



**COLNAGHI**  
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**COLNAGHI STUDIES**  
**JOURNAL – 07**  
**OCT. 2020**

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Project coordinator: Sarah Gallagher
Picture researchers: Sarah Gallagher
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# COLNAGHI STUDIES JOURNAL—07

*Colnaghi Studies Journal* is produced biannually by the Colnaghi Foundation. Its purpose is to publish texts on significant pre-twentieth-century artworks in the European tradition that have recently come to light or about which new research is underway, as well as on the history of their collection. Texts about artworks should place them within the broader context of the artist’s oeuvre, provide visual analysis and comparative images.

Manuscripts may be sent at any time and will be reviewed by members of the journal’s Editorial Committee, composed of specialists on painting, sculpture, architecture, conservation, decorative arts, and the history of collecting, covering a wide range of periods and geographical areas. Texts should be between 1000 and 10,000 words (including endnotes) and include high resolution, comparative images.

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## Art in the time of Coronavirus

AMANDA BRADLEY\*

*About suffering they were never wrong,  
The old Masters: how well they understood  
Its human position: how it takes place  
While someone else is eating or opening a window or just walking dully along*

Thus W.H. Auden envisaged Bruegel's *Landscape with the Fall of Icarus* in his poem *Musée des Beaux Arts* (1938). Whilst Icarus will ultimately succumb to the consequences of hubris, life carries on; the ploughman continues to work his furrow; the shepherd watches his flock (only momentarily distracted by the vision above him); and the ships "sail calmly on". Auden describes "how everything turns away quite leisurely from the disaster".

Both poem and painting mirror our own uneasy dialectic of epidemic and the everyday. This paradox is borne out in the urgency of newspaper headlines, set against the routine of daily life; and equally history will only relate a fraction of our experience. Humanity has endured and survived similar events, but such times have also given form and voice to significant artistic responses. The 1350s, post the Black Death lead to the emergence of Chaucer's enlightened vernacular; 1606 saw Shakespeare's apocalyptic *King Lear* and the fruition of his Sonnets when theatres had to be closed. More recently the Great War and the Spanish Flu epidemic gave rise to Modernism.

Time will reveal our own artistic response, but at present the outlook appears bleak for the arts, which will feel the benefit of any economic upsurge far too

late (particularly small, government-funded regional museums). The present Journal, which is smaller than usual and published only online, reflects the current challenges faced by scholars in undertaking research, and arts organizations in raising the funds necessary to publish their work. We are nevertheless hopeful that we will be in a position to produce a printed version by our next issue, in Spring 2021. Journals such as this one are essential for the dissemination and development of art historical knowledge, and the widespread benefits that stem from that.

It is of course not only scholarly publications that have suffered from the current global uncertainty; members of staff at many cultural institutions now see their jobs at risk. Although several organizations have relied on the expertise and goodwill of their academics and curators to raise their profile and encourage support through virtual talks and lectures over the lockdown period, many scholars are now threatened with redundancy. As a recent editorial in *The Burlington Magazine* rightly highlighted, organizations such as the National Trust should have more confidence in the public's appreciation and appetite for knowledge about historic collections. Such an approach fails to see that curatorship is a conduit of such knowledge which informs and exalts the experience of the visitor or viewer.



Pieter Bruegel the Elder (after?), *Landscape with the Fall of Icarus*, undated, oil on canvas, 73.5 x 112 cm, Brussels, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.

Concurrent with, and fuelled by, epidemiological and global malaise is the rise of intellectual censorship (for example, the cancellation of Bruce Gilley's biography of the imperialist Sir Alan Burns). There is a growing fear of knowledge, and a fear that knowledge will offend. These are complex concerns, but what is clear is that the transparent exchange of knowledge and discourse should prevail. This is particularly important in art history, which embraces a kaleidoscope of disciplines and can help us understand the travesties, sorrows and triumphs of all our pasts.

In reading this Journal, therefore, let us be interdisciplinarians. Let us challenge perceived orthodoxies and dogma. Let us study all artistic disciplines not just for the sake of beauty and its palliative effects, but let us use it as a solace and a source of self-knowledge. For the inexorable turn of time's wheel teaches us that human experience endures; Icarus might plunge into the raging seas, but we might still watch our sheep.

\* *Trustee, Colnaghi Foundation and Editorial Committee Member, Colnaghi Studies Journal*

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Fig. 1 / Luigi Amici, Violoncello with a painted copy after Giorgione's *Benson Holy Family*, 1778, New York, Private Collection.

## Copies of Venetian Renaissance paintings on stringed instruments and the provenance of Giorgione's *Benson Holy Family* in Washington<sup>1</sup>

JAYNIE ANDERSON

Copies of Renaissance paintings on musical instruments are rare on keyboard instruments, and even rarer on stringed instruments of the violin family. In this article two exceptional examples of this genre are investigated from an art historical perspective for the first time. They are two violoncellos, dated Rome 1778, and 1816. The first copy is on an unusual violoncello, made at Rome in 1778, by Luigi Amici. The violoncello has a partial copy on the back, framed in a medallion, after Giorgione's *Benson Holy Family*, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (figs. 1-3). The instrument is of considerable quality,<sup>2</sup> carved at the end of the eighteenth century from seventeenth-century maple in order to create a fine sound from older wood.<sup>3</sup> The copy is so accurate that the copyist could have had the original to hand in Rome, when it was dated. Indeed it may have been commissioned by a violoncellist who owned the painting. The forms of Giorgione's figures are manipulated into the medallion, dispensing with the background, inventing some green leaves on the left, and emphasizing the lines of the facial features. It is correct in colour, even if the varnish has yellowed, the image on the back of the violoncello never having been restored.

The Giorgione violoncello contains a label with the name Luigi Amici, a maker of stringed instruments, celebrated for his guitars and mandolins, who was working in Rome between 1778 to 1825.<sup>4</sup> Amici's label: "LUIGI AMICI/ FABBRICATORE

D'ARMONICI/ROMA/Via Pellegrino No. 44" is found in his extraordinary double mandolin, that couples instruments from Milan and Naples, now in the Museum of Musical Instruments, at the University of Leipzig (fig. 4).<sup>5</sup> Among the instruments he made, Luigi Amici<sup>6</sup> is said to have built three violoncellos, that have always been in private collections, one without decoration in Venice, the other two with painted copies in medallions after Renaissance Madonnas, both containing the Amici label. These stringed instruments have passed from one distinguished cellist to another and have never been on the art market.

The second decorated violoncello, hereafter called the Dürer violoncello, has on the back a copy of a detail of a Madonna and Child from Albrecht Dürer's *Madonna of the Rosegarlands*, painted for the German church, in Venice, San Bartolommeo at Rialto (figs. 5-7). Unlike Giorgione's *Benson Holy Family* this altarpiece was immediately celebrated, has a documented provenance and was copied in paintings from the early Cinquecento. In 1608 the Emperor Rudolf II brought Dürer's altarpiece from Venice to the Prague Castle. En route it was damaged. Once in Prague the altarpiece suffered from neglect and an unprofessional restoration.<sup>7</sup> In 1793 it was sold to the Strahov Monastery. From 1839 to 1841 Dürer's altarpiece was "restored" to its present appearance. In 1934 it was acquired by the National Gallery, Prague.



Fig. 2 / Detail of the copy of the *Madonna and Child*, after Giorgione, on the back of the Violoncello.

Fig. 3 / Giorgione, *The Benson Holy Family*, ca. 1497, oil on panel transferred to hardboard, 37.3 x 45.6 cm, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.





Fig. 4 / Luigi Amici, Double Mandolin, Leipzig, Musikinstrumentenmuseum der Universität Leipzig im Grassi.

The copy on the Dürer violoncello is dated "Rome 1816", when Dürer's altarpiece was in the Abbot's Chambers at Strahov Monastery, out-of-sight except to exceptional visitors. There are many early copies of Dürer's altarpiece, including one which was in the Palazzo Grimani,<sup>8</sup> made before the painting left Venice. The copies differ greatly from one another<sup>9</sup> and document the everchanging appearance of the altarpiece. The condition of Dürer's altarpiece in 1823 is recorded in a drawn copy by Václav Mánes (fig. 8). Of all the copies it is closest to the Madonna and Child on the Dürer violoncello, suggesting that the instrument was indeed made with knowledge of the original at that time. The Strahov Monastery has a distinguished tradition of music which may explain the transmission of the copy and the patron, perhaps

Fig. 5 / Luigi Amici, Violoncello with a painted copy after the Madonna and Child in Dürer's *Madonna of the Rosegarlands*, 1816, California, Private collection.

a musician and a lay member of the Brotherhood of the Rosary, who had this instrument made in Rome.

From the sixteenth century keyboards usually had some decoration, beginning with Baldassare Peruzzi's remarkable vision of *Apollo dancing with the Muses* (Florence, Galleria Palatina), that was devised to enhance the elegant case of a musical instrument. From that time there is a long tradition of decorating spinets or harpsichords, always with images by contemporary artists. The Amati family of Cremona were luthiers who made the first cellos in the sixteenth century as expensive diplomatic gifts. The earliest example of a decorated violoncello is by Andrea Amati (1505-1577), known as *The King*, or the *Viola Medicea* in the National Music Museum, Vermillion, South Dakota (figs. 8-9). It was commissioned by Catherine de' Medici for her son, Charles X in 1572 and has elegant coats of arms and *impreses* as well as allegorical figures.<sup>10</sup> Andrea's grandson Nicolò (1596-1684) is said to have inspired Antonio Stradivari, the most famous of all luthiers.

These mysterious copies of Madonnas problematize what they represent. The *Benson Holy Family* was unknown until it reached the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC with the Kress Collection in 1951.<sup>11</sup> Unlike other Renaissance artists, Giorgione's paintings were never copied until David Teniers the Younger made painted and engraved copies for the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm II in Brussels in the seventeenth century. Conceivably the copyist could have been the maker, owner, or player of the violoncello, who dabbled in painting, who may have wanted to have it decorated with his favourite religious image, which he or a friend may have owned. Whatever the identity of the copyist, it is the fact of the copy that is so intriguing. The copies are on the back of the violoncellos and would not have been visible to the audience, unlike the inside lid of a harpsichord. It was above all a copy of significance for the player.





Fig. 6 / Detail of Dürer's *Madonna of the Rosegarlands*, 1506, oil on wood, 162 x 192 cm, Prague, National Museum.

Fig. 7 / Václav Mánes, detail from his drawn copy after Dürer's *Madonna of the Rosegarlands*, 1823, pencil and tusch on paper, 59.4 x 69.4 cm, Prague, Academy of Fine Arts Prague.



The copies are placed in medallions where only the cellist could see them. During a performance the images were on the breast of the player, at his heart as it were, and when resting on a stand, the player could pray to the Madonna.

A unique dated reproduction inevitably raises questions about the provenance of the *Benson Holy Family*, for it was never previously known to have been copied. The *Benson Holy Family* was first discussed when it emerged in 1894 in the collection of Robert Henry and Evelyn Holford Benson.<sup>12</sup> Their collection of 114 paintings was sold to the Duveen brothers in 1927.<sup>13</sup> The first account of the provenance of the *Benson Holy Family* was given in the Benson catalogue by Tancred Borenius:

Formerly in a French collection under the name of Cima. It was discovered in a Brighton curiosity shop about the year 1887 and bought for £5. On the death of the purchaser it was sold by auction in Brighton and bought for about £20 by the late Henry Willett, who exchanged it with the present owner for the Madonna and Child and Three Angels on a gold ground by Le Maître de Moulins [Jean Hey],<sup>14</sup> now Brussels Gallery.<sup>15</sup>

The *Benson Holy Family* was first shown in a lively exhibition of *The Early Venetian School* at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, in 1912.<sup>16</sup> It was one of a series of exhibitions on Italian art, arranged by a club of collectors and connoisseurs, who were responsible for the display and catalogues of works from friends' collections.<sup>17</sup> The exhibition gives us a glimpse of the connoisseurship of Giorgione in early twentieth-century England, created by a patrician club of celebrated English collectors, which also involved Europeans, notably Giovanni Morelli and Wilhelm von Bode.<sup>18</sup> Borenius's account of the provenance of the *Holy Family* is repeated in the catalogue, and unquestioned in reviews of the exhibition. The true discoverer of the painting was Henry Willett (1823-1905), a brewer, the founding father of the Brighton Museum, primarily known for his collection of popular ceramics that illustrates British social history. Willett also collected Old Master paintings, although that part of his collection was sold after his death.<sup>19</sup> Benson must have valued Giorgione's painting highly in order to have exchanged it with Willett, for his gorgeous *Madonna and Child and Angels* by Jean Hey, now in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Belgium.



Fig. 8 / Andrea Amati, Decorated Violoncello, called *The King*, 1595, Vermillion, South Dakota, National Music Museum.

Fig. 9 / Detail of fig. 8.



There have been a number of attempts to discover the early provenance before Benson owned the painting. All remain questionable. While at Duveen's George Martin Richter suggested that it may have been earlier in the collection of the Dutch landscape artist, Allard van Everdingen (1621-1675), described in the 1709 sale catalogue of his collection as: "Mary, Joseph and the Child by Giorgione da Castelfranco, small figures the best known in this country".<sup>20</sup> Another possibility, here suggested for the first time, might be a painting of Giorgione's Holy Family, in the collection of the American artist, John Trumbull, and bought by him in Paris from a collector called Rouge, and sold at the London auction on 17 February 1797 to a Mr Knight.<sup>21</sup>

Once in Washington, the *Benson Holy Family* acquired a royal lineage, as the picture mentioned by Gustav Waagen in his *Treasures*, in the collection of King James II of England, as "Giorgione. 'The Virgin and Child, and St Joseph.' Mantuan Collection. (J., no 699)."<sup>22</sup> Catalogues of the Kress Collection, and of

the Italian paintings in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, have continually assumed that an early provenance for the painting was *possibly* the British Royal collection.<sup>23</sup> Yet this must be refuted as there is no trace of a Holy Family by Giorgione in the earlier inventories of the Royal Collection, nor in the Mantuan one.<sup>24</sup> Nor has it proved possible to trace a direct a chain of connection with any of the many recorded paintings in the nineteenth century, listed by the Getty Provenance Index, of the "Holy Family" said to have been by Giorgione before the provenance given by Borenius.<sup>25</sup>

These copies on beautiful musical instruments of great value as luxury objects, pose more questions than might be imagined, opening up a new avenue of enquiry about the provenance of a now celebrated painting. Where was the Benson Holy Family in 1778 when it was copied by a luthier, in Rome? Could the same patron/musician, with a passion for Venetian painting, have commissioned both instruments?

