SEPTEMBER 2009

THE BVRLINGTON MAGAZINE

An inventory of Baron Wiser's collection | The identity revealed of Delacroix's 'J.'

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THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE

NO. 1278 VOL. CLI

Robilant + Voena

Pignoni, *Bathsheba at the bath,* 127 x 185.4 cm

Stand 1
FLORENCE BIENNALE

Biennale Internazionale
dell'Antiquariato di Firenze
Palazzo Corsini, Via del Parione 11,
50123 Florence
26th September to 4th October
10.30h to 20.00h

Manfredi, *Saint Jerome,* 131 x 98cm

Patch, *View of the Arno with the Ponte alle Grazie,* 85 x 170.5cm

La Pittura del Seicento a Firenze. Indice Degli Artisti e Delle Opere
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26TH EDITION

1959
2009
50TH ANNIVERSARY

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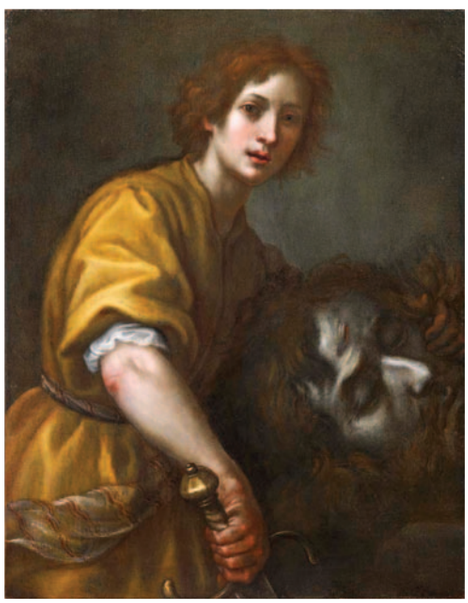
BIENNALE INTERNAZIONALE DELL'ANTIQUARIATO DI FIRENZE | Palazzo Corsini, Lungarno Corsini, Firenze | 26 September - 4 October 2009

STARTED IN 1959, the Florence International Antiques Biennale will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary and twenty-sixth staging this year. Originally the brainchild of Luigi Bellini Sr, it was first held at the fifteenth-century Palazzo Strozzi, where it returned many times. After a brief stint at Palazzo degli Affari in 1995, the fair was relocated in 1997 to the magnificent Palazzo Corsini sull'Arno. The event certainly benefits from the spacious rooms and elegant architectural and decorative features of the palace.

This year seventy-two Italian and eighteen international dealers will be exhibiting a wide range of works, all vetted for authenticity and provenance so that visitors can buy with confidence. It is unique to this event that objects can be submitted in advance to two committees for an opinion on whether they can be exported. These are appointed by The Florence Export Office and the Ministry for Cultural Heritage.

Other satellite activities include the Il Lorenzo d'Oro prize for the best short film based on historic or artistic ideas and a conference dealing with Italian legislation governing the export of works of art.

For more information please visit: **www.biennaleantiquariato.it**



David with the head of Goliath, by Francesco Curradi (1570–1661). Oil on canvas, 97 by 77 cm. **Moretti – London, Florence and New York**

Bathsheba at her bath, by Simone Pignoni (1611–1698). Oil on canvas, 127 by 185.4 cm. **Robilant + Voena – London and Milan**

Bacchus, by Dirck van Baburen (c.1595–1624). Oil on canvas, 91.5 by 69 cm. **Carlo Orsi – Milan**

Head of an apostle. Parisian sculptor, c.1220. Limestone. **Longari Galleria – Milan**

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Head of a philosopher with a red hat, by Giandomenico Tiepolo. Oil on canvas, 60.6 by 50.9 cm.
Adam Williams Fine Arts – New York

St Francis in meditation, by Francisco Zurbarán (1598–1664).
Noble Gallery – Truggi

One of a pair of tables carved in wood and gilded. Height: 106 cm. Width: 179 cm. Depth: 89.5 cm.
Antiques Alberto Castro-Alessandra di Castro – Rome

The Medici Lion, by Pietro Simoni da Barga (documented 1571–89). Bronze, verdigris patina *all'antica*. Height: 19.7 cm. Length: 33.4 cm.
Tomasso Brothers Fine Art, Leeds

Allegory of Mother Earth, by Cristofano Robetta (1462–1535). Engraving.
Frascione Gallery – Milan

A pair of busts of young Moors, attributed to Melchior Barthel (1625–72). Italian, seventeenth century. Marble. Height: 54.4 cm.
Steinitz, Paris

For more information please visit: www.biennaleantiquariato.it

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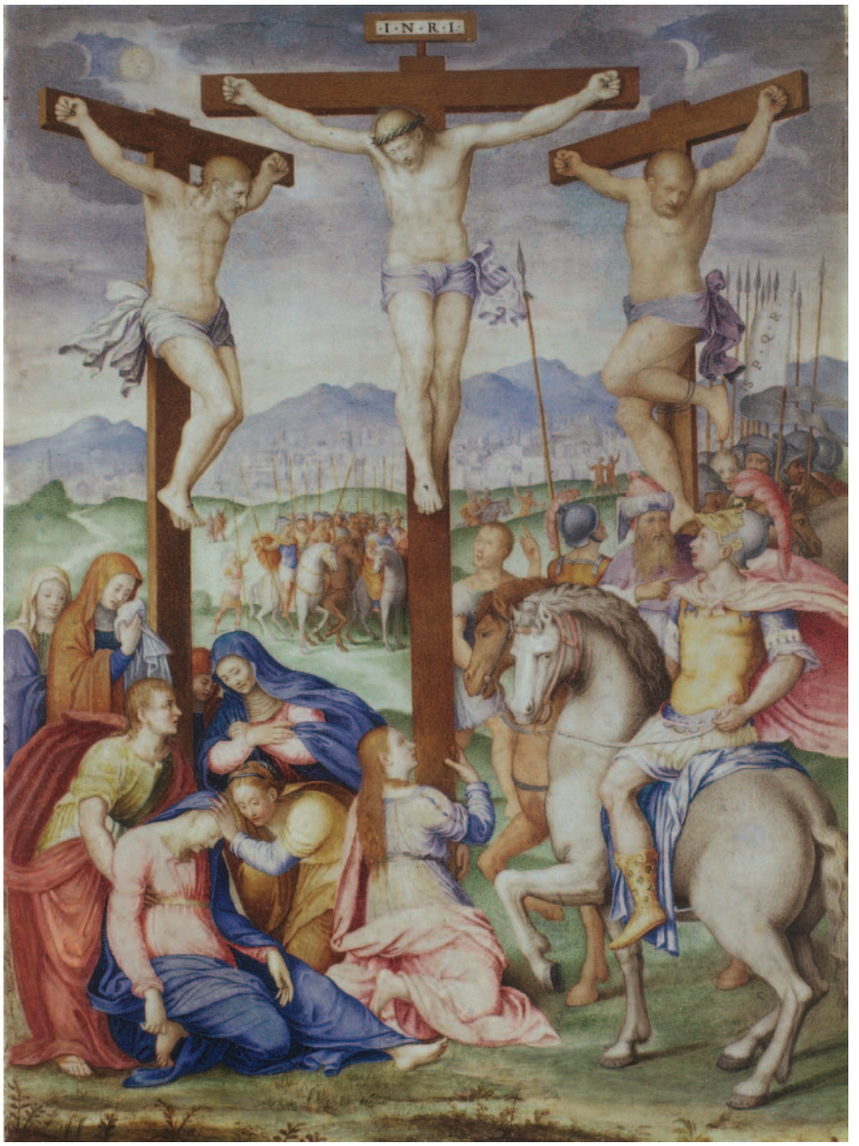

LUCA LONGHI

1502 – RAVENNA – 1580

The Crucifixion

Bodycolour on vellum, 28.4 x 21 cm
Formerly collection Martial Lapeyre, then Fondation Napoléon

Formerly attributed to the renowned miniaturist Giulio Clovio, this bodycolour must be reattributed to Luca Longhi (1507–1580), the most important painter in sixteenth-century Ravenna. This attribution has been kindly confirmed by Giordano Viroli, author of the recent catalogue raisonné of Longhi's work. Mr Viroli kindly informed us that this *Crucifixion* is technically a unicum in Longhi's *œuvre*.

Luca Longhi was born on 14th January 1507 in Ravenna, the second of three brothers who would all become painters. Its seems his family was of Bolognese origin, but settled in Ravenna in the early fifteenth century. We do not know who his master was, and his earliest painting dates from 1528, a *Virgin and Child enthroned with Sts Lucy and Valerian* (Church of S. Ruffilo, Forlimpopoli). Longhi does not seem to have ever left Ravenna, and his knowledge of Correggio, Raphael and Parmigianino is probably based on prints.

The work of Luca Longhi is characterised by beautiful serenity and smooth colours.

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20/21 BRITISH ART FAIR 2009

The Royal College of Art, Kensington Gore, London, SW7 2EU | 16 – 20 September 2009

Wild flowers – Spring, by Winifred Nicholson (1893–1981). c.1928.
Oil on canvas, 51.5 by 61 cm.
Jonathan Clark, London

Figure and maize, by Graham Sutherland (1903–80). Signed and dated ''48' and inscribed 'Figure and Maize' (on the canvas overlap). Oil on canvas, 40.6 by 50.8 cm.
Agnew's, London

Portrait of a lady, by Augustus John (1878–1961).
Oil on board, 31.7 by 24.2 cm.
Whitfield Fine Art, London

IN SEPTEMBER 2009 the Royal College of Art will host the twenty-second 20/21 British Art fair. The airy whitewashed halls of the RCA have over the years become the spiritual home of the event. Indeed, many works to be displayed were created by celebrated alumni of the college and include Peter Blake, David Hockney, Henry Moore and Barbara Hepworth, to name but a few.

Some sixty leading dealers are selected by an advisory committee, which seeks to ensure that the most important artists and movements of the twentieth century are represented. Works by lesser-known and emerging artists will be exhibited alongside those by established contemporary artists such as Tracey Emin and Damian Hirst. Prices range from a few hundred pounds for a print to much higher sums for original works by more celebrated artists. The exhibitors are happy to share their expertise with both inveterate collectors and newcomers to the field who will appreciate the informal atmosphere of the event.

For more information please visit: **www.britishartfair.co.uk**

Maquette for seated torso, by Henry Moore. 1954.
Bronze, edition of 9. Height: 34.3 cm.
Osborne Samuel, London

Barrier No.2, by Robert Adams. 1962.
Bronzed steel. Height: 176.5 cm.
Gimpel Fils, London

View Through a Wood 1934 (detail) oil on canvas 20 x 26 in

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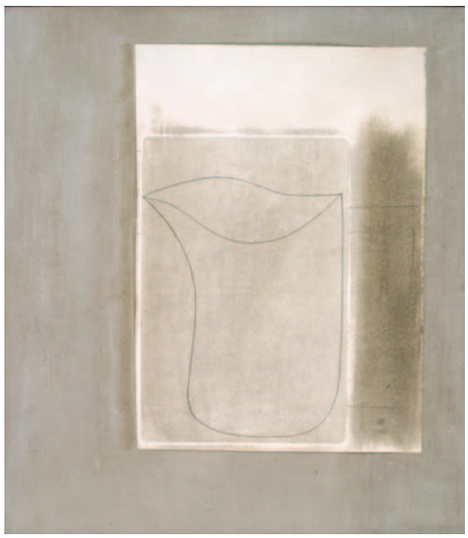
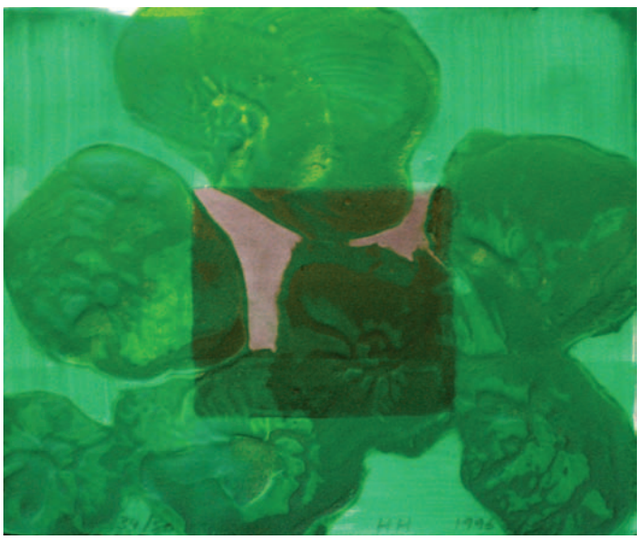


Umber, by Ben Nicholson, (1894–1982). Signed, titled, dated 68, & numbered 'ph896' on the reverse. Pencil, oil wash and printed paper collage on artist's board, 35.8 by 41 cm.
Lucy Johnson, London, Burford & Snape

Exercises, by Christopher Wood (1901–30). 1925.
Oil on canvas, 40.6 by 50.8 cm.
Anthony Hepworth Fine Art, Bath



Window, by Howard Hodgkin (b.1932). 1996. Signed and numbered from an edition of 50.
Aquatint with hand-colouring and carborundum, 23 by 28 cm.
The Fine Art Partnership, Brighton

The gatherer, by Claughton Pellew (1890–1966). c.1926.
Watercolour, 39 by 42 cm.
Michael Parkin, London

Everyworld, by John Hoyland. 2009. Acrylic on cotton duck, 152.5 by 140 cm.
Beaux Arts, London

The round table, by Roger Fry. 1920. Oil on canvas, 76 by 69 cm.
Belgrave Gallery, London and St Ives

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Alessandro Allori (1535–1607), Young noblewoman with lute, oil on wood, 72 x 54.5 cm, ***Auction 6 October***

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EDITOR
PRINT QUARTERLY

After 26 years as Editor, David Landau, the founder of *Print Quarterly*, wishes to step down. The Directors (that is the trustees) of the charity wish to appoint a suitably qualified person as his successor. This will be a full-time post, based in an office in London, and supported by a full-time administrator.

The new Editor will take full responsibility for all aspects of editing, publishing, promoting and improving the journal. He/she will chair the quarterly meetings of the Editorial Board, and maintain good relations with scholars, curators and dealers working in the field. It is envisaged that at some point in the future publication will be online rather than on paper, and the new Editor will be expected to plan and manage the transition, and take on the task of designing and posting each issue on the web. As a preliminary the new Editor will need to see to the posting of the back issues of *Print Quarterly* on the web in electronic form.

This post requires a person who is both a print scholar with a familiarity with a wide range of print history, and someone who has good skills as a manager and in working with other people. Above all the new Editor will need to supply the drive to take the Journal forward into a new electronic era and secure its future. In doing this, the new Editor will have the full support of the Directors and of the Editorial Board.

The salary will be by negotiation, but will be commensurate with the responsibilities of the post, which is seen as comparable with a Senior Lecturer in a British university. Full particulars are available on the Print Quarterly website, www.printquarterly.com.

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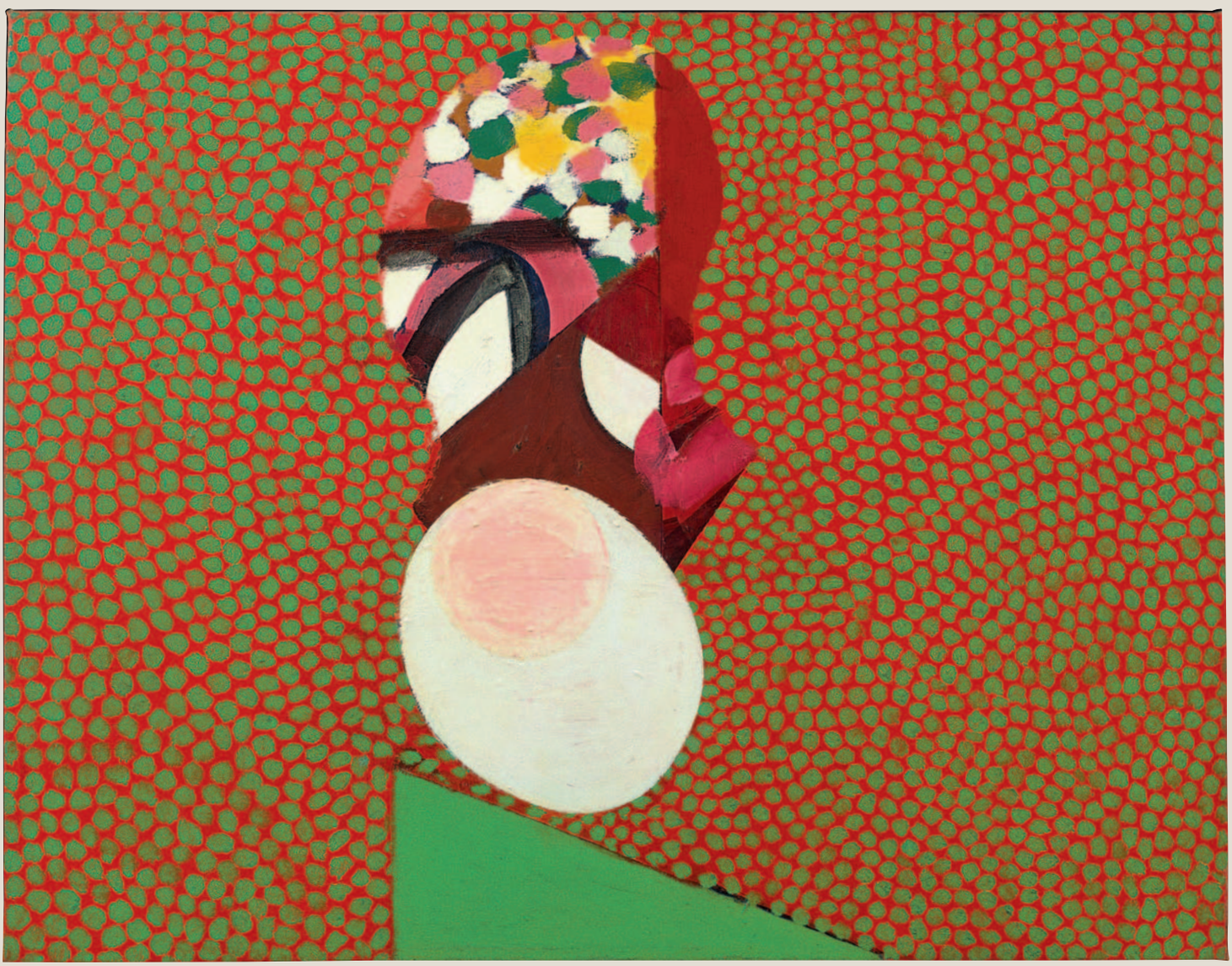

Howard Hodgkin
Born 1932
Girl in Bed, 1965
Oil on canvas
28 × 36¼ inches; 71 × 92 cm
Signed, titled and dated on the stretcher

THE BVRLINGTON MAGAZINE

VOLUME CLI • NUMBER 1278 • SEPTEMBER 2009

p.596

p.607

p.634

p.632

p.645

The October issue is devoted to Italian art and includes articles on:

The Upper Church frescos, Assisi

A Caravaggesque painting in Scotland

Letters from Luigi Celotti

Riccio's Paschal candlestick

Giotto and recent literature

Art History Reviewed V: Berenson

The future of the Witt and Conway Libraries at the Courtauld Institute

Acquisitions at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Cover illustration: *Still life with lobsters*, by Eugène Delacroix. 1827. Canvas, 80.5 by 106.5 cm. (Musée du Louvre, Paris). Illustrated in this issue on p.595.

THE BVRLINGTON MAGAZINE

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Editorial

That sinking feeling in Southampton

THE HOLDINGS OF Southampton City Art Gallery form one of the finest regional collections in Britain and were 'designated' ten years ago as being of 'pre-eminent national significance'. Although in comparison with other city museums it is relatively young (founded 1939), it has managed, through enlightened direction and excellent advice, as well as through gifts and bequests (of objects and funds), to build up an outstanding collection. It is particularly known for its good small group of Dutch and Flemish pictures, its French Impressionist-period paintings (Monet, Boudin, Renoir, Sisley and Pissarro, for example – rare to find so coherent a galaxy in a regional museum), its highly representative holdings of twentieth-century British art and its exceptional contemporary collection (by, among others, Whiteread, Doig, Rae and Davenport). It has particular highlights within these groupings – a beautiful Jordaens, a fine selection of Sickert and the Camden Town Group, home-grown Surrealism and good St Ives paintings, especially by Roger Hilton. That it also has some curiosities and works that do not sit easily with the strengths of the collection (a painting by Massimo Campigli; a sculpture by César) almost goes without saying.[1] Recently, Gallery staff were asked by Southampton City Council to review all works in the collection in terms of their significance – from high to moderate, from core to non-core. Two outside curators from national collections acted as advisers, in line with the Gallery's governance. But this review was not undertaken for its own sake (as the two advisers believed); it was used to weed out those works that might be profitably disposed of – in effect works that fell outside the main programme of acquisitions and would prove valuable on the market.

The City Council requested this review because it needs funds to finance a grandiose scheme of 'heritage projects' (including, it must be said, greater space for the City Art Gallery) to be gathered together in a Cultural Quarter. A bid to the Heritage Lottery Fund for this scheme is under consideration, the result to be announced in October. Doubtless those responsible for the initiative of selling works from the Gallery thought it a clever expedient that would gain immediate public support. And indeed, one local newspaper has already been congratulating itself for its backing of the Council's plan to 'flog the family silver' in order to help finance, in particular, a new visitor attraction devoted to *RMS Titanic*, the unfortunate liner that sailed from Southampton Docks in 1912, only to sink five days later. Belfast, where the liner was built, has pre-empted Southampton with a vast Titanic Experience opening in that city in 2012. Surely one is quite enough? Admirable though its other projects may be, the Council would be misguided, at the very least, in ordering the sale of works from its collection.

The arguments against disposal from public collections – de-accessioning – are many and familiar but need constant iteration in the face of the increasing mudslide of often uninformed public support for such action, invariably ignited by opportunistic local councillors. Here are some of the more important arguments:

1. Collections accrued over the years are repositories of works assembled for different and fascinating reasons; as such they form a valuable index of public taste at several levels.
2. Once a work is disposed of, the decision is irreversible.
3. The argument that if a work is not on show and is 'locked up in the cellars', it is 'lost' to the public is patently absurd. Requests to see a work or works temporarily off show are nearly always treated sympathetically and quickly by curators and registrars. Rotation of works on view is a frequent and refreshing aspect of display in museums with limited space; highlights of a particular collection tend to be permanently on show.
4. If a museum, and the local authority under whose jurisdiction it lies, come to be seen as disposers, they will inevitably attract negative publicity within much of the professional museum world. Charities and fund-awarding bodies, particularly for acquisitions, are bound to ask serious questions when considering grant applications.
5. Benefactors with the intention of giving or bequeathing works to a museum that de-accessions will think twice.
6. Money raised by the sale of works of art is rarely going to make a substantial contribution to whatever project the local authority has in its sights. Looting its most valuable or celebrated possessions is out of bounds.

In an Editorial here two years ago on regional museums, it was noted that Southampton City Art Gallery 'has no funds for acquisitions from the local authority; it is pitifully short of space [and] has suffered heavy staff cuts'.[2] Nothing has changed. Nevertheless it has continued to acquire works even in the face of opposition. In 2007 local protest greeted the purchase for £250,000 of Bridget Riley's painting *Red movement*, in spite of the fact that it cost the ratepayer not a penny, its purchase price met by grants and acquisition funds, and that it was followed by a gift from the artist of related works. The Riley is certainly a 'core' work in the collection but the two works so far announced as candidates for sale apparently are not – a bronze by Rodin (partly, it seems, because the lucky Gallery owns two) and a handsome equestrian painting by Sir Alfred Munnings PRA which, contrary to reports, has indeed been displayed in the Gallery in recent years and provides a perfect *point de départ* for and counterpoint to the more adventurous aspects of modern British art in the collection. But Munnings fetches money. The sale, however, is still undecided and the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) is, it says, in 'full dialogue' with Southampton on the ethical implications and legal procedures of the proposal. We can only hope it will, for once, advise firmly against it. It would be an unpardonable indignity if, for entirely political reasons, this fine collection were to be diminished and its profile much reduced.

[1] The paintings holdings of the Gallery are included in *The Public Catalogue Foundation. Hampshire: Southampton & the Isle of Wight*, London 2007.

[2] 'Museums in Britain: bouquets and brickbats', THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE 149 (2007), pp.747–48.

Baron Wiser's picture gallery

by KLÁRA GARAS and ÉVA NYERGES

SEVERAL YEARS AGO, in the course of research into the collection of Buda Castle, Budapest, a previously unknown and unidentified inventory came to light in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna.[1] The inventory, labelled '*Nota di Quadri colle loro misure*', indicates neither the owner of the collection nor the date or place in which it was made – it is only from certain entries that the present writers have been able to draw conclusions about such details. The note on Gregorio Gilbert's *Self-portrait* mentions that the last Almirante di Castiglia presented it '*al B^me de Wiser*'. Wiser is also referred to in the 1975 catalogue of Italian paintings in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, where it says that Luca Giordano's *St Andrew* and Domenichino's *St Jerome* were '*erworben aus der Sammlung des Barons Heinrich Wiser aus Neuburg*' (in 1750).[2] The date and place at which the inventory was made of the collection of Italian – principally Neapolitan – and Spanish masters can be determined by the mention of Paolo de Matteis's *Hercules at the crossroads* (Alte Pinakothek, Munich). De Matteis painted the composition and its first variant, which was sent to England on the commission of the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury (Temple Newsam House, Leeds), in 1712 in Naples. Judging from Wiser's biography, the inventory was probably made in 1713 in Naples; Baron Wiser left the diplomatic service of the Palatinate in the same year.

Baron Wiser's name is not entirely unknown in the history of art. If not his collection, then his role as an intermediary and purchaser of works of art on behalf of Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine, is referred to in several sources.[3] However, we can gain only a sketchy picture of the life and career of Heinrich Franz Xavier Wiser of the Palatinate and Neuburg. He was born in 1665 in Neuburg an der Donau and died in 1749 in Jülich. His family was of noble origin from the Austrian provinces but settled in the Palatinate and entered into the service of the court.[4] In 1690 Heinrich's father, Gottfried Ignaz, was raised to the imperial title of baron in '*den Reichs Ritter oder Edlen Herrenstand*' by the Emperor Leopold for '*seine 50 Jahre der Pfalz geleisteten dienste*'. Until his death in 1695 he was privy councillor and chancellor of the Elector Palatine. His five sons followed him into the Elector's service; Heinrich as an envoy in Madrid, Naples and the Netherlands; Franz Melchior (1651–1702) as a secret councillor and later court chancellor; while Josef Dominikus and Gottfried Ignaz also filled important court posts.[5] Heinrich Wiser studied in Ingolstadt, moved to Vienna where he worked at the state law courts (*Reichshofgericht*), and spent two years in Heidelberg ('*am Hof zu Heidelberg*'). Subsequently he worked for three years in the diplomatic service in Lisbon. Pedro II, the King of Portugal, was the brother-in-law of the Elector Palatine, Johann Wilhelm, having married in 1687 Maria Sofia Isabel Palatine of Neuburg; Wiser may have accompanied her to Portugal. After Maria Anna, the Elector's other sister, married Charles II King of Spain in 1690, Wiser was appointed as the queen's secretary in Madrid in 1691. From July 1692 to November 1695 he lived and worked in Madrid as the '*envoyé extraordinaire*' of the Elector Palatine. From letters and reports it would seem that, as the confidant of both the queen and the Elector, Wiser played an important role in mediating and purchasing works of art far beyond his diplomatic and court duties. The queen intended him to marry one of her ladies-in-waiting, but owing to Spanish intrigues he soon fell out of favour and was discharged from the queen's service. Wiser was next sent by the Elector Palatine to a new post in Naples on 27th November 1695. His first task was to clear up the affairs of the Neapolitan estate of the Palatinate, the Baronia Rocca Guglielma, as a resident and governor, and then to enter the court of Francesco Farnese, Duke of Parma, who was Johann Wilhelm's brother-in-law. Between 1697 and 1698 he worked in Rome in the Elector's service. From 1702 to 1703 he was envoy extraordinary in The Hague and spent 1707 and 1708 in Vienna at the imperial court. In April 1708 Wiser received yet another posting as '*ausserordentlicher Gesandter der Kurpfalz*' in Naples, from where he was recalled at the end of March 1713. In 1713 and 1714 he took part in the Congress of Rastadt that concluded the War of the Spanish Succession, but thereafter he does not appear to have received further appointments. He is mentioned in 1715–17, and in 1718–19 wrote a polemical paper, '*Facti species der abenteuerlichsten Verfolgung* [. . .] *Ausgeübt an einen alten Churpfälzischen, wohl meritirten Freiherrn von Wiser*'. In this paper, which dwells on his past accomplishments, he mentions that during his stay in Lisbon and Madrid he assembled a vast collection of paintings and statues of great value ('*eine Menge Gemälde, Statuen etc. verehrt*') – obviously for the Elector.[6] Persecution referred to by Wiser in his writings was followed by terrible consequences. On his return from Italy, the Baron lived on his family estate in Neuburg until he was imprisoned in 1717,

[1] Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Oberstkammereramt Akten, H.A.Misz.12 (3590) 1–H 185 (see Appendix below). It was probably accompanied by a document which has not yet been found.

[2] R. Kultzen: *Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen. Alte Pinakothek, München. Gemäldekataloge, 5: Italienische Malerei*, Munich 1975, pp.51 and 39.

[3] T. Levin: 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kunstbestrebungen in dem Hause Pfalz-Neuburg', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Niederrheins. Jahrbuch des Düsseldorfer Geschichtsvereins* 19 (1904), pp.97–213; 20 (1905), pp.123–249; 23 (1911), pp.1–185; M. Herrero García: *Contribución de la literatura a la historia del arte*, Madrid 1943, pp.80–91; Prince Albert von Bayern: *Das Ende der Habsburger in Spanien, II: Maria Anna von Neuburg, Königin von Spanien*, Munich 1929, pp.76–105; and H. Soehner: *Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen. Alte Pinakothek, München. Gemäldekataloge, 1: Spanische Meister*, Munich 1963, pp.14, 42 and 197. See, recently, S. Tipton: '"La passion mia per la pittura". Die Sammlungen des Kurfürsten Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz (1658–1716) in Düsseldorf im Spiegel seiner Korrespondenz', *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 57 (2006), pp.71–325.

[4] For the history of the family, see 'Die Freiherren und Grafen von Wiser in Kurpfälzischen Diensten', *Mannheimer Geschichtsblätter* 23/1 (1922), p.22; C. von Wurzbach: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich*, LVII, Vienna 1889, p.122; *Historisches-Heraldisches Handbuch*, Gotha 1855, p.1085. Important material concerning Baron Wiser and his family was made available to us by Rainer Gutjahr on the authority of Adalbert, Graf Wiser. We are most grateful for his help.

[5] The names, positions and ranks of the members of the family are often incorrect in documents. Baron Wiser in a letter to his brother dated 20th January 1695 writes of his father as deceased: '*d'heureuse mémoire*'.

[6] Levin, *op. cit.* (note 3), 20 (1905), p.231; and K. Mayr: *Pfalz-Neuburg und das Königreich Neapel im 17. und 18 Jahrhundert*, Munich 1939, pp.112–79. See also F.

having crossed swords with Count Hundheim, minister of the Palatinate, and the new Elector Palatine, Philipp Karl, who had succeeded Johann Wilhelm in 1716. Wiser spent the rest of his life in Monschau and the citadel of Jülich, where he died in 1749. Apparently Karl Theodor, who became Elector in 1742, was willing to release the Baron under certain conditions, which, however, Wiser failed to fulfil. We have no further information about his picture collection. Meanwhile, the family, created counts, continued to play an important role in the history of the Palatinate in the first half of the eighteenth century. Even after Elector Johann Wilhelm's death in 1716 members of the family held significant diplomatic and court posts in the service of his successors.[7]

While the official documents, through which we can follow Baron Wiser's career, give us hints on the history of his collection and the purchase of works of art, there is little data directly connected to it. Purchasing on behalf of his patron, the Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm, one of the most significant collectors of the time, and adding to his own collection evidently ran in parallel. In a report of 1712 he observes that Naples is the place where one can buy the best and cheapest pictures and that he himself had amassed a remarkable collection, at his own expense – not at the Elector's, as gossip would have it.[8] After Madrid, Naples was the best city in which to buy works of art, and to a lesser extent Rome and The Hague. Little is known of Wiser's relations with fellow-collectors and art-dealers or of his contacts with artists, but the newly discovered inventory provides a framework for the reconstruction of his collection.

Despite intensive research into the works of art and collections of the Pfalz-Wittelsbach in Düsseldorf, Mannheim and Munich, the inventory was unknown. Nor is its purpose clear. Contrary to most seventeenth- and eighteenth-century inventories it is not an official document, detailing an estate or an evaluation attested by an official person or notary. It is not a local survey, is not based on specific rooms and does not provide valuations. Most probably it was drawn up for a sale offered speculatively to the imperial court, which found no response.[9] That it consists in part of works by little-known Italian – principally Neapolitan – and Spanish masters is not surprising.

The inventory is intended to be precise and competent. Of 173 items only eight are not attributed to an artist. Its compiler expresses doubt or uncertainty ('*giudicati di mano di*' or '*di mano incerto*') and makes stylistic judgments ('*imitando il Caravaggio*' or '*della scuola di Rubens*'), and at times determines a period or notes that a work is '*originale*'. Artists' names are often given in full, for example '*Giuseppe de Ribera detto lo Spagnoletto*'. There are references to places or schools (Murillo is called '*quel famoso pittore Sevillano*'), and works are appraised ('*Dipinto a meraviglia*' or '*di mano superiore*'), while there are also remarks on condition ('*cosi ben conservato che para fatto or ora*'). From certain notes we can deduce that the inventory was based on the text of an earlier one, for example no.20: '*nel copiare s'è cambiato l'ord.e dov.do star questo di sopra p intelligenza della mis.a*'. Presumably it was in this earlier document that the provenance of some pictures was recorded ('*regalo dell' Almte di Castiglia*)'.[10] The inventory gives the pictures' supports (canvas, wood, copper, marble), format (tondo, octagon) and dimensions. However, instead of using the usual measurement '*palmi*', occasionally '*piedi*' is used.[11] This use of two measurement systems, some presumably taken from the earlier inventory, makes identification of the works more difficult.

1. *Death of Seneca*, by Luca Giordano. 1646. Canvas, 259 by 241 cm. (Staatsgalerie, Schleissheim).

It is on the basis of these scant pieces of information that the history of the Wiser collection has to be reconstructed and works identified. We were unable to link any purchases to the Baron's first post in Lisbon, in spite of Wiser's note of 1718 in which he refers to acquiring valuable works of art both there and in Madrid. Considerably more information is available with regards to his ambassadorship in Madrid.[12] We learn first about his acquisitions negotiated at the Spanish court for his patron, the Elector

Noack: *Das Deutschtum in Rom seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Berlin and Leipzig 1927, I, pp.163 and 168; and II, p.651.

[7] Baron Wiser's nephews, Ferdinand Andreas (1677–1751) and Franz Josef (1679–1755), were both envoys of the Palatine at the court of Vienna. Giovanni Battista Clerici, plasterer and supervisor of the building of the residence in Mannheim, mentions in May 1726: 'Conte Wiser Nero (Primo Ministro)'. See G. Martinola: *Lettere dai paesi transalpini degli artisti di Meride e dei villaggi vicini*, Bellinzona 1963, p.29. For the last years and death of Baron Wiser, see F. Lau: 'Heinrich Freiherr von Wiser 1665–1749. Ein pfälzischer Diplomat als Staatsgefangener in Monschau und Jülich', *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* (1939), pp.140–52.

[8] Mayr, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.158.

[9] In 1711/12 the inventory of the collection of Ferdinando Carlo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, was sent to Düsseldorf, Florence and London in the hope of prompting a sale; see M. Eidelberg and E.W. Rowlands: 'The dispersal of the last Duke of Mantua's paintings', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 122 (1994), p.207.

[10] The inventory was probably transcribed by an Italian painter, as was the practice of the time. The information was most likely provided by Wiser himself, since he was the only person aware of the links with both Italy and Spain. The use of the artists' first names and those of rarely featured masters indicates a thorough knowledge of the artists of the day.

[11] The Neapolitan *palmo* measured 26.4 (26.5) cm.; the Roman *palmo* 22.35 cm.; and the *piedo* (*pied du roi*) 32.5 cm. Unlike other contemporary inventories, Wiser's inventory does not include descriptions of the frames or any reference as to where the works were hung. See J. Kirby: 'A note on the seventeenth-century "palmo" in the context of Don Antonio Ruffo's collection', THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE 134 (1992), pp.297–98.

[12] Levin, *op. cit.* (note 3), 20 (1905), pp.225–31; and Herrero García, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.80–91.

Palatine. Part of them were exchange gifts from the king or queen to Johann Wilhelm, such as Rubens's *Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau* (Staatsgalerie, Schleissheim), but we also come across pictures bought by Wiser at the Elector's expense, such as Velázquez's *Portrait of a youth* in 1694 (Alte Pinakothek, Munich). To this group belong the works ordered through the mediation of Wiser from painters working in Madrid. Both the Elector Palatine and the Spanish queen often mention the Baron's zeal and expert opinion in these transactions: '*según Wiser, tienen bastante merito, así por la pintura como por el modelado*', writes Queen Mariana in a letter of 1694 to her brother.[13] Wiser was also in contact with Luca Giordano, who had been working in Madrid since 1692 and sent several of his large-scale paintings to Düsseldorf.

Naturally Baron Wiser made use of these advantageous circumstances to establish and enlarge his own collection as well. From the sixteenth century it was customary for foreign envoys to be well versed in the fine arts, not only to enrich the picture collections of their princely patrons but also to acquire certain pieces for themselves. There are numerous instances of this from the time of Baron Wiser.[14] For example, Count Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach (1637–1706), ambassador to the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, gave a detailed account in his diary of how during his stay in Spain he visited palaces, collections and studios and how and what he purchased in Madrid at various auctions.[15] Active at the same time as Wiser – although not an envoy to the Spanish in the same years as him (1672–77 and 1697–98) – their experiences and sources were similar.

Although the delegate from the Palatinate could hardly compete in funds with the enormously rich Austrian nobleman, the queen's patronage, Wiser's connections at court and personal contact with court artists must have helped him in his endeavours. The notes of the inventory also inform us about the origins of some of the pictures from Madrid. Rubens's *Portrait of a youth* is accompanied by the note '*regalo dell Almte*', Van Dyck's *Portrait of a woman* by '*pure regalo dell' Almte*', while Padre Gregorio Gilbert's *Self-portrait* was apparently presented by the artist himself to the Almirante di Castiglia ('*Padre del defunto poi donato da questo al Bne Wiser*'). Juan Alonso Enríquez de Cabrera (1597–1647), Viceroy of Naples and admiral of Castiglia, amassed a collection of works of art of unparalleled value during his residence in Italy. After his death in 1647 the collection was inherited by his son, Juan Gaspar Enríquez de Cabrera, who added to it, and it was in turn inherited in 1691 by his son, Juan Tomás Enríquez, Prince of Ríoseco, the last Almirante di Castiglia.[16] The picture gallery of the admiral was considered by his contemporaries to be the most significant Spanish collection; Count Harrach, the Viennese Ambassador, claimed that in his personal opinion it exceeded the collections in Vienna of both the Emperor and Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. The relationship between Wiser and the last admiral may have been reinforced by the fact that Juan Tomás Enríquez de Cabrera belonged to the circle of Wiser's patron, Queen María Anna. Having fled from Spain to Portugal in 1702, the last admiral died in 1705.

Another source of Wiser's Spanish acquisitions could have been the equally famous collection of Luis Mendez de Haro y Guzmán, 6th Marqués del Carpio. However, lack of specific references make this difficult to prove. Our task is further complicated by the vicissitudes of the del Carpio collection and its barely traceable dispersal among various members of the family and their heirs.[17] In the case of the picture entitled *Parnassus*, attributed to Perino del Vaga, the identification seems, however, convincing. Purchased between 1649 and 1653 in London by Alonso de Cardenas, Spanish Ambassador, on the commission of the Marqués del Carpio, it came, with many other significant works, from the collection of Charles I of England. The painting is documented in the collection of Don Luis's son and heir, Gaspar de Haro, Marqués de Eliche, and later appears in Baron Wiser's inventory as *Parnassus* by Perino del Vaga and was so catalogued first in the gallery at Mannheim and then at Munich.[18] It seems that this was also the fate of the famous equestrian portrait of Count-Duke Olivares in Schleissheim previously attributed to Velázquez, already associated with the collection of the Marqués del Carpio on the basis of a note in the 1651 del Carpio inventory (no.240): '. . . *retrato del Conde Duque armado* [. . .] *en un cavallo blanco copia de Velázquez de la mano de Juan Batista Maço* . . .'. Wiser's inventory describes it as the work of Velázquez ('*conde duca d'Olivares a cavallo*'), an attribution previously unrecorded.[19] It appears that Velázquez's *Portrait of a man* bought by Wiser in Madrid in 1694 for Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine, which ended up with the Düsseldorf picture gallery in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, came from the 7th Marqués del Carpio's collection (sales of 1690 and 1694).[20] His vast collection was dispersed following his death in 1687, and between 1694 and 1697 passed partly to other branches of the family, while part was sold at auction in Madrid. The portion that remained in Italy left the family. In spite of numerous inventories it is almost impossible to determine what Baron Wiser managed to obtain from this collection either for himself or for the Elector Palatine.

Documentary evidence shows that during his stay in Spain (1691–95) Wiser was in regular contact with Luca Giordano,

[13] In Wiser's report dated 14th October 1694 he mentions among a shipment of paintings a sketch by Rubens, a small picture in the style of the Bamboccianti, Brueghel's *Turkish battle* and works by Paul Bril, Bordone and Velázquez; see Levin, *op. cit.* (note 3), 20 (1905), p.233; and Herrero García, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.81.

[14] The Elector's assistants for purchasing at the time were chiefly: '. . . *seine Agenten und Residenten im Ausland, also die Angehörigen des diplomatischen Dienstes, deren Aufgaben, etwas abgestuft nach der Höhe ihres Ranges, sehr umfassend waren, von der Besorgung von Lebensmitteln, modischen Gegenständen* [. . .] *bis zu den eigentlichen diplomatischen Auftragen und zur Befassung mit kulturellen Dingen reichen*'; see L.W. Wegner: *Kurfürst Carl Theodor von der Pfalz als Kunstsammler*, Mannheim 1960, p.12.

[15] K. Gaedeke: 'Das Tagebuch des Grafen Ferdinand Bonaventura von Harrach während seines Aufenthaltes am spanischen Hofe in den Jahren 1697–1698', *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 48 (1872), p.163; and H. Ritschl: *Katalog der Erlaucht Gräflich Harrachschen Gemälde-Galerie in Wien*, Vienna 1926, pp.iii–v.

[16] F. Duro: *El ultimo Almirante de Castilla Don Juan Tomas Enriquez de Cabrera*, Madrid 1903, p.188; and M. Burke: 'Private collections of Italian art in seventeenth century Spain', Ph.D. diss. (New York University, 1984). On his death in 1691 Juan Gaspar Enríquez de Cabrera left a part of his collection to the St Pascual monastery in Madrid, of which a list was made (without the artists' names). Working from the original inventory of 1647 we may assume that apart from the abovementioned pictures Wiser acquired others from the Almirante's collection; see A. Delaforce: 'From Madrid to Lisbon and Vienna: the journey of the celebrated paintings of Juan Tomàs Enríquez de Cabrera, Almirante de Castilla', THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE 149 (2007), pp.246–55; and M. Burke and P. Cherry: *Spanish Inventories. Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601–1755*, Los Angeles 1997, pp.892–962.

[17] On the Carpio collection, see Burke, *op. cit.* (note 16), I, pp.101–02, II, pp.162–73, 187–93, 199–206, 212–316 and 347–56; and M. Moran and F. Checa: *El coleccionismo en España*, Madrid 1985.

[18] A.J. Lomie: 'New light on the Spanish Ambassador's purchases from Charles I's collection 1649–1653', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989), p.265: (no.58) 'The Mount Parnassus by Pierino del Vago, £400'.

[19] J.M. Pita Andrade: 'Los cuadros de Velázquez y Mazo que poseyó el séptimo Marqués del Carpio', *Archivo Español de Arte* 25 (1952), p.223. (Inventory 1651,

who from 1692 worked in Madrid as Charles II's court painter. Numerous paintings by Giordano were acquired by the Elector Palatine through Wiser's mediation and around twenty-one were in the picture gallery at Düsseldorf. Wiser frequently reported his visits to the artist's workshop, judging as excellent Giordano's paintings made '*all imitatione di*' Paolo Veronese, Guido Reni, etc. He also reported the painter's expert opinion on the works of art he purchased for the Palatinate court.[21] It seems possible that this was when Wiser obtained works by Giordano for his own collection: the *Death of Seneca* (Fig.1), the *Martyrdom of St Sebastian* and the *Deposition of St Andrew from the Cross* are listed in the inventory. Although they bear false Ribera signatures ('*Josepe de Ribera español, F. 1645*' and '*Josepe de Ribera español, F. 1644*'), they are listed in the inventory as the work of Luca Giordano, with the note '*imitando lo Spagnoletto*' or '*imitando il Ribera*' (all in the Staatsgalerie, Schleissheim).[22] In 1702 the painter returned to Naples, so it is also possible that Wiser purchased them while he was in Naples. Given the close connections between Spain and Naples and the frequent movement of art and artists between them, it is difficult to pinpoint the provenance of works such as, for example, Ribera's. Nevertheless it seems probable that the paintings of masters with close Spanish connections in Wiser's collection came from the Iberian Peninsula. The paintings attributed to Antonio Antolínez, '*Escalante Spaglo*', and Alonso Sanchez, two large-scale paintings by '*Eugenio Cachese Fiorentino*' (Cajés), the so-far anonymous *Martyrdom of St Paul* and *Martyrdom of St Bartholomew*, *Children eating a pie* (Fig.2) – a work attributed to '*Diego Morillo quel famoso Pittore Sevillano*' – or the pictures attributed to Velázquez obviously passed into Wiser's possession in Spain.[23] We have no further information as to where they were purchased or from whom.

Even following his posting to Spain in 1695 Baron Wiser continued to play an active role as mediator in his diplomatic duties, nurturing relationships with artists and procuring works of art for the Elector. It is to this role that historians attribute his success with Johann Wilhelm and the Palatinate court. Naturally he himself also benefited from his connections and expertise. We have little information on Wiser's activity in Parma (1696), Rome (1697–98) and the Netherlands (1702–03). Official letters sent to Düsseldorf inform us that he found pictures both in The Hague and in Amsterdam, which were intended as presents from the Elector to the Bishop-Prince Christian August von Sachsen. In the end, however, instead of the *Story of Coriolanus* by Jan Brueghel and Godfried

2. *Children eating a pie*, by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. 1670–75. Canvas, 124 by 102 cm. (Alte Pinakothek, Munich).

Schalcken's *Virgin Mary reading by candlelight*, which Wiser had suggested, a devotional work was chosen.[24] It is unknown if Wiser acquired works of art for himself during his time in The Hague – his inventory includes an insignificant number of Dutch paintings. Erasmus Quellinus the Younger's *Birth of Christ* (Alte Pinakothek) and Adriaen Brouwer's lost *Card players* could have been bought in the Netherlands, while he must have obtained the aforementioned pictures by Rubens (*Portrait of a youth*) and Van Dyck (*Portrait of a woman*) in Madrid.[25]

A richer and more varied picture emerges when Wiser's other postings are taken into account. Both in Rome and Naples (1705–13) he actively sought to make acquaintances with artists and to purchase works of art. In 1697 he reports from Rome of a prayer book '*mit eigenhändigen Bildern von*

no.240). Velázquez's original is in the Prado, Madrid, and another variant is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[20] In Wiser's letter dated 16th October 1694 he mentions in his statement of accounts '*un bellissimo retrato original de Diego Velázquez*'; see Hererro García, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.85; Burke and Cherry, *op. cit.* (note 16), pp.462–83, esp. p.477, no.240, Carpio inventories 49.0172 and 115.0075. Two paintings also from the del Carpio Collection – with other works – came into the possession of Alessandro Cassano, '*negoziante di cambii*', in Naples; see B. de Dominici: *Vite dei Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti Napoletani* . . ., Naples 1742–45, III, p.561; and the del Carpio inventory of 1682–83, in Burke and Cherry, *op. cit.* (note 16), p.761, nos.623–24: '*Due quadri compagni, che rappresentano variato sorte di pesce di mano di Gioseppe Reco Pittore del Marchese de los Velez di palmi 7 e 4* . . .'.

[21] In May 1693 through the mediation of Wiser the queen sent her brother in Düsseldorf twelve old pictures and three large ones by Luca Giordano. In August 1694 Wiser visited Giordano and tried to hurry the completion of the paintings intended for Johann Wilhelm. In September 1694 the painter corrects some of the attributions of the paintings in Wiser's possession. Wiser refers to an imitation of Lucas van Leyden, painted by Luca Giordano, which deceived everyone who saw it; see Levin, *op. cit.* (note 3), 23 (1911), p.85.

[22] The remark in Wiser's inventory about the picture of the *Death of Seneca* (no.13) suggests a personal relationship: '*il meglio ch'egli habbia fatto in vita sua secondo dichiarò l'istesso Luca*'. In the catalogues of the most recent Luca Giordano exhibitions no mention is made of Giordano's relationship with Wiser or the shipments to the Palatinate; see S. Cassani, ed.: exh. cat. *Luca Giordano 1634–1705*, Naples (Museo di Capodimonte), Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) and Los Angeles (County Museum of Art) 2001–02; and A.E. Pérez Sánchez *et al.*: exh. cat. *Luca Giordano y España*, Madrid (Palacio Real) 2002.

[23] The last item in the inventory (no.172) came from Spain: '*Adultera* [. . .] *mano del Bosco*'.

[24] Levin, *op. cit.* (note 3), 23 (1911), p.33; and Tipton, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.238.

[25] Other pictures in the inventory with a Dutch or German link are a '*Calvario giudicato p. mano di Cornelio Schmidt Allievo di Michel Angelo Buonarota*' (no.27); '*un suonatore di liuto con un ragazzo ed una donna* [. . .] *guidicato di mano di Giov. Van Sieven*' (no.96); and the '*del Schwarz*' paintings (nos.126 and 166).

3. *Salome receives the head of St John the Baptist*, by Caravaggio. 1607–10. Canvas, 91.5 by 106.7 cm. (National Gallery, London).

Perugino', and sends as a gift a relief bought from Cardinal Ascanio Filomarino (1583–1666), together with chests of precious stones and an antique medallion, despite professing to have no competence in that field and preferring the study of '*Schildereyen*'.[26] Wiser has copies made of antique statues in Rome for Johann Wilhelm and is commissioned by the Elector to pay Rosalba Carriera the money owed her for the pictures from the former collection of Ferdinando Carlo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua. Wiser does not miss the opportunity to express in a letter of 1712 his admiration for the illustrious artist ('*offerendomi sempre disposto al suo piacere e servizio, senza haver la fortuna di conoscere la persona*').[27]

In 1708 Wiser made contact with the young painter Anton Clemens Lünenschloss of the Palatinate court, who studied first in Rome and then in Naples with Paolo de Matteis, making copies for the Elector.[28] This is how a connection was made between Wiser and Paolo de Matteis, who returned to Naples from Paris in 1706, and it was through Wiser that several of the painter's works reached Düsseldorf, among them a version of the famous *Hercules at the crossroads* painted in 1712 for Lord Shaftesbury ('. . . *schizzo finito d'un quadro grande che ando in Inghilterra*'; Staatsgalerie, Augsburg).[29]

It appears that most of Wiser's collection was assembled in Naples. The inventory contains forty-six works by painters coming from or working in that city, in total sixty-two pictures, by masters little known at the time outside Naples and little sought after by collectors. The paintings – some of which are identifiable – attributed in the inventory to Bernardo Cavallino, G.B. Caracciolo, Massimo Stanzione, Cesare Fracanzano, Pacecco de Rosa, Andrea Vaccaro, Bartolomeo Passante, Micco Spadaro, Aniello Falcone, Scipione Compagno and others are important both for the history of collecting and the influence of Neapolitan painting.[30] Unfortunately we have been unable to discover any details of the acquisition of certain works, which is not helped by the tumultuous nature of events in Naples, with foreign occupation and frequent changes of ruler. There is little chance of matching Wiser's paintings to the thousands of entries in Neapolitan inventories frequently of the same subjects. Contemporary sources, travel journals and biographies fail to mention either the Envoy or his collection. Although we may presume that works listed in the inventory as by Caravaggio, Domenichino, Lanfranco and Reni, for example, all of whom worked in Naples, came into Wiser's possession in Naples, we have little chance of identifying them. The same is true of the sixteenth-century paintings mentioned in the inventory, including works by Raphael, Correggio, Michelangelo, Titian, Tintoretto and Veronese. The frequent reference in the entries to '*schizzo*' or '*macchia*' usually indicates that these were small sketches or copies.[31]

There are also many unanswered questions concerning the later fate of the Wiser collection. We can only assume that on returning to the Palatine from Naples the Baron took the collection, or at least a part of it, with him. Our last piece of information dates from 1716 – when the pictures are also mentioned – and subsequently we learn that the paintings '*aus der Sammlung des Neuburgischen Barons Heinrich von Wiser*' passed into the Mannheim picture gallery of the Elector Palatine, perhaps in 1750.[32] No documents have come to light to explain how and when this happened. It is certain, however, that about ten pictures listed in the incomplete catalogue of the gallery of Mannheim published in 1756 can be identified with paintings in Wiser's collection. Taking the later 1786 and 1794 catalogues into consideration, their number is multiplied. Thus the major part of the Wiser collection must have passed into the possession of the Elector Palatine before 1756, during the reigns of either Karl Philipp (1716–42) or Karl Theodor (1742–99).[33] Subsequently the collection's destiny became intertwined with the vicissitudes of the collections of the House of Pfalz-Wittelsbach. With the extinction of the Bavarian line of the family, the Electorship was taken on by the Palatine branch and Karl Theodor moved his seat to the Bavarian capital of Munich. It is to Munich that the works from the Mannheim gallery were taken in 1799 and to Munich that those at Düsseldorf were moved in 1800. This assembly of works of art in Munich –

[26] Levin, *op. cit.* (note 3), 23 (1911), p.151; Noack, *op. cit.* (note 6), I, pp.163, 168 and 203; and Mayr, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.158.

[27] B. Sani: *Rosalba Carriera: lettere, diarii, frammenti*, Florence 1985, p.196, no.160.

[28] Anton Clemens Lünenschloss (1678–1763) from 1700 studied in Italy at the expense of Johann Wilhelm. Between 1703 and 1708 he worked at the Accademia di S. Luca, Rome, and from 1708 in Naples; see D. Richter: *Der Würzburger Hofmaler Anton Clemens Lünenschloss*, Würzburg 1938. For his connection with Wiser, see Mayr, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.155; and S. Pisani: 'Uno sconosciuto committente di Francesco Solimena a Vienna', *Paragone* 99/20 (1998), pp.68–69, note 24.

[29] E. Schleier: 'Opere di Paolo Matteis in Germania', in *Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Raffaello Causa*, Naples 1988, p.305; L. Pestilli: 'Lord Shaftesbury e Paolo Matteis: Ercole al bivio tra teoria e pratica', *Storia dell'Arte* 68 (1990), p.100; and exh. cat. *Civiltà dell '700 a Napoli, 1734–1799*, Florence 1979, p.152.

[30] Some of the names are virtually unknown (Mathia Muscolcata (Muschito), Cav.re Plantamuro, M. de Vuidi), while others do not indicate which member of a family is meant (Recco and Ruoppolo, for example).

[31] The first item in the inventory, a painting of a Madonna, '*orig.le di Raffaelle d'Urbino*', (Alte Pinakothek, Munich) is a copy of a composition by Raphael, the lost original of which seems to have been in Naples; see K. Garas: 'Sammlungsgeschichtliche Beiträge zu Raffael-Werke in Budapest', *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux Arts* 60–61 (1983), pp.41, 56 and 62. An '*Ecce Homo*' (no.112; Alte Pinakothek; inv. no.6252) listed as '*mano di Tiziano*' is also a copy of a popular composition by Titian.

[32] Levin, *op. cit.* (note 3), 20 (1905), p.231; and Kultzen, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp.51 and 39.

greatly enlarged by the merging of the Zweibrücken inheritance and the contents of the dissolved monasteries – was frequently moved around the galleries and palaces of Munich, Schleissheim, Augsburg, Aschaffenburg, Burghausen, Speyer, Erlangen and elsewhere.[34] Eventually the various provenances of the pictures were forgotten and their original attributions were altered. In spite of the existence of various inventories and catalogues, tracing individual works of art remains difficult. No summary catalogue of the entire holdings of the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen has been published. It is therefore difficult to follow the trail of the Wiser collection, which was absorbed into the gallery at Mannheim and ultimately into the vast collections of Munich. Careful analysis of the inventory makes it possible to identify about one third of the Baron's paintings in the Bavarian collections – a number which may rise if we take into account works lurking in storage or little-known provincial repositories. We must also bear in mind that in the course of the Napoleonic war and occupation, works originally belonging to Wiser may have been transferred from the collection through exchange, auctions and donations.[35] The various signatures and inscriptions found on paintings can be used as a basis for identification. A less common subject, distinctive format or additional information (for example Cavallino's scenes from Tasso, no.92; or *Hercules at the crossroads*, no.102) or dimensions can also help. If the fate of the pictures can also be traced in the old inventories or in the 1756 and 1794 catalogues from Mannheim, we can be more certain of identifying them. The incomplete catalogue of 1756 includes the paintings with the same designation of the subject (Erminia) and practically identical measurements as Wiser's inventory – for example the two scenes from Tasso attributed recently to Cavallino (as opposed to the 1786 and 1794 catalogues, in which they are attributed to Fetti).[36]

Although approximately a third of Wiser's collection can be identified, we may assume that the unidentified pictures have been dispersed. There is no sign of them in Germany. But the identification of the Caravaggio listed as no.18 does seem possible: '*L'Erodiade colla testa di Giovanni Battista ed il manigoldo mano di Michel Angelo da Caravaggio*' can be identified as the painting of that subject in the National Gallery, London (Fig.3), whose provenance has so far been traced back only to 1959, when it was in a French private collection.[37] The fact that the dimensions match and that a copy of the painting survived in the monastery of Montevergine, Naples, confirm its identity. Other paintings can be traced back to Naples: no.11 in the Wiser inventory, the *Virgin and Child*, '*mano di Giuseppe de Ribera detto il spagnoletto*' may be the picture that passed from Prince Fondi's collection in Naples to London and thence to the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Fig.4).[38] One of Ribera's large-scale compositions, known in several versions, of the *Entombment of Christ* was also in Fondi's collection in Naples and can in all probability be identified with Wiser's lost Ribera painting mentioned under no.89: '*Cristo morto colla Madonna S. Giovanni, la Maddalena e due altre mezze figure*'.[39]

4. *Virgin and Child*, by Jusepe de Ribera. c.1646. Canvas, 69.5 by 59.5 cm. (Philadelphia Museum of Art).

