

**Re-collections and Movements:  
Murray Marks's Translations of Chinese Porcelain and Italian  
Renaissance Bronzes, ca. 1860-1918**

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## Abstract

In his work *Truth and Method*, Hans-Georg Gadamer suggests rehabilitating the decorative element in art, which was discredited by Kant's aesthetics in an antithetical relationship to the concept of art based on 'pure form.' As decoration is determined by its relation to what it is decorating, it is neither placeless nor timeless. The temporality and place of the work of decorative art question "the aesthetic consciousness according to which the work of art is what is outside all space and all time."

Drawing on Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics, this study aims to explore how the London-based antique and curiosity dealer Murray Marks (c. 1840-1918) contributed to the appropriation of Chinese porcelain and Italian Renaissance bronzes by three different artistic regimes in Europe.

Marks's transfer of the three-dimensional decorative objects into various artistic circles achieved such mobility – between East and West, past and present, and public and private spheres. Marks integrated Chinese porcelain and Italian Renaissance bronzes into a modernist artistic practice (The British Aesthetic Movement in the 1860s and 1870s), the public museum (the South Kensington Museum around 1880), and cataloguing projects based on subjectivity-centered aesthetics (with Wilhelm von Bode of the Berlin Museums from the late 1880s). This continual migration of objects demonstrates that understanding a work of art is rather a question of interpretation across time and space than a transcendental aesthetic experience. In this respect, this study will investigate Marks's role as a cultural translator.

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## **Author's Declaration**

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as Bibliography.

## Introduction

### Murray Marks, Cultural Translator

In 1913, Murray Marks commissioned a bronze portrait medal from Cecil Brown. On the medal's obverse was inscribed the motto "I am but a gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe" (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Marks, the London-based antique and curiosity dealer who had dealt in Chinese porcelain and Renaissance art since the 1860s, here identified himself clearly as an intermediary. As his motto implies, the antique and curiosity dealer was a crucial mediator of taste in his several cultural fields; but the importance of his role has rarely been recognised. When Marks embarked upon his career in the mid-nineteenth century, the public perceptions of the antique and curiosity were largely negative. This discouraging stereotype was exacerbated by the influence of contemporary literature. In a number of successful mid-nineteenth-century novels, including Charles Dickens's *The Old Curiosity Shop* (c.1841), along with Honoré de Balzac's *Le Peau de Chagrin* (1831) and *Le Cousin Pons* (1847), antique and curiosity dealers were characterized as deceptive and rather sinister figures. However, with the rapid growth of the art market during the second half of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century, the antique and curiosity dealer emerged as a legitimate subject of study. When Marks died in 1918, leaving behind the fruits of his sixty-year dealings in art and antiques, Professor George C. Williamson wrote his biography, entitled *Murray Marks and His Friends* (1919). One of the earliest biographical investigations of an antique and curiosity dealer, Williamson's publication reflects a growing sense among his contemporaries that the dealer's activities were socially meaningful. Public interest in the nature of dealership remains alive today; but the idea of the antique and curiosity dealer as a discrete cultural identity has consistently underlain the various investigations of this subject, whether

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<sup>1</sup> This motto was taken from Sir Henry Wooton's *The Elements of Architecture*, published in 1624. Marks commissioned in total one medal in silver and twenty-five in bronze; the V&A received one of the latter (No. A.4-1913). Clive Wainwright, "'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,'" Murray Marks, connoisseur and curiosity dealer,' *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2002), pp. 171-72 and 176.



biographical or academic writings or museum displays.<sup>2</sup> This tendency towards characterisation is one of the main barriers to analysis of the socio-cultural significance of the antique and curiosity dealer. In his *Abîmes*, published in 2002, the French author Pascal Quignard identified this very problem, calling for a re-evaluation of the role of the antique and curiosity dealer. He wrote that:

Il faut défendre les antiquaires et les opposer aux historiens.

Il s'agit de mettre en valeur les anecdotiers et la récolte qu'ils font des faits divers pour les opposer au camouflage et à la Propaganda.

Dans la mort que la répétition répète jusqu'à l'oubli, il faut préférer le collectionneur de beauté (la piété actuelle à l'égard de ce qui fut invisible) à l'homme d'État qui tisse horreurs et hurlements à son profit en sorte de fonder sa domination, au journaliste payé par un des groupes de pression en conflit en sorte d'imposer la volonté de puissance qui le rétribue, à l'historien salarié par l'État pour simplifier et peindre ce qui fut, au philosophe rétribué par l'État pour lui procurer raison, orientation, signification, valeur.

On dit souvent que l'admiration pour l'ancien est une passion récente. Ceci est contredit par les exemples d'autrefois. Le goût pour l'ancien est un luxe qui caractérise depuis toujours la puissance dans les sociétés humaines. La vieille drogue, le vieux crâne, le vieux vin, le vieux totem, le vieux manuscrit, la vieille arme, la vieille relique – tous ces objets qui conduisent la fondation comme un courant de force électrique – la reconduisent à chaque fois comme l'Avant de ce qui est.

Dans ces différents objets c'est l'origine qui est vénérée.<sup>3</sup>

If, as Quignard's ontological speculation implies, the real significance of antique and curiosity dealership lies in its capacity to transfer invisible meanings and values through works of art, what approach should be taken in order most fully to comprehend it? In telling the story of Marks's trade in Chinese porcelain and Renaissance bronzes in London from the 1860s until 1918, I will employ the framework of 'cultural translation'. This framework seems an appropriate means of investigating the dealer's role as a mediator – as suggested by Marks himself in 1913 – as it transforms the dealer operating within a commercial marketplace into a 'translator' of various cultures embedded in works of art. It will also be of assistance in sketching out Marks's influence upon various 'readers' in diverse cultural fields. Using this framework, therefore, I will examine the process by which Marks translated the exotic 'Other'

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<sup>2</sup> Mark Wilfred Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer 1815-c.1850: The Commodification of Historical Objects* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Southampton, 2006), pp. 17-20.

<sup>3</sup> Pascal Quignard, *Abîmes: Dernier royaume III* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 2002), pp. 34-35.

of the 'Beyond' and the strange 'Other' of the 'Before' into his own cultural environment; and how his contemporaries encountered these Others through the objects Marks translated.

Peter Burke proposes several key questions that may be of use in examining Marks's distinctive acts of translation, as well as the structures and patterns of the cultural fields with which he was involved:

A historical anthropology of translation might focus on two questions: What was translated? How was it translated? What was translated, and where, reveals what one culture finds of interest in another, separated from it either in space or time. [...] How were these texts translated? In other words, what was the dominant 'regime' or 'culture' of translation [...]?<sup>4</sup>

To adapt these questions to Marks's case: first, what (and where) did Marks translate? Based in London, he dealt primarily in Chinese porcelain and Renaissance art from the early 1860s onwards. It was as a result of the British Aesthetic Movement (beginning in the 1860s) and the pan-European Renaissance revival in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century that these modes of art received fresh attention. Marks was closely involved with the artists and patrons of the Aesthetic circle, who were inspired by Renaissance Venetian culture. Living in a city that formed a nexus for overseas trade, sixteenth-century Venetians created rich examples of cross-cultural art, layering the styles and materials of Oriental cultures with their own.

Comparably, mid-Victorian Aesthetes at the heart of the ever-expanding British Empire were enchanted by Oriental art; Chinese blue and white porcelain from the Kangxi era (1662-1722) was a collector's favourite. This trend was both reflected in Marks's dealings, and at the same time transformed by his innovative style. Marks's distinctiveness was achieved by his indirect 'translations' of Chinese blue and white porcelain.

In around 1880, Marks moved from the Chinese porcelain market to that of Italian Renaissance art. Although he had consistently dealt in this area, from the late 1880s onwards he began to concentrate in particular on small bronzes. His specialisation in Italian Renaissance bronzes came in part as a response to demand for the genre from giant international collectors such as Australian-born British collector George Salting (1835-1909), Wilhelm von Bode, Director of the Berlin Museums, (1845-1929), and the American collector John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913).

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<sup>4</sup> Peter Burke, 'Translating Knowledge, Translating Culture,' in *Kultureller Austausch in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Michael North (Köln-Weimar-Wein, 2009), p. 71.

To return to Burke's questions: second, how were these art works translated? What was the dominant 'regime' or 'culture' of translation? These questions have been addressed, in part, in the above explanation of Marks's dealing areas; but they still require more thorough examination. In seeking to answer these questions, I will focus on the relationship between the dealer Marks and various types of actors in the art world. Marks's distinguished 'translations' of Chinese porcelains and Renaissance art were achieved through interaction with his clients, who rediscovered those familiar Others that had been relegated to the secondary market for several centuries. Marks had an excellent command of the different artistic languages required by his various clients. He was particularly good at decontextualising objects – removing them from their original setting - and then recontextualising them: placing them within a new context. The analysis of Marks's involvement with various artistic regimes will illuminate the art dealer's contribution to the process of constructing new meanings and values from these works of art.

### **Cultural Translation from the Perspectives of Gadamer's Hermeneutics**

However, beyond its metaphoric sense, the concept of cultural translation requires more methodological questions to apply to art history's disciplinary contours. For this reason, I will draw on Hans-Georg Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics which would be helpful to understand the hermeneutic motion in cultural translation.<sup>5</sup> In his *Truth and Method*, Gadamer brings the phenomenon of understanding to light. Influenced by Heidegger's temporal analysis of human existence, Gadamer conceptualises understanding as an ontological movement (*Seinsart*) in man, made up by its finitude and historicity, and therefore, hermeneutics is re-defined as a philosophical effort to account for understanding as the way of being of man, not as the methodological basis for the *Geisteswissenschaften*.<sup>6</sup> In this context, he clarifies the way to understand the aesthetic experience and historical

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<sup>5</sup> George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language & Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (London: Continuum, 2012), pp. xx-xxiv.

consciousness.<sup>7</sup> This gives an inspirational approach to art and history, an approach that would be applied to examine Marks's dealings in the work of art from the past.

Gadamer argues that the concept of aesthetic consciousness, in distinction and isolation from 'nonaesthetic' realms of experience, is a consequence of the general subjectivising of thought since Descartes.<sup>8</sup> Criticising Kant's aesthetics which conveys the disinterested and isolated autonomy of aesthetic consciousness, Gadamer asserts the nondifferentiation of the aesthetic from other elements within our experience of a work of art. To break down the placelessness and timelessness of art in Kant's aesthetics, he rehabilitates the decorative element in art.<sup>9</sup> Criticising the Kantian distinction between fine and decorative art, Gadamer demonstrates the ontological structure of the aesthetic through the nature of decoration:

The antithesis of the decorative to a real work of art is obviously based on the idea that the latter originates in "the inspiration of genius." The argument was more or less that what is only decorative is not the art of genius but mere craftsmanship. It is only a means, subordinated to what it is supposed to decorate, and can therefore be replaced, like any other means subordinated to an end, by another appropriate means. It has no share in the uniqueness of the work of art.

The truth is that the concept of decoration needs to be freed from this antithetical relationship to the concept of art based on experience (*Erlebnis*); rather, it needs to be grounded in the ontological structure of representation, which we have shown to be the mode of being of the work of art. We have only to remember that the ornamental and the decorative originally meant the beautiful as such. It is necessary to recover this ancient insight. Ornament or decoration is determined by its relation to what it decorates, to what carries it. It has no aesthetic import of its own that is thereafter limited by its relation to what it is decorating.<sup>10</sup>

As "decoration is determined by its relation to what it decorates," it is neither placeless nor timeless.<sup>11</sup> The nature of decoration thus reveals that the mode of being of the aesthetic is dynamic, not static or transcendental.

Gadamer's re-evaluation of the decorative elements of art will be helpful when exploring Marks's dealings in three-dimensional decorative works. The works in which Marks traded, Chinese porcelain and Italian Renaissance bronze statuettes, are usually classified as decorative art. Marks's clients – the Aesthetic circle, the South Kensington Museum, and

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<sup>7</sup> Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, pp. 36-37.

<sup>8</sup> Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, pp. 37-70; Richard E. Palmer, *Hermeneutics: Interpretation Theory in Schleiermacher, Dilthey, Heidegger, and Gadamer* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1969), p. 167.

<sup>9</sup> Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, pp. 151-52; Palmer, *Hermeneutics*, p. 170.

<sup>10</sup> Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, p. 152.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

Wilhelm von Bode, the director of the Berlin Museums – were all interested in new ways to comprehend decorative art. The reason Gadamer’s discussion on decorative art is particularly useful here is that it can include all these different approaches. What Gadamer emphasises is the interplay between the work of art and its environment, which is especially relevant when considering decorative arts. According to Gadamer, a decorative object is not primarily something by itself, but belongs to the presentation of a place where it is positioned. Thus, the meaning and value of decorative objects is determined by their relation to the artistic regime to which they belong. In the course of continual movements from one artistic regime to another, these objects metamorphose in accordance with their environments. When considering the nature of decorative art, Gadamer argues that the work of art is not an object of transcendental aesthetic experience, but an ontological event that occurs in a specific place and time. Thus, the varying interpretations of Chinese porcelain and Renaissance bronzes made by the three different artistic circles can be explained through consideration of the group’s particular approaches to decorative art.

Gadamer’s articulation of the aesthetic provides an innovative framework to interpret the reciprocity between the work of art and the space where it is found as well as illuminates Marks’s role as a cultural translator. If the work of art is inevitably related to its spatial, temporal and conceptual environments, the dealer has to “venture a leap” in order to displace the work of art from its original contexts into another.<sup>12</sup> How did the dealer invade strange territory and “break a code” to extract the meaning of the work of art? How did he manage to incorporate the work of art within new environments?<sup>13</sup> Gadamer’s view allows us to focus on the double process of deconstruction and reconstruction that is central in transferring a work of art from one environment to another; the dealer can thus be considered a translator.

In order to consider the way of being of a work of art, Gadamer employs the analogy of art as game or play (*Spiel*), which reveals the mechanism of the art world. Unlike Kant’s aesthetics that empowers the artist as a *genius* who is believed to be able to manifest the universal substance through his or her work of art, Gadamer does not assign an exceptionally important role to the artist. Instead, all participants – artists, viewers and dealers as well as the work of art itself – are considered partial elements constituting the whole process of the coming-to-presentation of being. Gadamer abandons the subjectivity-centred model of

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<sup>12</sup> Steiner, *After Babel*, p. 312.

<sup>13</sup> Steiner, *After Babel*, p. 314.

aesthetic experience, and breaks down the distinction between subject and object. Through the analogy of game, he sees that creating and understanding a work of art is a co-producing process.<sup>14</sup>

According to Gadamer, a game is only a game as it comes to pass through the players; likewise a work of art comes to take place through the viewers while it is being encountered. Yet once the player chooses which game he will give himself to, the fascination of the game casts a spell over the player and draws him into it, rather than is used for the player's own pleasure. The game and the work of art have their own dynamics and rules independent of the consciousnesses of those playing. The game and the work of art both "drive on to fulfilment, envelop the players in the service of a spirit larger than that of any one player."<sup>15</sup>

This analogy allows investigating how Chinese porcelain and Italian Renaissance bronzes were interpreted differently when they were encountered by various artistic circles. It will also illuminate the dealer's role within the wider cultural fields, which has been largely neglected in comparison with the significance of other players such as artists or collectors.