## NOTES

- David Alan Brown generously encouraged me to publish the violoncello with the copy after Giorgione. I am grateful to the owners of the violoncellos, who wish to remain anonymous, but who granted permission to publish their instruments. For much material about the copies after Dürer's *Madonna of the Rosegarlands*, I am indebted to Dr Olga Kotková, who suggested the importance of the Manes drawing and to Dr Léna Widerkehr in Lyons for information about their collection. Eveline Perroud, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland, gave permission to reproduce images of the Dürer violoncello.
- The Giorgione cello has been recorded on a CD by Jelena and Ljerka Ocic, *The BaRock Experience. Masterpieces for cello and organ*, Challenge Classics, Austria, 2013.
- According to an unpublished dendrochronology report (2014) by Patrick Gassmann, Chez-le-Bart, Switzerland, a specialist in dendrochronology for stringed instruments, the wood may be dated to about 1680.
- Willibald von Lütgendorff, *Die Geigen- und Lautenmacher vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt: Verlag von Heinrich Keller, 1904), p. 18.
- Georg Kinsky, *Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Köln*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag von Breitkopf & Härtel, 1912), no. 660, pp. 210, 220, 231. In 1954 the mandolin was transferred to the Universitätsmuseum, Leipzig.
- Claude Lebet and Riccardo Minarcento, *Roma e i suoi liuteria: storia della liuteria romana dal secolo XVI al secolo XVIII* (Rome: Lebet, 2007), pp. 326-327.
- Olga Kotková, "The Feast of the Rose Garlands. What remains of Dürer?," *The Burlington Magazine* 134 (2002): pp. 4-13.
- Last seen on the art market, when dated circa 1506, *Gemälde Alter Meister und des 19. Jh. Russische Kunst, Zeichnungen, Alter Graphik, Bücher*, Koller Zürich, 18 September 2009, lot 3014, pp. 114-115. Later copies are reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, Karl Schütz, *Albrecht Dürer im Kunsthistorischen Museum*, exh. cat. (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1994), pp. 130-133.
- Madeleine Vincent, "Une copie de la *Fête du Rosaire* de Albert Dürer," *Bulletin des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais* 4 (1969): pp. 165-170. The copy at Lyons was sent to Paris in 1809. It was originally at Stallburg, where Emperor Maximilian lived, a palace later used by the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. There are significant changes from the original, for example Saint Catherine taking the place of the pope.
- When the King Cello was on loan to the Metropolitan Museum in New York it was analyzed in some detail, see the blog by Andrew Dipper, "Taking a closer look at the Amati King cello," online at <https://metmuseum.org/blogs/of-note/2015/amati-cello-details>, accessed 26 June 2020.
- Fern Rusk Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, Italian Schools XV-XVI Century*, vol. 3 (New York: Phaidon Press, 1968), pp. 150-151.
- See the catalogue of their collection by Robert Henry Benson and Tancred Borenius, *Catalogue of Italian Pictures at 16, South Street, Park Lane, London and Buckhurst in Sussex* (London: privately printed at the Chiswick Press, 1914), no. 83.
- Before leaving England, the collection was shown in the: *Loan Exhibition of the Benson Collection*, City of Manchester Art Gallery, 27 April to 30 July 1927.
- The Master of Moulins [Jean Hay]. *Madonna and Child Adored by Angels*. Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Belgium.
- Borenius, *Catalogue of Italian Pictures*, no. 83.
- Burlington Fine Arts Club. *Catalogue of a Collection of Pictures of the Early Venetian School and Other Works of Art* (London, privately printed for the Burlington Fine Arts Club by the Chiswick Press, 1912), no. 17, p. 23. The painting was in these English exhibitions always as by Giorgione: New Gallery London, 1894-1895 (*Venetian Painting chiefly before Titian*); Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1905-1906; National Loan Exhibition, Grafton Galleries, London, 1909-1910; Benson Collection, Manchester, 27 April to 30 July 1927.
- Stacey J. Pierson, *Private Collecting, Exhibitions and the Shaping of Art History in London, The Burlington Fine Arts Club* (New York and London: Routledge, 2017).
- Editorial, "The Burlington Fine Arts Club," *The Burlington Magazine* 94 (1952): pp. 96-98.
- Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures by Old Masters of Henry Willett, Esq.* Christie, Manson & Woods, 10 April 1905. Willett's papers, now in the East Sussex Record Office, fail to reveal how he acquired Giorgione's *Holy Family*.
- "Maria Joseph en het kindetje van Gyor Gyone da Castel Franco klein Levent beste hier te Lande beste hier te Lande bekennt", George Martin Richter, *Giorgio da Castelfranco, called Giorgione* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), p. 231.
- A Catalogue of a most Superb and Distinguished Collection of Italian, French, Flemish, and Dutch Pictures, a Selection Formed with Peculiar Taste and Judgment by John Trumbull, Esq. during his late Residence in Paris, from some of the most Celebrated Cabinets in France*, London, Christie, Manson & Wood, 17 February 1797, lot 36, "Giorgione. The Holy Family. A fine specimen and in excellent preservation". It was acquired from the collection of M. Le Rouge and bought by Knight for 53 pounds and ten shillings.
- G. F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain. II, Appendix A. Catalogue of the Capital Pictures in the Collection of Charles I, King of England* (London: John Murray, 1854), p. 471.
- Shapley, *Kress Collection*, pp. 150-151.
- Klara Garas, "The History of Collecting Giorgione in America-An Outline," *Acta Historiae Artium: Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 59 (2018): pp. 42-44.
- There are many Holy Families by Giorgione in early nineteenth-century sales, listed by the Getty Provenance Index, but none may be convincingly identified as the *Benson Holy Family*.



## Jan van Eyck's Holy Face, the Holy Shroud, and Spain

MANUEL PARADA LÓPEZ DE CORSELAS AND JESÚS FOLGADO GARCÍA



Fig. 1 / Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Young Man*, ca. 1450-1460, oil on panel, 35.4 x 26 cm, London, National Gallery.

In 1580, after conquering Portugal and its global empire, Philip II of Spain coined the motto *non sufficit orbis*, “the world is not enough”. The longed-for *Universitas Christiana* dreamt of by his father, Charles V, and seeded by his great-great-grandfather, Philip the Good of Burgundy, was about to be fulfilled.<sup>1</sup> For both Philips, the acquisition and study of holy relics was a key means of articulating this hegemonic programme. According to Ambrosio de Morales and Benito Arias Montano, humanists in the service of Philip II, relics were testimonies and mediators of the truth.<sup>2</sup> By the end of his life, Philip had gathered in the monastery of El Escorial one of the largest collections of relics in the world.<sup>3</sup> This article looks at one category of relic to which Spaniards were particularly devoted and which originated at the court of Philip the Good: paintings of the Holy Face, derived from a model by the Burgundian duke’s court painter, Jan van Eyck.

Although Van Eyck’s painting of the Holy Face is no longer extant, it is known to us today through copies, many of which are or were in Spanish collections. We look here at the influence the Eyckian work had in Spain and propose that it was inspired by the Shroud currently preserved in Turin, as opposed to inspired by the Mandylion at the Vatican, as traditionally held. We also highlight an unpublished late fifteenth-century Castilian version preserved in Segovia and a miniature in Ávila, as well as proposing a new attribution to Petrus Christus or a follower of Jan van Eyck for a Vera Icon in Calahorra, Spain.

### SACRED TREASURE, MONARCHY, AND THE DEVOTIO MODERNA

One of the characteristic features of European monarchies in the Medieval and Early Modern periods was their passion for gathering dynastic treasure, with relics playing a primary role as legitimizers of the ruling house.<sup>4</sup> Relics from the Holy Land, and mainly those associated with Christ, had the greatest value. The paradigmatic example is at the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris where the Capetian kings of France had in the thirteenth century gathered a great collection of Christological relics, amongst which the Crown of Thorns was the most important.<sup>5</sup> The phenomenon is understandable if we take into account the characteristics of popular devotion between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the encounter with God was largely based on seeing and touching mediators such as saints and relics. This was the reason for the proliferation of “golden legends”, which described those who had been closest to God, as well as pilgrimages and relics that, in turn, were used by the ruling groups as instruments of power and control over the population.

As well as owning relics, control over the visual derivatives of these holy objects was also fundamental. The religious movement known as *Devotio Moderna*, which originated mainly in the Netherlands, emphasized the importance of images inspired by relics and taught that they performed a similar devotional function.



Fig. 2 / Copy after Jan van Eyck, *Holy Face*, late fifteenth century, oil on panel, 53 x 41 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie.

It is in the context of the new religiosity influenced by the Devotio Moderna and particularly by the Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence (1431-1445), that we must place the Holy Faces deriving from the work of Jan van Eyck.<sup>6</sup> A key factor was the dissemination at this time of *De Imitatione Christi* (ca. 1418-1427) written

by Thomas à Kempis (ca. 1380-1471), a devotional manual linked to Devotio Moderna that called every Christian to conform him/herself to the life of Christ. Individual meditation on the mysteries of the life of Christ was an essential part of this process. Indeed, it was the intimate nature of this new type of devotion which marked out the movement from previous popular traditions of piety which were of a more communal and public nature. Devotio Moderna proposed the old *homo interior* become *homo devotus* through the *via moderna* towards God and beyond the *via antiqua*.<sup>7</sup> The shift in the theological paradigm brought about by the Black Death and by the passage from Platonism to Aristotelianism also contributed to this religious renewal, which meant a return to contemplation of the suffering Christ who shared our pain.<sup>8</sup> Even so, popular forms of piety continued to proliferate, and the new and old coexisted.

Contemplation of Christocentric images constituted an essential element of the meditation prescribed by Devotio Moderna, often involving details from the Passion such as the wounds, the Cross and the thorns. These images contrasted with those associated with popular piety which focused instead on the worship of saints, sometimes verging on idolatry. Nevertheless, the same type of image could work in both popular and intimate contexts. This was true of devotion to the Holy Face, which was both a mass phenomenon typical of popular devotion and pilgrimages, and associated with the new, more intimate devotional practices. Devotio Moderna encouraged Christians to have a copy of the Holy Face at home to pray to in solitude, such as in a private oratory. This is reflected in the *Portrait of a Young Man* by Petrus Christus (ca. 1450-1460), in which the piece of parchment on the wall behind the man shows the prayer *Salve sancta facies* (fig. 1).<sup>9</sup> The invention of the printing press and engraving would further promote these individual objects of devotion since they made devotional images accessible to all.



Fig. 3 / Copy after Jan van Eyck, *Holy Face*, early seventeenth century, oil on panel, 33.4 x 26.8 cm, Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

#### JAN VAN EYCK'S HOLY FACE

No original Holy Face by Jan van Eyck has been preserved. It is known, instead, from four copies, based on two distinct prototypes, which reproduced not only the image itself but also what must have been the original frames. One prototype is now in Berlin (fig. 2), and Munich; the other is in Bruges (fig. 3) and was until the late twentieth century in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.<sup>10</sup> Traditionally, these panels have been linked to the relic of the Mandylion now in the Vatican in Rome (fig. 4).<sup>11</sup> Larry Silver, who recently surveyed the literature on this subject, states: "Of course, the Holy Face [by Jan van Eyck] derives from one of the most treasured relics of the Vatican."<sup>12</sup> We suggest, however, that it is worth looking again at other works which clearly derive from the Roman relic. We refer to the thirteenth/fourteenth-century Mandylion preserved in San Bartolomeo degli Armeni in Genoa, the *Holy Face* or *Veronica* from the Jaén Cathedral (fourteenth century) (fig. 5) and the *Veronica between Peter and Paul* (ca. 1525) (fig. 6) by Ugo da Carpi in the Vatican.<sup>13</sup> This last painting was placed in the Sancta Sanctorum of the basilica before its reform during the Renaissance.<sup>14</sup> In our opinion, these works are part of what we could call the "Roman model" of the Holy Face, which is characterized by a strong Byzantine influence. The paintings in question depict elongated, schematic and flat faces, cut out against the background without representing the neckline of Christ's tunic. If we look in detail at the Eyckian Holy Faces, which include many details that do not appear in the Roman relic, it appears that the model must have been a different one. The Eyckian faces are more voluminous, with several locks of hair that can be distinguished, gradual transitions between the hair and background, and details such as the neckline of the tunic and inscriptions. Jan van Eyck appears to have consciously moved away from the Roman relic, avoiding any relation to the traditional and highly recognizable representation of it. In other words, rather than creating something which a fifteenth-century viewer would recognize as the famous relic preserved in



Fig. 4 / Anonymous, *Mandylion or Veronica*, 1208, cloth on panel, Vatican.

Fig. 5 / Anonymous, *Holy Face*, ca. 1300, cloth on panel, 30 x 22 cm, Jaén, Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin.



Rome, Van Eyck started a new visual tradition, possibly referring to a different relic. The only time – as far as we know – that Jan van Eyck depicted Christ according to the Roman model was on the stole of one of the singing angels on the Ghent Altarpiece (1432) (fig. 7).

Several relics related to the face of Christ were known in the Middle Ages, such as the shroud of the Holy Chamber of the Oviedo Cathedral, but few of them acquired international renown.<sup>15</sup> In addition to the above-mentioned Mandylion, the other relic showing the face of Christ which had achieved international prominence by the fifteenth century was the Holy Shroud currently preserved in Turin (fig. 8). The first link between Philip the Good's ancestors and the Holy Shroud is in a letter written by the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Commeno (1080-1118) to Robert le Frison, Count of Flanders. The letter, which included an account of relics, describes the Shroud as “*lintamina, post resurrectionem ejus [Domini] inventa in*

*sepulcro* (linen cloth found after the [Lord's] resurrection in [his] sepulchre).”<sup>16</sup> This same relic was venerated by the French King Louis VII in 1147 on his visit to Constantinople where it was exhibited every Friday in the church of Saint Mary of Blachernae.

The Shroud disappeared in the Sack of Constantinople on 13 April 1204, probably looted by the French nobleman Otto de la Roche. Indeed, a petition was made by the emperor Theodore Komnenos to Pope Innocent III to return the Shroud in which the corpse of Christ was wrapped.<sup>17</sup> The next mention of it is in Besançon, in 1206, in the hands of Pontius de la Roche, father of Otto de la Roche, who, in turn, lent it to the Archbishop of Besançon. After a member of the de la Roche family married a Charny, who were lords of Lirey, the relic passed in 1353 to this town, 150 km from Dijon, and in 1389 the religious authorities allowed it to be displayed to believers.<sup>18</sup> The relic remained in Lirey until 22 March 1453, when Margaret de Charny, Countess de



Fig. 6 / Ugo da Carpi, *Saint Veronica between Peter and Paul*, ca. 1525, tempera and charcoal on canvas, 158 x 145 cm, Vatican.

Fig. 7 / Jan and Hubert van Eyck, *Ghent Altarpiece* (detail), 1432, Ghent, Cathedral of Saint Bavo.

Fig. 8 / X-Ray of the Holy Shroud (detail), Turin, Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist.

la Roche, gave it to Duchess Anne of Lusignan, wife of Ludovico of Savoy.<sup>19</sup> This change of ownership explains why the Shroud went to Chambéry and finally to Turin, former capitals of the Duchy of Savoy.

In this way, the Shroud was in Burgundian territory from 1353 to 1453. The jurisdiction of the Duke of Burgundy over this relic is revealed in the bull granted in Avignon on 5 June 1357, where the “*nobilissimi principis ducis Burgundie* (most noble prince the Duke of Burgundy)” is cited as protector of the Shroud.<sup>20</sup> This protection continued to be reflected in documents until the time of Philip the Good, patron of Jan van Eyck. In 1443, when Margaret de Charny wanted to take the Holy Shroud, other relics and jewels from the church of Lirey to her castle, the court in Dole intervened on behalf of Philip the Good to settle this case.<sup>21</sup> This is demonstrated by the arbitration given in the name of Philip the Good, dated 9 May 1443, which regulated the custody of the Holy Shroud.<sup>22</sup>



This data, and formal coincidences such as the volumetry of the hair and the horizontal line in the lower part of Christ's neck, allow us to suggest that Jan van Eyck's Holy Face referred to the Holy Shroud and not to the Mandylion preserved in Rome. This would have accorded with the political interests of Philip the Good, since the Shroud, which is now in Turin, was in Lirey, under Burgundian jurisdiction, for much of the fifteenth century. Although it was famous, the Holy Shroud lacked representations, and we suggest that Jan van Eyck took advantage of this opportunity to create a new image linked to the most important Christological relic related to his lord, Philip the Good. As we know from dates inscribed on the frames of the copies in Berlin and Bruges, two of Van Eyck's Holy Faces were made in 1438 and 1440 (the Berlin version, on 31 January 1438; the Bruges version, on 30 January 1440)<sup>23</sup> It is unknown in what year Jan van Eyck's original was painted, but this could perhaps relate to one of his secret missions. In this regard it is significant that his journey documented in 1426 is cited as a "*certain pèlerinage* (certain pilgrimage)" on behalf of Duke Philip the Good.<sup>24</sup> Given the importance of the Shroud of Lirey for the Burgundian duke, it may be that this pilgrimage was to visit Lirey. Philip's control over this relic was a way of not only competing with France in religious and propagandistic terms, but also of obtaining economic benefits from the pilgrims who visited the sanctuary of Lirey.

These circumstances would also explain why Jan van Eyck's workshop made its two versions of the Holy Face in 1438 and 1440, that is, at key moments of the Council of Basel.<sup>25</sup> At this council, the emissaries of Philip the Good succeeded in having him declared "the most important of all the Dukes of Christendom", a title that was disputed with the Duke of Brittany.<sup>26</sup> Likewise, the Council of Basel was fundamental for the renewal of Christological images and their dissemination throughout Europe.<sup>27</sup>

#### THE SPANISH CONNECTION

The new Netherlandish iconography of the Holy Face had an early impact in Spain. In the kingdom of Castile, two cases are known through documentation, although the corresponding paintings have not been found. The first of these early examples is "*una Verónica de Flandes*" (a Vera Icon from Flanders) that appears amongst the goods that made up the chapel that normally accompanied Alonso de Cartagena, bishop of Burgos, on his travels. This bishop donated these goods to his funerary chapel in Burgos Cathedral shortly before his death in 1456.<sup>28</sup> Although this painting has not been preserved, Alonso de Cartagena may have acquired it directly from Jan van Eyck's workshop on his way through Flanders when he returned from the Council of Basel to Castile in 1439-1440.<sup>29</sup> The second example of a Holy Face from the Netherlands arriving in Castile is recorded as "*una Verónica de Flandes muy devota pintada en una tabla para las procesiones*" (a very devout Flemish Vera Icon painted on a panel for processions) in the chartulary of the Monastery of Santa María del Parral in Segovia.<sup>30</sup> This panel and the *Fountain of Grace* attributed to Van Eyck's workshop were donated to El Parral by Henry IV of Castile (r. 1454-1474), perhaps around 1463. In this year Henry IV also donated to El Parral an important relic of Saint Thomas Aquinas which was acquired in Toulouse in 1438 when Henry was the Prince of Castile. The relic was kept in the treasury of the Alcazar of Segovia and donated to El Parral after the monastery was finished.<sup>31</sup> This royal donation to El Parral was as important as the donation of the *Holy Face* and the *Fountain of Grace*, and all three may have been donated at the same time. Furthermore, like the Saint Thomas Aquinas relic, the *Fountain of Grace* remained in the royal collection from the time of its arrival in Castile around the 1440s until its donation to El Parral.



Fig. 9 / Castilian painter after an Eyckian model, *Holy Face*, ca. 1500, oil on panel, 33.7 x 20.5 cm, Segovia, Church of San Millán.



Fig. 10 / Castilian painter after an Eyckian model, *Holy Face* (reverse of panel and detail of reverse of the frame), ca. 1500, oil on panel, 33.7 x 20.5 cm, Segovia, Church of San Millán.