However, many of Wiser's paintings are still elusive, such as Cavallino's large-scale depictions of *St Sebastian* and *St Bernard*, Eugenio Cajés's *Martyrdom of St Paul* and *Martyrdom of St Bartholomew*, Carlo Dolci's *Portrait of a man*, Artemisia Gentileschi's *St Mary of Egypt*, Pacecco de Rosa's *Moses* or the *Christ on the Cross* and *Martyrdom of St Bartholomew* attributed to Poussin. It is conceivable that following Wiser's departure they remained with other works in Italy, probably Naples, and that research of the Neapolitan archives may reveal their fate. Although there is still much to learn about the collection of Baron Wiser, he can already take his rightful place in the rich history of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century art collecting and patronage.

[33] *Catalogue des peintures qui sont dans les quatre cabinets de S.A.S.E. Palatine*, Mannheim 1756; and *Description de ce qu'il y a d'intéressant et de curieux dans la Residence de Mannheim et les villes principales du Palatinat*, Mannheim 1794. See also *Pfälzische Merkwürdigkeiten, Katalog der Kurfürstlichen Bildergalerie in Mannheim*, Mannheim 1786. It seems probable that the pictures passed into the possession of the Elector Palatine when in 1743 Karl Theodor attempted to release Wiser, who had been imprisoned since 1717, under certain conditions ('*gegen Auflagen*'). Up to that time the collection must have been under sequestration, possibly in Neuburg.

[34] The most recent summary can be found in R. an der Heiden: *Die Alte Pinakothek: Sammlungsgeschichte, Bau und Bilder*, Munich 1998.

[35] In 1800 the French took seventy-two pictures from Munich; an auction of works from the collection of Maximilian, King of Bavaria, was held in Munich in 1826; while in 1852, a further 971 pictures were sold. Ribera's *Mater Dolorosa* made its way to the Gemäldegalerie in Kassel by way of exchange and also originally came from Wiser's collection.

[36] *Catalogue des peintures . . .*, *op. cit.* (note 33), pp.457 and 517.

[37] See C. Whitfield and J. Martineau, eds.: exh. cat. *Painting in Naples. From Caravaggio to Giordano*, London (Royal Academy of Arts) 1982, p.133, no.20.

[38] Canvas, 69.5 by 59.5 cm.; inv. no.E1924–3–54.; see L.N. Spinosa: *L'opera completa del Ribera*, Milan 1978, no.195; and C. Felton and W.B. Jordan, eds.: exh. cat. *Jusepe de Ribera, lo spagnoletto, 1591–1652*, Fort Worth (Kimbell Art Museum) 1982, p.219, no.35.

[39] Spinosa, *op. cit.* (note 38), p.126, no.222.

Appendix

Inventory of the collection of Baron Heinrich Franz Xavier Wiser of the Palatinate and Neuburg. (Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Oberstkammeramt Akten, H.A.Misz.12 (3590) 1–H 185).

Nota di Quadri colle loro misure

1. La Madonna in ginnocchioni col Bambino Giesù innanzi che dorme sull' erba, e S. Giovanni che dormostra col dito con un ghigno assai grazioso Orig.le di Raffaelle d'Urbino in tavola di misura palmi cinque in quadrato.
   Mannheim 1794, no.196 (Raphaël Urbino); Munich 1805, II, no.106; AP, inv. no.1129; Garas 1983, p.62, fig.49.

2. Christo condotto da manigoldi con Angeli che raccolgono il sacrosanto sangue Orig.le di Guido Reno della seconda maniera tela di palmi 7 avvantaggiati p. alto e 6 scarsi di largo.
   Mannheim 1794, no.147 (Guido Reni); Augsburg 1905, no.345; Garboli 1971, no.114; Pepper 1984, no.77, fig.104.

3. Christo flagellato con li manigoldi d'intorno Orig.le d'Andrea Vacaro tela di misura compagna al quadro di sopra.
   Mannheim 1794, no.139 (A. Vaccaro); Munich 1805, II, no.813; Schleissheim 1980, p.69, inv. no.508.

4. La Coronaz.ne di Christo con molti manigoldi mano di Michel Angelo da Caravaggio quadro cosi ben conservato che pare fatto or ora tela di palmi 6 1/2. avvantaggiati d'altezza e palmi 9. avvantaggiati di lunghezza p. traverso.
   Mannheim 1794, no.295 (B. Manfredi); Munich 1805, II, no.783; AP, inv. no.477 (Valentin de Boulogne); Alte Pinakothek 1983, p.540; Mojana 1989, no.6.

5. La Maddalena in deserto mano del Cav.r Massimo tela di palmi -8- scarsi p. alto. e 6 scarsi di largo.
   Mannheim 1794, no.127 (Cavalier Massino); Munich 1805, II, no.935; Schleissheim 1885, no.1082; Schleissheim 1980, p.68, inv. no.1319; Schütze and Willette 1992, no.A66, fig.235.

6. Christo crocefisso con la Madonna S. Giovanni e la Maddalena mano di Nicolò Poussin tela di palmi 7. avvantaggiati p.alto e 4. di largo.

7. Un' istoria d'una S.ta Vergine che colle preghiere fa cascare in pezzi l'Idoli in presenza del padre e de' fratelli mano del Domenichino imitando il Caravaggio, tela di palmi 5. d'altezza, e 6 1/2 di lunghezza. p. traverso.
   Mannheim 1794, no.170(?) (Dominichino: L'histoire du Jephté); Hartje 2004, p.387, no.D11, fig.64 (not Manfredi); AP, inv. no.5468.
8. Moise che fa scaturire l'acqua dalla Rocca con molte mezze figure mano d'Andrea Vaccaro, tela di palmi 5 d altezza e 7 di lunghezza p. traverso.
   Mannheim 1794, no.128 (J.B. Paggi); Schleissheim 1905, no.1121; Schleissheim 1914, no.3615 (G.B. Paggi).
9. Christo colla Samaritana al pozzo di Giacob, mano d'Anella de Rosa tela di misura compagna al quadro di sopra.

10. Christo morto colla Madonna S. Giovanni e la Maddalena, mano di Ludovico Caraccio, tela di palmi 3 1/2 d'altezza e 4 1/2 di lunghezza p. traverso.
    Mannheim 1756, no.49; Mannheim 1794, no.414 (L. Caracci); Schleier 1988, p.307, fig.5 (P. de Matteis); AP, inv. no.619.

11. La Madonna col Bambino Giesù, mano di Giusppe de Ribera detto il spagnoletto tela di palmi 3 d'altezza e 2.di larghezza quadro assai vago e finito ~~contro il~~ più del solito di quel pittore.
    Probably identical with the painting published in Spinosa 1978, no.195 (Philadelphia Museum of Art); Spinosa 2003, no.A292.i
    ~~La Madonna col Bambino~~

12. Christo che porta la croce mezza figura, mano d'Anibale Caraccio tavola di palmi 2 3/4 d'altezza e 2 1/3 di larghezza.
13. Il Seneca suenato con molte figure d'intorno, mano di Luca Giordano imitando il Ribera ma il meglio ch'egli habbia fatto in vita sua secondo dichiarò l'istesso Luca, palla di palmi.10. d'altezza. e 9 1/3. di larghezza.
    Mannheim 1794, no.159 (Joseph Ribera); Munich 1805, II, no.1057 (Ribera); Schleissheim 1980, p.61, inv. no.516 (Luca Giordano); Ferrari and Scavizzi 1992, no.A5, fig.63.

14. Il Catone sbudellato con molte figure d'intorno, mano di Paolo de Matteis palla di palmi 10.d'altezza e 9. di larghezza.
    Mannheim 1794, no.103 (Paul de Mattheis); Munich 1805, II, no.811 (P. de Matteis); Schleissheim 1885, no.1131; AP, inv. no.1245; Schleier 1988, p.308, fig.6.

15. S. Pietro penitente mano di Giuseppe de Ribera tela di palmi 4 1/2. d'alt.a e 4. scarsi di larghezza.
    Mannheim 1794, no.130 (Joseph Spagnioletto); AP, inv. no.785; Munich 1963, pp.60–63 (inv. no.785) and figs.40 and 41 (F. Collantes?); Spinosa 1978, no.340 (after Ribera); Schleissheim 1980, p.81, inv. no.785 (circle of Ribera).
16. Sta Maria Egizziaca, mano d'Artemisia Genstilesca tela di palmi misura compagna al quadro di sopra.

17. Sta Maddalena, mano d'Antonio van Dyck tela di ~~palmi~~ 4 1/3. d'alt.a 3 1/4. di larghezza.
    Schleissheim 1905, no.1030 (A. van Dyck); Schaeffer 1909, fig.67; Schleissheim 1914, no.4030 (copy after van Dyck, from the fürstbischöfliches Schloss, Bamberg).

18. L'Erodiade colla testa di S. Gio: Batta ed il manigoldo mano di Michel Angelo da Caravaggio, tela di palmi 2 3/4. d'altezza 3 1/2. di lunghezza p. traverso.

19. Un putto che dorme, mano del Pesarese allievo di Guido, tela di misura compagna al quadro di sopra.
20. Altro putto che dorme, mano di Guido Reno della prima: sua maniera tela di palmi 2 scarsi d'altezza e 3. lunghezza traverso.
    Mannheim 1794, no.363 (Guido Reni); Reber 1913, pp.198–99.
    NB nel copiare s'è cambiato l'ord.e dov.do star questo di sopra p intelligenza della mis.a
21. Una mezza figura d'un putto che alza il braccio col pugno serrato mano di Nicolò Poussin, tela di palmo, 3/4. d altezza, 1/4 di largh.a

22. Il ritratto di Genaro Annese Grale dell' artigria. del Popolo Napolitano in tempo delle rivoluz.ne dipinto a meraviglia mano d'Añiello Falcone, tela di palmi 2 1/2 d'altezza. 2.di larghezza.
    Mannheim 1794, no.155 (Diegue Velasquez: Portrait de Massaniello); Munich 1805, II, no.1184 (Velázquez); Munich 1908, no.1313 (Spanish, c.1660); Mayer 1913, p.183, fig.3; AP, inv. no.525; Munich 1963, p.242 (as not Spanish).
23. Altro ritratto di donna mano di Paolo Veronese, tela di palmi 2 d alt.a 1 2/3 di larghezza.
24. Un ritratto d'huomo armato ~~e d'una donna~~, mano di Giorgione da Castelfranco, tela di palmi due d'altezza 1 2/3. scarsi di larghezza.
25. Due teste in profilo d'un huomo e d'una donna mano di Paolo Veronese tele di palmo 1 d'altezza 1/2. di larghezza.
    Mannheim 1794, nos.605–06 (J. Tintoret); Munich 1805, II, no.239 (Cignani) and no.240 (Borozio; Barocci).
26. Una Madre dolorosa mano di Francesco di Maria tela di palmi.3. scarsi d'altezza. 2. scarsi di larghezza.
27. Un Calvario dove si rappresenta Christo sentato sulla croce aspettando ad esservi inchiodato, colla Maddona tramortita e molte altre figure quadro di pittura squisita e meditazne assai divota giudicato p. mano di Cornelio Schmidt Allievo di Michel Angelo Buonarota, vi è pero una figura ~~du~~ d'un putto che camina portando il rotolo col I.N.R.I. che pare di Tintoretto: tela di palmi 3 1/2 d'altezza 4 di lunghezza p. traverso.
    Mannheim 1794, no.597 (Muziani); Munich 1805, II, no.420 (Muziano); Schleissheim 1885, no.1025; Schleissheim 1905, no.565 (1025); Schleissheim 1914, no.3565.
28. La Madonna col Bambino in braccio, mano di Raffaelle d'Urbino, rame alto pollici 14. largo 11.
29. Davide che suona dell' arpa con coro d'Angeli che Ballano

in terra e S[ta] Cecilia in gloria con coro d'Angeli che cantano e toccano di vary stromenti, mano di Federico Zucchero, rame alto pollici 13. largo .10.
Wegner 1960, pp.42–51, note 119.

30. Un Ecce Homo mano dell Correggio, rame alto pollici .8. 6 1/4. 31 La Madonna col Bambino in braccio S. Giovanni Seraphini ed una Colomba mano d Andrea Sacchi, rame ottangolo alto pollici .8. largo 6.
Mannheim 1794, no.269 (F. Cignani, Ste. Vierge avec l'enfant Jesus); Augsburg 1905, no.383 (Cignani).
32. Christo che porta la Croce mezza figura, mano di Tiziani tavola alta pollici 15. larga. 6.
33. La Madre dolorosa, mano di Gio. Bellino, tavola di misura Compagna all' anteced.[te]
34. Intreccio di Nimfe con[un] Fiume in un bosco, chiaroscuro di Pollidoro da Caravaggio, tela alta pollici 9. lunga 15. p. traverso.
Mannheim 1794, no.590 (Carravagio); Munich 1805, II, no.262 (Polidor Caldara); Schleissheim 1885, no.979; Schleissheim 1905, no.561 (Polidoro Caldara/Caravaggio).
35. La favola di Piramo e Thisbe, mano del Domenichino, tavola alta pollici .23. larga 18.
36. L'Adoraz.[ne] de Magi, mano di Mico Spadaro, rame alto pollici 8 lungo 9 p. traverso.
Mannheim 1794, no.376 (F. Zuccari); Augsburg 1905, no.368 (Italienisch, um 1650); Sestieri and Dappra 1994, no.180.

37. Due Paesi con figure, mano di Salvator Rosa, tele alte piedi.2. larghe pollici 19.
38. La Favola di Calisto, figure piccioline in un pase, mano del Domenichino tela alta pollici 15 lunga 23 p. traverso.
39. La Madonna col Bambino in braccio [S. Giuseppe] S. Giovanni ed un agnello macchia di Paolo Veronese tela alta pollici 10 larga 8.
40. Altra macchia dell' istessa misura e mano e colle med.[me] figure, ma con qualche mutaz.[ne] di pensiere.
41. Altra macchia dell' istessa misura e mano rappresentante un S Francesco in ginocchioni.
42. Altra macchia dell' istessa mano dove si rappresenta un huomo che fuma tabaco ed una donna ~~chegli~~ [che gli] tiene il fuoco sulla pippa, tela alta pollici 6.lunga p. traverso.
43. Altra macchia compagna dell' istessa, mano dove si rappresenta una donna che tiene il bicchiere in mano ed una marinaro chegli versa da bevere.
44. Un S. Giovanni in deserto sentato, mano d'Aniello Falcone tela alta pollici 14 lunga 19. p. traverso.
45. Il Trionfo della Croce dissegno di Daniele da Voltera alto pollici 9. lunga un piede.
46. Il Sogno dell Pincerna e dell panietere di Faraone mano d'Annibale Caraccio, tela alta pollici 25. larga 14.
47. Un quadro di caccia d'Uccellame, mano di Monsù David tela ~~alta~~ alta piedi .2. pollici ~~.25 larga 14~~ uno, lunga piedi .2. pollici 5.
48. Quatro Paesi colla favola d'Adone seguita, cioè divisa in vary accidenti mano di Francesco Albani, tele alte palmi 4 lunghe 6 p. traverso.
49. La Cena dell Sig.[re]. mano di Leandro Bassano, tela alta palmi 3 1/4. lunga 5 p. traverso.
50. Dodici quadretti d'animali mano di Giuseppe Tassoni tele alte palmi due lunghe.3. scarsi.
~~Due Paesi mano di Salvator Rosa tele della misura di sopra.~~
51. S.[ta] Maddalena in deserto figura intiera con bellissimo paese, mano di Tintoretto, tela alta palmi sei scarsi, larga .4.
Mannheim 1794, no.476 (Scarsellini).
52. La Famiglia Sacra con Angeli mano di Federico Zucchero, tela alta palmi 6.larga. 4 1/2.
53. Due quadri Compagni rappresentanti l'uno l' ecce Homo con molte figure l'altro il Battessimo di S. Giovanni con più figure mano del Parmeggianino, tele alte palmi 5 3/4. larghe 4. scarsi.
Mannheim 1794, no.225 (Barth Schidoni), no.530 (Carlo Dolce), no.542 (Dom.Zannetti); Schleissheim 1980, p.57, inv. no.2335 (A. Ciampelli), and pp.57–58, inv. no.2337 (A. Ciampelli).

54. Due rami rappresentanti l'uno la Stragge dell' Innocenti, l'altro, Il Martirio di S. Gennaro con molte figure e colla zolfatora di Puzzuolo al naturale, mano di Scipione Compagno, alti palmi .3 1/3. lunghi 4. e 2 dita.
55. Un Paese con figure, mano di Salvator Rosa, tela alta palmi 1 2/3. lunga 2 3/4 56 Altro Paese con figure mano di Mico Spadaro, tela della misura di sopra.
57. Adamo ed Eva nel Paradiso terrestre, mano d'Andrea Vaccaro tela alta palmi 2 3/4.lunga 3 3/4.
58. Undici tondi rappresentanti l'Istoria di Giuseppe il Casto macchie del Cav.[r] Plantamuro, tele di Palmi undici [di] diametro.
59. Una Favola del Tasso mano di Gio: Batta Caracciuolo, tavola alta pollici 11. Lunga .16.
60. Un paese col Bagno di Diana mano di Paolo de Matteis tela alta palmi .8.lunga 11 3/4.
Mannheim 1794, no.214 (Mattheis & Maratti); Munich 1805, II, no.495 (Maratti); AP, inv. no.1242; Schleier 1988, figs.3 and 4 (Paolo de Matteis).

61. La Creaz.[ne] delli animali, mano di Giacomo Bassano tela alta palmi. 5 3/4. lunga .8.
62. Due Apostoli, mano di Guido Reno della prima maniera, tele alte palmi 3 scarsi larghe .2 1/2.
63. La Maddalena in un tondo, mano di Guido Reno della seconda maniera tela di palmi .2. di diametro.
Mannheim 1756, no.223 (Rundbild); Mannheim 1794, no.207 (Guido Reni); Augsburg 1905, no.2346 (Reni); Schleissheim 1914, no.2346.
64. Altro tondo colla testa di S. Pietro penitente, mano di Bartolomeo Passante dell' istessa misura.
Mannheim 1756, no.269 (Bartolomé Bassante); Mannheim 1794, no.130 (Joseph Spagnioletto: St. Pierre), no.206 (Joseph Ribera: St. Pierre); Augsburg 1905, no.367 (L. Giordano); Schleissheim 1914, no.2367.
65. Altri due Tondi rappresentanti due Favole del Tasso, mano di Giuseppe Piscopo tele di palmi .2. scarsi di diametro.
66. S. Sebastiano con S[ta]. Irene, ed una Vecchia Orig.[le] di mano ignota tela alta palmi 6 3/4. larga 5 3/4.
67. Altro S. Sebastiano con S[ta]. Irene ed altra figura in lontananza, mano di Bernardo Cavallino, tela alta palmi .5. scarsi, larga 4. scarsi.
68. Davide sentato col teschio di Goliath e Battaglia in lontananza, mano d'Aniello Falcone, tela alta palmi 3. lunga .3 3/4.
69. Altra Battaglia dell istessa mano, tela di misura compagna.
70. La Madre dolorosa, mano di Giuseppe de Ribera tela alta palmi 2 1/3. larga 2 scarsi.
Munich until 1803, in exchange to Gemäldegalerie, Kassel, inv. no.GK 590; Spinosa 1978, no.126; Schnackenburg 1996, GK 590; Spinosa 2003, no.A213.

71. Un Paese colla Parabola del Samaritano, mano del Domenichino tela alta palmi 3. larga .2. 1/4.
72. Due quadri d'Animali, mano di Monsù de Leon tele alte palmi 5. lunghe .4. scarsi.
Mannheim 1794, no.38 (Leone: Des bestiaux), no.81 (Leone: Du betail).
73. Due quadri di pesci, mano del Recco tele alte palmi .2. scarsi, lunghe 3. scarsi.
74. Un Paese di Mathia Muscolcato, tela alta palmi .2. lunga 3 1/3.
75. Un Sacrificio con molte figure, mano di Bartolomeo Passante, tela alta palmi 8 3/4. larga .6 3/4.
76. Moisè con molte figure mano di Baccico de Rosa tela alta palmi 4 3/4. lunga 5 3/4.
77. S.[ta] Maddalena, mano d'Andrea Vaccaro tela alta palmi 3 3/4 larga 2 3/4.
Mannheim 1794, no.539 (D'après C. Dolce); Munich 1838, no.673 (Cignani); Schleissheim 1905, no.392 (Vaccaro); Augsburg 1912, no.1260 (Cignani); AP, inv. no.392.

78. Due teste di Rè, mano del Cav.r Gio. Batta. Baglioni tele alte palmi 2 3/4. larghe 1 3/4.
79. S. Brunone, mano di Bartolomeo Passante, tela alta palmi 2 3/4 larga .2.1/4.
Mannheim 1794, no.234 (Spagnoletto); Munich 1805, II, no.426 (Giordano); Munich 1838, no.391 (Ribera); Munich 1963, pp.165–67 and figs. 31, 34 and 35 (Ribera: St Peter of Alcantara); AP, inv. no.909; Spinosa 1978, no.348; Schleissheim 1980, p.81, inv. no.909 (Ribera: St Peter of Alcantara).
80. Altra Vecchio dell'istessa mano e misura.
81. Un Paese coll' Istoria dell' Emmaus, mano del Tiziano, tela alta palmi 4 lunga 6. scarsi.
82. Il Martirio di S. Bartolomeo, mano di Paolo de Matteis, tela alta palmi 6 3/4. larga .4 3/4.
83. Un Ritratto di Ministro colli occhiali posti, mano di Tiziano tela alta palmi .4 1/2. larga .3 2/3.
Mannheim 1794, no.546 (Bordonne: Portrait d'homme avec des lunettes).
84 Altro ritratto d'un ministro dell' istessa mano tela alta palmi .4.2. dita larga . palmi . 3 .
~~S.ta Catharina da Siena, mano del Ribera, tela alta palmi 4 larga 3 3/4.~~
85. Due quadri di Fiori e Frutti, mano del Ruopolo, tele alte palmi .5. lunghe 4.
86. Un tondo colla testa di S. Pietro, mano di Cesare Fraganzano, tavola di pollici .8. di diametro.
87. La Battaglia di Sansone, mano d'Aniello Falcone, tela alta palmi .3. scarsi lunga 4. scarsi.
88. La Predica di S. Gio.Batta con molte figure, mano di Giuseppe Piscopo tela alta palmi .3. scarsi lunga .5.
89. Christo morto, colla Madonna S. Giovanni, la Maddalena e due altre mezze figure, mano di Giuseppe de Ribera. tela alta palmi .7. lunga 10.
90. Un ritratto di Giovenotto, mano di Tiziano, tela alta palmi .3. lunga .2.
91. Altro ritratto d'una Regina, mano pure di Tiziano dipinto in lamina d'argento alta pollici .4 larga .3.
92. Due Tondi rappresentanti due favole del Tasso, mano di Bernardo Cavallino, tela di palmi .2. di diametro.
Mannheim 1756, nos.232 and 251 (D. Fetti); Mannheim 1794, nos.457 and 514 (D. Fetti); Munich 1838, nos.657 and 664 (Fetti); AP, inv. nos.960 and 964; Munich 1975, figs.109 and 110.
93. Due Battaglie mano del Borgogne, tele alte palmo 1 3/4. Lunghe. 1 3/4.
Mannheim 1794, no.31(?), no.41(?), no.91(?).
94. Adamo ed Eva. come vengono scacciati dal Paradiso, della scuola di Rubens, esi giudicherebbe di luistesso, tanto ha della sua . maniera se non visi trovasse posto un altro nome in due ora . . . . tela alta piedi .6. lunga .6 1/2.
95. Davide in piedi col teschio di Goliath, mano di Guido Reno della seconda maniera, tela alta piedi 6 3/4. larga .4 3/4.
96. Un Suonatore di liuto con un ragazzo ed una donna .che. cantano giudicato p. mano di Giovanni van Sieven tela alta piedi .3 1/2. lunga 3 3/4.
Augsburg 1905, no.593 (M. Sweerts); Augsburg 1912, no.2593 (Flemish).
97. Un ritratto d'un giovane pittore giudicato dell' istessa mano, tela alta piedi .1 3/4 1arga .1 1/2.
Mannheim 1794, no.148 (Jean van der Balhn); Schleissheim 1885, no.328 (Jan van Daelen); Schleissheim 1905, no.1039 (Jan van Dalem); Schleissheim 1914, no.4039.
98. Due quadri di Caccia d'Uccelli, mano fiamenga squisita, tele alte piedi 2 1/2 larghe .1 3/4.
99. Altro pure d'uccellame dell'istessa mano, tela alta piedi .1 3/4 larga .1 1/4.
100. Un levriere sentato che guarda in sù verso una mano che ~~lacarezza~~ l'accarezza mano di Rubens, tela alta piedi .4. larga .1 3/4.
101. Un Paese coll' Istoria di Tobia, mano di Tiziano, tela alta piedi .1 3/4 lunga 3.





102. Ercole che assalta ~~lacare~~ le gare della Virtù e de' piaceri, mano di Paolo de Matteis, ed è schizzo finito d'un quadro grande che andò in Inghilterra, tela alta piedi .1 2/3. lunga .2.
De Dominici 1742–45, IV, p.329; Mannheim 1794, no.223 (Paul de Mattheis: Un Hercule); Augsburg 1905, no.397; Croce 1923, p.24; Schleier 1988, pp.305 and 308, note 5. Replicas in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and Leeds City Art Gallery.
103. La Deposizione dalla Croce di S.cto Andrea, mano di Luca Giordano, sul gusto di Giuseppe de Ribera, palla alta piedi .8 1/2 larga .7.
Mannheim 1794, no.213 (Luc. Giordano: St. André); Munich 1805, II, no.964 (Ribera); Munich 1975, p.51 and fig.107; AP, inv. no.154 (aus der Sammlung des Wiser); Ferrari and Scavizzi 1992, no.A127, fig.204 (acquistato nel 1750 dalla collezione del barone Heinrich von Wiser di Neuburg, poi nella Galleria di Mannheim).
104. Il Martirio di S. Paolo giudicato, di mano d'Eugenio Cachese Fiorentino, tela alta piedi 6 3/4. larga .4.
105. Il Martirio di S. Bartolomeo, dell' istessa, mano tela alta piedi 6 3/4. larga .3 3/4.
Mannheim 1794, no.577 (P.F. Molla: St Barthélèmi) (?).
106. S. Bernardo figura intiera in ginocchioni abbracciando la Croce, mano di Bernardo Cavallino, tela alta piedi 5 2/4 larga 3 1/3.
107. Un ritratto d'un personaggio Cav.re dell'ord.~~re~~e di S. Stefano figura intiera in piedi, mano di Carlin Dolce, tela alta piedi 5 1/2. larga 3 3/4.
108. S. Andrea figura sin' alle ginocchia, mano di Guido Reno della prima maniera, tela alta piedi .4 1/3. larga .3 1/3.
109. Christo che porta la Croce con più altre mezze figure d'intorno, mano incerta, tela alta piedi .4. 1/3. larga. 3 1/3.
Mannheim 1794, no.156 (G. Bassano: Jesus portant sa croix); Munich 1971; AP, inv. no.52.10.
110. S. Sebastiano assaetato mezza figura mano di Luca Giordano imitando lo Spagnoletto, tela alta piedi . 4 1/6 larga 3 1/3.
Mannheim 1794, no.277 (Remi Langian: St. Sebastien); Munich 1958, no.5136; Ferrari and Scavizzi 1992, no.A115, fig.192.
111. Il ritratto di Fernan Cortès conquistatore del Mexico, mano di Tintoretto tela alta piedi .4. larga. 3 1/2.
Mannheim, 1794, no.602 (J. Tintoret: Tête d'homme) (?).
112. L' Ecce Homo con Pilato e due altre mezze figure, mano di Tiziano, tela alta piedi. 3. 5/6. larga .3.1/4.
Mannheim 1780, no.154; Mannheim 1786, no.225; Mannheim 1794, no.225 (Barth. Schidone); Augsburg 1905, no.305; Munich 1971, pp.194–95; AP, inv. no.6252 (Tizian-Nachahmer).
113. La Madonna col Bambino in braccio, e S. Giuseppe a canto mezze figure al naturale, mano di Giacomo Bassano, tela alta piedi.3. pollici. 1. larga piedi due pollici .5.
114. Due ragazzi che mangiano un pasticcio, con un cane appreso, mano di Diego Morillo quel famoso Pittore Sevillano tela alta piedi .4. larga .3 1/3.
Mannheim 1756, no.154; Mannheim 1794, no.422 (Morillos: Deux petits garçons mangenant du paté); Munich 1805, II, no.1160; Munich 1838, no.376; Munich 1963, pp.121–25, and figs.83–86; AP, inv. no.487; Munich 1972, pp.85–86, no.487.
115. S. Girolamo, mano d'Antonio Antolinez Spag.lo tela alta piedi .3 2/3 larga .4 1/4.
Mannheim 1780, p.46, no.218 (Antolinez), quoted by Soehner in Munich 1963, pp.42–43; Munich 1805, II, no.709; Munich 1838, no.381 (Antolinez); Munich 1908, no.1311 (Antolinez); Munich 1963, pp.40–43 and figs.94–95 (Cerezo); Schleissheim 1980, p.80, inv. no.959 (D. Polo).
116. Un pastore sentato sull'erba con animali d'intorno mano del Tassoni, tela alta piedi .4 1/5. lunga .5. 5/6.
117. Il ritratto del conte duca d'Olivarez, a cavallo, mano di Diego Velasquez, tela alta piedi .4. larga 3.
Mannheim 1780, no.19; Mannheim 1794, no.524







(Velasquez: Portrait d'un Espagnol); Munich 1963, pp.100–05, fig.49; AP, inv. no.1794 (Mazo copy); Schleissheim 1980, p.80 (J.B. Martinez del Mazo?); probably from the collection of Marqués del Carpio (see Pita Andrade 1952).

118. Il ritratto in miniatura di fra Gregorio Gilbert Francese fatto da lui med.mo e ~~regalto~~ regalato p. memoria all' Almirante di Castiglia padre dell'ultimo difunto, poi donato da questo al Bne de Wiser p.cosa singolare alto piedi ~~du~~ due pollici 3.largo.1-10.

Mannheim 1756, no.173; Mannheim 1794, no.526 (Pére Gilbert. Son portrait); Munich Nat.-Mus. 1908, no.516. Inscription on the reverse: '*P. Gregorius Gilbert Parisinus Augustinian* [. . .] *se ipsum pingebat Madriti anno sal. 1673*'.

119. Due quadri compagni di tapeti, arme, libbri stromenti di musica, vasi d'argento, confitture etc.mano di M. de ~~Vuidi~~ Vuidi tele alte piedi .3.pollici .9 1/2. lunghe piedi .5. pollici 3 1/2.
Mannheim 1794, no.19–20; Munich 1805, II, no.77–78 (Franz Maltese); Schleissheim 1885, nos.1109 and 1110 (Francesco Maltese), 72 by 96 cm.; the size is not identical with AP, inv. nos.1117 and 1118.

120. Un ragazzo figura intiera in piedi con un zimbalo moresco in mano di Bernardo Cailò, tela alta piedi 3. ~~pollici~~ larga 2.

Munich 1838, no.371 (Velázquez); Augsburg 1905, no.398 (Antonio Amorosi); Munich 1908, no.1296; Heimbürger 1988, no.110 (Bernhard Keil); AP, inv. no.1004.

121. Un ritratto d'una Dama Spagnuola, mano d'Alonso Schanchez, tela alta piedi .2. pollici .5. larga .1-11.

Mannheim 1780, no.546; Augsburg 1905, no.297; Augsburg 1912, no.2297 (Katharina Michaela); Munich 1963, pp.178–80 and figs.9–11; AP, inv. no.5282 (Sánchez Coello, Keil).

122. Il ritratto del Principe Guglielmo d'Oranges, mano pure d'Alonso Sanchez, tela alta piedi uno pollici .9. larga .1-3.
Mannheim 1780, no.495; Munich 1963, p.242, Sanchez Coello (as not Spanish); AP, inv. no.5108 (Niederländisch).

123. L'ecce Homo con altra mezza figura, mano d'Antonio van Dyck, tela alta piedi .2. pollici 1 1/2. larga piedi .2. pollici 4 1/2.

124. S. Francesco mezza figura, mano di Guido Reno della seconda maniera, tela alta piedi .2. pollici .1. larga. 1-9.

Probably identical with Mannheim 1794, no.494 (G.Reni: St. François d'Assise); referring to Mannheim 1756, Soehner claims in Munich 1963, pp.218–23 and figs.56–57, that the picture was on display at Mannheim; AP, inv. no.504 (Zurbarán).

125. S.ta Lucia, mano del Escalante Spag.lo tela alta piedi .2. larga 1 1/2.

126. Due ritratti compagni d'un Conte e d'una Contessa di Schwarzemburg mano del Schwarz, tele alte piedi .2. larghe 1 3/4.

127. Un ritratto d'una Donna toccato via, mano di van Dyck, pure regalo dell' Alm.te tavola dell'istessa misura.
Nb s'e cambiato l'orde

128. Altro ritratto d'un giovane assai finito mano del Rubens, regalo dell' Alm.te, tavola alta piede uno pollici .4 1/2. larga 1-1 1/2.

Mannheim 1756, no.41 (Rubens); Mannheim 1794, no.176; Munich 2002, p.280; AP, inv. no.341. Copy by Rubens of painting by Willem Key.

129. Altro ritratto d'un huomo con collaro, mano del Velasquez tela alta piede .1. pollici .16 1/2. larga .1-3.

Mannheim 1780, no.511; Mannheim 1794, no.161 or no.524; Munich 1805, II, no.719 (Velasquez: Brustbild); AP, inv. no.920; Munich 1963, pp.200–04 and figs.42 and 44 (Velázquez-Atelier).

130. Un giovane con un dissegno in mano, mano d'Antonio Amoroso, tela alta piede .1. pollici 6.1/2. Larga.1-3.
Mannheim 1794, no.537 or no.522 or no.543 (Amorozzi); Munich 1805, II, no.27(?).

131. Un busto d'uomo con golilla, mano del Velasquez, tela alta piede .1. pollici .3. larga piede uno.

132. Una testa d'Apolline in profilo, mano di Federico Barroccio, alta piede l. pollici 2. larga pollici .10.

133. Una testa di Donna mano incerta, alta piede .1. larga pollici .10 1/2.

134. Un busto di Donna, mano incerta, tela alta piede .1. pollici 5.1/3. larga .1.

135. Una testa di Vecchio, mano del Palma, tavola alta . piede 1. pollici 2. larga pollici .10.

136. Altra testa di Vecchio, mano di Pietro da Cortona tavola ottangola alta pollici .10. larga .7 1/2.

137. Altra testa di Donna, mano incerta, alta pollici .11. larga .8 1/2.

138. Un ritratto del famoso Dierix Cornaert, mano ignota, tavola alta pollici .13 1/2. larga .11.

139. Un Busto di Giovane a pastello, mano del Correggio alto pollici .14 1/2. largo .20.

140. Un busto di Vecchio, mano di Polidoro da Caravaggio, tavola alta pollici .14 1/2. larga .10 1/2.

141. L'Orat.ne dell' Orto, mano di Michel Angelo Bonarota, tavola alta piedi 1 1/3. lunga .2 1/4.
Schleissheim 1905, no.557 (after Michelangelo Buonarroti); Schleissheim 1914, no.3557 (after Venusti).

142. Il Parnasso, mano di Perin del Vago, tavola alta piede uno pollici 5. lunga piedi .2. pollici .4.

Mannheim 1756, no.42; Mannheim 1794, no.119 (Pierrin del Bagha: Le mont Parnasse); Munich 1971, pp.120–21; AP, inv. no.40 (attributed to A. Schiavone).

143. S. Girolamo nella sua grota a lume di notte, mano del Correggio, rame alto pollici .16 1/2. largo .11 1/2.

144. La Fuga in Egitto, mano del Cav.r Lanfranco, tavola alta pollici 9 1/2. lunga 15. 1/2.

145. S. Girolamo con un Angelo mezze figure, mano del Domenichino, ramo alto pollici .11. largo 8.

Mannheim 1756, no.127; Mannheim 1794, no.431 (Dominiquino); Munich 1975, fig.97; AP, inv. no.1017; Pepper 1984, p.XX (attributed to Domenichino).

146. L'Adulterio di Venere con Marzo, mano d'Annibale Caraccio, tavola alta pollici 11. lunga 14.

147. S. Martino a Cavallo, della scuola di Raffaelle d'Urbino /. pare anzi di lui stesso/. tavola alta piedi 1. 1/3. lunga 1 3/4.

148. La Madonna moribonda con tutti li Apostoli d'intorno, mano d'Alberto Durer, pietra paragone alta pollici .9. larga 7.

Mannheim 1756, no.118; Mannheim 1794, no.417 (A. Dürer: La Sainte Vierge mourante); Schleissheim 1905, p.113; Munich 1998, p.563 (Unbekannter Maler); AP, inv. no.716.

149. Il Martirio di S. Bartolomeo con molte figure, mano di Nicolò Poussin tela alta piedi 1 2/3. lunga 2 1/2.

150. S. Tomaso che mette la mano nel fianco del Salvatore con tutti li altri Apostoli d'intorno e la Maddalena in ginocchioni: di questo se s'è trascurato di ~~serviere~~ scrivere la misura e la mano.
Schleissheim 1885, no.1085 (Neapolitanisch, um 1650, 119 x 140) (?).
~~L'Incendio Trojano, mano di Tiziano del sue prime opere tela alta piedi 1 3/4. lunga . 2 1/2.~~

151. Due Battaglie Compagne, mano del Falconetto, tele alte piedi .2 1/2. lunghe 3 1/4.

Schleissheim 1885, nos.1097 and 1098 (Angelo Falcone).

152. Una Scaramuccia a cavallo, mano d'Andrea Schiavone tela alta pollici 11. larga .8.

153. Quatro Scaramuccie Compagne, mano di Cornelio de Waal, tele alte piede .1. pollici .10. lunghe .2-8.

154. Una mina che Salta con Scaramuccia in lontananza a lume di Luna chi la stima dell'istesso Corn.o de Waal, e chi di mano Superiore tela alta piedi .2 1/6. lunga .4.

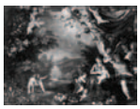
155. L'Istoria di Balaam, mano del Schedone tela alta piedi .1. 1/2. lunga 2.

156. La Sepoltura di Nostro Signore, mano di Giacomo Bassano tela alta piedi .2 5/6. larga .2 1/4.
Mannheim 1780, no.138; Mannheim 1786, no.162; Mannheim 1794, no.162 (G. Bassano); Munich 1971, pp.55–56 and fig.48 (Bassano Werkstatt); AP, inv. no.5209.

157. Il Camino del Calvario, mano di Leandro Bassano, tela di misura compagna al quadro di sopra.
Mannheim 1786, no.156 (G. Bassano); Munich 1971, p.54 and fig.47; AP, inv. no.5210 (Bassano: Werkstatt)

158. Due Quadretti Compagni che representano la Favola di Giasone col Drago, mano di Salvator Rosa, tele alte pollici .18. larghe .10.
Mannheim 1794, no.572 (F. Lauri) and no.579 (S. Rosa); Augsburg 1905, nos.378–79 (F. Lauri).
159. Un altarino di tavole d'Ebano che rappresenta in mezza la Sepoltura di Nostro Signore, e sulleporticelle li Profetti Profeti Giona e Geremia, mano di Michel' Angelo Bonarota: non sene trova notata la misura.
160. La Cena dell'Emmaus schizzo di Tiziano, tela alta pollici .11 1/2 lunga 16.

161. Christo che ajuta S. Giuseppe nel mestiere di falegname, mano di Monsù Teodoro tela alta pollici .18. larga .11.
162. La Fuga in Egitto, mano d'Antonio Caraccio, rame tondo, di piedi .1 1/2. di diametro.
163. La Sepoltura di Nostro Signore Schizzo, di mano incerta, rame alto pollici .9. largo .7 1/2.
164. Un S. to Sepolcro, mano d'Enerico Franck, rame alto pollici .9. largo 7 1/2.
Mannheim 1756, no.289; Schleissheim 1914, no.4005; Härting 1989, no.227; AP, inv. no.1995.
165. La Madonna col Bambino s.Gio.Batta. S.ta Elisabeth. S. Giuseppe ed Angeli, mano del Rotenhamer, rame alto pollici .4 largo 7 1/2.
Mannheim 1794, no.280(?) or no.599(?); Schleissheim 1905, no.215(?); Schleissheim 1914, no.3215.



166. L'Epifania, mano del Schwarz, tavola alta piedi .2 1/6. larga .1 2/3.
167. Un huomo ed una Donna che giuocano alle carte con due altre figure che stano a guardar, mano del Prauer, tavola alta piedi .2 1/4. larga .1 2/3.
168. S. Onufrio, mano del Mielle, tavola alta pollici .23. larga .11.
169. Un Ballo di Ninfe figure piccole Schizzo di Pietro da Cortona in tela . non sene trova notata la misura.
170. La Madonna col Bambino in braccio S. Giuseppe a Canto, mano del Viviano, tela alta pollici 9 1/2. larga .7 1/2.
171. La Natività di Nostro Sig.re mano del Quillinus, in tela non sene trova, notata la misu.
Mannheim 1780, no.302; Augsburg 1905, no.481 (E. Quellinus, 1632); Neuburg an der Donau 2005; AP, inv. no.4850.

172. Una Venere che dorme in bosco con 4 amorini, della scuola di Rubens, tavola alta piedi .2. lunga .2 1/3.
173. L'Adultera dell'Evangelio con molte figure a chiaroscuro mano del Bosco, tavola alta pollici .20. lunga 14 1/2.

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Delacroix, 'J.' and 'Still life with lobsters'

by MICHÈLE HANNOOSH and BERTRAND and LORRAINE SERVOIS

5. *Still life with lobsters*, by Eugène Delacroix. 1827. Canvas, 80.5 by 106.5 cm. (Musée du Louvre, Paris).

'I've finished the General's animal picture', Delacroix wrote to his friend Charles-Raymond Soulier on 28th September 1827, 'and I've dug up a rococo frame which I am having regilded and which will do wonderfully. It has already struck the fancy of a store of collectors and I think that it will be amusing at the Salon'.[1] As Delacroix here suggests, the *Still life with lobsters* (Fig.5) is a very curious painting. While lobsters sometimes figure in still-life painting, usually on a table with game or fruit, Delacroix's picture is very different.[2] Two enormous cooked lobsters lie in the foreground of a distant landscape depicting a hunting scene; the lobsters are surrounded by a pheasant, a jay and a hare, a hunting rifle, a tasselled mesh game-bag and a Scottish plaid; a lone (live) lizard occupies the foreground; the perspective is from high up, looking out over the countryside. The picture makes little narrative or iconographical sense: although one may, as others have done, invoke a 'British' theme in the hunters, arms and plaid, the prominent lobsters are wholly incongruous with these other elements.[3] The brilliantly

The authors thank Bénédict Derieux for her help with research for this article, and the owner of the 'album de Beffes' for graciously enabling us to study it.

[1] '*J'ai achevé le tableau d'animaux du général et je lui ai déterré un cadre rococo que je fais redorer et qui fera merveille. Il a déjà donné dans l'œil à une provision d'amateurs et je crois que cela sera drôle au Salon*'; A. Joubin, ed.: *Correspondance générale de Eugène Delacroix*, Paris 1932–38, I, pp.196–97 (cited hereafter as Joubin).

[2] Works entitled *Still life with lobster*, by Anne Vallayer-Coster and Jan Davidsz de Heem, are in the Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo OH. The Joconde database of works of art in French collections lists sixteen other still-life paintings with lobsters executed before Delacroix's, mostly by Dutch artists of the seventeenth century; only one, from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, contains a hint of landscape. Artstor contains a further ten, none of which are in a landscape. In the catalogue of the 1827–28 Salon, Delacroix's painting was entitled '*Tableau de nature morte*'.

[3] The 'British' character of the picture was noted as early as E. Moreau-Nélaton's *Delacroix raconté par lui-même*, Paris 1916, I, p.81; see also L. Johnson: *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix. A Critical Catalogue*, Oxford 1982–2002, I, no.161 (cited hereafter as J followed by catalogue number).

6. *Portrait of a child* (*Adrien*?), by Eugène Delacroix. c.1822. Canvas, 21.7 by 16 cm. (Private collection).

7. *Portrait of Mme de Pron*(?), by Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun. 1818. Pastel, 40.6 by 32.4 cm. (Present whereabouts unknown).

8. *Portrait of a youth in a blue beret*, by Eugène Delacroix. c.1822? Canvas, 40 by 32 cm. (Musée Eugène Delacroix, Paris).

coloured still life boldly set against the deeply recessive landscape is consistent with Delacroix's reliance in this period – one that also produced the *Death of Sardanapalus* – on 'romantic' theatricality and flourish. Yet despite its prominence in the Louvre since 1934, and the near-universal admiration it has gained, the still life remains one of the painter's least studied works, its idiosyncrasies largely ignored, its *intended* strangeness unaccounted for, its origins and inspiration unexplained.[4] Scholars who have commented on the oddity of the lobsters, at least, have seen them either as allusions to still-life precedents or as a sly comment on the conservative politics of the man for whom the picture was painted, through an association of the lobster with the backward-moving crayfish.[5]

Research conducted independently led the present writers to similar hypotheses about some of the questions surrounding this painting. Working together has allowed us not only to clarify some of its idiosyncrasies, but also to shed light on an obscure but crucial chapter of Delacroix's life and relations involving at least two other paintings and several unpublished letters. Last, but hardly least, it enabled us to resolve with certainty one of the few remaining mysteries in Delacroix's biography: the identity of the famous 'J.' with whom he was carrying on an assiduous flirtation between 1822 and 1824, as recorded in his journal.

It has long been known that the *Still life with lobsters* was executed in 1826 for General Charles-Yves-César-Cyr, comte de Coëtlosquet, at the latter's château in Beffes, a village in the Cher.[6] In June that year Delacroix spent time there on a visit to Soulier who managed the property; it was then that he began the painting.[7] In an unpublished letter to Soulier of 17th July 1826, Coëtlosquet expresses his hope that Delacroix will 'finish his dining-room painting' for which they will provide a fine frame and a place of honour in the château.[8] This was the *Still life with lobsters*. It is unclear whether the initiative came from Soulier, who was an amateur painter, from Delacroix himself or from Coëtlosquet, although the latter was not a collector and owned virtually no other paintings.[9] A brilliant Napoleonic general who had taken part in all the major campaigns of the Empire, Coëtlosquet had become during the Restoration a high-ranking administrator in the War Department, serving as Director of Personnel from 19th December 1821 and as interim Minister from 19th October 1823 to 5th August 1824. Delacroix had met him through Soulier, whose relationship with this family was close: Coëtlosquet was the nephew of the former councillor of State and Director, under the Restoration, of the *domaine extraordinaire* (state funds distributed as pensions and retainers to loyal subjects), the colourful marquis de La Maisonfort, to whom Soulier had served as private secretary since at least 1814 and whom he had followed to Italy when La Maisonfort was appointed Minister to Tuscany in July 1820.[10] The marquis's wife had stayed behind in Paris along with their daughter Mme de Pron, both of whom lived at Coëtlosquet's ministerial residence in rue Saint-Dominique until he left the War Department in 1828. Thus

[4] Donated by Etienne Moreau-Nélaton in 1906, the painting was exhibited from 1907 in the Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris, before entering the Louvre in 1934. The '*cadre rococo*' mentioned by Delacroix (see note 1 above) is visible in early photographs; see F. Lachin and P. Rosenberg *et al.*: exh. cat. *De Corot aux Impressionnistes, donations Moreau-Nélaton*, Paris (Grand Palais) 1991, pp.7–8.

[5] Johnson (J161) relates the lobsters to Wilkie's *Chelsea Pensioners reading the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo*. Nancy Ann Finlay ('Animal Themes in the Painting of Eugène Delacroix', Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1984, pp.35–41), followed by Kenneth Bendiner (*Food in Painting: From the Renaissance to the Present*, London 2004, p.46), relates them to Delacroix's lithograph of 1822, *Les Ecrevisses à Longchamps*. John W. McCoubrey acknowledges the 'absurdity' of the lobsters and their incompatibility with the landscape, but explains the painting as 'an allegory of earth, sky and sea' in the tradition of Daniel Seghers; J.W. McCoubrey: 'Studies in French Still-Life Painting, Theory and Criticism 1660–1860', Ph.D. diss. (Institute of Fine Arts, New York, 1958), pp.151–52. Robert James Bantens interprets the lizard as a salamander and sees the picture as an allegory of the elements; R.J. Bantens: 'Delacroix's "Still Life with Lobsters"', *Southeastern College Art Conference Review* 9/2 (Spring 1977), pp.69–73, esp. p.70.

[6] In a letter to Soulier of 23rd March 1850, Delacroix writes that a month or two earlier he saw for sale '*le tableau d'animaux que j'ai fait à Beffes il y a quelques vingt-quatre ans*'; Joubin, III, p.11. Adolphe Moreau, whose father purchased the picture in 1853, catalogued it as 'Painted at Beffes, in 1826, for M. le général de Coëtlosquet'; see A. Moreau: *E. Delacroix et son œuvre*, Paris 1873, p.169.

[7] It is uncertain how long Delacroix's stay was: the two letters published in Joubin date from Sunday 18th and Monday 19th June 1826.

[8] Coëtlosquet hopes '*que le seigneur La Croix va terminer son tableau de salle à manger et qu'alors nous lui donnerons un beau cadre pour le faire figurer au mieux dans Beffes*'; sale, Hôtel Drouot-Montaigne, Paris, *Manuscrits et lettres autographes*, 15th May 2001, lot 72.

Delacroix's letters to Soulier from the mid-1820s often evoke the 'General' (Coëtlosquet), the 'marquise' (de La Maisonfort, wife of the marquis, Coëtlosquet's uncle), 'Mme de Pron' (their daughter, Coëtlosquet's first cousin) and the 'Dominicans', a playful reference to the street in which they lived.[11]

But Delacroix's connection to this family had in fact been established earlier than the mid-1820s when the painting was executed. It was the collector Roger Leybold who first proposed that the unknown woman, referred to simply as 'J.', with whom much of Delacroix's journal from 1822 to 1824 is concerned, may have been the wife of General Coëtlosquet. As is well known from the journal, 'J.' had been involved with Soulier, and during the latter's absence in Italy had been courted by Delacroix. The entry for 27th October 1822 introduces the story in a manner worthy of a comic opera:

> My dear Soulier is back [. . .] At first I thought only of how happy I was to see him. Then my heart stopped. As I was getting ready to take him up to my room, I remembered a wretched letter whose handwriting he might recognise. I hesitated. That destroyed all the pleasure I had in seeing him again. I tried various subterfuges; I pretended to have lost my key, what have you. Finally, I pulled myself together. He went away, saying he would come back to collect me in the evening, at which time we went out for a walk. I hope that the wrong I've done him won't affect his relationship with . . . Please God that he may remain unaware of it![12]

It is also clear from Delacroix's letters to Soulier from late 1820 to early 1822 that the latter had asked Delacroix to paint a portrait of the lady's son, 'Adrien'.[13] An unfinished portrait of a child, which was passed down in Soulier's family and was copied by Alfred Robaut in 1878, was tentatively identified by the late Lee Johnson as the unknown 'Adrien' referred to in Delacroix's letters (Fig.6).[14] The picture resurfaced in 2000, but with no new information to confirm or reject the identification.

Leybold had based his identification of 'J.' on an unsigned letter then in his collection, in which the lady writes to Delacroix: 'the G[ener]al is asking for his armour back'. Since Delacroix had noted in his journal on 1st May 1824 that he could borrow some Mameluke arms and armour from General 'Kot[los]quet' [*sic*], Leybold surmised that the lady was Coëtlosquet's wife. This hypothesis was accepted and transmitted by Raymond Escholier and René Huyghe.[15] Plausible though it is, it runs up against the fact that Coëtlosquet remained, for his entire life, a bachelor.[16]

So if 'J.' was not Coëtlosquet's wife, who was she? The many drafts of letters which Delacroix pens to her in his journal between 15th April 1823 and 19th June 1824 imply that she was a woman of some standing. She had a son at school whom she visited on Thursdays and Sundays, stopping each time at Delacroix's studio at 16 rue des Grès (now rue Cujas). She also had a brother (10th November 1823); and Soulier was a friend of her family (15th April 1823). Despite the wrong (and perhaps deliberately misleading) initial and a significant difference of age and class, these clues lead straight to another woman in Coëtlosquet's circle: his first cousin, Mme de Pron. A comparison of the latter's handwriting with that of 'J.' establishes this identity with certainty.[17]

Louise Du Bois Des Cours de La Maisonfort was the daughter of Soulier's patron and protector, Antoine-Philippe Du Bois Des

9. *Portrait of Newton Fielding*, by J. Nogues. Pencil drawing. (Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Paris).

10. *Eugène Delacroix peignant les fresques de la chambre de Mme de Pron*, by ?Charles-Raymond Soulier. 1826. Watercolour, '*album de Beffes*', 10.8 by 16.5 cm. (Private collection).

[9] His posthumous inventory lists only two paintings; Archives départementales du Cher, E–13778, '*Inventaire après décès des objets appartenant à Charles-Yves-César-Cyr, comte de Coëtlosquet*', 4th February 1836, no.2. Although it is often claimed that *Still life with lobsters* was commissioned by Coëtlosquet, this may be a (mistaken) inference from Moreau's statement that it was painted *for* him; see Moreau, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.169.

[10] A full account of Soulier's life is given in M. Hannoosh's edition of Delacroix's *Journal*, Paris 2009, (cited hereafter as Hannoosh), II, pp.2339–43.

[11] See Joubin, I, p.186 (18th November 1826); p.212 (11th March 1828); and p.224 (20th October 1828).

[12] '*Mon cher Soulier est de retour* [. . .] *Le premier moment a été tout au bonheur de le revoir. J'ai senti ensuite un serrement pénible. Comme je me disposais à le faire monter dans ma chambre, je me suis souvenu d'une maudite lettre dont l'écriture eût pu être reconnue. J'ai hésité. Cela a déchiqueté le plaisir que j'avais à le voir. J'ai usé de subterfuges; j'ai feint d'avoir perdu ma clef: que sais-je. –Enfin, j'ai remis ordre. Il m'a quitté pour me reprendre le soir que nous avons été faire une promenade. J'espère que mon tort envers lui n'influera pas sur ses relations avec . . . Dieu veuille qu'il l'ignore toujours!*'; see Hannoosh, I, pp.93–94.

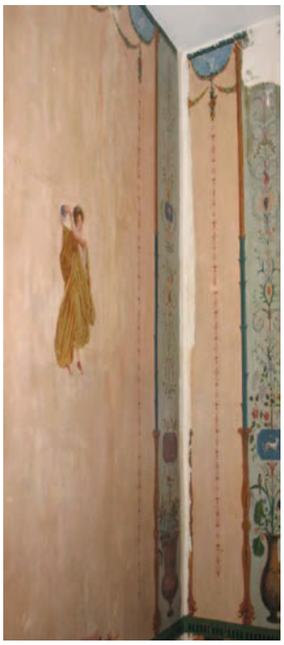
[13] See notes 25 and 26 below.

[14] J[L]75 and fourth supplement.

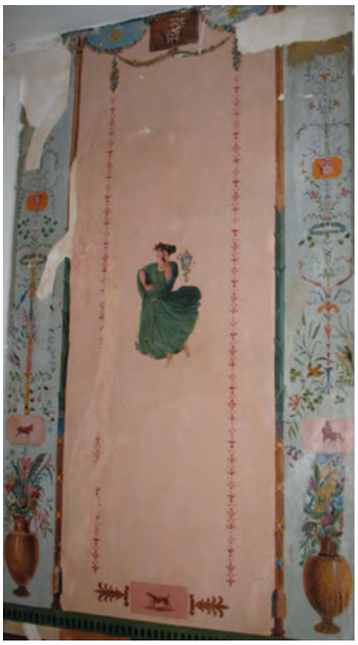
[15] R. Escholier: *Delacroix et les femmes*, Paris 1963, pp.50ff.; and R. Huyghe: *Delacroix, ou le combat solitaire*, Paris 1964, p.537.

[16] R. Kerviler: *Essai d'une bio-bibliographie de la famille du Coëtlosquet*, Vannes 1897, p.14. For 'Déclaration de succession' for Coëtlosquet, see Paris, Archives de Paris, DQ7/3840, 21st June 1836.

