).[1] It was purchased by Colnaghi and subsequently sold to the Musée du Louvre. The portrait, whose sitter was simply described as a "Turk" by the auction house, depicts a magnificent-looking olive-skinned man with an upturned moustache, wearing a large white silk turban with a red band and a red, sleeveless jacket, with a blue under-jacket and yellow shirt. The author of the painting is Claude-Marie Dubufe (1794-1860), a now little-known Parisian society portraitist of exceptional technical ability, who studied under Jacques-Louis David. Placing the portrait within its historical context, the intention of this essay is to prepare the ground for further research, primarily by exploring the possible identity of the sitter, as well as briefly addressing the surprisingly large number of competent copies after the original.

Two pieces of evidence allow the portrait to be dated with confidence to late 1826 or early 1827: a copy sold at Sotheby's New York in 2017 (fig. 2),[2] inscribed "*aout / 1827*" at the lower left, and a lithograph after the original which was published in Paris in March 1827 (fig. 3).[3] However, the copy and the lithograph give conflicting information as to the identity of the sitter. The lithograph simply labels the sitter as a "*Jeune Grec*", whereas the painted copy, according to the auction note, "has long been identified as Hassan El Berberi, who was the primary keeper of the famous giraffe sent to King Charles X of France".

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

It is necessary to begin with some historical context for both cases, starting with the captivating story of Hassan El Berberi. In 1826 Mehmet Ali, Ottoman Pasha of Egypt (fig. 4), dispatched to France a female giraffe, subsequently known to history as Zarafa.[4] The giraffe, sourced from recently conquered Sudan, was intended as a diplomatic gift, and a spectacular one at that, for Charles X, who was at the time seeking zoological specimens for France.[5] Mehmet Ali needed French political goodwill, especially with regard to the Ottoman suppression of the Greek Revolution – an independence movement which ultimately received vigorous support in France – and attempting to carve out a quasi-autonomous state of his own in North Africa.[6]

Setting out by ship from the port of Alexandria, Zarafa crossed the Mediterranean with her head poking through a hole cut into the deck of the ship, and arrived at Marseille on 31 October with her two attendants: Atir and her chief caretaker Hassan El Berberi. After overwintering in the south, Zarafa set off on the 900 km trek to Paris, accompanied by several dairy cows to provide her with a daily twenty-four gallons of milk. Being the first giraffe seen in France, Zarafa and her entourage caused quite a stir in the towns and settlements through which they passed, especially since Zarafa had been fitted out with shoes and a two-part yellow coat by the naturalist Etienne Geoffroy Saint-Hillaire, whose correspondence provides the most complete history of the journey. She was finally presented to Charles X on 8 July 1827 at the Château de Saint-Cloud,

Fig. 2 / French School, *Portrait of a Man with Turban*, 1827, oil on canvas, 55.5 x 46 cm, Private Collection.

before being settled at the Jardin des Plantes, site of the royal menagerie, where over the next few months Zarafa was visited by 600,000 locals and tourists.[7] Honoré de Balzac was inspired to pen a story about her and *la mode à la girafe* gripped the French nation, with women arranging their hair in towering styles, and spotted fabrics becoming the rage. Hassan returned to Egypt in October 1827, whereas Atir stayed by Zarafa's side for over another decade, before also returning home.[8]

Fig. 3 / Ducarme after Claude-Marie Dubufe, *Jeune Grec. Etude No. 5*, 1827, lithograph, 47 x 35 cm, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale de France.

As for notion that the sitter is a "*jeune Grec*", this identification fits into the widespread sympathy then felt in Europe for the Greeks in their war of independence, which began in early 1821 and culminated in 1832 with the emergence of a new Greek Kingdom. The revolt became a *cause célèbre* amongst the French public in 1822 with the news of the Chios Massacre, which manifested itself most memorably, and powerfully, in Eugène Delacroix's famous painting, exhibited in the Salon of 1824. When Dubufe painted his portrait in late 1826 or early 1827, the Revolt was at its most perilous stage for the Greeks, largely because of Mehmet Ali's important military assistance on the side of the Ottomans. French public outrage was therefore at its zenith. However, the tide was definitively turned in Greeks' favour with the intervention of the Great Powers at the Battle of Navarino in October 1827, where combined Russian, British, and French might resulted in a crushing naval defeat for the Ottomans and Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mehmet Ali.