Alonso de Cartagena can be linked to this context too, as he is thought to have been the originator of the *Fountain of Grace*'s iconographic program.<sup>32</sup> Weale in 1908 mentioned that another Eyckian work, the *Vera Icon* now in Berlin (see fig. 2), had also been in Segovia, although he provided no evidence for this.<sup>33</sup> It is possible, then, that the Berlin *Holy Face* is the one from El Parral. However, the Berlin version is different from two panels which, as we argue below, are likely to be copies of the lost *Holy Face* from El Parral which instead followed the model now in Bruges and formerly in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Felipe Pereda also believes that the *Vera Icon* or *Holy Face* of El Parral could be related to Jan van Eyck's workshop because there is a possible copy of it from

around 1500 in Segovia, in the church of San Millán.<sup>34</sup> A black and white photograph of this copy was provided to Pereda by Fernando Collar de Cáceres, although Pereda did not publish the photograph and could not find the painting.<sup>35</sup> We are deeply grateful to Professor Pereda for putting us on the trail of this painting in 2019, providing us with the black and white photograph and encouraging us to continue researching it. Happily, we were able to find the painting, which has now been cleaned (fig. 9). It is on a pine panel – a common support in Castile – and measures 33.7 x 20.5 cm without its frame and 41 x 28.2 cm with it. The outer edges of the frame and the back face of the panel are stuccoed and painted in a reddish ochre colour, imitating stone (fig. 10) as in other Eyckian paintings such as his *Portrait of Margaret van Eyck*.

In the Eyckian versions of the Vera Icon or Holy Face, there are two ways of representing the neckline of Jesus's tunic. One typology has a jewelled neckline (such as in the Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Bruges versions) (see fig. 3); the other has an inscription in the neckline (such as in the Munich and Berlin versions) (fig. 11 and see fig. 2). The copy in San Millán in Segovia is based on the first typology. The jewels are enriched with plant elements taken from Castilian metalwork of the late fifteenth century. As in all the Eyckian versions, the imprint of the alpha and omega at the top is still visible in the Vera Icon of San Millán. This links the panel with Van Eyck's model rather than with similar versions devised by Dieric Bouts and disseminated by Albrecht Bouts and their followers.<sup>36</sup> The Dieric Bouts *Holy Face* preserved in Rotterdam does not have alpha and omega, nor wrinkles near the nose, and has a shorter moustache than the Eyckian versions and the Segovia painting (fig. 12). In addition, Van Eyck's Vera Icon model is distinguished by the elongated shadow under the lower lip, which is much more marked than in the Bouts version. In the Segovia painting, several locks of hair can, furthermore, be distinguished, falling down from Christ's shoulders, whereas the tips of the locks are turned sideways in the model by Bouts.



Fig. 11 / Copy after Jan van Eyck, *Head of Christ*, ca. 1500, oil on panel, 50.6 x 37.3 cm, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek.

Fig. 12 / Dieric Bouts, *Holy Face*, ca. 1456-1464, oil on panel, 36 x 27 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen.

Fig. 13 / Workshop of Juan de Carrión after an Eyckian model, *Holy Face* (III Book of the Dominicas, fol. 1r), 1470-1472, Ávila, Museum of Ávila Cathedral.

We have also identified a Holy Face related to Jan van Eyck's model in a Castilian illuminated manuscript. This is a miniature by Juan de Carrión or his workshop in a choirbook in the Ávila Cathedral,<sup>37</sup> made between 1470 and 1472 for Alonso de Fonseca, Bishop of Ávila (1469-1485) and chaplain of John II of Castile (fig. 13).<sup>38</sup> Juan de Carrión and his brother Pedro had established one of the main illumination workshops in fifteenth-century Castile. The miniature in question (III Book of the *Dominicas*, fol. 1r) is in the lower section of a folio opening with a capital letter illuminated with the Ascension of Christ, attributed to Pedro.<sup>39</sup> The miniature depicts the Holy Face on a veil held by a couple of angels. This Holy Face is positioned

close to the Ascension to underline the belief that the Vera Icon was the true holy image of Christ which remained on earth after he had ascended into Heaven. The expression, his eye bags, nose, lips, hair, parting and beard are all based on the Eyckian model, but here Christ's face and tunic – including the neckline – are once again similar to the Eyckian versions from Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Bruges. As with the Holy Face in the church of San Millán, it seems possible that the miniature from Ávila could be inspired by the lost Eyckian Holy Face of the Parral Monastery in Segovia. Juan de Carrión and his workshop had worked for Henry IV of Castile and his courtiers in both Segovia and Ávila since 1454.<sup>40</sup>



Fig. 14 / Petrus Christus, *Head of Christ*, ca. 1445, oil on parchment, laid down on wood, 14.6 x 10.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 15 / Petrus Christus or follower of Jan van Eyck, *Head of Christ*, late fifteenth century, oil on panel, 43 x 32 cm, Calahorra, Museum of Calahorra Cathedral.



The Vera Icon in Segovia and the miniature from Ávila are also exceptional because, although the iconography had many Spanish devotees, the main source of inspiration for Castilian painters was not the Eyckian works but those by followers such as Bouts, his son Albrecht, and Petrus Christus. For example, we know that the *Vera Icon* (ca. 1445) by Petrus Christus preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art comes from Spain (fig. 14).<sup>41</sup> A work considered until now to be a copy of this, made in the late fifteenth century, is kept in the Museum of the Cathedral of Calahorra in La Rioja, Spain (fig. 15).<sup>42</sup> In our opinion, this painting is of extraordinarily high quality and could be an original by Petrus Christus or by someone close to Jan van Eyck. Its iconography is different from that of the Vera Icon in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: in Calahorra, Christ is crying and bare-chested, and we can see the folds of his armpits. This last detail, as well as the figure type and the quality of the details – particularly the modelling of the nose and hairs of the moustache – are reminiscent of the Adam in the Ghent Altarpiece. The lips, the eyelashes, the tear ducts and tears are very finely painted, and the suffering but serene expression appeals directly to the feelings of the viewer. The frame and inscription on it are reminiscent of those on a work signed by Petrus Christus, the *Madonna in Half-length* (1449), formerly kept at the Bontinck-Thyssen Collection.<sup>43</sup>





Fig. 16 / Follower of Albrecht Bouts, *Head of Christ*, 1500-1525, oil on panel, 30 x 30 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

In Castile there are many portraits of the suffering Christ by Albrecht Bouts and his circle, housed today in institutions such as the Museo del Prado (fig. 16), the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, and the Cathedral of Toledo.<sup>44</sup> The prototype for this model of the suffering Christ crowned with thorns was created by Dieric Bouts around 1462, and today it is considered by most scholars to be lost.<sup>45</sup> As we have seen, the work in Calahorra attributed here to Petrus Christus, has a crown of thorns, blood and tears, but does not feature the Boutsian reddened eyes, dark circles, or open mouth. In our opinion the Calahorra painting is the nexus, on an iconographic level, between Jan van Eyck's *Holy Face* and the Man of Sorrows often painted by Albrecht Bouts and his workshop.

Intense trade between Castile and the Netherlands, and the great Spanish demand for themes related to the Passion of Jesus, explain the arrival of these types of works in the peninsula as early as the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>46</sup> A paradigmatic collector of these Netherlandish paintings was Queen Isabella I of Castile (1451-1504). Her inventories contain more than 180 entries dedicated to devotional paintings. Among them there are two diptychs which, according to their descriptions, may have been produced by Albrecht Bouts or his workshop.<sup>47</sup> The first one was a diptych "*con Nuestro Señor e Nuestra Señora, que dio el obispo de Málaga a su Alteza*" (with Our Lord and Our Lady, which the Bishop of Malaga gave to Her Highness).<sup>48</sup>



Fig. 17 / Follower of Dieric Bouts, *Holy Face*, ca. 1500, oil on panel, 39.6 x 30.1 cm, Granada, Capilla Real.

The second one was described as "*dos tablas, la una de un Christo y la otra de nuestra Señora, medios cuerpos, de rroble de Flandes, 8 ducados de oro*" (two panels, one of a Christ and the other of Our Lady, half length, of oak of Flanders, 8 gold ducats).<sup>49</sup> Several "*Eccehomo*"<sup>50</sup> and "*Christo coronado de espinas*" (Christ crowned with thorns)<sup>51</sup> were also recorded in these inventories. The queen donated some of these works to the Royal Chapel of Granada, for example, "*otro retablo de dos tablas que en una está nuestro Señor coronado e en la otra nuestra señora, puestas las manos*" (another altarpiece of two panels that in one is Our Lord crowned and in the other Our Lady, laying her hands).<sup>52</sup> Today, a *Holy Face* by a follower of Dieric Bouts, is kept in the Royal Chapel in Granada (fig. 17). There is also a *Holy Face* by Bartolomé Bermejo (ca. 1477-1483) which follows the Boutsian model (fig. 18).<sup>53</sup> Around 1500 Leonor de Chacón, one of the queen's ladies-in-waiting, also acquired a diptych of Jesus and the Mater Dolorosa by a follower of Dieric Bouts, now in the National Museum of Western Art in Tokyo.<sup>54</sup>

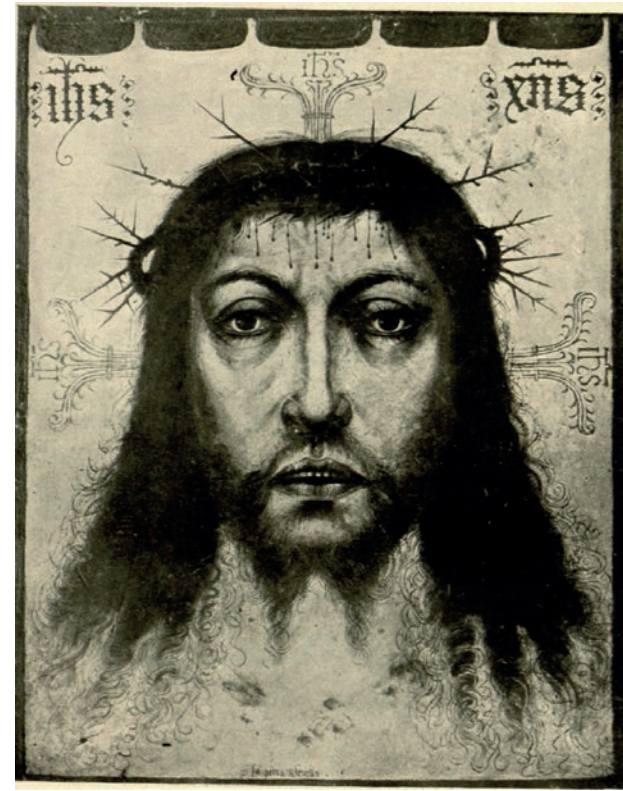


Fig. 18 / Bartolomé Bermejo, *Holy Face*, ca. 1484, oil on panel, 44.6 x 46 x 1.2 cm, Granada, Capilla Real.



Fig. 19 / Juan Sánchez de San Román, *Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1500, mixed method on panel, 40.3 x 30.3 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fig. 20 / Pedro Sánchez, *Veil of Veronica*, ca. 1500, formerly in an Italian private collection.



Castilian artists also produced versions of the face of Christ inspired by Netherlandish models, such as the *Holy Face* by Bermejo in Granada, the *Man of Sorrows* by Juan Sánchez de San Román now at the Museo del Prado (ca. 1500) (fig. 19),<sup>55</sup> the *Veil of Veronica* by Pedro Sánchez (ca. 1500) (fig. 20) formerly in an Italian private collection,<sup>56</sup> and the *Vera Icon* (ca. 1500) from the chapel of Christ at the Column in Toledo Cathedral (fig. 21).<sup>57</sup> This chapel provides a possibly unique opportunity to compare the “Netherlandish model” of the Holy Face developed by Jan van Eyck and the Bouts family, with the earlier “Roman model” of Byzantine inspiration: the stone relief on the chapel’s

altarpiece, carved by Copín de Holanda around 1510-1515,<sup>58</sup> includes the Roman model (fig. 22), whereas the *Vera Icon* panel is an interpretation of the Netherlandish model.<sup>59</sup> This panel does not derive directly from Jan van Eyck, but is inspired by the Man of Sorrows created by Dieric Bouts and diffused by his son Albrecht, and based on versions such as the tondo now in the collection of the Museo del Prado (inv. P002698) (see fig. 16). In both the Toledo panel and Prado tondo, Christ has a crown of thorns, a halo with rays emanating from it, reddened eyes, an open mouth with visible lower teeth, abundant drops of blood, and tears deployed in a similar way.



Fig. 21 / Castilian painter after a model by Albrecht Bouts, *Vera Icon*, ca. 1500, oil on panel, 41 x 27 cm, Chapel of the Christ of the Column, Toledo, Primate Cathedral of Saint Mary.

Fig. 22 / View of the Chapel of the Christ of the Column, Toledo, Primate Cathedral of Saint Mary.

The Castilian theological tradition played an important role in the success of the iconography of the Holy Face in Spain. One of the most popular expressions of this new devotion was the creation of the *Via Crucis* by the Dominican monk Álvaro de Córdoba around 1420 to underline the suffering humanity of Christ. Due to the influence of this priest as confessor to both Queen Consort Catherine of Lancaster and her son, the future John II of Castile, the *Via Crucis* became popular throughout Castile.<sup>60</sup> This could be one of the reasons for the iconographic popularization of the sixth station of the cross, called “*la Verónica enjuga el rostro de Jesús*” (Veronica wipes the face of Jesus). We have seen



that Alonso de Cartagena (1384-1456) had the first documented Netherlandish Holy Face in Castile, and its presence in his private oratory indicates his particular devotion to this iconography. Similar interest is reflected in the *Coplas a la Verónica* (Verses to the Vera Icon) by Friar Íñigo de Mendoza (ca. 1430-ca. 1490), first printed in the *Cancionero* of 1483.<sup>61</sup> These *Coplas* end with the poem entitled *Adoración de la Verónica* (Adoration of the Vera Icon), which includes a reflection on the face of the suffering Christ represented in a holy painting, the Veil of Saint Veronica, and speaks of God as the supreme painter. The following verses begin as if it were the prayer *Salve sancta facies*:

Salve, santa faz preciosa / [...] ¡o rostro iluminativo! / yo te adoro así pasivo [pasional, sufriente] / como estás en este lienço / [...] ¡O cara que representas / la vista de mis amores! / [...] Las manos que te pintaron / la Luna y el Sol fizieron, / todas las cosas formaron, / a los ángeles criaron, / las estrellas compusieron, / [...] adoro yo tus proporciones; / tu boca de la verdad, / tus ojos de piedad, / adoro con tus pasiones. / ¡O tú que pintaste el cielo / de sutil astronomía! / dime, rey de justo zelo, / en pintar aqueste velo / ¿faltóte sabiduría? / Sin pinzel la luz del día / pintaste en el firmamento, / ¡o Jhesus, vera sofía!, / pero [en] tu filosofía / ¿dó estaba tu entendimiento? / Aquel color rubicundo / que el cielo en la tarde tiene; / aquel azul tan jocundo / que el luzero espira el mundo / de tu sola mano viene: / pues si a tí solo conviene / fazer colores tan vivos, / no ay corazón que no pene / en ver tu faz, que contiene / estos colores esquivos. / [...] Esto digo con dolor / de tanta desventura: / que potencia ni color / no faltó a mi Redemptor / quando fizo esta pintura; / ¡o ciega humanal natura! / Contempla en tu rey de gloria / que te dexa su figura / con tal visión y presura / porque hayas dél memoria.

Hail, holy precious face / [...] Oh illuminating face! / I adore thy so passionate [suffering] / as thou are on this veil / [...] Oh face that thou represent / the sight of my loves! / [...] The hands that painted thee / the Moon and the Sun created, / all things they formed, / angels they created, / the stars they composed, / [...] I adore thy proportions; / thy mouth of truth, / thy eyes of pity, / I adore with thy passions / Oh! thou who painted the sky / of subtle astronomy! / tell me, king of righteous sky, / in painting this veil / did thou lack wisdom?

/ Without paint brush the light of day / thou painted in the sky, / oh! Jhesus, true wisdom!, / but [in] thy physiognomy / where was thy understanding? / That ruddy color / that the sky in the afternoon has; / that so joyful blue / that the bright star breathes out the world / from thy single hand it comes: / well, if it is only convenient for thou / to make colours so vivid, / there is no heart which does not agonize / in seeing thy face, which contains / these elusive colors. / [...] This I say with pain / of so much misadventure: / that power or colour / my Redemptor did not miss / when He made this painting; / oh! blind human nature! / Contemplate in thy king of glory / who leaves thou his figure / with such vision and haste / for thou to have a memory of Him.