[17] The letters from 'J.', formerly belonging to Roger Leybold, are now in the J. Paul Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (Special Collections, acquisition no.860470); see Appendix 2 below. The handwriting matches that of Mme de Pron's autograph will (Archives départementales du Cher, archives notariales, notaire Naudin).



11. Fresco by ?Charles-Raymond Soulier. 1826. 350 by 150 cm. North-east corner, dining room, château de Beffes. Photograph 2006.



12. Fresco by ?Charles-Raymond Soulier. 1826. 350 by 180 cm. East wall, dining room, château de Beffes. Photograph 2006.

Cours, marquis de La Maisonfort. Born at the La Maisonfort château in Bitry on 17th May 1787, she grew up in the turbulent years of the Revolution during which the château was confiscated and sold: when her parents fled in 1791, she remained with her maternal grandmother in the nearby town of La Charité. But when, during the Terror, she was 'pursued as the daughter of émigrés so as to be thrown into an orphanage', she was entrusted to a humble family from Nevers who raised her as their niece.[18] Her brother Maximilien, whom Delacroix later knew, was born in exile on 13th June 1792.[19] On 1st February 1808 she married Louis-Jules-Barbon Rossignol de Pron, by whom she had a son, Adrien, born in Nevers on 29th November that same year. The château at Beffes, which had been her mother's, was given as her dowry. With the reinstatement of the Bourbons, and her father's consequent return to the centre of power, her fortunes rose: she was close to the court and moved in high society.[20] In 1818 Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, a close friend of her mother's, drew her portrait, usually identified as the picture reproduced here (Fig.7).[21] Her marriage, however, was disastrous: her husband was interned early on and was later declared insane (22nd August 1822); since divorce was not permitted under the Restoration, a formal separation of property was declared on 9th February 1829.[22]

When Delacroix first met her, probably in April 1822, she lived with her mother at her cousin Coëtlosquet's official residence at 62 rue Saint-Dominique. She nevertheless seems to have retained accommodation in the hôtel du Domaine Extraordinaire at 9 place Vendôme, which had been her father's official address and where Soulier had a garret room from 1816 until his departure for Italy. Indeed it was from there that on 2nd April 1819 she registered her son Adrien de Pron for the Collège Louis-le-Grand where he remained until 30th September 1825.[23] The entrance to the school was in rue des Grès, where Delacroix had his studio. And so it was that, in the spring of 1823, on Thursdays and Sundays when the pupils had visiting hours, Sarah, as she was familiarly called, stopped at the painter's studio en route to see her son.[24]

The adventure may have begun innocently enough. From 24th November 1820 to 30th July 1821, Delacroix expresses to Soulier his readiness to fulfil his friend's request to paint the child's portrait: 'I haven't forgotten the commission which you charged me with for the little boy's portrait'; 'I haven't yet had any news of Adrien. I don't know if they will be able to obtain authorisation for him to leave the lycée to sit for me. In any case, I'm still at your disposal for that'; 'I haven't had a single word of the little fellow or of the portrait to be done. I'm ready; I'm just waiting for the person'; '. . . M. Viéton [?], your little fellow's tutor [. . .] came by bringing a letter from you in which you sent him to me about the portrait. But it transpires that the little boy cannot in any way leave his school for this purpose. I am therefore forced, despite my good will, to wait till a little later'.[25] On 15th April 1822, emerging from a period of intense work on his *Dante and Virgil* in preparation for the Salon, Delacroix wrote: 'I saw la Cara. She took the trouble to come to my place; at the time I was deep in the work that I've just finished. She herself could tell that I was short of time [. . .] At the first opportunity I'll be very pleased to make good on the promise I made to you'.[26] This must have been Delacroix's first real meeting with 'J.', and the reference to the 'promise' suggests that it concerned plans for Adrien's portrait. Her first extant letter to him, postmarked 3rd June 1822 (see Appendix 2a), has a formal tone: 'I received, Sir, your kind note on Thursday at 9 in the morning. If you are free, I will be honoured to go to your house, and I beg of you beforehand to accept my sincere and warmest thanks'.

Was this in order to view the portrait already under way? In fact, it is not known whether the portrait was ever painted. If it was, then the sitter would have been aged thirteen and a half at the time. The sitter in Fig.6 (J[L]75), however, seems considerably younger than this and, unless Adrien was late to mature, could not be he. Of Delacroix's unattributed male portraits, *Portrait of a youth in a blue beret* (J69; Fig.8), is a possibility, since the sitter in a scholar's type of beret seems closer in age to the adolescent Adrien. Once thought to be Delacroix's nephew, Charles de Verninac, represented in other portraits by Delacroix (e.g. J62), the sitter of

[18] The family was named Lallemand; see marquis de La Maisonfort: *Mémoires d'un agent royaliste sous la Révolution, l'Empire et la Restauration 1763–1827*, ed. H. de Changy, Paris 1998, p.241, and note 20.

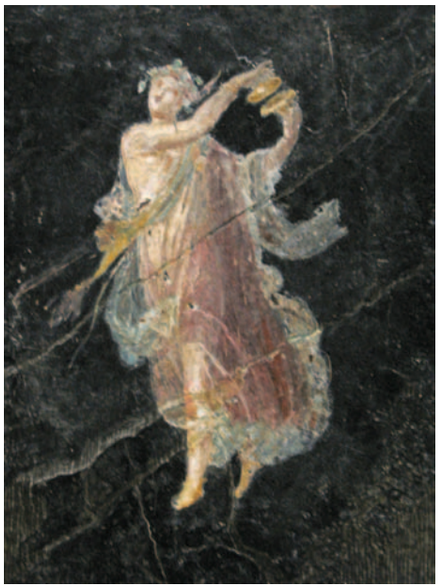
[19] See Joubin, I, p.180, in which Delacroix describes an outing with 'the good general' (Coëtlosquet) and 'the good colonel' (Maximilien).

[20] Mentions of Mme de Pron invariably misspell her name and/or misidentify her, so she is easy to overlook in the literature. Dr Whalley calls her 'countess de Pont'; H. Wickham, ed.: *Journals and Correspondence of Thomas Sedgewick Whalley*, London 1862, II, p.493, letter of 21st August 1823. The poet and dramatist Jean-Pons-Guillaume Viennet, calling her 'la comtesse de Prum', mentions meeting her at the salon of Viscountess Ruolz; J.-P.-G. Viennet: *Journal*, Paris 1955, p.87. In Vigée-Lebrun's list of her own works she is given as '*Madame de Pront, nièce* [*sic*] *de M. de Coëtlosquet*'; E. Vigée-Lebrun: *Souvenirs*, ed. C. Herrmann, Paris 1984, II, p.353; see also note 21 below.

[21] Letters from Mme de Pron and her mother, the marquise de La Maisonfort, to Vigée-Lebrun's niece testify to this friendship; Paris, Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Papiers Vigée-Lebrun/Tripier Lefranc autog.C52.1 D3 sd04 28895–98, 23rd July 1842; and 28899–28901, 29th July 1842. In her memoirs, Vigée-Lebrun lists the portrait of Mme de Pron under 1818, the same year indicated in the lower right of the portrait reproduced here (Fig.7), but the identity of the sitter is in fact uncertain. It has been auctioned several times since 1983; see N. Jeffares: *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800*, London 2006, p.551, most recently by Audap-Solanet, Godeau-Veillet, Paris, 3rd April 1992, lot 218.

[22] Posthumous inventory for Mme de Pron, 18th October 1842, Archives départementales du Cher, E 13 794.

[23] Paris, Archives du Lycée Louis-le-Grand, DF 609, no.428, and DF 610, p.105. We thank Mme Marianne Cayatte for making these files available. The postmarks reveal



13. 'Bacchant', fresco from Pompeii. Third style. 15–45 AD. 30 cm. high. (Museo Archeologico, Naples, inv.9297).

14. 'Bacchant', fresco from Pompeii. Third style. 15–45 AD. 27 cm. high. (Museo Archeologico, Naples, inv.9295).

15. 'Bacchant', fresco from Pompeii. Third style. 15–45 AD. 27 cm. high. (Museo Archeologico, Naples, inv.9295).

J69 was tentatively identified by Johnson as Newton Fielding; but to judge from a drawing of Newton in a Fielding family memoir (Fig.9), this is not the case. The provenances of the portraits are unhelpful: the *Portrait of a youth* (J69) was in Delacroix's studio when he died and the unfinished *Portrait of a child* (J[L]75) belonged to Soulier. Johnson reports Robaut's private note that Soulier's son, who owned the *Portrait of a child* when Robaut copied it, 'believed' he remembered that his father 'thought' it represented one of 'Fielding's' sons. Was this, as Johnson suggests, a deception on Soulier's part in order to hide the truth from his own son? But the uncertainty of the recollection, at two removes, seems to make it unreliable.[27] More important, why would Soulier need to hide the 'truth', since it can be proved that Adrien, born in 1808 when Soulier did not even know Mme de Pron, was not his son? There would be no scandal in owning the portrait of the cherished grandson of his former patron and protector. Finally, if either portrait represented Adrien, one might ask why it did not belong to Mme de Pron, whose visits to Delacroix's studio it would, at the very least, have justified. In the absence of new information, the question must remain open, including the possibility that the portrait of Adrien was never painted and that our two pictures are of different sitters altogether.

In any case, by October 1822, as we have seen from Delacroix's diary, his relations with Mme de Pron were well advanced. Soulier's return from Italy must have put a stop to them temporarily – the draft of a letter, which Delacroix wrote in his journal entry of 15th April 1823, implies that he and 'J.' had stopped seeing one another, until a new encounter had 'reawakened everything'. By 5th November 1823, Soulier notwithstanding, the relationship had started up once again, as a recently discovered letter from an ardent Delacroix reveals: 'Tell me, my dearest, that you are not sorry for the moments of happiness which you give to your friend; tell me that you do not begrudge me them [. . .] Love me as I love you, as Love wants us to love. To take away a single portion of his divine pleasures is to deceive him, to go against his will [. . .] I would like to circulate in your veins with your blood and go straight to your heart, to see if I occupy it in full . . .'.[28] But Mme de Pron had decided to break it off, or at least to cool it down. While Delacroix presses her for more visits, reasoning that women can love more than one person at a time, 'as men do', she, in her response, sets the following Sunday (16th November 1823; see Appendix 2b) for their final tryst: 'Then afterwards, everything won't be finished, indeed not; I want a really good, really open friendship; I don't want to torment you, I want you to be happy, and for my soul to understand yours so that your sorrows, shared by me, will be less burdensome to you'. A final exchange in December (see Appendix 2e) somewhat reverses the roles, Mme de Pron reproaching Delacroix for ignoring her for a whole month while she has been caring for her sick child: 'Pity me, I nurse him, I console him, and I moan all alone – what tears a poor mother sheds [. . .] not one visit from you, not a single word', and

that Mme de Pron's letters were sent from the post office near her home in place Vendôme.

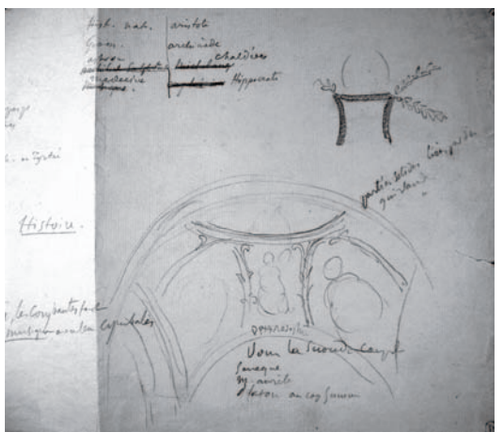
[24] The letter of 23rd July 1842 cited in note 21 is signed 'Sarah', and she is referred to thus in the unpublished memoirs of her aunt Rose-Esther de Changy, p.15 (private collection) and on her death certificate at the *mairie* of Beffes.

[25] '*Je n'ai pas oublié la commission dont tu m'as chargé pour le portrait du petit garçon*'; Joubin, I, p.98, 24th November 1820; '*Je n'ai pas encore entendu parler d'Adrien. Je ne sais pas si on pourra obtenir facilement qu'il sorte de son lycée pour poser. Dans tous les cas, je suis toujours à ta disposition pour cela*'; *ibid*., I, p.123, 30th March 1821; '*Je n'entends pas parler en aucune façon du petit bonhomme et du portrait à faire. Je suis prêt. Je n'attends plus que l'homme*'; *ibid*., I, p.127, 30th April 1821; '. . . *M. Viéton* [?], *précepteur de ton petit bonhomme* [. . .] *avait à me transmettre une lettre de toi, par laquelle tu me l'adressais pour le portrait. Mais il se trouve que le petit ne peut en aucune façon sortir de son collège à cette intention. Je suis donc forcé, malgré ma bonne volonté, d'attendre un peu plus tard*'; *ibid*., I, p.129, 30th July 1821.

[26] *Ibid*., I, pp.141–42. This is the only time Delacroix calls her '*la Cara*', which is obviously aimed at the Italophone Soulier and may have been his name for her. It should equally be noted that in the extant sources Delacroix does not call her 'Julie'; Escholier, *op. cit*. (note 15), p.51.

[27] '*M. Soulier à qui appartient ce joli échantillon croit se rappeler que son père pensait que c'était un fils de Fielding*'; Johnson, *op. cit*. (note 3), p.194.

[28] Sale, Galerie Koller, Geneva, *Autographes et manuscrits, vente Marcel Bergeon*, 12th November 2006, lot 1613 (see Appendix 1a). We thank Eric Bertin for bringing this lot to our attention and Mme Green for making this letter available to us.



16. Detail of a sheet of notes and drawings for the Palais Bourbon library, by Eugène Delacroix. c.1840. Pencil, 25.1 by 39 cm. (Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Paris).

Delacroix lamely defending himself on the grounds of his own (unstated) 'problems [. . .] and adversities of more than one kind'.

Mme de Pron may have been going through a turbulent time of her own. In addition to her double flirtation with Delacroix and Soulier, there is circumstantial evidence that she may, at the same time, have been pregnant by her cousin Coëtlosquet: on 15th February 1823, a certain Charles-Louis, the natural son of a 'demoiselle Louise Du Bois', a '*rentière*' of thirty whose address is not stated, and an unnamed father, was born in Paris at a midwife's in rue d'Argenteuil, a few streets away from place Vendôme.[29] Coëtlosquet was later to leave most of his fortune to this boy, whose mother's name was a shortened version of Mme de Pron's, Louise Du Bois (Des Cours de La Maisonfort), and whose forenames were those of himself and Louise.[30] The boy was put at a young, but unknown, age in the care of a guardian, who, after the boy died on 28th January 1842 at the age of eighteen, made all the legal declarations that his parents had never been known to the child or anyone around him, that the mother was 'purely imaginary' and her name chosen at random so as to hide that of the true mother, and that he had never been recognised by either parent.[31] Although this evidence is purely circumstantial – Mme de Pron was thirty-five, not thirty, on 15th February 1823, Dubois is a common name and may indeed have been chosen because of this, Coëtlosquet may have been providing for his own child by a different mother, or for Mme de Pron's child by a different father, etc. – the amount of evidence is nevertheless compelling.[32] In addition, Coëtlosquet left all his possessions, including his paintings and engravings, to Mme de Pron rather than to his own sisters.[33]

After attempts to revive it in fits and starts over the first half of 1824, Delacroix's fling with Mme de Pron thus came to an end. He nonetheless remained on good terms with her and her family: she must have facilitated the loan to him in 1824 of Mameluke arms and armour from her cousin Coëtlosquet, whom Delacroix (as his misspelling of the name in his journal suggests) probably did not yet know. These served for the *Massacres of Chios*.[34] Since leaving the service of La Maisonfort in October 1823, Soulier had been taken on to manage the property at Beffes, and Delacroix thus continued to call on the family to obtain news of his friend.[35] Writing to Soulier from London in 1825 he asks to be remembered to them, and adds this discreet compliment to his old flame: 'You can tell Mme de Pron that French women are unequalled when it comes to charm'.[36]

The family seems to have invented ways to combine Soulier's new job at Beffes with his talents as a painter. 'Although I don't really understand why you are sacrificing your future fortunes to your arabesque decorations for the General, you are right to stick to it if you are enjoying it', Delacroix wrote to him on 21st April 1826:[37] indeed, one of Soulier's tasks, or pastimes, was to decorate some of the château's walls. Two months later, as we have seen, Delacroix visited him there and began the *Still life with lobsters*. In 1939 André Joubin published three watercolours, which he identified as self-portraits by Delacroix coming from an album he called '*album de Beffes*'; he did not give the whereabouts of the album or provide any details about it.[38] One of the watercolours carried the caption '*Eugène Delacroix peignant les fresques de la chambre de Mme de Pron*', and represented a young man seated on the floor, holding a palette and painting the walls in the third Pompeian style: a female dancer occupies the centre of the fresco and the painter is working on the surrounding arabesques (Fig.10). Arabesques also cover a door in the corner, above which a painted overdoor is visible; through the window a rooftop and the greenery of a park can be seen. The painter scarcely resembles Delacroix, and Joubin gave no explanation for the picture.

In fact the album, recently rediscovered, belonged to Mme de Pron: the name 'Louise de la Maisonfort' is embossed in gold on the front cover and 'Beffes' likewise on the back cover. It measures 24.8 by 30.35 cm. and contains forty-one folios, onto thirty-eight of which pictures of varying sizes, with captions, have been mounted. Where Joubin saw it is unknown; it was acquired in Stockholm by the present owners in the summer of 1991. The place-name led them to the château, where restoration works in 1970 had indeed uncovered, in the current dining room, frescos corresponding to the one in the album (Figs.11 and 12). While the caption may not be exactly contemporary with the execution of the watercolour itself, it cannot date from much later, since Mme de Pron died in 1842 and few surviving her would even have known about the episode in question.[39] The writing matches that of the captions to the other pictures in the album, some of which are dated 1836, providing a fairly secure *terminus post quem*.

[29] Birth certificate, Archives de Paris, 2e arrondissement (ancien), 15th February 1823.
[30] 'Testament de Mr le comte de Coëtlosquet'; Paris, Archives nationales, Minutier central, Etude XLVII, 24th January 1836.
[31] Death certificate, Couilly, Seine-et-Marne, in 'Acte de notoriété concernant Charles-Louis dit Dubois', 16th January 1843; Paris, Archives nationales, Minutier central, Etude CXIII/938. One wonders whether the lapse of a year between the death and the affidavit had anything to do with the fact that Mme de Pron herself died during this period, on 4th September 1842. The declarations were made by the guardian, Jean-Antoine Audibert, and by Coëtlosquet's executor, baron Michel de Trétaigne, the military doctor and art collector who, incidentally, later owned several paintings by Delacroix (J181, J386 and J399).
[32] The timing of the birth indicates that the child would not have been fathered by either Soulier, who was away in Italy, or Delacroix, whose relations with Mme de Pron in May 1822 were still very formal.
[33] See document cited at note 30 above.
[34] See also *Study of Turkish arms*, J27.
[35] See Joubin, I, pp.172–73, 31st January 1826.
[36] '*Tu diras à Mme de Pron que les Françaises n'ont pas d'égales pour la grâce*'; *ibid*., I, p.159, 6th June 1825. The name was misread and added to by Joubin as 'Ron[cherolles]', then 'corrected' to 'Provenchères' (*ibid*., V, p.273); see Paris, Bibliothèque centrale des Musées nationaux, MS 0540 (03).
[37] '*Quoique je ne comprenne pas bien pourquoi tu sacrifies ton sort futur à ta décoration en arabesques du général, tu as raison de t'y tenir si cela t'amuse*'; Joubin, I, p.178.
[38] *Idem*: 'Delacroix vu par lui-même', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 6/21 (1939), pp.305–18.
[39] Her brother Max, who died in 1848, her mother, who died in 1849, and Soulier himself, who lost touch with her after 1831, could not have written the captions.
[40] The consistency of the handwriting in the captions indicates that they were all written on or after the latest date of 1836. Thus, either '1808' refers to the view rather

17. Detail of a lion. 1826. Fresco, 13 by 20 cm. East wall, dining room, château de Beffes.

18. Detail of a charioteer and quadriga. 1826. Fresco, 13 by 20 cm. North wall, dining room, château de Beffes.

19. Detail of a warrior riding side-saddle. 1826. Fresco, 13 by 20 cm. East wall, dining room, château de Beffes.

20. Detail of a human-headed bull. 1826. Fresco, 13 by 20 cm. East wall, dining room, château de Beffes.

The album contains two series of images. The first fourteen are views of the château and surrounding countryside, and may be by Mme de Pron herself: nine are dated 1836, two are dated 1808 and the others are undated.[40] One of them, a view of the countryside from the terrace, confirms that the landscape behind Delacroix's *Still life with lobsters* is indeed that of Beffes. Following these are twenty-four undated watercolours, including the three published by Joubin as by Delacroix, and in a different style altogether from the topographical views. They depict comical scenes of daily life at Beffes and feature the administrator of the property, referred to as '*Son Excellence*', a painter, guitar-player and lover of the fine arts: this is probably Soulier, who was an amateur painter and, as we know from two lost portraits by Delacroix, played the guitar.[41] He is surely the author of these watercolours too; their style is very different from Delacroix's muscular graphic style. One carries the title '*Le Courrier beffois. Journal hebdomadaire*', and an allusion to the 'delightful beffois journal' in a letter from Coëtlosquet to Soulier suggests that they may have originally been sent to the General in Paris as a periodic 'report' of happenings in Beffes.[42]

As the allusion to the 'General's arabesques' in Delacroix's letter suggests, the wall-paintings, like the pictures in the album, are almost certainly by Soulier, whose work Delacroix held in high regard all his life.[43] These very accomplished paintings are based on the famous 'Dancers of Herculaneum', frescos of Bacchants from the so-called Villa of Cicero in Pompeii, which were exhibited in the Naples Museum and which had become, in tapestries, porcelain and architectural ornament, one of the most widespread decorative motifs of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[44] These were reproduced in *Le Antichità di Ercolano*, which was a primary source for painters, Delacroix included, throughout the decades following its publication in nine volumes from 1755 to 1792; but Soulier may have been inspired by the originals, which he would have seen during his stay in Naples from July 1821 to May 1822.[45]

than to the execution of the watercolour (being drawn, for example, from an earlier picture), or the captions were added, in 1836 or after, to old drawings.

[41] J[L]73; A. Robaut: *L'Œuvre complet de Eugène Delacroix. Peintures, dessins, gravures, lithographies*, Paris 1885, no.63; see also J[L]74. In a letter of 24th November 1820, which, despite its early date, may be relevant, Delacroix refers to Soulier as '*votre future Excellence*' (Joubin, I, p.98), perhaps referring to his diplomatic career.

[42] Letter of 22nd October 1825; included in sale cited at note 8 above. In a letter of 29th June 1826 – thus just after Delacroix's visit – Coëtlosquet writes to Soulier: 'I received your caricature'; *ibid*.

[43] '*Chez Leblond le soir. Il m'a montré des aquarelles du temps de nos soirées. J'ai été étonné de celles de Soulier. Elles [f]ont toutes une impression sur l'imagination bien supérieure à celle que font les Fielding*'; Hannoosh, I, 15th March 1847. The Fielding brothers – Copley, Thales, Newton, Frederick and Theodore – were among the foremost watercolourists of the day; see M.R. Pointon: *The Bonington Circle: English Watercolour and Anglo-French Landscape, 1790–1855*, Brighton 1985.

[44] A. de Jorio: *Musée Royal Bourbon, Guide pour la galerie des peintures anciennes par le chanoine De Jorio*, 2nd ed., Naples 1830, p.23. On the popularity of the 'Dancers' as a motif, see M.-N. Pinot de Villechenon *et al.*: *Ercolano e Pompei, gli affreschi nelle illustrazioni neoclassiche dell'album delle 'Peintures d'Herculanum' conservato al Louvre*, Milan 2000, p.75; and V.M. Stroka: 'Pompeii', section IV, in J. Turner, ed.: *The Dictionary of Art*, London and New York 1996, XXV, pp.203–05.

[45] Delacroix had made numerous drawings after the *Antichità* in 1824 in view of his mural decorations for the dining room of the actor Talma (J94–97); see M. Sérullaz *et al.*: *Musée du Louvre. Département des arts graphiques. Ecole française. Dessins d'Eugène Delacroix*, Paris 1984, II, no.1741, fol.21rff. On the Neo-Pompeian style in France in the 1820s, see P. Prevost Marcilhacy: 'Un Hôtel au goût du jour: L'hôtel de James de Rothschild', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 124 (July–August 1994), pp.35–54; and F. Thiollet and H. Roux: *Nouveau Recueil de menuiserie et de décorations intérieures et extérieures*, Paris 1837.

21. *Ice-skating*, by Charles-Raymond Soulier. c.1826–29. Watercolour, 17 by 40 cm. (Château de Beffes).

22. *On the terrace at Beffes* (left to right: Max de La Maisonfort?, Coëtlosquet, Mme de Pron, Adrien de Pron?), by Charles-Raymond Soulier. c.1826–29. Watercolour, 17 by 36 cm. (Château de Beffes).

23. *Beauty and the beast* (Mme de Pron), by Charles-Raymond Soulier. c.1826–29. Watercolour, 17 by 20 cm. (Château de Beffes).

24. *Horse-back riding* (left to right: Soulier?, Coëtlosquet, Mme de Pron), by Charles-Raymond Soulier. c.1826–29. Watercolour, 17 by 25 cm. (Château de Beffes).

25. *L'abbé Casse, missionnaire, prêchant devant le calife Homard*, by Charles-Raymond Soulier. c.1826–29. Watercolour, 17 by 26 cm. (Château de Beffes).

The north wall (Fig.11) features a dancer dressed in yellowish-gold, wearing a crown of flowers and ivy and holding a pair of cymbals: the image is based on a dancing Bacchant (Fig.13; Naples inv.9297), though it is in reverse, is differently coloured and has the added detail of a white chemise rather than the exposed breast of the original. The dancer on the east wall (Fig.12) is inspired by another Bacchant (Fig.14; Naples inv.9295), with differences of detail (the girdle, the gesture of the left arm, the jewellery, the hairstyle and the mirror and snake). The wall-painting represented in Mme de Pron's album (Fig.10) has not been uncovered, and, judging from the location of the window and door in the picture, would have been on the north wall of what is now an adjacent room, the original room having been divided late in the nineteenth century.[46] From the sketchily drawn image visible in the album, it may have been based on another part of Naples inv.9295 (Fig.15), once again with differences of detail, for example, the position of the feet, the colour of the drapery – red in the album versus diaphanous blue in the original – and the lack of drapery around the head in the album.

The architectural surrounds freely re-use common patterns derived from the ancient and Renaissance traditions of grotesque and arabesque decoration. In addition to paintings from Pompeii and Herculaneum, the most celebrated example was the Vatican Logge, themselves based on the Domus Aurea in Rome.[47] Soulier would have had ample occasion to view these works along with others of a similar type, such as Pintoricchio's arabesques in S. Maria del Popolo. In the Beffes paintings, the border consists of two painted 'pilasters' enclosed within painted candelabra-style columns made to look like carved wood. The latter have the 'ear-of-corn' pattern common to candelabra and to paintings of them, from Pompeii and Herculaneum, which, as an unpublished drawing shows, Delacroix himself considered using in the Palais Bourbon library (Fig.16).[48] At the bottom of each 'pilaster' is a large terracotta vase filled with flowers, out of which climbs the arabesque. While these too have ancient and Renaissance

[46] The existence of a wall-painting in this location was noted at the time of the 1970 works.

[47] N. Dacos: *La Découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance*, London 1969, pp.64 and 107–13.

[48] Drawing in Paris, Institut national d'histoire de l'art, fonds Cl. Roger-Marx, carton 120, autog.1397/10, late 1839 or early 1840. See also *Le Antichità di Ercolano*, 8, pl.LXXII; and 4, pl.LXVII, for a similar painted motif.

[49] For the Ara Massima, see K. Stemmer: *Casa dell'Ara Massima*, VI, *Haüser in Pompeji*, Munich 1992, west wall of Atrium B. For the Vatican Logge, see N. Dacos: *Le Logge di Raffaello. Maestro e bottega di fronte all'antico*, Rome 1977.

[50] For Delacroix's lithograph, see L. Delteil: *Delacroix. The Graphic Work. A Catalogue Raisonné*, transl. and rev. S. Strauber, San Francisco 1997, no.44. The image is modelled on a silver drachma from Miletus; see D. Gérin: 'La Source des lithographies de "médailles" d'Eugène Delacroix', *Nouvelles de l'estampe* 157 (March 1998), pp.12–21.

[51] Delteil, *op. cit.* (note 50), no.45, after a coin from Syracuse; no.46, after a coin from Celenderis; no.46, after a coin from Naples; see also Gérin, *op. cit.* (note 50), p.21.

[52] This was defined as a billiard room in an inventory from 1845, when the château

precedents, such as the House of the Ara Massima at Pompeii, or pilasters IX, XII and XIII of the Vatican Logge, they are more indebted to flower-painting, being luxuriant bouquets.[49] Dolphins, birds, a monkey, a snail, goldfish in a bowl, a soldier, a girl with a mirror and various insects grace the colourful curling tendrils, fronds and flowers. At regular intervals, small insets punctuate the arabesque with figural depictions such as a charioteer and quadriga, a camel with palm tree and pyramid, a human-headed bull, a mask, a warrior on horseback and a lion (Fig.17). A floral garland overhangs the top and, below the bottom frame, the traces of a painted masonry-pattern like the second Pompeian style are visible.

While style and documentary evidence indicate that Soulier is the probable author of these paintings, some elements suggest that Delacroix may have lent his friend a hand, at least in design and conception, during his visit to Beffes in June 1826. Some of the small insets depict the same images as Delacroix's lithographs of ancient coins, published in 1825: the lion looking back at the star is the same.[50] Three other insets, based on Delacroix's lithographs, are the quadriga (Fig.18); the warrior riding side-saddle (Fig.19); and the human-headed bull, or river-god Acheloos (Fig.20).[51] The paintings are heavier in style than the vigorous drawing that makes the lithographs so remarkable, so either Soulier was inspired by them, or Delacroix gave him some moderate assistance, consistent with the caption to the picture in Mme de Pron's album.

In the context of Delacroix's Beffes-inspired *Still life with lobsters*, another set of paintings from the château is suggestive. At an unknown date, a long frieze of finely drawn caricatures, coloured in watercolour and measuring approximately 17 cm. by 17.5 m., was installed in a room on the second floor. Family tradition placed its original location in a large room on the ground floor, which had been the main salon.[52] Much of the frieze is intact, but some pieces have been damaged or lost. It consists of several separate series of continuous segments, complete with captions and, in some cases, titles. The caricatures are very skilful, in a style reminiscent of Rowlandson, Cruikshank, Grandville and English sporting artists such as Henry Alken (references in English and to the English appear as well). They represent scenes of country life in Beffes, scenes at the Coëtlosquet residence in Paris and caricatures with jokes and puns, some of which are obscure (Figs.21–24). Coëtlosquet, Mme de Pron, the marquise de La Maisonfort and possibly Adrien, the marquis and Soulier figure in these scenes.

As with the wall decorations and the comical images from Mme de Pron's album, these caricatures can probably be attributed to Soulier, who had grown up in London and been trained by the English artist Copley Fielding.[53] Individual sequences refer to dates from 1826 to 1829: the punning '*Guillaume Tel qu'il est représenté devant MM. les habitués ordinaires de l'opéra*' has to have been executed after the premiere of Rossini's opera at the Salle Le Pelletier, Paris, on 5th August 1829; a reference to the

26. *L'Ours et le pacha*, by Charles-Raymond Soulier. c.1826–29. Watercolour, 17 by 54 cm. (Château de Beffes).

27. *L'Ours et le pacha*, by Charles-Raymond Soulier. c.1826–29. Watercolour, 17 by 40 cm. (Château de Beffes).

Navarino affair has to be after 29th October 1827; other dates can be had from a mention of the Treaty of London (6th July 1827), relating to Turkey's role in Greece, and from a possible allusion to the ordinances of 16th June 1828 removing a number of schools from Jesuit control. Soulier may have done some of these during a stay in Beffes from August to October 1828, but it is unknown when he was there in the following two years – perhaps in the same period in 1829 or 1830. His marriage in July 1831 soon brought the chapter of his visits to Beffes, and his relations with its inhabitants, to a close.[54]

Two series within the caricatural frieze relate to Delacroix's *Still life*. The first depicts a woodcock (*bécasse*) dressed as an abbot preaching to an enormous lobster (*homard*) seated like a pasha on a throne of cushions, smoking a narghile and surrounded by courtiers in Oriental dress (Fig.25). The caption reads '*L'abbé Casse, missionnaire, prêchant devant le calife Homard*', punning on both '*l'abbé Casse/la bécasse*' and '*Homard/Omar*'. The former type of wordplay had been popularised by the marquis de Bièvre in his *Lettre à la comtesse Tation* of 1770 and was common during the Restoration; it was used frequently in Delacroix's circle, as an album in the Louvre attests.[55] The caption ends, as a kind of signature, with a prominent image of a lobster. The Oriental scene can be explained by one which precedes it, entitled '*L'Ours et le pacha*' (Figs.26 and 27), referring to a popular vaudeville from 1820 about a pasha whose favourite bear has died, and whose councillor, Marécot, seeks to divert him with a new interest.[56] The caption – '*Un poisson de mer! Prenez mon ours!!!*' – is from the play, as are the dancing and harp-playing bears. In the caricature from the frieze, the pasha figure, corresponding to the lobster in

was sold by the dowager marquise de La Maisonfort to the ancestors of the current owners; in Coëtlosquet's posthumous inventory it is called '*le salon*' and contained a billiard table (see document cited at note 9 above).

53 It should be noted that a paint-box is listed in Coëtlosquet's posthumous inventory from Beffes; *ibid.*, no.25.

54 The extant letters, included in the sale cited at note 8 above, from Coëtlosquet to Soulier, run from 1824 to 1831.

55 The so-called '*album de la Saint-Sylvestre*', recording the annual New Year's Eve festivities of Delacroix and his friends Pierret and Guillemardet, has numerous examples; Sérullaz *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 45) no.1739, pp.47–50. The same type of pun dominates the caricature in the Beffes frieze: '*L'abbé Daine et l'abbé Tise rencontrent l'abbé Rlue*'. For the popularity of such puns in caricature, see Champfleury [J. Fleury-Husson]: *Histoire de la caricature sous la République, l'Empire et la Restauration*, Paris 1877, p.114.

56 The caption reads: '*Un poisson de mer! Prenez mon ours!!! Ballet composé par le grand chambellan Maréco*'. *L'Ours et le pacha*, a *folie-vaudeville* by Scribe and Xavier, was first performed at the Théâtre des Variétés, Paris, on 10th February 1820; a new edition of the text was published in 1826. The phrase '*prenez mon ours*' subsequently entered the language to refer to a play that was not performed.

28. *Portrait of Charles-Yves-César-Cyr, comte de Coëtlosquet*, by Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun. Salon of 1824. Canvas. (Private collection).

29. *Young woman in a large hat*, by Eugène Delacroix. c.1826. Canvas, 27 by 22 cm. (Formerly Musée du Louvre, Paris; present whereabouts unknown).

the later sequence, is an image of Coëtlosquet such as we know him from other caricatures (Figs.22 and 24) and from contemporary portraits, notably Vigée-Lebrun's, exhibited at the 1824 Salon (Fig.28).

Thus there appears to have been an acknowledged association between Coëtlosquet and the figure of a lobster, which may explain this most striking oddity of Delacroix's still life. The painting was almost certainly executed before the caricature, which therefore did not inspire it; but the private joke to which the caricature bears witness surely explains Delacroix's choice for his still life. This, as he wrote in the letter quoted at the start of this article, would be 'amusing', but what the joke was is unclear. While Coëtlosquet was a senior administrator in the Restoration government, and Delacroix had made in 1822 a caricature of crayfish entitled '*Les Ecrevisses à Longchamps*', which lampooned the forces of reaction, the lobster is unlikely to be a commentary on the General's political inclinations: the caricature decorated his house, the still life was done for him and it is implausible that Delacroix would have aimed such a joke at someone he constantly referred to as '*le bon général*', and who was his host.[57] Is it an allusion to his Breton origins?[58] To his ruddy colouring, as in the expression '*rouge comme un homard*'? Or simply a pun on 'Omar' of which he was fond? Whatever the source of Coëtlosquet's association with lobsters, it seems to have inspired both the lobsters of Delacroix's painting and those of the caricatures.

The Oriental theme also seems to have had personal associations. Coëtlosquet was a good friend of the French Consul-General at Alexandria, Bernardino Drovetti, who, in December 1827, sent him and Mme de Pron some coffee and a pipe – perhaps the narghile represented in the caricature.[59] Moreover, in a letter of 9th December 1828, Coëtlosquet writes to Drovetti to ask whether the consul could send some Egyptian fabric and furnishings for an 'Egyptian room', which he and Mme de Pron wished to establish in their country house for her brother Max, who had a taste for all things Oriental, especially Egyptian.[60] This taste may account for the Oriental themes of '*L'Ours et le pacha*' and the sequence on the '*calife Homard*' in the caricatures, although the pasha resembles Coëtlosquet and not Max de La Maisonfort. In addition, Turkish-inspired puns animate a portion of the frieze's carnival sequence, in which a 'Turkish' figure says to a 'Greek': '*Je te ferai une avanie! Je t'enverrai à la Porte*!', with the caption indicating '*Traité du 6 juillet*'. This refers to the Treaty of London of 6th July 1827 between France, England and Russia relating to Turkey's role in Greece. '*Avanie*', meaning a slap in the face, originally referred to a tax inflicted on Christians by the Turks; and '*je t'enverrai à la Porte*' means both 'I'll throw you out' and 'I'll send you to the [Sublime] Porte'.

The second of the caricatures pertinent to this story is a fragment, the rest of which has been lost and which is obviously out

[57] Joubin, I, pp.180 and 218. *Les Ecrevisses à Longchamps*; Delteil, *op. cit.* (note 50), no.37, was published in *Le Miroir* (4th April 1822), accompanied by a text (not by Delacroix) satirising '*des gens qui ne s'élèvent jamais et vont habituellement à reculons*', notably censorship and the conservative daily *La Quotidienne*. Articles in other issues (3rd and 5th March 1822) created a new honorific Order in the Academy of Ignoramuses and named its degrees according to different types of shellfish – crayfish, crab, lobster, shrimp. On the popularity of the crayfish, see J. Grand-Carteret: *Les Mœurs et la caricature en France*, Paris 1888, p.185, and figs.34 and 106.

[58] Coëtlosquet was born in Morlaix and the family came originally from the diocese of Saint-Pol-de-Léon; see Kerviler, *op. cit.* (note 16), pp.5 and 13.

[59] The pipe was sent through the intermediary of General Joseph Rossetti (1776–1840), a friend of Coëtlosquet's from their days in the Russian campaign. In a letter to Drovetti of 19th December 1827, Rossetti sends greetings from Coëtlosquet, Max de La Maisonfort and Mme de Pron, and continues: '*Je te remercie de bien bon cœur du café et de la pipe que tu m'annonces, j'en disposerai d'une partie selon tes désirs et d'une autre selon les miens, mais en ton nom; j'en ai déjà prévenu le G*[*énéra*]*l Coëtlosquet et Madame de P . . .*' ; B. Drovetti: *Epistolario*, ed. S. Curto and L. Donatelli, Milan 1985, p.527. Coëtlosquet is misidentified in the edition, his name mistranscribed ('Collosquet', 'Coestorquet'), but this was corrected in a review of *Epistolario* by R.J. Ridley: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 77 (1991), p.241.

[60] '*Notre ami commun le bon général Rossetti m'a laissé espérer que vous voudriez bien nous aider à satisfaire une idée que Madame de Pron et moi avons eu*[*e*]*, de faire à la campagne un Cabinet égyptien pour son frère qui a le goût le plus prononcé pour tout ce qui est oriental, et surtout de votre beau pays. [. . . N*]*ous désirons que les étoffes ayent le mérite (quelques laides qu'elles puissent être du reste) d'être celles les plus en usage dans le pays, ainsi que les deux ou quatre petits meubles bien nationaux, fussent-ils encore inutiles à nos usages. Ce que nous souhaitions avant tout c'est le cachet du pays*'; see Drovetti, *op. cit.* (note 59), p.578. Max had served in the army of the Danube fighting the Turks under Prince Bagration in 1809; marquis de La Maisonfort, *op. cit.* (note 18), p.xviii.

[61] Johnson suggests that, because the woman in J89 wears seventeenth-century dress,

30. *Still life with lobsters*, by Charles-Raymond Soulier. c.1826–29. Watercolour, 17 by 10 cm. (Château de Beffes).

of place in the sequence as now constituted (Fig.30). On the right, now cut off, are the traces of a painter holding a palette and tumbling head-first from a ladder. A black cap of the type 'Soulier' wears in the pictures from Mme de Pron's album has fallen from the painter's head and lies on the floor. Behind him, stacked against the wall, are two paintings: in the foreground, a caricatural version of the *Still life with lobsters*, complete with lizard; in the background, a portrait of a woman wearing a large hat. While the still life is clearly recognisable as Delacroix's, the portrait raises an intriguing question, for Delacroix indeed painted a portrait of a *Young woman in a large hat* which has been missing from the Louvre since at least the Second World War (J89), and whose sitter has never been properly identified (Fig.29). Was she Mme de Pron? For the moment, this question must remain unanswered but, if we allow for the caricatural nature of the frieze, the likeness in the face and the hat is not entirely implausible (see Fig.23).[61]

General Coëtlosquet died in Paris on 23rd January 1836. The inventory of his Paris residence lists a 'wool cloak with a tartan lining', which may account for the Scottish plaid which Delacroix included in the still life.[62] The inventory of his rooms in the château at Beffes lists 'two large oil-paintings representing landscapes', one of which may be the *Still life with lobsters*; and two trophies of arms, one French and the other foreign, the latter of which may be the ones borrowed by Delacroix through the intermediary of Mme de Pron in 1824.[63] Both the paintings and the trophies, inherited by Mme de Pron, turn up in her own posthumous inventory in 1842.[64] Her possessions passed with rights of usufruct, the paintings included, to her mother.[65] It is likely that, when the château was sold in 1845 and the dowager marquise de La Maisonfort moved to smaller accommodation in Nevers, the *Still life with lobsters* was retrieved by her son, Mme de Pron's brother Max, now marquis de La Maisonfort, for after his death on 25th March 1848 it appears in the inventory of his residence.[66] Max bequeathed his possessions to his friend Joséphine Delacquis who, having received her inheritance by early 1850, must have sold the *Still life with lobsters* almost immediately. This is the period when Delacroix would have seen it, reporting to Soulier on 23rd March 1850 that he had been shown it a month or two before, the painting being for sale because 'the poor marquis [had] died in his turn'.[67] It was bought by the painter Philippe Rousseau, who sold it in June 1853 to Adolphe Moreau.[68]

It is well known that Delacroix's 'betrayal' of Soulier was repaid in kind by Soulier's apparent adventure with Delacroix's lover Mme Dalton in 1829–30. Away in Normandy visiting relatives, Delacroix writes how pleased he is to learn that Soulier has gone to see Mme Dalton, and asks him to 'give her a kiss from me [. . .] and encourage her in her painting' – an order of which Soulier, to use Alfred Dupont's words, acquitted himself only too well.[69] All these farces came to an end with the Revolution of 1830: the July Monarchy was a more staid time for all and a distinctly more unhappy time for some. With the arrival of the new regime, Coëtlosquet, no longer in royal favour, retired to Beffes, took up agriculture and died in 1836. Mme de Pron also retired to Beffes, where she died on 4th September 1842, exhorting her grandson 'never to forget his poor grandmother who was so unhappy', and pardoning her son for all the sorrows he had caused her.[70] Adrien had entered the military in 1827 as a member of the King's Bodyguards, had risen to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the first regiment of light infantry and in 1846 was imprisoned for financial forgery;[71] he had married in 1831 and

she may be an actress, but this was in fact common in Restoration portraiture; see J. Baillio: exh. cat. *Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun*, Fort Worth (Kimbell Art Museum) 1982, no.56, p.128. She has been incorrectly identified as George Sand, Mme de Conflans and Mme Dalton (see J89).

[62] 'Inventaire après décès de Mr le comte de Coëtlosquet'; Paris, Archives nationales, Minutier central, Etude XLVII, 29th January 1836.

[63] Maximilien de La Maisonfort, posthumous inventory (private collection), nos.2 and 14.

[64] Archives départementales du Cher, E13.794, 18th October 1842, listed as being in the library.

[65] '*J'entends que ma mère* [. . .] *conserve l'usufruit pendant sa vie, des dépendances qui m'appartiendraient* [. . .] *de la terre de Beffes, ainsi que des meubles meublants, tableaux, portraits, armures* [. . .] *que je laisserai au château de Beffes ou à Paris*'; Archives départementales du Cher, Archives notariales, notaire Naudin. Mme de Pron's possessions were later inherited by her son Adrien once the dowager marquise de La Maisonfort died in 1849; but as Adrien was in prison at the time, he could not claim his inheritance.

[66] See document cited at note 9 above, no.24; '*Un grand tableau d'Eugène Delacroix représentant du gibier et des accessoires de chasse dans un cadre de bois doré*'.

[67] '*Le pauvre marquis est mort à son tour et le tableau était à vendre*'; Joubin, III, p.11.

[68] See Lachin and Rosenberg *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp.52–53, where Moreau-Nélaton's family memoir is cited, correcting the original date of 1843 given in his *Delacroix raconté par lui-même*, *op. cit.* (note 3), I, p.85.

[69] Joubin, I, p.244, 28th October 1829; and the sequel in E. Delacroix: *Lettres intimes*, ed. A. Dupont, Paris 1954, repr. 1995, pp.169–71.

[70] See note 65 above.

[71] *Annuaire militaire*, 1828. Adrien was imprisoned for '*faux en écriture de commerce et usage*' from 5th December 1846 to 4th May 1851; in the prison register (Grande Roquette, registre d'écrou 2410/20, 30th September 1846–10th June 1847, no.233), he is listed as residing in Pesth, Hungary: we thank M. Thierry Couture for this information.

had a son who was raised by Mme de Pron and who died three days after she did.[72] As we have seen, Max died in 1848 and the dowager marquise de La Maisonfort, having outlived her husband, daughter, son, nephew and great-grandson, died on 17th May 1849.

For his part, Soulier married in 1831 the daughter of a minor aristocrat and lived a settled life in the provinces, spending his career in the canals administration. He died on 23rd December 1866, three years after his friend Delacroix, who during his lifetime had never ceased, in his letters, to recall the 'good old days' of their carefree youth, their diversions, their outpourings of feeling and – a recurrent term – the 'happy insouciance' of that time.[73] The *Still life with lobsters*, the pages about 'J.' from his journal and the album, wall-paintings and caricatures from Beffes preserve the traces of some of that frivolity, and provide new insight into Delacroix's life and work during the 1820s.

Appendix

1. Unpublished correspondence between Delacroix and Mme de Pron (sale, Galerie Koller, Geneva, 12th November 2006, lot 1613).

a. Letter from Delacroix to Mme de Pron
[Wednesday 5th November 1823]
Dis-moi, amie chérie, que tu ne regrettes pas les instants de bonheur que tu donnes à ton ami; dis-moi que tu ne m'en veux pas. Je rentre le soir tout plein de bonheur, et ta jolie petite mine boudeuse, je n'en veux pas croire un mot pour passer une bonne nuit complette. Aurais-tu eu le courage d'en garder rancune en rentrant dans ta petite chambre adorée, et où reposent toutes tes grâces dans ce lit que mon amour jaloux ne peut partager? Aime-moi comme je t'aime, comme l'amour veut qu'on aime. En ôter une parcelle de ses divines jouissances, c'est le tromper, c'est aller contre son vœu. Tu le sçais, c'est un tyran: il veut tout, et quand il a tout, il voudrait l'impossible. Je voudrais circuler avec ton sang dans les veines et aller dans ton cœur, y voir si je l'occupe tout entier. Dis, puis-je l'occuper et te mérit[er]ais-je?

Encore une fois, ne refuse rien au tendre amour. Pourquoi est-ce que je baise encore mon mouchoir qui t'a touchée tout à l'heure, qui t'a touchée partout! Oseras-tu dire que c'est folie: de toi que ne dois-je pas aimer? Quel moment que celui où il faut quitter ce qu'on aime! Quelle solitude jusqu'à ce qu'on retrouve et qu'on presse sa main! Demain je te verrai. Que tes yeux me disent que tu m'aimes. N'est-ce pas! Demain soir tu m'écriras pour que je lise de toi vendredi, dans cette maudite journée qui aurait dû être divine. Que je reçoive quelque chose et bien long encore de toi, amour, pendant ce jour-là qui me paraîtra néfaste. Adieu, aime-moi comme je t'aime. Me coucher! C'est me séparer de toi une seconde fois, car ton souvenir est encore avec moi, et qui sçait ce que m'apportera le vague des songes. Sera-ce ta douce image? Ou ma triste imagination enfantera-t-elle encore des monstres horribles? Il est tard, je ne puis encore renoncer au souvenir de ma soirée. Toi, tu dors sans doute. Si je pouvais t'occuper en songe. Adieu, il le faut à la fin. Amour, aime-moi. merc[redi] 5 nov[embre].

b. Summary of undated letter
Le peintre clame son désespoir, doute de l'amour de Julie [*sic*], en souffre et veut être à tout prix rassuré [. . .] 'Oh! l'esprit! je le déteste s'il sert à flétrir l'âme et à la dessécher. Dis-moi que non, amour. Dis le moi de toutes les manières, trompe-moi si tu veux, je te croirai, je veux tant te croire et j'en ai si besoin. Mais quelle folie! quel roman que notre vie et que nos cœurs [. . .] Adieu amour, as-tu le cœur d'autrefois? Dis'.

2. Letters from Mme de Pron (all unsigned) to Delacroix (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Research Institute).

a. Monsieur Eugène De la Croix, rue de la Planche no.22, fg St Germain, Paris[74]
[postmark, 3rd June 1822]
J'ai reçu, Monsieur, votre aimable billet jeudi à 9h. du matin. Serez-vous libre, j'aurai l'honneur d'aller chez vous, et vous supplie d'avance d'agréer mes sincères et empressés remerciements. Lundi.
[For Delacroix's draft replies, see Hannoosh, I, for Sunday 27th October 1822; Tuesday 15th April 1823; Friday 16th May 1823; Wednesday 5th November 1823; Sunday 9th November 1823; and Monday 10th November 1823. On the latter date, Delacroix writes to Mme de Pron, who has evidently told him that Thursday 13th November, will be their last afternoon. He begs her to come to see him the next day. Her response follows:]

b. Monsieur Eugène De La Croix, rue de Grenelle St Germain, no.118, fb St Germain, Paris.
[Monday 10th November 1823]
Je tiens votre lettre d'une main et j'écris de l'autre. Il ne s'est pas encore écoullé [*sic*] 2 minutes depuis que je ne la possède, et j'obéis à vos ordres, cher Eugène. Que cela est facile d'obéir quand on vous demande ce que vous désirez accorder. –J'irai jeudi, *avant si je puis*, mais bien sûr, bien sûr après vous aurez encore un dimanche, mais seulement peu de temps. Puis après, tout ne sera pas fini, ô non. Je veux de l'amitié bien douce, bien bonne, bien franche, je ne veux pas vous tourmenter. Je veux que vous soyez heureux et que mon âme sache entendre la vôtre, que vos chagrins soient moins pesants partagés par moi. –Vos plaisirs, mon ami, vous m'en parlerez et j'y prendrai part. Adieu, j'écris à la hâte. Adieu.

c. Monsieur Eugène Delacroix, rue des Grès, près la place St Michel, no.16, f. St Germain, Paris.
[postmark, Tuesday 18th November 1823]
Soyez sans inquiétude sur ma santé. J'ai [été] dimanche bien malade, bien sérieusement malade, hier encore. Ce matin je suis mieux mais je garde le lit et ne pourrai pas encore sortir de quelques jours.

Ne m'en voulez pas pour dimanche. Hélas, j'étais bien triste, bien désolée, ayant une fièvre violente et le délire.

Toute ma famille est arrivée hier soir.

Adieu

mardi 4 hr
(on the outside fold, interrupted by the seal: '*J'écrirai aussitôt que je le p*[*ourrai*]')

d. Monsieur Eugène De Lacroix, rue de Grenelle St Germain no.118, f. St Germain, Paris.
vendredi 11 hr [Friday 21st November 1823]
J'ai été bien malade hier mon cher Eugène. Je n'ai pas pu aller au spectacle. Il a fallu me coucher. Si demain, samedi, vous pouvez venir me voir, venez de midi à une heure. Je serai charmée de vous voir et le bien que j'éprouverai me guérira, j'espère.

Il faudera [*sic*] une charte, il m'en faut une.[75] Vous voyez que je vous avais dit vrai. – Mon médecin sort d'ici. Il m'ordonne le repos et de garder le lit une partie de la journée. Je vais lui obéir.

Adieu, quand vous serez dans votre abbaÿe,[76] pensez un peu à une vieille amie qui a pour vous une sincère amitié.

e. Monsieur Eugène de la croix, rue des grès no.16, près, la Place St Michel, Paris
Jeudi soir [postmark, Thursday 11th December 1823]
Vous ignorez à quel point je suis accablée de chagrin. Mon fils est malade au lit pour un mois entier sans bouger et cela par une chutte [*sic*]. Il [est] menacé de l'accident le plus grâve. –Plaignez-moi, je le soigne, je le console, et je gémis toute seule – que de larmes une pauvre mère verse – J'ai été bien malade, bien gravement malade, pas une visite de vous, pas un seul mot. –

Ah, que je suis triste.

Adieu. Si vous vous intéressez aux malheureux j'ai droit à votre souvenir. –Adieu, adieu.

[For Delacroix's response in the *Journal*, see Wednesday 17th December 1823]

f. Monsieur Eugène de Lacroix, rue de Grenelle St Germain, no.118 – f. St Germain, Paris
[Sunday 4th July 1824, postmark 5th July]
J'ai été à votre atellier [*sic*], Monsieur, sans pouvoir avoir le plaisir de vous voir. Le G[al] réclame ses armures. Veuillez me les renvoyer, vous serez bien aimable. Vous m'avez promis une visite, venez donc demain lundi de midi à une heure.
Dimanche 10 hr

[72] Adrien had married Amélie Güntz on 23rd June 1831 (we thank Eric Bertin for this date). Their son, also named Adrien, was born in October 1833 (he was 8 years and 11 months old when he died on 7th September 1842); Archives départementales du Cher, archives notariales, notaire Naudin. Widowed, Adrien *père* remarried in 1853. Horace Raisson, the friend of Soulier and Delacroix, was a witness at the ceremony; Paris, marriage register, Eglise Saint-Roch, Archives de Paris, D6 J1620, 14th July 1853.

[73] See Joubin, III, p.11 (23rd March 1850); p.177 (10th November 1853); p.348 (6th December 1856); and IV, p.7 (15th January 1858).

[74] Delacroix had a flat and a studio at this address.

[75] This enigmatic comment refers to a statement which Delacroix makes in his letter to her of 10th November 1823 (see under this date in Hannoosh, I): '*Vous savez aussi que nous avons des articles à dresser*'. It is unclear what this 'charter' was.

[76] The studio at 16 rue des Grès was a former abbey.

Piero di Cosimo and centaurophilia in Edwardian London

by CAROLINE ELAM

31. *Death of Procris*, by Piero di Cosimo. Panel, 65 by 183 cm. (National Gallery, London).

THE BRILLIANT AND IDIOSYNCRATIC Florentine artist Piero di Cosimo already had a place in the Victorian imagination by the 1860s. His painting commonly known as the *Death of Procris* (Fig.31) was acquired in 1862 by Sir Charles Eastlake from Lombardi in Florence, and it is relevant to what follows that the National Gallery owned so early on the artist's most lyrical and affecting mythological picture.[1] That and the following year saw the publication in several parts of George Eliot's *Romola*, in which Piero di Cosimo is a key character: in her novel the eccentric misanthrope portrayed in Vasari's *Lives* is endowed with insights into human character to match his artistic invention.[2] But if Piero di Cosimo's name was already one to conjure with, his *œuvre* still remained to be reconstructed. It has even been argued that Eliot selected this artist not only for his character as depicted by Vasari, but also for the convenient dearth of known works, which made it possible for her to invent 'prophetic pictures' by him to point up the morality of her narrative.[3] When Crowe and Cavalcaselle tacked an account of Piero di Cosimo on to the end of the chapter on Lorenzo di Credi in their *New History of Italian Art*, they listed only four of the paintings now accepted: the *Incarnation* and the *Liberation of Andromeda* in the Uffizi, the *Mars and Venus* in Berlin and the *Death of Procris* in London.[4] The key figure for the rediscovery of the artist was Giovanni Morelli's pupil Gustavo Frizzoni, who made a series of brilliant attributions of paintings in Berlin, London, The Hague, Rome and Paris between 1870 and 1906.[5] The first monographic

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[1] M. Davies: *National Gallery Catalogues. The Earlier Italian Schools*, 2nd ed., London 1961, pp.421–22. For Piero di Cosimo, see G. Vasari: *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. R. Bettarini and P. Barocchi, Florence 1966–97, IV, pp.58–71. Recent monographs on the artist are D. Geronimus: *Piero di Cosimo: Visions beautiful and strange*, New Haven and London 2006; S. Fermor: *Piero di Cosimo: Fiction, invention and fantasia*, London 1993 (see David Franklin's review in this Magazine, 135 (1993), pp.637–38); and A. Forlani Tempesti and E. Capretti: *Piero di Cosimo: Catalogo completo*, Florence 1996 (hereafter cited as Capretti), with a brief discussion of the *fortuna critica*; still helpful for provenance, detailed discussion and early bibliography is M. Bacci: *Piero di Cosimo*, Milan 1966, as well as her later book, *L'opera completa di Piero di Cosimo*, Milan 1976, although the chronology is now outdated. See also the excellent chapter in D. Franklin: *Painting in Florence 1500–1550*, New Haven and London 2001, pp.41–62.