Gadamer's critique of historical consciousness demonstrates the continuation as well as innovation in Marks and his circles' interpretation of the work of art from the past. Drawing on Heidegger's analysis of the prestructure of understanding and of the intrinsic historicity of human existence, Gadamer argues that history is seen and understood always with reference to the present.<sup>16</sup> "The past is not like a pile of facts" separated from us in the present and future, but rather is "a stream in which we move and participate in every act of understanding."<sup>17</sup> Understanding is always functioning simultaneously in terms of past, present, and future. Thus, hermeneutical experience is a dialectic process of interaction between heritage in the form of a transmitted text and the horizon of the interpreter. This historicity of understanding will help to examine how Marks and his circles' contemporary practices reclaimed their own understanding of Chinese porcelain and Renaissance bronzes by broadening the horizon of the long history of reception of these objects.

The structure of historicity in understanding connotes the importance of application in relating the meaning of the work of art to the present.<sup>18</sup> However, the application does not

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<sup>14</sup> Steiner, *After Babel*, pp. 102-10.

<sup>15</sup> Palmer, *Hermeneutics*, p. 173.

<sup>16</sup> Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, pp. 267-98.

<sup>17</sup> Palmer, *Hermeneutics*, pp. 176-77.

<sup>18</sup> Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, pp. 306-10.

mean historical relativism, but is more equivalent to translation. Application is an attempt to come to grips with what seems foreign and “needs to be understood, but which can never be absolutely final.”<sup>19</sup> Perhaps this principle of application would give a framework to the concept of cultural translation.

Finally, Gadamer’s observation of linguisticity in the hermeneutical experience suggests an explanation for the reason why the linguistic concept, cultural translation, can be applied to the discussion of visual arts.<sup>20</sup> Under influence by his tutor Martin Heidegger who asserts that all art is essentially poetry,<sup>21</sup> Gadamer emphasises the fact that “experience, thinking, and understanding are linguistic through and through.”<sup>22</sup> According to him, language discloses our world. “Since the open space in which man exists is the realm of shared understanding created by language as world, man clearly exists in language.”<sup>23</sup> Thus, Gadamer’s conception of linguisticity in human understanding provides a rationale for bringing the linguistic term cultural translation into the visual arts.

## Primary Sources

Like many dealers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Marks’s account books and stock list do not seem to have survived. This is largely because his business partner from the late 1870s, Durlacher Brothers, destroyed their archives when they sold the firm to Askew in 1937. Nevertheless, there exist substantial amounts of archival sources which enable reconstruction of Marks’s career. The Marks file (MA/1/M826/1-2), the Durlacher Brothers file (MA/1/D1979/1-7) and the George Salting file (MA/1/S293) in the V&A archive which contain documents of Marks’s dealings with the South Kensington Museum offer useful materials for research into the subject. In particular, these files include a great amount of papers dated after 1880, a relatively unknown period when Marks dealt in Renaissance

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<sup>19</sup> Jean Grondin, ‘Gadamer’s Basic Understanding of Understanding,’ ed. Robert J. Dostal *The Cambridge Companion to Gadamer* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 43.

<sup>20</sup> Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, pp. 385-484.

<sup>21</sup> Martin Heidegger, ‘The Origin of the Work of Art’ (1935/6), trans. Albert Hofstadter, *Poetry, Language, Thought* (New York: Harper, 2001).

<sup>22</sup> Palmer, *Hermeneutics*, p. 203.

<sup>23</sup> Palmer, *Hermeneutics*, p. 206.

works of art. Marks's correspondences with Wilhelm von Bode in the Zentralarchiv of the Staatliche Museum Berlin (NL Bode 3541/1-5) are also essential materials to trace Marks's dealings in Renaissance bronzes from the late 1880s. In addition, the Durlacher file in the Morgan Library in New York is a source to reveal Marks's sales of Renaissance bronzes to J. P. Morgan. Another rich source is the two-volume special copy of the biography *Murray Marks and his friends* by Williamson with photographs, original letters and news clippings which was bequeathed by Marks's daughter, Mrs. Penryn Milsted in 1950 to the V&A library (RC.Q. 4-5). A further source, a group of letters from Rossetti,<sup>24</sup> Burne-Jones and Richard Norman Shaw in the Fitzwilliam Museum library, gives information about the Aesthetic artists' purchases of Chinese porcelains from Marks, Marks's commissions of paintings and his participation in the interior decoration of Frederick Leyland's house.

Three contemporary publications in which Marks was involved provide further primary sources. First, *A Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain forming the collection of Sir Henry Thompson illustrated by the autotype process from drawings by James Whistler Esq. and Sir Henry Thompson* (London, 1878) which Marks orchestrated will illuminate Marks's understanding of Chinese porcelain and his dealership with the Aesthetic circle. Second, Marks's connoisseurship of Italian Renaissance bronzes can be traced through Bode's three-volume book, *The Italian Statuettes of the Renaissance* (Berlin and London, 1907-12). Third, another work with Bode on the catalogue, *Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan: Bronzes of the Renaissance and subsequent periods* (Paris, 1910) reveals Marks's authority in this domain and his connection with the American millionaire collector.

In addition, because Marks was a frequent bidder at Christie's sales in London, the annotated sales catalogues from the 1860s onwards are useful materials to track down Marks's dealing items and to explore how the dealer's activities as an agent was related to the auction house. Furthermore, three posthumous sales catalogues of Marks's collection by Christie's offer a glimpse at the contents of Marks's own collection: *Objects of Art Faience and Decorative Furniture* (2-3 July 1918); *Old English & Foreign Silver* (4 July 1918); *Old Pictures Drawings and Prints* (5 July 1918).<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> 12 of 31 letters from Rossetti to Marks are published in eds. O. Doughty and J. R. Wall, *The Letters of D. G. Rossetti*, 4 vols. (London, 1967).

<sup>25</sup> There was a sale of Marks's collection of furniture and glass on 14 July 1916 by Knight, Frank & Rutley, but its sales catalogue was not found. See Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 176.



## Literature Review

Most of the obituaries written for Marks in May 1918 described him as a specialist in Renaissance bronzes;<sup>26</sup> yet today he is remembered above all as a leading dealer in Chinese porcelain of the late nineteenth century. In fact, these two different aspects of Marks represent his later and earlier periods respectively. Since the last century, however, emphasis has been placed on “Murray Marks, the blue and white dealer,” following the biography published one year after Marks’s decease by G. C. Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friend* (1919). Williamson devoted the majority of his biography to Marks’s trade in Chinese porcelain with celebrated Aesthetic artists such as D. G. Rossetti, E. Burne-Jones, and J. A. M. Whistler. The biography consists of eleven chapters, of which only three examine Marks’s activities outside the Aesthetic circle: Chapter One, ‘Murray Marks,’ gives a general description of his life; Chapter Ten depicts ‘The Green Room Club,’ the theatre association in which Marks was involved; and Chapter Eleven, ‘The Wax Bust,’ defends Marks for his role in the ‘Flora controversy,’ notorious among his contemporaries. Considering that the activity of a dealer is usually invisible beneath the collections in which he is involved, or scattered through the traffic of the art market, biographies of antiques and curiosity dealers are unsurprisingly rare; indeed, Williamson’s was exceptional at this time. The impact of this biography on shaping perceptions of Marks’s identity thus seems crucial.

It is unclear why Williamson focused on Marks’s “Blue China days,” leaving his thirty- to forty-year achievements in the market and study of Italian Renaissance bronzes unrecorded. When Marks’s daughter, Mrs. Penryn Milsted, commissioned the biography, the earlier period of the 1860s and 70s may have allowed Williamson the distance to make a proper historical evaluation. For example, the bibliography to which Williamson referred indicates that a number of studies of Aesthetic artists and collectors had already been published around the turn of the century.<sup>27</sup> However, Williamson must have noticed Marks’s significant role in forming first-rank collections of Italian Renaissance bronzes, as Williamson himself was

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<sup>26</sup> A newspaper clipping in the Murray Marks file (MA/1/M826/1-2), V&A archives.

<sup>27</sup> G. C. Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends* (London & New York: John Lane, 1919), p. xvii.

involved with a circle of Marks's later clients, in particular J. P. Morgan and Bode.<sup>28</sup> Why then did Williamson omit this impressive aspect of Marks's life? His decision to pursue an unbalanced investigation was probably a considered one, made in the light of contemporary public response to a London dealer's trading with international collectors. Along with Anglo-German antagonism due to the First World War, the 'Flora controversy' of 1910 had also highlighted a negative British reaction to Bode's successful purchases for Berlin from the London art market. In 1912, the American collector J.P. Morgan, with whom nobody could compete in the European art market, shipped his entire collection, including Renaissance bronzes on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, to New York. Williamson may have decided to keep silent about Marks's later trading activity, which could be interpreted as collaboration with the general director of the Berlin Museums, or as assisting the exodus of European treasures to the United States.

However, Clive Wainwright's 2002 article, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuff: Murray Marks, connoisseur and curiosity dealer,' introduces Marks in a more balanced viewpoint. Wainwright considers Marks as an important figure in the art market between the 1860s and 1918 surveying not only already known aspects but his association with the Victoria and Albert Museum and his trade in Italian Renaissance bronzes with George Salting, J. P. Morgan and Bode. Jeremy Warren's article, 'Bode and the British' which presents Marks's relationship with Bode in the context of the contemporary art market, is another rare piece of literature regarding his dealing in Renaissance objects.<sup>29</sup> In her article on the transaction of Morgan's bronzes to Henry Frick, Flaminia Gennari-Santori examines the significant role of Marks's connoisseurship in shaping Morgan's collection of Renaissance bronzes.<sup>30</sup>

A number of studies illuminate Marks as a prominent dealer in the rise of the market for Chinese blue and white porcelain of the late nineteenth century. In the chapter, 'Siegfried Bing, Murray Marks and their oriental friends', of his book on *The Rise of the Modern Art*

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<sup>28</sup> Williamson was one of the authors of the catalogue of Morgan's collection, a project in which Marks also participated on the part of Renaissance bronzes, with Bode; G. C. Williamson, *Catalogue of the Collection of Miniatures, the Property of J. Pierpont Morgan* (London, 1906-8), G. C. Williamson, *Catalogue of the Collection of Jewels and Precious Works of Art the Property of J. Pierpont Morgan* (London, 1910) and G. C. Williamson, *Catalogue of the Collection of Watches, the Property of J. Pierpont Morgan* (London, 1912). In addition, the correspondence between Williamson and Bode between 1903 and 1914 indicates their shared knowledge of art gained through reading each other's books. G. C. Williamson, MS papers, Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (NL Bode 5913).

<sup>29</sup> Jeremy Warren, 'Bode and the British,' *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, vol. 38 (1996), pp. 121-42.

<sup>30</sup> Flaminia Gennari-Santori, "'I was to have all the finest,'" Renaissance Bronzes from J. Pierpont Morgan to Henry Frick,' *Journal of History of Collections*, vol. 22, no. 2 (2010), pp. 307-24.

*Market*, Peter Watson introduces Marks as a dealer who supplied oriental objects to the Aesthetic artists, in parallel with his French counterparts.<sup>31</sup> The unpublished MA dissertation by Kimberly E. Kostival, *The London Trade in Chinese Blue and White Porcelain in the 1860s and 1870s: exploring the activities of the dealer Murray Marks 1840-1918*, explores Marks's dealings in Chinese blue and white porcelain and his involvement with the Aesthetic circle, using a number of Christie's annotated sale catalogues.<sup>32</sup> While these two substantial studies explore Marks's innovation in the market for Chinese porcelain in full detail, Gerald Reitlinger<sup>33</sup> and Bevis Hillier<sup>34</sup> describe Marks as an exceptionally cultured dealer in their discussion of the fashion for Chinese porcelain in the art market. In her PhD thesis on Duveen's, Charlotte Vignon also notes Marks's contribution to the development of the art market. She argues that Marks set the standard of decorating commercial art galleries in London, which enormously influenced Duveen Brothers' marketing strategies.<sup>35</sup>

Some writings on the Aesthetic movement consider Marks to be one of the key figures in the circle. Dianne Sachko Macleod explains the characteristic of Marks's *modus operandi* in trying to understand his clients' deepest desires and to express them through their collections. Macleod argues that it is for that reason that Marks was preferred to other dealers in this group.<sup>36</sup> The Walker Art Gallery exhibition catalogue, *Dante Gabrielle Rossetti* describes Marks as a main supplier of oriental objects and antiquities for decorating the Aesthetic artists' studios.<sup>37</sup> Robin Spencer reveals Marks's wide network within this group and his interest in interior decoration and design through the unrealized attempt to found a fine art company by William Morris and Marks in the late 1860s.<sup>38</sup>

Marks's later engagement in interior design is described in a number of writings on the celebrated Peacock Room in Leyland's London house at 49 Prince's Gate. Researches into

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<sup>31</sup> Peter Watson, *From Manet to Manhattan: The Rise of the Modern Art Market* (London: Random House Inc., 1992), pp. 107-30.

<sup>32</sup> Kimberly E. Kostival, 'The London Trade in Chinese Blue and White Porcelain in the 1860s and 1870s: exploring the activities of the dealer Murray Marks 1840-1918', Sotheby's Institute, London, MA, 1996.

<sup>33</sup> Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste: The Rise and Fall of Objets d'Art Prices since 1750*, vol. 2 (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1963), pp.203-4 and p.207.

<sup>34</sup> Bevis Hillier, *Pottery and Porcelain 1700-1914* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968), p. 210.

<sup>35</sup> Charlotte Vignon, 'London-New York-Paris: Le Commerce d'Objets d'Art du Duveen Frères entre 1880 et 1940,' Université Paris-Sorbonne, PhD, 2010.

<sup>36</sup> Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art & Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1996), pp. 313-14.

<sup>37</sup> Julian Treuherz, Elizabeth Prettejohn and Edwin Becker *Dante Gabrielle Rossetti* (London and New York: Thames &Hudson, 2003), pp. 233-34.

<sup>38</sup> Robin Spencer, *The Aesthetic Movement: Theory and Practice* (London: Littlehampton Book Services Ltd, 1972), p. 51.

the architects Thomas Jeckyll<sup>39</sup> and Richard Norman Shaw,<sup>40</sup> who participated in this project, record that through Marks these architects were introduced to Leyland. M. Susan Duval's biography of Leyland<sup>41</sup> and Lionel Lambourne's *The Aesthetic Movement*<sup>42</sup> emphasize Marks's contribution to the decoration. Charlotte Gere's *The House Beautiful* considers Marks as a key figure in the fashion of blue and white porcelain for the interiors decorated in the style of *japonisme*.<sup>43</sup> David Park Curry's *James McNeill Whistler*<sup>44</sup> and the magisterial work, *The Peacock Room* by Linda Merrill<sup>45</sup> argue that Marks intended to decorate this dining room in the style of seventeenth-century Dutch *Porzellankammer*.