Bearing this historical context in mind, identifying the sitter as either Hassan El Berberi or a young Greek man is entirely plausible, even if, with its enthralling backstory, the association with Hassan is more seductive. Beyond the Sotheby's copy, the lithograph and the historical background, what other evidence can be used to give credence to either identification?

Fig. 4 / Auguste Couder, *Mehmet Ali Pasha*, 1841, oil on canvas, 93 x 75 cm, Palais de Versailles.

Fig. 5 / Jacques Raymond Brascassat, *Le Passage de la girafe à Arany-le-Duc*, 1827, oil on canvas, 45 x 55 cm, Beaune, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

IDENTITY INVESTIGATED

With his light brown skin, sharp features and jet-black hair, the physiognomic traits of the sitter are not at odds with the imagined physical appearance of a young Greek male. It is not, however, so straightforward to make this type of generalized statement with regards to Hassan due to a lack of clarity regarding the giraffe-keeper's ethnicity. Period reports are often contradictory, which has also led to confusion, or at least a lack of precision, amongst modern commentators. Contemporary newspapers tended to call Zarafa's attendants "*nègres*"[9] and imagery inspired by the giraffe's visit, whether paintings, prints, pamphlets, crockery or porcelain, usually, though not always, depicted black attendants. For example, Jacques Raymond Brascassat's image of Zarafa walking to Paris with her entourage (fig. 5) shows only black attendants. However, racial categories in France at this time were neither fixed nor stable, and "*nègre*" may have been a generalized term suggestive of a person from the African continent, rather than specifically someone of black skin colour.

Yet, despite the generally imprecise newspaper reports, there were occasional attempts at differentiating the various ethnic origins of the giraffe's handlers. On 4 July 1827, for example, the *Moniteur Universel* called Atir "*un nègre de Darfour*", whereas Hassan is described as a "*un Maure du Sennaar*".[10] In the expense accounts relating to the expedition, Atir is classified, in relation to Hassan, as "*le nègre, son aide*", implying therefore that Hassan was not black.[11] Finally, the correspondence of Saint-Hilaire frequently mentions Zarafa's attendants, with Hassan described as an "*arabe*". In a letter dated 24 May 1827, for example, Saint-Hillaire writes of Hassan being an "*arabe*", Atir a "*nègre*" and Youssuf, the Franch-Arabic translator, a "*négrillon*".[12] As Saint-Hillaire accompanied the party from Marseille to Paris, and therefore knew the giraffe-keepers better than any other contemporary observer, we can accept, with some reservations, that Hassan was likely Arab, or at least "arab-looking" to Saint-Hillaire, and therefore not ethnically incompatible with the man in Dubufe's portrait.

Fig. 6 / Pascal Sébah, *Inhabitant of Elmali, Christian from Konya and Muslim cavalryman from Konya*, plate VII from *Les Costumes Populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, albumen print, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale de France.

Just as the physical appearance cannot be used to determine whether the sitter is Greek, Arab or otherwise, the same goes for the costume. As the photographic plates in *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873* (fig. 6), published thirty-six years after the execution of the portrait, demonstrate, in broad terms at least, the costumes worn by the male subjects of the Ottoman Empire, whether Christian, Muslim, or Jew, were quite often interchangeable. A few further examples will illustrate this point. An 1841 portrait by Auguste Couder (see fig. 4) of Hassan's master, Mehmet Ali, shows the Egyptian ruler wearing a large white turban, red band across the forehead, and sleeveless jacket all very comparable to those worn by the sitter in Dubufe's portrait. Anne-Louis Girodet's 1819 portrait of the mysterious Mustapha Sussen (fig. 7) a Muslim from Tunis, depicts a man with upturned moustache, sporting a turban, with red over-jacket and a series of under-jackets and shirts; even more comparable than the portrait of Mehmet Ali. And yet, perhaps the closest comparison can be made with a lithograph of 1826 portraying the Greek Souliote resistance hero, Notis Botsaris: he wears a similar turban and sleeveless jacket, with under-jacket and shirt, and again possesses an upturned moustache (fig. 8).[13]

Whilst neither the physiognomy nor the costume are incompatible with the sitter being either Hassan or a young Greek, an analysis of the dates counts against the giraffe-keeper, though not definitively so. Although we know that Hassan arrived in France in October 1826, he did not set out from Marseille to Paris until 20 May 1827, two months after the date of the lithograph's publication, which was announced on 24 March 1827 in the *Bibliographie de la France*. This makes it improbable that he was painted by Dubufe, based in Paris at this time, unless of course the artist had travelled to Marseille, an unlikely though not impossible scenario. It could also be posited that Dubufe was working from a sketch or portrait sent to

Fig. 7 / Anne-Louis Girodet-Trionson, *Portrait of Mustapha*, 1819, oil on canvas, 59 x 46 cm, Montargis, Musée Girodet.