[2] See the fascinating discussion in H. Witemeyer: *George Eliot and the Visual Arts*, New Haven and London 1979, pp.55–60. Witemeyer suggests that Eliot was influenced by an already existing cult of Vasari's Piero di Cosimo in Germany, dating back to the chapter on him in Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder's *Herzenergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*, first published in 1797.

[3] Witemeyer, *ibid.*, p.58, states that there is 'no evidence that George Eliot knew any of Piero di Cosimo's paintings at first hand'. However, she could have seen the *Mars, Venus and Cupid* during her visit to Berlin in 1854 (she does not mention it in her letters or *Recollections of Berlin*) and she places this picture on the easel in Piero's studio in ch.17 of *Romola*, although her brief description of it is taken from Vasari (including the odd comment that the Cupid is frightened). The serialisation of *Romola* began in the *Cornhill Magazine* in July 1862, coinciding rather neatly with the National Gallery's acquisition of the *Death of Procris*, which, however, makes no appearance in the novel or, alas, in Eliot's letters.

[4] J.A. Crowe and G.B. Cavalcaselle: *A New History of Painting from the II to the XVI Century*, London 1864–66, III, pp.420–26.

[5] See esp. G. Frizzoni: 'Saggio critico interno alle opere di pittura del Rinascimento italiano esistenti nella Galleria di Berlino', *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft* 3 (1870), p.81ff.; *idem*: 'L'arte italiana nella Galleria Nazionale di Londra', *Archivio storico italiano* 4 (1879–80), pp.246–81; *idem*: *Arte italiana nel Rinascimento*, Milan 1891; and *idem*: 'Appunti critici intorno alle opere di pittura della scuola italiana nella Galleria del Louvre', *L'Arte* 9 (1906), pp.403–04.

32. *Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths*, by Piero di Cosimo. Panel, 71 by 260 cm. (National Gallery, London).

studies on the artist were published in Germany in the last years of the nineteenth century.[6]

As was the case with Signorelli,[7] a remarkable number of paintings by Piero di Cosimo found their way into British private collections during the course of the nineteenth century, and indeed many of these were initially attributed to the artist from Cortona. A deliberate attempt to sort out this confusion was made at the Burlington Fine Arts Club monographic exhibition on Signorelli in 1893 by the show's organiser, the great collector Robin Benson, who had a particular interest in the subject since he owned the *Finding of Vulcan on Lemnos* (then called *Hylas and the nymphs*) now in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford CT.[8] In the exhibition he showed this and the large tondo now in Toledo OH, which had been bought as a Signorelli by the architect G.E. Street, and also displayed photographs of other works by Piero di Cosimo. It is in the Burlington Fine Art Club's catalogue that we find the first mention in print of the mythological panel painting that is the principal subject of this article, the *Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths* (National Gallery, London; Figs.32–33), a picture that Benson himself had recently unsuccessfully attempted to buy.[9]

We then jump ten years to early summer 1902. While patriotic Britons were celebrating the end of the Boer War and preparing for the coronation of Edward VII, a select group of the art and literary world was focusing its attention on an extraordinary painting on show at the Carfax Gallery in Ryder Street. Piero di Cosimo's *Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths*, on public view there for the first time, created a minor sensation among artists, critics and writers, perhaps a little analogous to the stir caused by Titian's *Flaying of Marsyas* when it was displayed in the *Genius of Venice* exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1983.[10] The Carfax Gallery was directed by Robert Ross, now best known as a loyal friend to Oscar Wilde, who ran it largely to show the work of contemporary artists, but also dealt in old masters, mainly what would then have been called 'primitives'.[11] He was a friend of the thirty-six-year-old Roger Fry, showed his work – still untouched by Cézanne at this period – and had even recently sold a painting by him: there was a surprisingly successful one-man show of Fry's oils and watercolours the following year.[12] The Piero di Cosimo was shown upstairs in the gallery along with bronzes by Rodin and paintings by Charles Conder, while downstairs hung sketches by Wilson Steer and sculpture by J.H.M. Furse. Ross wrote to Fry before the show opened:

> We have adopted your admirable suggestion about the Piero and hung it over the mantelpiece where it looks even and much better. Everyone is enthusiastic about the changed frame. You must come and see the result of your labours and your invention. The future Berenson 'on frames' will I fear detect the work of 'amico di Fryo' in the painting of the upper beading. I really cannot thank you enough for all your trouble.

'Amico di Fryo' is of course a joking reference to Bernard Berenson's sobriquets for the artistic personalities he invented.

[6] H. Ulmann: 'Piero di Cosimo', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 17 (1896), pp.42–64 and 120–42; F. Knapp: *Piero di Cosimo, ein Übergangsmeister von Florentiner Quattrocento zum Cinquecento*, Halle 1899, based on his Ph.D. diss.; and *idem*: *Piero di Cosimo: sein Leben und seine Werke*, Halle and Basel, 1897 and 1898.

[7] T. Henry: *Signorelli in British Collections*, London 1998.

[8] For Benson's collection, see S. Avery-Quash: 'The growth of interest in early Italian painting in Britain', in D. Gordon: *National Gallery Catalogues. The Fifteenth Century Italian Paintings, I*, London 2003, pp.xxv–xliv, esp. pp.xxxiv and xxxvi; for the Hylas/Vulcan picture, see J.K. Cadogan and M.R.T. Mahoney: *Wadsworth Atheneum. Paintings II. Italy and Spain Fourteenth through Nineteenth Centuries*, Hartford CT 1991, pp.5–6, and catalogue, pp.122–25; D. Franklin: 'Piero di Cosimo's "Vulcan and Aeolus" and "The Finding of Vulcan on the Island of Lemnos" reunited. Part I – a historical perspective', *National Gallery of Canada Review* 1 (2000), pp.53–66; and M.H. Barclay: 'Materials and Techniques of Piero di Cosimo's "Vulcan and Aeolus"', in *ibid*., pp.66–75.

[9] R.H. Benson: exh. cat. *Exhibition of the work of Luca Signorelli and his school*, London (Burlington Fine Arts Club) 1893, p.xvii. The Street tondo (Capretti 16) and the 'Hylas' were hung with photographs of other Piero di Cosimos lent by Herbert Cook. Benson refers to the *Centaurs* picture, 'which is not yet recorded by any authority', as 'lately in the hands of Signor Gagliardi in Florence'; for his own attempt to buy it, see Appendix 1.

[10] J. Martineau and C. Hope, eds.: exh. cat. *The Genius of Venice 1500–1600*, London (Royal Academy) 1983, pp.231–32, no.132. For the impact of the *Flaying of Marsyas*, see, for example, Tom Phillips quoted in the *RA Magazine* (Spring 2003): 'I can't think of a single artist whom I met in the period that painting was up who wasn't affected by it'.

[11] For Robert Ross, see M. Ross: *Robert Ross: Friend of Friends*, London 1952; M. Borland: *Wilde's devoted friend. A life of Robert Ross 1869–1918*, Oxford 1990, plus Borland's entry for Ross in H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison, eds.: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford 2004 (hereafter cited as ODNB). Ross's partner at Carfax was More Adey, later co-editor of THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE.

[12] F. Spalding: *Roger Fry, art and life*, 2nd ed., Norwich 1999, pp.70 and 73. Ross had been at King's College, Cambridge, for one year only in 1888–89, and it could have been there that he first met Fry.

[13] R. Ross to R. Fry, 26th May 1902; Cambridge, King's College, Archive Centre, Fry Papers (hereafter cited as Fry Papers) 3/143 (see Appendix 4).

[14] Fry Papers, 3/140, undated letter from C. Ricketts to R. Fry (see Appendix 3). A draft of this letter on blotting paper may be found in Ricketts's diary (London, British Library, Add. MS 58100, under 24th May 1902), without the final two paragraphs and with some phrases changed in the fair copy: 'I spoke to you about some months ago', instead of 'I was taken to see', 'as I do' instead of 'in that light'; Ricketts first wrote 'sinister' rather than 'elderly' to characterise Poynter. For Ricketts, see J.G.P. Delaney, *Charles Ricketts. A Biography*, Oxford 1990, with a useful outline of the *Centaurs* story.

In a postscript Ross added that the director of the National Gallery, the painter Edward Poynter, had just been in to see the picture, which 'he much admired', although, more worryingly, Poynter had revealed his ignorance of contemporary art by asking 'if the Rodin bronzes were also by Conder of whom he had not heard'.[13]

All the artists and critics who saw the *Centaurs* painting were convinced that it should be in the National Gallery. Before the picture went on show, the painter–illustrator and collector Charles Ricketts, who with his lifelong partner, Charles Shannon (Fig.37), is the hero of this narrative, wrote to Fry:

> Carfax and Co have the magnificent Piero di Cosimo I was taken to see last year with a revolver pointed at my left ear all the time. I am more anxious now than ever that it should go to our ungrateful Nation though it has almost doubled in price since last year (so like those thrifty Italians). I consider it as admirable as it is important historically, whatever that may mean. I wonder if the genteel trustees and the b.b. British public will see it in that light and that elderly castrato Poynter.[14]

Ricketts added: 'We are writing to friends to raise the wind, we all roar like sucking doves.[15] Why not the long forgotten memorial to the good queen Victoria?' Notwithstanding the ironic tone of his letter – the suggestion that a ferocious battle of nudes would be a fitting memorial to the late queen is particularly choice – Ricketts's concern for the national collection was characteristic and deeply felt.[16]

The painting had in fact left the hands of thrifty Italians ten years earlier. It had been acquired from the dealer Gagliardi in Florence in 1892 for £600 by a 'wealthy young Englishman' named James ('Jack') Burke, who was the very first collector to be advised by Bernard Berenson (see Appendix 1 below for his letter of thanks concerning this transaction).[17] If it seems puzzling that Burke should have been trying to resell the picture so soon after its purchase, a possible solution may be found not only in economic misfortune but also in the turmoil of his private life. Since he had acquired the painting, his wife had left him and become pregnant by another man. One could say she had been carried off by a young centaur, and the picture may have become an embarrassment.[18] Attempts soon after to sell it to European museums or to Isabella Stewart Gardner came to nothing. Ricketts was first shown it in conditions of great secrecy in 1901, via the architect, designer, typographer, art historian and *marchand amateur* Herbert Horne,[19] and wrote in his diary: 'both Shannon and I were delighted with it. The photograph does not give a fair idea of its serious value as a picture. It is dusky in tone, harmonious, highly wrought, and as far as I could see, practically untouched, though the picture is placed high up [. . .] Refused unaccountably, by Berlin (the very place for it), it was accepted by the Louvre, but rejected by some minister on the score of expence [*sic*]'.[20] Ricketts, with no thought yet of being able to acquire the painting himself, was already concerned about its fate: it would be hard to interest a private collector such as Edmund Davis whom he and Shannon advised,[21] because of the 'sheer size of the picture 8 feet long'. Moreover, 'Here in a private house it will seem violent and incoherent – in a public gallery it would become celebrated'.

33. Detail of Fig.32.

[15] Ricketts is quoting Bottom in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: 'I will roar you as gently as any sucking dove'.

[16] Frequent expressions of such concern can be found in Ricketts's diaries, and he wrote constant letters of protest or encouragement about the National Gallery to the newspapers and to the Director and Trustees; see T. Sturge Moore and C. Lewis, eds.: *Self-portrait, taken from the letters and journals of Charles Ricketts, R.A.*, London 1939, *passim*.

[17] E. Samuels: *Bernard Berenson: The making of a connoisseur*, Cambridge MA 1979, p.158, referring to Burke's letter to Berenson of 30th December 1892 (Villa I Tatti, Berenson Archive; see Appendix 1). Burke had travelled throughout Spain with Berenson in 1889, and in summer 1892 started collecting Impressionist paintings in Paris on his friend's advice.

[18] On 16th March 1895 Burke wrote to Mary Berenson (Villa I Tatti, Berenson Archive) asking her to thank Bernard for 'what he has done in the P di Cosimo matter'. Many letters both from Burke and from his wife, Mollie, in the Berenson Archive document the further startling developments in their private life. After their divorce, Burke and his wife met by chance in Antwerp, started living together again and remarried in 1896, but had difficulty in being reaccepted in society. After a long gap, we hear of Burke again in 1929, now happily married to Hélène, a French divorcée.

[19] 'Horne to grub, he has improved. He brought us a photo of a Centaurs & Lapiths by Piero di Cosimo a most interesting & characteristic picture'; Ricketts's diary for 1901; London, British Library, BL Add. MS 58099, fol.13r. It is worth remembering in this context that in 1899 Horne had entered into a formal agreement with Berenson, to import pictures from Florence to London and sell them, dividing the profits; see letter from B. Berenson to H. Horne, 9th January 1899, in L. Morozzi: *Le carte archivistiche della Fondazione Herbert P. Horne: Inventario*, Florence 1988, p.32. Horne consigned his own (including the Jacopo del Sellaio *Orpheus* panels displayed with the *Centaurs* picture) and Berenson's pictures for sale through Carfax, but neither he nor Berenson had a financial interest in the Piero di Cosimo. Berenson was offered a commission on it by Ross to help with the sale, but refused, saying he wanted Burke to get the benefit; letter from R. Ross to H. Horne, 16th October 1902; Florence, Archivio Horne, Carte Horne 56, inv.2600/33; segn.K.1.7.

[20] Ricketts's diary (London, British Library, BL Add. MSS 58999, fol.18v), cited in Delaney, *op. cit.* (note 14), p.120. Burke had sent a photograph of the picture in 1896 to Salomon Reinach at the Louvre; letter from J. Burke to B. Berenson, 31st January 1896; Villa I Tatti, Berenson Archive: 'I wrote to M. Reinach & sent him the photograph of the Pier [*sic*] di Cosimo, but I have had no word from him yet. Perhaps he is waiting for a meeting of the Louvre directors before writing'. The *douane* stamp on the back of the picture shows that it went to Paris for vetting; see Davies, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.422–24, and the dossier on the painting in the National Gallery, London.

[21] For the Davises as collectors, see H. Proud, ed.: exh. cat. *The Sir Edmund and Lady Davis presentation: A gift of British Art to South Africa*, Cape Town (South African National Gallery) 1999.

34. Copy of Piero di Cosimo's *Death of Procris*, by Helen Fry. c.1902–03. Canvas, 72 by 194 cm. (Private collection).

The asking price was then £1,500,[22] but according to Ricketts had doubled by the following year, when it was shown in public at Carfax and he, Fry, D.S. MacColl and Claude Phillips started a press campaign for the painting to be acquired by the National Gallery.

This episode needs to be seen in the context of the dismal state of the National Gallery at this period. Poynter was holding the directorship at the same time as the presidency of the Royal Academy, and the board of trustees was probably the worst and most obstructive the Gallery ever had before or since.[23] When Poynter was appointed in 1894 after Sir Frederic Burton's twenty years in office, the powers of the director were drastically curtailed: the death that same year of the influential trustee and collector Sir Henry Layard, a tireless campaigner for the Gallery both in public and behind the scenes with government, was particularly unfortunate.[24] Poynter's ability to purchase in the years that followed was further enfeebled by a pitiful grant and little sympathy from the Treasury. In the meantime major works of art of all schools had been leaving Britain at an alarming rate thanks to the energetic activities of Wilhelm von Bode in Berlin, while early Italian paintings of great quality were now being channelled through Berenson to Isabella Stewart Gardner in Boston. Writing a harsh review in 1901 of the recent acquisitions then on show in Trafalgar Square – dubious works by well-known names (including a dud 'Vermeer', a non-Perugino, a Fra Bartolommeo described as 'a flagrant attempt on our credulity'), Fry pointed out the important Dürers recently acquired by Berlin from British collections, and deplored the departure of Titian's *Rape of Europa* and Giotto's *Presentation in the temple* to America.[25] Fry echoed D.S. MacColl's recent call for a society to search out important works and present them to the nation – and this was of course the germ of the National Art-Collections Fund, founded in 1903.[26] Horne, who had himself written trenchant articles criticising National Gallery acquisitions, sent Fry a list of notable paintings that had 'got away'.[27]

Fry had already published an enthusiastic review of the Carfax exhibition, and in particular of the Piero di Cosimo, in the *Athenaeum* in June 1902 (see Appendix 6).[28] In it he explored the coexistence of tragedy and grotesquerie in the painting, comparing it with the drawings of Hokusai (Fig.38) for its 'fascinating ugliness'.[29] He followed this up with a second piece deploring a new National Gallery rule proposed by the 5th Marquess of Lansdowne, whereby no picture could be acquired without the unanimous consent of the trustees. He suggested diplomatically that if Poynter had been given the sort of autonomous power that Bode enjoyed in Berlin, he might have bought first-rate works which he had been forced to pass over. Fry added:

> The question has a particular poignancy at the present moment, when there is in the market a work of rare artistic quality, the fight between the Centaurs and the Lapiths by Piero di Cosimo [. . .] It is long since an Italian picture of the fifteenth century of such capital importance [. . .] has been obtainable. The desire to acquire this for the nation has been expressed with extraordinary unanimity by those competent to form a just opinion of its merits.[30]

These competent persons were initially Claude Phillips and MacColl. Phillips, later the Keeper of the Wallace Collection,[31] had written in his review of the Carfax show in the *Daily Telegraph* that the Centaurs picture would be a welcome addition

[22] '. . . went with R and Horne to see P di Cosimo Centaurs and Lapiths most enchanting picture should try to get Davis to buy it at 1500 the price asked'; diary of Charles Haslewood Shannon, 1901, London, British Library, BL Add. MSS 58113, fol.16v: Burke had paid only £600 for it (see Appendix 1). Horne told Berenson in a letter of 9th May 1902 (Villa I Tatti, Berenson Archive) that Carfax intended to ask £2,500 for it: 'We are getting up a small exhibition of the two cassones [Horne's two Orpheus pictures by Jacopo del Sellaio] and we are asking 2000 guineas for them [. . .] Burke, I must tell you, is lending us his Piero di Cosimo; and we are asking £2500 for it. *But please keep all this to yourself* . . .'.

[23] See Avery-Quash, *op. cit.* (note 8), p.xxxvi; and J. Conlon: *The nation's mantelpiece: A history of the National Gallery*, London 2006, pp.95–106. I am grateful to Nicholas Penny for discussing with me this period of the National Gallery's fortunes, or misfortunes.

[24] As Nicholas Penny pointed out to me in conversation; see his enthralling account of Layard in N. Penny: *National Gallery Catalogues. The Sixteenth-Century Italian Paintings. Volume I. Paintings from Bergamo Brescia and Cremona*, London 2004, pp.372–80.

[25] R.E. Fry: 'Recent Acquisitions at the National Gallery', *Pilot* (5th January 1901), pp.10–11. The paintings included no.1694, attributed to Fra Bartolommeo, *Holy Family*, purchased 1900; no.1812, ascribed to Lo Spagna, *Christ at Gethesemane*, Vaughan bequest 1900; and no.1465, Gaudenzio Ferrari's *Christ rising from the tomb*, purchased 1895. The non-Vermeer was the left half of no.1699, now attributed to Michiel Nouts, *Family group*, presented by Fairfax Murray in 1900.

[26] M. Lago: 'Christiana Herringham and the National Art Collections Fund', THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE 135 (1993), pp.202–11; *idem*: *Christiana Herringham and the Edwardian Art Scene*, Columbia MO 1996; and R. Verdi, ed.: exh. cat. *Saved!: 100 years of the National Art Collections Fund*, London (Hayward Gallery) 2003.

[27] H.P. Horne: 'The state of the National Gallery', *Saturday Review* 85 (26th February 1898), supplement, pp.275–79; *idem*: 'An inquiry into two pictures recently acquired for the National Gallery', *Magazine of Art* 33 (1899), pp.241–46; and D. Sutton: 'Letters from Herbert Horne to Roger Fry', *Apollo* 123 (August 1985), pp.136–59, esp. pp.136–37. In the 1899 article, Horne pointed out that a small predella of the *Baptism of Christ* (NG1431), bought for £400 in 1894, was a late copy of Perugino's panel in Rouen.

[28] Anon [R.E. Fry]: 'Florentine Painting at Messrs. Carfax's', *Athenaeum* (7th June 1902), pp.727–28 (see Appendix 6). He had written the article for publication the previous week, and wrote to Ross to apologise for the *Athenaeum*'s having delayed it; see letter from R. Fry to R. Ross, 1st June 1902, in Ross, *op. cit.* (note 11), p.77.

[29] Ricketts and Shannon had spent £60 in 1898 on several volumes of drawings by or attributed to Hokusai, including the *Suikoden* album (BM 1937, 0710, 0.285), subsequently bequeathed to the British Museum; see Sturge Moore and Lewis, *op. cit.* (note 16), p.22.

35. *Centaur with child*, by Charles Ricketts. c.1905–10. Bronze. (Cecil Higgins Art Gallery, Bedford).

36. Photograph of the hallway in Lansdowne House, Holland Park, showing Piero di Cosimo's *Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths* when in the collection of Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon. (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

to the 'Florentine section' of the National Gallery. He may well have been lobbied by Ricketts to do this, as he clearly found the painting rather alarming, writing of 'strange uncouth figures interlaced in many a hideous death-grapple' and adding 'he who knows his Piero di Cosimo is made indefinably to feel that he has here to a certain extent lost his balance, and substituted a fiercer and more unbridled mood of fantasy for his own, [as seen in] the Venus and Mars of Berlin, and the lovely Cephalus and Procris of the National Gallery'.[32] But the critic D.S. MacColl (later Keeper of the Tate Gallery),[33] covering the exhibition in the *Saturday Review*, was unequivocal in his support (see Appendix 7): 'I write these lines to urge, as strongly as I may, that one of the most delightful and characteristic works of its time should by official action or private effort be secured for the National Gallery'. He concluded by describing the picture as 'one of those unique knottings up of vision, poetry and temperament that ought to be preserved, among other key pieces in the choice part of the national collection'. It is fascinating to note that MacColl includes in the same review a discussion of two paintings of Centaurs by the 'learned and subtle artist' Charles Ricketts, concurrently on show in the Van Wisselingh gallery (for Ricketts's explorations of centaur themes, see Fig.35),[34] but expresses concern about 'the future of painting taken so evasively' – it being, he felt, rather too late to try to paint like Titian.

MacColl's rallying cry on behalf of the painting was taken up in letters from Sir Martin Conway, founder of the Conway Library, from Ricketts's and Shannon's friend Thomas Sturge Moore, and from the poet and theatrical impresario Herbert Trench.[35] Even the writer Edmund Gosse urged the cause, praising the 'perverse and comic beauty' of the painting, a fit subject for a canto of Keats's *Endymion* or an essay by Hazlitt. 'This is exactly what parts of "The Faery Queene" would look like if Time with his dingy finger could obscure the varnish of verse'.[36] Ricketts got together a group of six supporters, including the artists Shannon, Alphonse Legros and Charles Furse, as well as the writers Maurice Hewlett and Frederick York Powell, to sign a letter to *The Times*, making in staider terms the points he had put to Fry ('In our opinion the historical interest of the picture, which no student of early Italian painting would for a moment deny, is only surpassed by its importance and value as a work of art').[37] With a speed unusual for him, Herbert Horne placed a well-researched article on the picture in the August issue of the *Architectural Review* (it can be no accident that the editor at that time was MacColl), writing in his last paragraph that he hoped the work would be secured for the National Gallery.[38] Getting wind of the campaign, Mrs Gardner asked Berenson to find out what the Piero di Cosimo could be bought for and 'if it is good',

[30] Anon [R.E. Fry]: 'The Administration of the National Gallery', *Athenaeum* (2nd August 1902), p.165.

[31] See the entry on Phillips by D.S. MacColl, revised by C. Lloyd, in ODNB; also D. Sutton: 'Sir Claude Phillips: First Keeper of the Wallace Collection', *Apollo* 116 (November 1982), pp.322–32. Phillips, a good connoisseur, was art critic for the *Daily Telegraph* from 1897 onwards, Keeper of the Wallace Collection from 1897 to 1911 and a member of the Consultative Committee of THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE from its inception in 1903.

[32] C. Phillips: 'The Carfax Gallery', *Daily Telegraph* (4th June 1902); see Appendix 5. Phillips was the first to attribute in print to Piero di Cosimo the *Vulcan and Aeolus* now in Ottawa, then owned by the 10th Marquess of Lothian at Newbattle Abbey, Dalkeith, and then given to Signorelli; see C. Phillips: 'Exposition d'œuvres de maîtres anciens à la Royal Academy', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, NS 31 (1885), pp.271ff., crediting Sidney Colvin '*et d'autres critiques autorisés*' with this opinion. However, he felt the picture to have '*plutôt l'attrait d'une énigme que celui d'une œuvre de maître*', and, nine years later, considered Benson's *Hylas and the nymphs* to be from Piero di Cosimo's studio 'but too rough to be from his own hand'; *idem*: 'Early Italian Art at the New Gallery I', *Magazine of Art* 17 (1894), pp.145–49.

[33] For MacColl, see M. Borland: *D.S. MacColl, painter, poet, art critic*, Harpenden 1995; and the entry by H.B. Grimsditch, revised by R. Upstone, in ODNB. After five years at the Tate Gallery and a health scare, MacColl succeeded Phillips at the Wallace Collection (1911–24).

[34] In his diary entries of 1901 and 1902 Ricketts describes progress on his centaur pictures, including 'my small "Centaur idyll"'; see Sturge Moore and Lewis, *op. cit.* (note 16), p.73. He had used a centaur motif for the cover of the third number of his periodical *The Dial*, 1893, and there are several other paintings with centaur subjects, as well as bronzes (see Fig.35). For the centaur motif in Ricketts's art, see Delaney, *op. cit.* (note 14), pp.146–47; and C. Woodring: 'Centaurs unnaturally fabulous', *Wordsworth Circle* 38 (2007), pp.4–12.

[35] Short letters from Conway and Trench were published in the *Saturday Review* (5th July 1902) and from Sturge Moore (12th July 1902), the latter writing that it 'would be a thousand pities if such a treasure were to cross the Atlantic, or if the price were allowed to increase, as it has already done and will probably continue to do, so that at last the nation might come to pay heavily for what can now be had at a very moderate figure'. Ross's letters to Horne (Florence, Archivio Horne) show that both Trench and Conway were intermittently involved in Carfax's dealing activities.

[36] For Gosse's letter, see Appendix 8.

[37] 'Exportation of Works of Art', *The Times* (26th July 1902).

[38] H.P. Horne: 'Piero di Cosimo's "Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths"', *Architectural Review* 12 (1902), pp.61–68.

adding 'Piero di Cosimo I am fond of'. When Berenson told her irritably that it was a picture he had offered her five years earlier and that now it could not be secured for less than £2,650, she backed off, saying 'I asked because someone here had been lured to snatch it for the National Gallery'.[39]

Despite this initial orchestration, the campaign got nowhere, and seems to have petered out by the end of the year.[40] Although Ross was given some hints of potential support from the Treasury, Fry was not only unable to count on any existing structures to push things forwards, but also found his own motives under suspicion from the aristocratic echelons of the art world.[41] Acquisitions at the National Gallery were then almost at a standstill: in 1902 the only purchase it had made in any school was the central panel of Lorenzo Monaco's *Coronation of the Virgin*.[42] It would in any case be understandable had there been doubts at Trafalgar Square about the idea of acquiring a painting so relentlessly devoted to themes of nudity, rape and carnage. It is worth remembering that Signorelli's *Realm of Pan* had been thought to be 'rather undressed for the British public' by the Gallery's director, William Boxall, in 1866 and was subsequently snapped up by Berlin.[43] Ricketts worried from the beginning about the Piero di Cosimo that 'the subject and treatment of it might militate against English people doing justice to it at first', and was nervous about the likely reactions of Poynter and the Trustees.[44] Also relevant is the fact that Layard had asked Morelli's disciple J.P. Richter (then living in Florence and buying paintings for Ludwig Mond)[45] to look at the *Centaurs* picture as early as 1885, and had elicited a distinctly unenthusiastic response: 'My impression is', wrote Richter, 'that it represents the master fairly well and that it is in a good state of preservation. But I cannot say much more in its favour. The shadowy parts have become unusually dark and the drawing appears to me to be deffective [*sic*] in many prominent points. I hardly think that the picture shows the master to better advantage than the brilliant cassone picture at the National Gallery'.[46] As late as 1933 when consulted about the painting after Ricketts's death by the then director A.M. Daniel, Richter made the astonishingly misplaced comment: 'The rough treatment of the landscape and also the poor drawing of the figures seem to show that here an inferior hand has made use of Piero's original drawings'.[47]

37. *C.S. Ricketts and C.H. Shannon*, by William Rothenstein. 1897. Lithograph, 30.8 by 42.5 cm. (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

In the absence of official interest, it was well-nigh impossible, as Fry saw, to launch a public appeal 'without any proper organization for doing so'. It is clear, then, that this abortive campaign should be seen as one of the several key factors leading next year to the foundation of just such an organisation, the National Art-Collections Fund, an initiative in which many of the same individuals – Fry, MacColl, Phillips, Ricketts, Conway and Horne – took such an active part.[48]

As for the *Centaurs*, after the furore died down Ricketts and Shannon (Fig.39) were able to snap it up privately in October 1904. The progress of the negotiations can be tracked in the two artists' diaries through August and September,[49] including the anxious moment when it seemed as though Fry had produced an alternative purchaser, a 'Mrs Merryfield'.[50] The artist-partners were able to secure the painting for £500, less than a quarter of the price the owner had been asking two years earlier, and less than he

[39] See R. van N. Hadley: *The Letters of Bernard Berenson and Isabella Stewart Gardner 1887–1924*, Boston 1987, pp.92–93 and 297–300. Berenson wrote that the picture had been on offer in 1897 for £1,000.

[40] Horne mentioned it in three letters to Fry in November; Sutton, *op. cit.* (note 27), p.136. He suggested approaching Rosenheim and sent a letter of introduction, adding on 19th November 1902: 'I hope you won't abandon the project of a subscription for the Piero di Cosimo'. MacColl replied to a letter from Fry, saying he had been on the point of writing himself 'to ask whether you had given up the Piero di Cosimo project', and adding, 'It seems to me we shall have seriously to consider a campaign against the absurdities of the National Gallery and general thieving of the Ring'; D.S. MacColl to R. Fry, 27th December 1902, Fry Papers, 3/111.

[41] In Ross's correspondence with Horne, he wrote on 21st October 1902 that he had been tipped off by a Treasury official that the department would not oppose 'a special grant for the Piero' if the Trustees asked for one (letter of 16th October 1902 cited at note 19 above), but on 12th December he reported that Fry had been refused the Burlington Fine Arts Club as a place to hold meetings to discuss the issue, and had been told by Lord Dilke that he was suspected of being '*too* interested' (*ibid.*). By early January 1903, Ross had concluded that Fry was too busy to get a national subscription off the ground (*ibid.*).

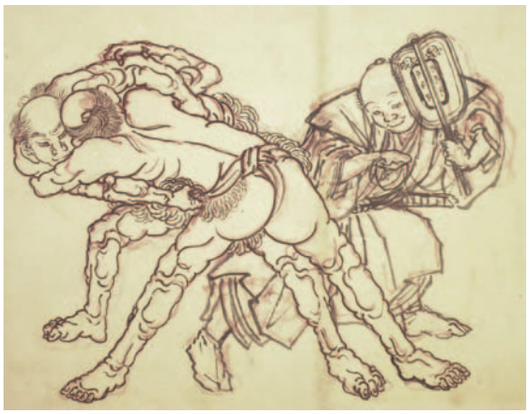
[42] Gordon, *op. cit.* (note 8), p.166. Since the Gallery already owned the side panels, it would have been unthinkable to pass this up. Things began to improve somewhat in 1904, with the purchase of Titian's *Portrait of a man* (Man with a blue sleeve), and Dürer's *Portrait of the painter's father*, though Fry was against the latter.

[43] J. Ross: *The Fourth Generation. Reminiscences by Janet Ross*, London 1912, pp.185ff.; see also Avery-Quash, *op. cit.* (note 8), p.xxxiv, who quotes Boxall's more euphemistic report to the Trustees that the Signorelli was 'more fitting for an Academy than for the National Gallery'. Layard was more open-minded, writing on 7th December 1870: 'The Ross Signorelli is a fine and authentic picture – described by Vasari – and although somewhat overrestored is one which I should like to see in the National Gallery. Both Eastlake and Boxall thought the treatment of the subject rather indecent – but I confess not to do so'; J. Anderson: 'Wilhelm von Bode versus Giovanni Morelli', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996), pp.116–17, and note 37.

[44] Diary draft on blotting paper of a letter from C. Ricketts to Sanford Arthur Strong, 21st–22nd May 1902; see Appendix 2. Strong, who died in 1904, had catalogued the drawings at Chatsworth; his wife, the distinguished classical archaeologist Eugénie Sellars Strong, was a particular *bête noire* of Fry's. For Strong, see the entry by J.S. Cotton, revised by J.B. Katz, in ODNB; for his wife; see also M. Beard: 'Mrs. Arthur Strong, Morelli and the Troopers of Cortes', in A.A. Donohue and M.D. Fullerton, eds.: *Ancient art and its historiography*, Cambridge 2003, pp.148–70.

[45] See L.M. Richter: *Recollections of Dr Ludwig Mond*, London 1910; and J.P. Richter: *The Mond Collection. An appreciation*, London 1910.

[46] J.P. Richter to A.H. Layard, 5th November 1885; London, British Library, Layard Papers, BL Add. MS 39039, fols.131r–32r; reference from Davies, *op. cit.* (note 1). Gagliardi's asking price was 25,000 francs and Richter thought 10,000 would be nearer its true value. In 1886 and 1887, when Richter checked again, the price was said to be 'not less than 30,000 francs'; Richter to Layard, 9th December 1886 and



38. *Sumo match*, by Katsushika Hokusai. Ink and colours on paper, 30.8 by 42.5 cm. (Bequeathed in 1937 by Charles H. Shannon to the British Museum, London).

had actually paid for it in 1892. Despite the expectations in 1902 that the picture would 'cross the Atlantic' at a yet more inflated price, the feverish enthusiasm for it had abated.[51] Evidently Burke was by now desperate to sell, and he even asked for an uncrossed cheque. Ricketts and Shannon, who were not at all wealthy, had decided to spend everything they had on the painting. They probably resolved then and there that this treasured acquisition (see Fig.36) would one day pass into the ownership of the National Gallery, as it eventually did after Shannon's death in 1937.

The campaign for the *Centaurs* picture provides the background to a remarkable unpublished lecture by Fry on Piero di Cosimo, in which he offers a highly original critical reading of the artist, exploring concepts of ugliness and naivety, while likening the linked but separate episodes of the *Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths* to a poem structured in cantos.[52] There seems to be no record of exactly when or where he gave the lecture, but it was probably delivered in the autumn of 1902,[53] and he was evidently expecting his audience to be a general if educated one, since he specifically eschews the detailed art-historical questions of chronology and attribution that he often explores in his early lectures. Instead, he emphasises the literary and poetic qualities of Piero di Cosimo's work to a degree unusual for him even at this period, when he was much less insistent than he was later to become on the primacy of formal values. The participation of writers such as Edmund Gosse in the campaign to acquire the *Centaurs* no doubt encouraged Fry to pursue these literary aspects, but they remained an important element in his analysis of this particular artist until the end of his life. It should also be stressed that his enthusiasm for Piero di Cosimo was not new: he had for several years been making careful notes on paintings by the artist that he had come across in Berlin, Dresden, Rome and Florence, and his wife, Helen, made a full-scale copy of the *Death of Procris* (Fig.34). Fry took a particular interest in Piero di Cosimo's distinctive handling of light and colour, on which he makes a series of brilliant observations in the lecture, returning to this topic again and again in later discussions. A full account of Fry's lifelong interest in Piero di Cosimo, and a transcription of his lecture, must be reserved for a future occasion.[54]

Why did Piero di Cosimo's *Centaurs* painting touch such a vital nerve in 1902? It must be remembered that the picture had never previously been exhibited, even though it had seemingly been in Gagliardi's hands in Florence for a long time, arousing little interest, even before Richter inspected it for Layard.[55] The way had been prepared for it by a growing interest in Piero di Cosimo, as works continued to be added to his *œuvre*. Also, its profoundly poetical Ovidian content was likely to engage the interests of an English audience brought up on the classics and notoriously susceptible to literary values in art. Another factor in the picture's favour was the persistent seam of neo-paganism running through English culture from Walter Pater to E.M. Forster. This strand is explicitly woven into MacColl's review, with its slightly winsome preamble, even if his linking of centaur themes in Piero di Cosimo and Ricketts is clearly opportunistic, a way of shaping his weekly copy.

Moreover, it requires little prosopographical research to reveal that those who campaigned for Piero di Cosimo's painting in 1902, far from being a random scattering of individuals brought together by a shared enthusiasm, were rather a close-knit group of artists, critics, connoisseurs and literary figures accustomed to bumping into one another near Piccadilly in one or other of the nodal points of Edwardian male sociability.[56] Ricketts, who was perhaps the prime mover, was not very clubbable, preferring to entertain friends to 'grub' at home with Shannon, but even he records in his diaries occasional meetings for tea at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in Savile Row, where Fry and Phillips were

22nd October 1887; London, British Library, BL Add. MS 39041, 26r–27v and 220r. The 'cassone picture' is of course the *Death of Procris*.

47 The letter, of 27th May 1933, is in the National Gallery dossier. The picture came on loan to the Gallery in 1933, Ricketts having died in 1931, as Shannon, although he lived until 1937, had suffered irreparable brain damage after falling from a ladder while hanging a picture in 1929; see Davies, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.422–24, for the acquisition; and Delaney, *op. cit.* (note 14), pp.372–74 and 397 for Shannon's accident and Ricketts's death.

48 See the references cited in note 26 above.

49 Ricketts diary, 17th August 1904 ('the painting has been offered to them for £700; they are counting up their funds'); Shannon diary, 18th August 1904 ('to Carfax to discuss the question of our purchasing the famous Piero di Cosimo'); Ricketts diary, 28th September 1904 ('Dreadful news about the Piero, Mrs Merryfield has been turned on by Fry, so we are packing [*sic*] out of the affair'); Shannon diary, 29th September 1904 ('Ross called about the purchase of the Piero di Cosimo which we had given up, at lunch we received a wire that we could have it for £500 our original offer. Joy at last'; cf. Ricketts diary entry the same day); Ricketts diary, 4th October 1904 ('Burke called to ask us for uncrossed cheque & gave us permit to remove the picture'); Ricketts diary, 5th October 1904 ('Piero picture arrived'); London, British Library, BL Add. MS 58102, fols.41v, 51v and 53r–v; and BL Add. MS 58116, fols.78r and 89r.

50 I am at a loss to identify 'Mrs Merryfield', and wonder whether this might conceivably be a *lapsus* for Christiana Herringham, the founder-contributor to the National Art-Collections Fund. Like the Victorian Mrs Merrifield, long since deceased, Lady Herringham was strongly interested in early painting techniques: she edited Cennino Cennini's treatise and was, with Fry, a member of the Tempera Society, to which she gave a paper on paintings in the National Gallery, including a discussion of Piero di Cosimo's *Death of Procris*; see C. Herringham: 'Methods of tempera as exemplified in a few pictures at the National Gallery', *Papers of the Society of Painters in Tempera* 1 (1901–07), pp.22–27.

51 Knapp 1899, *op. cit.* (note 6), in 1899 had already listed the painting as '*wahrscheinlich nach Amerika verkauft*'. On 8th October 1904 Ross wrote to Horne that the painting had been sold at last: 'It is a great relief to me. I always dreaded Christies and the grin of [Charles] Fairfax Murray. Don't tell anyone what was given for it, at all events for a while [. . .] The wily Burke after the bargain was concluded went and got Shannon to promise to paint his child for nothing as a solution for not getting more'; letter of 16th October 1902 cited at note 19 above.

52 Fry Papers, 1/75. My attention was first drawn to this lecture by Christopher Green, who wrote some acute lines on Fry and Piero di Cosimo in C. Green: exh. cat. *Art made modern. Roger Fry's vision of art*, London (Courtauld Gallery) 1999, p.197.

53 He mentions Horne's August 1902 article on the picture, still referred to as in the collection of 'Mr Burke'.

54 These will be published in my book *Roger Fry and Italian Art* (forthcoming).

55 Davies, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.423, suggests that it might be the 'singular composition by L. Signorelli, a profane subject', seen by Mündler at Gagliardi's on 10th September 1857.

56 I am grateful to Charles Robertson for suggesting to me the useful concept of 'male sociability' in this context.

members. Several of the signatories of letters to the *Saturday Review* in 1902 were close friends of his – Sturge Moore, Gosse, Legros – as was the dealer selling the painting, Ross, who, as we have seen, was also a friend of Fry's.[57] The friendships between the three principal activists, Ricketts, MacColl and Fry, were probably at their strongest at this time, but were inclined on occasion to become edgy, and were later to fracture altogether. Ricketts regarded Fry with some suspicion, but still enjoyed a friendly argument with him in these years.[58] After Fry's conversion to Post-Impressionism Ricketts became openly hostile, and resigned from the Consultative Committee of THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE when Fry was appointed editor.[59] In 1904 Ricketts described MacColl, who, as we have seen, had criticised in print the whole basis of his painting, as 'a real red hot enemy and old friend'.[60] MacColl and Fry were already sparring in print, and were to do so more ferociously after 1910, although they always retained some affection for each other.[61] For Ross, too, the first Post-Impressionist exhibition and the change in Fry's painting and critical stance marked the end of their friendship and professional association.[62] But all these men found themselves on the same side in the campaign of 1902 and its immediate aftermath.

In 1902 the fault lines between the various camps in the English art world had not yet developed into unbridgeable chasms. There was still much overlap and interaction between veterans of the Arts and Crafts movement or of 1890s aestheticism and the painters and critics who were members of the New English Art Club.[63] One such area of convergence was the response to Piero di Cosimo's *Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths*, which was interpreted in notably different ways by its various devotees. Fry's reading of it in terms of invention and poetic structure developed out of a well-established literary-minded English aesthetic, but his stress on Piero di Cosimo's naivety and wilful ugliness had intimations of a more primitivistic, modernist stance which was soon to disrupt the precarious consensus altogether.

39. *Mr Ricketts and Mr Shannon, in the enjoyment of popular success*, by Max Beerbohm. 1907. Pen, ink and watercolour, 32.3 by 40.6 cm. (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

[57] See Delaney, *op. cit.* (note 14), *passim*, for these friendships. Ricketts referred on one occasion to 'one's best enemies of all sexes, Claude Phillips, for instance and Herbert Trench'; *ibid.*, p.259.

[58] See the excellent discussion of this in *ibid.*, pp.193–95, describing Fry as 'a friend who became an enemy'. There are several letters of 1904 from Ricketts to Fry in the Fry Papers, discussing some finer points of connoisseurship, especially in the Sienese Art exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club that year. Ricketts distrusted Fry's eye, thought he owned 'toshy pictures of the type which should not be collected' and was worried about the 'mixed and divergent rot' he might buy for the Metropolitan Museum of Art; for which see J. Pope-Hennessy: 'Roger Fry and the Metropolitan Museum', in E. Chaney, ed.: *Oxford, China and Italy: Writings in honour of Sir Harold Acton*, London 1984, pp.229–40; and F. Gennari Santori: 'European "Masterpieces" for America: Roger Fry and the Metropolitan Museum of Art', in Green, *op. cit.* (note 52), pp.107–18.

[59] Fry wrote that he hoped to persuade Ricketts to relent: 'not that he's important, but I have a foolish liking for him'; R. Fry to R.C. Trevelyan, 4th January 1909, in D. Sutton, ed.: *Letters of Roger Fry*, London 1972, I, p.309.

[60] Ricketts did not want MacColl to be sent a review copy of his book on the Prado, and wrote in a draft letter to his publisher in late April 1904: 'Holmes is very keen to puff it in the Burlington which after all appeals to the right quarters & I should therefore suggest a copy for that pompous publication instead of the Saturday Review where I have a real red hot enemy & old friend in D.S.M. [MacColl]. I do not think he would dare to bark or bite (I usually bite him) but he would damn the book on its format or character or the illustrations, & if he wants to be unpleasant he will look it up at Kensington & you will be the richer by a copy & by a review gratis'; London, British Library, BL Add. MS 58102, fol.24v.

[61] The occasions are too numerous for citation, but Sutton, *op. cit.* (note 59), *ad indicem*.

[62] Ross published a hostile review of the first Post-Impressionist exhibition (in the *Morning Post*), owning to 'a certain feeling of sadness that distinguished critics whose profound knowledge and connoisseurship are beyond question should be found to welcome pretension and imposture'; cited in C. Reed: *A Roger Fry reader*, Chicago 1996, pp.49–50.

[63] See E. Prettejohn: 'Out of the Nineteenth Century: Roger Fry's early art criticism, 1900–1906', in Green, *op. cit.* (note 52), pp.31–44; and A. Gruetzner Robins: 'Fathers and Sons. Walter Sickert and Roger Fry', in *ibid.*, pp.45–56.

Appendix

Correspondence, diary entries and reviews, 1892–1904, concerning Piero di Cosimo's 'Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths'.

1. J. Burke to B. Berenson, 30th December 1892 from Birch Hall, Windlesham (Settignano, Villa I Tatti, Berenson Archive).

My Dear Berenson,

You are the most marvellous man of business in existence! When I opened your letter this morning & read your description of your negotiation with Gagliardi, & the result of it, it quite took my breath away. Well, I need not tell you how grateful I am for what you have done in this matter, & I shall not rest satisfied before I have repaid you in some way for your friendly zeal in [*sic*] my behalf. The Pier [*sic*] di Cosimo is a picture that would give me infinite pleasure under whatever circumstances I became the owner of it, but of course, however little one thinks of the money side of the question, it certainly does add an additional zest if one knows one has got a bargain. I must say £600 seems a ridiculous price for such a picture, & as I had screwed up my courage to the point of £800 it seems almost like getting it for nothing. One thing at once struck me when I heard that Benson & the other man had offered 800 guineas for it – that they must have believed it would be a bargain at that price; for I should imagine an Englishman who would willingly give a long price for a picture at Christies, where there is some eclat in doing so, would be little likely to buy a picture in Florence unless he thought he was doing a splendid deal over it. But, however one looks at it, I think your getting it for £600 is a stroke of genius [. . .]

Between us friends, there is of course no talk of commission when you help me in buying a picture, for I know well enough you do not do it with that object. But when you cause me a direct saving, I think it is only fair that you should be free to call upon me for any portion of the sum saved that you want at any time & that it should be considered not as lent by me, but given outright. I am sending now £650, & the balance of the £800 I shall hold at your disposal.

2. C. Ricketts diary, draft of a letter to Sandford Arthur Strong, 21st–22nd May 1902 (London, British Library, BL Add. MS 58100, 28v).

My dear Strong,

One of the most important pictures by Piero di Cosimo will be on view shortly at [the place [[shop]] run by some friends of mine under the name of – *deleted*] the Carfax Galleries. Last year, when it was still in private hands, I was anxious that it should if possible be purchased for the nation but circumstances were against it at that time. I am anxious to solicit your influence and support in this matter, should a move be made to secure it, as the subject and treatment of it might militate against English people doing justice to it at first. Its state of preservation is excellent. I am however nervous as to trustees and pointer [Poynter]. I also regret that the price has swollen since last year not unnaturally however in the light of excellent prices for Italian work.

3. C. Ricketts to R. Fry, [24th May 1902], from Lansdowne House, Lansdowne Road, London (Cambridge, King's College, Archive Centre, Fry Papers, 3/140).

My Dear Fry

Carfax and Co have the magnificent Piero di Cosimo I was taken to see last year with a revolver pointed at my left ear all the time. I am more anxious now than ever that it should go to our ungrateful Nation though it has almost doubled in price since last year (so like those thrifty Italians). I consider it as admirable as it is important historically, whatever that may mean. I wonder if the genteel trustees and the b.b. British public will see it in that light and that elderly castrato Poynter.

We are writing to friends to raise the wind, we all roar like sucking doves. Why not the long forgotten memorial to the good queen Victoria?

We sit in builders [*sic*] dust and magnificence. I hope T.S. Moore will bring you here someday when we have a front door. Yours ever C. Ricketts

4. R. Ross to R. Fry, 26th May [1902] (Cambridge, King's College, Archive Centre, Fry Papers, 3/143).

We have adopted your admirable suggestion about the Piero and hung it over the mantelpiece where it looks even and much better. Everyone is enthusiastic about the changed frame. You must come and see the result of your labours and your invention. The future Berenson 'on frames' will I fear detect the work of 'amico di Fryo' in the painting of the upper beading. I really cannot thank you enough for all your trouble.
Very truly yours Robbie Ross

Poynter has just been to see the Piero which he much admired. He asked if the Rodin bronzes were also by Conder of whom he had not heard.

5. C. Phillips: 'The Carfax Gallery', 'Daily Telegraph' (4th June 1902).

Three important, and to the general public comparatively unknown examples of the Florentine school of the Quattrocento, which can with certainty be placed within the last twenty years of that fruitful century, are now to be seen grouped together in an upper chamber of this little gallery, which we have already learnt to associate with the finer and less obvious phases both of modern and ancient art. All three are of exceptional interest and importance. The 'Battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths' by Piero di Cosimo, is one of the most remarkable among the fantastically conceived mythological subjects, with which, rather than with purely sacred art, the fame of this artist is associated. It is an early and extraordinarily vigorous performance of Cosimo Rosselli's gifted pupil, which may well have been painted on his return to Florence after the sojourn in Rome when, nominally as the assistant of his tiresome and perfunctory master, or rather entrepreneur, he painted the dramatic 'Destruction of Pharaoh' in the Sistine Chapel. In this panel, of fair dimension and solemn fanciful colouring, is depicted, according to the Metamorphoses of Ovid, the terrific battle at the Nuptials of Pirithous and Hippodamia, when the centaurs are in bloody encounter overcome by the Lapiths, to whom the puissant heroes Hercules and Theseus lend all-powerful aid. Piero di Cosimo is here manifestly under the influence of Antonio Pollaiuolo, whose austerity, whose characteristically Florentine violence and terribilità he here seeks to outdo. Interesting as are these strange uncouth groups interlaced in many a hideous death-grapple, he who knows his Piero di Cosimo is made indefinably to feel that he has here, to a certain extent, lost his balance, and substituted a fiercer and more unbridled mood of fantasy for his own, as we see in the 'Venus and Mars' of Berlin, and the lovely 'Cephalus and Procris' of the National Gallery. The most poetic part of this composition is the gloomy landscape, perfectly in unison with the wild scenes of horror which it enframes. Clearly connected in style with the female heads in this panel is that of the so-called 'Cleopatra', a delightfully fantastic portrait study in the Condé museum in Chantilly, where it is still catalogued by Antonio Pollaiuolo, though almost all the more serious connoisseurs of the school are in agreement in giving it to Piero di Cosimo.

[He goes on to discuss the 'agreeable contrast' afforded by the 'School of Botticelli', Orpheus panels, which he says should be given to Jacopo del Sellaio, citing the article by Mackowski in the *Berlin Jahrbuch* of 1899 – these are the paintings now in the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, and in Cracow].

All three panels would, it can hardly be doubted, be welcome additions to the Florentine section of the National Gallery.

6. R. Fry: 'Florentine painting at Messrs. Carfax's', 'Athenaeum' (7th June 1902), pp.727–28.

The remaining panel is of much greater artistic merit [than the Sellaios], though curiously similar in the general attitude it reveals [. . .] the freedom and grotesque fancy of a mind uninfluenced by classical art. But it is by one of the most intensely original geniuses that the quattrocento produced – namely Piero di Cosimo. And here he is seen in every aspect of his strangely compounded nature. At first it is the ugliness that strikes one, the fascinating ugliness of his figures, with knotted limbs and heavy articulation, like the figures in some of Hokusai's drawings. Then we find that Piero is very much in earnest – that he has realized the horror and the brutality of the conflict in no superficial or indifferent mood. The rush of hoofs upon the tablecloth spread for the bridal picnic, the furious energy of movement with which Anycus swings the bronze candelabrum full in Celadon's face, the bestial fury of the encounter which rages round Eurylus and the hapless Hippodamia – these are rendered with a tragic intensity which shows that Piero not only pictured the scene to himself with passionate conviction, but in depicting it he could make use of a searching knowledge of the characteristic and expressive qualities of the nude figure. But when we have wondered how he could be at once tragic and grotesque, and that, too, simply and without a trace of irony, we come upon the figure of Hylonome kneeling to staunch the wound of her beloved Cyllarus and realize how exquisitely tender Piero could be at the same time. It would, we think, be difficult to find another work in which the richness and variety as well as the depth of Piero's genius are better seen. And Piero stands quite alone in Italian art, the inventor of a narrative style which no one else took up. He has, as no other Florentine, the homeliness and rusticity which we find in some Northern art, though he mingles with it the harmonious ease of manner and the rhythmic feeling to which only the Italians quite attain. It will be noticed from our description how closely Piero follows throughout the text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

7. D.S. MacColl: 'The Centaurs', 'Saturday Review' (28th June 1902), pp.834–35.

Pliny once saw a Centaur that had been preserved in honey, and the poets, the sculptors, the painters have vied with the mummy-maker and his gums to keep from decay those wild cloud-born creatures: violent, learned, wood-wandering [. . .]

Piero di Cosimo was of their kind, with his love of all strange beasts and of uncombed natural places. He painted on a wedding-chest the wild 'noce' they made for Pirithous and Hippodamia. This picture is now on public view in London,* and I write these lines to urge, as strongly as I may, that one of the most delightful and characteristic works of its time should by official action or private effort be secured for the National Gallery. In the 'Cephalus and Procris' we have already the sense of a shaggy, ugly, snub world of creatures wistfully assembled about beauty. Here we have that same pathos and tenderness in the group of the wounded Cyllarus and Hipponome, Hipponome who made herself as woman – beautiful as a centaur could – combing her hair and plaiting it with flowers. She has seen her Cyllarus mad with desire for the woman herself; he has taken his death blow, and she will take it from the same dart. This group makes the centre of the ingenious wave-pattern of the long, narrow box-space, a wave in the middle, a hollow each side and then a halfwave. This silhouette is echoed by the low hill behind, the dips either side showing a distant landscape, and the rise again into rock and tree. The rest of the piece round this still centre is a tangle of conflict. The central group struggles and tramples on the tablecloth of the feast; in other groups the incidents of Ovid's description are given in wonderful knots of action, whose growing science of sharp bone and strained muscle is inspired by a wild pitch of fury and fun. The very wine pots would fain take on life in the eager air of story; one of them squats with a bird's legs and beak as if about to cut in. Dangerous nature, obsequious and dog-like yesterday, is in tumult.

Altogether the picture makes one of those nodes in the orbits of romance and design, one of those unique knottings up of vision, poetry and temperament that ought to be preserved, among other key pieces in the choice part of the national collection [. . .]

* At the Carfax Gallery, Ryder St.

8. Letter to the Editor from E. Gosse: 'Piero di Cosimo and the National Gallery', 'Saturday Review' (19th July 1902), p.79.

17 Hanover Terrace, N.W. 15 July 1902

Sir,– The power of the press is believed to be declining, yet the letters in the Saturday Review have been strong enough to drive me, as no doubt many other indolent persons, to look at the great Piero di Cosimo in the Carfax Galleries. Perhaps you will let me say how much I hope that I may have the entertainment of seeing it again without being obliged to cross the Atlantic Ocean for that purpose?

Far be it that I should presume to hold an opinion of my own when the experts have spoken so clearly. But an outsider may be allowed to express his pleasure in finding that a work to which such high technical values are awarded, has also qualities which appeal to the vulgar; it is so curious, so multiform and so amusing. What an essay Hazlitt would have composed about this picture! Keats might have woven its episodes into a whole canto of 'Endymion'. This is exactly what parts of 'The Faery Queene' would look like if Time with his dingy finger could obscure the varnish of verse.

Is it not rather a serious matter that, with all our wealth, invaluable pictures of this kind are permitted to pass from us? For the last fifteen years Great Britain has been bleeding at every pore, – a haemorrhage of art. Can we not occasionally stem the flow? Nothing exactly like this Piero di Cosimo will ever be seen again; in its oddity and variety, in its perverse and comic beauty, it was rare when it was painted, and now it is unique. It should be put on a wall in the National Gallery for generations of nursery-maids to gape at with a 'Law! Ain't that funny?' and for successions of budding poets to gaze on till the metre bubbles in their throats.

Please redouble your admirable efforts, and let the Saturday Review be applauded for having kept one great Italian picture in England.
I am, Sir, your obedient servant

Letter

A Fra Angelico drawing in the Fitzwilliam Museum

SIR, In the review of the recent Fra Angelico exhibition at the Palazzo dei Caffarelli, Musei Capitolini, published in this Magazine, 151 (2009), pp.418–19, Anne Leader comments that six drawings by the artist and his collaborators conclude the exhibition and then comments: 'Angelico's work as a draughtsman is poorly understood, given the few surviving works'.

In her essay in the exhibition catalogue on Fra Angelico as a draughtsman, Lorenza Melli reproduces an old black-and-white photograph of a drawing formerly in the collection of Francesco de A. Gali Fabra, Barcelona, of the dead Christ from a Deposition, which she describes as 'lost'. In fact this drawing (Fig.40) was acquired in 2003 by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, with help from Mark Fisch, through Cambridge in America, and The Art Fund. It had been acquired by Pedro Succarats from Gali Fabra's collection and was in his sale in Paris, 15th–18th July 1938, and was then bought on the advice of Kenneth Clark by Captain Norman Colville.