Íñigo de Mendoza was the great-nephew of Alonso de Cartagena and a preacher for the Catholic Monarchs. The suffering face of Christ that Mendoza describes in this poem composed for the royal court may well have been inspired by the paintings by Bouts that Isabella I of Castile owned. Likewise, in several cloisters of cathedrals and monasteries in Castile we find representations of the Holy Face, as in the Segovia Cathedral and in San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, both images from the time of Isabella I of Castile. These works can be related to the processions dedicated to the Holy Face such as the ones to which the chartulary of El Parral testifies when, as cited above, it records the collection of “a very devout Flemish Vera Icon painted on a panel for processions”. This kind of procession in which Christological paintings are carried and publicly displayed, still survives in Spain. For example, during Holy Week in Alcalá la Real near Jaén, a seventeenth-century *Ecce Homo* on canvas (fig. 23) is one of the highlights of the *Ecce Homo* procession. We also have a valuable testimony of particular



Fig. 23 / *Ecce Homo* procession during the Holy Week, Alcalá la Real (Jaén).

devotion towards the Shroud and the face of Christ: according to the Burgundian courtier Antoine de Lalaing, Joanna the Mad and Philip the Handsome on 14 April 1503 passed through Bourg-en-Bresse and worshipped the Holy Shroud shown to them by their relatives the Dukes of Savoy.<sup>62</sup> Joanna I of Castile must have had a special devotion to the face of Christ, since her Book of Hours – the London Rothschild Hours – begins with the infrequent prayer dedicated to the Holy Face, *Salve sancta facies*.<sup>63</sup>

In conclusion, we have seen that the Holy Face of Jan van Eyck was put at the service of the hegemonic policies of Van Eyck's patron, Philip the Good, although the passage of the Shroud from Burgundy to Savoy has meant that the origin of this model has not previously been correctly identified. This Eyckian model enjoyed particular success in Castile. One of its early adopters was Alonso de Cartagena, who acquired a “Vera Icon from Flanders” around the same time that the earliest surviving versions of Jan van Eyck's model of the Holy Face are dated. Given Castile's position as the main foreign consumer of early Netherlandish painting in Europe and its favourable reception of, and novel additions to Devotio Moderna practices, its patrons soon assimilated Van Eyck's innovation.<sup>64</sup> Among these new Castilian practices was Álvaro de Córdoba's *Via Crucis*, formulated around 1420, and Íñigo de Mendoza's poem on the Vera Icon, published in 1483. Likewise, the Castilian demand for highly emotive subjects about the Passion of Jesus may have influenced Netherlandish production, with Petrus Christus and the Bouts reformulating Jan van Eyck's Vera Icon to introduce dramatic elements such as the haggard face, the crown of thorns, blood, and tears. In this way we witness a dialogue between the Iberian Peninsula and the Netherlands that can only be understood as an early example of globalization in which the Kingdom of Castile played an important role.

## NOTES

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## The collection of Philip John Miles at Leigh Court<sup>1</sup>

PETER HUMFREY



Fig. 1 / John Young, *Portrait of Philip John Miles*, 1822, mezzotint, 17.4 x 12.8 cm, London, National Portrait Gallery.

In the series of volumes illustrating major private picture collections published in the early 1820s by John Young – “Engraver in Mezzotint to His Majesty and Keeper of the British Institution” – one stands out as anomalous.<sup>2</sup> Whereas the other four were hung in the London homes of their owners, for the most part members of the landed aristocracy, the collection of the millionaire merchant Philip John Miles (1774-1845; fig. 1) was displayed in his newly built mansion on an estate a few miles to the west of Bristol, on the Somerset side of the Avon Gorge. In his preface Young admitted that the remoteness of Leigh Court from the metropolis meant that the collection was infrequently visited by amateurs and patrons of art; but he insisted that “the Pictures of which it is composed can never fail to excite the highest interest, when it is considered that many of them were the ornaments of the most magnificent palaces of Italy”.<sup>3</sup> This comment was probably inspired in particular by two of the most celebrated works in the collection: the so-called “Altieri Claudes”, which had been acquired by William Beckford immediately after their arrival in England from Rome in 1799 (figs. 2 & 3). But among the eighty-one paintings catalogued and illustrated by Young with etchings (fig. 4)<sup>4</sup> were a number of other very prestigious names, both of artists and of provenances: Raphael, Titian, Rubens, Poussin, Murillo; Borghese, Colonna, Giustiniani, Calonne, Orléans. While several of the works catalogued as originals were certainly copies, the collection unquestionably included others of very high quality.

In 1835, thirteen years after the publication of Young’s volume, the indefatigable Gustav Friedrich Waagen made the journey to Leigh Court.<sup>5</sup> In his account of the collection he explained that the desire to see it was the chief motive for his visit to the west of England, and he declared that although his expectations were already very high, they were in the event far exceeded. He thought that the collection “would have done the highest honour to the palace of the greatest monarch in Europe”, and although he did not meet its owner, he was inspired with the greatest esteem for him. Waagen compared him favourably with other *nouveaux-riches*, whose collections more often reflected “a barbarous and tasteless luxury”, but implicitly also with aristocrats obsessed with horses and dogs. He concluded: “The more therefore did I rejoice to see what has been done here in various ways, and with refined taste.”

Waagen describes Miles as “a very wealthy merchant and manufacturer”. Indeed, the collector had extensive commercial interests in Bristol, in shipping and in the refinement of sugar, in the manufacture of rope, gunpowder, glass, copper and cotton, and as a partner in the family bank founded by his father William.<sup>6</sup> A pillar of local society, he was MP for Westbury at the time of the publication of Young’s catalogue, and at the time of Waagen’s visit he was MP for Bristol. Waagen was too delicate to mention – or perhaps did not realize – that the basis of all this wealth was the slave trade, and that until the Abolition Act of 1833 Miles was the absentee owner of several plantations in Jamaica and Trinidad.



Fig. 2 / Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with the Father of Psyche's Sacrifice at the Temple of Apollo*, 1662-1663, oil on canvas, 175.3 x 222.9 cm, Cambridgeshire, Fairhaven Collection, Anglesey Abbey, National Trust.



Fig. 3 / Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with the Arrival of Aeneas before the City of Pallantium*, 1675, oil on canvas, 190.5 x 238.5 cm, Cambridgeshire, Fairhaven Collection, Anglesey Abbey, National Trust.

From recently discovered documents recording his returns to the London Registry of Colonial Slaves for the years 1817, 1820, and 1823 – exactly the time, in other words, when Young catalogued his collection – it emerges that more than two thousand enslaved men, women and children worked on Miles's West Indian estates.<sup>7</sup> He was not, however, coy about the source of his wealth, which he – in common with much of



Fig. 4 / John Young, etching after copy of Raphael's *Madonna of Divine Love*, ca. 1822, 9.7 x 12 cm, from *Catalogue of the Pictures at Leigh Court*, no. 15, London, British Museum.

Fig. 5 / Leigh Court, South façade, Somerset, Abbots Leigh.

Fig. 6 / Leigh Court, Present-day plan of ground floor, Somerset, Abbots Leigh.

Fig. 7 / Leigh Court, Former Drawing Room, Somerset, Abbots Leigh.

Fig. 8 / Thomas Leeson Rowbotham, *View of the Drawing Room at Leigh Court*, ca. 1840, Bristol, Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery.



the British establishment of that period – is likely to have regarded as essential to the mercantile prosperity of Bristol as a whole. On his tomb monument in the parish church of Abbots Leigh, by the Bristol sculptor E. H. Baily, an allegorical female figure is seen seated on a globe prominently inscribed with the words WEST INDIA.<sup>8</sup>

Miles was probably already a sugar millionaire by 1813, the date of his marriage to the daughter of Samuel Peach, another leading member of a slave-owning and banking family in Bristol. In the following year he employed the fashionable London architect Thomas Hopper, who had previously worked for the Prince Regent at Carlton House, to build a new house on his recently acquired 2350-acre estate of Abbot's Leigh.<sup>9</sup> Soon afterwards he sought the advice of Humphry Repton on a surrounding landscape garden.<sup>10</sup> Still surviving as a venue for conferences and weddings, Leigh Court is an imposing building of Bath stone, of an essentially Palladian design, but with up-to-date Greek Revival details.<sup>11</sup> It is designed as a compact block with Ionic porticos on three of its four sides (fig. 5), and commands views over woodland across the Avon valley to Clifton, and across the Severn estuary to South Wales. Inside the plan is correspondingly symmetrical, with a very grand Hall and staircase at the centre, and a suite of six semi-public reception rooms arranged around it on the ground floor (fig. 6). The central Hall is preceded by a circular atrium that contained four magnificent vases from Wanstead House, and copies of famous classical statues.<sup>12</sup> In deliberate contrast to the sobriety of the exterior, the reception rooms were very richly furnished, and the ceilings retain their lavish Adamesque plasterwork. The grandest of them, the Drawing Room (the present-day "Tapestry Room") (fig. 7), was, according to another visitor, John Rutter (1829), hung with crimson silk damask, with lavishly carved and gilded frames to the windows, mirrors, and pictures.<sup>13</sup> All this can be seen in a watercolour of the room by Thomas Leeson Rowbotham dating from shortly before Miles's death in 1845 (fig. 8). In building and decorating Leigh Court, Miles was clearly seeking to emulate the country seats of the landowning nobility, and to convey a sense that he, too, was a worthy heir of British and European civilization.





Fig. 9 / Benjamin West, *Christ Teacheth to be Humble*, 1810, oil on canvas, 228.6 x 179.7 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 10 / Thomas Stothard, R.A., *The Pilgrimage to Canterbury*, 1806-1807, oil on oak, 31.8 x 95.2 cm, London, Tate Britain.



There can be little doubt that the house and its picture collection were consciously meant to symbolize the ascent of himself and his family from mercantile origins to landed gentry; indeed, in the next generation his eldest son was to be raised to the rank of baronet. Whether or not, as has been argued,<sup>14</sup> Miles was also consciously seeking to throw a veil of refinement and civility over the unsavoury source of his wealth is perhaps not so clear.

From the descriptions by Young and Waagen, and also from those by two other contemporaries, John Rutter and John Chilcott,<sup>15</sup> it is evident that the Miles collection was displayed in its entirety in these six reception rooms on the ground floor. Indeed, although the documentation is patchy, it is fair to deduce that his paintings were acquired specifically to fill these spaces, and that he had not started collecting before work began on Leigh Court in 1814. The collection was then formed at great speed, mainly in the space of a single year, 1816, while the house was being built; and once the rooms were furnished, Miles showed no further interest in buying pictures.

In the introduction to his volume, Young explains that Miles acquired his paintings from two main collections: that of his business associate Richard Hart Davis (1766-1842); and that of the recently deceased Henry Hope (1735-1811). In the catalogue entries these two collectors are identified as the previous owners of about one quarter of Miles's paintings, including nearly all of the most important. In the case of the other three quarters, although prestigious earlier collections are sometimes mentioned, the entries do not unambiguously record the names of any immediately preceding owner.

There is evidence from other sources, however, that Young did not specify all the works that had come from Hart Davis; and in the absence of any contemporary list it cannot be excluded that as much as one half of the Miles collection came from him. In any case, since the name of Miles almost never appears in auction records of the period, it may be assumed that most or all of paintings that did not come from either Hart Davis or Hope were acquired from dealers in London.

Richard Hart Davis was Miles's predecessor as MP for Bristol, and had likewise amassed a fortune in banking and commerce, particularly in the import of wool. In 1813 the diarist Joseph Farington estimated his wealth at about half a million, and reported that his picture collection, apparently kept at his house in Grosvenor Square in London, cost him the enormous total of £100,000.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps to advertise his arrival as a major collector, Hart Davis was willing to pay large sums for glamorous purchases, and in 1808 he bought the two "Altieri Claudes" from Beckford for a colossal 12,000 guineas. Two years later, again according to Farington, he offered an astonished President of the Royal Academy 1,000 guineas for his *Christ Teacheth to be Humble* (fig. 9), while announcing that his collection of continental Old Masters was now complete and that he now intended to concentrate on contemporary British pictures.<sup>17</sup> As good as his word, on the recommendation of Benjamin West, he immediately bought Thomas Stothard's *Pilgrimage to Canterbury* (fig. 10) from the engraver Robert Cromek, who having commissioned the painting made it famous by having it engraved, and by sending it on a touring exhibition across the British Isles.<sup>18</sup>



Fig. 11 / Domenichino, *Saint John the Evangelist*, late 1620s, oil on canvas, 259 cm x 199.4 cm, Private Collection, on loan to the National Gallery, London.

Fig. 12 / Gaspard Dughet, *Landscape with Elijah and the Angel*, ca. 1663, oil on canvas, 201.8 x 154 cm, London, National Gallery.

In 1814 he consigned a group of forty-two mainly Dutch pictures for auction by Peter Coxe, perhaps at this date because of his new interest in contemporary painting rather because of any urgent need for funds.<sup>19</sup> By 1816, however, he had certainly run into severe financial difficulties, and was forced to take the opportunity to sell to Miles a large group of important, mainly Italian pictures from his still mainly Italian collection.<sup>20</sup> Around the same time he presumably also sold other paintings privately to other collectors and dealers, and in 1819 he was declared bankrupt.

Fortunately for Miles, Hart Davis's financial distress coincided with the latter stage of the building of Leigh Court, and with the owner's immediate need to furnish it with a collection of pictures that had been put together by an acknowledged connoisseur. In the absence of any formal record of the transaction, it is not known how many works were involved, or how much Miles paid for them. But of the eleven specified by Young, three were Italian: a version of Raphael's *Madonna of Loreto*; a *Salvator Mundi*, supposedly by Leonardo; and Domenichino's masterly *Saint John the Evangelist* (fig. 11), which had previously been in the Giustiniani collection in Rome.<sup>21</sup> Another six were landscapes by the honorary Italians Claude and Dughet: one by the former, in addition to the celebrated ex-Altieri pair; and three outstanding Dughets (fig. 12), all of which, like the "Altieri Claudes", had been acquired by Davis from Beckford.<sup>22</sup> The remaining two paintings may likewise have been considered to belong to the Italian tradition: the twelve-foot wide *Conversion of Saul* by Rubens, previously in the Montesquieu collection in Paris, for which Davis had paid £4000;<sup>23</sup> and West's *Christ Teacheth to be Humble*.<sup>24</sup>





Fig. 13 / Titian and workshop, *Venus and Adonis*, oil on canvas, 177.5 x 200 cm, Private collection.

In addition to these, however, Miles certainly bought from Hart Davis Stothard's *Pilgrimage to Canterbury*,<sup>25</sup> and also a high-quality version of Titian's *Venus and Adonis* (fig. 13), which a few years earlier had belonged to West.<sup>26</sup> To judge from the unusually detailed descriptions in the Coxe sale catalogue, Hart Davis provided two or three Dutch pictures, including works by Dou and Potter, that he had sent to auction in 1814.<sup>27</sup> But there were a number of other important paintings in the Miles collection with no recorded immediate provenance, but which perhaps also came from Hart Davis: Raphael's *Procession to Calvary*, for example, previously in the Orléans collection (fig. 14); or Giorgione's *Adoration of the Magi* (then attributed to Giovanni Bellini) (fig. 15); or Rubens's *Holy Family with Saint Francis* (fig. 16).<sup>28</sup>

The group of paintings acquired by Miles from the Hope collection can be identified much more precisely. Henry Hope was a leading member of one of the wealthiest banking families in Europe, based in Amsterdam. During the 1780s he put together a collection of nearly 400 paintings at his Italianate suburban villa of Welgelegen, on the edge Haarlem.<sup>29</sup> In anticipation of the French invasion of the Netherlands, he moved to London in 1794, taking his collection with him, installing it in his house on the corner of Harley Street and Cavendish Square. There he continued to acquire paintings, including from the Orléans sales in 1798 and 1800; and to judge from a large group portrait of 1802 by Benjamin West showing the merchant prince surrounded by his family (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts), Hope, like Hart Davis, was well acquainted with the President of the Royal Academy. Soon after his death in 1811 a group of fifty-seven works, mainly Flemish and Dutch, were sold at Christie's, and in a three-day sale five years later (27-29 June 1816), a further 338, this time mainly Italian, were put up for auction. The sale of this celebrated collection created a major sensation in the London art world,<sup>30</sup> and for Miles the timing

was perfect. It took place either just before or just after Miles had made his acquisitions from Davis, and he must have seen it as a way of complementing them with a substantial group from another prestigious source.

All of the thirteen paintings at Leigh Court that Young specifies as having come from the Hope collection can be matched up with items in the 1816 sale catalogue. Furthermore, in only two cases does he omit to mention that they, too, came from Hope. Although Miles's purchases at the sale were relatively few in number, he was willing to pay high prices, as is illustrated above all by Rubens's *Woman taken in Adultery* (fig. 17), for which he paid £2100, the most expensive lot of this auction, and one of the most expensive of the whole period.<sup>31</sup> Young reports that until bought by Hope in 1780 the painting had remained in the Van Knyf family of Antwerp, which had commissioned it from the artist. Miles's other acquisitions at the sale included a Claude *Seaport*, a Poussin *Scene of Plague in an Ancient City* (now recognized as by Michael Sweerts) (fig. 18), and a large, horizontal version by Eustache Le Sueur of his *Saint Peter Raising Tabitha*, then in Saint Étienne du Mont in Paris.<sup>32</sup> All the others, apart from two supposed Murillos and a mythology by Gerard de Lairesse, were by or attributed to Italian masters such as Leonardo, Correggio, Parmigianino, Annibale Carracci, and Schedoni. In the records of the buyers at the Hope sale, the name of Miles himself is only mentioned once, and all his other acquisitions were bid for by the dealer Peter Norton.

The use of an intermediary dealer may certainly be inferred in the case of the only other definitely identifiable source, apart from Hart Davis and Hope, of Miles's purchases. This was the collection of the recently deceased Barrington Pope Blatchford, MP, auctioned at his home of Osborne House on the Isle of Wight, again in 1816, just two months after the Hope sale.<sup>33</sup>



Sassoferrato and Maratti that might conceivably correspond to items subsequently catalogued by Young, the Delahante sale included one that was more unusual and distinctive: a *Crucifixion* attributed to Michelangelo, and perhaps identifiable with the little picture owned by Miles.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately, however, the sale catalogue does not specify that the scene included the Virgin and John, and the names of the buyers are not recorded.