Marks's contribution to the rise of the fashion for Chinese blue and white porcelain is often depicted in studies on Chinese ceramics. In her book on the history of reception of Chinese ceramics in Britain, Stacey Pierson explores how Marks and the Aesthetic circle rediscovered 'blue china' and examines Marks's catalogue project of Thompson's collection.<sup>46</sup> Anne Anderson's article on *chinamania* also describes Marks as a preferred dealer by the Aesthetic artists.<sup>47</sup> When Elizabeth Hope Chang investigates the fashion for Chinese blue and white porcelain within the Aesthetic Movement in relation to the expansion of the British Empire, she notes Marks's leading role in the trend.<sup>48</sup>

More recently, Jacqueline Yallop's book on collecting in the Victorian era, *Magpies, Squirrels & Thieves*, spares three chapters for Marks, exploring his celebrated involvement with the Aesthetic circle and the Flora controversy.<sup>49</sup> Although it is difficult to use this book

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<sup>39</sup> Susan Weber Soros & Catherine Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll: Architect and Designer, 1827-1881* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp.43-45, pp. 190-94 and p. 197.

<sup>40</sup> Andrew Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 152-53.

<sup>41</sup> M. Susan Duval, 'F. R. Leyland: A Maecenas from Liverpool,' *Apollo*, vol. 294 (August 1986), pp. 113-15.

<sup>42</sup> Lionel Lambourne, *The Aesthetic Movement* (London: Phaidon, 1996), pp. 50-54.

<sup>43</sup> Charlotte Gere with Lesley Hoskins, *The House Beautiful: Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Interior* (London: Lund Humphries Publishers Ltd, 2000), pp. 46-47 and p. 62.

<sup>44</sup> David Park Curry, *James McNeill Whistler at the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington D.C.: W. W. Norton & Co Inc., 1984), pp. 53-57

<sup>45</sup> Linda Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 169-77.

<sup>46</sup> Stacey Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums: The Field of Chinese Ceramics in Britain, 1560-1960* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 64-77.

<sup>47</sup> Anne Anderson, "'Chinamania': Collecting Old Blue for the House Beautiful, c. 1860-1900,' eds. John Potvin and Alla Myzelev, *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meaning and Pleasures of Collecting* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), p. 112.

<sup>48</sup> Elizabeth Hope Chang, *Britain's Chinese Eye: Literature, Empire, and Aesthetics in Nineteenth-century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), pp. 106-7.

<sup>49</sup> Jacqueline Yallop, *Magpies, Squirrels & Thieves: How the Victorians Collected the World* (London: Atlantic Books, 2011), pp. 257-312.

as a reference due to some errors in basic information and a number of conclusive remarks on ambiguous points without any evidence, those chapters are beautifully written with a touch of imagination.

## Scope and Structure

The thesis investigates the period between ca. 1860 and 1918. It is not known exactly when Marks got involved in the art trade, but Christie's annotated catalogues demonstrates that Marks entered the business even before he opened his own shop in 1864. In March 1862, Marks purchased several pieces of Chinese porcelain and other East Asian objects at the sale of Robert Fortune's collection formed during his visit to China and Japan, held at Christie's in London:

(First Day's Sale: On Monday, March 31, 1862)

[Porcelain]

- lot 89 A paroquet, in turquoise – on dark-purple stand - 8¾ in. (Marks, 6.12.6)
- lot 104 A SUPERB INCENSE BURNER, with upright handles and on feet, with lions' masks, the whole of the bowl and cover with dragons and ornaments in relief, and surmounted by a kylin – on elaborately carved stand - 15¾ in. *Believed to be the most brilliant specimen of turquoise porcelain ever brought to England* (Marks, 31.10)

[Ancient Japan Lacquer]

- lot 105 A pair of red stands, with birds in gold (Marks, 0.19)
- lot 118 A red and gold box, with two figures in a landscape (Marks, 1.2)

(Second Day's Sale: On Tuesday, April 1, 1862)

[Porcelain]

- lot 222 AN OLD GREY CRACKLE VASE, with masks and bands of bronze ornaments – on carved stand - 15¾ in. (Marks, 4.17.6)

[Ancient Japan Lacquer]

- lot 261 A LARGER DITTO, with landscapes in gold, on red and gold ground (Marks, 2.4)
- lot 279 A beautiful square ditto [tray], with bamboo plants (Marks, 1.15).<sup>50</sup>

On the other hand, Marks was in business until his decease in 1918, in particular, by discussing his loans and donations to the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>51</sup>

As the title indicates, my discussion will focus on Chinese porcelain and Renaissance bronzes among many items Marks dealt in. Newly discovered archival materials reveal that Renaissance bronzes were another central area of Marks's expertise, together with Chinese porcelain which was already explored in Williamson's biography. Moreover, these archival materials from various sources provide important insights into Marks's career. After examining these materials, I propose that there occurred two major drastic shifts throughout his professional life in accordance with the change of his clients. Wainwright's article also emphasised Marks's influence on different types of artistic circles, major museums and collectors, but neither included a large part of the relevant archival materials nor suggested an interpretative frame. Exploring previously neglected archival materials, I will take a theoretical approach to the subject at the same time. Drawing on Gadamer's emphasis on the interplay between the work of art and the subject, Marks's transfer of Chinese porcelain and Renaissance bronzes into various artistic circles will be mapped out on a chronological basis, according to the different stages of his career. I divide Marks's trading period into three parts: first, the early period, from the 1860s until 1880, when Marks was engaged with the British Aesthetic circle; second, his dealings with the South Kensington Museum and George Salting from the late 1870s onwards; and third, his later cataloguing projects of Italian

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<sup>50</sup> Christie's, *Catalogue of Ancient Porcelain, Enamels, and Lacquer Work, Formed during his Recent Visit to China and Japan, that Well-Known Traveler Robert Fortune, Esq.* (London, 31 and a following day, March 1862).

<sup>51</sup> The Murray Marks File (MA/1/M826/1–2), V&A Archives.

Renaissance bronzes with Wilhelm von Bode from around 1888 onwards. The three parts are subdivided into four chapters.

Chapter One will examine Marks's dealings in Chinese blue and white porcelain with the Aesthetic circle through Martin Heidegger's phenomenology. The Opium Wars will be suggested as the peculiar historical background of this circle's craze for Chinese porcelain. Then the Aesthetic circle's collecting and application of Chinese porcelain will be discussed. Marks's interaction with this circle and his appropriation of the Aesthetic Movement to his own business will be illuminated through the remodelling of his shop at 395 Oxford Street and the exhibition of Thompson's porcelain which was held there. The original aspect of the accompanying catalogue to the exhibition will be interpreted by phenomenology.

Chapter Two will continue discussing Marks's dealings with the Aesthetic circle, by focusing on the remodelling of F. R. Leyland's new London residence, 49 Prince's Gate, in the late 1870s. Creating this space will be interpreted as building a world in Heideggerian terms, and the space will be defined as the attuned space in its relationship to the subject. Then I will examine how Marks became involved in shaping the collection, design and display. The Drawing Room and the Peacock Room will be taken as examples to show that 49 Prince's Gate is located within the continuities of *chinoiserie*. For the main feature of *chinoiserie*, the hybrid of the theme of China with various European styles will be explored. Then I will argue that 49 Prince's Gate was the prelude to the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century widespread crossover between Chinese and Italian Renaissance art in collecting, display and art-historical studies.

In Chapter Three, the shift of Marks's business around 1880 will be investigated. Although it seems that the exact reason of the change is unknown, I will suggest possible ones and analyse how Marks reconfigured his business. Marks's next step will be explored with a focus on his increasing dealings in Renaissance sculpture with the South Kensington Museum and George Salting. I will discuss the symbiotic relationship between the dealer, the museum and the collector, by using archival sources in the V&A Archives.

Chapter Four will examine Marks's dealings in Renaissance bronzes with the Berlin Museums director, Wilhelm von Bode. In order to understand their project of cataloguing bronzes, the movements of bronzes from London to Berlin will be examined. Then I will discuss how Bode's approach to the subject differed from the South Kensington Museum's interpretation. By analysing Schopenhauerian aesthetics which underlies their catalogue, I

will argue why Marks's connoisseurship played a decisive role in this project. From the same philosophical background, Bode's period rooms, or style rooms, in the Keiser Friedrich Museum will be defined as epistemological space. Also, Marks's dealings in bronzes with J. P. Morgan will be examined. From the sale of the Pfungst collection to Morgan, I will trace how Morgan's collection of bronzes had been formed by Marks's hands during the first decade of the twentieth century. Examining Bode and Marks's cataloguing project of Morgan's bronzes and the display of the collection at the Loan Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum, this chapter will demonstrate how Morgan's collection synthesised Bode and Marks's interpretation of the subject.

The analysis of Marks's involvement with various artistic regimes will illuminate the art dealer's contribution to the process of constructing new meanings and values from Chinese porcelain and Italian Renaissance bronzes. From a macro-perspective, this approach will also shed light on the processes of creation and collection within the contemporary art market, along with art-historical and display practices. The growth of the art market in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was intrinsically linked to the saturation of capitalism. In an increasingly bourgeois democracy, new trends in artistic production and patronage began to emerge, along with a shift in social classes of collectors, the increasing commodification of art, and the foundation of public museums. Marks was at the centre of these dynamic processes, which have shaped mechanisms and structures of the modern art world. Every important step during his career reflects both the evolution of the London art market and its relation to other archetypal actors, institutions and norms in the art world.



## Chapter One. The Aesthetic Dealer

### Thing, Empire and the Work of Art

I characterise Marks's dealings in the 1860s and 1870s as 'Aesthetic' to designate Marks's close association with the British Aesthetic Movement: as a label in the conventional sense. The popularised name 'Aesthetic Movement' was coined by the British art critics of the late nineteenth century who used the vocabulary adopted from the German tradition of philosophical aesthetics.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the German aesthetics of the time and the British Aesthetic Movement share some similarities. Both raised questions about the nature of the work of art, its potential autonomy, and of beauty. However, when the issue is narrowed down to the decorative arts, their approaches seem significantly different, or contradictory. In the British Aesthetic Movement, the decorative arts played a crucial role. For many protagonists of the movement, such as William Morris, Albert Moore and Edward Burne-Jones, the decorative arts were an important component of their creation. This particular aspect of the Aesthetic Movement largely overlaps with the 'Arts and Crafts Movement' in art-historical narratives. On the other hand, influential thinkers of the German aesthetics for the generation, such as Kant, Hegel and Schopenhauer, made the hierarchical distinction between fine and decorative arts. In these philosophers' works, the hierarchy was systematised by the classification of the arts, and the decorative arts were depreciated accordingly.<sup>2</sup> Despite the close affiliation between the British Aesthetic Movement and the contemporary German aesthetics, it is necessary to examine the importance of the decorative arts within the Aesthetic Movement using other theoretical viewpoints. In particular, since Marks's association with this artistic movement was related chiefly to the

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<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake: Aestheticism in Victorian Painting* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp.3-6.

<sup>2</sup> Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgement*, trans. James Creed Meredith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), §51-53, pp. 149-59; Georg W. F. Hegel, *Introductory Lectures on Aesthetics*, trans. Bernard Bosanquet (London: Penguin Books, 1993), Chapter V, pp. 76-97; Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, trans. E. F. J. Payne, vol. 2 (New York, 1969), Chapters XXXV-XXXIX, pp. 411-57.

decorative arts, I suggest an alternative mode of questioning, which draws on Martin Heidegger's hermeneutical phenomenology.

Although Heidegger's writings on art which began to appear from the 1930s are chronologically much later than the British Aesthetic Movement, they can still provide a relevant critique. This is because Heidegger's discussion of art is within the continuities of the German aesthetic tradition and his thoughts are in fact a critical response to Kantian aesthetics.<sup>3</sup> Heidegger's criticism of Kantian aesthetics is based on his fundamental turn from the Cartesian *cogito*. The history of modern European philosophy had been developed under influence of Descartes's subjectivism. Yet, in his 1927 work *Being and Time*, Heidegger made a radical claim that the existential features of a human individual is being-in-the-world, not divorced from the world.<sup>4</sup> From this ontological stance, Heidegger unfolds a different philosophy of art from Kantian aesthetics which placed art opposite to the subject, as an object to be contemplated from a distance and ultimately controlled at will.<sup>5</sup> For Heidegger, "world is never an object that stands before us and can be contemplated."<sup>6</sup> World is the backdrop of our life, and it is through the work of art that world discloses.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the work of art is not a represented object, but a truth-event which sets up a world.<sup>8</sup> Heidegger's accounts of being-in-the-world and of the function of art, in fact, echo Aesthetic artists' poetics of the everyday. Their practices have been attacked by many critics for "advocating an escape into that 'unreal' aesthetic universe" or for reducing all reality to individual sensation.<sup>9</sup> However, if we see their works from the Heideggerian ontological stance, such poems as *The Earthly Paradise* or their building the *House Beautiful* can be interpreted as the practice to bring the quotidian life-world (*Lebenswelt*) into its presence through poetry or art.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Kai Hammermeister, *The German Aesthetic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 173-89.

<sup>4</sup> Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (San Francisco: Wiley-Blackwell, 1962), §18-21, pp. 114-34.

<sup>5</sup> Heidegger, *Being and Time*; Hammermeister, *The German Aesthetic Tradition*, p. 178.

<sup>6</sup> Heidegger, *Being and Time*, §41.

<sup>7</sup> Heidegger, *Being and Time*; Martin Heidegger, 'The Origin of the Work of Art (1935/6)', *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper & Row, 1971).

<sup>8</sup> Heidegger, 'The Origin of the Work of Art.'

<sup>9</sup> Jonathan Loesberg, *Aestheticism and Deconstruction: Pater, Derrida, and de Man* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 3-4.

<sup>10</sup> William Morris, *The Earthly Paradise*, ed. Florence Boos (London: Routledge, 2002); Clarence Cook, *The House Beautiful: Essays on Beds and Tables, Stools and Candlesticks* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895); Charlotte Gere with Lesley Hoskins, *The House Beautiful*.

As he sees being and world as a constellation of entanglements, in his discussion of art Heidegger does not draw a distinction between fine and decorative arts.<sup>11</sup> This is the main reason why Heidegger's ontology of art seems a more appropriate framework to understand Marks's dealings with the Aesthetic circle than the many rigorous attempts to investigate the decorative arts in mid-nineteenth century Britain (e.g. works by A. W. N. Pugin, John Ruskin and Owen Jones).<sup>12</sup> Heidegger is not concerned with the classification of the arts that would speak about kinds of arts rather than art itself. This tendency accords with that of Marks and Aesthetic artists who embraced various genres of the arts from different times and different cultures. Their practices are difficult to reduce into the realm of modern aesthetics, but are more similar to Heidegger's approach to art that traces back to the Greek sense of art as *τέχνη* which included crafts, trades and skills in the concept of art.<sup>13</sup>

Moreover, as much as the enchanting materiality is observed in Aesthetic artists' works, Heidegger's philosophy of art develops from the analysis of a 'thingly' component of the work of art.<sup>14</sup> For Heidegger, 'things' are distinguished from 'objects.' He uses the term 'object' to describe the interpretation of the thing in Western metaphysics: particularly in the Kantian thought, he says, the thing "becomes the object of a representing that runs its

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<sup>11</sup> Philip Tonner, 'Art, Materiality, and the Meaning of Being: Heidegger on the Work of Art and the Significance of Things,' eds. Amanda Boetzkes and Aron Vinegar, *Heidegger and the Work of Art History* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 130-31.