The drawing relates to the figure of Christ in Fra Angelico's *Deposition* (Museo di S. Marco, Florence), painted for Palla Strozzi and installed in 1432 in the Strozzi chapel in the church of S. Trinita. At this period the Deposition was a very unusual subject for an altarpiece in Florence, and interest in the subject may be related to new theories of devotion – the so-called *Devotia moderna*, in which the viewer was asked to participate on a personal level with the suffering of Christ.

This may explain the purpose of the drawing, which was probably executed after the altarpiece had been painted. The character of the drawing would fit well with the idea of the *Devotia moderna*. A later quattrocento copy of the same image is in the treasury of the Monastery of S. Francesco at Assisi (see M.G. Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto, ed.: *Il Tesoro della Basilica di San Francesco, Assisi*, Florence 1980, no.10, fig.45), brought to my attention by Carl Strehlke. It appears to be in its original frame and was thus evidently regarded as a substitute picture. We can conclude that the purpose of this drawing is probably the same as the Fitzwilliam's and that it was intended for private contemplation and devotion. That explains its size and its singular subject-matter: the body of Christ with no support behind it. It is unlikely to have been a preparatory drawing for the altarpiece, but a copy of the single figure of Christ made for a private client after the painting had been installed.

Its attribution is still unresolved. No certain drawing by Fra Angelico survives, although most critics accept as autograph the *King David playing a psaltery* in the British Museum and the *Christ on the Cross* in the Albertina, Vienna. Lionello Venturi was first to publish the Fitzwilliam's drawing as by Fra Angelico, believing it to be preparatory to the painted *Deposition*.[1] Degenhart and Schmitt[2] were more cautious and called it 'School of Fra Angelico' and John Pope-Hennessy[3] followed them, but they had only seen a photograph of the drawing. In a letter of 1938 to Colville, urging the drawing's acquisition, Clark considered it 'possibly the finest of the existing drawings by Fra Angelico', with which one can hardly disagree. The internal modelling of the body is superb, but also of extreme delicacy, and the work is clearly superior to any surviving drawing by Angelico's principal followers, Benozzo Gozzoli and Zanobi Strozzi.

40. *Dead Christ*, here attributed to Fra Angelico. c.1395/1400–55. Pen, brown ink and brown and red washes, heightened with white on paper, 35.5 by 27.4 cm. (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, accession no.PD.25–2003).

DAVID SCRASE

[1] L. Venturi: 'Un disegno del Beato Angelico', *L'Arte* 34 (1931), pp.244–49.
[2] B. Degenhart and A. Schmitt: *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen, 1350–1450. Süd- und Mittelitalien*, Berlin 1968, II, no.304, and IV, pl.312b.
[3] J. Pope-Hennessy: *Fra Angelico*, 2nd ed., London 1974, p.234.

Art History Reviewed IV:

Nikolaus Pevsner's 'Pioneers of the Modern Movement', 1936

by COLIN AMERY

NIKOLAUS PEVSNER, who was born in Leipzig, Saxony, came from a family of *haute bourgeoisie* Jewish merchants of Russian origin. Pevsner himself renounced his Jewish roots and became at the age of nineteen a convert to Evangelical Lutheranism. His academic training was carried out at the universities of Leipzig, Munich (under Heinrich Wölfflin), Berlin (under Adolf Goldschmidt) and in Frankfurt am Main, where he studied with Rudolf Kautzsch. For his doctorate he returned to Leipzig to be supervised by the influential Wilhelm Pinder and wrote his thesis, *Leipziger Barock, Die Baukunst der Barockzeit in Leipzig* (*Baroque Merchant Houses of Leipzig*), published in Dresden in 1929; in the previous year he had published a study of Italian Mannerist and Baroque painting, *Die italienische Malerei vom Ende der Renaissance bis zum ausgehenden Rokoko*. From 1925 to 1928 he was an unpaid assistant keeper in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden and then took up a post in 1928 as lecturer in the history of art and architecture at the University of Göttingen. It was here that he became particularly interested in English art, design and architecture and in 1930, like Karl Friedrich Schinkel before him, he travelled extensively in England to learn by observation on the ground. This relatively unusual specialisation in English art was encouraged by Professor Hans Hecht at Göttingen's English Department, who sent Pevsner to collect material in England for a course of lectures on English art.

Pevsner's academic career in Göttingen came to an end with the rise of the Nazis, and he left Germany to settle in England in 1933. He had a network of academic friends and many Quaker contacts, and with their help he secured a research post at the University of Birmingham in the Department of Commerce. In 1935 he was also a fabric buyer and in charge of quality control for Gordon Russell Ltd., the pioneering firm of furnishers and designers. His work for Russell is not particularly well recorded but he would have had considerable contact with the Royal College of Art, London, which also influenced his thinking about art and industry and the rise of the modern movement. At the same time, his enforced exile in England gave him the opportunity to study the practical aspects of industrial design and to relate his great admiration for William Morris to the sociology of art.[1]

Pevsner's preparatory work for *Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius* was carried out in Germany before he left to live in England and his tracing of the evolution of twentieth-century architecture through a variety of sources naturally culminated in the Bauhaus with Walter Gropius and his colleagues. He firmly believed that they were the heirs of Morris, the Arts and Crafts movement, Art Nouveau and of Victorian engineering. While he was writing and researching *Pioneers* he was also working on his book *Academies of Art* (finished in its first German version before he left Germany)[2] and his researches in Birmingham led to the publication in 1937 of his *An Enquiry into Industrial Art in England*, which attempted to introduce the philosophy behind the Bauhaus to English manufacturing industry and promote ideas of functionalism, technological competence and truth to materials.[3]

In these works contemporary with *Pioneers*, Pevsner formulated his deep interest in art as a social activity and aired his worry that the artists and architects of his own time had become too much divorced from their public. In an earlier article Pevsner had categorised Le Corbusier as an architect and artist whose paramount aims were aesthetic and whose architecture displayed no interest in the functional and social aspects of building, an attitude redolent of art for art's sake.[4] This was completely contrary to Pevsner's emerging thinking about the origins of modern architecture and his wish to promote the non-individualistic collegiate approach of the Bauhaus that was producing housing and industrial architecture for the wider community.

Pevsner's concept of a 'modern movement' took shape from 1931 onwards, enabling him to arrive at the basic idea behind *Pioneers*. This derived from an art historian's concern to establish a provenance of ancestors for modern architecture and design. At the time of its publication, and subsequently, the book has been received by scholars and architects as the 'gospel' of Modernism. It achieved that extraordinary status simply by looking back at the pedigree of Walter Gropius and the International Style. By linking the Bauhaus to the Deutscher Werkbund, to the writings of Hermann Muthesius (author of *Das Englische Haus*, 1904) and to the work of Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement, Pevsner became responsible for legitimising the modern movement and providing it with a basis of historical authenticity. At the same time, as Robin Middleton suggested in his obituary of Pevsner in this Magazine, the book was also 'a piece of propaganda [. . .] for the establishment, in particular, of the modern movement in England'.[5] There have been four editions of this book (and several translations).[6] Its first publisher, Faber & Faber, was then a young firm and itself keen to be seen

We are grateful to the Azam Foundation for sponsoring this article.

[1] The biographical and bibliographical information used here and elsewhere in this article has been drawn from the following: J. Barr: *Sir Nikolaus Pevsner. A Bibliography*, Charlottesville VA 1970; S. Bradley and B. Cherry, eds.: *The Buildings of England: A Celebration*, London 2001; S. Games: *Pevsner on Art and Architecture: The Radio Talks*, London 2002; P. Draper: *Reassessing Nikolaus Pevsner*, Farnham 2004; and J. Newman: 'An Appreciation of Nikolaus Pevsner', in *idem* and B. Cherry, eds.: *Nikolaus Pevsner. The Best Buildings of England*, Harmondsworth 1986.

[2] N. Pevsner: *Academies of Art Past and Present*, Cambridge 1940.

[3] *Idem*: *An Enquiry into Industrial Art in England*, Cambridge 1937.

[4] *Idem*: Review of 'Le Corbusier und Pierre Jeanneret (1930), Ihr gesamtes Werk von 1910 bis 1929', *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 193 (1930), pp.303–12.

[5] R. Middleton: Obituary, Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE 126 (1983), p.234.

[6] The four editions are: N. Pevsner: *Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius*, London 1936; *idem*: *Pioneers of Modern Design*, New York 1949; Harmondsworth 1960; and New Haven and London 2005. All quotations in this article are from the first edition.

as pioneering.[7] Richard de la Mare, a director of Faber's, played a significant role in the book's inception and appreciated the value of this émigré author's entirely new approach to architectural history. The second edition was published in 1949, twelve years after the original, by the Museum of Modern Art in New York under the new title, *Pioneers of Modern Design*. Pevsner's modifications were minor, but the book was far more richly illustrated and Alfred H. Barr and Philip Johnson, among others, are thanked in his foreword. The third edition, with many small corrections, appeared in 1960 as a Pelican Book; and in 2005 Yale University Press produced a lavishly illustrated fourth edition with an introduction and commentary by Richard Weston. The continuing significance of the book is not in doubt: it remains on the syllabus and is widely read over six decades since it first appeared. But its authority and status have been questioned. While Pevsner's extraordinary achievement in producing the *Buildings of England* series is universally acknowledged, the lasting reputation of his *Pioneers* is more fragile.

Pevsner wrote (p.42) that the aim of his book was

> to point out that the new style, the genuine and adequate style of our century, was achieved by 1914. Morris had started the movement by reviving handicraft as an art worthy of the best men's efforts, the pioneers by about 1900 had gone further by discovering the immense, untried possibilities of machine art. The synthesis, in creation as well as in theory, is the work of Walter Gropius (born in 1883) [. . .]. At the end of 1914, he began preparing his plans for the reorganization of the Weimar Art School, of which he had been elected principal by the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar. The opening of the new school, combining an academy of art and a school of arts and crafts, took place in 1919. Its name was Staatliches Bauhaus, and it was to become for more than a decade, a paramount centre of creative energy in Europe [. . .] It comprised, in an admirable community spirit, architects, master craftsmen, abstract painters, all working for a new spirit in building. Building to Gropius is a term of wide import. All art, as long as it is sound and healthy, serves building.

This paragraph tells us much about Pevsner's thinking, why his approach to architectural history became controversial and why in many ways he has become a problematic figure for many British architectural historians. The paragraph contains his mission statement: Pevsner apparently wanted an end to individualism and independent artistic creativity; architecture had to conform to the *Zeitgeist* and to demonstrate rationality and unity within the social system. His reiteration of Wilhelm Pinder's theory of *Zeitgeist* dominates the book, alongside a firm belief that art and architecture reflect national character. The 'spirit of the age' was held to influence every aspect of life in a given period of time and to produce similar ideas, behaviour and forms.[8] This theory allowed Pevsner to make generalisations about people and places and to indulge in a colloquial expression of national characteristics. Pinder's susceptibility to an instinctive understanding of art also carried him along with contemporary political ideas in Germany and he became increasingly focused on the superiority of German art and the German *Volk*. Pevsner too was not unenthusiastic about the reordering of the German state under the Nazis. In *Pioneers* his language can sound ominously like that of a dictator:

> . . . the artist who is representative of this century of ours must needs be cold, as he stands for a century cold as steel and glass, a century the precision of which leaves less space for self-expression than did any period before.
>
> However the great creative brain will find its own way even in times of overpowering collective energy, even with the medium of this new style of the twentieth century which, because it is a genuine style as opposed to a passing fashion, is totalitarian (p.206).

When the book was republished in 1949, either Pevsner or an editor toned down some of the more extreme phraseology, and his pro-Nazi sympathies from the early 1930s never surfaced after he was exiled to Britain. Like many German intellectuals he wanted to rescue his country from chaos but in Britain he was politically discreet.

Some of the views expressed in *Pioneers* are surprisingly ill informed. His attack on Impressionism is highly simplistic; he generalises painfully about the Reformation; and he never fails to be judgmental. Comparing in the second chapter (p.60) a shawl from the Great Exhibition of 1851 with Morris's *Honeysuckle* textile design, he does not hesitate to judge: 'It is a thoughtless concoction of ornament and realism as opposed to Morris's logical unity of composition'. His chapter entitled 'Eighteen Ninety in Painting', dealing with Post-Impressionism and Symbolism, reads now as a peculiar attempt to summarise the qualities that distinguish the artists of the 1890s from their predecessors. He also attempts to justify his views on the period's painting by trying to 'find an echo in contemporary architecture and decoration'. Beyond praising Cézanne, Gauguin and the *Douanier* Rousseau for their preference for the 'unbroken flat surface' and Hodler, Munch and Toorop for their 'rhythmically drawn outline', Pevsner seems at a loss to relate art to architecture and is, in fact, oddly disappointed that artists do not fit into his theoretical framework by leading the way into a new aesthetic spirit of the age.

The chapter on Art Nouveau must have seemed original when it was written in its analysis of the style as a link between historicism and the modern movement, but Pevsner's contention that the development of such an extreme style 'cleared the way for the coming development' is now seen as a curious argument. While pointing out the qualities of the work of Van der Velde, Horta and Mackmurdo, it is almost as though they were necessary as an emetic to provoke a purge before the arrival of Gropius and the clarity of undecorated architecture.

When Pevsner comes to examine the role of engineers in the development of the modern movement he is on safer ground and his enthusiasm for structural honesty and directness is satisfied by the work of the great nineteenth-century railway engineers and their use of iron and steel. His writing about engineering is much more confident and the reader can sense the author's strong convictions. Engineers fit his arguments more easily than artists. Writing about Brunel's Clifton suspension bridge in Bristol he becomes positively lyrical: 'the soul of iron is laid bare; all future possibilities of modern architecture are revealed. This is building without weight [. . .] Pure functional energy swings out in a

[7] It is notable that Faber & Faber had published Walter Gropius's *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus* in 1935, the year before it issued Pevsner's book.

[8] W. Pinder: *Das Problem der Generation in der Kunstgeschichte Europas*, Berlin 1926.

[9] Pevsner's reluctance was evident in discussions held at the offices of *Architectural Review* between Pevsner, the present writer and the late Kenneth Browne on the subject of 'townscape' in the late 1970s.

glorious curve across a deep valley' (p.123). Carried away by his enthusiasm, Pevsner compares Telford and Brunel to the builders of the cathedrals of Amiens, Beauvais and Cologne. But he also admires the anonymity of these medieval buildings, seeing them as products of enlightened guilds of thoughtful individuals, building together for a greater purpose. He likes the fact that engineers are not as well known as architects and blames the romantic conception of the artist for the glorification of the genius of individual architects. But the chapter on engineers really does stand the test of time in its highlighting of the early skyscrapers and the development of cast-iron technology. It is almost as though he is relieved not to have to make any subjective aesthetic judgments. Reluctantly he returns at the end of this chapter to the *Zeitgeist* in a realisation that the engineers of the nineteenth century had been 'too absorbed in their thrilling discoveries to notice the social discontent accumulating around them, and to listen to Morris's warning voice. Owing to this antagonism, the two most important tendencies in nineteenth-century art and architecture could not join forces. The Arts and Crafts kept their retrospective attitude, the engineers their indifference to art as such' (p.137).

The last two chapters of *Pioneers* look at what Pevsner calls the 'Modern Movement'. Voysey and Mackintosh are the only two British architects whom he is willing to discuss in any detail. He is almost sentimental in his enjoyment of the simple *joie de vivre* he finds in Voysey's textile and furniture designs. He sees a Europe weary of the licence of Art Nouveau and welcomes the elegance and simplicity of designers such as Ernest Gimson and Ambrose Heal. Despite his enthusiasm for Morris it is these newer designers that thrill the puritan Pevsner because the 'close atmosphere of medievalism has vanished. Living among such objects we breathe a healthier air' (p.149). As he looks at the later houses of Voysey and Baillie Scott, we sense Pevsner the architectural writer at his best. He is at his most illuminating when he writes as an observer giving opinions rather than when he writes as a theorist. In these later chapters we have a premonition of the Pevsner who was to open the eyes of a whole country to its architecture in *The Buildings of England*.

When Pevsner turns to the work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh in Glasgow, one senses his relief that he can at last justifiably link British design to Continental Europe and the spirit of Art Nouveau. In his examination of the Glasgow School of Art, he takes obvious pleasure in being able to write without compunction: 'Not a single feature here is derived from period styles' (p.158). Of course his enthusiasm for Mackintosh undermines his earlier conviction that architecture should not express personality or be art for art's sake. Intellectual consistency has been temporarily shelved. Pevsner admits that Mackintosh's work is of a strongly personal nature but as he is writing a kind of *post hoc* account of the route to the Bauhaus, he is happy to praise Mackintosh. His enthusiasm is for his spatial genius ('the transparency of pure space') and for the fact that he clearly leads us into the twentieth century. He compares Mackintosh with Le Corbusier and applauds the fact that both of them aspire to create poetry. Not content with comparing him favourably with Le Corbusier, he goes on to write that building in his hands is comparable to the genius of Borromini, Guarini and Neumann (p.160), comparisons which make one question his earlier stress on the *Zeitgeist*.

In his sweep through the world to establish the foundations of the modern movement, Pevsner ends *Pioneers* with a dismissal of work from most countries c.1900 except for Germany. Le Corbusier, who is little studied in the book, is seen as a man making his own myth and too fond of personal showmanship. Pevsner is kinder to Frank Lloyd Wright, praising him because no one else (not even Adolf Loos) had by 1900 come so near to 'the style of today'. Peter Behrens and Hans Poelzig in Germany and Loos, Josef Hoffmann and Josef Maria Olbrich in Austria are singled out for their contributions but they are not enough for Pevsner's survey: 'the art historian has to watch national as well as personal qualities. Only the interaction of these with the spirit of the age produces a complete picture of the art of any epoch' (p.188). Pevsner then moves on to Gropius, whose work he sees as fulfilling all the requirements of a modern style for the twentieth century. He is lyrical about the success of Gropius's planning and the fact that calculation and vision work together to produce cathedrals of Modernism. Admiring the fact that this achievement leaves less space for self-expression, he simultaneously recommends many of Gropius's buildings in Germany for being 'triumphant over matter'.

In his preface to the third edition of *Pioneers*, published in 1960, Pevsner writes that the growth of research into the birth of Modernism since his book's first publication had not shaken the foundations of his original thesis. He felt that only two additional architects needed to be examined to elevate them from the footnotes: Antonio Sant'Elia and Antoni Gaudí. Even so, he saw them both as freaks and their buildings as 'fantastical rantings'. They were forerunners of the 'fantasts and freaks' of the 1950s who wished to question 'the validity of the style [. . .] to whose prehistory' *Pioneers* was dedicated.

It is difficult to read Pevsner's book today without an awareness of the intensely personal criticism of him by one of his pupils. David Watkin's *Morality and Architecture: The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement* (1977) is an attack on the role of moralising in architectural criticism from Pugin to Pevsner. Watkin writes with an animus against Pevsner and the very idea of delineating a coherent *Zeitgeist* in any historical period. When Watkin was writing it was fashionable to place all the blame for much bad contemporary architecture at the feet of the man who, forty years earlier, had attempted with great success to predict the future of Modernism. But there was so much more to Pevsner. He was the formidably erudite and energetic recorder of the entire architectural heritage of England; he was chairman of the Victorian Society, where he was active in securing changes in the procedures for listing buildings; and during his editorship in the War years of the *Architectural Review* he pioneered an appreciation of the Picturesque movement and its effect on the English landscape and its application to 'townscape', bringing the aesthetics of landscape gardening into urban planning. The theories of romantic gardening and hard line Modernism do not sit easily together and Pevsner had no wish to discuss this interesting paradox in his thinking.[9] As his long career developed he was both a hands-on architectural critic and a historian, but remained a robust defender of his approach to the principles of functionalism and rationalism in architecture. Our understanding of his early views may be enhanced by knowledge of the work of his many pupils; Reyner Banham's *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (1960), for example, is a useful revisionist counterpoint to Pevsner's *Pioneers* and brings in the Expressionists and the Futurists to broaden the Pevsnerian view. But pluralism for Pevsner could never represent progress. *Sachlichkeit* remained for him the authentic style for the twentieth century and to a large extent we do now live with the results of his thinking as first propounded in *Pioneers of the Modern Movement*.

Books

Cosimo Rosselli. Catalogo Ragionato. By Edith Gabrielli. 336 pp. incl. 17 col. + 182 b. & w. ills. (Umberto Allemandi, Turin, 2007), €45. ISBN 978–88–422–1411–6.

Reviewed by PAULA NUTTALL

FOR A PAINTER who, if not one of the movers and shakers of quattrocento Florence, was certainly one of its most respected and commercially successful figures, and a member of the *equipe* that decorated the Sistine Chapel, Cosimo Rosselli has been poorly served by art historians. Ever since Vasari's disparagement of his Sistine work, his critical stock has been low, and he has attracted comparatively little scholarly interest. Edith Gabrielli's welcome volume is the first comprehensive study, and the first to illustrate (albeit mostly in black and white) all his works.

The book consists of two introductory essays, providing, respectively, a succinct account of Rosselli's critical history and a chronological discussion of his life and work, with a catalogue raisonné of over a hundred works by Cosimo and his workshop, plus some rejected attributions, and an appendix of all known documents pertaining to his activity, some previously unpublished. Gabrielli gives a clear sense of Rosselli's development and his ability to imitate the style of whichever artists were currently in vogue, also noting his responsiveness to Netherlandish influence. Cosimo's training, workshop, pupils and patrons are discussed, as is his artistic relation to other members of the Rosselli clan, and his association with artists such as Mino da Fiesole. The catalogue is informative about the condition of works, and the *giornate* of recently restored frescos are illustrated. Gabrielli brings an authoritative and informed eye, long trained on Cosimo's work, to bear on questions of attribution, providing a definitive repertory of his *œuvre*; there is a new attribution, the striking *Portrait of a man* in Detroit, and she sheds light on previously unknown aspects of Cosimo's work in the fields of manuscript painting and textile design.

It is understandable why scholars have tended to shun Rosselli: his works are frequently pedestrian and derivative; he was not an instinctive draughtsman, and compared with his more talented contemporaries such as the Pollaiuolo brothers, Botticelli and Filippino Lippi, his style lacks grace and fluency. Gabrielli is under no illusions about his abilities, and it is to her credit that she does not seek to present Cosimo as more than he is. However, she underplays some of his strengths, notably his portraiture, his interest in architecture and his technical proficiency: Vasari's criticism of the excessive gilding in Rosselli's Sistine frescos ignores their sophisticated depiction of metalwork and luxury textiles *alla fiamminga*.

In Gabrielli's view, Cosimo was an artist of the second rank who worked predominantly for second-rank patrons: middle-class families and lay brotherhoods, for whose conservative tastes, she suggests, he catered. Yet the nature of his patronage – and indeed of patronal 'hierarchies' – as well as of his stylistic choices, is more complex than this suggests. Bishop Salutati's chapel at Fiesole, the fresco for the Servites of SS. Annunziata and the Salviati altarpiece for the Cestello, respectively of the 1460s, 1470s and 1490s, were not insignificant commissions. Nor did poorer patrons necessarily commission conservative paintings: the 1468 altarpiece for the relatively low-class 'German' confraternity of St Barbara reflects the Pollaiuolos' innovative S. Miniato altarpiece of 1466. Concomitantly, Rosselli's chameleon-like ability to vary his style in accordance with changing artistic fashions was surely one of the secrets of his success, and merits closer scrutiny in the context of taste.

Cosimo's working practices illuminate issues of collaboration and subcontracting. For instance, he shared premises in Florence with Biagio di Antonio around 1470, an association which may explain Biagio's presence in the Sistine ten years later, where he not only participated in the execution of Cosimo's *Last Supper*, but was perhaps subcontracted by him to paint the *Crossing of the Red Sea* (given by Vasari to Cosimo, but now regarded as Biagio's) – issues touched on here, but deserving of deeper analysis.

Most intriguing of all is the question of how Cosimo came to be included among the painters of the Sistine chapel, and why on his return to Florence he failed to profit from this prestigious connection – alone of the Sistine team he was excluded from the 1482 contract for the Sala dei Gigli in the Palazzo Vecchio. It may be true, as Gabrielli implies, that competition with his peers threw his own shortcomings into relief, yet his altarpieces fetched prices comparable with theirs for most of his career, and he clearly had a distinguished reputation: as a guild official, an arbitrator in the competition for the cathedral façade and as a teacher (Piero di Cosimo and Fra Bartolommeo were among his pupils).

Despite being aesthetically an 'also-ran' – indeed, it might be argued, because of this – Rosselli is a fascinating artist, capable of revealing much about taste, style, market demand and painters' practice in late quattrocento Florence and Rome. My criticism of this book is not of content, but of extent: the traditional catalogue raisonné format seems to have precluded the more investigative and discursive type of approach that Cosimo Rosselli begs. Many of the above issues are raised, or at least implied, by Gabrielli, but not addressed in depth, and the question of why Rosselli was selected for the Sistine is not raised at all. More might also have been made of material yielded by recent restorations.

Il Campidoglio. Storia di un monumento civile di Roma papale. By Anna Bedon. 424 pp. incl. 11 col. + 366 b. & w. ills. (Mondadori Electa, Milan, 2008), €120. ISBN 978–88–3702–77–7.

Reviewed by FABRIZIO NEVOLA

FOR ARCHITECTS AND architectural historians, books in Electa's cloth-bound and boxed series of *Architetti classici* are the Rolls Royces of monographs. Handsome, exhaustive, richly illustrated and elegant, with copious black-and-white illustrations, they provide a benchmark of quality and design. Bedon's volume fulfils these criteria with a thorough coverage of the history of the architectural development of the Capitoline Hill from post-Antique times down to the 1940s. Deploying an impressive array of visual sources and unpublished archival documents, and drawing on a complex bibliography that has tended to concentrate on specific phases of its construction, she provides a coherent history of that monumental public space and the buildings that frame it.

The title of Bedon's book perhaps indicates the central issue in the development of the Campidoglio: the complex and evolving relationship between the local civic authorities of Rome and the papacy, increasingly growing in power and authority. The awkward cohabitation of these two powers in the same city has often been seen (in the work of Manfredo Tafuri, Charles Burroughs and others) as the major cause for the tentative nature of the improvements to the Hill during the fifteenth century and the subsequent slow progress of its architectural renewal from the sixteenth century onwards. Sixtus IV's donation of a group of Roman sculptures to the Campidoglio has been previously regarded as papal interference, a bid to turn the heart of civic government into a neutral site for display, while the promotion of the she-wolf imagery in preference to that of the lion hunting a horse has been read as an attempt to defuse the iconography of conflict between the rival powers in the eternal city. While the author occasionally acknowledges these interpretations, her primary focus is to present a building history of the Campidoglio rather than its cultural and contextualised history. In this respect, the title of the book is misleading. This is all the more surprising since its final sentence refers to the completed project as a 'grand and perfect "theatre" of municipal ritual' (p.331), a late reference to the ceremonial use of the public space and its architecture that is lacking elsewhere in the volume.

Contemporary rituals and their evocation of the symbolic potency of that site from antiquity onwards is central to the history of the Campidoglio, as was acknowledged in its famous transformation into a theatre for the conferment of citizenship on the Medici nephews of Leo X in 1513. So too in the 1530s, after the Sack, during the

pontificate of Paul III, palaces, gardens, streets and squares became crucial spaces for displaying works of art intended to project individual identities and, on a broader scale, to reassert the universal role of the city and its badly damaged prestige. Placing the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Campidoglio was perhaps the clearest indication of it; Bedon makes little of this, or of the ceremonies that coincided with its move in preparation for the visit of the Emperor Charles V in 1536, which are only fleetingly mentioned. Also overlooked are the political implications of the new streets laid out to insert the Capitoline more effectively into the fabric of the *abitato* of Rome (as examined in such detail by Allan Ceen[1] – absent from the bibliography – and Tafuri).

Notwithstanding these reservations, this is a valuable contribution to the literature. Bedon's history emerges from the extensive and remarkable series of accounts that survive for the construction of the palaces and piazza that make up the remodelled Hill complex. The mass of documents – many unpublished – in the seventy-page appendix relate to building accounts, and the author shows a thorough understanding of the successive individuals who worked on the project. Furthermore, as is noted on more than one occasion (e.g. pp.133, 162 and 246), the Campidoglio's fortunes neatly counterpoint those of the university and its redevelopment, since papal funds were made available for only one of these projects at a time; Bedon is in a privileged position to trace this process on account of her previous study of the Sapienza.[2]

A key issue in studies of the Campidoglio is that of the role and continued significance of Michelangelo's design for a project that was finally completed in the 1930s. In the Fascist period, finishing Michelangelo's project was considered very important for political reasons; this historicising motive is expressed in two letters of January 1937 that cite a '*noto disegno prospettico di Michelangiolo*' ('a well-known perspectival drawing by Michelangelo', p.401) as the source for the patterned repaving of the Campidoglio. As Bedon shows, the 'drawing' was in fact the well-known print by Du Pérac of 1568, itself the subject of considerable debate as to whether it is an accurate or authentic representation of Michelangelo's design (pp.188–99), since its publication seems to have been motivated by the editorial and commercial demands of the print market, and finished views sold better than plans. Here, as elsewhere in the book, Bedon is very careful in her consideration of the two parallel strands of the narrative, on the one hand following the fortunes of the architects and masons who worked on the project, and on the other assessing the degree to which they broke with Michelangelo's original conception. It was not uncommon to depart from the original design for such projects when the sheer scale, cost and political subtexts hindered their completion, as Howard Burns has argued.[3] Bedon's assessment is that Michelangelo's innovations, as executed by his assistants and followers, were much diluted. In the long narrative tracing the evolution of the project, she sheds important new light on the crucial role of the individuals who controlled the project at given times. Tommaso de' Cavalieri is shown to have been not only the friend and confidant of Michelangelo, but also to have exerted managerial control and, as superintendent of the building works, is credited with the role of having modified the project by rejecting the 'iconoclasm' of Michelangelo's late work in favour of a 'nostalgic' form *all'antica* (p.139). Also helpful are the biographies of more minor figures, such as Guidetto Guidetti, who preceded Giacomo della Porta as architect for the project, and a (rather extensive) digression on the print industry and how it anticipated the completion of the project via prints.

[1] A. Ceen: *The Quartiere dei Banchi: Urban Planning in Early Cinquecento Rome*, New York 1986.
[2] A. Bedon: *Il Palazzo della Sapienza di Roma*, Rome 1991.
[3] H. Burns: 'Building against time: Renaissance strategies to secure large churches against changes to their design', in J. Guillaume, ed.: *L'église dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*, Paris 1995, pp.107–31.

Flint Flushwork. A Medieval Masonry Art. By Stephen Hart. 176 pp. incl. 18 col. + 83 b. & w. ills. (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2008), £30. ISBN 978–1–84383–369–7.

Reviewed by JULIAN LUXFORD

FLUSHWORK IS A type of exterior architectural ornament which combines knapped flints and freestone in dark-and-pale patterns (Fig.41) set on a single plane (i.e. set flush). It is a rigidly defined medium: with few exceptions it is late medieval, non-figural, ecclesiastical and East Anglian. Until recently, flushwork was barely discussed in published literature. An ancient article by Frank Thomas Baggallay, shamelessly plagiarised by Francis Bond for his *Introduction to English Church Architecture*, was the only general pre-Pevsner analysis.[1] Pevsner himself was enthusiastic about flushwork, not least because of the inflection it gave to a regional aesthetic; but the *Buildings of England* volumes for Norfolk and Suffolk offered no scope for a searching investigation, and the subject was not treated in his *The Englishness of English Art* (1955), where it might have been thought fit. Since 2004, however, three short books have emerged: Margaret Talbot's *Medieval Flushwork of East Anglia and its Symbolism* (2004), full of useful images and odd speculation; John Blatchly's and Peter Northeast's *Decoding Flint Flushwork on Suffolk and Norfolk Churches* (2005), an antiquarian study of motifs, inscriptions and their meanings as level-headed as Talbot's book is eccentric; and the volume reviewed here. Stephen Hart's *Flint Flushwork. A Medieval Masonry Art* is the latest example of the Boydell Press's welcome commitment to publishing work on the history and visual culture of medieval East Anglia. It is handsomely produced, and contains a total of 101 high-quality photographs taken by the author. There is less to praise in the text: readers sensitive to the hermeneutic possibilities inherent in flushwork's repertory and the distinctness of its regionality (here is a major aspect of the as-yet-unanalysed East Anglian *Kunstlandschaft*) will feel particularly unrewarded. *Flint Flushwork* is essentially an inclusive gazetteer of surviving examples, introduced by short chapters on flushwork's origins, formal types and architectural context. These chapters complement and partially restate a discussion of the medium contained in the author's earlier *Flint Architecture of East Anglia* (2000). They are intellectually unambitious, and set a tone amplified by a lack of notes, proper bibliography (eleven titles are cited on p.175) and index. This is a book based on personal observation, written with palpable enthusiasm and aimed at a non-scholarly readership.

Hart's rigidly formalistic understanding of architecture makes itself felt throughout, especially in the nomenclature and taxonomy he devises for flushwork and related types of embellishment. His division of the medium into formal categories – inset, chequer, wavy, etc. – is old-fashioned but perfectly coherent. Because Hart's taxonomy is not related to chronology (medieval and nineteenth- or twentieth-

41. Exterior view of the flushwork of the restored porch, Chelmsford Cathedral, Essex. Freestone and flint.

century 'revivalist' flushwork is cited without distinction), geography (although fourteen examples of a 'Norwich style', which is not really flushwork, are identified), patronage, workshop practice or the wider object domain, it has little or no extrinsic diagnostic value. Indeed, to the reader, Hart seems almost wholly uninterested in the meaning of buildings and their embellishment. This is perhaps the most striking aspect of *Flint Flushwork*, for the book's subject is rich in motifs which solicit interpretation and broader contextualisation. It is true that Blatchly and Northeast have done a pretty thorough, if not uniformly convincing, job of explaining these, and the author cites their work in his introduction as an excuse for not dabbling in semantics. But this means (to cite only one implication) that the flushwork-hunters for whom his book is presumably intended will also need to have Blatchly and Northeast to hand. Even the inscriptions found in flushwork, here placed in a separate formal category (pp.21–22), are not spelled out. It is characteristic of Hart's approach that, while the letter-forms are analysed, what the letters say is not. The author shows much more interest in panel types, blind windows, patterning and schematic organisation. Blind windows in particular are cited as the earliest forms of flushwork, appearing in the late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century octagonal stages of round towers at West Somerton, Old Buckenham (both Norfolk) and Theberton (Suffolk): one might add Mutford in Suffolk to these. With the probable exception of some minor and aesthetically insignificant applications, this is no doubt correct. The blind windows at West Somerton in particular betray the uncertain handling of a nascent medium. In this connection, Hart is also right to point out that the flushwork of the Ethelbert gate at Norwich Cathedral, which was being built in 1316, is too sophisticated to represent the medium's *fons et origo*, even if it is the earliest documented example (p.4). But in general, the prestige of such monastic gatehouses, and also the flushwork which existed on conventual churches such as Walsingham and Leiston (the latter, a prominent and important survival, oddly absent from the gazetteer), probably played a significant part in the adoption of the medium in the parishes.

While Hart's book will hopefully increase awareness of and enthusiasm for its subject, consideration of broader matters such as these would have enhanced its appeal and strengthened its advocacy of a medium which is in numerous places threatened by neglect and decay. The history of flint flushwork has still to be written.

[1] F.T. Baggallay: 'The Use of Flint in Buildings, Especially in the County of Suffolk', *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects* NS 1 (1885), pp.105–24; and F. Bond: *Introduction to English Church Architecture from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century*, London and Oxford 1913, I, pp.422–25.

Nicolas Régnier (alias Niccolò Renieri) ca.1588–1667. Peintre, collectionneur et marchand d'art. By Annick Lemoine. 448 pp. incl. 105 col. + 280 b. & w. ills. (Arthéna, Paris, 2007), €120. ISBN 978–2–903239–37–4.

Reviewed by STÉPHANE LOIRE

OF THE CARAVAGGESQUE painters who have been thoroughly studied over the last half-century, Nicolas Régnier remains one of the most difficult to place. He was born at Maubeurge, then in French-speaking Flanders, trained in the studio of Abraham Janssens in Antwerp, became an imitator of Caravaggio in Rome and later a disciple of Guido Reni in Venice where, until his death, he was one of the most significant figures in cultivated society. A painter and collector but also a connoisseur and dealer, he is certainly one of the least classifiable artists in seicento Italy.

Régnier was 'discovered' thanks to an article by Hermann Voss (1924) who placed him among the French Caravaggisti working in Rome in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. But for many Italian art historians he remained '*Niccolò Renieri fiammingo*' and the attempt to catalogue his work by Pier Luigi Fantelli (1974) had the merit of taking into account his activity in Venice from 1626 onwards. In returning systematically to the sources for this artist, who was neglected in contemporary documents, in paying equal attention to the two principal periods of his activity and in drawing up a catalogue of his works, Annick Lemoine has produced a publication rich in detail. But even better, in minutely analysing the evolution of his style from his Caravaggesque beginnings and in defining the interconnections between his career as a painter and his commercial activities, she has made a fundamental contribution to the study of artistic relations between Rome and Venice in the seventeenth century, overcoming the chasm that usually divides the study of these two artistic centres.

Régnier's early years are still very little known and his presumed date of birth would place him in the generation of Caravaggesque painters who congregated in Italy from all over Europe during the second decade of the century. He is first mentioned in 1616 at the Farnese court in Parma, but his earliest surviving works are those painted in Rome where he appeared in 1618–19. Establishing himself as one of the principal representatives of Caravaggism, he rapidly obtained many academic honours and was employed by Vincenzo Giustiniani, one of the most enlightened patrons of the arts of his day, who established his reputation. In the few lines he dedicated to Régnier, Joachim von Sandrart claimed that at first he followed the '*Manfrediana methodus*'. In fact the fifty or so paintings that can be assigned to Régnier's Roman years show his total commitment to the naturalism inspired by Caravaggio, which is very well analysed in the book under review. From 1621 he kept 'a studio of living models for young painters' and, better than some of his contemporaries, knew how to exploit his innovative method of painting after nature to establish his repertory and to create audacious new subjects, sometimes featuring still life. But Régnier's time with Giustiniani and his knowledge of the latter's rich collection of contemporary paintings seems to have turned him after 1623 towards a 'Caravaggism of seduction', increasingly aware of the art of the Bolognese or of Vouet: his intransigent naturalism made way for a more elegant manner of painting, brilliant in execution, with enticing subjects and narratives rich with anecdotal detail. These works were undeniably successful but Régnier was unable to establish himself completely in Rome, as is evident from the absence of his works in churches and in most of the important collections, and this failure probably explains his departure for Venice in 1626.

Following on the heels of Carlo Saraceni, Régnier was one of those responsible for introducing Caravaggism to Venice, at the same time counting himself among the first representatives there of Bolognese classicism. But if he showed himself to be quickly receptive to Venetian art, both to that of the sixteenth-century masters and of contemporaries like Domenico Fetti or Johann Lys, there is no sign of an abrupt change of style, and from now on it will be necessary to date to c.1630 *The fortune teller* in the Louvre and the astonishing *Carnival scene* in Warsaw, both previously placed in his Roman period. At first in Venice, Régnier adopted a Caravaggism with Bolognese and Venetian echoes, using vibrant colours, dramatic chiaroscuro and elegant compositions. A second style, lasting from around 1635 to his death, was based on Emilian models, in particular Guido Reni and Guercino. Sophisticated, if increasingly showing signs of insipidity, it aimed at depicting an ideal beauty which mixed eroticism and melodrama, decorative elegance and the rhetoric of seduction. Régnier's elaboration of this complex language was no doubt assisted by his half-brother Michel Desubleo, by his sojourns in Modena and Mantua, as well as by his close ties with the Accademia degli Incogniti: Lemoine rightly underlines the echo of contemporary literary debates in Régnier's works. As well as painting large-scale altarpieces and profane allegories, he also worked as a portrait painter, chiefly of Venetian magistrates, portraits that won him a considerable reputation and for which he was sought after by all the main courts in Italy. The painter was celebrated by contemporary writers and his studio was a kind of worldly academy in which his four famously beautiful daughters took part and also sometimes his two sons-in-law, Pietro della Vecchia and Daniel van den Dyck. Our knowledge of this family circle has been enriched by archival discoveries, even if they give rise to questions as to the authorship of paintings that have been attributed to Régnier; prudently the author rejects earlier attempts to identify the hand of one or other of his daughters in the works under discussion.

An important part of the book is dedicated to Régnier's activity as a dealer in paintings

and as a collector. These activities have given him the bad reputation of being an enthusiastic faker, but now this must be qualified, and this volume offers an exceptional glimpse into the Venetian art trade. From the end of the 1630s Régnier was one of the principal courtiers to whom princes and noblemen throughout Europe turned in the hope that he might enrich their collections. In Venice dealing in works of art was regulated by the *fraglia dei pittori*, but around 1644 Régnier obtained a rare royal warrant as '*peintre du roi de France en Italie*', no doubt awarded so that he might act as agent to Mazarin without the restraints of local regulations. As well as being a renowned connoisseur, he was also a passionate collector. At the end of his life, he was able to pride himself in having created an important cabinet, and Lemoine provides an exceptional study of the dispersal of his '*museo*' in 1666, in a sale that took the form of a lottery of which the printed catalogue brings to light the importance of his commercial activities, all of which reflected his desire for prestige.

Lemoine's catalogue of Régnier's works comprises 169 items, of which more than two-thirds were made in Venice, of which about thirty are deemed to have been produced with workshop intervention; to these are added works mentioned in earlier sources (eighty) or rejected (120). While it is inevitable that others will reappear,[1] the catalogue is remarkably complete. The production of this book is of the quality that one expects of monographs from this publisher, even if, sadly, at least fifteen of the publications cited in abbreviated form in the text do not appear in the bibliography.

[1] In particular, see the three paintings published by F. Rossi: 'Dal "Repertorio della pittura fiamminga e olandese in Veneto": segnalazioni per Pozzoserrato, Mera, Régnier nelle collezioni del Museo del Castelvecchio', *Verona illustrata* 20 (2007), pp.64–65 and figs.55, 57 and 58.

Paysages de France dessinés par Lambert Doomer et les artistes hollandais et flamands des XVIe et XVIIe siècles. By Stijn Alsteens and Hans Buijs, with an essay by Véronique Mathot. 464 pp. incl. numerous col. + b. & w. ills. (Fondation Custodia, Paris, 2008), €85. ISBN 978–90–78655–03–9.

Reviewed by ERIK SPAANS

THIS IMPRESSIVE BOOK, was originally conceived as the publication to accompany an exhibition on drawings by Lambert Doomer and Willem Schellinks (shown in 2006–07 at the Institut Néerlandais, Paris, and the Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam). The authors decided to expand its scope by including more seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish artists who had travelled in France and sketched its landscapes. This is not really one book, but rather a series of closely related studies.

42. *Château de Pirmil*, by Lambert Doomer. 1645. Pen and ink and brown wash, 23.4 by 36.3 cm. (Private collection).

The primary focus is on Doomer and Schellinks, two Amsterdam artists who visited France in 1646. They set out from Nantes in May, travelled along the River Loire, visited Paris and Rouen and returned to the Netherlands in October, having spent five months in France. Their journey is exceptionally well documented since we possess both a travelogue (by Schellinks) and a large number of drawings (mostly by Doomer), allowing us a unique glimpse into the travelling habits of seventeenth-century artists.

The full Dutch text of Schellinks's '*Journael*' is published here, accompanied by a French translation. There is also (a part of) the text relating to a second journey, undertaken by Schellinks in 1661–65, during which he visited England, France, Italy, Malta, Switzerland and Germany. On this trip Schellinks revisited the Loire region where he had travelled with Doomer sixteen years before. Various art historians have shown interest in this later travelogue: Bert Sliggers, who published an excellent edition of the '*Dagelijkse aentekeninge*' (daily notes) of Vincent van der Vinne, once started a transcription of Schellinks's diary but eventually gave up; and Bernard Aikema had part of the text transcribed by a group of his students but did not venture beyond the travels in Italy and Malta. Here we find the full text of the French part of Schellinks's travels published for the first time.

The scope of this book is much larger, however. A chapter on Dutch (commercial) activities in Nantes and its surroundings by Véronique Mathot has been included and there are 150 pages devoted to '*autres dessinateurs en France*'. This part – almost a book in its own right – starts off with late sixteenth-century sketches by Joris Hoefnagel and ends with a late seventeenth-century drawing ascribed to Isaac de Moucheron.

Alsteens and Buijs provide much geographical and historical background information. A view of Lyon by Michel van Overbeke, for example, cannot be dated before 1667 since the tower of the Hôpital de la Charité – visible in the drawing – was only finished that year. Occasionally a drawing, painting or photograph from a later period is discussed to provide some perspective. The drawings Doomer and Schellinks made of the bridge (and château; Fig.42) of Pirmil in Nantes, for instance, are compared with a watercolour of the same bridge made by Turner some 180 years later.

To some extent Doomer's and Schellinks's journey can be regarded as an 'investment' that paid dividends back home. Drawings could be kept as source material; more than forty years after his return from France, Doomer could still be found making use of his sketches. Schellinks in his turn used sketches by Doomer. Although the artists parted on bitter terms in the autumn of 1646, back in Amsterdam they seem to have buried the hatchet. Alsteens and Buijs at least are convinced that Schellinks had easy access to Doomer's sketches.

Details of some of these sketches have found their way into the compositions of other artists. A drawing of the Pont des Treilles in Angers by Doomer is copied with some alterations by Schellinks. A painting by Hendrick Verschuring in its turn appears to be based on Schellinks's drawing. How Verschuring came to know (or own) that drawing is here called an 'open question'. But the book provides enough circumstantial evidence to give an answer. Drawings could come into the possession of colleagues in a number of ways: artists could obviously copy each other's sketches, but they also could give them away, sell them or exchange them.

At the beginning of the section entitled '*autres dessinateurs*' a map highlights the towns where drawings were made. One town is strangely absent here. Bordeaux hosted a community of Dutch merchants and was also visited by Dutch artists, including Caspar Netscher (who married there in 1659), and Gerard Ter Borch the Elder and Herman van der Hem made drawings of Bordeaux locations. The city deserved to be included in this book.

Fretting over details in a book of this size is tantamount to nitpicking, but a few points deserve some attention. Lyon was an important town for artists visiting France. Travelling to Italy by land, it could hardly be avoided (unless of course, one travelled via Munich and the Alps, a route that was rarely used during the Thirty Years War). Yet, there is perhaps too little information on Lyon here, especially when compared to the space devoted to Nantes, a city that was less important in artistic terms. More could also be said on Adriaen van der Cabel, who spent most of his career in Lyon. Van der Cabel is a minor artist, but he seems to have played a vital role in supplying work, lodgings and advice to an entire generation of Dutch artists who passed through Lyon on their way to (or from) Italy. There is also the bigger picture, which extends well beyond the realm of topographical art. In the introduction Alsteens and Buijs briefly touch on the subject of the influence the visits of Dutch and Flemish artists may have had on French art (and vice versa). Herman van Swanevelt and Willem Kalf are mentioned as masters whose art was appreciated by a French clientele for their 'Dutchness'. But these examples are rather unsatisfactory. Van Swanevelt's style can hardly be called Dutch (having spent his

entire career in Italy and France), and the tiny kitchen scenes with vegetables that Kalf made in Paris are remarkably different from the still lifes he made in Holland. The seventeenth-century French seem to have had little appreciation for the kind of paintings that were considered '*typiquement néerlandais*'.

To be fair, this book does not pretend to be an inclusive study of all Netherlandish artists in seventeenth-century France, yet it runs the risk of being regarded as such. The main criterion for inclusion seems to be that an artist's drawings of a French location (or locations) must be preserved. Thus obscure artists such as Rombout van den Houte, Jan Worst and Michel van Overbeke have found their way into the book. The authors have done a remarkable job in creating this rich and delightful survey, but it should not make us forget that there is a vast number of other Dutch artists whose stay in France also deserves attention.

French Art of the Eighteenth Century at the Huntington. Edited by Shelley M. Bennett and Carolyn Sargentson. 555 pp. incl. 401 col. ills. (Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens, in association with Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2008), £75. ISBN 978–0300–13594–7.

Reviewed by DANIËLLE KISLUK-GROSHEIDE

THIS HANDSOME VOLUME on French eighteenth-century art at the Huntington Art Gallery, San Marino, is the first comprehensive catalogue of its kind. Not since 1979 has this significant collection of French works of decorative art been published.[1] While the earlier guides focused on the textiles, furniture, clocks, gilt bronzes and porcelain (but surprisingly not on snuff boxes), this hefty but carefully produced book also includes paintings and sculpture, altogether some three hundred works of art. Much of the information presented here by an international group of scholars and conservators was the result of careful examination and archival research leading to new attributions for some of the Huntington pieces or to the discovery of the original provenance for others. Occasionally, it meant revising previously held opinions and reclassifying works from eighteenth-century pieces to nineteenth-century copies, information which, although technically outside the scope of the present catalogue, has been included. A comparison with the last guidebook shows how much ground has been gained over the past three decades.

Each of the seven chapters starts with a thematic essay exploring a broad range of related (and fascinating) topics, from the enduring appeal of Boucher tapestries to the history and development of the writing desk, or the complex issues involving sculptural adaptations and reproductions, offering a richly varied cultural and social historical setting.

43. Snuff box (*tabatière*), by Jacques-Charles Mongenot. 1773–74. Varicoloured gold and enamel, 3.2 by 6 by 8 cm. (Huntington Art Gallery, San Marino).

An avid book collector, Henry Huntington did not focus on the acquisition of British painting and eighteenth-century French art until late in life. The driving force behind it was Arabella, the widow of Henry's uncle, the railroad magnate Collis P. Huntington, whom he was to marry in 1913. Harbouring a passion for French art, Arabella Huntington had lavishly furnished her various residences with eighteenth-century decorative arts, much of which she had acquired from Duveen Brothers, often for astronomical prices. Ironically, few of the works of art presented in this book would have been familiar to Arabella because many of them were acquired after her death. (Arabella's own eighteenth-century collection, the contents of her New York residence at 2 East 57th Street, were inherited by Archer, the son from her first marriage, and donated by him to the Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco.) Wishing to honour his late wife, in 1926 Henry asked Joseph Duveen to assemble a Memorial Collection, which was privately referred to by Duveen as 'a small Wallace collection'. With astonishing speed within a two month period (which may explain the sometimes uneven quality), Duveen was able to bring together over a hundred works of art largely drawn from his own stock (and often with a Rothschild provenance) or acquired from other dealers. Rich and varied in case furniture as this collection was, it was lacking in eighteenth-century chairs, several of which entered the collection only through later bequests. The same is true for all the French genre paintings which, having been assembled by Lucius Peyton Green, a Los Angeles judge, and his wife during the 1940s and 1950s, came to the Huntington in 1978, nicely enhancing the existing collections.

If there was any lingering uncertainty about the influence of art dealers on the formation of taste and acquisitions of the turn-of-the-century collectors in America, Shelley Bennett's excellent introductory essay 'Henry and Arabella Huntington: The Staging of Eighteenth-Century French Art by Twenty-Century Americans' will dispel any such doubts. She demonstrates clearly how dealers like the Duveen Brothers, through complex and evolving relationships with American collectors, played an instrumental role 'in establishing the fashion for a lavish eighteenth-century look'. Relying on interior decorators, among them Jules Allard et Fils and Carlhian & Beaumetz, the dealers were able 'to promote and enhance the sale of French art', which they staged in showrooms with eighteenth-century interiors both in Paris and in New York.

Michael Hall's instructive chapter entitled 'Hand Made and Hand Held: Snuff Boxes in the Huntington Collection' (Fig.43) offers a plausible explanation for the, until now, mystifying numbers found on a series of snuff boxes, tying them to the firm of the German goldsmith Charles-Martin Weishaupt in Hanau, near Frankfurt. Weishaupt's nineteenth-century firm not only manufactured boxes but also traded in eighteenth-century ones, marking both the new and the extant snuff boxes with inventory numbers. One point the author makes, however, about the seventeenth-century *boîtes de portrait* as forerunners for the eighteenth-century snuff boxes seems not to be true. Despite their name, *boîtes de* (or *à*) *portrait* were actually not gold boxes but costly mounted pendants with miniatures of a ruler that served as diplomatic gifts.[2]

The catalogue contains many excellent photographs and enticing details but the quality of the comparative illustrations is not always the best. It would, furthermore, have been helpful if the various marks and stamps on the Sèvres porcelain and snuff boxes had also been illustrated. These minor points aside, this new volume not only does justice to the French collections at the Huntington but is a welcome contribution to the literature on collecting in general and in America in particular.

[1] R.R. Wark's *French Decorative Art in The Huntington Collection, San Marino*, was first published in 1961 and revised editions appeared in 1968 and 1979.
[2] M. Cassidy-Geiger: exh. cat. *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts ca.1710–63*, New York (Bard Graduate Center) 2007–08, pp.5–6.

The Auction of King William's Paintings (1713). By Koenraad Jonckheere. 371 pp. incl. 144 col. + b. & w. ills. (John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 2008), €250 (HB). ISBN 978–90–272–4962–3; €75 (PB); ISBN 978–90–272–4963–0.

Reviewed by ALASTAIR LAING

'THE KINGS WILL is opend, and he has left all to the Prince of Nassaw, which will occasion a quarrel between him and the King of Prussia. He has not left a legacy to any body, only twenty thousand pound to my Lord Albemale, and a joynter to my lady if she outlives him, which was settled upon marriage', wrote Elizabeth (Felton), Mrs Hervey, on 2nd May 1702 from London to her husband John, later 1st Earl of Bristol, at Ickworth.[1] The 'Prince of Nassaw' was William III's distant cousin but closest male relative, Johan Willem Friso of Nassau-Dietz. Because of William's grandfather Frederik Hendrik's will, however, his

closest heir in the female line, Friedrich I, Elector of Brandenburg and (from 1701) King in Prussia, claimed his own rights to the inheritance. Since he and the States-General of the United Provinces, William III's designated executor, were allies against the French in the War of the Spanish Succession, there was no quarrel, but rather a division between Friedrich and Johan Willem Friso. Everything inherited via Frederik Hendrik (palaces and pictures) was allocated to the former, whereas all that William III, as Stadholder of the Netherlands, had acquired himself (above all, Het Loo, and the collections he had assembled there), fell to Johan Willem Friso's widow, Maria Louise of Hesse-Kassel (the prince died in 1711). To pay John Willem Friso's substantial debts, the paintings had to be sold (these in fact included ones that William III had inherited from his grandfather, but had transferred to Het Loo. The pictures claimed by Queen Anne as heirlooms of the English Crown were kept out of the auction catalogue – with two exceptions – but available for sale privately). This book is ostensibly an account of the organisers and mechanics of the auction at which the pictures from Het Loo were sold (in the Oudezijds Herenlogement, the lodgings for foreign grandees and ambassadors, in Amsterdam, on 26th July 1713), but it is actually much wider-ranging and more interesting than that: nothing less than a comprehensive overview of how the art market – auctioneers, agents, experts, dealers big and small, buyers and *marchands-amateurs* – operated in a European context in Holland in the first third of the eighteenth century. For no other time or country do we have such a detailed exposure of the workings of the auction mart for paintings – least of all for those of Great Britain today! (It is not inappropriate that one of the two puffs of the book on its back cover should be by Francis Russell, Deputy Chairman at Christie's UK.)

The richest manuscript resource exploited by Koenraad Jonckheere is that of the letters from the previously virtually unknown, but, in fact, vastly significant figure of Jan van Beuningen (1667–1720), artistic agent of Maria Louise and director of the auction, to Maria Louise of Hesse-Kassel in the Royal House Archive, The Hague (some others are in her archive at the Tresoar, Leeuwarden), to whose existence the author was alerted by Piet Bakker. Van Beuningen was from a notable mercantile family, whose history up to the French Revolution is recorded in no less than four volumes in *Die Geschichte der Sippe der van Beuningen in Danzig 1570–1800* by Konrad van Beuningen (Hamburg, N.D.; D.G. van Beuningen, whose munificence got his name yoked to that of the Boymans Museum in Rotterdam, does not appear to have sprung from the same family). And although he was both a notable collector of paintings, drawings and shells and a dealer and organiser of major art auctions, he was also a director of the West-India Company, and died as Governor of Curaçao.

The other major figure to emerge with much greater clarity from this book – above all, from the author's exploitation of unpublished letters in the Brydges papers in the Huntington Library, San Marino – is the even grander merchant–collector–dealer Jacques Meyers. The sole surviving example of the catalogue published in 1714 of his collection, which included Van Dyck's *Rinaldo and Armida*, now in the Louvre, which he had bought in the 1713 sale, stimulated J.G. van Gelder to write an article on it in the *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* of 1974. This, however, essentially dealt just with the paintings; in addition to the *Rinaldo and Armida*, it included not only the *Seven Sacraments* by Poussin that had been commissioned by Chantelou, but a dozen other pictures by the artist; Reni's *Adam and Eve*; Claude's *Sermon on the mount*; Giordano's twelve paintings of *The Story of Psyche*; Rubens's *Raising of the brazen serpent*, *David and Abigail* and the *Infants Christ and St John with two putti-angels*; Castiglione's *Diogenes*; and four portraits by Van Dyck. Jonckheere has broadened the picture and situates Meyers and his astonishing collection at the nexus of an international cast of collectors, middlemen and dealers, whose profiles form the further substance of the book.

We should be particularly grateful to Jonckheere and his Dutch publishers that this extraordinarily informative book has been published in English. Minor infelicities, such as referring throughout to the Hon. James Brydges, Baron Chandos (as he succeeded the year after this sale), 1st Duke of Chandos (as he was created in 1719), as 'James Brydges of Chandos', and instead of saying that Sir Matthew Decker was knighted, that he was 'raised to the peerage' (pp.139 and 154), are a small price to pay. Also, the Thyssen Holbein of *Henry VIII* from William III's collection was in the collection of the Earls Spencer (possibly by descent from Charles, 3rd Earl of Sunderland), not of the Duke of Sutherland (p.251). Nor would Jacques Meyers's Van Dyck of Lady Pembroke have been of either of the wives of the 4th Earl (p.113, note 224 and p.280, cat. no.19), but rather of Penelope Naunton, wife of the 5th Earl.