Miles did not have a university education and never went abroad, and before becoming an MP in 1820 he probably had little opportunity to look at Old Master paintings. He may well, however, have been reasonably well read in classics, history and the history of art (including, perhaps, Vasari and Reynolds); and although the well-stocked Library on the ground floor of Leigh Court may reflect his aspiration to be a gentlemen more than any special erudition, it is

The Blatchford sale included one highly distinctive work that can be matched with one in the Miles collection: a painting attributed to Holbein and picturesquely supposed to represent William Tell, but in the twentieth century recognized as a Saint Sebastian by Anthonis Mor.<sup>34</sup> In the same sale was a pair of Canaletto views of Venice, the titles of which also correspond exactly to those in Young's catalogue.<sup>35</sup> The names of the buyers at the sale are unrecorded, but since it is most unlikely that Miles travelled to the Isle of Wight to attend it, it may be assumed that these three pictures were bought by a London dealer, perhaps acting on Miles's instructions.

One more source for Miles's collection may be suggested, but in this case much more hypothetically. On 30-31 May 1817 the dealer Alexis Delahante held a sale at Phillips in London of a large number of paintings that he had acquired in Paris immediately after Waterloo. In addition to a number of rather generically described works by Raphael, Dolci,



Fig. 14 / Raphael, *The Procession to Calvary*, ca. 1504-1505, oil on poplar, 24.4 x 85.5 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 15 / Giorgione, *Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1500, oil on wood, 29.8 x 81.3 cm, London, National Gallery.



Fig. 16 / Peter Paul Rubens, *Holy Family with Saint Francis*, ca. 1630s, oil on canvas, 176.5 x 209.6 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 17 / Peter Paul Rubens, *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery*, 1614, oil on wood, 143 x 194 cm, Brussels, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.



perhaps significant that his engraved portrait by Young (see fig. 1) shows him seated in front of rows of books. In forming a picture collection with which to furnish his new house he must have depended on expert advisers, most likely the owner himself in the case of the Hart Davis collection, and Norton in the case of the Hope collection. Nevertheless, his very ownership of such a collection must have given him a local reputation as a connoisseur, and from 1824 he served on the exhibitions committee of the Bristol Institution for the Advancement of Science, Literature and the Arts.<sup>37</sup> In London he advertised his arrival as a serious collector by lending his *Woman taken in Adultery* by Rubens to the British Institution in 1818, and seven more paintings in 1822. And it remains true that although his collection was drawn principally from only two existing collections, his acquisitions were not *en bloc* purchases in the sense that he evidently made careful selections from them, rejecting items that were not to his taste.

Viewed as a whole, the Miles collection, even more than the many other important collections formed in Britain in the aftermath of the French Revolution, reflects a taste that strongly reflects the academic canon. That is to say, its owner followed Reynolds in favouring the classical tradition in Italy from Raphael to the seventeenth-century Bolognese, and in addition to the names already mentioned the collection included works attributed to Fra Bartolomeo and Andrea del Sarto. Most of these were versions, probably copies, of well-known compositions by these masters, such as Leonardo's *Saint John the Baptist*, Raphael's *Madonna of Loreto*, *Madonna of Divine Love* (see fig. 4), and *Pope Julius II*, Andrea del Sarto's *Porta Pinti Madonna*, and Michelangelo's *Crucifixion* drawing for Vittoria Colonna.<sup>38</sup> The collection even included an allegorical painting by Vasari, albeit in disguise as a Parmigianino.<sup>39</sup> In a similar vein, Miles chose "history" paintings by Titian, Correggio and Rubens, even though they were in the tradition of colour rather than drawing, in preference to the lower genres. While it is hardly surprising that the collection did not include anything from earlier than 1500, nor much from the eighteenth century, it may be observed that despite the Dou, the Potter, and a Van de Velde seascape (a reflection of the owner's shipping interests?), Miles was clearly not partial to Dutch genre or landscape painting – even though such works enjoyed great popularity with aristocratic collectors, including the Prince Regent, and the London art market was flooded with good examples. Nor did he seek to imitate aristocratic country houses by filling Leigh Court with portraits or sporting pictures, and there is little evidence of any interest in contemporary English painting. This indifference even extended to Edward Bird, Francis Danby and the various other members of the flourishing Bristol school.

The few exceptions to these generalizations tend to prove the rule. Although as a fifteenth-century artist Bellini had been placed in Part II of Vasari's *Lives*, the Giorgionesque character of the *Adoration of the Magi* (see fig. 15) would already have been recognized. The very small number of eighteenth-century works in the collection included (besides the two Canalettos) a misty, neo-Claudian view of a seashore by Vernet, and a reduced-scale version of a Madonna and Saints altarpiece by Mengs.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, the two contemporary British works, by Stothard and West (figs. 9 & 10), would both have been seen as history paintings. With its frieze-like cavalcade, the *Pilgrimage to Canterbury* clearly invoked a central, classicizing tradition of European art, as represented, for example, by Raphael's *Way to Calvary* (see fig. 14) (already in London, if not in the possession of Hart Davis), updated with a topical reference to the recently arrived Elgin Marbles. *Christ Teacheth to be Humble* is a self-conscious essay in neo-Raphaelism, while improving on Miles's various Holy Families attributed to Raphael, Correggio, and Murillo by presenting a distinctly Protestant moralizing message. When exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1810 the painting carried a quotation from the gospel of Matthew (18: 2-5) in which Christ pointed to a little child as a model of innocence and humility. Presumably when choosing the painting to hang on his walls Miles saw no connection between Christ's condemnation of those who do harm to children and his own career as a slave-owner.

Apart from considerations of aesthetic taste, Miles was clearly attracted by illustrious provenances. In addition to those from French and Roman princely families already mentioned, Young recorded that one of his Dughets came from Palazzo Colonna, and that a pair of little Bassanos came from Palazzo Borghese; moreover, his version of Guido Reni's *Cleopatra* had previously belonged to Caroline of Brunswick, Princess of Wales, at Kensington Palace.<sup>41</sup> But Miles appears to have been equally attracted by recent fame and publicity. Reference has already been made to the high profile enjoyed by the *Pilgrimage to Canterbury* as a result of its tour round the nation.



Fig. 18 / Michael Sweerts, *Plague in an Ancient City*, ca. 1650-1652, oil on canvas, 118.75 × 170.8 cm, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum.

Similarly, a patriotic story had become attached to the small-scale version from the Hope collection of Parmigianino's *Madonna of Saint Jerome* (London, National Gallery), whereby the French had attempted to send the picture from Italy to Napoleon himself, but their ship was gallantly intercepted by a British cruiser and brought it to London.<sup>42</sup> This celebrity was, however, as nothing compared with that of the "Altieri Claudes". Although rooted in the traditional admiration for the artist by British collectors, it was much enhanced by public knowledge of the adventures undergone by the two paintings during their journey from Rome to London in 1799.<sup>43</sup> Secretly acquired from Prince Altieri by the painters Robert Fagan and Charles Grignon in defiance of the Napoleonic authorities, they were first carried overland from Rome to Naples; they were then smuggled onto a small ship and carried through terrible storms to Palermo; there they were admired by Admiral Nelson, who put them onto an armed vessel destined for England; having fended off attacks from enemy warships, this eventually delivered them to remote Falmouth, where they were at first unclaimed. After being discovered and brought to London, they were displayed for a time at the house of the distinguished connoisseur Charles Long in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where according to Grignon's brother "all the most enlightened dilettanti attended and were lavish in their praise". Soon afterwards they were bought by Beckford for the extravagant sum of 7000 guineas; and in 1808 they were bought by Hart Davis for the even more extravagant sum of 10,000 guineas. It is unlikely that in the year after Waterloo Miles paid less for what had become national trophies – even though, apparently when they were in Hart Davis's possession, they were badly damaged by an incompetent restorer.

Having assembled his collection of about eighty paintings, perhaps in the space of less than five years, Miles installed them in his new house. From Rowbotham's watercolour of the Drawing Room (see fig. 8), it appears that he immediately set his personal seal on the paintings by having the majority, if not

quite all of them, reframed according to a matching design. In the view, all the paintings on the end wall are all shown, despite their diverse provenances, with near-identical gilt frames, of a style datable to ca. 1820;<sup>44</sup> and only the version of Raphael's *Madonna of Loreto* on the right wall, which Young said that Hart Davis had acquired in Italy, shows a frame provided by a previous owner, with the swept edges of a mid-eighteenth-century design.

Both Young and Waagen list the paintings room by room, and it is clear that in the intervening thirteen years the positions of many of them were changed. In neither arrangement, however, does the distribution follow any logic, either of artistic school or of subject-matter. The collection was never apparently photographed in situ, and the only information about the arrangement of the paintings on the walls is provided by the watercolour, which shows that in a manner that was by now conventional, the paintings were hung symmetrically in two tiers, with the larger above and the smaller below.<sup>45</sup> Since the organizing principle was the size and shape of the fields rather than subject or decorum, a version of Guido Reni's very profane *Death of Cleopatra* is hung high on the left of the window as a pendant to a supposed Murillo *Holy Family* on the right. A consideration here may also have been the complementary diagonals of their bold and easily legible compositions. The three much smaller pictures below the *Cleopatra* are identifiable from Waagen's description as a much reduced copy of Velázquez's *Philip IV on Horseback* (with the surface glare from the window), the *Crucifixion* supposedly by Michelangelo, and Dou's *Water (Urine) Doctor* – a trio united by their figure scale, but oddly heterogenous in their subjects and geographical origins. Displayed on a freestanding pedestal by the fireplace is a small-scale copy of Van Dyck's *Charles I on Horseback*, then at Blenheim Palace.<sup>46</sup> Because it was lined with bookcases there was room for only two paintings in the Library, in addition to a portrait bust of Miles by Sir Francis Chantrey.<sup>47</sup>

At the time of his visit in 1835, Waagen reported that he had heard that the collection was difficult of access, and that although he was admitted on the instructions of one of Miles's sons, he complained that an impatient steward made it difficult for him to study the paintings at leisure.<sup>48</sup> Presumably this was because his visit did not fall on a Thursday, the day of the week the house was open to members of the genteel public, on production of a ticket available from the premises of the Miles Bank in Queen Square, Bristol.<sup>49</sup> In any case, at the outset Young had praised the owner for making the collection easily accessible; and it is true that a day a week, apparently throughout the year, was a rather generous provision compared with that offered by most aristocratic collectors in London. On the other hand, country houses such as Wilton and Corsham in the neighbouring county of Wiltshire had long been open to those respectable visitors with the means and leisure to get there.<sup>50</sup> In this and in other respects Leigh Court was a sort of hybrid: resembling a country house with its landscape garden and a suite of formal rooms hung with paintings; but also like a London town house, because within easy striking distance by carriage from the centre of Bristol, even before the construction of the Clifton Suspension Bridge.

As his political career developed, Miles spent an increasing amount of time in London, and according to Rutter, he took some of his paintings to his house there.<sup>51</sup> They all seem to have been back in place, however, by the time of Waagen's second visit in 1851,<sup>52</sup> six years after Miles's death. Although on this occasion he was able to study the collection more carefully, and his room by room descriptions are more precise, he offered rather few changes of attribution, apart from the judicious suggestion that the *Crucifixion* attributed to Michelangelo was in fact by Marcello Venusti.<sup>53</sup> Waagen noted only two significant additions to the collection since his previous visit, both portraits by Hogarth: the *Shrimp Girl* (London, National Gallery), and *Miss Fenton as Polly Peachum* (Tate Britain). These contrast strikingly with Miles's taste, and they had

presumably been acquired by his eldest son and heir, William, soon to be created 1<sup>st</sup> baronet.

In common with many large estates, Abbots Leigh was badly affected by the agricultural depression of the 1870s, and the household staff at Leigh Court became much reduced.<sup>54</sup> The entire picture collection was sent to Christie's by Miles's grandson, Sir Philip John Miles, 2<sup>nd</sup> baronet, in 1884, but it fetched low prices and several of the most important works were bought in. These, together with a few English paintings, were then sold in 1899 following the death of his son, Sir Cecil.<sup>55</sup> Thus was dispersed the collection that Waagen thought would have done honour to a royal palace. The house was stripped of its remaining furnishings when it was sold by the family in 1915.

## NOTES

- This essay was written during the Covid-19 pandemic, when research libraries were closed. I ask the indulgence of readers who find that there are loose ends that have not been properly tied up. In particular, I would like to have provided more information about where the paintings from the Miles collection are now, and about their current critical status.
- See John Young, *A Catalogue of the Pictures at Leigh Court near Bristol, the Seat of Philip John Miles, Esq. M.P.* (London: The Proprietor, 1822). The other four catalogued the Grosvenor (1820), Leicester (1821), Angerstein (1823), and Stafford (1825) collections. For a recent concise account of the Miles collection, see Nicholas Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings, II: Venice 1540-1600* (London: National Gallery, 2008), p.76.
- Young, *Catalogue*, unpaginated introduction.
- A full set of separately printed etchings was acquired by the British Museum in 1863.
- G. F. Waagen, *Art and Artists in England*, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1838), III, pp. 134-147.
- For Miles's biography, see William Evans, *Abbots Leigh. A Village History* (Bristol: Abbots Leigh Civic Society, 2002), pp. 42-44, 53-4; Kenneth Morgan, "Miles, Philip John," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), available online at <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-107409>.
- The documents were sold at auction by Greenslade Taylor Hunt at Taunton, 2 June 2017. After Abolition Miles claimed £36,000 in compensation for the loss of 1700 slaves: see Madge Dresser, "Slavery and West Country houses", in *Slavery and the British Country House*, eds. Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013), pp. 29-42 (especially p. 33). His estates, numbers of slaves, and compensation claims in 1835-1836 are itemized in the online Legacies of British Slave-Ownership database, University College, London.
- Evans, *Abbots Leigh*, p. 54.
- Evans, *Abbots Leigh*, pp. 44-45.
- Evans, *Abbots Leigh*, pp. 51-52.
- Robert Cooke, *West Country Houses* (Bristol: R. Cooke, 1957), pp. 155-158; Evans, *Abbots Leigh*, pp. 45-48.
- John Chilcott, *Descriptive History of Bristol, Ancient and Modern*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Bristol: J. Chilcott, 1835), p. 316; Waagen, *Art and Artists*, p. 134.
- John Rutter, *Delineations of the North Western Division of the County of Somerset* (Shaftesbury: J. Rutter, 1829), p. 268.
- Dresser, "Slavery," pp. 29, 41.
- Rutter, *Delineations*, pp. 262-270; Chilcott, *Descriptive History*, pp. 316-321.
- The Diary of Joseph Farington*, eds. Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre (vols. 1-6) and Kathryn Cave (vols. 7-15), 16 vols. (New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre, 1978-1984), VI, p. 78; VII, p. 142 (7 January 1813). See also Catherine Roach, *Pictures-within-Pictures in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 40-44.
- Exhibited at the RA in 1810, no. 92. See Farington, *Diary*, X, pp. 3625-8, 3675-6 (3, 6, 7 April and 26, 27

- June 1810); Helmut von Erffa and Allen Staley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 342-343; Christie's, London, 9 July 2008, lot 211.
- Anna Eliza Bray, *Life of Thomas Stothard* (London: John Murray, 1851), pp. 235, 140.
- Peter Coxe, 1 June 1814. See the note on this sale by Burton Fredericksen in the online Getty Provenance Index at <https://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb> (accessed July 2020).
- The exact date of the transaction with Miles is unknown, but the year 1816 is provided by Rutter, *Delineations*, p. 264.
- Young, *Catalogue*, respectively nos. 39 (bought by Hart Davis in Italy; described by Waagen as a "superior copy"); 38 (described by Waagen as "later than Leonardo"); 5 (brought from Paris by Delahante, who sold it to Hart Davis). For the last, until recently in the Christie collection at Glyndebourne, see Francis Russell in *The Treasure Houses of Britain. Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, ed. Gervase Jackson-Stops, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1985), pp. 562-563.
- Young, *Catalogue*, respectively nos. 2 and 7 (the "Altieri Claudes"); no. 28 (acquired by Hart Davis from Walsh Porter); nos.13, 40, 43. The three Dughets are now in the National Gallery, London; in the Museo de Arte de Ponce, Puerto Rico; and in the Seattle Museum of Art.
- Young, *Catalogue*, no. 1. Formerly Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin; destroyed 1945.
- Young, *Catalogue*, no. 50.
- Young, *Catalogue*, no. 25.
- Young, *Catalogue*, no. 4. Young says that it had belonged to West, and although he does not mention Hart Davis in this connection, Abraham Hume, *Notices of the Life and Work of Titian* (London: John Rodwell and Colnaghi, 1829), p. 65, reports that West sold it to him for £4000. Hume also reports that the painting had previously been in the Orléans collection. For reasons too complicated to be discussed here, this latter assertion is open to doubt; it may be observed, however, that Young is unlikely to have failed to refer to so very prestigious a provenance. Another ex-Hart Davis painting not identified as such by Young is Pedro Campaña's *Conversion of Mary Magdalene* in the National Gallery: see Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues*, p. 76.
- Lots 41 and 38 in the Hart Davis sale correspond closely to Young, *Catalogue*, nos. 36 and 35; the Miles sale catalogue of 1884 (Christie's, 28 June, lot 48) confirms the Hart Davis provenance of the Potter. Lot 26 in the Hart Davis sale ("Dou, *Head of a Rabbi*") also corresponds closely to Young, *Catalogue*, no. 58 ("Rembrandt, *Jewish Rabbi*"), suggesting that this, too, may have come from Hart Davis. It is also worth noting that the 1814 sale included, as lot 11, a small-scale version of Van Dyck's equestrian portrait of Charles I now in the National Gallery. This is not listed in Young's catalogue, but in Rowbotham's watercolour just such a picture is represented on a stand next to the fireplace. In the Miles sale of 1899 (Christie's, 13 May, lot 31) this is listed as a copy by Bernard Lens after Van Dyck.