Fig. 8 / Joseph Bouvier, *Portrait of Notis Botsaris*, 1826, lithograph, 48 x 34.5 cm, London, British Museum.

Fig. 9 / Eugène Delacroix, *Two Studies of a Turbaned Man*, ca. 1827, pencil on paper, 23.5 x 23 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Fig. 10 / Louis Dupré, *Ioannis Logothetis Smoking a Hookah*, plate XV from *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople*, 1825, lithograph, 35.5 x 26 cm.

Fig. 11 / Léon Riesener, *Portrait of a Man with Turban*, ca. 1827, ink and wash with white highlights on paper, Musées de Lisieux.

Paris before Hassan's arrival, although the vivacity and finish of Dubufe's work is strongly suggestive that it was executed with the model in person. In terms of the sitter being an otherwise anonymous "*Jeune Grec*", a dating of the portrait to late 1826 or early 1827 has no bearing, beyond the fact that this was, as previously mentioned, a critical moment in the Greek independence movement.

What is clear is that the sitter, whoever he was, was someone of significance or, at the least, someone of great interest to French public. He was painted by Dubufe during the very years the artist attained the height of his success, sought out by the great and the good of Parisian society. Indeed, Dubufe exhibited thirteen paintings at the Salon of 1827, achieving critical acclaim with his pendants *Les Souvenirs* and *Les Regrets*, and so in the months leading up to this triumph it can be reasonably speculated that the artist would have had the time only for the most important of portrait commissions. The importance and appeal of the sitter is further reinforced by the fact that – in this author's opinion – at least seven other contemporary artworks depict the same sitter as the Dubufe portrait.

The Louvre possesses four studies on paper, three by Delacroix and one by Léon Cogniet, which depict a turbaned man with sleeveless jacket, fine eyebrows, prominent cheekbones, strong chin and moustache, though in these cases with the points turned down.[14] In one of the Delacroix drawings the man inhales a hookah (fig. 9), an instrument usually associated with the Muslim world but also in fact popular in Greece, as attested by Louis Dupré's 1825 image of the Greek politician Ioannis Logothetis (fig. 10). The Musée d'art et d'histoire de Lisieux holds a fifth work on paper, by Léon Riesener (fig. 11), which depicts the same sitter as the Louvre drawings. The three artists were close friends in the 1820s.

Fig. 12 / Paul Gomien, *Portrait of a Man with Turban*, 1827, miniature, 12 x 14 cm, Paris, Fondation Custodia.

Fig. 13 / Jean-Jacques Monanteuil, *Portrait of a Man with Fez*, 1830, oil on canvas, 57.5 x 47.5 cm, Private Collection.

A miniature by Paul Gomien, recently purchased by the Fondation Custodia (fig. 12) affords another very favourable comparison and is also dated 1827. Finally, a portrait by Jean-Jacques Monanteuil in a French private collection (fig. 13) can be cited in connection with Dubufe's work. The sitter wears a red fez in place of a turban, so that much of his wavy black hair is visible. However, the striking facial similarities, and the fact that he wears the same jacket and undergarments in the same colour scheme, allow us to be confident that yet again we have the same man. Monanteuil's picture, though, is dated 1830, with the initial inference therefore being that this portrait, and by extension Dubufe's, does not represent Hassan who, as we already know, returned to Egypt in October 1827. Conversely, it is just possible that Monanteuil's portrait was either inspired by Dubufe's or perhaps a reprise of an earlier work; to that end it is worth noting that Monanteuil exhibited a *Tête de turc, étude après nature* in the Salon of 1827 (no. 1700).