The 'Hendrick Stuart van Holbein'/'Henry Stuart Lord Danby little piece by Gennet' listed respectively by Jan van Beuningen and Jan Pietersz Zomer at Het Loo on 6th and 7th December 1712 (no.39), and in Stanhope's list of the pictures claimed for the English Crown (no.22), was surely a portrait of Darnley by Hans Eworth; but – since it does not feature in the inventory taken in April 1713 of the pictures sent from Het Loo to Amsterdam, nor in the sale – could it be that (as a portrait of an ancestor of Queen Anne) it was actually returned to England, even if it does not feature in Royal inventories after 1714? It might then either have been the painting in the collection of Lord Bolton by 1889, and now in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, or the version engraved by W. Holl in 1827 when in the possession of the Earl of Seaforth.

As this shows, caution is needed before taking at face value all the ascriptions and attributions in the various catalogues transcribed in this book (not only those of the collections of William III, Jan van Beuningen and Jacques Meyers, but also of Wittert van Valkenburg and Adriaen Bout). The most startling is perhaps the reattribution of Alessandro Turchi's *Judgment of Midas* from Gioacchino Assereto, to whom it was ascribed in the auction of Adriaen Paet's collection in 1713, to no less a figure than Raphael, once Archbishop-Elector Lothar Franz von Schönborn's painter–agent, Jan Joost van Cossiau, had successfully bid for it for Schloss Weissenstein, Pommersfelden, where it can still be found. The attribution was supported by the Elector of Mainz's court painter, the Swiss Rudolf Byss, on the strength of his having copied work by Raphael (but was that any more genuine?) when in Prague. But such uncertain connoisseurship becomes comprehensible when we read that the pioneering Dutch art historian Jacob Campo Weyerman admitted to Meyers that he had never seen a painting by Correggio when the collector showed him a *Virgin and Child* that had been pawned to him by a down-at-heel cleric for 600 guilders in gold ingots – which did not inhibit Weyerman from roaring with laughter, dismissing the painting as a fake and the priest as a con man!

[1] *Letter-Books of John Hervey, First Earl of Bristol*, ed. S.H.A. Hervey, Bury St Edmunds 1894, pp.158–59.

Les musées français et la peinture allemande 1871–1981. By Mathilde Arnoux. 436 pp. incl. 16 col. + 59 b. & w. ills. (Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, Paris, 2007), €48. ISBN 978–2–7351–1161–9.

Reviewed by MALCOLM GEE

MATHILDE ARNOUX ends this dense and fascinating study with a discussion of two exhibitions held in Paris in 1978 and 1981, *Paris–Berlin* at the Centre Georges Pompidou, which focused on the period 1900–33, and *Art-Allemagne-Aujourd'hui*, organised by Suzanne Pagé at the Musée d'art moderne de la Ville de Paris, which presented a survey of contemporary art from the Federal Republic. They marked, she argues, a fundamental shift in the approach to and presentation of German art by the French establishment. It was presented in a scholarly and sympathetic way, with respect for its distinctiveness and diversity, freed from the combination of prejudice, ignorance and politics which had characterised museum acquisition and exhibition activity throughout the preceding century. The book is structured around the three wars that shaped Franco-German relations over this period, each of which concluded with episodes of occupation. In 1871 – from the French perspective – that of Alsace and Lorraine by the new German Reich; in 1918 that of the southern Rhineland and the Palatinate by the French victors, partially repeated in 1945 in the context of the total occupation of Germany by the allies. The initiatives of 1978 and 1981 corresponded, in a broader context, to the overcoming of the scars left by

these historical events and the advent of a new conception of European cultural identities.

French museums acquired a significant number of old-master German paintings between 1871 and 1914 – 334 in all. Most of these were donations, and usually part of mixed collections that included other schools, such as the Flemish and Italian, that were more generally appreciated. Arnoux discusses the specific cases of Lille, Besançon and Dijon, each of which benefited from gifts of this kind. The Louvre acquired twenty-one works, mostly from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The majority were gifts, but she highlights the fact that the Museum purchased seven paintings, including two works by Cranach and a major work by the Cologne School. Although there was a haphazard aspect to the Louvre's holdings of German art, she argues that, in the context of a general appreciation of 'primitives', the Museum began to develop a scholarly approach to German work at the turn of the century, as the appearance, for the first time, of a 'German School' section in the galleries in 1913, demonstrated. Contemporary German art was not entirely neglected but – like that of other countries – it was affected by the lack of an effective policy of collection and display of foreign schools at the Musée du Luxembourg and by the determination of museum staff to uphold the overall superiority of the modern French School. The purchase of a major work by Max Liebermann conformed to this position since he was a key figure in the promotion of a modern French-inspired aesthetic in Germany.

The relatively unsystematic pattern of museum acquisitions of German art continued in the interwar period in most institutions. The Louvre purchased three paintings and acquired twelve others through gift. Representation of modern foreign art was improved by the creation of the Musée du Jeu de Paume in 1922, but here as elsewhere – with the notable exception of the Grenoble museum under André Farcy – policy favoured the promotion of France's civilising influence in art. German Expressionist art, celebrated in the Weimar Republic, was hardly recognised – Arnoux points out that the purchase of a landscape by Max Beckmann, who is now seen as quintessentially 'German', was probably intended to show the 'French' character of his work. One of the functions of the Jeu de Paume was to host temporary exhibitions of foreign art and here political and diplomatic interests were fairly explicit. In the immediate post-War years relations between France and Germany made it impossible to conceive a celebration of German art in Paris. In 1927 the project of holding a Liebermann exhibition concurrently with a Monet show in Berlin obtained government support as a token of national rapprochement, but anti-German feeling still ran so high that it was eventually shelved. The four exhibitions of Swiss and Austrian art in the 1920s and 1930s emphasised the distinctiveness of the art traditions in these lands in relation to German art, and their links with France, particularly in the case of Switzerland.

Arnoux devotes a chapter to the specific case of the Strasbourg museums during this period, and the work of their director Hans Haug. In reconstituting the collections destroyed by fire in 1870, Wilhelm Bode, director of the Prussian museum service, had privileged a 'German' view of Alsatian art. Haug set out to rebalance the collections by buying significant numbers of French paintings – which Bode had deliberately neglected – and, particularly in the 1930s, to construct an ensemble of work from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries that embodied the specificity of the Alsatian School and its strong links with Flemish and French art. Haug continued this project when he returned to Strasbourg in 1944. He was able to reinforce the holdings of Alsatian art in the Musée de l'Œuvre de Notre-Dame focusing *inter alia* on the work of the seventeenth-century still-life painter Sébastian Stoskopff, whom he presented as distinctively Alsatian but influenced by the Flemish tradition and marked by a stay in Paris. The cut-off point for the survey was 1681, the date when Strasbourg joined France – thus the collection bore witness to Alsatian difference when it was part of the German world.

Haug presented Alsace as a site through which the influence of French art had been passed to the East, and this view was well suited to the climate of the immediate post-War years when the French authorities in the occupied zone saw culture as instrumental in the restructuring of German society. Arnoux's account of the period highlights, particularly in the case of exhibition initiatives of both old and modern art, the political dimensions of museum activities, and the complexities of institutional life in this context. Cultural exchanges with Germany involved, besides museum personnel themselves and their German counterparts, official agencies on both sides with different and sometimes conflicting aims. The exhibition *Des Maîtres de Cologne à Albert Dürer. Primitifs de l'Ecole Allemande* was originally planned in 1947 by the French authorities in Baden as a gesture of interest in German art. It eventually took place in Paris in 1950 as a joint Franco-German project that expressed the new spirit of reconciliation between the two countries after the establishment of the Federal Republic. The title chosen was a compromise brokered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, after doubts were raised over the use of the terms '*primitifs*' and '*allemand*'. In relation to contemporary art Arnoux notes a general tendency, not restricted to the French art establishment, to emphasise internationalism rather than national identity in the post-War years. The Musée National d'Art Moderne, which opened properly in 1944 under Jean Cassou, was open to foreign art including German, but favoured international trends – in which France was seen as playing the leading role. The continued necessity of seeing French art as primordial was evident in the exhibition *Le fauvisme français et les débuts de l'expressionnisme allemand* in 1966: German art could not be presented purely in its own right but had to be juxtaposed with its superior French counterpart. Nonetheless this exhibition was part of a trend to explore and show German art that developed during the 1960s. This was pioneered at the Musée National d'Art Moderne by Maurice Besset between 1960 and 1965. He secured several significant works for the collection, including Dix's striking portrait of Sylvia Harden, and even developed a project for a 'German gallery' in the Museum – although this did not in fact materialise. The first exhibition in France dedicated to German Expressionism was actually held in Marseille and the first to figure 'The New Objectivity' was in St Etienne – evidence of the work of a new generation of curators who accepted that French hegemony in the field of modern art was a thing of the past. In the case of nineteenth-century German art a fundamental rethink was brought about in the mid-1970s by the project to establish a national museum dedicated to that century. Under Michel Laclotte the Louvre undertook a systematic policy of acquiring major German paintings – difficult at a time when their market value was soaring. A scholarly shift in the approach to German art was also evident in the exhibition of German Romantic painting held at the Musée de l'Orangerie in 1976. Catalogue essays by Laclotte and Werner Haftmann gave a nuanced interpretation of the national character of the movement and the differences between German and French manifestations of it. It was this recognition of the specificity of the German tradition, which was seen also at the Pompidou's *Paris–Berlin* exhibition in the area of early twentieth-century art, that marked, according to Arnoux, the beginning of a new era in French perceptions of this material.

This study has, in a sense, two registers, although the interplay between them is fundamental to the author's thesis. On one hand, it is a scrupulous and detailed examination and record of specific exhibitions and acquisitions of art categorised as German by French museums over the period. These were determined at a basic level by budgets, the contingencies of donations, individual conservators and their art-historical training, and the structure of the arts administration and its relations with other state agencies. On the other, it is a study of the evolving nature of the understanding of national cultural identity, as manifested in works of art, in the French intellectual consciousness, in the very specific case of Germany where historical circumstances had brought the two states into violent conflict three times in the course of less than a century. The strict parameters of the first register to some extent limit the development of the second, but they provide a strong empirical basis for the argument. And the book is part of a series sponsored by the Paris-based Centre allemand d'histoire de l'art, whose mission is the comprehensive examination of relations between France and Germany in the sphere of the visual arts. The focus here on the very specific area of museum activity is complemented by other volumes in the series that consider artistic relations in general and art criticism in each country over a similar period.

The Buildings of England: Essex. By James Bettley and Nikolaus Pevsner. 820 pp. incl. 130 col. + 172 b. & w. ills. (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2007), £29.95. ISBN 978–0–300–11614–4.

Reviewed by PAUL DRURY

JAMES BETTLEY IS to be congratulated, not only for seeking out an extraordinary amount of information about Essex buildings, but also for gathering it together, with his collaborators, into so lucid a work of scholarship. But if the book is hard to criticise, the quality of the extensive development of Essex in the past half century is an easy target. Much of what has gone wrong is summed up in Bettley's description of the Braintree Freeport Designer Village 'where the *Essex Design Guide* and shopping come together in a grotesque parody of a "village" that epitomises the triumph of commerce over culture at the end of the C20'. Through the *Essex Design Guide*, Essex planners have sought to retain a semblance of local identity, and 'occasionally [. . .] when the houses are all different and are made to look like houses and not converted agricultural or industrial buildings, the result can be quite convincing'. Fundamentally, the models do not translate well to being rolled out over acres, in 'improbable assortment'. But twentieth-century Essex mass housing and settlements began with a narrative of innovation. Braintree was the home of Crittall Windows, and the firm built there, not just the well-known Silver End (Fig.44), but in 1918–20 a group of concrete houses, 'the first real modern movement houses in England'. The welcome and extensive critical reappraisal of the post-War 'New Town' of Harlow, at a time of major (and not always positive) change, provides, in the best Pevsner tradition, not just the essential facts (what, when, by whom), but an incitement to test its judgments on the ground.

A positive consequence of so much change has been an explosion of archaeological knowledge, generally well summarised in the introduction; but largely as background, for Essex has comparatively few visible pre-medieval monuments. One reason for this is the intensity and continuity of the use of its landscape. In places, co-axial field systems, and Roman roads cutting across them, still form the basis of the present-day landscape. The pattern of settlement and land division in Essex is a palimpsest, complex and in parts ancient; but to say that 'no satisfactory explanation' for it has been advanced does not really do justice either to landscape studies or to one of the defining characteristics of Essex topography.

Essex is particularly well known for its timber-framed buildings, and here, too, knowledge has grown exponentially since the first edition of 1954. Cecil Hewett's understanding of the evolution of carpentry has been given precision by tree-ring dating (dendrochronology), and David Andrews provides an up-to-date overview of timber buildings 1200–1700. But to make the arcane language of carpentry accessible to the non-specialist, this section desperately needs more illustrations – particularly a diagram of archaic framing and its characteristic joints, none of which appears in the standard glossary.

A leitmotif of the book, from the twelfth century to the twentieth, is the recognition of direct connections with the Continent in terms of both styles and materials: round towers distributed along the North Sea coastline (p.21), and screens in the churches at Stebbing and Great Bardfield that share a common source with one in Trondheim (p.23), both were new to the present author. To the links noted in the introduction, I would certainly add the appearance of high-quality decorative brick buildings of distinctively north European derivation in the fifteenth century, now best illustrated in Essex by Faulkbourne Hall, Black Notley and the ruinous Nether Hall at Roydon. This soon became assimilated as the basis of the regional style of brick building down to the mid-sixteenth century.

Being close to London, Essex was a favoured location for major houses in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many were demolished or rebuilt early, and without substantial record, otherwise they would figure much more strongly in architectural history and would also give a rather different character to the present-day county. Bettley helpfully treats the survivors and key later houses extensively, often with floor plans or elevations, drawing together the results of much recent (and often essentially 'archaeological') research. This, however, exposes a particular frustration of the *Buildings of England* series, despite their expanded format: the lack of references, even to books or major articles, on particular buildings. Just one is mentioned in 'Further Reading': J.D. Williams's book on Audley End, published in 1966.

Only occasionally can one add substantially at this level of summary. At Beeleigh Abbey (p.127), each bay of the dorter (dormitory), as reworked in the early sixteenth century (but pre-Dissolution), was accessed by a small doorway off a gallery added over the cloister, implying a division into cubicles: the doorways appear in early engravings and several survive in the present house. At Old Copped Hall (p.308), the core of the building demolished in the 1740s seems to have been a tall brick hunting-lodge built pre-Dissolution by the abbots of Waltham, with two long wings added by Sir Thomas Heneage in the 1570s, rather than the 1560s, partly incorporating much more modest earlier extensions.

44. Exterior view of houses in Silver End, Essex, designed by Thomas Smith Tait. 1926–32.

Civilisation. By Jonathan Conlin. 156 pp. incl. 37 col. + 26 b. & w. ills. (Palgrave Macmillan on behalf of the British Film Institute, London, 2009), £12. ISBN 978–1–84457–270–0.

Reviewed by SCOTT NETHERSOLE

THE TELEVISION SERIES *Civilisation: A Personal View by Kenneth Clark* was first broadcast between February and May 1969. Commissioned from Clark by David Attenborough and Huw Wheldon, its ostensible purpose was to exploit the 625-line colour signal that had only just been introduced on BBC2. It was thought, not unreasonably, that thirteen episodes on great works of art would be a suitable vehicle to show off the new technology. But the series quickly came to be about something more than just art, or civilisation for that matter. On the day after the first airing, the *Manchester Daily Mirror* was rhapsodic in its praise: 'Call it the epic poetry of television, call it a hymn of praise to the dignity and orderly genius of man, call it a symphony of beauty, erudition, and brilliant colour photography' (p.79). Others were less enthralled. Raymond Williams, whose importance to cultural and critical theory should not be downplayed, wrote in the *Listener* a month later that it was 'a long last gathering up by sad and polished minds, of an Edwardian world-view . . .' (p.44). For a few, it came to establish a standard in arts' documentaries that could be followed or rejected, but not ignored. Opinion was, and has continued to be, divided, but everyone seems agreed that the position one adopts to the series is a statement of political allegiance.

Jonathan Conlin's book is the first critical volume entirely devoted to *Civilisation*. Written as part of a series dedicated to 'TV Classics' and published on behalf of the British Film Institute, it promises a 'fairer, less schematic assessment of the series: [one which will] go beyond the caricature of smug reassurance, scholarly hauteur and exclusive aestheticism to consider the series' portrayal of civilisation as fragile, yet open to discussion by everyone' (p.11). Conlin's aim, then, is to engage more fully with the programmes and thereby achieve a nuanced appreciation of Clark's understanding of civilisation. This he shows to be marked by a profound pessimism; it is anything but the constant, teleological ascent sometimes claimed for the series.

Conlin is an unabashed fan of both Clark and *Civilisation*, and his book is as much 'A Personal View' as was Clark's series. In six chapters that draw on new archival research and interviews with members of the original crew, he sets the programmes in the context of other arts' documentaries (including those of the presenter), teases out and pieces together Clark's elusive notion of civilisation and rules on the success or failure of certain devices, such as dramatisation. He is especially critical of Clark's concluding credo, which Clark had been reluctant to deliver and reveals him to be a 'stick in the mud', to use his own words. 'I hold a number of beliefs', Clark told his audience, 'that have been repudiated by the liveliest intellects of our time'. The ready citation of these beliefs has caused, as Conlin observes, the series' reputation to suffer (p.78). Finally, two chapters deal with the response of British and American viewers, the latter presenting a good array of new research on the relationship between American public broadcasting and the BBC, which could, presumably, be greatly expanded.

The final chapter surveys the legacy of *Civilisation*. Here the author shows himself not content simply to record the history of the series, but desirous to engage in debates surrounding arts' television. And, by adopting the first person plural, he expects the reader to be complicit in his vision. 'But it isn't enough if we want to speak to a public as human beings, and point to how creativity is innate, universal, healthy and pre-political, how great art has made and can make us better people' (p.133). These are not the only polemical moments either. Some readers might be surprised to learn that few of the generation of '68 are 'able or even willing to claim a legacy', or that 'Consensus remains on what the highlights of western art history are' (p.120). Others are unlikely to agree that Clark was 'inventing his own "new art history"' (p.95). According to Conlin, Clark did not see *Civilisation* 'as a political statement, as a reassessment of values that the 1960s generation had supposedly dismissed' (p.88). Whatever the truth of the matter – and it is hard to dismiss Clark's several more-or-less direct references to May '68 as anything but political – intentionality has little bearing on reception. Conlin might wish *Civilisation* to be apolitical, but to do so is a political statement.

Publications Received

Indian Painting: From Cave Temples to the Colonial Period. By Joan Cummins. 246 pp. incl. 118 col. ills. (MFA Publications, Boston, 2006), $50. ISBN 978–0–87846–704–4.

The recent surge of interest in contemporary Indian art has created a need to know more about the country and its age-old artistic traditions. Museums and libraries in India and in many Western cities are loaded with artefacts, hand-written illustrated manuscripts and album paintings, textiles and decorative arts familiar only to a small number of specialists as there are surprisingly few general books narrating the history of Indian art. Joan Cummins's book, *Indian Painting: From Cave Temples to the Colonial Period* certainly goes a long way to fill that void.

The painting tradition in India goes back at least to the second century BC when the inner walls of the earliest Buddhist caves at Ajanta in western India were embellished with paintings on episodes from the Buddha's life. The site remained active for the next seven centuries when more caves were dug out of living rock for temples and monasteries for the monks and to accommodate the profusion of paintings drawn on the walls, ceilings and pillars of many of them. Many of these have disappeared due to centuries of neglect and vandalism but enough survives there to testify to the fact that these wall paintings virtually served as the source of all Buddhist painting traditions in other parts of India and in far-off lands stretching from Afghanistan to the Silk Road cities of Central Asia, China, Mongolia, Korea and Japan and also from Sri Lanka and Myanmar to Thailand, Cambodia and Indonesia.

There was an equally strong and widespread manuscript tradition essential for the study and propagation of the three principal religions originating in India – Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Tiny paintings were introduced in them to show the visage of the deities described therein, and in the course of time these were preferred for their transportability and longer shelf-life. Originally written on palm leaves and other organic materials, these were produced on paper from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when paper was introduced into India. With the arrival of the Mughals in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, especially during the long rule of the third Mughal Emperor, Akbar, there was an unprecedented development in painting. Although he himself could not read or write, Akbar built up a huge book-making workshop along with sprawling painting ateliers in his capitals that far surpassed anything attempted anywhere in the contemporary world. More than 150 painters from all over the subcontinent and Persia and Central Asia were employed to produce thousands of book illustrations and album paintings. When interest in painting declined during the reigns of his successors many of these artists returned to work for new patrons in the upcoming states in Rajasthan, Central India and the smaller Hill States in erstwhile Punjab, thus spreading the rich tradition perfected in the Mughal court to all corners of the country. The tradition lost the sap of life only in the Colonial period with the establishment of art schools based on Western models and the advent of photography in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Cummins has taken up this vast canvas in her survey of Indian painting, but restricted it to the extent of the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Although this is very rich, with more than a dozen masterpieces of Mughal, Rajasthani and Pahari (Punjab Hills) paintings, it is by no means truly representative of the tradition of Indian painting as a whole. Cummins has started her narrative with Ajanta as there is a small fragment of wall painting from Ajanta in the MFA vandalised by an English soldier just after the discovery of the site in the early nineteenth century, thus justifying 'from Cave Temples' in the book's subtitle. Similarly, with only three Colonial period paintings and one early twentieth-century work, by the Bengal master Gaganendranath Tagore, in the MFA collection, she has inserted these in her chapter on the Colonial period adding weight to the latter part of the subtitle 'to the Colonial Period'.

The main thrust of the book is the survey of Mughal, Deccanese, Rajasthani and Pahari paintings, distributed through five chapters, most of these acquired by the Museum from three major collections formed in the earlier part of the twentieth century. Among them, the collection of the renowned Indologist scholar Ananda Coomaraswamy, built up in India during his extensive tours, is of extraordinary importance as he served the MFA for many years and published its entire Indian holdings in four exhaustive volumes of *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. The other major collection acquired by the MFA from the Russian Orientalist collector Victor Goloubew consists of a superb group of Mughal and Deccani miniatures.

Cummins is able to carry forward the earlier works and incorporate the fruits of extensive research from the last fifty years, making the book cogent and comprehensive. Good quality colour illustrations and selected details of some key works greatly enhance the value of the book.

ASOK KUMAR DAS

History's Beauties. Women and the National Portrait Gallery, 1856–1900. By Lara Perry. 220 pp. incl. 8 col. + 27 b. & w. ills. (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2006), £55. ISBN 978–0–7546–3081–4.

Although not all the sitters in the portraits in this publication can necessarily be described as 'beauties' by today's standards, they were central figures in the development of the National Portrait Gallery, London, in the nineteenth century. Female sitters, painters, donors and visitors are all examined, as are the influences and decision-making processes of the men who effectively chose what would be displayed in the Gallery. Gender disparity is a favourite subject for modern art historians but the Gallery has remained curiously conservative in its display of representations of women since its foundation in 1856. This may be due to its imperative to present to the public well-known faces, few of which, unfortunately, were women.

HELEN OAKDEN

Soviet Textiles. Designing the Modern Utopia. By Pamela Jill Kachurin. 96 pp. incl. 52 col. + 1 b. & w. ills. (Lund Humphries, London, 2006), £14.99. ISBN 978–0–85331–952–9.

This publication presents forty fabric samples lent by the Lloyd Cotsen Collection to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, on the occasion of its exhibition *Designing the Modern Utopia* (26th July 2006 to 25th February 2007). It considers social and technological changes during the early years of the Soviet Union. At this time, the largely illiterate Russian population depended on visual media as communication. The new Communist state hoped to promote a Soviet visual language to educate the people by printing domestic fabrics with repeated symbols representing industrialisation, agricultural production, transportation, electrification, collectivisation, youth and sport.

The designs, developed between 1927 and 1933, are formed both by abstract motifs and by realistic depictions of factory chimneys, gears, belts, rotors and wheels. These propagandist images, printed in bright colours and depicting plentiful representations of Soviet harvests, are far from the realities of famine and social unrest of that period. Ultimately, the designs proved unpopular and their production was short-lived.

A.H.

Russian Architecture and the West. By Dmitry Shvidkovsky. Photographs by Yekaterina Shorban. Transl. by Anthony Wood. 434 pp. incl. 291 col. + 121 b. & w. ills. (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2007), £50. ISBN 978–0–300–10912–2.

This book explores the development of Russian architecture over the past thousand years as a part of the history of Western architecture. Shvidkovsky's research spans the tenth century to the present day and helps frame a new direction in Russian architectural history. The book is lavishly illustrated with newly commissioned photographs.

A.B.

Exhibitions

Master paintings and drawings

London

by RICHARD VERDI

ANYONE SEEKING TO create a museum from scratch will have been encouraged – and even incited – to do so by the cornucopian array of works displayed by London's dealers of master paintings and drawings during the first week of July as part of Master Drawings Week, which was this year joined by the newly established Master Paintings Week. Although lacking in many of the 'big names', this consisted of an astonishing assortment of the highest interest, and largely ranged from the early Italians to the mid-nineteenth century. Breaching even these limits was one of the most inspired rooms: that staged by **Colnaghi** of Cranach's *David and Bathsheba* and *Virgin and Child* and two of Picasso's prints based on the master, the latter's *Bathsheba* countering Cranach's innocence and elegance with a more witty and sinister take on the tale.[1] Also on view there was one of the major revelations of the event, Frans Hals's *St Mark* of 1625–26. First presented to the public in January 2009 in a special display at this gallery,[2] it is the last to be unearthed of his series of Four Evangelists, which constitute his only known religious paintings, and portrays the saint accompanied by a soulful, weeping lion. Pensive, penitential and bathed in a light that (as so often with Hals's early works) owes much to the Utrecht Caravaggisti, it shows this great master at his most moving and introspective, exploring the realms of human frailty and self-doubt.

Two Holy Families dominated the selection of sixteenth-century Italian paintings on display. Foremost among them was Vincenzo Catena's *Virgin and Child with St John the Baptist*, exhibited by **Trafalgar Galleries**, which is datable to c.1506 and includes a background view of the Campo S. Maria Formosa, Venice. Vibrantly coloured, as though painted with crushed jewels, it invites comparison with the *Madonna and Child* attributed to Giorgione in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, in its Venetian view, perspectival incongruities and, above all, its astonishing poise and purity. It also boasts a distinguished provenance, having once been in the collection of Gaspar Méndez de Haro, 7th Marqués del Carpio, Count-Duke of Olivares – who also owned Velázquez's *Rokeby Venus* – and much more recently, of the American antiquarian and collector Edward Perry Warren, friend of Roger Fry, resident in Rome and adviser to museums in both New York and Boston.

The other remarkable *Madonna and Child with St John the Baptist* was at **Whitfield Fine Art** and is the prime version of a composition of c.1513 by Andrea del Sarto.[3] Previously known through several copies and variants, this has recently been cleaned by the gallery to reveal numerous pentimenti, extensive underdrawing and a much lighter and more atmospheric background, which provides a caressing foil for the figures, whose sensitively modelled features harmonise with its variegated tonalities.

45. *Trompe l'œil of hawking equipment*, by Christoffel Pierson. c.1660. Canvas, 49.5 by 66 cm. (Exh. Rafael Valls, London).

46. *A man in profile reading a book*, by Claude Vignon. 1620s. Canvas, 94.5 by 76 cm. (Exh. Whitfield Fine Art, London).

Eclipsing even this major rediscovery at the same gallery was a stunning *Man in profile reading a book* (Fig.46), convincingly attributed to Claude Vignon and bearing obvious stylistic similarities to his well-known *Portrait of François Langlois* at the Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley. The present picture likewise dates from the 1620s and leaps off the wall with its heady mixture of Caravaggesque subject, bravura brushwork and dazzling light. Far from reminding one of the artist's indebtedness to the Rome of the 1620s, the style of this picture anticipates Fragonard's fantasy 'portraits' of the 1770s and 1780s in its freedom and fluency, the evanescent handling of the figure's fur hat brilliantly contrasting with the rippling and cascading strokes of the volume he holds. Although the man may only be reading a book, the picture itself sings.

Compared with this, even a superb *Study of a man with a grey beard* by Van Dyck, also with Whitfield, seems of its time. Boldly brushed and deeply meditative in feeling, this hitherto unknown work probably dates from c.1627–32 – when the artist is not known for having executed such study-heads – and is decidedly Rembrandtesque in conception, with its furrowed brow and soulful expression. Rivalling it, at the **Weiss Gallery**, was another Van Dyck of his second Antwerp period, the *Portrait of a cleric*, of which several copies exist. Gazing heavenwards, as though seeking affirmation of his faith, the sitter's wasted features bespeak his imminent mortality and attest to the artist's extraordinary sympathy – and sensitivity – when faced with subjects haunted by the spectre of death.

Among the major examples of French classicism on show, pride of place must go to Poussin's *Holy Family with St John the Baptist*

47. *Holy Family with St John the Baptist*, by Nicolas Poussin. c.1626. Canvas, 51 by 68 cm. (Exh. Agnew's, London).

(Fig.47) at **Agnew's**, which is datable to c.1626 and first recorded in the collection of Lucien Bonaparte. Titianesque in its fiery colour and dramatic lighting, it already reveals the more severe and cerebral side of the master's genius in its archly profiled Madonna and its combination of the themes of the Holy Family with that of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt. Stylistically it is similar to the Cleveland version of the *Return of the Holy Family from Egypt* and marks a transitional moment in the artist's career when the warmth and richness of Venetian painting is tempered by a growing awareness of the gravity found in Raphael and his followers. Agnew's also showed a small, unpublished *Immaculate Conception* by Murillo, executed on copper and among his rare works in this form.

In addition to the aforementioned Hals, there were many important seventeenth-century Dutch pictures, among them two by the Utrecht Caravaggisti: another version of the controversial early *Supper at Emmaus* attributed to Terbrugghen and a collaborator, of which there are also examples in Vienna, Potsdam and Toledo – the canvas exhibited here by **Derek Johns** with good claim to be the prime original – and an earlier version by Baburen of the well-known *Concert* in the Hermitage, shown by **Verner Amell**. But much rarer, and one of the most astonishing surprises of the week, was a mesmerising *Trompe l'œil of hawking equipment* (Fig.45) by the little-known painter Christoffel Pierson, who worked in Gouda and was also known as a glass painter. Exhibited by **Rafael Valls**, this brilliantly combined illusionism with abstraction, at once deceiving the eye and satisfying the mind with its artful symmetry and covert visual puns. The most boldly coloured object – an orange shoulder-bag in the exact centre – is balanced on either side by an avian decoy and a glove, below both of which hang two falcon's hoods. These are then linked by a sequence of interweaving curves comprised of netting, ropes, a sling and a hunting horn. The result is at once seemingly felicitous and subtly contrived, with even the shadow cast by the glove at the right echoed in the meandering curve of a loop of rope on the opposite side. In devices such as these, the art of an Old Master bridges the divide with that of more recent times; for the fixity – and finality – of this picture would scarcely look out of place hanging with still lifes by Léger or Gris.

Later pictures exhibited included an exceptionally fine and unpublished *bozzetto* by Luca Giordano of c.1684 for his fresco of *Christ driving the moneychangers from the Temple* in the church of the Girolamini, Naples, shown by **Simon Dickinson**, and a *Self-portrait in academic robes* by Reynolds, exhibited by **Philip Mould**. This is datable to the mid-1770s and unmistakably indebted to works like Rembrandt's *Head of a man in a feathered beret* of c.1635 in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, which was long believed to be a self-portrait by the great Dutch master, whom Reynolds so much admired and emulated.

48. *Aristotle and Eudoxus*, by James Nasmyth. c.1848–50. Black and white chalk on grey paper, 40.6 by 30.4 cm. (Exh. Lowell Libson, London).

Although many dealers exhibited eighteenth-century French works – among them Boucher's superb chalk drawing of Charlotta Sparre, shown by **Day and Faber** – one of the greatest bonuses of the week was the international range of Neo-classical works on view, especially in a land whose collections are notoriously lacking in such holdings and never likely to fill this gap. Among those conspiring to enrich the nation's exposure to these – however temporarily – was **Didier Aaron**, who exhibited a splendid and highly finished drawing of *Hector's farewell to Andromache* of 1772 by Pietro Novelli, and **Thomas Williams**, who showed two outstanding pendants in pen and wash of *Almo and Galaesus* and the *Death of Epaminondas* by Bartolomeo Pinelli of 1812 – all of them reminding one of the important role that Italian artists themselves played in the Neo-classical movement. Inevitably, however, the most impressive examples were contributed by their French contemporaries, led by David's chilling and somewhat stillborn second version of the *Anger of Achilles* of 1825, exhibited by **Robilant and Voena/Guy Stair Sainty**, who also showed a ravishing and much-reduced variant by Girodet of his famous *The sleep of Endymion* of 1792 in the Louvre. Painted c.1808–10, perhaps at the behest of Napoleon's younger brother Lucien, this is suffused with a subtlety of colour and lighting that belie its status as a mere 'repetition'. It deserves instead to be regarded as a little masterpiece.

Napoleon's elder brother, Joseph, was the guiding force behind two of the most imposing Neo-classical landscapes also shown. Painted by Alexandre-Hyacinthe Dunouy in 1806, these depict views of the château de Mortefontaine near Paris – which Joseph owned and Corot later depicted – and show him and his family in its idyllic surroundings, bathed in a predictably Claudian light. Exhibited by **Ben Elwes Fine Art**, these are a notable addition to the canon of early nineteenth-century classical landscapes. But more noteworthy still was a comparable work by the obscure Italo-Irish artist Gaspare Gabrielli, shown by **William Thuillier**. A native of Rome, who moved to Dublin in 1805, where he remained until 1818, Gabrielli appears as a master outside his time and place. In the *Classical river landscape* shown here he portrays the hilly and wooded banks of a river with a piping shepherd and his flock in a *sfumato* setting of powdery blues and greens, which is meltingly lovely and reveals him as surpassing even Richard Wilson in his attempts to soften and beautify Claude. In so doing, he anticipates the diaphanous and dream-like late landscapes of Corot.

Although the London display effectively ended at c.1850, it did contain a number of masterpieces and some curiosities of early

49. *Interior of the dormitory of the Ipswich Blackfriars*, by John Sell Cotman. c.1838–42. Watercolour, 43.7 by 60.3 cm. (Exh. W.S Fine Art Andrew Wyld, London).

nineteenth-century art. Chief among the former was a magnificent watercolour of c.1838–42 by Cotman depicting the *Interior of the dormitory of the Ipswich Blackfriars* (Fig.49), exhibited by **W.S Fine Art Andrew Wyld**.[4] This is undisputedly among the artist's greatest works in this medium and is exceptionally rich and subtle in both colour and handling. For rarely has somewhere more cavernous been made more luminous than in this singular sheet.

If Cotman's watercolour depicts a world that we know, another view by a British artist transported us to a totally alien realm. This was James Nasmyth, engineer and astronomer in addition to being a painter, draughtsman and etcher, whose *Aristotle and Eudoxus* (Fig.48) of c.1848–50 was made with the aid of a telescope and shows two of the moon's craters. One of only four such lunar landscapes known by Nasmyth, it was exhibited by **Lowell Libson**.[5] Executed (in the artist's own words) 'by systematic and careful observation', these works were much lauded in their day, winning the critical appreciation of both Queen Victoria and Prince Albert and eventually leading Nasmyth to publish a book in 1874 on his observations of the moon in which he modestly proclaimed 'to illustrate the landscape scenery of the moon, in like manner as we illustrate the landscape scenery of the Earth [. . .] by means of light and shade on the moon's surface'. Affirming the astronomical accuracy of his drawing, Nasmyth dutifully inscribed it 'March 30 8pm MT'.

[1] Catalogue: *Cranach*. By Jeremy Howard. 16 pp. incl. 13 col. + 1 b. & w. ills. (Bernheimer-Colnaghi, London, 2009), £5. No ISBN.

[2] Catalogue: *Frans Hals, St Mark. A lost masterpiece rediscovered*. 24 pp. incl. 16 col. + 28 b. & w. ills. (Colnaghi, London, and Salomon Lilian, Amsterdam, 2008), £20. No ISBN.

[3] Catalogue: *Old Masters in a Modern Light*. 120 pp. incl. 75 col. + 16 b. & w. ills. (Whitfield Fine Art, London, 2009), £20. No ISBN.

[4] Catalogue: *Summer 2009*. By Susan Sloman. 96 pp. incl. 55 col. ills. (W.S Fine Art Andrew Wyld, London, 2009). ISBN 978–0–9551478–4–5.

[5] Catalogue: *British Paintings, Watercolours and Drawings*. 72 pp. incl. 45 col. + 11 b. & w. ills. (Lowell Libson Ltd., London, 2009). ISBN 978–0–9550337–9–9.

Corot to Monet

London

by BART CORNELIS

THE EXHIBITION *Corot to Monet: A Fresh Look at Landscape from the Collection* at the **National Gallery, London** (to 20th September), is a mixed blessing.[1] As works of art are becoming all too frequent flyers, it is certainly to be applauded that the Gallery has taken the unexpected step of organising a summer show that is almost entirely made up of works from the permanent collection,[2] and no one can complain that for this show so many of the irresistible oil-sketches from the Gere collection (Fig.50), on long-term loan to the Gallery, have come out of storage, when usually only a small selection is on permanent display. But this is really where the good news ends, for there is ultimately very little to commend this exhibition. According to the press release it charts 'the development of open-air landscape painting up to the first Impressionist exhibition in 1874'. This is a bold statement for a show that essentially lumps together a sizeable selection from the Gere collection with paintings from the permanent collection by artists such as Corot, Daubigny and Monet, names that will at least ensure public attention. But does the exhibition indeed chart that development?

There has been a sustained growth in interest over the last few decades – some even regard it as something of a fetish[3] – in landscape sketches painted in the open air in the second half of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, often in oil on paper or millboard, occasionally on canvas. The earliest surviving examples in this particular tradition stem from the beginning of the eighteenth century when Alexandre-François Desportes evidently worked outdoors producing rapidly executed landscape studies in oil on paper, by no means as works of art in their own right but as study material to be used in pictures painted in the studio. This tradition culminated, and found perhaps its most refined expression, in the oil-sketches made by Corot in Italy in the 1820s, as was explored in depth in Peter Galassi's *Corot in Italy* (1991).

The problem is that this exhibition implicitly suggests that there is a correlation between what Corot and his predecessors were up to and what was to follow, but there is no basis for such a sequential reading of events. The early nineteenth-century oil-sketch had its roots firmly in the past and many of the landscapes from the Gere collection can be said to belong to the Neo-classical era; indeed, the official, finished work of these artists is often as painfully archaic as their sketches are startlingly fresh, as François-Xavier Fabre's idealised *Italian landscape* of 1811 in the first room of the exhibition makes all too clear. The studies painted *en plein air* (although it is by no means certain that all of them were) may be particularly appealing to our modern sensibilities, which are to a certain degree informed by our exposure to the Impressionists, but that does not mean that there is much that actually links the two.

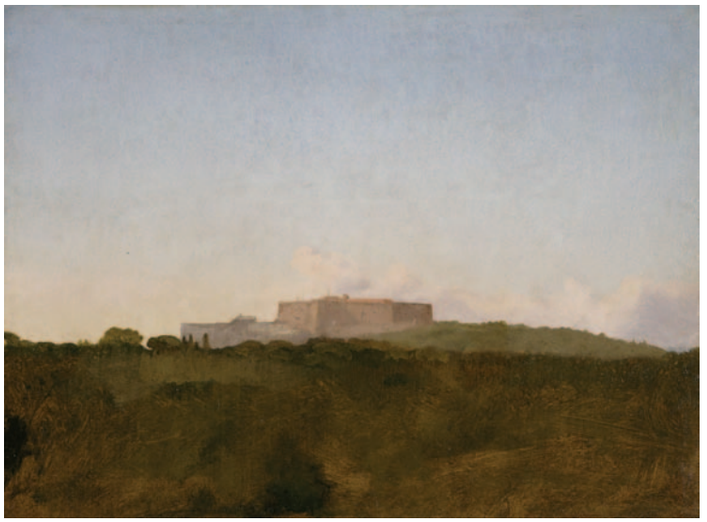
Part of the confusion arises from a simple question of technique. Because the oil-sketch blurs the boundary between drawing and painting but is nevertheless in oil and in colour, it is all too easily forgotten that this study material is not all that different from drawn studies from earlier periods. As far as painting landscapes in oil on paper is concerned, the aforementioned works by

50. *View looking into the Val de Villé in the Vosges, France*, by a French artist(?). 1830s. Oil on paper laid on canvas, 27.9 by 38.5 cm. (Gere collection, on long-term loan to the National Gallery, London).

Alexandre-François Desportes may well go as far back as we can trace this particular practice, although seventeenth-century sources suggest that Claude Lorrain already painted such studies *en plein air* (the holy grail for the oil-sketch aficionado is to discover one), but there is no pressing reason to exclude the medium of drawing or watercolour. In that case the tradition can be traced back much further than the early eighteenth century to Claude's wonderfully observed wash drawings or the sketches made *sur le motif* in Italy by seventeenth-century Dutch artists such as Gerard ter Borch the Elder, Bartholomeus Breenbergh, Cornelis van Poelenburgh or Herman van Swanevelt, or, for that matter, north of the Alps by Anthony van Dyck.[4] Nor would we have to stop in the 1600s, as we know from the landscapes of c.1500 by Albrecht Dürer (in watercolour) and Fra Bartolommeo (in pen),[5] both of whom evidently worked outdoors and who are just as astonishingly fresh, informal and 'accidental' in their approach to the subject as are their colleagues of some three centuries later. And throughout the centuries these works share much the same characteristics, with the foreground often left very sketchy or indeed entirely open, an indication of their status as either study material or as works made purely for pleasure. The only difference is that in the course of the eighteenth century artists chose more radical viewing angles, resulting in unusual cropping of the kind that we have come to associate with photography. In that sense their works seem very modern, although too much is sometimes made of this 'modernity'.[6] Rather than the beginning of something new or revolutionary, they were the culmination of centuries of tradition.

An additional problem is that these oil-sketches were kept for reference in the studio and led a very private life; later nineteenth-century artists were most probably completely unaware of their existence. Corot's studies remained largely unknown in his studio until they were sold in Paris after his death in 1875, a year after the first Impressionist exhibition. In its extremely unusual choice of subject-matter and 'photographic' cropping, Thomas Jones's *Wall in Naples* in the exhibition may seem exceedingly 'modern', but its influence cannot have reached very far as Jones's oil-sketches were only rediscovered in 1954 when they suddenly appeared in a London saleroom. Among the Impressionist generation, Degas was perhaps the most committed to tradition (he of course famously disliked the epithet Impressionism) and he was a great admirer of Corot's early sketches. He owned the artist's *Roman Campagna with the Claudean Aqueduct* and in his early work he showed himself to be an heir to this tradition, as is perhaps best demonstrated by illustrating here his beautiful *Castel Sant' Elmo, from Capodimonte* (Fig.52) of c.1856, a splendid acquisition made in 2000 by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which could have been an inexpensive and instructive loan to the current show. But Degas belonged to a tiny minority who preferred Corot's early sketches over his later paintings. And although it is Corot's later work that might be seen to bridge the gap with the Impressionists, the facture in his landscapes and '*souvenirs*' ultimately serves a rather dream-like quality that is still far removed from what the Impressionists would strive for. Moreover, Corot's later works were painted (or at the very least finished) in the studio, as many examples in this show illustrate.

51. *Beach at Trouville*, by Claude Monet. 1870. Canvas, 38 by 46.5 cm. (National Gallery, London).



52. *Castel Sant' Elmo, from Capodimonte*, by Edgar Degas. c.1856. Oil on paper laid down on canvas, 20 by 27 cm. (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

Some of the paintings in the exhibition by artists from the Barbizon School at least make a little more sense in setting the scene of what preceded the Impressionists (although surely no one can give a convincing reason for the presence of Millet's *Winnower* in this selection), but on seeing the last wall in the show, one nevertheless feels that a veil is lifted and something altogether different is happening. Like landscape painters of the preceding centuries, Monet was painting outdoors in his *Beach at Trouville* (Fig.51) of 1870, but its depiction of a slice of modern life with city-dwellers on their day out on the beach is truly radical and represents an artistic idea that simply would not have occurred to Corot and his generation, most certainly not in a finished painting deemed fit for exhibition. One may find similar characteristics such as rapid execution and unexpected cropping, and perhaps young Corot would have understood its appeal, but he could not have thought of it as a deliberate artistic choice.

This exhibition implies a sequence of events that puts the visitor on the wrong foot and, rather than providing a 'fresh look', in many ways takes us back to a view of nineteenth-century landscape painting that Galassi rightly sought to dispel in his *Corot in Italy*. The truly interesting show, although one that would obviously require many loans in different media, would be the one that traces the practice of working outdoors through paintings, drawings and watercolours spanning Dürer to Corot, and one that stops before the latter's return to France from Italy.

[1] Catalogue: *Corot to Monet: French Landscape Painting*. By Sarah Herring and Antonio Mazzotta. 72 pp. incl. 80 col. ills. (National Gallery Company, London, 2009), £7.99 (PB). ISBN 978–1–85709–450–3.

[2] There is one loan, John Constable's *Hove beach with fishing boats* of c.1824 from the Victoria and Albert Museum, which is juxtaposed with Richard Parkes Bonington's stunning *La Ferté* of c.1825, accepted by H.M. Government in lieu of Inheritance Tax and allocated to the National Gallery in 2007 pending a decision on permanent allocation.

[3] See Andrew Shelton's review of the 2003 exhibition devoted to Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE 146 (2004), p.134.

[4] Most recently beautifully surveyed in R. Rand: exh. cat. *Claude Lorrain – The Painter as Draftsman: Drawings from the British Museum*, San Francisco (Legion of Honor) and Williamstown (Sterling and Francine Clark Institute) 2006–07; P. Schatborn: exh. cat. *Drawn to warmth: 17th-century Dutch artists in Italy*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 2001; and M. Royalton-Kisch: exh. cat. *The light of nature: landscape drawings and watercolours by Van Dyck and his contemporaries*, Antwerp (Rubenshuis) and London (British Museum) 1999.

[5] For the latter, see C. Fischer: exh. cat. *Fra Bartolommeo, Master Draughtsman of the High Renaissance: A Selection from the Rotterdam Albums and Landscape Drawings from Various Collections*, Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen), Boston (Museum of Fine Arts), Fort Worth (Kimbell Art Museum) and New York (Pierpont Morgan Library) 1990–92.

[6] For example in S. Faunce: 'The modernity of landscape', in P. Conisbee, S. Faunce, Y. Kohari and A. Gates: exh. cat. *Plein-air painting in Europe 1780–1850*, Shizuoka (Prefectural Museum of Art), Sydney (Art Gallery of New South Wales) and Melbourne (National Gallery of Victoria) 2004–05, pp.20–25.

Futurism

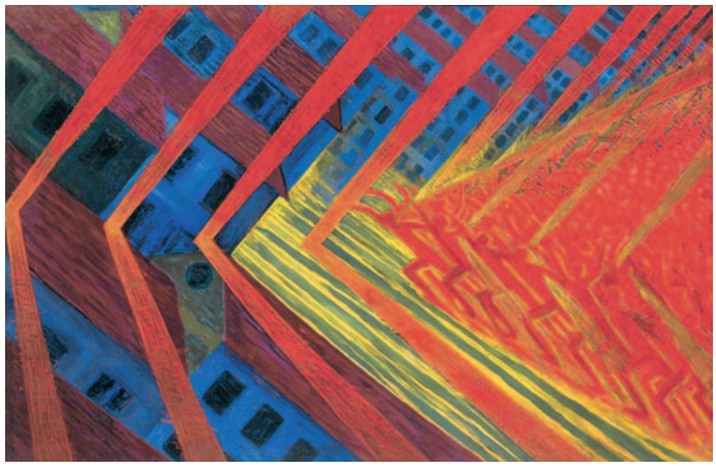
London

by EMILY BRAUN

ALTHOUGH OSTENSIBLY MOUNTED to assess the legacy of the Italian Futurist movement led by F.T. Marinetti, *Futurism* at **Tate Modern, London** (to 20th September), only haphazardly focuses on the task. Only five of the show's ten rooms feature Futurist works, separate from the other galleries devoted to Picasso and Braque, the Section d'Or, Orphism, Russian Cubo-Futurism and Vorticism, respectively. Many of the stellar works representing these other movements have come from the Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, and the Tate, who co-organised the show along with the Scuderie del Quirinale in Rome. The exhibition could more appropriately have been called *A History of European Avant-Gardes to 1914*, in which Futurism takes part in a larger narrative. On this count, the entire enterprise compares less favourably to the fourth-floor installation of the Museum of Modern Art's permanent collection in New York, on whose Futurist pictures – the most important holdings anywhere – it readily depended. But as yet one more survey of pre-War Futurism, it falls short of Pontus Hulten's extravaganza, *Futurismo & futurismi*, which inaugurated the Palazzo Grassi in 1986.

It would not have mattered that the non-Futurist pictures outnumber the Futurist ones, but for some unfortunate emphases – or lack thereof. Instead of drawing out the unique, innately Italian characteristics of Marinetti's vision and those of his colleagues, the exhibition limits the comparisons to stylistic analyses, without engaging the viewer in the Futurists' radically prescient vision of modern culture. Noticeably absent is the inclusion of Luigi Russoli's noise music (*intonarumori*), Antonio Sant'Elia's visionary architecture and Marinetti's 'words-in-freedom' collages and poetry. Futurism's most important contributions to the history of the international avant-garde – the power of mesmerising spectacle, brazen provocation, political activism, the exploitation of the mass media, invention of manifestos and the happening – barely emerge from the choice of works on view at Tate Modern.

Furthermore, the curators chose to cut the movement off at the knees in 1915, instead of following its trajectory through to the Second World War (or even beyond in the work of post-War Italian abstraction). While this may have been the result of a sensitivity, or embarrassment, towards the movement's alliance with Fascism, it does not do justice to art or history, nor to the contributions of Futurism, some mediocre, some splendid, some troubling, in its 'second phase'. New styles adapted and transformed by Futurist artists (synthetic Cubism, constructivism, biomorphism), Fascist modernism in the applied arts and graphic design, experiments in theatre and typography and neglected figures such as Fortunato Depero, Enrico Prampolini, Bruno Munari and Tullio D'Albisola, need to be examined in the larger perspective of Europe between the Wars.



53. *The rebellion*, by Luigi Russolo. 1911. Canvas, 150.8 by 230.7 cm. (Gemeentemuseum, The Hague; exh. Tate Modern, London).

Exhibiting the full impact of Futurism and its traffic with international avant-gardes would have entailed a different type of curatorial enterprise and installation design, less static, extra-pictorial and multi-media, not unlike the major retrospective of Dada organised three years ago by the Centre Pompidou and the National Gallery of Art in Washington. In that manifestation, Dada once again stole much of Futurism's thunder, as the curators claimed it to be the first international avant-garde and ignored its debts to Marinetti and his cadre of artists, poets, performers and pamphleteers. The Tate Modern exhibition displays one room of archival material and manifestos, laid out in vitrines. Within the same section, only two collages by Severini account for the Futurists' research into that revolutionary medium.

Yet we cannot fault the curators for pursuing a different, more streamlined idea: to place the fine art production of first-generation Futurism in the context of its European peer movements. There are legitimate reasons for doing so: the Futurists themselves continued to work with the traditional media and exhibition practices of painting and sculpture (although they revolutionised their marketing practices). To this end, the originating curator of the exhibition, Didier Ottinger, used the 1912 *Exhibition of Futurist Painters* at the Bernheim-Jeune Gallery in Paris as the pivotal point and as a benchmark for stylistic comparisons with other European movements. While historically sound, the execution was flawed, for the Paris exhibition excluded Giacomo Balla. In addition, Severini had not evolved as a fully fledged Futurist by that time and, consequently, is unjustly represented in the first rooms of the Tate show by works dating only up to 1911. Inexplicably, his *Nord-Sud* and bountiful *Dancers* series are missing from the entire exhibition. Carrà (Fig.54), hardly the strongest painter in the group, is disproportionately represented by the large number of paintings from the 1912 show that the curators were able to secure, while Russolo has only two canvases of significant weight (Fig.53).

The most serious shortcoming of the Tate exhibition is the paucity of works by Balla. Only one of his early paintings in the Divisionist style is included, works which are essential for perceiving the underlying differences between Futurism and Cubism. Of Balla's early Futurist masterpieces, inspired by

54. *Funeral of the anarchist Galli*, by Carlo Carrá. 1911. Canvas, 198.7 by 257 cm. (Museum of Modern Art, New York; exh. Tate Modern, London).

Etienne-Jules Marey's chronophotography, *Girl running on a balcony* alone appears on the walls. As a result, Boccioni dominates the proceedings, reinforcing the biased historiography put into place by Marinetti upon Boccioni's death in 1916. Balla, however, was arguably more modern in his vision than Boccioni, and far more influential on artists of the interwar and post-Second World War period. Balla and Boccioni represent two different avenues of Futurist research, and the lack of the former's artistic output in the current show results in a lopsided presentation of the movement. Without Severini's *Expansion of light* series or Balla's pictorial investigations into the trajectories of natural, mechanical and cosmic forms in motion, viewers will fail to understand how far the Futurists had proceeded towards pure abstraction by 1915.

Undoubtedly, the stiff competition for loans made this a very challenging curatorial enterprise: at least three other major shows in Italy were devoted to the centenary of Futurism.[1] But the unrelated decision to isolate the avant-gardes in separate rooms, as opposed to hanging mutually influential canvases side by side, does injustice to the differences and innovations of Futurism. And why rooms devoted to French, British and Russian art, but not to German? The Futurist exhibition in the spring of 1912 at Der Sturm Gallery in Berlin significantly influenced Franz Marc, Ludwig Meidner, Otto Dix and others. Ernst Ludwig Kirchner started his series of ambiguously glamorous cocottes only after Boccioni exhibited in Berlin three of his scintillating canvases showing prostitutes, with their over-the-top headgear and gaudily painted faces. Two of the latter, *The model idol* and *The laugh*, are in the Tate Modern show, but with no context for their novel brazenness.

The catalogue for the present exhibition confirms the limitations of the scholarly apparatus.[2] Much of the Anglo-American, interdisciplinary research from the past twenty years, including recent studies comparing Cubism and Futurism, is overlooked in the lead essays, notes and bibliography. The exception is Matthew Gale's text, which combines recent scholarship on Vorticism with new insights on the exhilarating, if fraught, reception of Marinetti and the Futurist painters in Britain.

It is not the reviewer's job to review the reviews, but it is telling that the reception of this exhibition in the press was overwhelmingly negative toward Marinetti and the Futurist artists, suggesting that they have not had a fair representation. Organised on the occasion of the centenary of Marinetti's 1909 'Founding Manifesto of Futurism', this exhibition puts back the study of the movement one hundred years.

[1] See the review by C. Michaelides is this Magazine, 151 (2009), pp.340–42.

[2] Catalogue: *Futurism*. Edited by Didier Ottinger. 360 pp. incl. over 200 col. + b. & w. ills. (5 Continents Editions, Milan, 2009), £29.99. ISBN 978–887–439–4968.

Omega Workshops

London

by SIMON WATNEY

IN 1958 ROGER FRY'S daughter, Pamela Diamond, gave a collection of one hundred designs from the Omega Workshops to the Courtauld Institute of Art, to which her father had previously left much of his private collection. The exhibition *Beyond Bloomsbury: Designs of the Omega Workshops 1913–19*, on view at the **Courtauld Gallery, London** (to 20th September),[1] includes approximately a quarter of these designs, together with a wide range of related fabrics, ceramics and other objects, many of which have been borrowed from the Victoria and Albert Museum. Set up by Fry as a limited company in a large Robert Adam townhouse at 33 Fitzroy Square, London, in 1913, the Omega Workshops were both a commercial business and the embodiment of Fry's beliefs concerning the potential role of modernist design. It also gave an opportunity to provide an income for impoverished young artists who were to be paid for up to three half-days of work each week, and whose output was required to be anonymous. In twenty-first-century terms one might say that by sticking with the distinctive identifying logo of the last letter of the Greek alphabet, instead of individual names, Fry was exercising considerable skill at market branding, although one can trace the idealistic principle of anonymity back to his acquaintance with Herbert Horne's and Arthur Mackmurdo's Century Guild which had been founded just around the corner in Fitzroy Street in 1882, the output of which was also anonymous, as well as to older workshop and *bottega* traditions which he much admired.

Twenty-five years after the Craft Council's extensive survey exhibition based on the Omega Workshops,[2] *Beyond Bloomsbury* reunites a smaller selection of designs with some of the wide range of products which they directly informed. It provides an admirably focused opportunity to reconsider the relationship between the stunningly inventive and often very painterly designs for use by visiting artists stockpiled in portfolios, and the many varying uses to which they were put. To take just one example, two versions of the 1913–14 design *Mechtilde* (cat. nos.28 and 29), named after the wife of the German ambassador, reappear as eight differently coloured stencilled fabrics (no.35), as well as on a painted wooden candlestick (no.69). There is also a photograph in the exhibition catalogue of a lost *Mechtilde* carpet (fig.60), and the same design also appears on a surviving set of early upright chairs.

55. *White*, attributed to Vanessa Bell. Omega Workshops, 1913. Printed linen, 85 by 79.5 cm. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London; exh. Courtauld Gallery, London).