- Young, *Catalogue*, nos. 21, 23, 3.
- Marten G. Buist, *At Spes. Non Fracta. Hope & Co. 1770-1815* (The Hague: Bank, Mees, & Hope, 1974), pp. 42-43, 486-493.
- See the note on this sale by Burton Fredericksen in the online Getty Provenance Index as at note 19.
- Lot 99; Young, *Catalogue*, no. 6. This work had already been one of the most highly valued in the Hope collection in a valuation of 1795: see Buist, *At Spes*, p. 489.
- Young, *Catalogue*, nos. 16, 19, 73 (the last as *Death of Germanicus*).
- Blatchford sale, 27 August 1816.
- Lot 1132; Young, *Catalogue*, no. 74; Lionel Cust, "Notes on pictures in the Royal Collection," *Burlington Magazine* 18 (1910): p. 12.
- Lots 1140-1141; Young, *Catalogue*, nos. 69-70. By the time of the Miles sale in 1884 (Christie's, 28 June, lots 25-26) these had been reattributed to Guardi.
- Phillips, 30-31 May 1817, lots 44, 54, 24, 112, 55 respectively; possibly identifiable with Young, *Catalogue*, nos. 15, 63, 77, 75, 64. In composition the *Crucifixion* corresponded closely to that of the version by Marcello Venusti now on loan from Campion Hall, Oxford, to the Ashmolean Museum: for which see Carmen Bambach, *Michelangelo* exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2017), pp. 222, 309. This version was likewise brought to England at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but it was subsequently in the Ashburnham collection, and cannot be identical with the Miles version.
- Evans, *Abbots Leigh*, p. 49.
- Young, *Catalogue*, nos. 60, 39, 15, 59, 22, 64, all as originals.
- Young, *Catalogue*, no. 14 (as *Grace Triumphant over Sin*, by Parmigianino); now Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (as *Allegory of the Immaculate Conception*, by Vasari)
- Young, *Catalogue*, nos. 62, 32.
- Young, *Catalogue*, nos. 13, 51-52, 30.
- Sale at Peter Coxe, 23 April 1807, lot 40 ("The Virgin with the Infant Saviour in the Clouds, with Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Jerome – this striking and beautiful Picture was arrested in its course from Genoa to Marselles, by an English Cruiser, (as it was consigned to Paris for Bonaparte's Cabinet,) and was publicly sold as part of the Prize for the benefit of the Captors"), bought by Hope; Young, *Catalogue*, no. 44.
- For the following, see William Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting* (London: R. Ackermann, 1824), II, pp. 30-31; W. T. Whitley, *Art in England* (Cambridge: University Press, 1928), II, 358; Luke Herrmann, *The English as Collectors*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: The Lyons Press, 1999), pp. 163-167; Francis Russell in *Treasure Houses of Britain*, pp. 378-379.
- My thanks to Timothy Newbery for confirming this.
- This conforms to what has been dubbed the "Picturesque" hang: see Giles Waterfield, "Picture hanging and gallery decoration," in *Palaces of Art. Art Galleries in Britain 1790-1990*, ed. Giles Waterfield, exh. cat. (Dulwich and Edinburgh: Dulwich Art Gallery and National Gallery of Scotland, 1991), pp. 50-51.
- See above, note 26.
- Rutter, *Delineations*, p. 263. The bookcases, now at

- nearby Clevedon Hall, are still to be seen in situ in a photograph of 1915: see Cooke, *West Country Houses*, p. 156.
- Waagen, *Works of Art*, p. 134.
- Rutter, *Delineations*, p. 263; Chilcott, *Descriptive History*, pp. 320-321.
- Rutter, *Delineations*, p. 264.
- G. F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain* (London: John Murray, 1854), III, pp. 178-186.
- See above, note 41.
- For public access to picture collections in town and country houses in this period, see respectively Peter Humfrey, *The Stafford Gallery. The Greatest Art Collection of Regency London* (Norwich: Unicorn Publishing, 2019), pp. 167-171; Jocelyn Anderson, *Touring and Publicizing England's Country Houses in the Long Eighteenth Century* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018).
- Evans, *Abbots Leigh*, pp. 57-60.
- Sir Philip Miles sale ("Catalogue of the Leigh Court Gallery"), Christie's, 28 June 1884, 74 lots; Sir Cecil Miles sale, Christie's, 13 May 1899, lots 1-31.

## A note on Titian's *Kassel Cavalier* and a proposed new identification<sup>1</sup>

IAN KENNEDY



Fig. 1 / Titian, *Portrait of a Man in Military Costume* (*The Kassel Cavalier*), 1565-1566, oil on canvas, 229 x 156 cm, Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.

The identity of the sitter in Titian's imposing full-length portrait of a man in military costume in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel, until now variously dated ca. 1550-1560 and sometimes called the "Kassel Cavalier", has proven elusive (fig. 1). Among various identifications, an old suggestion that he represents Giovanni Francesco Acquaviva, Duke of Atri (ca. 1510-1569), a Neapolitan driven into exile by Spain, is based on two letters from Pietro Aretino to the duke and duchess in 1552, in which a recent portrait of the duke is mentioned. However, a profile medal of Acquaviva by Alessandro Vittoria (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), cited in another Aretino letter of that year to Lucietta Saracini, bears no particular resemblance to Titian's sitter, who in any case looks younger than the duke would have been at that time.<sup>2</sup> The proposal that he represents Ferrante Gonzaga (1507-1557), a general in the service of Charles V, and the brother of the Duke of Mantua, is no more convincing since he does not look either like the figure in Leone Leoni's later equestrian statue in Guastalla (1556-1564)<sup>3</sup> nor the sitter in an inscribed portrait by Cristofano Altissimo (ca. 1525-1605) in the Uffizi.<sup>4</sup> Nor does the sitter wear the Order of the Golden Fleece, which Ferrante received as early as 1531. A theory that he represents another general of Charles V, Gabrielle Serbelloni (1509-1580), ca. 1550, runs into the same difficulty as with Acquaviva and Ferrante Gonzaga; namely, that Serbelloni at that date would have been too old.<sup>5</sup>

A new identification is proposed here that the sitter in the Kassel portrait is the Calabrian magnate and landowner Niccolò Bernardino Sanseverino, 6th Prince of Bisignano (1541-1606). No likeness of Bisignano has yet come to light, nor any specific reference to a portrait of him by Titian, so the identification must remain provisional for the time being. The Sanseverini were a leading clan in southern Italy and the Kingdom of Naples, with many titles and fiefdoms. Niccolò Bernardino was the son of Pietrantonio Sanseverino, a condottiere in the service of Spain. Like his father, he was noted for his extravagance, and known as "Il Prodigio", running up enormous debts, which seriously encumbered his estates.<sup>6</sup> In 1565, he was betrothed to Isabella della Rovere, a daughter of Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino. The marriage festivities were celebrated at Pesaro in the spring of the following year, having been postponed owing to the Duchy's involvement with the Siege of Malta in 1565 by the Turks and the death of the young Cardinal Federico Gonzaga.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that Titian's portrait was painted to celebrate Bisignano's marriage into the Della Rovere family. In 1565/6 he would have been twenty-four or twenty-five, compatible with the apparent age of Titian's sitter and with the painter's style around that date. Previous identifications have assumed the sitter in the Kassel portrait to be older, but it should be noted that to modern eyes sitters of the time often appear older in their portraits than they actually were.



Fig. 2 / Titian, *Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino*, ca. 1537, oil on canvas, 114.3 x 103 cm, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

Fig. 3 / Bronzino, *Portrait of Guidobaldo della Rovere II*, 1532, oil on canvas, 114 x 86 cm, Florence, Galleria Palatina.



There are a number of visual hints to a Della Rovere connection. The flamboyant burgonet helmet to the left is a more extravagant version of that in Titian's portrait of *Francesco Maria della Rovere* in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (ca. 1537) (fig. 2). The dog echoes the one in Bronzino's portrait of *Guidobaldo II* in the Pitti Palace (1532) (fig. 3) as well as those in Jakob Seisenegger's and Titian's portraits of Charles V of 1532-1533. His marriage may be alluded to by the cupid with a quiver of arrows and bow at his feet and by the adjacent wild flowers: the blue forget-me-nots, the yellow wallflowers, and the white strawberry leaves, symbols respectively of fidelity, love and purity.<sup>8</sup> The cupid supporting the helmet is quite possibly a reference to marriage into a condottiere family where some form of military duty might be expected. Bisignano's cap is modelled on a type of Ottoman turban with crown and brim, and the elaborate, jewelled brooch is an *aigrette*, traditionally worn on turbans by Turkish sultans. Such headgear may refer to Guidobaldo's contribution of troops to the defense of Malta but there is no evidence of Bisignano's participation in any war against the Turks, either in Malta or in Hungary the following year. So the quasi-turban may be just a sartorial statement reflecting current fashion trends.

Niccoló Berardino was famous for his devotion to the chase, much to the chagrin of his wife who, left at home, felt neglected on that account.<sup>9</sup> The sitter's spear is carefully rendered with nodules on the shaft to improve the grip, and the dog appears to be a *Porcelaine*, a scent hound developed for flushing and hunting hare, deer, and wild boar. (Its alternate name is the *Chien de Franche-Comté*, named after a French region bordering Switzerland.)<sup>10</sup> A possibly slightly earlier work, a fresco by Paolo Veronese in the Villa Barbaro, Maser (ca. 1560; fig. 4), shows a young man holding a spear with two dogs, which may be a precedent for the Titian. However, while Veronese's sitter wears a typical hunting costume,

durable but comfortable, the sitter's outfit in Titian's painting is more formal and a mixture of military and civilian dress. He wears an armoured jacket called a brigandine, which has concealed metal plates held in place under the surface by gilt rivets arranged in a decorative pattern. Mailed sleeves of the sort were typically worn with this type of jacket.<sup>11</sup> Below, the sitter wears trunk hose and sandals. A well-known example of such a combination is Titian's 1548-1551 portrait of *Philip II* in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, in which the king wears gilded plate armour with hose and sandals, obviously not a mode of dress adapted for service in the field. The intention, as with the portrait in Kassel, was probably to portray various aspects of the sitter's role in a military and civilian, or even courtly, context. The background of the Kassel painting shows a mountainous landscape with a town under the hill to the right, a river with a shallow cascade and a small, fortified manor in the middle distance at the left of centre. This is unlikely to refer to any particular place but is generically similar to the terrain of Apennine Calabria, where Niccolò Bisignano had extensive property.

A question arises as to why Titian, who painted fewer portraits in his later years, would have painted in so ambitious a manner someone who had so far not

achieved anything particularly notable or held high office. However, the extent of Bisignano's properties in Calabria amounted to almost a feudal state. Calabria was part of the Spanish dominated Kingdom of Naples and from 1558 and Guidobaldo had been captain general of the land forces. Thus the prince would have been well known to him, and a prestigious and useful connection for the Della Rovere family. Perhaps the portrait was commissioned and paid for by his father-in-law, a major patron and friend of the artist. No evidence has yet been found to establish Bisignano's presence in Venice. However, Guidobaldo maintained a palace there where he is recorded in 1564 and in 1566,<sup>12</sup> and so he may well have sponsored his new son-in-law as Titian's client. An inventory of the ducal effects in Pesaro of 1623/4, cites a "quadro uno grande con ritratto del Principe de Bisignano in piede con spada a lato vestito alla spagnola".<sup>13</sup> There is no mention of an artist but this is common in inventories of the period, even in instances in which a painting can be independently identified as by a big name. There is also no mention of the spear, dog, or cupid but, again, seventeenth-century inventory entries tend to be brief and selective. The description is otherwise quite compatible with the Kassel painting, especially in the reference to the Spanish style costume, which must have been striking enough to deserve a special mention.



Fig. 4 / Paolo Veronese, *Hunter (Self-Portrait?)*, ca. 1560, fresco, Maser, Villa Barbaro.



Fig. 5 / Alonso Sanchez Coello, *Don Carlos, the Spanish Infanta*, 1555-1559, oil on canvas, 109 x 95 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

A portrait in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, of *Don Carlos*, the Spanish Infanta, by Alonso Sanchez Coello (1555-1559; fig. 5), shows the sitter wearing a similar tight doublet with small ruff, baggy “Spanish” breeches, and trunk hose. Such fashions were widespread so it would have been natural for an early seventeenth-century inventory to describe the costume in the Titian as “Spanish”. If the Kassel Titian is indeed the portrait that was in Pesaro, it suggests the painting was never sent to Calabria or to Bisignano’s residence in Naples, the regional capital, but remained in the Duchy. If Guidobaldo commissioned and paid for it, he may have regarded it as ducal property. What may be the same portrait is described in a ducal inventory of Urbino effects of 1631.<sup>14</sup> Most of the best Urbino paintings went to Florence when Vittoria della Rovere married Grand Duke Ferdinand II in 1633. Others, including the series by Justus van Ghent, were taken to Rome by the papal legate Cardinal Antonio Barberini after Urbino devolved to the papacy in 1631. However, there is no record of a Titian portrait of Bisignano in either the Medici or Barberini archives. The first secure mention of the painting is with the Paris jewellery firm Paul and Andre Verani de Varenne in 1713 as “un grand Portrait d’un Commandeur, ou il-y-a un chien, du Titien”. In 1720, it is somewhat skeptically cited by P. J. Mariette as depicting “Dieudonne de Gozon”, Grand Master of the Order of Malta, who died in 1353! It subsequently passed through various French collections before being acquired by the Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel in the mid-eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, the portrait was commonly identified as Alfonso d’Avalos.<sup>15</sup> The disappearance of so conspicuous a work for so long is hardly unique but possibly the sitter’s prodigal reputation was an embarrassment to his family and his identity overlooked for that reason.

The most telling piece of documentary evidence for the portrait as representing Bisignano, kindly provided by Elisa Novi Chavarria, is to be found in an inventory of Niccolò Berardino’s effects at his residence in Cassano all’Ionio, Calabria, in 1590.<sup>16</sup> There is no mention of the burgonet, which may be a fantasy based on Francesco Maria’s, but both a hat and a brigandine are itemized which might very well be those depicted in the portrait by Titian. The inventory includes many items of clothing including hats, one of which sounds very like the one in the picture and is described as “uno cappella di velluto carmosino con la trezza intorno con le penne” (a red velvet cap with a braid around it with feathers). Carmosino is a type of soft red, and trezza, more properly trezza, means the same as the more modern treccia, a braid of hair. A braid is indeed an appropriate way of describing the rounded brim of the hat, behind which are two overlapping feathers. Another entry gives what amounts to a fairly exact description of Titian’s brigandine: “armatura una in alia indorata ingravata di corame rapuntata di seta bordiglia consistente in sacchetti rossi numero trenta nelli quali stan cosuto le cartelle di ciascheduno puro” (armor, one inside the other, gilded, reinforced with leather, embroidered in silk, a jacket of thirty small red sacks into each of which are sewn metal plates).<sup>17</sup> The description is rather condensed and needs amplification: armour signifies a protective garment in a military sense; *una in alia* (Latin for one inside the other) refers to the concealed metal plates; gilded refers to the gilt rivets; leather backing is necessary to keep the garment firm yet flexible; the fabric is embroidered with red silk and gold braid; a *bordiglia* (more properly *bordiglio*) is a leather laced red silk jacket (*Dizionario della Crusca*); the metal plates are sewn separately into thirty red silk pockets.<sup>18</sup>



Fig. 6 / Titian, *Tarquin and Lucretia*, 1568-1571, oil on canvas, 188.9 x 145.1 cm, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.

Fig. 7 / Titian, *Jacopo Strada*, 1567-1568, oil on canvas, 126 x 95.5 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

The Cassano inventory is the most plausible indication of the portrait as representing Bisignano. The evidence remains circumstantial but like the other documentary and visual material so far presented, it points in the same direction. Stylistically the painting is perfectly compatible with Titian's manner in the mid-1560s, as is the apparent age of the sitter. The landscape is in the free impressionistic mode of the *Rape of Europa* (1559-1562; Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum). The figure is more precisely painted with great attention to details of the costume, which has perhaps sometimes encouraged an earlier dating to the 1550s. However, Titian's mastery of detail remained with him well into the following decade, as can be seen from the two versions of the Magdalen in the Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, and in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, both usually dated to the mid-1560s. The broad but soft handling of the red trunk hose is similar to the leggings of Tarquin in the *Tarquin and Lucretia* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (1568-1571) (fig. 6). Mariette called the attitude and dress of Titian's sitter "deplaisans" and he has sometimes been described as showy and undignified.<sup>19</sup> However, the painting seems to give a perfectly fair hint of the sitter's prodigal and extravagant nature. Indeed, it could fairly be called one of the earliest "swagger portraits". It is a matter of opinion whether Titian is putting his sitter in the pillory as a pretentious wastrel or stops just short of doing so. In another late portrait of a business partner, *Jacopo Strada* (1567-1568; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) (fig. 7), Titian presents his colleague as a shady art dealer and more blatantly crosses the line into character assassination. Be that as it may, the Kassel cavalier, if it is indeed Bisignano, must be the most striking portrait of a Calabrian ever painted, as well as one of Titian's finest late portraits.