<sup>12</sup> For the discussion of the decorative arts in nineteenth-century Britain, see E. H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (London: Phaidon, 1979), pp. 33-59; David Brett, *Rethinking Decoration: Pleasure & Ideology in the Visual Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 105-55; and Debra Schafer, *The Order of Ornament, the Structure of Style: Theoretical Foundations of Modern Art and Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 15-31.

<sup>13</sup> Martin Heidegger, 'The Origin of the Work of Art,' pp. 56-57.

<sup>14</sup> Heidegger, 'The Origin of the Work of Art,' pp. 20-39; Tonner, pp. 130-31; and Julie Codell, 'Exotic, Fetish, Virtual: Visual Excesses in Victorian Painting,' ed. Julia Skelly, *The Uses of Excess in Visual and Material Culture, 1600-2010* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 89-110.

In 'The Origin of the Work of Art,' Heidegger discusses three major analyses of thing in traditional metaphysics: the classical concept, *ens* (Greek) or *res* (Latin); empiricism's concept as entities of sensation and perception; and the interpretation that the object consists of matter and form. Aestheticism's understanding of thing is often discussed within the context of the empiricist approach, one of the three traditional interpretations in Heidegger's examination. For instance, Walter Pater's accounts of thing in the 'Conclusion' to *The Renaissance* are based on empiricism. However, as Pater points out a contradiction in the empiricist interpretation of thing, his attempt to find appropriate foundational rules in empiricism seems to have failed. See Heidegger, 'The Origin of the Work of Art,' pp. 20-39; Walter Pater, *The Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 150-53; and Loesberg, *Aestheticism and Deconstruction*, p. 7.

course in the self-consciousness of the human ego.”<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, Heidegger elaborates his concept of ‘thing’ by questioning the nature of nearness. According to him, what brings nearness is not abridging or abolishing of distances which frequently occurs by the development of technology today.<sup>16</sup> Rather, it is more like ‘de-distancing’: “De-distancing means making distance disappear, making the being at a distance of something disappear, bringing it near. Dasein is essentially de-distancing. As the being that it is, it lets beings be encountered in nearness.”<sup>17</sup> In his later work, Heidegger explains de-distancing through an earthen jug nearby. He depicts how the jug brings the being near, by noting that the jug gathers the fourfold of earth and sky, divinities and mortals, in their remoteness.<sup>18</sup> Nearness is at work insofar as the fourfold is united in the ‘thing’ by mirroring “their own presencing into simple belonging to one another.”<sup>19</sup> “This appropriating mirror-play of the simple onefold of earth and sky, divinities and mortals,” Heidegger calls the *world*.<sup>20</sup> Thus, when Heidegger discusses the ‘thingly’ nature of the work of art, it is in a different context from the traditional belief that the work of art is composed of matter and form. For Heidegger, the work of art contains the thingly component which brings the fourfold together and sets up a world.<sup>21</sup>

Although the world discloses through things, Heidegger also claims that the being of things does not emerge into visibility at all, because things are always partly withdrawn into shadow, and stretch far beyond human use or perception.<sup>22</sup> The unseen, inexhaustible depth of things, Heidegger calls *earth*.<sup>23</sup> According to him, it is in the work of art that the strife between earth and world is best seen.<sup>24</sup> In the great work of art, there is an ongoing struggle

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<sup>15</sup> Martin Heidegger, ‘The Thing’, eds. Fiona Candlin and Raiford Guins, *The Object Reader* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 119-20.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. Joan Stambaugh (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010), p. 102.

<sup>18</sup> Heidegger, ‘The Thing,’ pp. 120-21.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Heidegger, ‘The Thing,’ p. 121.

<sup>21</sup> Heidegger, ‘The Origin of the Work of Art,’ pp. 20-39.

<sup>22</sup> Graham Harman, *Heidegger Explained: From Phenomenon to Thing* (Chicago: Open Court, 2007), p. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Heidegger, ‘The Origin of the Work of Art,’ p. 55

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. Heidegger argues that it is because the work of art has usually non-utility unlike tools or equipment. In ‘The Origin of the Work of Art’ he attempts to distinguish artistic creation from craft. This is reminiscent of Kant’s aesthetics, and might challenge the status of the decorative arts. However, his distinction between creation and craft, and of the thing, the tool and the work of art seems very flexible. Heidegger opens the possibility of the tool’s capacity to set up a world: for instance, when the usefulness of a tool erodes. By the same token, he also warns that the work of art would lose its

between concealing and unconcealing (that is, earth and world): this is the happening of truth.<sup>25</sup> Heidegger explains, “the essence of truth, i.e. of unconcealedness, is shot through with refusal.”<sup>26</sup> This strife of earth and world in the work of art is not an unbridgeable rift, but more like an internal kinetic energy moving towards self-perfection: “In the essential strife the opponents raise each other into self-realisation of their essence... In the strife each carries the other beyond itself.”<sup>27</sup> The endless tension between concealing and unconcealing within the work of art does not allow the possibility of any definite interpretation: thus the truth in the work of art always remains enigmatic.<sup>28</sup>

Perhaps Heidegger’s meditation on the thing, the work of art and the truth-event would resolve questions within this chapter about the sudden fashion in Chinese blue and white porcelain in Britain of the 1860s and 70s. How did these forgotten things emerge into visibility? Why did the Aesthetic circle and Marks play a crucial role in shaping this fashion? What did Chinese blue and white porcelain bring to them in this particular period?

There exists substantial scholarly literature which describes this fashion in Chinese blue and white porcelain in late nineteenth-century Britain. Most of them categorise this phenomenon as a part of *japonisme* seen in the Aesthetic Movement or the Arts and Crafts Movement. In my view, this seems inadequate not simply because they indicate the country of origin incorrectly, but also because they overshadow the particular aspect of the British Aesthetic Movement by drawing on a twentieth-century art historiography which is preoccupied with French modernism. Although Japanese elements are clearly seen in Aesthetic artists’ works, it is questionable whether their influence was as important as Japanese woodblock print *ukiyo-e* was for French Impressionism. Also, in the Aesthetic

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essence when it becomes an object in the art business or a connoisseur’s object. (In this sense, Heidegger values Kant’s concept of disinterestedness in the aesthetic experience. See Heidegger, ‘Kant’s Doctrine of the Beautiful. Its Misinterpretation by Schopenhauer and Nietzsche,’ *Nietzsche: The Will to Power as Art* (1961), trans. David Farrell Krell, vol. 1 (San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1991), p. 109. Furthermore, in his later essay ‘The Thing’, Heidegger reads the bringing forth of a being in the very function of the jug, the outpouring of liquid, and claims that the *world worlds* through the thing. Therefore, I focus on Heidegger’s discussion of the thing and of the thingly element of the work of art rather than his attempt to differentiate the tool with the work of art. See Heidegger, ‘The Origin of the Work of Art,’ pp. 56-58 and Heidegger, ‘The Thing’, p. 117.

<sup>25</sup> Heidegger, ‘The Origin of the Work of Art,’ pp. 39-57.

<sup>26</sup> Heidegger, ‘The Origin of the Work of Art,’ p. 53; Hammermeister, *The German Aesthetic Tradition*, p. 183.

<sup>27</sup> Heidegger, ‘The Origin of the Work of Art,’ p. 58; Hammermeister, *The German Aesthetic Tradition*, p. 183.

<sup>28</sup> Heidegger, ‘The Origin of the Work of Art,’ p. 54.

Movement, Japanese was one of the various sources of inspiration which included Old English, Islamic, Chinese, Classical and Renaissance. Then why do art historians use the term *japonisme* vaguely to call all the East Asian elements in the Aesthetic Movement which include the European's centuries-long passion, Chinese porcelain? Along with the relative novelty of Japanese elements, this art-historical discourse reflects the European's contrasting attitudes towards Japan and China which were formed during the colonial period. As a matter of fact, most literature on the craze for Chinese porcelain within the Aesthetic Movement overlooks the significance of the major historical event, the Opium Wars, which caused a decisive rupture with the former European vision of China.<sup>29</sup> For me, it seems that the fashion in Chinese porcelain within the Aesthetic Movement, namely *chinamania*,<sup>30</sup> needs to be examined within the context of the long history of the European reception of Chinese porcelain rather than *japonisme*. If the Opium Wars changed China from a celestial empire to a colonial subject in Europeans' minds, what drove *chinamania* in post-Opium War Britain? What are the differences between the *chinamania* in the colonial period and previous ones?

Some studies have linked the expansion of the British Empire to the changes in material culture at the imperial centre.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, the flow of myriads of material in the age of empire stimulated collecting, display and consumer culture in Britain. However, how can we understand the artistic response to the movements of things, in particular, when it shows little interest in the geopolitics of empire? Even though the Aesthetic Movement is generally characterised as political quietism, the circle's adoption of these things was grounded in the

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<sup>29</sup> By contrast, many studies of *chinoiserie* and Chinese ceramics describe the impact of the war on collecting and artistic practices, e.g. Stacey Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums: The Field of Chinese Ceramics in Britain, 1560-1960* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 52-60; Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay* (London: J. Murray, 1961), p. 200; Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie: The Impact of Oriental Styles on Western Art and Decoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

<sup>30</sup> Daniel Defoe referred to Queen Mary's enthusiasm for collecting ceramics by *chinamania*. For a brief history of *chinamania* in Britain, see Lars Tharp, 'China Mania: "Too Utterly Utter" – An Essay on Hidden Value,' *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, Vol. 77 (2012-2013), pp. 13-23; The term *chinamania* became more popular since George du Maurier used it for a series of cartoons in *Punch* from 1874. Linda Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography* (Washington D.C. and London: Freer Gallery of Art/Yale University Press, 1998), p. 170.

<sup>31</sup> For example, see Elizabeth Hope Chang, *Britain's Chinese Eye: Literature, Empire, and Aesthetics in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010); Partha Mitter and Craig Clunas, 'The Empire of Things: Engagement with the Orient,' eds. Malcolm Baker and Brenda Richardson, *A Grand Design: The Art of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A, 1997), pp. 221-73; eds. Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998); Yallop, *Magpies, Squirrels & Thieves*; Amira Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

wider historical and political situations of the British Empire, and had significant impact on British society. Perhaps their interpretation of these things was close to what Heidegger suggests: art is the “telos of historical existence.” It was often through the artistic creation that these migrated things were most appreciated, adapted to their new environment and finally localised.<sup>32</sup> If the accumulation of the things from the far reaches of the British Empire represented the disjunctive unity of the transnational globe, then what Aesthetic artists attempted to do with these things might be bringing them near, not just by abolishing of physical distances, but by ‘de-distancing,’ that is to say, by drawing their being into visibility.<sup>33</sup>

What was Aesthetic artists’ particular mode of de-distancing then? It was their emphasis on the poetic ambience or mood that brought an eclectic cocktail of fragmentary things into the harmonious ensemble. The mood was a condition of possibility that allowed these things to be grounded in the world that was set up through their works of art. Heidegger also articulates the importance of mood or feeling in our relation to the world.<sup>34</sup> For both the Aesthetic circle and Heidegger, mood does not mean a subjective emotion, but rather a fundamental attunement to the world. According to Heidegger, mood is essential not only to our sense of being in the world, but also “to our sense of what the world can offer us.”<sup>35</sup> Things are able to “matter” to us “in a way which its moods have outlined in advance.”<sup>36</sup> In the Aesthetic Movement, thus, things were able to appear significant by the artistic space of mood-constituted possibilities.

In his essay ‘The Origin of the Work of Art,’ Heidegger argues that mood is more “intelligently perceptive and open to Being” than other modes of reason and reasoning.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, his philosophy of art neither degrades the mode of artistic creation under conceptual reasoning, nor models after mathematics or natural sciences. When he questions the origin of the work of art, he pays attention to the vicious circle which occurred from that

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<sup>32</sup> Hammermeister, *The German Aesthetic Tradition*, p. 185.

<sup>33</sup> Peter Osborne, *Anywhere or Not at All: Philosophy of Contemporary Art* (London: Verso, 2013), pp. 22-28.

<sup>34</sup> Heidegger, ‘The Origin of the Work of Art,’ pp. 24-25; Heidegger, *Being and Time* § 29.

<sup>35</sup> Matthew Ratcliffe, ‘Why Mood Matters,’ ed. Mark A. Wrathall, *The Cambridge Companion to Heidegger’s Being and Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 161.

<sup>36</sup> Heidegger, *Being and Time* 137; Ratcliffe, pp. 161-63.

<sup>37</sup> Heidegger, ‘The Origin of the Work of Art,’ pp. 24-25; Amanda Boetzkes and Aron Vinegar, ‘Introduction,’ eds. Amanda Boetzkes and Aron Vinegar, *Heidegger and the Work of Art History* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), p. 17.

question: the origin of the work of art-artist-work-artist-work..., and the nature of art-the work of art-art-work-art... Heidegger does not avoid this circle which violates logic, but attempts to create circles in this circle because it is the hermeneutical circle which is essential to understanding.<sup>38</sup> In the process of understanding, “the circle as a whole defines the individual part, and the parts together form the circle.”<sup>39</sup> This hermeneutical circle would also allow incorporation of the principles of the Aesthetic Movement: “the appropriating mirror-play of the simple onefold” of fragmentary things rather than an eclectic assemblage.<sup>40</sup> In this way, Heidegger’s hermeneutical phenomenology opens the possibility to affirm art’s autonomy which operates by its own rules and modes distinguished from pure logic. From these perspectives, this chapter will explore how Marks and the Aesthetic circle integrated the particular thing, Chinese blue and white porcelain, into the world which was disclosed through their artistic creation.

### **Movements of Chinese Artefacts during the Opium Wars**

When Marks was born, in 1840, Britain was in the middle of war with China. This war had been caused by Britain’s increasingly tense political relationship with China surrounding trade imbalance in the 1830s.<sup>41</sup> From the second half of the eighteenth century, Chinese goods were in demand in Britain while British goods were not much sought after in China. As the Chinese would accept only silver as an exchange, the British had to trade other commodities in order to maintain a favourable balance of trade. For this reason, the British East India Company become involved in the illegal trade of opium which was already in demand in China. This illegal trade caused the so-called First Opium War of 1839-1842.<sup>42</sup> The war was thoroughly reported in the British press, influencing the British public’s antagonism

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<sup>38</sup> Heidegger, ‘The Origin of the Work of Art,’ pp. 17-18.