The great vigour of the Omega style is everywhere apparent, and a judicious selection of furniture and other products provides a stunning demonstration of the adventurous originality of the entire project, further reflected by a number of hitherto unknown photographs of the Workshops from *The Illustrated London Herald* of 24th October 1915. All the more moving for their sepia blurriness, these include a shot of Vanessa Bell on a stepladder painting the ceiling of a temporary Omega Nursery installation, and a group of women dressmaking around a table covered with Omega fabrics. Another shows Winifred Gill applying Duncan Grant's *Trojan women* design to a circular painted tray, and we also see the artist Nina Hamnett (mistakenly captioned as 'Miss Hamlet') proudly holding out an Omega dress made from the fabric *Margery*. For all the confidence and optimism on display, there is also a certain pathos here since it must have been increasingly apparent as the War steadily worsened that they were designing for a future which was not going to happen, or not as they had hoped.

While Fry was doubtless encouraged by initiatives such as Paul Poiret's Ecole Martine in Paris, it is equally clear that the Omega stood four-square in the local British traditions of the Arts and Crafts Movement, with which Fry had strong connections, including his close friendship with C.R. Ashbee. Nor should one forget that Fry's wife, Helen (née Coombe), had studied under the leading stained-glass maker Christopher Whall, and was also involved with the Century Guild. It should be noted that the only original interior decorative feature surviving at 33 Fitzroy Square today is the wrought-iron staircase balusters with their typical Adam sunflowers, a motif much favoured at the Omega (nos.40, 41 and 73; also appendix ill. no.24), and also of course emblematic of the Aesthetic Movement. Indeed, Fry's woven fabric *Cracow* and its design (nos.41 and 42) are particularly close to Aesthetic Movement textiles. While there are few surviving examples of less durable objects, such as clothing, on which the Omega was increasingly financially dependent, the work on display here gives the lie to over literal-minded critics who still take Bloomsbury's characteristic modesty and self-deprecation concerning the physical

56. *Design*, by Duncan Grant. c.1913–15. Gouache on paper, 43.2 by 65.4 cm. (Courtauld Gallery, London).

reliability of the Omega's output quite literally, and one cannot accept the claim made in the exhibition catalogue (p.74) that Fry encouraged 'amateurishness and lack of finish'. Indeed nothing could be more professional than the fabrics and carpets exhibited here, or the furniture made by Dryad of Leicester, as well as by the Polish cabinet-maker Joseph Kallenborn, and Ernest Gimson's pupil Edward Gardiner.

The question of anonymity at the Omega leads on to the vexed question of who-did-what, touched on by the curator, Alexandra Gerstein, in the catalogue (p.81). While one might wish to respect Fry's guiding ethical principles, at the same time it is impossible not to speculate about authorship, not least because so much of the work relates closely to other works of art, especially paintings, recognisably by the leading triumvirate of Vanessa Bell, Duncan Grant and Roger Fry himself. There is moreover a distinct danger in any attempt to sever the Omega from the rest of Bloomsbury's contribution to the visual arts, not least because this masks the fascinating two-way flow of influence between different media, as ideas from paintings were explored in designs which in turn fed back into the field of paintings, which often encouraged subsequent designs. This becomes especially clear if one compares works clearly by Grant, such as *Design* (no.10; Fig.56) with its horizontal vocabulary of four regular triangular forms, to his pioneering 1914 *Abstract kinetic scroll* in the Tate's collection. Many other contemporary Bloomsbury paintings either include objects, such as Omega painted paper flowers, or experiment with techniques initiated at Fitzroy Square. To take another example, the experience of designing fabrics seems to have closely informed the later stencilled wall decorations at Charleston. It is significant in this context that the Omega Workshops did not produce printed wallpapers as one might perhaps have expected, because the decoration of walls was evidently felt to require the direct hand of the artist.

57. Tureen, by Roger Fry. Omega Workshops, 1915 or after. Earthenware with blue glaze, 23 by 28.7 cm. (Courtauld Gallery, London).

The entire exhibition is of course dependent on the accidents of survival, and there are today few of the most fragile and possibly popular wares such as small decorated boxes, lampshades and so on. Dressmaking was an increasingly important component of the Omega's output from 1915 onwards, though sadly few examples survive, which makes the focus at the Courtauld Gallery on fabrics all the more important, quite apart from their often startling anticipation of the later taste of the Jazz Age. While Grant generally seems to have preferred designs with big diagonal repeats, Bell was more drawn to all-over effects, much like the traditional chintzes which she admired (Fig.55). Most remarkable of all, however, is the large full-scale one-quarter-size study by Grant made for an Omega rug for a room at the 1913 Ideal Home Exhibition (no.16), displayed alongside one of the two surviving rugs closely based on it. This strikingly demonstrates the way in which Grant translated aspects of Picasso's 1907 *Nude with drapery*, which he had seen in the Stein collection in Paris, into an entirely abstract and equally forceful idiom of his own.

The Omega Workshops finally succumbed to the post-War economic chill of 1919, and to this day the output of this most successful of all English vanguard enterprises remains largely unknown and under-valued. One hopes that this timely and well-displayed exhibition will go some way to establishing the Omega's proper place within the wider international field of experimental early modernist art and design. Though handsomely illustrated, several of the contributions to the accompanying catalogue are, alas, frankly disappointing, while the bibliography is far from thorough, and one can only hope that the Courtauld Gallery can in time be persuaded to exhibit and publish all the surviving designs in its holdings. A proper centennial Omega catalogue raisonné is surely called for.

Some notes on individual works follow:

no.8: *Rug design*. It is far from clear that this design was directly based on African Kuba textiles as firmly stated on p.93. Designs with very similar concentric lozenges abound in the fabrics of many cultures, including Azerbaijani and Persian carpets, as well as Tunisian rugs, which Grant is likely to have come across first-hand on his visits to Tunis in 1911 and 1914, to say nothing of his trip to Turkey in 1910. Grant's childhood in Burma and India should not be discounted in this context.

nos.23 and 24: *Two rug designs*, by Duncan Grant. Far from 'naïve' as stated here, both designs reveal Grant's serious interest in classic 'Chahar Bagh' southern Persian carpets with their birds'-eye-view gardens and fish-filled channels of chevron-like water, examples of which he could easily have seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The daringly flat motif of fish and swimmers also irresistibly suggests the impact of the great 8th–7th century BC Assyrian palace reliefs on display in the British Museum since the 1840s, an influence one can also trace in other Omega designs and several of Grant's contemporary paintings.

nos.43–45: *Designs*, by Duncan Grant. Rather than being designs for Omega pots, these pencil drawings are much more likely related to Grant's 1912–13 commission for a proposed London production of *Macbeth*; see the larger, more finished painted study which survives at Charleston.

no.57: *Plates*. Almost everything on display in the exhibition undermines the claim on p.140 that primary colours were 'dominant in Omega designs'.

no.58: Tureen, by Roger Fry (Fig.57). The beast-lid handle surely derives from Etruscan as much as Chinese prototypes.

no.60: *Turquoise vase*, by Roger Fry. The claim that the colour of this stoneware vase is a failed attempt at celadon seems to me most unlikely.

nos.61–65: *Terracotta cats*. The series of small cast and painted seated cats by Henri Gaudier-Brzeska may relate as much to English Staffordshire examples as to Tang dynasty models. It is moreover hard to imagine more different objects than these delightful Omega felines and Duchamp-Villon's 1913 plaster cat, whose relationship is suggested on pp.38–39.

no.66: *Marquetry tray* (*Wrestlers*), designed by Henri Gaudier-Brzeska. Roger Fry gave this tray its title after the artist's death in 1915, though the design seems to have more in common with the pairs of dancers by Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant formerly on the outside of the Omega Workshops (see p.83, fig.52). One should also recall the successful Art Nouveau marquetry trays (and other wooden objects) made for the Rowley Gallery founded in Kensington in 1898, at least one of which bears a design of two dancers.

[1] Catalogue: *Beyond Bloomsbury: Designs of the Omega Workshops 1913–19*. Edited by Alexandra Gerstein. 183 pp. incl. 48 col. + 18 b. & w. ills. (Fontanka, London, 2009), £20. ISBN 978–1–906257–04–0 (PB); £29.95; ISBN 978–1–906257–05–7 (HB).

[2] See the review by R. Shone in this Magazine, 126 (1984), pp.374–77 (along with *The Omega Workshops*, Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London).

Alfred Stevens

Brussels and Amsterdam

by JOHN HOUSE

AT THE HEIGHT of his career, during the 1860s and 1870s, the Belgian artist Alfred Stevens was the quintessential painter of the *parisienne*. Although seemingly outmoded at the turn of the century, his art found new admirers in the circle around Robert de Montesquiou at the time of a retrospective at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris in 1900, six years before his death. The present exhibition, recently shown at the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique in Brussels, and now to be shown at the **Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam** (18th September to 24th January), is the first major retrospective of his work in Europe since the posthumous show in Brussels in 1907.[1]

The path of Stevens's career was more diverse and more interesting than his popular reputation suggests. His early work in the 1850s established him, along with his brother, the animal painter Joseph Stevens, and his friend Charles de Groux, as a leader in a group of Belgian artists exhibiting ambitious paintings of the urban poor; it was in this guise that he made his debut at the Paris Salon in 1853 with, among other paintings, *Le Matin du mercredi des cendres* (cat. no.53), which was purchased by the French State and sent to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille. This poignant contrast between carnivalesque revellers and poor bystanders was echoed in *Petite industrie* (no.55; Fig.59), exhibited at the 1857 Salon, showing an impoverished woman and child on the doorstep of a shop selling luxury goods; but that year marked the crucial turning-point in his career, for this canvas was accompanied by a group of paintings of fashionable bourgeois life, including *Consolation* (no.61), depicting a pretty young woman visiting a newly bereaved family. His

58. *Une Duchesse*, by Alfred Stevens. c.1866. Panel, 31.9 by 26 cm. (Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown; exh. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam).

59. *Petite industrie/Mendicité tolérée*, by Alfred Stevens. 1857. Canvas, 128 by 100 cm. (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp; exh. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam).

success in this new mode precipitated his abandonment of themes of social conscience in favour of the lavishly dressed women in elaborately decorated interiors that formed his stock in trade for the following two decades.

Stevens's fashionable genre paintings can be interpreted on various levels. In one sense, they were commodities, capitalist consumables in the same sense as the dresses and decors represented in them; pictures such as these readily found their home in precisely the types of interior that they depict. Yet they could also be seen as a form of pure painting, demonstrations of the painter's virtuosity; Théophile Thoré, reviewing the display of Stevens's work that definitively established his reputation at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, and acutely aware of the precedents in seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting, could conclude that it was 'simply a matter of painting' ('*il s'agit de peinture simplement*').[2] Yet Thoré's review was itself a counter to a different type of interpretation, one that used the expressions and body-language of the figures and the attendant details as clues to narrative or sentimental readings of the paintings. Crucial to this, as Marius Chaumelin noted in his review of the 1867 exhibition, were the '*noms de guerre*' that Stevens gave his '*héroïnes*' – that is, the titles of the pictures.[3]

On the question of titles, the exhibition and its catalogue are no help whatsoever. Many paintings are listed with two alternative titles, some with three, with no indication of the source and authority of each. Thus the crucial role of the paintings' initial exhibition titles is wholly obscured, and the (at times) startlingly different titles given to a single painting are presented as if they are equivalent. One canvas, depicting a young woman holding a brief handwritten letter and a flower, and gazing at a seemingly Oriental table-ornament of a tiger, is listed as *Le Cadeau* or *La Tentation* (no.73; National Gallery, London, on long-term loan to the Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, Dublin), alternatives that invite markedly different interpretations, while the painting listed as *Une Duchesse* or *La Robe bleue* (no.3; Fig.58) can be shown, from Chaumelin's review, to be the picture titled *Une Duchesse* shown at the 1867 Exposition Universelle – a teasing title that provoked Chaumelin into quizzical speculations about the moral status of this 'duchess'.[4] On one occasion, at least, we can document Stevens himself changing the title of a picture: *Petite industrie*, from the 1857 Salon, became *Mendicité tolérée* at the 1867 Exposition[5] – a shift that highlights both the complex nuances of picture-titling and the complexities of the laws about begging on the streets of Paris. As in many other recent catalogues, this show begs to have entries on individual pictures detailed enough to give the viewer this basic information; instead we have the familiar checklist, with the variant titles listed without explanation.

Stevens's later career is intriguing, if pictorially less satisfying. During the 1870s, he began to focus more explicitly on the notion of woman as femme fatale, in canvases such as *Le Sphinx parisien* (no.45), of which a version was first exhibited in 1873. In 1880 he produced the astonishing *L'Electricité* (no.32; Fig.60), in which a vast Sarah-Bernhardt-like figure sits, a black cat on her lap, in front of an apocalyptic view of Paris, with the towers of Notre-Dame silhouetted against a stormy sunset, overflown by giant bats. Alongside this and canvases of iconic femmes fatales such as Mary Magdalene, Lady Macbeth and Salome of 1887–88 (nos.16, 27 and 29), Stevens's seascapes of the 1880s and 1890s are distinctly low-voltage, evidence of the rapid production necessitated by the artist's acute financial problems. Yet at the same period, he, together with Henri Gervex, produced one of the most ambitious pictorial projects of the 1880s, the vast *Panorama de l'histoire du siècle*, installed in the Tuileries Gardens in 1889, and depicting the great historical figures of the past century in an imagined landscape of the Tuileries itself. Only a few fragments of the *Panorama* survive; some of these, together with drawings and the four large oil-sketches for the entire project (nos.33–36), were displayed in a separate space in the Brussels installation.

The core of the catalogue comprises seven essays: a biographical survey by Danielle Derrey-Capon, followed by six on various aspects of Stevens's work and artistic context. The order of the catalogue numbers in the checklist, bizarrely, follows the appearance of the illustrations of the works in question within this sequence of essays; thus it is neither chronological nor thematic. The biographical survey is a shorter version of the text published at the start of another volume, primarily devoted to the *Panorama*; it is in this latter volume, published as one of the Cahiers des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, that the full footnotes for the biography and a comprehensive bibliography for the artist will be found.[6] It seems unfortunate that the contents of the two volumes could not be coherently

60. *L'Electricité*, by Alfred Stevens. 1880. Canvas, 116 by 88 cm. (Musée des Beaux-Arts Jules Chéret, Nice; exh. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam).

co-ordinated – or, better, combined. The team of authors has, it seems, worked without the help of Christiane Lefebvre, whose recent monograph on Stevens[7] was published by Brame & Lorenceau as a prelude to her projected catalogue raisonné of the artist's work.

In Brussels, the installation itself was loosely thematic, with the works arranged around and on screens within a large square gallery with rich peacock-blue walls; here, as in the catalogue, the organisation obscured the chronology of Stevens's career, a particular disadvantage when his changing concerns related so revealingly to both their social and artistic contexts.

At its finest, as in *Une Duchesse*, Stevens's art was of the greatest delicacy and finesse, a worthy descendent of artists such as Gerard ter Borch and Gabriel Metsu; yet at the same time his imagery – both the attributes in the paintings and the complex visions of modern women that they present – was absolutely of his time. His career, both in its achievements and in its sometimes riveting failures, was itself something of a panorama of the art world in which he worked.

[1] Catalogue: *Alfred Stevens 1823–1906 Bruxelles – Paris*. With contributions by Saskia de Bodt, Danielle Derrey-Capon, Michel Draguet, Ingrid Goddeeris, Dominique Marechal and Jean-Claude Yon. 207 pp. incl. 156 col. + 9 b. & w. ills. (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, and Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam, in association with Fonds Mercator, Brussels, 2009), €29. ISBN 978–90–6153–871–4 (French PB); also published in English and Dutch editions.

[2] T. Thoré: 'Exposition de 1867', in *ibid.*, pp.138–39.

[3] M. Chaumelin: 'La Peinture à l'Exposition universelle de 1867', in *idem*: *L'Art contemporain*, Paris 1873, p.88.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp.88–89; information from the files of the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown.

[5] *Ibid.*, p.90.

[6] D. Derrey-Capon: *Alfred Stevens (1823–1906) et le Panorama de l'histoire du siècle*, Brussels and Ghent 2009, pp.13–105 and 204–26.

[7] C. Lefebvre: *Alfred Stevens, 1823–1906*, Paris 2006.

The Moon

Cologne and Houston

by FELIX KRÄMER

IN FINANCIALLY DIFFICULT times one can make a virtue of necessity. This is exactly what was done in an exemplary manner at the **Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne**, where some 150 paintings, photographs, maps and astronomical instruments told the story of man's fascination with the moon in the exhibition *Der Mond* (closed 16th August; and opening at the **Museum of Fine Arts, Houston**; 27th September to 10th January).[1] The idea came to Andreas Blühm, the director of the Wallraf, largely on the basis of what is already available in the permanent collection. Despite a widespread fascination with the moon, to date there has been no comprehensive iconographic exploration of this topic.[2] In Cologne the exhibition spanned the late Middle Ages to contemporary Western art and culture, starting with Stefan Lochner's *Madonna of the rose bush* of c.1442 (Fig.61), which includes thirty moon crescents in Mary's nimbus, which number corresponds to the lunar cycle. Until the seventeenth century the figure of Mary was always associated with the moon, her immaculate purity being linked to the presumed purity of the moon. Moreover, the moon reflects sunlight, just as Mary reflects God's light. However, the invention of the telescope was to shatter the idea that the moon was such an immaculate place.

The year 2009 sees the four-hundredth anniversary of the moment Galileo Galilei directed his eye towards the celestial bodies through a telescope he had made after the example of its inventor, Jan Lippershey, while it is also exactly forty years ago that man landed on the moon. Galileo could now report that the moon has a completely uneven, 'tainted' surface which, with its mountains, craters and valleys, seems to resemble the earth rather than the smooth ethereal sphere described in theological doctrine. Within a year Galileo published his findings in his *Sidereus Nuncius*, a small book that made him famous at a stroke but left the Church hard-pressed for an explanation.[3] In the exhibition were three copies of this rare publication from the university libraries in Münster, Cologne and Dresden, and they were made more poignant by the inclusion of Rubens's *Self-portrait with Mantuan friends* of 1605–06, which probably shows the painter in the company of the famous astronomer before the publication of his contentious book. It was the only painting in the exhibition that does not depict the moon.

The show was divided into six chronological 'moon phases', which allowed the visitor to 'orbit' its subject: 'Celestial spheres' of the late Middle Ages was followed by 'The view through the telescope' and 'Enlightenment and Romanticism', while the invention of photography in 1839 informed the section 'In and out of focus', which is followed by 'New moon fantasies' and 'Space travel and pictures'. The way the moon has been perceived has changed considerably over the last five centuries. While the seventeenth century saw a scientific approach to the representation of the moon, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a more intimate look at the night skies predominated – not the celestial bodies themselves but their lure and brilliance was what interested artists. The Romantic era produced countless night pieces, also in literature and music (Blühm even speaks in this context of a '*Mondschwemme*', a 'moon deluge'), vividly illustrated in the exhibition with examples by Joseph Wright of Derby, Caspar David Friedrich, Johan Christian Dahl and Carl Blechen. Still painting the moon as a flawless disc, even Wright of Derby, who was in contact with the scientific Lunar Society, was more interested in its atmospheric light effects than in a faithful representation.

Even today Matthias Claudius's 'The moon has risen' of 1771 is still one of the most famous lullabies in Germany: 'You see the moon up there?/ Only half of it is visible,/ But it is round and beautiful!/ Thus it is with many things,/ That we think are risible,/ Because we do not see the whole'. Even though it was another two centuries before the far side of the moon was documented, the moon lost much of its mystery with the invention of photography. The more detailed the images of the lunar surface were, the more artists broke away from it; the closer man came to the moon, the more distant its artistic interpretation became. As a fabled object on which to project one's beliefs and fantasies the moon went into retirement on 20th July 1969, when Apollo 11 landed and the world was collectively glued to the television screen. As a result there were hardly any works in the show from the last forty years.

61. *Madonna of the rose bush*, by Stefan Lochner. c.1442. Panel, 51 by 40 cm. (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne).

62. *Stormy night*, by Anton Melbye. 1846. Canvas, 93 by 127 cm. (Letter Stiftung, Cologne; exh. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne).

The exhibition included only a few prominent (and thus more expensive) loans, including Edouard Manet's *Moonlight over the port of Boulogne* (1869; Musée d'Orsay, Paris), but this was not a disadvantage. On the contrary, it is often the lesser-known names that stop the visitor in his tracks. Anton Melbye's *Stormy night* of 1846 (Fig.62) is an almost monochrome seascape in which it is hard to determine where the water ends and the sky begins. Melbye's seascape seems to be indebted to Turner, but its total lack of staffage and concentration on nature draw the viewer directly into the scene. The moon gives it a deep spatial perspective and provides an idea of the relative size of things – it is about to drop behind dark clouds to leave the viewer in the darkness of the night. One of the surprises was the large diorama of the moon by Wilhelm Kranz (Fig.63). Painted in 1919 for the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Munich, fifty years before the first moon landing, it shows an amazingly realistic moonscape with the earth rising in the distance. Other notable examples included *The moon sheep*, inspired by Christian Morgenstern's eponymous poem and depicted by both Hans Reyersbach in 1923 and Ludwig Gies in 1926, in which the protagonist obviously finds itself with no grass on which to graze; indeed, this fantastic creature appears singularly lost, but one was grateful for its inclusion, not least because here, as elsewhere, Blühm managed to avoid going for cheap effects – one luckily looks in vain for astrological or pseudo-scientific references to aliens in this enjoyable, 'down-to-earth' exhibition.

[1] Catalogue: *Der Mond*. Edited by Andreas Blühm, with contributions by Andreas Blühm, Harald Hiesinger, Hermann-Michael Hahn and Horst Bredekamp *et al.* 304 pp. incl 160 col. ills. (Hatje Cantz Verlag, Ostfildern, 2009), €30. ISBN 978–3–7757–2403–6.

[2] Recently a much smaller display devoted to the Romantic fascination with the moon was seen in Birmingham: P. Spencer-Longhurst: exh. cat. *Moonrise over Europe: J.C. Dahl and Romantic Landscape*, Birmingham (Barber Institute of Fine Arts) 2006; reviewed by R. Green in this Magazine, 148 (2006), pp.286–87.

[3] See H. Bredekamp: *Der Mond Die Sonne Die Hand. Galilei der Künstler*, Berlin 2007. The catalogue includes an introductory essay by Bredekamp about the *Sidereus Nuncius*, but it is rather too short and offers very few new insights.

63. Diorama of the moon, by Wilhelm Kranz. 1919. Canvas, 151 by 326 cm. (Deutsches Historisches Museum, Munich; exh. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne).

Maison Martin Margiela

Munich

by LYNNE COOKE

FOUNDED TWENTY YEARS AGO in Paris, Maison Martin Margiela has radically transformed not only contemporary attitudes to fashion but the very structures and forms of the venerable haute couture industry. A series of tableaux, framed by *trompe l'oeil* images of Margiela's signature white shopfronts and retail interiors projected onto the walls of the **Haus der Kunst, Munich**, constituted this exemplary show (closed 1st June), which revealed the critical, reductive and yet highly inventive ways in which the Belgian couturier has undermined and redefined design history.[1] Comprising diverse exhibits from different seasons and lines, these tableaux became a series of stages along a route that traced the trajectory of his constantly morphing aesthetic. By embracing the hallmarks of its exceptional subject the exhibition was infused with a rare combination of acuity, subtlety and wit.

Marking the show's entrance, a relief in white Styrofoam limned a group portrait, in silhouette, of Margiela's workforce, each member of which was identified in the accompanying label by reference only to nationality and gender. The team's near-anonymity (and absence of hierarchy) reflects a fundamental tenet of Margiela's personal vision: his refusal of cult status. Maintaining an insistently low profile, he neither gives interviews nor offers photo-opportunities to the press in the manner of most couturiers who court celebrity as a way to promote their products. Moreover, it is company policy that all statements released by the Maison are written in the first person plural – the collective 'we'. Similarly, in place of the conventional trademark label identifying the couturier, a blank white cotton rectangle is affixed to each garment produced by Maison Martin Margiela. The four large stitches in tacking thread that hold the surrogate-label at its corners are, however, visible on the outer side – a tellingly sly gesture. Renouncing a recognisable 'look' from the outset of his career, Margiela began by exploring – deconstructing is the term normally employed in the literature – canonical garments in a woman's wardrobe; day dress, sweater, trench coat and boots. Focusing on conventions long central to sophisticated tailoring, be it the finishing of seams, padding of shoulders, basting of collars or the close fitting lining of a jacket's sleeves, he reconfigured these norms, highlighting that which is usually concealed, eliminating the extraneous, and exposing the processes of construction (Fig.64). By isolating key elements in the generic garment he newly revealed features fundamental to its typology, ones that make it stereotypical, uniform or – at least in his versions – unexpectedly singular. Among the most beautiful and enduring of his early works is a simple sleeveless dress with a

V-neck from Autumn/Winter 1997–98. Detailed only by the seams that secure its raw edges, an exposed frontal zip, and rectification marks and notes (referencing faults or errors indicative of a first fitting prototype) it retains a disarmingly fresh appeal.

Contrary to the fetishistic couture piece, which aims to define its wearer by a narcissistic reference to its maker, Margiela's best designs are informed with a studied understatement that serves to enhance the personality and presence of the individual they clothe. Moreover, in place of the assertively original and sensationally novel – the signature of outré fashion today – Maison Margiela perversely promotes the worn or the second-hand. Imbued with a patina redolent of age, his sweaters appear to have been ravaged by moths; his linings come adrift from their scaffolding as if from too much wear; or the garment's once pristine contours are deformed as if by constant pressure from the less-than-ideal body of a former owner.

Recycling has also proved a fertile, if transgressive mode, as seen in pullovers comprising men's socks, their heels deftly positioned to accommodate breasts and elbows. In another line, emblematic versions of a particular item, a standard jacket or a T-shirt, perhaps found by chance, and often bereft of labels or tags that would identify its original maker are carefully copied and re-editioned in homage to their classic rendering. The most rarefied designs in a couture house are typically those made to order from lavish fabrics expensively ornamented by highly skilled seamstresses. Their counterpart in this radical establishment are garments in standardised sizes that, while requiring vast amounts of labour, otherwise dispense with excess, whether it be refined artisanship or luxurious materials: their prices are calculated simply by reference to an hourly wage and the painstaking lengths of time it takes to assemble them. If each example in this line, like that of his peers', is unique, it is not because he mimics their wilful limitation of the number available but because the conditions of manufacturing – the use of second-hand materials – necessarily make each piece unrepeatable (Fig.65).

64. Sleeveless jacket, by Martin Margiela. Spring/Summer 1997. (Maison Martin Margiela; exh. Haus der Kunst, Munich).

Margiela generally presents his designs incognito. In his shows the models (most of whom in his early years were non-professionals) are usually disguised, their features concealed by such devices as make-up, long fake fringes, veils, masks and wrap-around sunglasses. Moreover, far from being targeted to a particular or restrictive range of roles, each of his designs easily adapts to a myriad functions and situations while, with improvised layering, it also accommodates seasonal changes. Appropriate for a wide range of ages and body types, rather than the quintessentially youthful and svelte, his clothes have been eagerly embraced by women from many sectors of society whose approach to fashion may be defined more in terms of a mode of self-definition than as an addictive quest for glamour. This distinctive ethos accounts, in large part, for his seminal impact and enduring legacy. If, today, many of his stylistic redefinitions, structural solutions and marketing strategies seem familiar, even obvious, this is a measure of the transforming influence they have wielded over the past two decades.

The retrospective opened with a tableau devoted to Maison Margiela's trademark tabi – shoes and boots inspired by Japanese sandals which separate the big toe from the other digits in order to maximise flexibility and offer greater comfort. An adjacent display demonstrated a witty mode of revitalising, be it of worn-out favourites or simply spoiled and soiled garments by the brisk addition of a coat of white paint. With time this veneer, which renders homogeneous what age or accident might have sullied, will itself crack and flake, restoring an unreproducible singularity to the item. Yet another memorable section was devoted to the 1995 Spring/Summer season, which had been inspired by dolls' wardrobes. The garments in this line proudly bore the unpredictable results of this comic upscaling: absurdly large snap-fasteners, mammoth bulky knits and manifestly unfinished seams.

In sum, the show demonstrated that for Maison Martin Margiela couture is not an arena in which each subject is remade into an ideal image, the ephemeral product of a designer's momentary fancy, but something far more abstract and radical. Key to its trenchant, uncompromising probing of basic questions of design and tailoring is an endlessly inventive recalibration and re-evaluation of notions of time. Avoiding, on the one hand, the extremes of vintage revivals and, on the other, the assertively new, Margiela neither escapes from history nor succumbs to the demands of the fleeting moment. Rather, his designs address questions of temporality by reference to age, wear and use. Contrary to expectation, however, his stylistic trajectory is not simply a series of returns and reprises. For threaded through his deconstructivist vision is an evolutionary strand that was traced in the exhibition in a tableau that focused on the shoulder line. Margiela's debut featured an unusually narrow shoulder that ran counter to the power-dressing of the late 1980s. Initially, this was ingeniously achieved, for example, by fixing the sleeves high on the shoulder so that the upper arm created a second profile just below the tailored silhouette, separating the garment from the corporeal form within. More recently, the shoulder has been expanded laterally and then raised to form a carapace around the upper torso, so the body assumes a triangular format like that of a spinning top or screw. Markedly more arch than previous ways of handling the relationship between the body and that which encloses it, these latest designs forfeit something of the disarming ease and unassuming casualness that had marked so much of Margiela's earlier, more impressive work. Subversive irony has always had a place in his aesthetic but lately the exaggerated profiling has introduced a somewhat sensational note that had formerly been noticeable only by its absence. These small reservations aside, this memorable show confirmed Margiela (along with Rei Kawakubo of Comme des Garçons) as not only one of the two most influential designers working today but, arguably, the most incisive innovator since Yves Saint Laurent.

65. Plaited jacket, by Martin Margiela. Spring/Summer 2008. Elastic bands. (Maison Martin Margiela; exh. Haus der Kunst, Munich).

[1] Catalogue: *Maison Martin Margiela*. Essays by Kaat Debo and Barbara Vinken. 122 pp. incl. 100 col. + 33 b. & w. ills. (ModeMuseum, Antwerp, 2009), €29.50. ISBN 978–90–7926900–6.

Turner and Italy

Ferrara, Edinburgh and Budapest

by RICHARD GREEN

J.M.W. TURNER VISITED Italy on seven occasions between 1802 and 1843, well before the advent of mass tourism but with the corollary that his journeys there and back were long and difficult. However, his fascination with the country – its art, architecture, landscape, climate, customs, history and mythology – had actually begun some years before and was to continue until his death in 1851. The role of these elements, in rich and various combinations, as a wellspring for Turner's art is explored and celebrated, surprisingly for the first time, in the exhibition *Turner and Italy*, previously at the Palazzo dei Diamanti, Ferrara, and the National Gallery Complex, Edinburgh (where it was seen by this reviewer), and now at the **Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest** (to 25th October).[1]

Although the starting point for the show's organisers, Christopher Baker and James Hamilton, was provided by the two views of modern Rome on long-term loan to the National Gallery of Scotland from the Earl of Rosebery (cat. pls.93 and 94; Fig.67),[2] the exhibition inevitably built around a core of works from the Turner Bequest at Tate, London. It incorporated loans from elsewhere, most ambitiously from Australia, Canada and the United States, offering a rare opportunity to see, for example, the remarkable *Fountain of Indolence*, 1834 from Fredericton, New Brunswick (pl.91). At the same time, judicious use was made of works from Edinburgh's own collection, both by Turner and by others, notably in the first, introductory room. Here the beginnings of Turner's experience of Italy, through the eyes of earlier artists, were exemplified in his two blue-and-grey wash drawings of Italian scenes of 1794–97 in the manner of John Robert Cozens (pls.6 and 7), hung in the context of works by Cozens himself and Wilson (pls.4 and 9, and items not illustrated). However, this room was dominated by Edinburgh's magnificent Claude, the *Landscape with Apollo and the Muses* (the artist's largest painting), typifying the work of the Old Master with whom Turner had the greatest affinities and whose presence was felt in most of the subsequent sections of the exhibition (pl.5).

67. *Modern Rome – Campo Vaccino*, by J.M.W. Turner. 1839. Canvas, 90.2 by 122 cm. (Rosebery Collection, on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh; exh. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest).

The second room demonstrated how broadly the exhibition's theme was to be handled, in presenting a sizeable and impressive group of Alpine subjects resulting from Turner's first visit abroad – to the French and Swiss Alps, with a prolonged stay in Paris on the return – made possible by the Peace of Amiens, which brought about a brief lull in the Napoleonic Wars in 1802. Large-scale exhibition watercolours here held their own with oils, an example of each depicting exactly the same subject provided by *The Passage of Mount St Gothard*, 1804, and *The Pass of St Gothard*, c.1803–04, respectively (pls.16 and 15). The pretext for this inclusion was that Turner's 1802 journey took him briefly to Aosta, just over the border in present-day Italy. It was there and then that he had his first sight of the country, rather than in 1819 as traditionally recounted. Moreover, this was the artist's first treading on 'Classic ground', for Aosta is a settlement of great antiquity, conquered in 25 BC by the army of the Roman emperor Augustus, whose triumphal arch was sketched by Turner in two of three drawings he made of the city (pl.3; Fig.66).

66. *Aosta: The Arch of Augustus, looking south to Mt Emilius*, by J.M.W. Turner. 1802. Chalk, pencil and watercolour, 21.2 by 28.3 cm. (Tate, London; exh. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest).

The resumption of war, together with professional commitments, delayed Turner's return to Italy until 1819. This did not prevent him in the meantime from producing Italianate paintings, and thoroughly convincing topographical views of Italian scenes based on the work of others: the exhibition included, from the years c.1816 to 1818, watercolours of Florence, Rome and Terni, based on James Hakewill's drawings made on the spot (pls.33, 34, 36 and 38), and the striking *Bay of Naples (Vesuvius Angry)* after James Pattison Cockburn (pl.35; Fig.68), all intended for engraving. Sadly, Turner was never to witness a full-scale eruption of Vesuvius in reality.

The paintings resulting directly or indirectly from Turner's visits to Rome in 1819 and 1828–29, displayed in the grand central room of the Royal Scottish Academy building, have surely never been seen to greater advantage. At one end, *Rome from the Vatican*, painted immediately after his return from abroad in early 1820, was presented as a 'manifesto expressing Turner's passion for Italy and its complex, layered, artistic heritage' (pl.59). Dramatically facing it, at the other end of the room, was the *Vision of Medea*, one of the works which Turner produced in Rome and exhibited there briefly in 1828 at the Palazzo Trulli, improvising frames from ship's cable painted in yellow ochre (pl.78). These works were the subject of ridicule at that time,

68. *Bay of Naples (Vesuvius Angry)*, by J.M.W. Turner. c.1817. Watercolour over graphite, 17.6 by 28.4 cm. (Williamson Art Gallery, Birkenhead; exh. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest).

partly because they would have been in an unvarnished state, awaiting intended completion in England, on Royal Academy varnishing days. *Orvieto*, also shown in the Rome exhibition, and subsequently at the Royal Academy in 1830, *Palestrina*, also RA 1830, and *The Golden Bough*, RA 1834, exemplified Turner's vision of Italy seen through Claude's eyes, but bathed in increasingly golden light (pls.79, 77 and 92). Interestingly, *Palestrina* had been exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1845, thus returning to this very building more than 150 years later. On that earlier occasion, the *Caledonian Mercury* recorded a visitor's remark on the painting, 'that it seems as if his [Turner's] pencil was each time dipped in a sunbeam, so splendid was the effect'. The two views of modern Rome from the Rosebery Collection, hung on the opposite wall, are exceptional among Turner's oil paintings for their fine state of preservation.[3] Never varnished or lined, their precious surfaces remain intact, virtually as they were when Turner added his final touches. Thus, in *Modern Rome – Campo Vaccino* we see foliage and refinements to the goats in the foreground and the diminutive figure of an archaeologist on a ladder examining one of the columns of the Temple of Saturn, details added at a late stage of the work's creation and of a kind lost from paintings which, unlike the Rosebery Turners, have been repeatedly restored in passing through the art market. In this respect, the contrast with the nearby *Neapolitan Fisher-girls Surprised Bathing by Moonlight*, probably 1840, was telling (pl.117).

Although there was a good representation of the sketchbook drawings and watercolours made by Turner in Rome and Naples in 1819, the exhibition included neither the Venetian sketchbook drawings of 1819 or 1833, nor any of the well-known sheets from the disbound 'Como and Venice' sketchbook which embody Turner's first direct response in colour to Italian light. In fact, the role of Venice, despite the city's importance for Turner, was considerably downplayed, partly but perhaps not entirely, because the subject had been covered so comprehensively and definitively by the exhibition *Turner and Venice* at Tate Britain and elsewhere in 2003–05.[4] Of Turner's twenty-five finished oils of Venice, which were such a regular feature at the Royal Academy between 1833 and 1846, only two were shown in Edinburgh, while eight watercolours representing those made in Venice in 1840, provided no more than a taste of the astonishing range and originality of this series. It is ironic to think that six of the finest examples, belonging to the National Gallery of Scotland, were necessarily in store just a few steps away from the exhibition: as part of the Henry Vaughan Bequest, they can be displayed only in January and never lent.

Rome thus triumphed at the expense of Venice. Despite this imbalance, however, and the fact that, occasionally, ease of availability came close to compromising the integrity of the selection (was it really necessary to borrow the watercolour of Gibside, pl.32, for the sake of the classically draped figure bearing an urn on her head?), this well-presented exhibition, supported by Hamilton's elegant chapters in the catalogue, successfully demonstrated the depth and richness of Turner's artistic response to Italy. At the same time, and for a general audience, it offered a good survey of many aspects of his art across a long career, culminating in examples of his later, totally original style. The painting *Val d'Aosta*, c.1840–50 (pl.121), in which Turner, it seems, returned for his subject to the area just above where he had made his first on-the-spot sketches in Italy four decades before, but now fusing sky and mountains in a dazzling continuum of energy, provided a fitting conclusion to the exhibition.

[1] Catalogue: *Turner and Italy*. By James Hamilton, with contributions by Christopher Baker, Nicola Moorby and Jacqueline Ridge. 160 pp. incl. 170 col. ills. (National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 2009), £14.95. ISBN 978–1–90627016–2. Its checklist of exhibits is unnumbered. There are separate catalogues for the Ferrara and Budapest showings.

[2] These, and *Modern Italy – the Pifferari* (pl.98), as well as *Neapolitan Fisher-girls Surprised Bathing by Moonlight* (pl.117) were formerly in the collection of H.A.J. Munro of Novar, one of the foremost contemporary collectors of Turner's work and a friend of the artist, who is the subject of Baker's catalogue essay.

[3] Their materials, technique and condition are the subject of Ridge's catalogue essay.

[4] Reviewed by the present writer in this Magazine, 146 (2004), pp.186–87.

Drawing in the Middle Ages

New York

by JONATHAN J.G. ALEXANDER

WE CANNOT BUT congratulate the **Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York**, on mounting *Pen and Parchment: Drawing in the Middle Ages* (closed 23rd August) with its valuable accompanying catalogue.[1] The exhibition was in fact both innovatory and a triumph of curatorship. Though this is not quite the first time a show has concentrated on drawings in medieval manuscripts, it is sufficiently unusual that most visitors will never have seen these objects together or anything similar before. The only parallel that comes to mind is a show at the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence in 1979.[2] That was not a loan show, however, being drawn entirely from the Laurenziana's own holdings. That the exhibition here under review took place in a museum and not a library also shifted the emphasis from text to image, from literary to aesthetic importance.

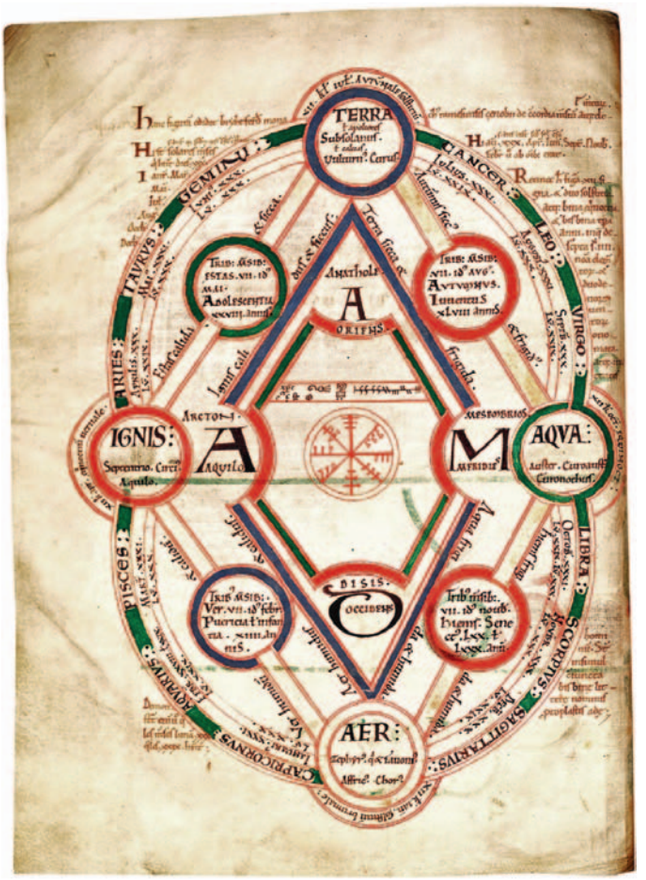
Melanie Holcomb and her collaborators deserve praise, therefore, not only for the intelligence evident in the selection of the manuscripts, but also for convincing libraries and other owners of the value of the project, and for persuading them to lend to it. This was not one of the Metropolitan's blockbusters, but that too was part of the pleasure. Smaller shows can be especially rewarding, and in this context the small size of the objects themselves was an essential aspect of their aesthetic value. The tiny Hours made for Queen Jeanne d'Evreux from the Cloisters Museum (cat. no.49) is an outstanding and justly famous example. There were only forty-nine exhibits, including sometimes a single page surviving from a book, or a few pages from a book which has been disbound. Their careful selection made the impact all the greater. The largest book (nos.44–46) was a most striking and eccentric production, a sort of pictorial compendium in the form of an album written and illustrated in Avignon c.1335–50, by the friar Opicinus de Canistris. Three folios, which Opicinus left without cutting them to a regular shape, so that the form of the sheep's neck is visible at the top of each, had been extracted from this and lent by the Vatican. One is an impressive view by Opicinus of his native cathedral of Pavia. The other two are diagrams centring on the Zodiac symbols and the Crucifixion. These incorporate large amounts of explanatory text, though who besides their author would ever have read it, is hard to see. Did Opicinus exhibit the pictures as he preached? Or were they for use in his community? Surely they require an oral commentary to be intelligible.

The exhibition ran largely chronologically, but its selection gave the appearance of having been based on the type and purpose of the drawings in each particular manuscript. It might have been preferable, therefore,

to group the drawings in the three exhibition rooms thematically in this way and, given the unfamiliarity of the objects, to supply more in the way of wall labels. However, another innovation is the website www.blog.metmuseum.org/penandparchment, which is a lively source of additional information and which encourages questions and discussion from the public.

The largest class of drawings is didactic. These are diagrams of various degrees of abstraction. Here clearly the medium is the message. The twelfth-century diagram of the Four Elements, Earth, Air, Fire and Water, from Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire (no.28; Fig.69) is brightly coloured in red, blue and green and is almost reminiscent of an Insular carpet page in its abstraction. A very different diagram is the late thirteenth-century scroll from a private collection (no.31), which, even though missing a section, is over twelve feet long. It was written in England and incorporates a genealogy in Latin of Jesus Christ, a text compiled c.1200 by a Paris theologian, Peter of Poitiers. He explains that his aim was to help students cope with the 'prolixity' (his word) of the Bible. Roundels with images such as King David harping or the Virgin and Child help the task of memorisation.

A smaller group comprised unfinished preliminary drawings intended to be painted. These included a Sephardic Haggadah from Spain of c.1300, now housed in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York (no.35), which has a drawing of the scholar Rabban Gamaliel teaching. The pink bole has been prepared for the gold leaf of initials and borders which, however, was never applied. A much grander de luxe Christian manuscript, the Tickhill Psalter, produced in England in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, one of the greatest treasures of the New York Public Library, has very numerous marginal preparatory drawings of Old Testament subjects (no.36). Only a few pages have been fully painted and the time and expense necessary may explain its abandonment.



69. Diagram of the Four Elements from Byrhtferth's Computus. Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire, c.1102–10. Ink and watercolour on membrane, 37 by 26.9 cm. (MS 17, fol.7v; St John's College, Oxford; exh. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

A third group, also small, contained pattern books and model sheets. These too served as a part of the artistic process, but unlike the drawings, which were intended to be covered by painting, these circulated as models. In terms of their actual survival today they form by far the rarest category of all. The exhibition included an architectural drawing of the 1260s (no.38) from the famous group of designs for the west front of Strasbourg Cathedral, today preserved in the city's museum. There was also a sheet of drawings, two of the Head of Christ, one of the Head of the Virgin, which were inserted by Matthew Paris, monk of St Albans, England, into his Chronicle of the Abbey c.1250 (no.41). In the present writer's view they are likely to depend on slightly earlier English wall paintings, and to be a record, rather more than a pattern. Perhaps because of their very great rarity the most famous examples in this category, such as the drawing book of the mid-thirteenth-century French architect Villard de Honnecourt, or the Cistercian pattern book from Rein in Austria, could not be included. But the twelfth-century Einsiedeln pattern sheets

70. St Eloi puts out a fire. Fragment of a roll of St Eloi. Noyon, mid-thirteenth century. Ink and watercolour on membrane, 17.7 by 34 cm. (D.7075; Musée Carnavalet, Paris; exh. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

71. Psalter. Illustration of Psalm 111. Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, c.1010. Ink and watercolour on membrane, 37.6 by 31.2 cm. (MS Harley 603, fol.57v; British Library, London; exh. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

with their mixture of figures and ornament from Western and Byzantine sources (no.34) were an intelligent choice to fill the gap.

The remaining drawings, beyond having some connection to the texts of the manuscripts in which they are inserted, have no obvious common denominator. Their subject-matter and their origin are equally diverse. A considerable number are coloured, usually with washes rather than body colour. This may surprise those visitors who come accustomed to old-master drawings of the Renaissance and later. It is another merit of the selection that Holcomb has not found it necessary to get bogged down in questions of definition in this respect, but has been very inclusive. Perhaps the most remarkable of these coloured drawings are those made in England in the tenth and eleventh centuries. When Francis Wormald wrote his masterly short monograph in 1952, which was part of a series mostly devoted to later English drawings, wartime austerity still prevailed and only one coloured plate was allowed. The binary system of the painterly and the linear was triumphant in art history then, and this, combined with nationalistic essentialism in the writings of Nikolaus Pevsner and others, pronounced English art to be linear, and thus by implication inferior to the painterly art of neighbouring France and Italy. Even now it is not always the case that drawings are reproduced in colour, and this is a pity because even if they are in monochrome the texture and tone of the surface on which they are executed is crucial. Their reproduction in colour is another merit of the exhibition's catalogue. Since all the manuscripts are on membrane, even when there is no colour the black or brown ink contrasts with the ivory-coloured surface.

Artists in England in the tenth and eleventh centuries produced highly unusual drawings in different colours, green, red, blue, violet and yellow being the most common. They used these not just for a single figure, but for different parts of a figure, or of a building or a landscape. Two superb examples had been secured for the exhibition: the Arenberg Gospels from the Morgan Library, New York (no.9), and the Harley Psalter from the British Library, London (no.12; Fig.71). The latter is based on ink drawings in a famous ninth-century Psalter from Rheims, now in Utrecht (reproduced but not included in the exhibition). The Anglo-Saxon monks evidently used colours as a conscious aesthetic choice to enliven the monochrome originals. The result is an all-over vibrancy and sparkle.

Linear outlines continue to be used by twelfth-century artists, and there was a strong group with connections to contemporary metalwork from the German monasteries, such as St Emmeram in Regensburg in Bavaria, and elsewhere. Stylistic changes and contrasts became clear as the exhibition progressed. In the thirteenth century the figures begin to be placed in overlapping though still shallow space, as seen in the famous early thirteenth-century drawing from St Martin, Tournai, now in the British Library (no.39), of St Martin and the hunting party. In the surviving fragment of c.1260 of a roll illustrating the Life of St Eloi of Noyon (no.40; Fig.70), the wash drawings combine an elegance of outline and proportion with three-dimensional modelling, for example in the drapery folds. In other words outline is being replaced by an illusion of the third dimension, and the two media of drawing and painting are being combined.

However, they are not, in the present author's opinion, in conflict. Until this moment, at least in the context of the medieval manuscript, drawing is not inferior, nor merely a preliminary to painting. There is every reason to believe from this exhibition that patrons were well aware of the value of the artists' graphic skills. The most important manuscripts, however, those used by the priest at the altar in the Christian liturgy, were by and large absent from this exhibition. In my view a contributory explanation is a consequence of the monetary value of the materials, the pigments and the gold leaf used in fully painted miniatures. Gold and the most expensive pigments such as lapis lazuli, which had to come from Afghanistan, constituted a gift suitable to be placed on the altar of the Almighty. The liturgical manuscripts, which usually had a precious metal binding to add to their value, are part of the early medieval 'gift economy'. However much they were valued by contemporaries, drawings were utilitarian in comparison.

[1] Catalogue: *Pen and Parchment: Drawing in the Middle Ages*. By Melanie Holcomb, with contributions by Lisa Bessette, Barbara Drake Boehm, Evelyn M. Cohen, Kathryn Gerry, Ludovico V. Geymonat, Aden Kumler, Lawrence Nees, William Noel, Wendy A. Stein, Faith Wallis, Karl Whittington, Elizabeth Williams and Nancy Wu. xii + 188 pp. incl. 138 col. + 19 b. & w. ills. (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2009), $50. ISBN 979–0–300–14894–1.

[2] L.S. Olschki: exh. cat. *Disegni nei manoscritti laurenziani, sec. X–XVII*, Florence (Biblioteca Laurenziana) 1979.

Royal armour from Spain

Washington

by JANIS TOMLINSON

TITIAN'S PORTRAIT OF Charles V at the Battle of Mühlberg (Museo del Prado, Madrid) is the guest of honour who was unable to attend the celebration that is the exhibition *The Art of Power: Royal Armor and Portraits from Imperial Spain* at the **National Gallery of Art, Washington** (to 1st November).[1] Although it might seem churlish to open with what did not find its way into the exhibition, that familiar masterpiece, in which imperial tradition and power, victory and military prowess are commemorated by consummate artistry, parallels the artistic accomplishment of less familiar masters such as Felipo Negroli and Desiderius Helmschmid, whose work is celebrated here. On loan from the Armería Real in Madrid, their armour is restored to its rightful place among tapestries from the collection of the Patrimonio Nacional and royal portraits as a reminder that armour once was more highly valued than the portraits we admire today. The exhibition was curated by Alvaro Soler del Campo, Director of the Armería Real.

Titian's portrait is invoked by a small reproduction within the wall text in the fifth of eight galleries, serving to introduce the Battle of Mühlberg. Next to it stands the armour worn in that portrait, part of the Mühlberg garniture, made by Helmschmid in 1544 (cat. nos.42–44). It was again donned for a second full-length portrait by Titian known today only through copies, one of which, by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, 1608, is exhibited here (no.45).

This exhibition seeks to recover the original significance of armour, easily overlooked in installations in which it is isolated from the other arts. Armour gained meaning and stature by association with significant historical events. The flower-pattern armour, made by Helmschmid for Philip II (no.46–47) and commemorated in Titian's full-length portrait of c.1550–51 (Museo del Prado; not in exhibition), for example, was probably delivered to the prince in Augsburg, the final stop on his journey through Italy, Austria, Germany and the Netherlands to gain support for his ultimately unsuccessful bid to succeed his father as Emperor. Soler draws a comparison between armour – made by a small number of makers for an extremely wealthy clientele – and today's haute couture. Yet while other costumes linked with specific events have long since been lost, armour was treasured and regarded as part of the dynastic heritage.

It is only in the fifth gallery that a theme – armour in portraiture – becomes explicit. In the catalogue Soler defines three discrete sections: the evolution of armour in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Spain; armour as works of art that symbolise power; and armour in court portraiture. Walking through the

72. Equestrian armour of Maximilian I, attributed to Kolman Helmschmid. c.1517–18. Openwork, embossed, etched and gilt steel, fabric and leather, 190 by 96 by 230 cm. (Armería Real, Madrid; exh. National Gallery of Art, Washington).

exhibition without the catalogue, these themes are not defined and viewers are left to draw their own conclusions. Scholars and history buffs will undoubtedly get it, but enhanced wall texts might have better guided the less knowledgeable viewer.

The exhibition opens with a preamble: a one-hundred-foot-long section of the fresco of the Hall of Battles in the Escorial, commissioned by Philip II to commemorate the victories of the Spanish monarchy, has been digitally reproduced to scale. One enters through the sixteenth-century doorway to see a single object encased in the centre of the room: a parade helmet by Negroli for Emperor Charles V made in Milan in 1533 (no.1; Fig.73). Inspired by classical precedents, the anthropomorphic helmet recreates the blond curls and beard of the young emperor who would wear it. It is a story of imperial one-upmanship: in 1532 Negroli forged a helmet with curly hair for Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), and the Emperor wanted a similar but better piece. So his helmet has not only hair but also a bearded, removable bevor, as well as other imperial devices, including a collar embossed with the Order of the Golden Fleece.

The bard of Maximilian I, on a model steed (no.9; Fig.72), dominates the second gallery, surrounded by masterworks of fifteenth-century Spanish and Islamic armour: the exquisitely decorated Nasrid sword and scabbard of c.1400 (Museo del Ejército, Toledo; no.4), believed to have belonged to the last sultan of Granada, stands out. The stage is set for what is to come, as Charles's ancestors are invoked through portraits, including that of his father, Philip the Handsome, seen in the earliest known portrait of a king of Spain in armour, of c.1504–06 (Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels; no.10).

The anonymous portrait of *Charles V aged seven with a sword* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; no.14) introduces the golden age of armour, the subject of the two largest galleries in the exhibition. In both, tapestries are intended as background, although their inclusion threatens to upstage the armour. That commemorating Charles's review of his troops in Barcelona in 1535 (no.21) from the *Conquest of Tunis* series – the costliest series of tapestries commissioned by Charles V and woven by Wilhelm Pannemaker between 1548 and 1554 – dominates the first large gallery. Charles V, his brother and the Duke of Alba are portrayed. The relationship of actual armour to imagery is emphasised by the placement of three suits of armour directly in front of this tapestry; however, this invites the viewer to seek specific comparisons between armour and image, even though none can be found. In the same gallery, Helmschmid's embossed, etched and gilt helmet for Charles V of 1540 (no.22) illustrates armour as imperial symbol: its visor takes the form of an eagle's head, whose body extends over the bowl as its talons reach over the cheek piece.

73. Parade helmet of Emperor Charles V, by Filippo Negroli. 1533. Embossed and gilt steel, 29.5 by 26.4 by 34.1 cm. (Armería Real, Madrid; exh. National Gallery of Art, Washington).

The tapestry of *Fame* (no.37) from the *Honours* series (Brussels, c.1520), with fifty square metres covered with gesticulating worthies who respond to the central figure of trumpeting Fame, dominates the largest gallery of the exhibition. It is breathtaking. Still, some wall text to explain its inclusion – the role of tapestries at the Imperial court; its theme as a foil for the trophy and parade armour that dominates this gallery – is called for. The theme of fame and glory is brought home by the selection of parade armour on view – most notably intricately crafted burgonets and shields. The Italian origin of the pieces crafted in the second half of the sixteenth century attests to the loss of the central European territories to Charles's imperial successor, Ferdinand I; the predominance of ceremonial armour reminds us that Philip II did not inherit the martial tastes of his father.

Eventually the function of armour became secondary to its symbolic role. Although Philip II did not share his father's enthusiasm for armour or war, he was eager to commemorate imperial glory, not only in the Escorial's Hall of Battles, but also through the creation of the Royal Armoury. Armour was increasingly invoked to celebrate tradition or claim prestige, as when Rubens follows Titian in portraying Philip II wearing the flower-pattern armour in his equestrian portrait of 1630–40 (Museo del Prado, Madrid; no.48); that same armour is worn by Juan Francisco Alfonso de Pimentel in the portrait ascribed to Velázquez of c.1648 (Museo del Prado; no.49). Ultimately, appropriation of this heritage extended beyond dynasty, as the exhibition concludes with Anton Raphael Mengs's portrait of Charles III – a Bourbon – in armour.

[1] Catalogue: *The Art of Power: Royal Armor and Portraits from Imperial Spain. El arte del poder: Armaduras y retratos de la España imperial.* By Alvaro Soler del Campo. 300 pp. incl. 160 col. ills. (Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, and Tf Editores, Madrid, 2009), $75. ISBN 978–84–92441–69–3.

Robert Indiana

Rockland ME

by JAMES LAWRENCE

ROBERT INDIANA'S REPUTATION has thrived upon, and suffered from, his phenomenally successful *LOVE* motif. Since it first gained widespread attention as a Christmas card design commissioned by the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1965, the square array of letters in Roman type has become a mainstay of public sculpture and mass reproductions including postage stamps numbering in the hundreds of millions. Such popular appeal renders *LOVE* as vulnerable to fatigue as the word itself. The resulting blend of boldness and vulnerability enhanced Indiana's steel sculpture *HOPE* (2008), which takes its form from the *LOVE* motif and its theme from Barack Obama's Presidential campaign. *HOPE* stood outside the Pepsi Center in Denver during the 2008 Democratic National Convention that nominated Obama. His nomination was largely the result of unsurpassed grass-roots support testifying to the resilience of optimism. Words such as 'love' and 'hope' lend themselves to declarations, invitations and injunctions. Their multiplicity is their virtue. Only context can answer whether the sentiment is powerfully universal or trite and devalued. Context seems elusive in Indiana's works, however, not least because slick execution deflects the penetrating gaze.