## NOTES

- I would like to thank Elisa Novi Chavarria, University of the Molise for her indispensable help; Ian Verstegen, University of Pennsylvania; Paul Joannides, Cambridge University; and Justus Lange, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel.
- Harold Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian, II, The Portraits* (London: Phaidon, 1971), p. 73. In the most recent discussion of the problem, Andrea Donati in *Tiziano, Bordon, e gli Acquaviva d'Aragona. Pittori veneziani in Puglia e fuorusciti napoletani in Francia*, eds. Nuccia Barbone Pugliese, Andrea Donati, and Lionello Puppi, exh. cat. (Bitonto: Galleria Nazionale della Puglia Girolamo e Rosaria Devanna, 2012), pp. 141-159, identifies the portrait with the one mentioned by Aretino and notes a resemblance to the medal by Alessandro Vittoria (reproduced there as fig. 25).
- John Pope-Hennessy, *An Introduction to Italian Sculpture. Vol. III. High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture* (London: Phaidon, 1996), p. 266, pl. 249.
- Gli Uffizi: catalogo generale* (Florence: Centro Di, 1979), no. 235, p. 633.
- For previous literature, see also Jürgen M. Lehmann, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe. Italienische, Französische und Spanische Gemälde des 16 bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Fridingen: Klenau, 1980), pp. 256-259; Bernhard Schnackenburg, *Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister Gesamtkatalog*, 2 vols. (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1996), I, p. 296.
- For Niccolò Berardino's biography, see Michele Benaiteau, "Niccolò Berardino Sanseverino," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 90, 2017, available online at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/niccolo-berardino-sanseverino\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/niccolo-berardino-sanseverino_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/) (accessed December 2019); and Giuseppe Galasso, *Economia e Società nella Calabria del Cinquecento* (Naples: Feltrinelli, 1992), pp. 35-49, and for Pietrantonio, p. 42 n. 21. In Calabria Niccolò Berardino maintained a lavish itinerant court and was a patron of music, theater and literature. His relationship with his wife was never good and their only son died young.
- Franco Piperno, *L'immagine del Duca: Musica e spettacolo alle corti di Guidobaldo II, duca d'Urbino* (Florence: Olschki, 2001), pp. 95, 286, doc. 57.
- Celia Fisher, *Flowers of the Renaissance* (Los Angeles: The Getty, 2011), pp. 98, 110, 149-151.
- Maria Ann Conelli, "The Ecclesiastical Patronage of Isabella Feltria della Rovere," in *Patronage and Dynasty: The Rise of the della Rovere in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Ian F. Verstegen (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2007), p. 127. For Isabella, see also Elisa Novi Chavarria, "Domestic Religion and Connected Spaces: Isabella della Rovere, Princess of Bisignano (1552-1619)," in *Domestic Devotions in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Maya Corry, Marco Faini, and Alessia Meneghin (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 139-162.
- Information from Ciara Farrell, The Kennel Club, London. See also Lehmann, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*, p. 258. The dog is repeated in a painting by Titian of a *Boy with dogs* (1570-1576) in the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam; see Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, *Late Titian and the Sensuality of Painting*, exh. cat. (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2008), pp. 227-228.
- Info from Donald La Rocca, Arms and Armor Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Such a decorative garment would typically have been worn on parade rather than on campaign.
- See Gino Benzoni, "Guidobaldo II della Rovere, duca di Urbino," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 61, 2004, available online at [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/guidobaldo-ii-della-rovere-duca-di-urbino\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/guidobaldo-ii-della-rovere-duca-di-urbino_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/) (accessed March 2019)
- Fert Sangiorgi, *Documenti urbinati: Inventari del Palazzo ducale* (Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, 1976), Appendix no. 257, p. 341.
- Sangiorgi, *Documenti urbinati*, no. 157, p. 216. The previous item is described as a "quadro grande" of the King of Spain, and no. 157 is cited, without artist, as a "quadro simile". Another portrait of the Prince is itemized at no. 139, p. 315, anonymously and without indication of size.
- Mireille Rambaud, *Documents du Minutier central concernant l'histoire de l'art (1700-1750)*, 2 vols. (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964-1971), p. 541; Donati, *Tiziano, Bordon*, p. 146; Lehmann, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*, pp. 256-259. Lehmann refers to a suggestion by J. Muller-Rostock, "Ein Verzeichnis von Bildern aus dem Besitze des Van Dyck," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 33 (1922): pp. 22-24, that the painting may be recorded in an inventory of the possessions of Anthony Van Dyck in 1644 as "II Duca de Sforza di Milano, con cane."
- Naples, Archivio di Stato di Napoli: Diversi della Sommara, II, Numerazione 147, f. 278r. For literature on the inventory, see Chavarria, "Domestic Religion," p. 159 n. 43.
- ASN: Diversi della Sommara, II, Numerazione 147, (inventario delle arme), f. 296r.
- Peter Humfrey, *Titian: The Complete Paintings* (London: Phaidon, 2007), p. 310, considers the costume uncharacteristic of Titian and by an assistant. The present author finds this surprising given the virtuoso handling of the hat and breeches, and the artist's convincing depiction of the brigandine which, with its leather backing, would have looked as stiff and firm as Titian has depicted it.
- Humfrey, *Titian*, 2007, p. 310.

*Les dessins de la collection Mariette,  
Écoles italienne et espagnoles*

by Pierre Rosenberg de l'Académie française, in collaboration with  
Laure Barthélemy-Labeuw, Marie-Liesse Delcroix, and Stefania Lumette  
(Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, Paris, 2019)

PAUL JOANNIDES

Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774; fig. 1) was among the best-informed and historically aware of all collectors of drawings and the first to whose range of knowledge and thought-processes we can gain some access. While we are reasonably familiar with the composition and scope of the collections of his great predecessors, Everard Jabach and Pierre Crozat, their criteria and methods of judgement are largely opaque. Mariette, who in 1741 compiled the sale catalogue of Crozat's collection, the first truly informative publication of its type, was the virtual creator of the study of drawings as a scholarly subject and the sale catalogue of his own collection, created by Pierre François Basan from Mariette's notes, was probably the most refined and precise work on drawings published up to that time; since the sale was a national and international event, it became a stimulus and model for others. Mariette's was a collection formed by knowledge, intelligence, sensitivity and passion: he was not poor but he was not rich: his engine ran on love, not lucre.

From his family's publishing and print business Mariette inherited and imbibed a vast mental *fototheca* and he probably had a reservoir of visual knowledge deeper

and wider than any contemporary. This formation was enriched by a sojourn in Vienna and by an extensive Italian tour. Later, from Paris, he corresponded largely and amicably with many of his most erudite contemporaries, fellow paladins of the *Republique des Lettres*. He left vast quantities of notes, largely clustered around Padre Orlandi's *Abecedario*, but they were composed as working tools, not as a scholarly survey, and their publication (in 6 volumes between 1853 and 1862) by Chennevières and Montaignon somewhat misrepresents their purpose.<sup>1</sup>

Hailed in his lifetime and a legend beyond it, interest in Mariette as a collector was rekindled in 1967 by an exhibition organised by Roseline Bacou (1924-2013), a great and generous curator who, working with and from the Louvre's incomparable collections, pioneered the study of provenances. Her example has been widely and productively followed, notably by members of the Département des arts graphiques. In the 1967 catalogue she was aided by others who either were or were to become leading figures in the discipline; and it was prefaced by an open letter to Mariette's shade by Frits Lugt, one of the twentieth century's most outstanding scholar-collectors,

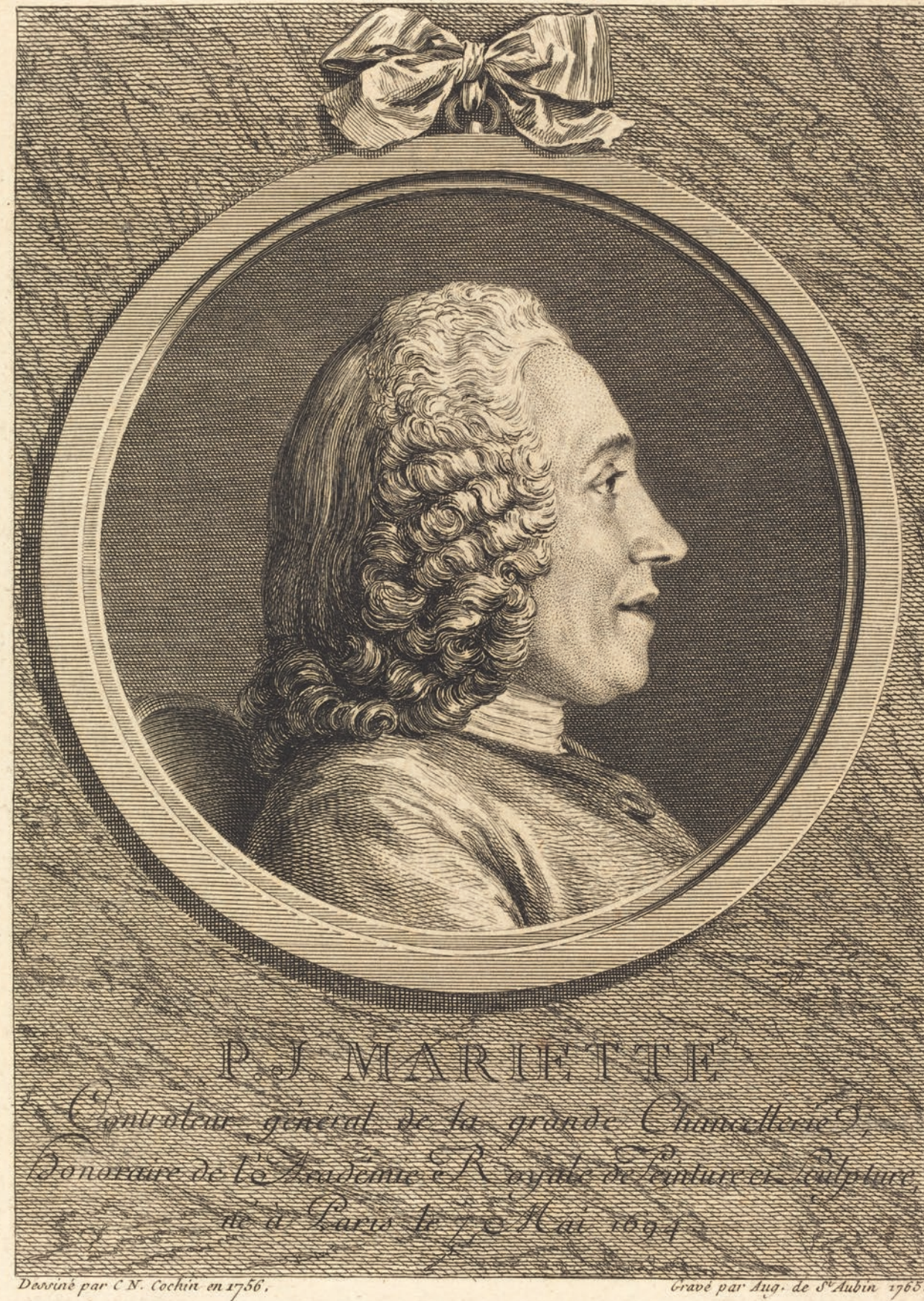


Fig. 1 / Augustin de Saint-Aubin after Charles-Nicolas Cochin II, *Pierre-Jean Mariette*, 1765, etching and engraving on laid paper, 19.2 x 14.3 cm, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.



Fig. 2 / Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola, called Parmigianino, *Girl Seated on the Ground Near a Chair*, ca. 1524, pen and brown ink, brown wash, New York, The Morgan Library and Museum.

Fig. 3 / Page from Vasari's *Libro dei Disegni* with eight drawings attributed to Leonardo da Vinci, 49.3 x 37.3 cm, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

who concluded by signing it – touchingly – “votre très humble et très obéissant arrière-petit-fils” (your most humble and very obedient great-grandson).

In his Preface to the volumes dedicated to Mariette's French drawings, Pierre Rosenberg refers to the 1967 exhibition as an inspiration, and his acknowledgment of his predecessors – and his collaborators of all types – is, as ever, punctilious.<sup>2</sup> His project does not propose radical novelties in the interpretation of Mariette's collecting habits or erudition – Mariette's many publications are conveniently listed in a timeline – but it reconstructs his collection visually and in unparalleled detail. The succinct

and informative introductions to both the French and Italian *tranches* establish Mariette's procedures, practices of mounting, and his occasional splitting of sheets of drawings (there is work for the future in rejoining some of these) which, although deplorable, sprang from enthusiasm rather than cupidity. There are also rich accounts from contemporary documents of the collection's dispersal, and Rosenberg and his collaborators have studied intently Gabriel de Saint-Aubin's sketches of the lots in Mariette's sale and the annotations found in many copies of the widely distributed catalogue. The scholarly apparatus throughout is as complete as possible and, so far as I can judge, impeccable.

This project's scale is massive. Mariette's collection comprised nearly 10,000 drawings and covered the major European schools, except Spanish (save two drawings optimistically given to Velázquez) and English (other than Holbein). Almost 4000 French drawings (their numbers preceded by F) were catalogued in the first two volumes; the present four deal with over 3000 Italian drawings (their numbers preceded by I), while the final section, announced for 2021, will contain some 2000 Dutch, Flemish and German sheets (including around 80 by Rubens). The labour involved in this massive harvest, including tracking-down drawings which have lost their mounts and retain only Mariette's discreet stamp, and many others unstamped, checking images against printed and manuscript references, is staggering; the wear and tear and cost, psychological as well as financial, of obtaining thousands of photographs, including many hundreds of pages of the albums that Mariette owned, frightening. So to the successive publishers, to the sponsorship of the *Association Mariette*, and to Rosenberg and his collaborators, the reader's gratitude cannot be measured. Nothing else of this plenitude and precision has been published and probably will not be again. The *catalogues raisonné* of the drawings of Poussin, Watteau, and David compiled by Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine





Fig. 4 / Attributed to Giovanni Francesco Penni, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, pen and brown ink with brown wash and white heightening, 45.2 x 59.2 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Prat must have been arduous enough to prepare, but to cover so many different schools and so many artists, linked only by the fact of ownership, was by a multiple more difficult. Yet, the immense labour has not produced intellectual fatigue: there is nothing dry about these books. The commentaries on individual drawings are consistently lively, alert, well-informed and sharply intelligent, with information, opinion and attendant bibliography distinguished and conveyed clearly and precisely. I doubt that even experts in this or that field will be able to single out any serious misjudgements, although they may be able to add details here and there. They will find every encouragement to do so for, as always, Rosenberg writes open texts, texts that invite the reader to pursue lines of enquiry rather than insisting on their own correctness. He never pulls rank and the assertiveness and dogmatism that so frequently disfigure our discipline are absent: to read Rosenberg is to join an open seminar.

These volumes on Mariette's Italian drawings are not reviewable in a conventional sense. Few scholars – and certainly not this one – could cover more than a portion of their span and to list minor qualifications here and there would trivialize Rosenberg's achievement. What might more usefully be done is to summarize the range and depth of Mariette's interests. It seems that they really began in the Cinquecento; his collection contained very few drawings pre-dating 1500. At the other end, while Mariette did acquire a few drawings by contemporaries – sometimes as gifts from his correspondents – they were never a major focus of interest and he seems to have made little effort to obtain representative samples of work executed in his own lifetime. The exception, in the French school, was Mariette's close friend, on whom he published an important book, Edmé Bouchardon, the single

contemporary by whom he owned an extensive body of work – some 700 sheets (F321-F1062). Otherwise Mariette's heart and mind lay in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and his longest run of Italian drawing was by the Carracci and their scholars – some 200 sheets (I405-I578 etc). He had a large series by Jacques Callot (F1273-F1442), French but largely active in Italy, like Poussin, by whom Mariette also owned a substantial group (F2631-F2692), compromised – but charmingly so – by the inclusion of an enchanting series of pen-and-wash tree and *sous-bois* studies that still troubles scholarship. In Mariette's effort to build a representative survey, most draughtsmen were represented by no more than a couple of dozen drawings, but those are generally of high quality: the sequences by, say, Parmigianino (I1371-I1417) (fig. 2; New York, Morgan Library) and Primaticcio (I1581-I1617) are astounding. It is probably true that Mariette preferred sketches to elaborately finished drawings, and single medium rather than mixed-media drawings. Unlike so many collectors he had little interest in portraiture. He did commission and acquire some albums of copies and architectural drawings but did not possess the encyclopaedic ambitions of a Cassiano dal Pozzo.

The volumes allow us to assess Mariette's judgement of Italian draughtsmen and this writer cannot resist turning to the High Renaissance. Mariette had only thirteen drawings attributed to Leonardo (I1035-I1048) of which 3 are by him, and his publication of 1730, in collaboration with the Comte de Caylus, of a volume of etchings after Leonardo's heads, was based on drawings now identified as copies. But since the Windsor collection was then unknown, how could Mariette have formed a more accurate appraisal of Leonardo's draughtsmanship?