We know from contemporary sources that Hassan, due to his association with Zarafa and his exotic appearance, generated considerable public attention in his own right, and it would therefore be no surprise if he was depicted on numerous occasions by several of the leading artists of the day, whether he sat for the artists in person or whether they relied on pre-existing portraits for their own versions. The combination of these portraits, and the logical conclusion drawn from them, namely that this was an individual of great appeal to Parisian society, allows us to safely discredit the notion that we are merely looking at an anonymous "*Jeune Grec*": by claiming Greek nationality for a striking and "noble-looking" man, the imprecise title of the lithograph can be explained away as an exploitation of the philhellenism then sweeping through France.[15]

Fig. 14 / A. S. Dujardin, *Portrait of a Man with Turban*, ca. 1827, oil on canvas, 50 x 42 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 15 / French School, *Portrait of a Man with Turban*, ca. 1827, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown, Private Collection.

COPIES

Dubufe's portrait elicited a surprisingly large number of generally good quality, contemporary copies. Other than the Sotheby's version already discussed, I am aware of a further six copies, all in private collections: two appeared at auction in 2017, in Paris and Monaco respectively, with the former signed "*AS. Dujardin*" (fig. 14)[16]; another came up for sale at auction in Paris in 2018[17]; a further one is in a French private collection, signed and dated "*Laslandes / 1833*"; finally there is one in a Parisian private collection (fig. 15) and another in a London private collection.[18] The latter two are of particularly high quality. Four of these examples have appeared at auction in only the last three years, so we can be optimistic that other copies will resurface in the future.

The most likely explanation for all these copies, as suggested to me by Côme Fabre, is that they were used as a teaching tool by Dubufe in his studio. With Dubufe's success at the Salon of 1827, there would likely have been an uptick in would-be artists wanting to learn from him and benefit from an association with his name. Indeed, Dubufe moved studio to place de l'Oratoire in that year, before moving again in 1831 to rue Montmartre, presumably seeking larger and more appropriate workspaces as his reputation grew. Dubufe appears not to have had any students who went on to have significant careers, and in fact Dujardin and Laslandes are otherwise unknown.

FINAL THOUGHTS

As unsatisfactory as it is, taking the above altogether, it still remains impossible to assign a definitive identity to Dubufe's sitter: despite the inscription on the lithograph, the notion that this is an anonymous "*Jeune Grec*" can be soundly rejected, given the number of representations that this particular individual inspired. On the other hand, given the lack of confluence in dates, whether that be with the lithograph or Monanteuil's portrait, the belief that the image depicts Hassan El Berberi is impossible to verify without further evidence and now appears unlikely. Indeed, we cannot even be confident of knowing which part of the Ottoman empire this distinctive man comes from. Nevertheless, the multitude of representations demonstrate that the sitter was a notable visitor to France, who clearly intrigued, if not fascinated, the French public and several of the country's leading artists. We must therefore hope that some further piece of evidence might come to light in the future, helping to unravel this compelling enigma.