<sup>39</sup> Palmer, *Hermeneutics*, p. 87.

<sup>40</sup> Heidegger, ‘The Thing.’

<sup>41</sup> Catherine Pagoni, ‘Chinese Material Culture and British Perception of China in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,’ eds. Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 29.

<sup>42</sup> Julia Lovell, *The Opium War: Drugs, Dreams and the Making of China* (London: Picador, 2011), pp. 1-240.



towards China.<sup>43</sup> While the former European vision of China as a land of fantasy began to dissolve, British victory in the war brought about a more generous attitude towards Chinese art.

The London art world echoed the ever-changing climate of international politics. In 1842 the American businessman Nathan Dunn (1782-1844) was invited by two English men, James Silk Buckingham and Joseph Sturge, to exhibit in London his vast collection of Chinese artefacts assembled during his sojourn in China between 1818 and 1832.<sup>44</sup> With an accompanying catalogue, written by William. B. Langdon, *Ten Thousand Chinese Things*, the collection was displayed in a pagoda-like exhibition hall at Hyde Park Corner (Fig. 2).<sup>45</sup> In the catalogue, Langdon claims that the nature of this collection is ethnographical, and that the exhibition would show 'real' China. He wrote: "All fiction and romance have been carefully avoided; and what is stated, has in no instance been committed to these pages, unless on competent authority."<sup>46</sup> However, Catherine Pagani notes that this attempt to show 'real' China portrayed China and Chinese culture as mere commodities.<sup>47</sup> The 1842 exhibition was successful in drawing public attention in a Britain brimming with euphoria after its recent victory. But when Dunn's Chinese collection was exhibited in London again in 1851 alongside the Great International Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, British interest in Chinese culture or 'real' China had already notably decreased.<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless, it was a time when Chinese artefacts were flowing into Britain in massive quantities following the establishment of treaty ports after The Treaty of Nanjing on 28 April 1842, which concluded the First Opium War (Fig. 3).<sup>49</sup> Marks's biographer, Williamson, tells us of Marks's early encounter with Chinese porcelain at a firm of importers of modern

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<sup>43</sup> Pagani, 'Chinese Material Culture and British Perception of China in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,' p. 30.

<sup>44</sup> Helen Saxbee, 'An Orient Exhibited: The Exhibition of the Chinese Collection in England in the 1840s' (Royal College of Art, 1990), p. 27.

<sup>45</sup> Pagani, 'Chinese Material Culture and British Perception of China in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,' pp. 34-35.

<sup>46</sup> William B. Langdon, *Ten Thousand Chinese Things: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Collection, Now Exhibited at St. George's Place, Hyde Park Corner* (London, 1842), p. 14.

<sup>47</sup> Pagani, 'Chinese Material Culture and British Perception of China in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,' p. 37.

<sup>48</sup> Saxbee, p. 243.

<sup>49</sup> Craig Clunas, ed., *Chinese Export Art and Design* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1987), pp. 18-20.

Chinese goods. When Marks came back home from his study in Frankfurt,<sup>50</sup> he was at once attracted by Chinese porcelain at Frederick Hogg & Co. which leased a portion of his father's premises at 395 Oxford Street in the late 1850s.<sup>51</sup> It was probably not the first time that Marks saw Chinese porcelain, because Oriental porcelain was one of the items which his father Emanuel Marks, an antique and curiosity dealer, also sold.<sup>52</sup> However, what Marks saw at Frederick Hogg & Co. might represent different types of porcelain which were acquired beyond the Canton area after the Opium War.<sup>53</sup> The Canton area had been the sole point of commercial contact between the Chinese Empire and the West until the Treaty of Nanjing.<sup>54</sup> After signing the Treaty, however, five Chinese ports were opened for trade, and Britons were allowed to trade with anybody they wished (Fig. 3). Frederick Hogg & Co., an 'East India agent & general merchant,' was one of the British merchants who shipped Chinese goods to Britain in this period. Probably connected to Hogg Brothers in Shanghai,<sup>55</sup> Frederick Hogg & Co. was able to acquire objects from various sources inside China. What they brought to London was impressive enough to spark Marks's enthusiasm which was to lead a new

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<sup>50</sup> The exact time of Marks's sojourn in Frankfurt is unknown. He had been in Frankfurt from sometime before the summer of 1856: Marks's classmates at the Preparatory Boys' School, Philip and Laurie Magnus visited Marks when they were making a tour of the Rhine with their parents. Probably Marks came back to London around 1860 because his earliest purchase at Christie's in London dates 16-17 November 1860 (lot 202, a painting by W. Gill, *The Ballad-Singers*, from the Suffolk Street Gallery, for £17.6.6). See Christie's, *A Catalogue of English Pictures, Lately Exhibited in the Gallery in the Haymarket; Also, of Twelve Capital Pictures, Now in the Exhibition of Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham* (London, 16-17 November 1860). Also, Williamson tells us that he first met D. G. Rossetti in London in 1861. Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 9-10 and p. 51.

<sup>51</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 10-11. In London Directories, Frederick Hogg was described as "coffee house" at 69 St. Martin's Lane in 1855, then as "east india agent & general merchant" at 38 Fenchurch Street, E.C. from 1861 until 1870. Although in London Directories his name has not been recorded for the address 395 Oxford Street in the 1850s and 1860s, it seems likely that he took a lease at Emanuel Marks's premises for a short period sometime between 1856 and 1860.

<sup>52</sup> In London Directories, Emanuel Marks is listed as 'curiosity dealer' at 395 Oxford Street from 1850 until 1860, and then 'Importer of antique furniture, sévres, dresden, oriental china & curiosities' at the same address since 1861. See also Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' Murray Marks, connoisseur and curiosity dealer', p. 161.

<sup>53</sup> Stacey Pierson distinguishes these types of Chinese porcelain with the ones used for the typical decoration of a large country house. For example, she takes the objects which were brought from China by the botanist and traveller, Robert Fortune (1812-80), which were sold at Christie's in the 1850s. Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, p. 55.

<sup>54</sup> Clunas, ed., *Chinese Export Art and Design*, pp. 18-20.

<sup>55</sup> William and James Hogg set up their trading business in Shanghai at least as early as in 1854, and were closely associated with an ex-East India Company official, Hugh Hamilton Lindsay (1802-81). See *North China Herald*, vol. 5, issue 0210, 5 August 1854 and issue 0216, 16 September 1854; Robert Bickers, *The Scramble for China: Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire, 1832-1914* (London: Allen Lane, 2011), p. 107; Robert Bickers, 'The Challenger: Hugh Hamilton Lindsay and the Rise of British Asia, 1832-1865,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 22 (December 2012), pp. 141-69.

vogue of *chinamania* in Britain.<sup>56</sup> Fascinated by Hogg's porcelain, Marks wished to visit China to search for fine examples, but as his father refused his wish, Marks was eagerly studying Chinese porcelain at the British Museum instead.

Around 1860, Chinese art drew the British public's attention once again. This was largely due to a new type of Chinese object brought from the Summer Palace or Yuanmingyuan (圆明园 Garden of Perfect Clarity, Fig. 4), an imperial retreat on the outskirts of Beijing.<sup>57</sup> These imperial treasures were looted by thousands of British, French and Indian soldiers during the Anglo-French expedition to Beijing in 1860, which brought an end to the Second Opium War (1856-1860).<sup>58</sup> Shortly after the plunder of the Summer Palace, the objects were brought back to Britain and France. Britain's official loot was absorbed into Queen Victoria's royal collections, and France's was put on public display from February until April 1861 in the Tuileries Palace, Napoleon III (r. 1852-1870)'s primary residence. (Figs. 5 and 6).<sup>59</sup> Moving

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<sup>56</sup> In 1868, Frederick Hogg sold Oriental porcelain and enamels at Christie's. On the second day's sale, Marks bought 5 lots (lots 143, 144, 158, 162, and 176). Christie's, *A Catalogue of a Large Assemblage of Oriental Porcelain & Enamels, Japanese Lacquer, Ivory Cabinets; Chinese Silver Plate, Old Dresden Groups and Figures, Old Derby and Wedgwood Dessert Services, Inlaid Cabinets, Old Flemish Tapestry, etc.* (London, 26 and 27 November 1868).

<sup>57</sup> Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>58</sup> Having failed to secure satisfaction from the Treaty of Nanjing, Britain had demanded to revise the treaty since 1854. When this demand was rejected by the Qing government, Britain conducted a military operation and occupied Canton (today Guangzhou) in December 1857. The Anglo-French fleet went ahead with an expedition north. The war humiliated the Qing negotiators into agreeing to the Treaty of Tianjin of 1858 which forced open more ports, allowing the foreign legations in Beijing as well as the legalisation of the opium trade. Yet in June 1859 the Qing government tried to avoid ratifying the document by blocking the entry of the British treaty negotiators to the capital. Expecting the Qing rulers to follow the treaty clause, the British and French went back to war. Lord Elgin, Britain's chief treaty negotiator, ordered his troops to march on Beijing. Once the British and French arrived, indiscriminate looting of the Summer Palace was allowed. The plunder had lasted for approximately three days, from 6 to 8 October 1860 and, on Elgin's orders, the Summer Palace was burnt to the ground on 18 October 1860. These acts of humiliation brought to an end of Qing's struggle, inaugurating Qing's subjugation to the British imperative of "free trade." See Bickers, *The Scramble for China*, pp. 147-50; Lovell, *The Opium War*, p. 259; Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990), pp. 179-81; James Hevia, 'Loot's fate,' *History and Anthropology*, vol. 6, no. 4 (1994), pp. 319-45; James Hevia, 'Looting Beijing: 1860, 1900,' ed. Lydia Liu, *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulations* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. 192-213; James Hevia, *English Lesson: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (London and Hong Kong: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. 76-80 and p. 105; Katrina Hill, 'Collecting on Campaign: British Soldiers in China during the Opium Wars,' *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 23, no. 2 (2013), pp. 227-52.

<sup>59</sup> Greg M. Thomas, 'The Looting of Yuanming and the Translation of Chinese Art in Europe,' *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, vol. 7, no. 2 (Autumn 2008), pp. 16-17.

from one palace system to another, these objects did not lose their imperial prestige, but the public exhibition drew vivid, opposing responses.<sup>60</sup>

Orientalist discourse argued that the army transformed “China and its political order into the regularities of the British Empire in Asia,” and that the Chinese imperial treasures became symbols of “expanded British imperial sovereignty.”<sup>61</sup> In addition, Orientalists perceived these Chinese imperial curiosities and exotica as “examples of the stagnation and backwardness of Chinese civilisation,” in comparison with “the refined arts of Europe.”<sup>62</sup> From this perspective, displaying objects from the Summer Palace was to confirm “the notion of the political, intellectual, and cultural superiority of the British Empire over China.”<sup>63</sup>

On the other hand, some accused the soldiers of ‘vandalism.’ Expressing his regret of the destruction of the Summer Palace in a letter written 25 November 1861, addressed to Captain Butler, Victor Hugo (1802-1885)<sup>64</sup> commented on Chinese art in comparison with European art:

There was, in a corner of the world, a marvel of the world: this marvel was called the Summer Palace. Art has two principles: ideas, which produce European art, and chimeras [Figs. 7 and 8],<sup>65</sup> which produce Oriental art. The Summer Palace was to chimeric art what the Parthenon is to ideal art. All that the imagination can spawn from an almost superhuman people was there. [...] It was a kind of tremendous unknown masterpiece, glimpsed from the distance in a kind of twilight, like a silhouette of the civilization of Asia on the horizon of the civilization of Europe. This

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<sup>60</sup> Thomas, ‘The Looting of Yuanming and the Translation of Chinese Art in Europe,’ pp. 16-21. Thomas argues that Napoleon III’s empress, Eugénie’s formation of the Musée Chinois in Château de Fontainebleau, one of France’s own ‘summer palaces,’ in which she displayed objects looted from the Summer Palace and her other Asian collection from 1863, signifies an attempt to revive the absolutist political culture and the Chinoisist visual culture that went with it. Thomas, ‘The Looting of Yuanming and the Translation of Chinese Art in Europe,’ p. 25; Thomas’s remark upon the both political and artistic nostalgia connecting the *ancien régime* with *chinoiserie* in the nineteenth century can also be detected in the project of Royal Pavillion in Brighton between 1787-1823 by Prince Regent, later George IV.

<sup>61</sup> Hevia, *English Lesson*, pp. 99-100.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Hevia, ‘Looting Beijing: 1860, 1900’, p. 192; Hill, ‘Collecting on Campaign,’ p. 228.

<sup>64</sup> Victor Hugo himself formed a large collection of Chinese porcelain, and purchased fabrics looted from the Summer Palace. Thomas, ‘The Looting of Yuanming and the Translation of Chinese Art in Europe,’ p. 18.

<sup>65</sup> Chimeras refer both to fantastic myths and to China’s imaginary guardians with a lion’s body and dragon’s head. This piece which had been housed in the Musée Chinois of the Château de Fontainebleau was stolen on 1 March 2015. See *The Art Newspaper* report: <http://old.theartnewspaper.com/articles/Siamese-crown-stolen-from-Chateau-de-Fontainebleau/37264>.

wonder has disappeared.<sup>66</sup>

Here Hugo draws parallels between China and Europe: if the Parthenon epitomises human idealism, the Summer Palace epitomises human imagination.<sup>67</sup> As Greg M. Thomas argues, Hugo's associating China with chimeras evokes a typical Orientalist rhetoric which designates the Other as irrational and primitive.<sup>68</sup> "Yet for Hugo, champion of romanticism, this was a prized corrective to Western rational classicism, rendering the palace's destruction a loss of one half – the better half – of human nature."<sup>69</sup>

Porcelain, jade, bronze, cloisonné, lacquer, objects in gold and silver, precious stones and textiles, which had once ornamented the Summer Palace, an extravagant "dream," built by Chinese "poet-architects," were scattered through the art market after the exhibition at the Tuileries.<sup>70</sup> The first auction of these objects took place 18 April 1861 at Phillips, and subsequent sales followed.<sup>71</sup> Marks, who was studying Chinese porcelain with ambition to start in business for himself at that time, bid at several auction sales of the objects from the Summer Palace.<sup>72</sup> He bought a few pieces of porcelain at Christie's sale, held on 30 May 1862,

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<sup>66</sup> "Il y avait, dans un coin du monde, une merveille du monde: cette merveille s'appelait le palais d'Été. L'art a deux principes, l'idée, qui produit l'art européen, et la Chimère, qui produit l'art oriental. Le palais d'Été était à l'art chimérique ce que le Parthénon est à l'art idéal. Tout ce que peut enfanter l'imagination d'un peuple presque extrahumain était là. [...] C'était une sorte d'effrayant chef-d'œuvre inconnu entrevu au loin dans on ne sait quel crépuscule, comme une silhouette de la civilisation d'Asie sur l'horizon de la civilisation d'Europe. Cette merveille a disparu." quoted from a letter written on 25 November 1861 by Victor Hugo, addressed to Captain Butler. (<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2004/10/HUGO/11563>)

<sup>67</sup> Thomas, 'The Looting of Yuanming and the Translation of Chinese Art in Europe,' p. 18.