He would also have been misled by his Vasarian mounting of eight drawings (I1038-I1045) (fig. 3; Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina) labelled Leonardo which, in fact, contains no drawings by him. As for the other great masters of the period, Mariette's information was unequal. He knew well from prints the work of Raphael (I1645-I1690) and his school, and he was familiar with the Viti-Antaldi drawings acquired by Crozat. But he did not know the mass of Raphael drawings that came to light and onto the market as a result of the Revolutionary wars and whose earlier whereabouts are mysterious. So Mariette gave to Raphael a few drawings that even the most expansionist scholars would not nowadays accept (I1682-I1686). But he was not overwhelmed by his possessions: after a perceptive account of the design of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (I.1690) (fig. 4; Paris, Musée du Louvre) one of Raphael's grandest late inventions, he attributed its physical execution to Penni, which demonstrates – *inter alia* – that awareness of Penni's involvement with Raphael's atelier long preceded Passavant.

Mariette owned some remarkable drawings by Michelangelo (I1172-I1204); twenty-one of the twenty-four sheets identified and reproduced here are autograph, and this without access to Casa Buonarroti which, until the dispersals of the 1790s, housed most of Michelangelo's graphic output. However, many of the splendid pen-drawings by Michelangelo were among those brought to France by Antonio Mini, including

the iconic *Head of a Faun* (I1183) (fig. 5; Paris, Musée du Louvre) – which adorns the dust-jacket of volume II. But it seems astonishing that Mariette – and Crozat – should not only have accepted, but considered of especial value, a drawing so coarsely emphatic as the study of a *Left Hand* (I1422 as Passerotti; reproduced on the cover of volume IV) (fig. 6; Paris, Musée du Louvre) which Mariette etched and which was reprinted frequently by Bottari *et al.* All the more so since he owned the study now in the Uffizi for the Julius Tomb (I1175; which he also copied) whose *verso* contains several of Michelangelo's most beautiful hand studies.

With regard to Mariette's mountings, I can contribute two anecdotes, one positive, one negative, but pointing to a single moral. Guercino's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (I1957) (present whereabouts unknown) came into the Old Master Drawings Department of Phillips in 2001. My late wife was then working there, and I happened to be in her office while it was being catalogued. It arrived looking depressed and unloved but when it was unframed, its modern mounting, flimsy and browning but mercifully not adhered, fell away to reveal a pristine Mariette mount and the drawing suddenly shone. Mariette's blue, evoking sky, used for the binding and covers of these volumes, and for the Rosenberg-Prat catalogues, is among the colours most benevolent for drawings. This is too often unappreciated by collectors and curators, especially those with clinical aspirations. Many years ago John Gere brought me to the brink of nervous collapse



Fig. 5 / Michelangelo, *Head of a Faun*, pen and brown ink, 34.6 x 44.2 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.



by recounting how a former (and in most respects admirable) keeper of the British Museum Print Room would sometimes scissor-off Mariette mounts – a sin to be discharged only by several millennia in Purgatory spent studying life-studies produced by provincial academies. Current practice, even when coloured mounts are retained, of submerging them with near-white museum boards – brighter than the drawings they surround – reveals a misplaced conviction that drawings should be studied as though in a laboratory, disinfected and free of microbes. But drawings are not specimens: they require and repay affection and encouragement and their sympathetic presentation is another lesson to be learnt from Mariette.

Further drawings owned by Mariette will certainly reappear. In the lucid and informative exhibition of nearly 100 of his mountings held in the Louvre to celebrate the publication of the Italian volumes (whose poster was Michelangelo's *Head of a Faun*), the final wall-panel noted that the fate of many of Mariette's drawings remains unknown: "Sont-elles détruites ou

n'ont elles pas refait surface? Chers visiteurs, n'hésitez pas à nous les signaler..." (Have they been destroyed or not yet resurfaced? Dear visitors, please do not hesitate to report them to us...) This is an invitation to extend to anyone with information of whatever kind to contribute to the published or forthcoming volumes: please contact the *Comité Mariette*; you will be warmly thanked.

#### NOTES

1. For Mariette in his intellectual and social context, see Valérie Kobi, *Dans l'oeil du connaisseur. Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774) et la construction des savoirs en histoire de l'art* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2017).
2. Pierre Rosenberg in collaboration with Laure Barthélemy-Labeuw, *Les dessins de la collection Mariette, École française* (Milan: Mondadori-Elects, 2011).

Fig. 6 / Italian, sixteenth century, *Study of a Left Hand*, pen and brown ink, 43.2 cm × 34.6 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre.





Fig. 1 / Raphael, *Self-Portrait with a Friend*, ca. 1518-1519, oil on canvas, 99 x 83 cm, Paris Musée du Louvre.

*Raffaello 1520-1483*  
 Scuderie del Quirinale, Rome  
 5 March – 30 August, 2020

PIERS BAKER-BATES

The year of Raphael celebrations in 2020 has been understandably overshadowed by the ongoing global pandemic; however, this has perhaps sadly brought to life the spectre of early mortality that claimed Raphael at the age of thirty-seven. 500 years ago, this past 6 April, his death was entirely unexpected and much mourned, marking in many ways the end of an era. When everything locked down in March, the *Scuderie del Quirinale* had just opened its major exhibition marking the event. There had been other exhibitions organized throughout the world in celebration of the quincentenary, but this was intended to be the largest Raphael show ever mounted, a formidable challenge. Originally scheduled to finish on 2 June, thankfully as lockdowns eased the *Scuderie* were able to re-open on the very day they were supposed to close, and to extend the run until the end of August, allowing many an opportunity that seemed to have been forever missed. In a sign of the exhibition's ongoing popularity, tickets sold out rapidly, and for the last three days, the *Scuderie* remained open 24/7; even then, every slot was booked.

For Raphael scholars the actual experience of the reopened exhibition was a necessary trial. Marshalled into groups of ten led by a guard and firmly allotted exactly five minutes in each of the fourteen designated spaces, there was regrettably no dawdling, and even with two visits in one day, one hardly saw everything

one wanted. On the other hand, the reduced number of permitted visitors did allow for close looking at drawings such as is not normally possible in blockbuster exhibitions. Despite the time restrictions, the impression that the visitor left with was of a visually stunning and intellectually coherent exhibition that, unusually, showed the whole of Raphael's varied genius to best advantage. Many recent Raphael shows, at least since the millennium, have concentrated on his activities as a painter to the exclusion of all else, but the Quirinale show revealed his protean genius to its fullest extent across multiple media, and the organizers obtained an extraordinary and comprehensive range of around 200 loans from institutions worldwide. The usual questions around connoisseurship faded into the background in the face of such a holistic overview of Raphael's activity. The installation of the exhibits was understated, with walls painted in a sober grey and dark lighting, which set the works off to best advantage and was complemented with an intelligent and innovative use of new technologies.

The major talking point leading up to the exhibition, however, had not been its size or the range of loans, but the unusual choice of the curators, Marzia Faietti and Matteo Lafranconi, to display the material in reverse order, so that the visitor's narrative began with Raphael's death and ended with his early years in Urbino.

As became clear, this also reflected the strengths of the available loans. The very first piece in the exhibition proper set the tone, an exact replica of Raphael's tomb in the Pantheon, produced by Factum-Arte in Madrid. As with their work on the Sebastiano del Piombo exhibition in London, it again demonstrated what their extraordinary recreations of lost or immovable works of art can add to the visitor's experience. This was preceded by another unusual inclusion: a few nineteenth-century paintings reimagining Raphael's death which threw new light on his *fortuna critica*. These included a dramatic and rarely seen painting on a considerable scale from the deposits of the Vatican depicting Raphael's funeral at the Pantheon by Pietro Vanni, that segued well into the reconstruction of his tomb. Alongside the tomb was displayed the so-called, *Self-Portrait with a Friend* (fig. 1), from the Louvre, a loan that enabled the exhibition to be bookmarked by the early and late self-portraits.

This also brought out a theme that continued into the next section and indeed throughout the exhibition, Raphael's remarkable gift for friendship with both colleagues and patrons, which ensured his success from a young age. The second section focused on the *Letter to Leo X* of around 1519, another remarkable loan as it was only acquired by the Italian state in 2016 from the Castiglione family, descendants of Raphael's friend and collaborator. The Letter, which outlines the artist's ambitious, but never-fulfilled plan to document the monuments of ancient Rome, formed the centrepiece of a display based around Raphael's grand urban projects. This section revealed both Raphael's increasingly vaunting professional ambition towards the end of his life and the range of his talents; including a remarkably "modern" attitude to the preservation of ancient monuments documented in the Letter. There was also an extraordinary gathering together of the few surviving sketchbooks of ancient monuments by his predecessors, such as the *Codex Escurialensis*, to set Raphael's work in context. The theme of friendship

was cemented by including the artist's portraits both of Castiglione himself and of Pope Leo X, who supported these antiquarian endeavours.

The third section provided a good example of how the exhibition was able to make unexpected connections in terms of Raphael's creative processes. The organisers had been unable to borrow the actual statue of *Jonah* from the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, but there was a striking image of the work to accompany the associated drawings by Raphael and his workshop, which also relate to classical sculpture (fig. 2). This was but one part of a much broader display that developed the theme of the previous section, bringing Raphael's constant engagement with the antiquity that lay all around him in Rome vividly to life. Both sections also showcased Raphael as a draughtsman. From this point, his technical mastery of drawing unfolded throughout the exhibition through studies for both architectural and painted works. Indeed, the Quirinale show was exceptionally rich in works on paper, showcasing more than 100 drawings in total, which demonstrated just how innovative the artist was in this medium.

The major difference from all recent Raphael exhibitions has already been noted, and it was only in the next section, the fourth, that the visitor encountered actual paintings by Raphael. Unlike in the preceding sections, here the visitor did get a sense of how thinly spread even this artist's genius had become towards the end of his life, with paintings like the *Visitation* from the Prado and the *Saint John the Baptist* from the Uffizi, which were largely worked on by the studio. By the end of his life Raphael had become almost, in the modern sense of the word, a brand. Nevertheless, this section again illustrated the very high quality of loans, and the level to which some of his students could rise, containing as it did the Vatican cartoon for Giulio Romano's Genoa, *Stoning of Saint Stephen*, here displayed to best advantage.



Fig. 2 / Workshop of Raphael, *Jonah*, ca. 1520, pen and ink with white heightening and black chalk underdrawing, 30.4 x 20 cm, Windsor, The Royal Collection.



Fig. 3 / Workshop of Pieter Van Aelst, *Sacrifice at Lystra*, 1517-1519, tapestry with wool, silk, and gilded silver, 482 x 581 cm, Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Pinacoteca Vaticana.

After this, the viewer was able to see one of the Sistine tapestries, the *Sacrifice at Lystra* (fig. 3), another unusual and generous loan from the Vatican, for which Factum.Arte had been able to re-create the relevant cartoon that could not travel from the V&A. Moving onto the second floor, the exhibition rather narrowed off in terms of range of material and reverted to a more conventional means of presentation, being confined almost exclusively to painting. In the excellent second section, however, Raphael was at last showcased as an architect; and the ability of the exhibition to use new media to great advantage was again demonstrated in a detailed film of the Villa Madama, begun in 1518 for Leo X's cousin, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, as the evocation of a Roman style suburban villa designed for pleasure and entertainment. The film was accompanied by original drawings for the project and allowed the public access to what is today an evocative, but generally inaccessible site.

This section might more rightly have belonged earlier in the exhibition, the villa forming as it did a critical part of Raphael's late activity, but it was nonetheless worth the wait. Finally, the last three sections were devoted to an abbreviated summary of Raphael's earlier career as an artist. Much of this ground had been covered by the Urbino show held late last year, *Raffaello e gli Amici di Urbino*, and the period prior to Raphael's arrival in Rome in 1508 was, possibly as a result, less well represented in the Rome exhibition. Unfortunately, however, this meant that Raphael's early precocious genius was not fully displayed, and the prefiguring of the versatile talent, so well presented in the earlier part of the exhibition, remained somewhat unexplored. As mentioned though, a clever touch was added by ending with the early self-portrait from the Louvre as a bookmark to that from the same institution shown at the beginning of the exhibition.

The enormous catalogue accompanying this excellent and thought-provoking exhibition did not quite match the high expectations raised by the show itself in that several contributions consisted of scholars reprising previously published work.<sup>1</sup> However, it contains entries for every object and a comprehensive bibliography, which will undoubtedly make the catalogue a useful resource for scholars. Overall, this author left the exhibition with a new and renewed appreciation of Raphael – a remarkable achievement on the part of the organizers for an artist whose fame and popularity has remained consistently great since his death. It is with high hopes, therefore, that we look forward to the Raphael exhibition rescheduled at the National Gallery, London, for 2022: although, not without a tinge of apprehension that the lingering financial and logistical consequences of the pandemic will make it unlikely that such a comprehensive show will be able to be mounted again in our lifetimes.

#### NOTE

1. Marzia Faietti and Matteo Lanfranconi, eds., *Raffaello 1520-1483* (Milan: Skira, 2020).

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#### Copies of Venetian Renaissance Paintings on stringed instruments and the Provenance of Giorgione’s *Benson Holy Family* in Washington

NEW YORK

Figs. 1 & 2 © Felix Jehle

PRAGUE

Fig. 8 © Academy of Fine Arts, Prague

SOUTH DAKOTA

Fig. 9 National Music Museum, Vermillion, South Dakota

SWITZERLAND

Figs. 4 & 5 © Eveline Perroud, La Chaux-de Fonds, Switzerland

WASHINGTON

Fig. 3 Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington

#### The Collection of Philip John Miles at Leigh Court

BRISTOL

Fig. 8 Courtesy of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery

BRUSSELS

Fig. 17 Wikipedia

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Figs. 2 & 3 ©National Trust

LONDON

Fig. 1 © National Portrait Gallery, London

Fig. 4 © The Trustees of the British Museum

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Fig. 10 Photo © Tate

Figs. 11,14 & 15 Wikimedia

Fig. 12 © The National Gallery, London

Fig. 13 Courtesy of Simon Dickinson

LOS ANGELES

Fig .18 public domain

NEW YORK

Fig. 16 Metropolitan Museum of Art

#### BOOK REVIEW

*Les dessins de la collection Mariette, École française* by Pierre Rosenberg de l’Académie française, in collaboration with Laure Barthélemy-Labeeuw (Milan: Mondadori-Elects, 2011)

*Les dessins de la collection Mariette, Écoles italienne et espagnoles* by Pierre Rosenberg de l’Académie française, in collaboration with Laure Barthélemy-Labeeuw, Marie-Liesse Delcroix, and Stefania Lumette (Paris: Somogy editions d’art, Paris, 2019)

by Paul Joannides

NEW YORK

Fig. 2 The Morgan Library & Museum. IV, 46a. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan (18371913) in 1909

PARIS

Figs. 4, 5 & 6 © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Michèle Bellot

VIENNA

Fig. 3 © Albertina, Vienna

WASHINGTON

Fig. 1 Courtesy of National Gallery, Washington

#### A Note on Titian’s Kassel *Cavalier* and a Proposed New Identification

CAMBRIDGE

Fig. 6 © Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge

FLORENCE

Fig. 2 © 2020. Photo Scala, Florence – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali e del Turismo

Figs. 3 & 4 © 2020. Photo Scala, Florence

MADRID

Fig. 5 Photographic Archivie, Museo del Nacional

KASSEL

Fig. 1 Wikimedia

VIENNA

Fig. 7 Wikimedia

#### Jan van Eyck’s Holy Face, the Holy Shroud, and Spain

by Manuel Parada López de Corselas and Jesús Folgado García

ÁVILA

Fig. 13 with kind permission from Museum of Ávila Cathedral

BERLIN

Fig. 2 Wikimedia

BRUGES

Fig. 3 Wikipedia

CALAHORRA

Fig. 15 Museum of Calahorra Cathedral, Luis Argáiz

GHENT

Fig. 7 Hugo Maertens, Art in Flanders

GRANADA

Figs. 17 & 18 with kind permission from Capilla Real

JAÉN

Fig. 5 with kind permission of Cathedral of Jaén

Fig. 23 Courtesy of Jaén desde mi atalaya

LONDON

Fig. 1 Wikimedia

MADRID

Figs. 16 & 19 Wikipedia

MUNICH

Fig. 11 Wikipedia

NEW YORK

Fig. 14 Metropolitan Museum of Art

ROTTERDAM

Fig. 12 Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen

SEGOVIA

Figs. 9 & 10 Jesús Folgado and Iban Redondo

TOLEDO

Figs. 21 & 22 Manuel Parada

TURIN

Fig. 8 Wikimedia Commons

VATICAN CITY

Figs. 4 & 6 Wikimedia

MISC.

Fig. 20 August L. Mayer, “Dos tablas primitivas españolas,” *Arte Español* 9.5.4 (1920):

pp. 170-173, in p. 172

#### EXHIBITION REVIEW

**Raffaello 1520 – 1483: Scuderie del Quirinale, Rome**

**5 March – 30 August 2020** by Piers Baker Bates

LONDON

Fig. 2 Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2020

PARIS

Fig. 1 Wikimedia

VATICAN CITY

Fig. 3 Governatorato dello S.C.V. / Direzione dei Musci

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