NOTES

1. Christie's, London, 22-23 March 2017, lot 693.
2. Sotheby's, New York, 26 January 2017, lot 270.
3. I am grateful to Côme Fabre for alerting me to the existence of this lithograph.
4. Several publications have focused on Zarafa, her story and her impact in recent years. See for example: Michael Allin, *Zarafa: A Giraffe's True Story, from Deep in Africa to the Heart of Paris* (New York: Random House, 2006); Olivier Lagueux, "Geoffrey's Giraffe: The Hagiography of a Charismatic Animal," *Journal of the History of Biology* 26 (2003): pp. 225-247; Olivier Lebleu, *Les Avatars de Zarafa: Première girafe de France: Chronique d'un girafomania: 1826-1845* (Paris: Arléa, 2006); Gabriel Dardaud, *Une girafe pour le roi, ou l'histoire de la première giraffe de France*, ed. Olivier Lebleu (Bordeaux: Elytis, 2007); Michele Majer, "La Mode a la Girafe: Fashion, Culture, and Politics in Bourbon Restoration France," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 17 (2009-2010): pp. 123-161; Daniel Harkett, "The Giraffe's Keepers and the (Dis)Play of Indifference," in *Of Elephants & Roses: French Natural History, 1790-1830*, ed. Sue Ann Prince (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2013), pp. 149-158.
5. Allin, *Les Avatars de Zarafa*, pp. 57, 65-66.
6. In this vein, Mehmet Ali Pasha sent two further giraffes to Europe: one to London, for George IV, and one to Vienna, for Francis I of Austria. The former was painted with two attendants by Jacques-Laurent Agasse (Royal Collection).
7. Dardaud, *Une girafe pour le roi*, p. 86.
8. Olivier Lebleu gives the most complete account of the journey, using letters, journals and newspapers (Lebleu, *Les Avatars de Zarafa*).
9. See for example, *La Gazette Universelle de Lyon*, 6 June 1827, cited in Lebleu, *Les Avatars de Zarafa*, p. 108.
10. *Moniteur Universel*, 4 July 1827, cited in Lebleu, *Les Avatars de Zarafa*, p. 132: "*Un nègre de Darfour, nommé Atir, et un Maure du Sennaar, nommé Hassan, coiffés de turban*".
11. Lebleu, *Les Avatars de Zarafa*, p. 64.
12. Letter dated 4 May 1827, cited in Lebleu, *Les Avatars de Zarafa*, p. 99.
13. This lithograph is based on Girodet's portrait in a private collection. Sylvain Bellenger is cautious in calling the sitter Notis Botsaris, writing that Notis Botsaris never visited Paris and could not therefore have conceivably sat for Girodet: see Sylvain Bellenger, *Girodet* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), p. 389.
14. I am grateful to Côme Fabre for alerting me to the existence of these four drawings, as well as the one by Riesener.
15. This point has already been made by Côme Fabre. See Côme Fabre, "Un Égyptien à Paris," *Grande Galerie. Le Journal du Louvre* 42 (2017-2018): p. 20.
16. Audap & Mirabaud, Paris, 20 June 2017, 55 x 43 cm, lot 55, and Hôtel des Ventes de Monte Carlo, Monaco, lot 82, 53 x 26 cm.
17. Mercier & Cie, 15 April 2018, 56 x 46 cm, lot 376.
18. Dimensions and further provenance are unknown for the last three. I am grateful to Côme Fabre for mentioning to me the painting in the Parisian private collection.