The exhibition *Robert Indiana and the Star of Hope*, at the **Farnsworth Art Museum, Rockland ME** (to 25th October),[1] encourages deeper examination. The show takes its title from a lodge that once belonged to a chapter of the International Order of Odd Fellows on the island of Vinalhaven ME, and which has been Indiana's home and studio since the 1970s. Almost all the objects in the show come from Indiana's personal holdings. Many have seldom, if ever, been exhibited. The result is an unusually personal but uncluttered survey that brings the autobiographical content of Indiana's works to the fore. The exhibition also provides an efficient overview of his stylistic development since childhood. Works on paper from the mid-1940s show the promise and limits of the untrained Indiana: sure-handed, sharp-eyed and too obedient to inter-War exemplars such as Reginald Marsh and Edward Hopper. During the following decade he served in the army, attended the School of the Art Institute of Chicago on the G.I. Bill and settled in Coenties Slip, a warehouse district in lower Manhattan that was home to numerous emerging artists. He also assumed the name of his native state (his surname had been Clark), an artistic identity that firmly asserted American identity. He briefly strove for the balance of organic flair and disciplined geometry that Ellsworth Kelly (then a close friend) was refining. This led to workmanlike paintings in the hard-edged manner with allusions to germination, a theme that also animates the impressive *Stavrosis* (1958), a religious allegory rendered in printer's ink on forty-four sheets of paper. The orderly arrangement of *Stavrosis* hints at the clarity that characterises Indiana's later works. The *Orb* paintings, with their gold-paint-on-plywood arrangements, call to mind the stark circular geometry in paintings by Alexander Liberman. They fit the deadpan temper of their time, even as they establish the circle-in-rectangle arrangement that Indiana has repeatedly used as a compositional basis.

75. *KvF I*, (from the *Hartley elegies: the Berlin series*), by Robert Indiana. 1990. Serigraph, 193 by 135.6 cm. (Bates College Museum of Art, Lewiston ME; exh. Farnsworth Art Museum, Rockland ME).

74. *EAT*, by Robert Indiana. 1964. Painted and electrified steel, five discs, each disc diameter 182.9 cm. (Collection of the artist; exh. Farnsworth Art Museum, Rockland ME).

Indiana hit his stride with the totemic 'herms', several of which inhabit a room devoted to his consolidation of his mature style. Herms, as the name suggests, evoke not only the signposts of the ancient world, but also an androgynous combination of male and female attributes. The 1961 exhibition *The art of assemblage* at MoMA included the herm *Moon* (1960), but Indiana soon dispensed with the junk-aesthetic rawness of the type. He did, however, retain the elements of colourful geometry and stencilled letters that now make the 'herms' seem emblematic of the moment when gritty assemblage yielded to glossy Pop. Indiana, who often falls uncomfortably into the latter category, never surrendered the spirit of personal involvement that animated the former. This holds true with his intriguing linguistic playfulness, which favours personal associations over cultural irony or conceptual philosophising. *EAT* (Fig.74), one of Indiana's most historically notable works, is a good example. Philip Johnson commissioned ten artists to contribute objects for the external wall of his Circarama, part of the New York State Pavilion at the 1964 World's Fair in Flushing, New York. Indiana's *EAT* hung next to Robert Rauschenberg's *Skyway* (1964), which is now at the Dallas Museum of Art. The Fair's administrators soon ordered that *EAT* be turned off lest visitors queue in vain for a non-existent

restaurant. Although *EAT* initially seems to be a witty Pop declaration that evokes the commercial visuals of town and highway, the word 'eat', for Indiana, records his dying mother's final question to him. Unlike other exponents of popular imagery in advanced art, Indiana has tended to emphasise autobiographical resonance over the semiotics of mass consumption.

Autobiographical allusions do not preclude other interpretations, and many of the works in the show expose the discrepancy between the straightforwardness of Indiana's style – its frontal efficiency and graphic clarity – and verbal fluidity as denotation gives way to connotation. This discrepancy is a matter of context, which often means in practice that it is a problem of spatial relations. For example, *HOPE*, which stands in a small room between two dark partitions, offers a dramatic view from a distance at the expense of spatial engagement at close quarters. This is a common problem with the placement of Indiana's typographic sculptures. Too often, an instantaneous frontal reading trumps a gradual encounter with an object in space. The show's treatment of *LOVE* variants avoids this and manages instead to invigorate the motif. Sculptures of various sizes and in several languages, along with a painting and suite of poems and prints, come across as fresh impressions rather than clichés.

In 1963 Indiana famously described Pop art as 'instant art'. He also described the 'less-exalted things' that populated the American visual landscape as 'eye-hungry'. Even though these sentiments captured the bravado of an artist whose time had come, they remain useful in approaching Indiana's potent surfaces. *KvF I* (Fig.75) is one of ten large-scale prints that comprise the *Hartley elegies: the Berlin series*, a suite that pays homage to Marsden Hartley's 'German officer' paintings. (Indiana feels an affinity with Hartley, who also had close ties to Maine.) *KvF I* imitates and tidies up Hartley's *Portrait of a German officer* (1914; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Edges harden and tonal variations disappear. Indiana dispenses with the painterly touch, the evidence of human contact and the hand-rendered irregularity that conveys life in Marsden's canvas. The sense of rapid legibility in Indiana's print makes the relationships among information, emotion, surface and material presence seem effortless and given. As this exhibition makes clear, however, it takes a great deal of work – by artist and viewer alike – to make something seem easy. Hints of hidden meaning countermand the temptation to remain on the surface. Superficiality is the beginning rather than the conclusion.

[1] Catalogue: *Robert Indiana and the Star of Hope*. With essays by John Wilmerding and Michael K. Komanecky. 128 pp. incl. 121 col. + 4 b. & w. ills. (Farnsworth Art Museum, Rockland ME, and Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2009), $45 (HB). ISBN 978–0–300–15470–2.

Architecture

New York

by MORGAN FALCONER

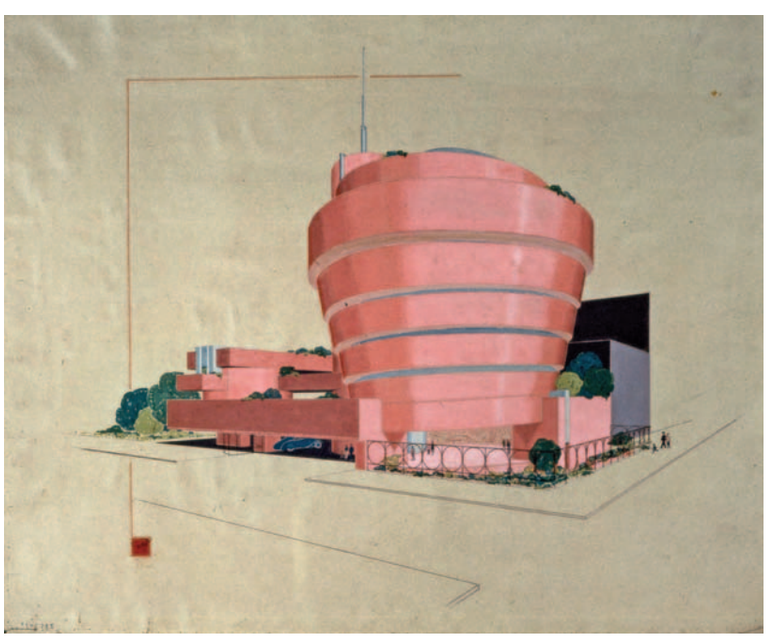
NEW YORK THIS SUMMER has seen a fascinating range of exhibitions and architectural projects which demonstrate the current diversity of responses to the failures of Modernism in architecture, and the passing of postmodernism. The Dan Graham retrospective currently at the Whitney Museum (to 11th October)[1] explores reactions to this within the practice of art, but the survey of Frank Lloyd Wright, at the **Guggenheim Museum** (closed 23rd August),[2] marking the building's fiftieth anniversary, was chief among those shows examining the situation within architecture itself. Wright may not be a perfect emblem for this new state of affairs: he was a visionary who abhorred the city and whose utopia was essentially an agrarian landscape facilitated by the car. Yet, if the architecture critic Ada Louise Huxtable once described him as 'conservative, moralistic, deeply old-fashioned, emphatically individualistic', the same might still be said of large sections of America today.

If *Frank Lloyd Wright: From Within Outward* can be counted a success, it was chiefly due to the exhibition's design. Over two hundred of Wright's drawings were on display (Fig.76), many of them in spacious vitrines, which were angled atmospherically in the manner of drawing boards (it helped that Wright was a superb draughtsman, ever conscious of presentation). There were vivid animations of unbuilt or demolished projects, as well as models including one of the Jacobs House (1936–37; Fig.77), which vividly separated its walls and floors with the aid of pulleys and lead weights. There was even a projection that wandered like a telescope over an aerial view of Wright's ideal and unbuilt Broadacre City (1932).

Rather than putting forward a polemical new understanding of Wright, the Guggenheim opted for a show surveying the diversity of his career. It had a fine prelude, in the form of a theatre curtain that Wright designed seven years before his death in 1959; destined for the school on his estate at Taleisin in Wisconsin, it renders the estate as a gridded abstraction. Following this, the show proceeded chronologically, concluding with a display devoted to the Guggenheim itself. Anyone who labours up the Museum's ramp will surely conclude that the building – infuriating and idiotic – is not among Wright's triumphs. They might also conclude that Wright, while prolific, was essentially a maverick whose legacy of 'organic architecture' has run into sand.

A new and enlivening response to the passing of the modern city could also be found in Manhattan this summer, with the opening of the first section of the High Line, a project to regenerate a section of disused elevated railway tracks which used to serve the docks and industry in the area on the city's lower West Side. June saw the unveiling of the first section of the project, which covers eighteen blocks; two further stages are planned, covering another twelve. Designed by James Corner Field Operations with Diller Scofidio & Renfro, it is a brilliant fusion of old and new, wild and tamed. Most of the line has been paved in planks of concrete, but sections have also been cultivated as beds for wild flowers and grasses, and some even retain portions of old track. Hence the High Line reserves a memory of its former use amid the tranquillity of a consciously staged wilderness, nestling in turn within a landscape of billboards and tall buildings.

If the failure of Wright's vision suggests that the city and nature cannot ultimately be



76. *Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York*, by Frank Lloyd Wright. 1943–59. Ink and pencil on tracing paper, 50.8 by 60.9 cm. (Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation; exh. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York).

77. Exterior view of *Hebert Jacobs House #1*, Madison WI, by Frank Lloyd Wright. 1936–37. (Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation).

reconciled, the High Line suggests that there can at least be pleasure in exploiting their contrasts, even if this is within the context of a genteel park – there will be no basketball courts here. In this sense the project represents classic, if masterful gentrification. Most today seem convinced of the virtues of this panacea for urban blight, but others remain opposed, and Nils Norman and Michael Cataldi gave them a hearing in *University of Trash*, a show for the **Sculpture Center** (closed 3rd August). Billed as 'an experiment in alternative architecture, urbanism, and pedagogy', it transformed the gallery into a makeshift university working on the lines of the 'Free Skool' movement, which eschews the hierarchy and formal institutions of conventional schools. A stage occupied one end of the lofty gallery space, while opposite it an area of seating was made from blocks of flattened cardboard boxes. The exhibition also included an information point inspired by the social centre movement, a network of politicised community groups; and a structure in part resembling scaffolding, and in part a fragile, futuristic adventure playground.

As a conventional exhibition *University of Trash* was disappointing, perhaps intentionally so since the action was meant to be elsewhere; but the installations were desultory, and did not convince one that the implied activities might have been particularly exciting. Moreover, while it is true that radical directions in architecture, education and housing continue to inspire, inspiration is sometimes a selective process: the days when such plans could be taken up wholesale have probably passed. *University of Trash* assumed an imagined and ideal community, where the core audience for the Sculpture Center remains the far-from-radical New York art world.

The more conventional terminus of radical and experimental ideas in architecture today can be seen in a temporary structure by the architectural practice MOS, installed at **PS1** (to 28th September). Entitled *Afterparty* (Fig.78), it is the winning entry in this year's Young Architect's Program (YAP), the gallery's annual competition to create a jazzy home for the events and parties that go on in the courtyard of PS1 during summer evenings (concurrent with the project this year is a display devoted to the winners and runners-up over the past decade). The YAP encourages zesty experimentation, and this year's design is indeed that. It resembles a futuristic tribal camp: a striking series of structures like wigwams, clad in a hairy brown 'geo-textile' on the outside, and silvery aluminium fabric on the inside; some are narrow and conical, others broad and airy. While it is a great tonic amid the mundane light industry of the neighbourhood, it perhaps plays too eagerly on the fashionable equating of urban communities with tribes. And whatever radicalism it portends – technological or sociological – it must compromise with more baldy commercial considerations since, like the Serpentine Gallery's Summer Pavilion in London, the YAP is geared, at least in part, to putting real estate to work and generating media buzz for the host institution. But the YAP gives a worthwhile space for a radicalism that might bloom into larger more serious projects elsewhere, and is by no means evidence of a new conservatism. If we can still see wild radicalism in Frank Lloyd Wright, we must also recognise in him a spirit perfectly suited to his more cautious countrymen.

78. Model of *Afterparty*, the winning project of the 2009 MoMA/PS1 Young Architects Program, by Michael Meredith and Hilary Sample. 2009. (MOS, New Haven; exh. PS1, New York).

[1] Reviewed by J. Boaden in this Magazine, 151 (2009) pp.498–99.

[2] Catalogue: *Frank Lloyd Wright: From Within Outward*. Essays by Richard Cleary, Neil Levine, Mina Marefet, Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer, Joseph M. Siry and Margo Stipe. 368 pp. with numerous col. + b. & w. ills. (Skira Rizzoli Publications, Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation and Guggenheim Museum, New York, 2009), $75. ISBN 978–0–8478–3262–0 (HB); $45. ISBN 978–0–8478–3263–7 (PB).

Calendar

London

Alan Cristea. Works by Picasso, Matisse and Braque are on view here to 14th September.

Large paintings by Lisa Milroy are on view from 9th September to 10th October.

Art Space Gallery. Landscape paintings by Martin Greenland; from 11th September to 10th October.

Barbican. *Radical Nature. Art & architecture for a changing planet, 1969–2009* explores artistic responses to nature and climate change and includes works by Haacke, Beuys and Buckminster Fuller; to 20th September.

British Museum. Completing its series of exhibitions exploring power and empire, the Museum examines the rule of Moctezuma II, the last elected Aztec Emperor; 24th September to 24th January.

Medals are best known for celebrating important figures or heroic deeds; the exhibition *Medals of Dishonour* features examples that condemn their subjects; to 27th September.

Browse and Darby. 32 paintings by Maurice Brianchon from a private European collection are on view here from 23rd September to 23rd October.

Camden Arts Centre. The first large exhibition in Britain of work by Johanna Billing and a new sculptural installation by Alexandre da Cunha are both on view to 13th September.

A group show of works on the theme of 'perceptual ambiguity', selected by the Polish artist Paulina Olowska, is on view here from 25th September to 29th November.

Courtauld Gallery. *Beyond Bloomsbury: Designs of the Omega Workshops 1913–19* unites the Gallery's collection of working drawings from the Omega Workshops with examples of the textiles, pottery and furniture that it produced; to 20th September; it is reviewed on p.634 above.

Design Museum. The exhibition *Super Contemporary* celebrates design in London with fifteen specially commissioned works; to 4th October.

Dulwich Picture Gallery. Works by the Polish artist Antoni Malinowski are on display to 27th September.

To complement its new catalogue of British pictures, the Gallery exhibits the best of its British paintings in a special display; to 27th September.

Fleming Collection. Works from the Scottish National Portrait Gallery are on view from 15th September to 19th December.

Fourth Plinth, Trafalgar Square. Antony Gormley's *One & Other*; to 14th October.

Haunch of Venison. A new body of work by the Swiss artist Uwe Wittwer includes recent works on paper in watercolour and inkjet; to 3rd October.

Hauser & Wirth. An exhibition of paintings by Martin Eder can be seen here to 26th September (Fig.79).

Hayward Gallery. Ten large-scale installations comprise the exhibition *Walking in my Mind*, exploring the notion of the psychology of creativity, including works by Keith Tyson, Jason Rhoades and Mark Manders; to 6th September.

Lisson Gallery. New paintings by the American artist Robert Mangold are on view here from 9th September to 3rd October.

Matt's Gallery. *Hotel*, a sculptural installation by Paul Carter, is here from 9th September to 1st November.

National Gallery. *Corot to Monet: A fresh look at landscape from the Collection*, reviewed on p.631 above, runs to 20th September.

Titian's *Triumph of Love*, recently acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the subject of an article in the August issue, is on display here to 20th September.

National Portrait Gallery. The 2009 BP portrait award is on view to 20th September.

Pangolin Gallery. Constructivist and abstract works by Lynn Chadwick; from 15th September to 8th November (then in **Chalford**).

PM Gallery & House. Drawn from the collection of the Arts Council, *The White Show* comprises some forty-four works that use the colour white; to 27th September.

Queen's Gallery. *French Porcelain for English Palaces: Sèvres from the Royal Collection*; to 11th October.

Raven Row. Works by Eduardo Paolozzi, including collages and writings, produced for the magazine *Ambit* are accompanied by sculptures, prints and scrapbooks by the artist; from 4th September to 1st November.

Riflemaker. Some 100 small drawings celebrating the art and ritual of bullfighting by José María Cano (b.1959) are on display here to 12th September.

Royal Academy. In the Madejski Fine Rooms works from the RA's permanent collection examine *High Art: Reynolds and History Painting* and the loan of W.P. Frith's *Private view at the Royal Academy, 1881* (1883), shown with other late Victorian paintings; to 29th November.

The retrospective devoted to J.W. Waterhouse, seen previously in Groningen, runs to 13th September (then in **Montreal**); to be reviewed.

79. *Silence*, by Martin Eder. 2009. Canvas, 150 by 115 cm. (Exh. Hauser & Wirth, London).

Saatchi Gallery. *Abstract America: New Painting and Sculpture*, offers a survey of recent trends in abstract painting (broadly defined); to 13th September.

Sadie Coles HQ. Works by Rudolf Stingel are on view from 9th September to 10th October.

Sam Fogg. An exhibition of Ethiopian art spanning the 12th to 18th centuries is on view here from 8th to 30th September.

Serpentine Gallery. Jeff Koons's *Popeye Series* is on display to 13th September.

This year's Pavilion, designed by Kazuyo Sejima and Ryue Nishizawa of the leading Japanese architecture practice SANAA, is on view to 18th October.

Sir John Soane's Museum. *Immagini e memoria – Rome in the photographs of Father Peter Paul Mackey 1890–1901* is on view here to 19th September.

Tate Britain. A collections display recreating William Blake's only one-man exhibition, mounted by the artist in his brother's shop in Golden Square in May 1809, runs to 4th October; it was reviewed in the July issue.

Cold Corners by Eva Rothschild is the latest Duveen Commission to occupy the central Duveen Galleries, and comprises a metal framework sculpture that fills the space; to 29th November.

A major show exploring Turner's responses to the work of both European predecessors and British contemporaries runs from 23rd September to 31st January; to be reviewed.

Tate Modern. Seen earlier in Paris and Rome, the exhibition of Futurism, reviewed on p.633 above, runs here to 20th September.

Victoria and Albert Museum. *A Higher Ambition: Owen Jones (1809–74)* traces Jones's contributions to Victorian design reform; to 22nd November.

Vilma Gold. New sculptures and paintings by Michaela Eichwald; from 6th September to 4th October.

Wallace Collection. *Vorsprung durch Technik: The Innovative Work of Cabinet-Maker Johann Fiedler* explores a recently restored commode of c.1786; to 29th November.

Whitechapel Gallery. A survey of work by Elizabeth Peyton is on view here to 20th September.

White Cube. At **Hoxton Square**, new works by Neal Tait; at **Mason's Yard**, works by Zhang Huan; both to 3rd October.

Great Britain and Ireland

Bexhill-on-Sea, De La Warr Pavilion. Sculptures, photographs, drawings and watercolours by Joseph Beuys comprise an exhibition to 27th September.

Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts. *Dürer to Spencer: Highlights on Paper from University College, London*; to 25th October.

Birmingham, Ikon Gallery. The first major exhibition in Europe of abstract paintings by Carmen Herrera, including works from the late 1940s to the present; to 13th September.

Paintings by Semyon Faibisovich and film and video work by Victor Alimpiev; both from 23rd September to 15th November.

At **Ikon Eastside**, an exhibition on contemporary art and dance, seen earlier in London, runs from 24th September to 4th October.

Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery. *Matthew Boulton – Selling What All the World Desires*, reviewed in the August issue, is here to 27th September.

Bristol, Arnolfini. The exhibition *Sequelism Part 3: Possible, Probable or Preferable Futures* features work by Graham Gussin and Victor Man and is on view here to 20th September.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. *Endless Forms: Charles Darwin, Natural Science and the Visual Arts*, seen previously in New Haven, is on display here to 4th October; to be reviewed.

Cardiff, National Museum. The exhibition *No Such Thing as Society: Photography in Britain 1967–1987* is on view here to 31st October.

Compton Verney. An exhibition exploring the private world of the artist's studio in Britain from the 17th century to the present day runs from 26th September to 13th December; to be reviewed.

Georgian Portraits: Seeing is Believing is an exhibition of works from the Holburne Museum of Art, Bath; to 13th December.

Cookham, Stanley Spencer Gallery. 2009 marks the fiftieth anniversary of Stanley Spencer's death. The Gallery's own collection is augmented with works on loan from Tate Britain; to 1st November.

Dublin, Irish Museum of Modern Art. A survey of works by Terry Winters from the past decade is on view to 27th September.

Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland. An exhibition of Munch prints, seen earlier in Oslo, is on view here from 19th September to 6th December.

Edinburgh, Dean Gallery. See **Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art**.

Edinburgh, Fruitmarket Gallery. An exhibition of small experimental works by Eva Hesse is on view here to 25th October (then in **London**).

Edinburgh, Inverleith House. An exhibition of work by John McCracken; to 11th October.

Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland. *The Discovery of Spain. British Artists and Collectors: Goya to Picasso* explores the work of 19th- and early 20th-century British artists such as David Wilkie, David Roberts, John Phillip and Arthur Melville who were inspired by Spain; to 11th October; to be reviewed.

Edinburgh, Queen's Gallery. An exhibition tracing the history of the 'conversation piece' through works from the Royal Collection is on view here to 20th September (then in **London**); to be reviewed.

Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art. Works by Hirst, Celmins, Gallagher, Katz, Woodman and Warhol selected from some 700 works comprising the 'Artist Rooms' acquisition are displayed here as part of an inaugural series of 'Artist Rooms' across the country (see also **Dean Gallery**); to 8th November.

Kendal, Abbot Hall Art Gallery. Drawings and sculptures by David Nash; to 10th October.

Leeds Art Gallery. Works of British Surrealism from the Sherwin Collection; to 1st November.

Leeds, Henry Moore Institute. *Subject/Sitter/Maker: Portraits from an eighteenth-century artistic circle* compares painted and sculpted portraits of David Garrick and Louis François Roubiliac; to 14th November.

Leeds, Temple Newsam House. Drawn from the collections of Leeds Art Gallery, the exhibition *Watercolour Masterpieces: Turner and his Contemporaries*, runs here to 1st November.

Lismore Castle Arts. An exhibition of works by Stefan Brüggemann, Rita McBride, Corey McCorkle, Jason Rhoades and Ai Weiwei; to 30th September.

Liverpool, Lady Lever Art Gallery. *Whistler: The Gentle Art of Making Etchings*, seen previously in Glasgow, runs here to 20th September.

Liverpool, Tate. Seen earlier in New York, the exhibition *Colour Chart: Reinventing Colour, 1950 to Today*, is on view here to 13th September.

Manchester Art Gallery. *Angels of Anarchy: Women Artists and Surrealism* comprises some 100 works by 33 female artists; from 26th September to 10th January.

Fantasies, Follies and Disasters: The Prints of Francisco de Goya at Manchester Art Gallery; to 31st January.

Manchester, Whitworth Art Gallery. The British Museum touring exhibition *The American Scene: Prints from Hopper to Pollock* runs here from 19th September to 13th December.

Middlesbrough, Institute of Modern Art. Works by Gerhard Richter; to 15th November.

Nottingham Castle. An international loan exhibition here marks the bicentenary of the death of the Nottingham-born artist Paul Sandby and includes watercolours, gouaches, etchings and a few rare paintings; to 18th October (then in **Edinburgh** and **London**); to be reviewed.

Oxford, Christ Church Picture Gallery. Mannerist drawings from the permanent collection are on display to 4th October.

Oxford, Museum of Modern Art. Polaroids by Robert Mapplethorpe and paintings by Silke Otto-Knapp are on display to 13th September.

Penzance, The Exchange. An exhibition examining the legacy of Pop Art; to 2nd October.

Penzance, Penlee House Gallery & Museum. An exhibition focusing on works by artists associated with the Newlyn Colony at the time of its inauguration in the late nineteenth century; to 12th September.

St Ives, Tate. A summer exhibition combining works by seven fine and applied artists, from Alfred Wallis to Katy Moran, runs to 27th September.

Salisbury, Roche Court, New Art Centre. A survey exhibition of works by Hubert Dalwood; from 12th September to 8th November.

Wakefield, Bretton Hall, Yorkshire Sculpture Park. *The Angel* (1989) by James Lee Byars comprises 125 spheres of hand-blown Murano glass, which will be arranged on the stone floor of St Bartholemew's Chapel at Yorkshire Sculpture Park. The chapel will be open to the public for the first time in 250 years; 19th September to 29th November.

Windsor, Windsor Castle, Drawings Gallery. An exhibition marking the 500th anniversary of Henry VIII's accession to the throne includes works by Holbein; to 18th April 2010.

York Art Gallery. Drawing on the Arts Council Collection and that of the Gallery, an exhibition examining the work of artists from St Ives from the 1930s to the 1960s runs here to 27th September.

Europe

Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet. An exhibition on Picasso's debt to Cézanne runs to 27th September; to be reviewed.

Amsterdam, Hermitage. The opening exhibition at this revamped and expanded outpost of the Hermitage explores life and art at the Russian court in the 19th century; to 31st January.

Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum. *Odilon Redon and Emile Bernard* explores the collection of Andries Bonger (1861–1936), which was acquired by the Dutch State in 1996 and given to the Museum on long-term loan; to 20th September.

The exhibition *Alfred Stevens*, previously in Brussels, is here from 18th September to 24th January 2010; it is reviewed on p.636 above.

Asti, Palazzo Mazzetti. An exhibition of 17th- and 18th-century sacred wooden sculpture runs to 18th October.

Barcelona, Museu Picasso. Seen earlier in Montreal and reviewed in the April issue, the retrospective of works by Kees van Dongen is here to 27th September.

Basel, Fondation Beyeler. A comprehensive survey of works by Giacometti; to 11th October.

Basel, Kunstmuseum. *Vincent van Gogh. Between Earth and Heaven: The Landscapes* offers a substantial survey of the artist's works in the genre; to 27th September.

Bassano del Grappa, Museo Remondini. The remarkable collection of prints assembled by the Remondini family of printers includes works by Schongauer, Dürer, Titian and Rembrandt among others; to 4th October.

Berlin, Georg Kolbe Museum. The exhibition *Romantic Machines. Kinetic Art of the Present* includes works by Elmgreen and Dragset, Michael Sailstorfer and Julius Popp; to 6th September.

Berlin, Martin-Gropius-Bau. The major exhibition *Modell Bauhaus*, organised in collaboration with the Bauhaus archives in Berlin, Dessau and Weimar, and also with the Museum of Modern Art, New York, presents a complete survey of the Bauhaus, with an emphasis on its development and lasting impact; to 4th October (then in **New York**).

Berlin, Neue Nationalgalerie. A solo exhibition of work by Thomas Demand is on view here from 18th September to 17th January.

Bern, Kunstmuseum. *Fury and Grace: drawings by Guercino and his circle from the Uffizi, Florence*; 11th September to 22nd November.

Bielefeld, Kunsthalle. A retrospective of works by the Chinese artist Fang Lijun; to 8th November.

Bilbao, Guggenheim Museum. Following the artist's installations in the New York Guggenheim, Cai Guo-Qiang produces here a site-specific version of his exhibition *I want to believe*, running to 13th September.

Bilbao, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao. *The Splendour of the Renaissance in Aragon* presents a selection of paintings, sculptures, drawings and objects on loan from the Museo de Zaragoza; to 20th September (then in **Valencia** and **Zaragoza**); to be reviewed.

Bonn, Kunstmuseum. A retrospective of paintings by the Belgian painter Raoul de Keyser goes on view here to 18th October.

Bregenz, Kunsthaus. A large solo exhibition of works by Antony Gormley spills out into the surrounding Vorarlberg region in the form of one hundred life-size cast-iron statues modelled on the artist, planted within 100 square miles of Alpine scenery and visible from any vantage point; to 18th October.

Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts. *Turner and Italy*, seen previously in Ferrara and Edinburgh and reviewed on p.640 above, runs here to 25th October.

Caldarola, Palazzo dei Cardinali Pallotta. The magnificent collection of Cardinal Giambattista Pallotta, which included works by Caravaggio, Reni, Guercino and Preti, was dispersed at his death in 1668 but is briefly reassembled in a show running to 12th November; to be reviewed.

Caraglio, Il Filatoio Rosso. The rose in art is the theme of a show spanning the 15th to the early 20th century; to 25th October.

Castiglioncello, Castello Pasquini. *Da Corot ai Macchiaioli: Nino Costa e il paesaggio dell'anima* runs here to 1st November; to be reviewed.

Cologne, Museum Ludwig. A comprehensive display of editions by Sigmar Polke, recently donated to the Museum by Ulrich Reininghaus and Anne Friebe-Reininghaus, are on display to 27th September.

Seen earlier in London, a retrospective of works by Isa Genzken is on view here to 15th November.

Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst. Works by the German-born Danish sculptor Christian Lemmerz are on view to 6th March 2010.

The monographic exhibition devoted to Nicolai Abildgaard, seen previously in Paris and Hamburg, has its final showing here to 3rd January.

Coruña, Fundación Caixa Galicia. An exhibition of *bodegones* from the Prado runs here to 20th September.

Dresden, Japanisches Palais. Two of the oldest collections of antiquities outside Italy are being brought together in an exhibition of classical sculptures from the Museo del Prado and from Dresden's Skulpturensammlung; to 27th September.

Dresden, Residenzschloss. Here and at the **Semperbau am Zwinger**, a monographic exhibition devoted to the life and work of Carl Gustav Carus; to 20th September (then in **Berlin**).

'Crossing the Sea with Fortuna': Saxony and Denmark – Marriages and Alliances Mirrored in Art (1548–1709) runs to 4th January.

Düsseldorf, Kunsthalle. An exhibition of video and installation by the Bosnian artist Danica Dakic is on view here to 8th November.

Düsseldorf, Museum Kunst Palast. Seen earlier in London, a survey exhibition of work by Per Kirkeby is on view here from 26th September to 10th January.

Evian, Palais Lumière. An exhibition of decorative works by Rodin; to 20th September.

Ferrara, Palazzo dei Diamanti. An exhibition focusing on Boldini in Paris between 1871 and 1886 and on his work before he became the portraitist of the *beau monde* runs here from 20th September to 10th January (then in **Williamstown**); to be reviewed.

Florence, Casa Buonarroti. A selection of Italian Renaissance drawings from the Rothschild Collection in the Musée du Louvre, Paris; to 14th September.

Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia. 91 of Robert Mapplethorpe's photographs of beautiful bodies are juxtaposed with Michelangelo's sculptures; to 27th September.

Florence, Museo delle Cappelle Medicee. An exhibition to mark the fourth centenary of the death of Grand Duke Ferdinando I; to 1st November.

Florence, Uffizi. *Splendour and Reason: 18th-century Art in Florence* is a major exhibition of all the arts under the last of the Medici and the house of Lorraine; to 30th September; to be reviewed.

Frankfurt, Schirn Kunsthalle. The Mao-era sculptural ensemble *Rent Collection Courtyard*, a model work of the 1966 Cultural Revolution, is shown here in a mobile travelling version created from 1974 to 1978, comprising 114 life-size copper-plated fibreglass figures depicting the exploitation of peasants by pre-Communist landowners; from 24th September to 3rd January.

Frankfurt, Städel Museum. An exhibition of prints by Munch is on view here to 18th October.

Grenoble, Musée de Grenoble. Some 40 paintings by Alex Katz comprise an exhibition running here to 27th September (then in **Kleve**).

Haarlem, Teylers Museum. Here and at **Laren** the first-ever monographic show devoted to the work of Anton Mauve can be seen from 18th September to 14th January.

The Hague, GEM, Museum voor Actuele Kunst. Seen earlier in London, the survey exhibition of works by Michael Raedecker is on view here to 1st November.

An exhibition of drawings by Emo Verkerk is on display to 1st November.

Hamburg, Kunsthalle. The second in a tripartite exhibition of works by Sigmar Polke, looking at his Pop works, runs to 4th October.

80. *Portrait of Thales Fielding*, by Eugène Delacroix. c.1825. Canvas, 32.3 by 24.8 cm. (Musée Delacroix, Paris).

Humlebaek, Louisiana Museum of Modern Art. An exhibition of recent acquisitions (2007–08) is on view to 20th September.

Kassel, Gemäldegalerie. An exhibition devoted to Philips Wouwerman runs here to 11th October (then in **The Hague**); to be reviewed.

Laren, Singer Museum. See **Haarlem, Teylers Museum**.

Louvain, M. An international loan exhibition explores the work of Rogier van der Weyden; 20th September to 6th December; to be reviewed in conjunction with the exhibition that took place in 2008–09 in Frankfurt and Berlin.

Maastricht, Bonnefantenmuseum. A display of the Rijksmuseum's six tapestries with themes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, woven by Frans Spiering after designs by Karel van Mander, three of which were acquired in 2006, runs to 13th September; to be reviewed.

Madrid, Museo del Prado. A monographic show devoted to Joaquin Sorolla runs to 6th September.

Madrid, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía. The first comprehensive museum survey of works by Matthew Buckingham; to 28th September.

Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza. An exhibition focusing on the central period of Matisse's work, from 1917 to 1941, runs here to 20th September.

The first retrospective in Spain of works by Fantin-Latour; from 29th September to 10th January.

Malaga, CAC. A large exhibition of work by the American artist Jack Pierson; to 27th September.

Marsala, Convento del Carmine. Monochrome art by Burri, Fontana, Kounellis and others is on display here to 18th October.

Martigny, Fondation Gianadda. Modern works from Courbet to Picasso from the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, are on display here to 22nd November.

Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli. Neo-classical and Romantic drawings from the collection of Riccardo Lampugnani are on view here to 18th October.

Milan, Palazzo Reale. A large-scale exhibition devoted to the Scapigliatura movement, born in Milan at the time of the reunification of Italy and including artists such as Medardo Rosso, Picio and Cremona, runs here to 22nd November.

Twenty of Monet's late paintings are shown with 60 prints by Hokusai and Hiroshige from the Musée Guimet, Paris; to 27th September.

Milan, Spazio Oberdan. A survey show of contemporary Latin-American art runs to 4th October.

Montauban, Musée Ingres. The exhibition *Ingres et les Modernes*, previously in Quebec, explores the influence of Ingres on modern artists; to 4th October.

Munich, Pinakothek der Moderne. A complete survey of works by Hermann Obrist; to 27th September.

Naples, Museo Madre. An exhibition of paintings by Francesco Clemente, which focuses on the artist's relationship to Italy, and culminates with the fresco *Ab Ovo* made for the Museum in 2004–05, is on view here to 14th September.

Nice, Musée Matisse. A face-to-face encounter between works by Matisse and by Rodin is on display to 27th September (then in **Paris**); to be reviewed.

Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum. Seen earlier in Los Angeles, the exhibition *Kunst und Kalter Krieg. Deutsche Positionen 1945–1989*, is on view here to 6th September; to be reviewed.

Padua, Palazzo Zabarella. Telemaco Signorini's works will be shown alongside those by contemporaries such as Van Gogh, Degas, Caillebotte and others; from 19th September to 31st January.

Paris, Centre Georges Pompidou. The exhibition, *elles@centrepompidou* presents works from the collections by female artists; to 24th May 2010.

Paris, Fondation Cartier. *Born in the Streets – Graffiti* provides a survey of graffiti and street art from the 1970s to the present day; to 29th November.

Paris, Galerie des Gobelins. *Fastes royaux, la collection des tapisseries de Louis XIV*; from 20th September to 15th November.

Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais. The exhibition *Renoir in the 20th century* is on view here from 23rd September to 4th January (then in **Los Angeles** and **Philadelphia**); to be reviewed.

Paris, Marion Goodman. *Et range ta chambre*, an exhibition of works by Annette Messager, is on view here from 5th September to 10th October.

Paris, Musée Cognacq-Jay. An exhibition here focuses on Marguerite Gérard as a pupil and collaborator in Fragonard's studio; 11th September to 6th December.

Paris, Musée Delacroix. The Museum has acquired Delacroix's portrait of Thales Fielding, as well as Fielding's portrait of Delacroix (Figs.80 and 81). See also the article on Delacroiz on p.595 above.

Paris, Musée de la Vie Romantique. *Souvenirs d'italie (1600–1850): Chefs-d'œuvre du Petit Palais*; from 29th September to 17th January.

Paris, Musée d'Orsay. The original collages created by Max Ernst for his collage novel *Une semaine de bonté* during a three-week stay in Italy in 1933 are on display here to 13th September.

Paris, Musée du Louvre. *Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese: Rivals in Renaissance Venice*, previously in Boston, runs here from 17th September to 4th January; to be reviewed.

An exhibition of drawings by Laurent de La Hyre runs to 2nd November. A display of drawings by Domenico Beccafumi is concurrent.

Paris, Musée du Luxembourg. A monographic exhibition devoted to the work of Louis Comfort Tiffany runs from 16th September to 17th January.

Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André. An exceptional loan exhibition of works by artists such as Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Memling and Van Eyck from the Muzeul National Brukenthal, Sibiu, Romania, runs from 11th September to 11th January.

Paris, Pinacothèque. Works by Valadon and Utrillo; to 15th September; reviewed in the August issue.

Parma, Fondazione Magnani-Rocca. *Futurismo! Da Boccioni all'aeropittura* is another celebration of the Futurists' centenary; 6th September to 8th December.

Passariano, Villa Manin. *The age of Courbet and Manet: the spread of realism and Impressionism through central and eastern Europe* charts the influence of French art on artists in Belgium, Austria, Russia, Romania and elsewhere; from 26th September to 7th March.

Rancate (Mendrisio), Canton Ticino, Pinacoteca cantonale Giovanni Züst. The collection assembled by Riccardo Molo of 19th-century Italian painters from Fattori to Segantini is on public view for the first time from 20th September to 10th January.

Rome, Gagosian Gallery. Recent work by Cindy Sherman is on view here to 19th September.

Rome, MACRO Future. An installation by Hema Upadhyay is on view here to 21st September.

81. *Portrait of Eugène Delacroix*, by Thales Fielding. c.1825. Canvas, 34.3 by 27.3 cm. (Musée Delacroix, Paris).

Rome, Palazzo Braschi. An exhibition of works by Umberto Prencipe (1879–1962), some recently donated to the museum, runs here to 13th September.

Rome, Scuderie Papali al Quirinale. Imperial Roman portraits; 25th September to 17th January.

Rotterdam, Kunsthal. Works on paper, from Dürer to Kiefer, from fifty museums from Nordrhein-Westfalen are on view here to 13th September.

Photographs and paintings from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and the Neue Pinakothek, Munich, comprise the exhibition *New Horizons. The Hague School and the modern Dutch landscape*; from 12th September to 6th December.

Modern Life. Edward Hopper and his Time places works by Hopper alongside works by O'Keeffe, Feininger, Grant Wood and others, drawn from the collection of the Whitney Museum of American Art; from 26th September to 17th January.

Saint Paul de Vence, Fondation Maeght. *Miró en son Jardin* illuminates the relationship between Miró and the Maeght family, in an exhibition comprising some 250 works; to 8th November.

St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum. *Masterpieces of Egyptian portraits from the Egyptian Museum in Berlin*; to 20th September.

The Blue and the Gold of Limoges. The Enamels of the XII–XIV Centuries; to 20th September.

Saint-Tropez, Musée de l'Annonciade. More than 60 works by Rouault explore the role of landscape in his *œuvre*; to 12th October.

Salzburg, Museum der Moderne Salzburg Mönchsberg. 120 drawings and 20 sculptures by Tony Cragg comprise an exhibition running here to 11th October.

Scandiano, Rocca dei Boiardo. Recently recovered traces of frescos by Niccolo dell'Abate in the Rocca form the backdrop to an exhibition of work by the artist and his pupils; to 11th October.

Serra San Quirico, ex-Monastero di S. Lucia. The exhibition *Pasqualino Rossi. La scoperta di un protagonista del Barocco*, reviewed in the August issue, runs to 13th September.

Toulouse, Musée des Augustins. Here, and at 33 venues around Toulouse, the *2009 Printemps de Septembre* festival shows a broad range of contemporary art, including Christian Marclay at the **Cinema ABC**, Victor Burgin at the **Hotel-Dieu** and Berlinde de Bruyckere at **Les Jacobins**; from 25th September to 18th October.

Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio. A large-scale exhibition of ancient Egyptian art is on view here to 8th November.

Treviso, Centro Carlo Scarpa. An exhibition of Scarpa's unrealised designs for theatres dating from the 1920s to the 1970s is on view here to 21st November.

Trieste, Castello di S. Giusto. The Serbian community of Trieste from 1751 to 1914 is the subject of a show running to 4th November.

Tübingen, Kunsthalle. A retrospective exhibition of works by Tal R.; to 4th October.

Turin, Fondazione Sandretto Re Rebaudengo. Seen earlier in Liverpool, the exhibition of works by Glenn Brown runs here to 4th October.

Überlingen, Municipal Art Gallery. The 175th anniversaries of the births of Degas and Whistler are celebrated in the exhibition *Impressionism and Japonism*, focusing on the way both artists responded to Japanese prints; to 13th September.

Venice. The 53rd Biennale, which was reviewed in the August issue, continues to 22nd November.

Venice, François Pinault Foundation. At the Palazzo Grassi and the newly restored Punta della Dogana, works from the François Pinault Foundation; to 22nd November.

Venice, Palazzo Fortuny. The exhibition *In-finitum* is the last of the trilogy of shows organised by the Vervoordt Foundation; to 15th November.

Venice, Peggy Guggenheim Collection. The exhibition *Robert Rauschenberg: Gluts*, showing a selection of sculptures, runs to 20th September.

Torre, the Belgian artist Wim Delvoye's latest creation, is a corten steel tower in the International Gothic style and is on view to 22nd November.

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. *Charles the Bold (1433–77): Art, War and Courtly Splendour*, previously in Bern and Bruges and reviewed in the July issue, runs here from 15th September to 10th January.

Sensual – female – Flemish centres on Rubens's '*Fur coat*', *Cimon and Iphigenia* and *Self-portrait* and puts them in the context of contemporary Flemish works from the permanent collection that are not usually on display; to 13th December.

Vienna, Liechtenstein Museum. An exhibition exploring the picture frame from the late medieval period to the 19th century runs to 12th January.

Vienna, MUMOK. *Sensations of the Moment*, the first retrospective of works by Cy Twombly to be displayed in Austria, runs here to 11th October.

Vienna, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere. The monographic exhibition exploring the work of Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller, seen previously in Paris, runs here to 11th October.

Volterra, Palazzo dei Priori. An exhibition devoted to the Flemish painter Pieter de Witte (c.1548–1628) runs here to 8th November; to be reviewed.

Wuppertal, Von der Heydt-Museum. *Freedom, power and splendour: Dutch art in the 16th and 17th centuries*; to 9th September.

Zürich, Kunsthaus. Paintings by the Swiss-born founder of the Munich Secession, Albert von Keller; to 4th October.

An exhibition of work by Mircea Cantor runs here to 8th November.

New York

Asia Society. The first US museum presentation of the complete five-part film by Yang Fudong, *Seven Intellectuals in a Bamboo Forest*, runs to 13th September.

Brooklyn Museum. A mid-career survey of work by Yinka Shonibare runs here to 20th September.

Cheim & Read. A group exhibition of works by female artists depicting the female form, with works from Berenice Abbott to Marlene Dumas, runs here to 19th September.

Dia Foundation. At **Beacon** an exhibition placing works by Antoni Tàpies, drawn from the collection of the Reina Sofía, Madrid, in relation to works by American and German artists from the 1960s and 1970s; to 19th October.

Doris C. Freedman Plaza. A large aluminium sculpture by Franz West, titled *The Ego and the Id*, is on view here to March 2010.

Drawing Centre. Drawings by the American artist Ree Morton (1937–77) are displayed here from 18th September to 18th December.

Frick Collection. The exhibition *Exuberant Grotesques: Renaissance Maiolica from the Fontana Workshop* shows the Frick's recently acquired Maiolica dish with *The judgment of Paris* (c.1565) along with five related works on loan from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art, it is on view here, from 15th September to 17th January.

Gagosian. At **Madison Avenue**, a new series of photographs by Sally Mann and an exhibition of eight sculptures by Cy Twombly, are both on view from 15th September to 31st October.

Guggenheim. Seen earlier in Munich and Paris, the extensive retrospective of works by Kandinsky is on view here from 18th September to 13th January. It was reviewed in the July issue.

Metro Pictures. A retrospective exhibition of works by the American artist Robert Longo is on display here to 29th November.

Metropolitan Museum of Art. An international loan exhibition here explores the place of music and theatre in Watteau's art; 22nd September to 29th November; to be reviewed.

Vermeer's *Milkmaid* is on loan here from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and is put into context through works by Vermeer, De Hooch, Metsu, Maes, De Witte, Van Vliet and Sorgh from the Metropolitan's permanent collection; from 10th September to 29th November.

Silk and Bamboo: Music and Art of China; from 5th September to 7th February.

Peaceful Conquerors: Jain Manuscript Painting; from 10th September to 21st March.

Imperial Privilege: Vienna Porcelain of Du Paquier, 1718–44; from 22nd September to 21st March.

African and Oceanic Art from the Barbier-Mueller Museum, Geneva; to 27th September.

Morgan Library & Museum. *William Blake's World: 'A New Heaven Is Begun'* is drawn from the Morgan's extensive holdings of works by Blake and explores his literary accomplishments and artistic influence; 11th September to 3rd January.

Pages of Gold: Medieval Illuminations from the Morgan; to 13th September.

Museum of Modern Art. An exhibition of work by James Ensor; to 21st September (then in **Paris**).

The exhibition *In & Out of Amsterdam: Travels in Conceptual Art, 1960–1976*, shows works by a range of artists, from Gilbert & George to Allen Ruppersberg, who spent time in Amsterdam in the 1960s and 1970s, is on view to 5th October; to be reviewed.

The first major retrospective of work by the British designer Ron Arad; to 19th October.

New Museum of Contemporary Art. Photographs by David Goldblatt and an installation by Rigo 23 on the theme of political prisoners are both on view here to 11th October.

Political posters by Emory Douglas, a former Minister of Culture for the Black Panther Party, and works by Dorothy Iannone made between 1965 and 1978; both to 18th October.

New York Public Library. *Diaghilev's Theatre of Marvels: The Ballets Russes and its Aftermath* runs here to 12th September.

P.S.1 Contemporary Art Center. Sculptural works by Jonathan Horowitz in the manner of Jeff Koons are on view to 14th September.

Solomon Guggenheim Museum. An exhibition drawn from the contemporary paintings and sculptures acquired by James Johnson Sweeney during his tenure as director from 1952 to 1960; to 2nd September.

UBS Art Gallery. Five decades of paintings and drawings by Jack Tworkov; to 27th October.

Whitney Museum of American Art. Seen earlier in Los Angeles, and reviewed in the July issue, the retrospective exhibition of work by Dan Graham runs here to 11th October (then in **Minneapolis**).

The exhibition *Claes Oldenburg: Early Sculpture, Drawings, and Happenings Films* is on view here to 6th September.

North America

Beverly Hills, Gagosian. *Endless Night*, an exhibition of new paintings by Dexter Dalwood; from 17th September to 7th November.

Boston, ICA. The first museum survey exhibition of works by Damián Ortega runs here from 18th September to 17th January.

Chicago, Art Institute. Works by Cy Twombly (2000–07) are on view to 13th September.

An exhibition of Japanese screens drawn from the Institute's own collection, and from that of the Saint Louis Art Museum; to 27th September.

Fort Worth, Modern Art Museum. Seen earlier in San Francisco, the survey of works by William Kentridge, is here to 27th September (then to **West Palm Beach**, **New York**, and further locations).

Houston, Museum of Fine Arts. The exhibition *The Moon*, previously in Cologne and reviewed on p.637 above, runs here from 27th September to 10th January.

Ithaca, Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art. An exhibition exploring the graphic *œuvre* of Romeyn de Hooghe (1645–1708), seen previously in Amsterdam, runs here to 11th October.

Los Angeles County Museum of Art. *Pompeii and the Roman Villa: Art and Culture around the Bay of Naples*, seen earlier in Washington, runs here to 4th October.

The monographic show devoted to Luis Meléndez, previously in Washington, runs here from 27th September to 3rd January (then in **Boston**).

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum. The exhibition exploring French bronzes spanning the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, seen earlier in Paris and New York and reviewed in the February issue, runs here to 27th September.

French landscape drawings spanning the 17th to 19th centuries from the permanent collection are on display to 1st November.

Out-of-Bounds: Images in the Margins of Medieval Manuscripts; to 8th November.

Minneapolis, Institute of Arts. In anticipation of another Louvre masterpiece leaving home for an extended period, a small display (to 31st January) explores the scientific and cultural world of the 17th-century astronomer through prints, books, scientific instruments and other objects that Vermeer depicted in his painting *The astronomer*, scheduled to arrive here from Paris in October for a three-month-long stint.

Minneapolis, Walker Art Center. An installation by Robert Irwin, first seen here 20 years ago, is on display in the Friedman Gallery; to 21st November.

Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts. *Grandeur Nature. Peinture et Photographie des Paysages Américains et Canadiens de 1860 à 1918*; to 27th September.

82. *A vase of flowers*, by Odilon Redon. 1901. Canvas, (Museum of Fine Arts, San Francisco).

New Haven, Yale Center for British Art. *A bouquet of botanical delights: the life and art of Mary Delany*; 24th September to 3rd January.
Oklahoma, City Museum of Art. Seen earlier in Columbia, the exhibition *Turner to Cézanne: Masterpieces from the Davies Collection, National Museum Wales* is on view here to 20th September (then in **Syracuse**, **Washington** and **Albuquerque**).
Philadelphia, Museum of Art. An exhibition on Duchamp's *Etant Donnés*, installed in the Museum in 1969 and here contextualised by related works and documentation, runs to 30th October; to be reviewed.
Pittsburgh, Frick Art & Historical Center. *The seventeenth-century Dutch Italianates: Masterpieces from Dulwich Picture Gallery, London*; to 20th September.
San Francisco, Fine Arts Museum. At the Legion of Honour, a retrospective of prints by John Baldessari from the collections of Jordan D. Schnitzer and his Family Foundation; to 8th November.

Through the bequest of Caroline H. Hume, the Museum now owns a striking floral still-life painting by the French Symbolist Odilon Redon (Fig.82).

Vancouver Art Gallery. *Vermeer, Rembrandt, and the Golden Age of Dutch Art: Treasures from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam*; to 13th September.
Virginia, Museum of Fine Arts. The Museum has recently acquired the Ludwig and Rosy Fischer Collection of German Expressionism.
Washington, National Gallery of Art. *The Art of Power: Royal Armor and Portraits from Imperial Spain*, reviewed on p.643 above, runs to 1st November.

A show comprising 12 works devoted to Tullio Lombardo and Venetian sculpture; to 31st October.

In celebration of Judith Leyster's 400th birthday, a display here focuses on the Gallery's *Self-portrait* and includes ten additional works by the artist from American and European collections; to 29th November.

Washington, Phillips Collection. Seen earlier in Nashville, the exhibition *Paint made Flesh* is on view here to 13th September.

Asia

Kyoto, Municipal Museum. Seen previously in Tokyo, *Masterpieces of 17th-century European art from the Louvre*, runs here to 27th September.
Singapore, National Museum. The sufficiently vague concept of 'the world of the image' provides the pretext for two major museums in Antwerp to send a selection of their 16th- and 17th-century paintings and prints on loan here for an exhibition previously seen in Shanghai; to 4th October.
Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art. An exhibition devoted to the work of Paul Gauguin is on show here to 23rd September.
Tokyo, National Museum of Western Art. In commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Museum, the history of the Roman Empire is polished off in a show running from 19th September to 13th December.

September sales

London, Christie's (King St.). Parisian taste in London: a private collection and furniture (10th); Old-master, modern and contemporary prints (17th); 19th-century furniture, sculpture, works of art and ceramics (24th).
London, Christie's (South Kensington). Chinese ceramics and works of art (10th); Contemporary prints (16th); Old-master and decorative prints (16th); 20th-century British art (23rd); 20th-century decorative arts (30th).
London, Sotheby's. English and Continental furniture (15th); Modern and contemporary prints (24th); Scottish pictures (30th).
New York, Christie's. Chinese ceramics and works of art including property from the Arthur M. Sackler collections (14th); Chinese works of art (15th); South Asian modern and contemporary art (16th); Indian and Southeast Asian art (16th); Japanese and Korean art (17th); Impressionist and modern art (22nd); American paintings and furniture (29th and 30th).
New York, Sotheby's. Chinese furniture, works of art, carpets and ceramics (16th); Indian art (17th); Contemporary art (24th); American paintings, drawings and sculpture (30th).

Forthcoming Fairs

Amsterdam, PAN Amsterdam; 22nd to 29th November.
Berlin, Art Forum Berlin; 24th to 27th September.
Florence, 26th International Antiques Biennial; Corsini Palace, 26th September to 4th October.
London, 20/21 British Art Fair. Modern and contemporary art; 16th to 20th September.
London, Frieze Art Fair; 15th to 19th October.
London, LAPADA Art and Antiques Fair; 24th to 27th September.
Moscow, 3rd Moscow Biennale of Contemporary Art; 25th September to 25th October.
New York, IFPDA Print Fair; 5th to 8th November.
Paris, FIAC. Contemporary art; 22nd to 25th October.
Toronto International Art Fair (TIAF). Contemporary art; 22nd to 26th October.

Announcements

Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History, Part 2. An international conference focusing on the history and influence of specific archives is to be held at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence, via Giuseppe Giusti 38, 50121 Florence, from 29th to 31st October. For details contact Dr Costanza Caraffa, tel. +39 055 24911–64; email caraffa@khi.fi.it.

Corrections

Daniel F. Herrmann's review of *Henry Moore: Werk; Theorie; Wirkung*, by Christa Lichtenstern, published in the July 2009 issue, should have made clear that the title is also available in an English language edition published by the Royal Academy of Arts, London. ISBN 978–1–905711–21–5 (£48).

In the article by Catherine Whistler, 'Titian's "Triumph of Love"', in the August issue of this Magazine, Fig.41, the reconstruction of the original format of the painting was unfortunately cropped and should have been reproduced as shown below (Fig.83).

83. Reconstruction of the original format of *Triumph of Love*, by Titian. c.1544–46. Canvas, diameter 88.3 cm. (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

Notes on contributors

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Colin Amery is a freelance writer and critic. His most recent book, *St Petersburg*, co-authored with Brian Curran, was published in 2007.
Emily Braun is Distinguished Professor at Hunter College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York. She is currently writing an essay on Arturo Martini and Italian sculpture between the two World Wars.
Lynne Cooke is Curator at Large, Dia Art Foundation, New York, and Chief Curator and Deputy Director, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid.
Paul Drury is a partner in The Paul Drury Partnership, a consultancy concerned with policy and practice in the historic environment.
Caroline Elam is a freelance art historian and is currently writing a book on Roger Fry and Italian art.
Morgan Falconer is a critic and journalist and writes regularly for *The Times*, *Art World* and *Frieze*.
Klára Garas was Director of the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts from 1964 to 1984.
Malcolm Gee is Principal Lecturer in the Visual Arts Division, School of Arts and Social Sciences at Northumbria University, Newcastle.
Richard Green was Curator of York City Art Gallery from 1977 to 2003. As an independent art historian, he is currently cataloguing the British paintings at Brodsworth Hall, South Yorkshire.
Michèle Hannoosh is Professor of French and head of the department of Romance Languages and Literatures at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Her new edition of Delacroix's *Journal* is published this year. Her co-authors, **Bertrand** and **Lorraine Servois**, are independent researchers.
John House is Walter H. Annenberg Professor at the Courtauld Institute of Art, London. He is currently the Samuel H. Kress Professor at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, where he is working on a book about French 'realist' painting.
Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide is Curator in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. She is co-author with Jeffrey Munger of *Handbook to the Wrightsman Galleries*, to be published spring 2010.
Felix Krämer is Head of 19th-century Painting and Sculpture and Modern Art at the Städel Museum, Frankfurt. He is currently preparing an Ernst Ludwig Kirchner retrospective, to be held at the Museum in April 2010.
Alastair Laing, Curator of Pictures and Sculpture at the National Trust, is currently preparing a summary illustrated catalogue of all the oil paintings in the Trust's properties.
James Lawrence is a critic and historian of modern and contemporary art. He is currently researching spatial values in post-War sculpture.
Stéphane Loire is Curator of 17th- and 18th-century Italian Paintings at the Musée du Louvre, Paris.
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