<sup>68</sup> Thomas, 'The Looting of Yuanming and the Translation of Chinese Art in Europe,' p. 18. It is interesting that Hugo refers to the *Thousand and One Night* in order to signify the exotic and fantastic feature of the Summer Palace. Some members of the military troop who were involved in the loot also referred to this Middle Eastern text to describe the dazzling palace. Thomas, 'The Looting of Yuanming and the Translation of Chinese Art in Europe,' p. 6.

<sup>69</sup> Thomas, 'The Looting of Yuanming and the Translation of Chinese Art in Europe,' p. 18.

<sup>70</sup> Hugo's letter.

<sup>71</sup> Phillips, *A Catalogue of a Valuable and Interesting Collection of Objects of Chinese Art from the Summer Palace at Peking, The Property of An Officer* (London, 18 April 1861); Christie's, *A Catalogue of A Choice Cabinet of Carvings in Jade, and Other Chinese Works of Art and Curiosities, Brought from the Summer Palace at Peking, The Property of An Officer of Fane's Horse* (London, 6 June 1861); Christie's, *A Catalogue of Fine Old Porcelain, Chiefly Taken from the Summer Palace at Peking* (London, 29 July 1861); *A Catalogue of Ancient Chinese Porcelain, Enamels and Carvings, and Jade, Including Specimens of Extreme Rarity and Beauty, All Brought from the Summer Palace at Peking, by an Officer* (London, 21 July 1862) and so on.

<sup>72</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 11. It is interesting that many Western collectors, art dealers and critics who travelled to China from the 1860s onwards tended to shape archaeological collection of Chinese art and to adopt Chinese aesthetics (e. g. Henri Cernuschi, Bernard Berenson and Stephen Bushell), or to prize Japanese art above Chinese (Emile Guimet, Théodore Duret and Siegfried Bing). See Musée Cernuschi, *Henri Cernuschi, 1821-1896: Voyageur et Collectionneur* (Paris: Paris-

and a considerable number of porcelain, bronzes and jades at Christie's sale of 20-21 July 1863 (Fig. 9).<sup>73</sup>

Unfortunately, the catalogues of these sales were not illustrated, but some objects from the Summer Palace that reappeared in the art market give a glimpse of what these objects look like. For instance, a *famille rose* vase sold at Christie's sale in Hong Kong in 2008 might show a similar technique which was used to produce lot 35, "A pair of basins, enameled with butterflies and flowers," which Marks bought in 1863. The "magnificent imperial pink-ground *famille rose* butterfly vase (lot 2388)" was looted in 1860 from the Summer Palace by Henry Brougham, later Lord Loch of Drylaw, sold to the Fonthill Collection of the Morrison family, subsequently owned by the London-based Chinese porcelain dealer, Messrs. S. Marchant & Son, then purchased by the Ping Y. Tai Foundation, and was sold to an Asian buyer for US\$6.9m (HK\$53.3m) on 3 December 2008 (Fig. 10). This vase demonstrates the Qianlong Emperor's preference of the butterfly and flower design.<sup>74</sup> This *famille rose* butterfly vase also hints at the technique used for another piece Marks bought: lot 103, "a beautiful basin with flowers in colours on pink ground, engraved with ornaments, utensils in compartments, and ornaments in blue inside." The vase was made of the pale opaque pink enamel ground with *graviata* scrolls.<sup>75</sup> The *graviata* scrolls incised into the pale pink enamel ground is a technique of cutting through slips, glazes and enamels, before they were fired, in order to produce decoration.<sup>76</sup> Developed in the Northern Song period (960-1127), this technique requires a particularly skilled craftsman as well as "the greatest care to ensure that they formed a coherent pattern and were evenly distributed."<sup>77</sup>

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Musées, 1998); *The Bernard Berenson Collection of Oriental Art at Villa I Tatti* (New York: Hudson Hills, 1991); Emile Guimet, *Promenades Japonaises: Tokio – Nikko* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1860); Théodore Duret, *Voyage en Asie* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1874).

<sup>73</sup> Christie's, *Catalogue of Oriental, Sevres, Dresden, and Chelsea Porcelain, Delft and Wedgwood Ware, Porcelain; Jades and Bronzes from the Summer Palace; Clocks, Candelabra, French Bronzes and Decorative Furniture; Also Some Ornamental Objects and Chippendale Furniture* (London, 30 May 1862); and Christie's, *A Catalogue of Ancient Chinese Enamels, Bronzes, Carvings in Jade, and Porcelain, Collected during the Two Years' Occupation of Tiensin, All from the Summer Palace and Peking* (London, 20 and 21 July 1863).

<sup>74</sup> Rosemary Scott, 'Lot Notes,' *Christie's Auction Result Online* (<http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/a-magnificent-imperial-pink-ground-5157532-details.aspx?from=searchresults&pos=1&intObjectID=5157532&sid=d2a80421-f16d-492d-b96c-79bc8b2dbe39&page=1>)

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

Another example, a “Fine White Jade Bowl and Cover” (lot 204, Fig. 11), sold on 20 September 2002 at Christie’s New York,<sup>78</sup> also suggests a similar decorative skill that is used to carve the two jade boxes Marks bought: “lot 236. A small box and cover, of white jade, with beautifully carved ornaments in slight relief”; and “lot 251. A BEAUTIFUL BOX AND COVER, of delicate white jade, the cover carved with characters.” Taken from the Summer Palace, and then presented to Sir John Michel by his Division in 1861, the white jade bowl is well carved in low relief with four of the Buddhist ‘Eight Auspicious Emblems’ (*bajixiang*, 八吉祥), which has similar features to the descriptions of Marks’s jade boxes.<sup>79</sup>

As Stacey Pierson argues, the style of these objects was new for the Europeans because they were not made for export but for the taste of Chinese imperial circles.<sup>80</sup> Highly decorated, and mostly made from expensive materials such as jade, gold and silver, these objects would inspire “the taste for decoration that began to define Victorian taste in England in the mid-nineteenth century.”<sup>81</sup> However, although the plunder of the Summer Palace and the subsequent flow of objects drew a new interest in Chinese culture and stimulated the consumption of Chinese porcelain in Britain, most of Chinese porcelain consumed in Britain in the 1860s and 70s was still mass-produced export porcelain.<sup>82</sup> This seems clear in Marks’s case: Marks was evidently interested in the treasures from the Summer Palace, but what he specialised in was export porcelain. Then what drove Marks to deal in this type of porcelain? How did he become one of the key figures in the vogue of *chinamania* within the Aesthetic Movement?

### ***Chinamania* within the Aesthetic Movement**

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<sup>78</sup> *Christie’s Auction Result Online* (<http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/a-fine-white-jade-bowl-and-cover-3971580-details.aspx?from=searchresults&intObjectID=3971580&sid=590a2795-bc7d-4712-91fa-14a0693fe54d>).

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>81</sup> Gere with Lesley Hoskins, *The House Beautiful*, p. 117; Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, p. 59.

<sup>82</sup> Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, p. 60; Stacey Pierson, *From Object to Concept: Global Consumption and the Transformation of Ming Porcelain* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), pp. 60-63.

Around 1864 when Marks started his own business as a 'dealer in works of art' at 21 Sloane Street,<sup>83</sup> Marks dealt in various branches of decorative arts such as furniture, tapestries, enamels, and Continental and Oriental porcelain.<sup>84</sup> He soon established a reputation as a prominent dealer in Chinese blue and white porcelain.<sup>85</sup> The blue and white porcelain that Marks dealt in was mostly export porcelain, mass-produced during the Kangxi (1661-1722), Yongzheng (1723-1735) and Qianlong (1736-1795) periods of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912).<sup>86</sup>

China began producing blue and white porcelain on a large scale shortly after 1325 during the period of the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368).<sup>87</sup> Cobalt oxide was used to paint the decoration on the white porcelain body. After firing at a temperature of around 1280°C, the cobalt gave an intense blue, floating between the transparent glaze and the white porcelain body.<sup>88</sup> This entirely new type of porcelain had been making its way into Europe prior to the sixteenth century.<sup>89</sup> As blue and white porcelain was in great demand in Europe following the development of maritime commerce, China produced these pieces for the export market in massive quantities. Jingdezhen in Jiangxi province was a centre of the production of export blue and white porcelain from the Yuan Dynasty (Fig. 12). However, in a transitional period from the Ming (1368-1644) to Qing (1644-1912) dynasties, the kilns in Jingdezhen were shut down.<sup>90</sup> It was in 1683 of the Kangxi reign that the workshops of Jingdezhen were officially

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<sup>83</sup> London Directories, 1864.

<sup>84</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 11.

<sup>85</sup> Gere with Lesley Hoskins, *The House Beautiful*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>86</sup> For a chronology of China see Appendix 1.

<sup>87</sup> John Carswell, *Blue & White: Chinese Porcelain around the World* (London: The British Museum Press, 2000), p. 17. The white glazed stoneware is a Chinese innovation, dating from as early as the Sui dynasty (581-618). The white porcelain body made of kaolin (white clay) and petuntse (pulverized china stone) was developed by the early fourteenth century. Then the pigment of cobalt blue, Mahomedan blue, imported from Persia, was used to execute the blue. See Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 35 and Carswell, *Blue & White*, p. 11.

<sup>88</sup> Carswell, *Blue & White*, p. 17; 'Chinese Ceramics & the Early Modern World,' *Global Jingdezhen*, The University of Warwick (<http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/ghcc/research/globalporcelain/exhibition/>).

<sup>89</sup> Madeleine Jarry, *Chinoiserie: Chinese Influence on European Decorative Art 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, trans. Gail Mangold-Vine (New York: Vendome Press, 1981), p. 59; Francesco Morena, *Chinoiserie: The Evolution of the Oriental Style in Italy from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, trans. Eve Leckey (Florence: Centro Di, 2009), p. 31.

<sup>90</sup> Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, p. 54.



revitalised.<sup>91</sup> Great technical expertise in this era produced much blue and white porcelain with a thin body, sophisticated shape, smooth glaze, and brilliant cobalt blue.<sup>92</sup>

As Marks noted, these wares of the Kangxi period were imported by Dutch merchants in large quantities from the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>93</sup> This type of Chinese blue and white porcelain was often referred to as 'Nankin' (or 'Nankeen', 'Nanking') after Nanjing in South East China, the trade source of the porcelain from as early as 1767.<sup>94</sup> In his *Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain, Forming the Collection of Sir Henry Thomson* (1878), Marks describes how the taste for these specimens revived in the second half of the nineteenth century:

It is only during the last twenty years that Nankin China has recovered from the unmerited neglect into which it fell in common with other works of art during the period of depression which followed the French Revolution and the wars consequent thereon. The choice collections of Mr Whistler, Mr D. G. Rossetti, Mr Louis Huth, and later, that of Sir Henry Thompson, have given an impulse to that appreciation for this branch of decorative art which has spread so rapidly, and has naturally caused so great and so just a rise in the value of specimens of fine quality and design.<sup>95</sup>

Thus, it was the Aesthetic circle that rediscovered a "branch of decorative art," Chinese blue and white porcelain, forgotten after the fall of the *ancien régime*. Among many artists and patrons of the Aesthetic circle, Whistler is generally considered responsible for this trend in Britain (Fig. 13).<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Craig Clunas, *Art in China* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 77-78.

<sup>92</sup> Michael Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, fifth edition (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1999), p. 268.

<sup>93</sup> Murray Marks, *A Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain, Forming the Collection of Sir Henry Thompson* (London, 1878), p. v.

<sup>94</sup> The Victorians often called Chinese blue and white porcelain as Nankin ware "in the mistaken belief that it was manufactured in the city of Nanking (Nanjing)." See Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, p. 74. According to the shipping lists of a Dutch ship's supercargo in Canton, 'Nankeen' also referred to special high-quality shiny linen from Nanjing. See Christian J. A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1982), p. 86, quoted in Colin Sheaf and Richard Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes: The Complete Record* (Oxford: Phaidon & Christie's, 1988), p. 88; Nick Pearce, "'Blue Porcelain ... and ... Coy Maidens": Some Thoughts on Whistler's Purple & Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks,' in Erma Hermens, Joanna Meacock and Grischka Petri, eds., *Connecting Whistler* (2010), p. 29 (<http://www.gla.ac.uk/connectingwhistler>).

<sup>95</sup> Marks, *A Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain*, pp. vi-vii.

<sup>96</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 81; Gere with Lesley Hoskins, *The House Beautiful*, p. 14; Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, pp. 62-64; Watson, *From Manet to Manhattan*, p. 113.

Before leading the wave of *chinamania* in Britain, Whistler was influenced by the craze in French literary and artistic circles for East Asian art during his stay in Paris in the 1850s. Like Victor Hugo, many French writers and artists including Félix Bracquemond, Edmond de Goncourt, Jules de Goncourt, Edouard Manet, Henri Fantin-Latour, James Tissot, Emil Zola, Charles Baudelaire and Théodore Duret collected Chinese porcelain and other exotic objects in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>97</sup> They became frequent visitors to *La Porte Chinoise* in the rue de Vivre and then in the arcades of 220 rue de Rivoli, when Madame de Soye and Pierre Bouillette opened the shop in 1862/1863.<sup>98</sup> *La Porte Chinoise* was a predecessor of a number of prominent dealers in Oriental art in Paris at the end of the nineteenth century such as Siegfried Bing, Philippe and Auguste Sichel and Tadamas Hayashi.<sup>99</sup> In this shop, Whistler purchased Oriental objects such as porcelain, prints, fans, screens and textiles, “many of which were later included in his paintings” (Fig. 14).<sup>100</sup> As in French *avant-garde* artists’ works, these exotic decorative elements served for experimenting novel images in Whistler’s paintings.<sup>101</sup>

From this moment, Whistler started collecting Chinese blue and white porcelain. In the spring of 1863, he bought his first pieces on a visit to Holland, where Chinese imports had long been plentiful.<sup>102</sup> Despite a lack of funds, Whistler built up his first collection of Chinese and Japanese porcelain until his bankruptcy sale in 1879.<sup>103</sup> In a letter to Fantin-Latour

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<sup>97</sup> Watson, *From Manet to Manhattan*, p.105 and p. 111; Ting Chang, ‘Goncourt’s China Cabinet: China Fantasy and a Nineteenth-Century China Collector,’ ed. Vimalin Rujivacharakul, *Collecting China: The World, China, and a History of Collecting* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011), p. 31.

<sup>98</sup> Watson, *From Manet to Manhattan*, p. 111; Julian Treuherz, Elizabeth Prettejohn and Edwin Becker, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 2003), p. 233; Paul van der Grijp, *Art and Exoticism: An Anthropology of the Yearning for Authenticity* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2009), p. 110; Colta Ives, ‘Degas, Japanese Prints, and Japonism,’ in *The Private Collection of Edgar Dgar*, ed. Ann Dumas (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), p. 248.