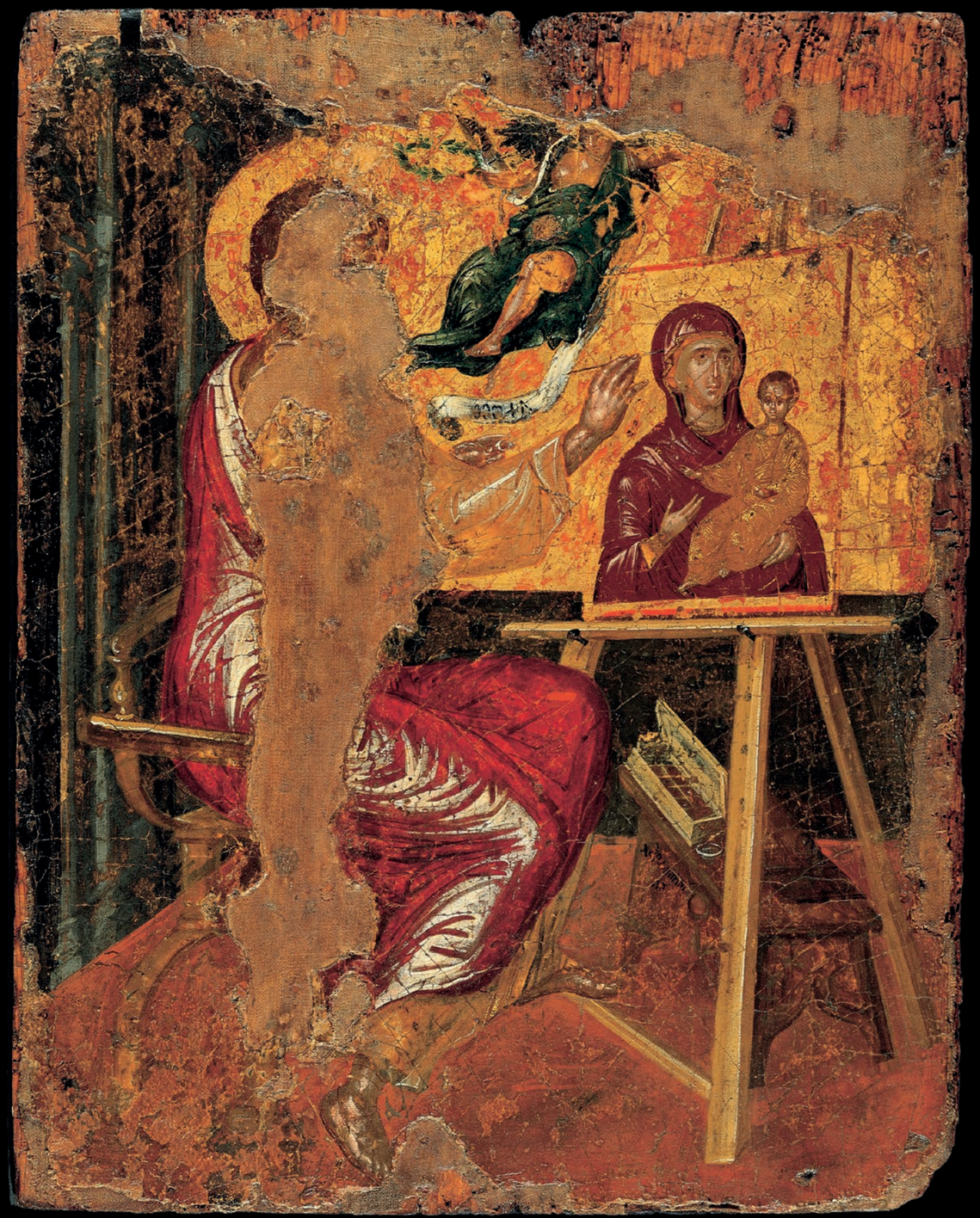

Fig. 1 / Domenico Theotokopoulos, known as El Greco, *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin and Child*, before 1567, tempera and gold on canvas attached to panel, 41.6 x 33 cm, Athens, Benaki Museum.

Greco, Grand Palais, Paris
16 October 2019 – 10 February 2020
(Art Institute, Chicago, 7 March – 21 June 2020)

MILTOS KARKAZIS

A full retrospective dedicated to the oeuvre of El Greco has been a long time coming. Previous exhibitions have emphasized certain aspects of the artist's intriguing stylistic development: his *venezianità* and his position within the Venetian tradition; his radical mannerist Spanish years; his supposed modernism and undoubted influence on modern painting. It is cause for celebration, therefore, that the recent exhibition at the Grand Palais in Paris has not adopted this type of approach but has instead gathered a comprehensive body of the artist's work and based its selection on scientific and aesthetic quality alone.

Greco's journey from Venetian Candia to Toledo is the principle linking theme; indeed, the artist appears to us as the ideal subject of Ferdinand Braudel's Mediterranean world during the reign of Philip II, particularly in the period after 1571 with the triumph over the Ottomans in the Battle of Lepanto. It was a time when a free spirit like El Greco could circulate within a vast social system with a shared representation culture. This is highlighted by the commendable willingness of senior curator Guillaume Kientz to permit the organic coexistence of early works, still in the process of attribution, with ones which are later and better-known. Paintings such as *Christ Carrying the Cross* (cat. 8, Private Collection) and *Portrait of a Man* (cat. 20, Julius Priester collection) are presented alongside those that have already achieved "mythological" status, such as *Portrait of Cardinal Niño de Guevara* (cat. 26, New York The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

The first part of the exhibition, entitled "From Crete to Italy (ca. 1560-1576)", deals with a body of work which is characterized as "hybrid" (although the vagueness of this characteristic could be applied to all of El Greco's work). It presents a mixture of styles and techniques, the balance of which changes gradually from Greek-Orthodox to Roman-Catholic as Greco passes from Crete to Venice and Rome. Greco's liberal Byzantinism (in contrast to the more rigid execution of most work associated with this school) is already evident in his *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* from the Benaki Museum, Athens (cat. 1, 1560-1566) (fig. 1). This work, along with the absent *Dormition of the Virgin* from Syros (fig. 1 in the catalogue) show the beginnings of his Mannerism, which was extracted from Venetian-Flemish prints imported into Crete. Following this, we see a sequence of portable small-scale wooden panels and triptychs produced in Italy, painted with egg-tempera or mixed media (all post-Byzantine indications), which have abandoned their gold-leaf background and two-dimensionality for the colours and stretched corporeality of Venetian Mannerism. The curators do not mention the Ferrara triptych – largely based on prints and probably Greco's first surviving work in Italy – but do present us with the beautiful *Modena Triptych* (cat. 3, fig. 2 here) and bring to our attention the surving two panels from what must have been an earlier one (illustrated in the catalogue in figs. 34 & 35).