<sup>99</sup> Watson, *From Manet to Manhattan*, p. 111; Gabriel P. Weisberg, Edwin Becker and Evelyne Possémé, eds., *The Origins of l’Art Nouveau: The Bing Empire* (Amsterdam and Paris: Cornell University Press, 2004).

<sup>100</sup> *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler*

([http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/people/biog/?bid=DeSoye\\_1&initial=S](http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/people/biog/?bid=DeSoye_1&initial=S)).

<sup>101</sup> Juliet Simpson, ‘Symbolist Aesthetics and the Decorative Image/Text,’ *French Forum*, vol. 25, no. 2 (May 2000), pp. 177-78.

<sup>102</sup> Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, pp. 62-63; Linda Merrill, ‘Whistler and the “Lange Lijzen,”’ *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 136, no. 1099 (Oct., 1994), p. 683; Claire Mckechnie, ‘Pots and Paints: Whistler and the Lange Leizen,’ eds. Erma Hermens, Joanna Meacock and Grischka Petri, *Connecting Whistler* (2010), p. 24 (<http://www.gla.ac.uk/connectingwhistler>).

<sup>103</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 172; Mckechnie, ‘Pots and Paints’, p. 24. On regaining financial security, he formed a second collection in the late 1870s and 1880s, which is now in the Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow.

written on 16 August 1865, Whistler said that there were “plates and pots in an enormous cabinet reaching all up one wall (Ça représente l’intérieur de mon atelier, porcelains et tout!)” of his residence in London (Fig. 15).<sup>104</sup> These pieces appear in several paintings between 1863 and 1875: *Purple and Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks* (1863-4); *La Princesse du Pays de la Porcelaine* (1864); *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen* (1864); *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl* (1864); *The Artist in His Studio* (1865-6); and *The Blue Girl: Portrait of Miss Elinor Leyland* (c. 1875, destroyed in 1879).<sup>105</sup> From Whistler’s collecting endeavours as well as his illustrations of blue and white porcelain, Rossetti and Whistler’s other acquaintances in London caught the craze, and soon there was a friendly rivalry concerning who could pick up the best objects.<sup>106</sup>

If *La Porte Chinoise* was a shop of Oriental objects for artistic circles of the day in Paris, Marks’s shop played as its counterpart in London. From the very beginning, Marks’s shop became well known for its display with considerable artistic success.<sup>107</sup> Already having a great appreciation for Chinese blue and white porcelain, Marks displayed “it under suitable surroundings, with a keen sense of its decorative importance and beauty.”<sup>108</sup> Marks’s Kangxi ware caught Rossetti’s eyes when he was passing by the window of the shop.<sup>109</sup> Rossetti bought them, and asked “whether Marks thought more could be procured.”<sup>110</sup> At that time, Chinese blue and white porcelain could be acquired in Holland for exceedingly low prices.<sup>111</sup> Using many Dutch connections – probably through his relatives<sup>112</sup> –, Marks “could readily

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<sup>104</sup> Letter in Library of Congress, Fennell collection, quoted in Margaret F. MacDonald, ‘Whistler’s Designs for a Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain,’ *Connoisseur*, vol. 198 (August 1978), p. 291.

<sup>105</sup> Mckechnie, ‘Pots and Paints,’ p. 24.

<sup>106</sup> Treuherz, Prettejohn and Becker, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, p. 233; Mckechnie, ‘Pots and Paints,’ p. 23; *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler* ([http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/people/biog/?bid=DeSoye\\_1&initial=S](http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/people/biog/?bid=DeSoye_1&initial=S)).

<sup>107</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 12.

<sup>108</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 33.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 33-34; Wainwright, ‘A gatherer and disposer of other men’s stuffe,’ p. 166.

<sup>112</sup> At least as early as 1840, Marks’s father Emanuel Marks van Galen moved from Holland in order to set up his art business in England, on the advice of Baldock, the dealer and art adviser to the Prince Regent. On his arrival, Emanuel anglicised his surname. Williamson notes that Marks always regretted this because the Van Galen family had some prestige in Holland. Marks thought that through the name he could have boasted a connection with many leading Dutch families. This may imply that Marks’s business in Holland was very active, reaching the high-end market. See Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 4-5; Wainwright, ‘A gatherer and disposer of other men’s stuffe,’ p. 161.

obtain whatever Blue and White porcelain was required, [and] told Rossetti that he was quite able to supply him with as much as he wanted.”<sup>113</sup> However, as Rossetti had a limited budget, he could not purchase *en bloc* the collection which Marks brought over, and so he introduced his patrons such as Louis Huth and Henry Thompson to Marks. From having supplied blue and white porcelain to Whistler and Rossetti, Marks’s shop gradually attracted many artists and their patrons such as Edward Burne-Jones, Anthony Frederick Sandys, Simeon Solomon and Frederick Richards Leyland.

This artistic circle was genuinely interested in exotic artefacts which were flowing into Europe in massive quantities at that time, and some of which they glimpsed at the International Exhibition of 1862 in London.<sup>114</sup> However, unable to understand the symbolic meaning of foreign objects, these artists focused attention on what William Michael Rossetti termed the “character and beauty in the abstract properties of form and colour.”<sup>115</sup> Colour was what Marks also appreciated most in Chinese porcelain. According to Williamson, Marks’s knowledge of the historical and technical aspects of the colour of Chinese porcelain was profound enough to be able to discuss the subject later with Dr. Stephen Wootton Bushell, the distinguished scholar of Chinese porcelain.<sup>116</sup> Marks was also interested in the decorative effects of Chinese porcelain in the practices of collecting and display, as seen in Williamson’s description of his shop setting. Williamson tells us that Marks “realized very early what a feast of colour a great collection of Blue and White porcelain could produce.”<sup>117</sup> Whistler and Rossetti appreciated Marks’s ability, regarding him as “*the man* who in the early days knew more about such porcelain than anyone else in London” and as “the recognized authority on the subject.”<sup>118</sup> However, Marks’s expertise in Chinese porcelain began to evolve in turn through his interaction with these artists. Then, what was these artists’ understanding of Chinese blue and white porcelain? How did they appropriate it for their artistic creation?

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<sup>113</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 33.

<sup>114</sup> Robyn Asleson, *Albert Moore* (London: Phaidon, 2000), p. 92

<sup>115</sup> Asleson, *Albert Moore*, p. 92.

<sup>116</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 35.

<sup>117</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 36.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

## Whistler's *Lange Lijzen*

Marks's first client among the Aesthetic circle, Whistler,<sup>119</sup> demonstrates how he sees Chinese porcelain in his *Ten O'Clock Lecture* of 1885. Whistler said:

Art, the cruel jade, cares not, and hardens her heart, and hies her off to the East, to find, among the opium-eaters of Nankin, a favourite with whom she lingers fondly – caressing his blue porcelain, and painting his coy maidens, and marking his plates with her six marks of choice – indifferent, in her companionship with him, to all save the virtue of his refinement!  
He it is who calls her – he who holds her!<sup>120</sup>

Here Whistler's accounts of Chinese porcelain is associated with a stereotype image of China at that time right after the Opium Wars. Through the goddess of art's journey in search of the potter among "the opium-eaters of Nankin," Whistler alludes to his first 'Oriental inspired' painting, *Purple and Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks* (Fig. 16).<sup>121</sup> In this work, painted between December 1863 and 1864, Whistler included several pieces of Chinese porcelain which he had bought in Holland in the spring of 1863 or at Marks's shop later.<sup>122</sup> In a letter to Fantin-Latour written in February of 1864, Whistler wrote that the painting "is filled with superb porcelain from my collection"<sup>123</sup> and portrays "a porcelain dealer, a Chinese woman painting a pot."<sup>124</sup> Whistler's mother Anna Whistler also described the

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> J. A. M. Whistler (1885), *Mr. Whistler's Ten O'Clock* (London: Pallas Athene, 2011), p. 27.

<sup>121</sup> Pearce, 'Blue porcelain ... and ... coy maidens.'

<sup>122</sup> Merrill, 'Whistler and the "Lange Lijzen,"' p. 683; Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 33.

<sup>123</sup> Claire Mckechnie identifies one of the pieces depicted in this painting as being from Whistler's own collection: "In the top right of the painting, by the model's head, there is a large pot displayed in front of an even larger plate. This pot can be identified as one now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which is recorded as previously having been owned by Whistler [Fig. 12, the second piece from the left. After Whistler's bankruptcy sale in 1879, this piece was owned by George Salting, and bequeathed to the museum on the latter's death in 1909.]. The delicate pattern on the lid – a wide band of swirling pattern, and row of dots around the bottom – have been faithfully copied. On the vase, robed Oriental men are painted, talking, in front of trees on the left and a draped curtain to the right. The figures set against the curtained background, the supporting pole of the curtain and the trees on the left with their blossoming leaves are all recognisable in the painting." Mckechnie, 'Pots and Paints,' pp. 25-26.

<sup>124</sup> James McNeill Whistler to Henri Fantin-Latour, 3 February 1864, GUV 08036: "C'est rempli de superbes porcelaines tires de ma collection, et comme arrangement et couleur est bien – Cela représente une Chinoise en train de peindre un pot – Mais c'est dif[f]icile! et je grate tant!"

painting in a letter of February 1864 that “a girl ... sits beside a shelf ... upon which several pieces of China & a pretty fan are arranged as if for purchasers.”<sup>125</sup> Perhaps the figure and the arrangement of objects in this painting were inspired by Whistler’s visit to a porcelain-seller in Rotterdam, the widow Van der Pflaum, during his trip to Holland.<sup>126</sup> Revealing the artist’s appreciation of Vermeer which was formed during the trip too, this painting depicts a typical Victorian genre scene.<sup>127</sup>

However, as this painting marked Whistler’s transition from realism to Aestheticism, the ordinary scene was transformed by “the painter’s poetry, [...] the amazing invention that shall have put form and colour into such perfect harmony.”<sup>128</sup> In the letter to Fantin-Latour, Whistler notes that in this painting his emphasis lies in the “arrangement and colour” of Chinese porcelain and other exotic items, such as the Chinese folding chair, “Chinese Matting a buff color,” the Scinde rug, and Japanese objects – the *kimono* robe, the lacquer tray, screen fan in the background and the book on the table.<sup>129</sup> When this work was shown at the 96<sup>th</sup> Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts, London, in 1864, many critics remarked upon the harmonious composition of colour. William Rossetti reviewed it as “a triumph of colour,” and one critic wrote that Whistler had “relished to the full the Chinese arrangement of colour.”<sup>130</sup> Another critic also remarked that the colour of this painting displayed: “[...] great force of characterisation and superb colouring in a quaint subject [...] This picture is among the finest pieces of colour in the Exhibition.”<sup>131</sup> Indeed, in *The Lange Lijzen of the Six Marks*, the colour of Chinese blue and white porcelain provides harmonious composition with other various Oriental objects, and this supplants the banal genre scene.

However, it was not only the colour but also a striking way to unveil the thingness of Chinese porcelain that Whistler achieved in this painting. At the time when Whistler became enthusiastic about Chinese blue and white porcelain, these specimens were a familiar ‘other’

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<sup>125</sup> Anna Matilda Whistler to James H. Gamble, 10-11 February 1864, GUW 06522.

<sup>126</sup> Merrill, ‘Whistler and the “Lange Lijzen,”’ p. 683.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> *Mr. Whistler’s Ten O’Clock*, p. 18; Merrill, ‘Whistler and the “Lange Lijzen,”’ p. 685; Asleson, *Albert Moore*, p. 89.

<sup>129</sup> James McNeill Whistler to Henri Fantin-Latour, 3 February 1864, GUW 08036; Anna Matilda Whistler to James H. Gamble, 10-11 February 1864, GUW 06522; Pearce, ‘Blue porcelain ... and ... coy maidens,’ p. 29.

<sup>130</sup> W. M. Rossetti, ‘Art-Exhibitions in London,’ *Fine Arts Quarterly Review* (October 1864), p. 29; ‘Fine Arts Exhibition of the Royal Academy [Third Notice],’ *Illustrated London News* (21 May 1864), p. 494, quoted in Merrill, ‘Whistler and the “Lange Lijzen,”’ p. 685.

<sup>131</sup> *Athenaeum* (14 May 1864), p. 682, quoted in Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 66

which had long been nearby the Europeans. Moreover, they were not “authoritatively classed amongst Chinese and Japanese productions” in a new, China-centred connoisseurship of Chinese ceramics.<sup>132</sup> The familiarity of Chinese blue and white porcelain in mid-nineteenth-century Britain was well observed by Henry Treffry Dunn (1838-1899), who noted that when he was a boy, “old blue Nankin and other china were common enough” and “were thought nothing of and many a one such as would fetch ten or fifteen shillings now were given away then to anyone who chose to take the trouble to ask for them.”<sup>133</sup> Nevertheless, Whistler who believed that “familiarity can breed contempt” in art, transformed the familiar Chinese blue and white porcelain into an uncanny thing.<sup>134</sup> What he saw in Chinese porcelain was expressed in his *Ten O’Clock Lecture*:

In the beginning, man went forth each day – some to do battle, some to the chase; others, again, to dig and to delve in the field – all that they might gain and live, or lose and die. Until there was found among them one, differing from the rest, whose pursuits attracted him not, and so he staid by the tents with the women, and traced strange devices with a burnt stick, upon a gourd.

This man, who took no joy in the ways of his brethren – who cared not for conquest, and fretted in the field – this designer of quaint patterns – this deviser of the beautiful – who perceived in Nature about him curious curvings, as faces are seen in the fire – this dreamer apart, was the first artist.

And when, from the field and from afar, there came back the people, they took the gourd – and drank from out of it.

And presently there came to this man another – and, in time, others – of like nature – chosen by the Gods – and so they worked together; and soon they fashioned, from the moistened earth, forms resembling the gourd. And with the power of creation, the heirloom of the artist, presently they went beyond the slovenly suggestion of Nature, and the first vase was born, in beautiful proportion.<sup>135</sup>

Here Whistler takes a pot as the primal work of art, and describes how the first artist unconceals a world “beyond the slovenly suggestion of Nature” through his “power of creation.” Crucially, Whistler’s description of the birth of the gourd is later echoed in Heidegger’s claim of the fourfold in the jugness of a jug.

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<sup>132</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 171.

<sup>133</sup> Henry Treffry Dunn (1904), *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and his Circle – or – Cheyne Walk Life*, ed. Rosalie Mander (Westerham: Dalrymple Press, 1984), p. 18.

<sup>134</sup> *Mr. Whistler’s Ten O’Clock*, p. 7.

<sup>135</sup> *Mr. Whistler’s Ten O’Clock*, p. 11.

In his essay 'The Thing,' Heidegger articulates how earth, sky, mortals and the immortal gods stay in the thingness of the jug – the outpouring –.