Traditionally dated to 1568, there has been much controversy in recent decades about whether the back-side of the *Modena Triptych* suggests a date as late as 1569 or even early 1570s.[1] One of the strongest pieces

Fig. 2 / Domenico Theotokopoulos, known as El Greco, *The Modena Tryptich* (front panels), 1568, tempera on panel, 37 x 23.8 cm (central panel), 24 x 18 cm (side panels), Modena, Galleria Estense.

Fig. 3 / Domenico Theotokopoulos, known as El Greco, *Portrait of an Architect*, 1575, oil on canvas, 116 x 98 cm, Copenhagen, National Gallery of Denmark.

of evidence for this dating is G.B. Fontana's *View of Mount Sinai* print of 1569. By that point, Greco had been in Italy for two or three years and had just moved to Rome. This is also the rational conclusion if one keeps in mind that Greco, who had to make a living (as pointed out in Keith Christiansen's essay in the catalogue), still operated within so-called "Venetian-Greek Mannerism" along with other Cretans such as Michael Damaskenos and Giorgios Klontzas who produced small panels for private devotion. Furthermore, he was presented to the Palazzo Farnese by fellow miniaturist Guilio Clovio (who enthusiastically boasted that Greco was a student of Titian and an able portraitist, both qualities apparently essential for entry into the Palazzo). There Greco executed, in 1572 at the latest, an almost identical but larger panel of *Mount Sinai* (Herakleion, Crete, Historical Museum) for Fulvio Orsini. The landscape in this work, not exhibited by the curators, has strong affinities with *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* from Bergamo (cat. 11), which does appear in the exhibition.

Returning to the *Modena Triptych*, the oriental-Ottoman figures (five turbaned heads and one shaved, which can be discerned with the aid of a magnifying glass inside the open mouth of the infernal beast in the lower right corner of the central *Allegory of the Christian Knight*) must, in my view, refer to the triumph of Lepanto in October 1571. This therefore points to a Roman dating (in the early 1570s) and not to a Venetian one. Further evidence for this comes from the three figures standing in front of the mouth (the renowned leaders of the Holy League): one of them is a brown-bearded noble in full black western armour (Philip II); another, in red robes with white hair and beard; and the third an adaptation of a 1555 print-motif resembling Don Juan with his characteristic round shield, feathered helmet and golden breastplate. These figures are assisted by three judging demons with spears and two female Christian virtues, with a third female representing Faith in the foreground, gazing at them.

Before moving to the Portraits' section and second part of the exhibition, the visitor is reminded that El Greco's "practice of small-format painting on wood seems to come to an end in the first years of his arrival in Spain". A characteristic example of this small-format painting is the small *Adoration of the Name of Jesus* known also as the *Dream of Philip II*, which might more accurately be called "The Allegory of the Holy League", as Anthony Blunt showed in 1939, due to the presence of the Venetian doge, the

pope, Philip II and, most probably, Don Juan (d. 1578) (cat. 17, The National Gallery, London). This work is painted in mixed media (*tempera grassa*) on wood and signed accordingly. More post-Byzantine elements are also to be found in the *Modena Triptych*'s *Allegory of the Christian Knight*, such as the infernal mouth and the militant protagonist, suggesting further the connection to Lepanto. After this point, as the curators underline, Greco turned mainly to oil and canvas (as well as leaving aside for good his earlier strong dependence on Mannerist prints).

The exhibition correctly places the emergence of Greco's portraiture in his Roman years. Judging from examples such as the early *Portrait of Giulio Clovio*, the late *Portrait of an Architect* (cat. 21, fig. 3 here), and the probably even later *Portrait of Vincenzo Anastagi*, one can conclude that it is mainly through portraiture that Greco was initiated into realism (as opposed to classicism), an evolution which lasted through his first decade in Toledo. Concerning the Anastagi portrait, Keith Christiansen in the catalogue correctly mentions that it is "the largest panel he painted during the ten years he was in Italy", necessitating the use of thicker brushes and brushstrokes than in miniature painting, while the refined handling of the figure suggests the use of a live model.[2]

Of course, Greco must have searched for new ideas and techniques in the painting of his Italian contemporaries. In Rome, he likely visited Raphael's *Stanze Vaticane* – as the floor of both of his Roman paintings of *Christ Driving the Money-Lenders from the Temple* (cats. 50 and 51) suggest – to further his understanding of colour, light and *chiaroscuro*. He certainly visited Parma, the seat of the Farnese family, where he admired the grace of Correggio and particularly his use of bright yellows and greens. And, although strongly opposed to the linear *disegno* and Florentine penchant for archaeology, he copied Michelangelo (cat. 43) whom he clearly considered as important as Titian.

Fig. 4 / Domenico Theotokopoulos, known as El Greco, *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1577-1579, oil on canvas, 401 x 229 cm, Chicago, Art Institute.

It is of no wonder, thus, that his huge *Assumption of the Virgin* (cat. 35, The Art Institute of Chicago) reveals a multitude of naturalistic facial expressions, much like those of Vincenzo Anastagi and looking forward to his celebrated *Burial of the Count of Orgaz* (which sadly could not be included in the exhibition). The recently restored *Assumption*, from the high altar of Toledo's monastery of Santo Domingo el Antiguo, is the star of the show and core of its "Greco and Toledo" section (fig. 4). In it, the face of the boy in the role of go-between is particularly noteworthy, as is the drapery which the restoration has revealed to be bold and vigorously coloured.

Greco never entirely abandoned the Venetian masters. The series of *Christ Healing the Blind* (figs. 4, 5 & 6 in the exhibition catalogue) and *Christ Driving the Money-Changers from the Temple* (cats. 50 and 51) are based architecturally on a related series by Tintoretto (exhibited last year in Palais du Luxembourg) and not upon Roman classical architecture *in situ* as is often repeated. Furthermore, compositions such as the candle-lit *Adoration of the Shepherds* (cat. 36), *El Soplón* (cat. 54), and *The Fable* (cat. 55), are indebted to the Venetian Jacopo Bassano.

Greco remained in Toledo because of monies owed to him for the altarpiece of Santo Domingo el Antiguo (a story recounted in detail in Rebecca J. Long's essay in the catalogue).[3] The effect this had on his painting was the gradual abandonment of realism and later turn to extreme Mannerism. The most marked example of this development can be seen in the last work exhibited, the *Vision of Saint John* (cat. 76, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, fig. 5 here). Greco's thought-process is reflected in annotations from 1586 in his copy of Vasari's *Vite* (discussed in the catalogue by Michel Hochmann): a harsh and systematic refusal of the Florentine-Roman classicist environment in favour of the only true painting in his eyes, that of the liberal Venetian masters (which did not even include Veronese).[4] Late Titian, who set colours into motion, set the standard as the ideal painter.

By including the gilded wood *Tabernacle* (cat. 40) with the polychromed wood *Christ Resurrected* (cat. 39, Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli) inside it, the curators touch on the problematic issue of Greco as a sculptor. Although this work is well documented, one must bear in mind that the production of tabernacles, like large altarpieces, involved many different agents. Although these could, of course, have been permanent members of Greco's workshop (as was the painter Francesco Preboste), they could also have been the result of more temporary relationships. It is also possible that the anticlassicist anatomy represented in this work was the product of a workshop associate rather than Greco himself.

In addition to the essays touched upon above, the catalogue includes a well-structured biography and an impressively extensive listing of the provenance, literature, and exhibition history associated with each of the works exhibited. This spring the exhibition moves to the Art Institute of Chicago, where the catalogue will be published in English.

NOTES

1. This is discussed in the catalogue Guillaume Kientz, ed., *Greco*, exh. cat. (Louvre: Grand Palais, 2019), p. 81. Forthcoming English language catalogue: Rebecca J. Long, ed., *El Greco: Ambition and Defiance*, exh. cat. (Chicago: Art Institute, 2020).
2. See Christiansen in *Greco*, p. 32.
3. See Long in *Greco*, pp. 138-143.
4. See Hochmann in *Greco*, pp. 108-111.

Fig. 5 / Domenico Theotokopoulos, known as El Greco, *The Vision of Saint John*, ca. 1608-1614, oil on canvas, 222.3 x 193 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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"Et de presente habita ser vetor scarpaza depentor": new documents on Carpaccio's house and workshop at San Maurizio by Gabriele Matino

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A group of Madonnas by Carpaccio and Bartolomeo Veneto by Peter Humfrey

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Technical experimentation in the art of Sebastiano Del Piombo: some further thoughts by Piers Baker-Bates

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Hendrik van Balen's interpretation of the *Rape of the Sabines* in a newly discovered work by Diane Wolfthal

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***Greco* Exhibition Review** by Miltos Karkazis

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