The giving of the outpouring can be a drink. The outpouring gives water, it gives wine to drink. The spring stays on in the water of the gift. In the spring the rock dwells, and in the rock dwells the dark slumber of the earth, which receives the rain and dew of the sky. In the water of the spring dwells the marriage of sky and earth [...] The gift of the pouring out is drink for mortals. [...] The outpouring is the libation poured out for the immortal gods.<sup>136</sup>

Likewise, when he meditates on blue and white porcelain, Whistler also counts on the colour of sky, the earthly nature of its material, the mortals who struggle to live and the divinities which empower the creative spirit, and the very function of the gourd – giving a drink. If what Whistler saw in Chinese porcelain was being of its thingness in Heideggerian terms, how did he bring it into *The Lange Lijzen of the Six Marks*?

In this painting, Whistler brought out being of the familiar Chinese porcelain by distorting reality. When it was exhibited, many viewers and scholars were perplexed by the figure. Although Whistler tells us his figure was “a Chinese woman painting a pot,” she was in fact, a Caucasian woman (the model Joanna Hiffernan). Wearing a Japanese costume *kimono*, she is about to paint on the surface of porcelain that has obviously been finished and fired. The title of the painting hints that this enigmatic image can be read allegorically. *Lange Lijzen* is a Dutch collector’s term for the ‘elongated female figure’ painted on porcelain in the Kangxi reign (1662-1722).<sup>137</sup> The female figure in this painting therefore plays a double role: first as the artist Whistler’s *Lange Lijzen* on his canvas; and second as a representation of an artistic creation as a Chinese potter did on his porcelain. On the other hand, the ordinary decorative object, Chinese blue and white porcelain, is fused in Whistler’s transcultural and transepochal imaginings, as the goddess of art was in her global itinerary across time in Whistler’s *Ten O’Clock Lecture*. Linda Merrill argues that Whistler’s signature in this painting was deliberately obscured while “Whistler identified himself with the painter of *The Lange Lijzen* by copying” *the Six Marks* which are found on the base of certain specimens of Chinese

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<sup>136</sup> Heidegger, 'The Thing,' p. 117. For further discussion, see Andrew J. Mitchell, *The Fourfold: Reading the Late Heidegger* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2015).

<sup>137</sup> Merrill, 'Whistler and the "Lange Lijzen,"' p. 683.



porcelain:大清康熙年製 Da Qing Kang Xi Nian Zhi (made during the reign of the Emperor Kangxi of the Great Qing dynasty).<sup>138</sup>

Thus, what distinguishes Whistler's initiative in *The Lange Lijzen of the Six Marks* is his 'imaginings' to understand the 'alien' incorporated in Chinese blue and white porcelain, and to translate it in visible forms. Strangely distorted reality and exotic elements of this painting make viewers pay attention to old blue Nankin which could have gone by unnoticed. Whistler's strategy of unfamiliarity is reminiscent of Heidegger's account of the fundamental mode of intentionality.

Intentionality of consciousness is one of the key concepts in Edmund Husserl's phenomenology. According to Husserl, intentionality is *aboutness* or *directedness* of states of mind to objects or worldly entities. Husserl argues that intentionality is the way that subjects are in touch with the world, and that without intentional mental acts everything actual in the surrounding world does not exist to us.<sup>139</sup> However, Heidegger refutes Husserl's argument about intentionality:

The usual conception of intentionality misunderstands that toward which – in the case of perception – the perceiving directs itself. Accordingly, it also misconstrues the structure of the self-directedness-toward, the *intentio*. This misinterpretation lies in an *erroneous subjectivizing* of intentionality. An ego or subject is supposed, to whose so-called sphere intentional experiences are then supposed to belong. [...] The statement that the comportments of the Dasein are intentional means that the mode of being of our own self, the Dasein, is essentially such that this being, so far as it is, is always already dwelling with the extant. The idea of a subject which has intentional experiences merely inside its own sphere and is not yet outside it but encapsulated within itself is an absurdity which misconstrues the basic ontological structure of the being that we ourselves are.<sup>140</sup>

Here Heidegger, who rejects the subject-object dichotomy but emphasises the basic condition of being thrown into the world, introduces the notion of *comportment* of the Dasein to designate our habitual *dealings* (*Umgang*) with the world. What he demonstrates

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<sup>138</sup> Merrill, 'Whistler and the "Lange Lijzen,"' pp. 684-85.

<sup>139</sup> Edmund Husserl, 'Consciousness as Intentional Experience,' eds. Dermot Moran and Timothy Mooney, *The Phenomenology Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 78-108; Edmund Husserl, *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology: An Introduction to Phenomenological Philosophy* (1954), trans. David Carr (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1970).

<sup>140</sup> Martin Heidegger, *The Basic Problems of Phenomenology* (1975), trans. Albert Hofstadter (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1982), pp. 63-64.

through this notion is that we are “always already dwelling with the extant” and therefore related to the world.

In *Being and Time*, the distinction between two ways of *dealings* with worldly entities is made: the *present-at-hand* and the *ready-to-hand*. While the *present-at-hand* is the detached contemplation of the theoretical attitude towards the world, the *ready-to-hand* is our daily *comportments* with equipment. The way that Dasein encounters most of the things in everyday life, Heidegger describes, as ready-to-hand. When an equipment is ready-to-hand, in other words, ready to use, available, or handy, the intentionality of consciousness does not occur. We become intentional only when our relationship with the equipment is broken, when our habitual dealings with the world became impossible.<sup>141</sup>

For Heidegger, ‘imaginings’ are considered as one of those ways that enable us to leap out of our habitual relationship with the world. In his essay on Hölderlin ‘...Poetically Man Dwells...,’ Heidegger writes that “The nature of image is to let something be seen. [...] poetic images are imaginings in a distinctive sense: not mere fancies and illusions but imaginings that are visible inclusions of the alien in the sight of the familiar.”<sup>142</sup> Thus, poetic images rendering the familiar unfamiliar initiate our intentionality about the world.

In Whistler’s *Lange Lijzen of the Six Marks*, the familiar old blue Nankin is depicted beyond the usual understanding of it in the Victorian period. The way that the figure is represented, the process of creating porcelain, and the space in which foreign things are arranged – in the interplay of all of these, the painter “calls the alien as that to which the invisible imparts itself in order to remain what it is – unknown.”<sup>143</sup> In the strife between disclosing and concealing, this image let the viewers rediscover the long forgotten old blue Nankin, which finally came into view. Whistler’s translation of Chinese blue and white porcelain into his poetic image was an event (*Ereignis*) which disclosed a novel mystery of the familiar thing by “guarding the concealed in its self-concealment.”<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Heidegger, *Being and Time* (1927), §15. ‘The Being of the Entities Encountered in the Environment’; Heidegger, *The Basic Problems of Phenomenology*, pp. 158-73.

<sup>142</sup> Martin Heidegger, ‘...Poetically Man Dwells...’ (1951), *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 226.

<sup>143</sup> Heidegger, ‘...Poetically Man Dwells...,’ p. 225.

<sup>144</sup> Heidegger, ‘...Poetically Man Dwells...,’ p. 223.

Williamson wrote that Marks also appreciated the beauty of the *Lange Lijzen* and “strongly recommended collectors to obtain the vases with the design upon them.” Whistler’s interpretation of *Lange Lijzen* must have impressed Marks.<sup>145</sup> Early in their acquaintance, Marks had the opportunity to see Whistler’s pen-and-ink drawings of Chinese porcelain because Whistler made them “to show the dealer what he desired for his own collection” (Fig. 17).<sup>146</sup> Marks praised them for demonstrating “what feeling the artist had for the exquisite beauty of the designs and displayed Whistler’s remarkable skill in suggesting the original colour and glaze of the porcelain, even in black and white.”<sup>147</sup> When Marks was planning to establish a firm of decoration in 1867, Marks envisaged producing Whistler’s design as porcelain.<sup>148</sup> Although this plan was not realised, in 1876 Marks eventually commissioned Whistler to illustrate Thompson’s collection of Chinese blue and white porcelain, including several pieces of *lange lijzen* (Fig. 18).

### **Rossetti’s Hawthorn Pot**

As Whistler said in his *Ten O’Clock Lecture* that art emerges from collective creativity, Rossetti began to embrace Chinese blue and white porcelain in his painting. At the time when Rossetti caught the craze for Chinese porcelain, he had just embarked on a new style of paintings. Confessing that he was “learning to paint at last,” Rossetti emphasised “colour and execution” rather than the subject of the painting.<sup>149</sup> Marks’s recollection of his first visit to Rossetti’s

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<sup>145</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 35.

<sup>146</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 173.

<sup>147</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 173. While these sketches were painted around 1867, Williamson seems to have mistakenly thought that these were prepared for the illustrations of the catalogue of Thompson’s collection which was planned in 1876. Williamson argues that Marks treasured the little panel of these sketches which was sold in his posthumous sale at Christie’s on July 5, 1918. According to the sale catalogue, lot 27 is described as “J. McN. Whistler’s STUDIES OF CHINESE PORCELAIN IN THE SIR HY. THOMPSON COLLECTION *Pen and ink* – 7 in. by 4¼ in.,” but it is not certain that the lot accords the panel that Williamson mentioned. See Christie’s, *Catalogue of Old Pictures, Drawings & Prints, the Property of Murray Marks, Esq. Deceased* (London, 5 July 1918).

<sup>148</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 172.

<sup>149</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 49.

studio, Tudor House at 16 Cheyne Walk (Fig. 19) in 1864 tells us how innovative Rossetti's new style was, and how profoundly it affected Marks:

I do not think I was ever so impressed by anybody in my life. He was the most amusing and at the same time the most intellectual man I ever met. He told me he wanted some blue-china. I promised to comply with his request. I also accepted his invitation to call and see his collection. . . Well, it was a poor collection. . . We did not talk about blue-china to begin with, but a picture that was on the easel at the time. The *Venus Verticordia* arrested my attention, and almost took my breath away. Our arrangement was soon made. I was to collect him some of the finest examples, 'and then' he added, 'I will send you a good buyer, but I must have the first pick.'<sup>150</sup>

The nude, *Venus Verticordia* (Fig. 20), to which Marks was deeply attracted, was one of Rossetti's pictures of women painted under the strong influence of Venetian High Renaissance paintings. Rossetti was a member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood which was founded in 1848. The group pursued the religious purity and morality of Italian Primitive paintings such as those of Giotto and Fra Angelico and of Flemish paintings by Van Eyck and Memling. However, in around 1859, Rossetti shifted his style to that of Venetian High Renaissance masterpieces when he executed *Bocca Baciata* (Fig. 21).<sup>151</sup> He studied sensual female figure types, the sumptuous colouring and picture format of paintings by Venetian artists such as Titian and Giorgione, and created his own scenes of women within a different spatial system. Rossetti represented life-size figures in a shallow space, which cancels perspective distance.<sup>152</sup> Rossetti's experiments of the 1860s "elevated visual beauty and sensuous pleasure above the narrative and moralizing concerns of earlier Victorian art."<sup>153</sup>

In his painting of women in the Venetian Renaissance style, Rossetti began to introduce exotic mood through the motif of Oriental objects.<sup>154</sup> For example, in *The Blue Bower* painted

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<sup>150</sup> Byron Webber, *James Orrock, RI: Painter, Connoisseur, Collector* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1903) quoted in Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 52.

<sup>151</sup> Treuherz, Prettejohn, and Becker, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, p. 19, p. 22 and pp. 56-59. Apart from Venetian High Renaissance painters such as Veronese, Titian, and Giorgione, in this period Rossetti also quoted other High Renaissance masters such as Botticelli and Michelangelo, who were explored by many Aesthetic artists. Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake*, pp. 227-28.

<sup>152</sup> Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake*, pp. 213-14.

<sup>153</sup> Treuherz, Prettejohn, and Becker, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>154</sup> Rossetti included blue and white ceramics in his several paintings: *Blue Closet* (1856-7, Tate Britain); *Girl at a Lattice* (1862, Fitzwilliam Museum); *Woman Combing Her Hair* (1864, private collection); *Morning Music* (1864, Fitzwilliam Museum); *The Blue Bower* (1865, Barber Institute); and *Monna Rosa* (1867, private collection).

in 1865 (Fig. 22), Rossetti created a lyrical image of a single female figure in the shallow space, and adorned it with oriental objects such as a Japanese *koto* (musical instrument) and the backdrop of blue and white ceramics. As a matter of fact, this painting was Rossetti's homage to Chinese blue and white porcelain, which was stimulated by his rivalry with Whistler. Val Prinsep tells us that when Whistler talked about his "long Elizas [*Lange Lijzen*], Rossetti vowed to better them within the week, and succeeded."<sup>155</sup> In a letter to Madox Brown on 18 April 1865, Rossetti wrote that he was painting "an oil-picture all blue, for [the art dealer Ernest] Gambart, to be called *The Blue Bower*."<sup>156</sup> As in Whistler's *Lange Lijzen of the Six Marks*, blue and white ceramics played a crucial role for the colour composition of *The Blue Bower*. W. M. Rossetti considered this painting as "the most forcible piece of colour and handling that Rossetti ever produced."<sup>157</sup> The critic for *Athenaeum*, F. G. Stephens also notes the harmonious colouring of this picture: "The green and chestnut-auburn, the pallid roses of the flesh, and the firmamental blue of the background, are as ineffable in variety of tint as in their delicious harmony."<sup>158</sup>

Rossetti's rivalry with Whistler regarding blue and white porcelain is seen not only in his painting, *The Blue Bower*, but also in his collecting. W. M. Rossetti recalls:

[...] Mr. Whistler and my brother. They made bids against each other in Paris as well as in London, and were possibly a little nettled to learn in Paris that there was another painter—the renowned Tissot—who outstripped them both in acquisition. Rossetti gave a deal of time as well as energy to the collecting of china etc. I have seen him come home late, rather fagged from his eager pursuit, with a cargo of blue either actually in hand or ordered to arrive; and, as he dropped into an easy-chair, he called out "Pots, pots!" with a thrilling accent. It spoke at once of achievement and of despondency. Such may have been the tone of Alexander of Macedon when he deplored that there were no more worlds to conquer.<sup>159</sup>

One of Rossetti's first major purchases was in 1864 when he acquired two hundred pieces of "blue china formed by the retiring Italian Ambassador, the Marquis d'Azeglio," for £200.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Val Prinsep, 'The Private Collections of London: The Late Mr. Frederick Leyland's in Prince's Gate,' *The Art Journal*, vol. 55 (May 1892), p. 132; Merrill, 'Whistler and the "Lange Lijzen,"' p. 687.

<sup>156</sup> D. G. Rossetti, *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, ed. O. Doughty and J. R. Wahl, vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1963), p. 552, letter of 18 April 1865.

<sup>157</sup> W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family-Letters with a Memoir* (London: Ellis, 1895), vol. I, p. 240.

<sup>158</sup> Frederic George Stephens, 'Mr. Rossetti's Pictures,' *Athenaeum*, no. 1982, 21 October 1865, p. 546.

<sup>159</sup> W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, vol. I, pp. 263-64.

<sup>160</sup> W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, vol. I, p. 263.

To service Rossetti's persistent hunting for "pots," Marks had been acting as his agent.<sup>161</sup> For instance, on 3 August 1866, after seeing Louis Huth's "extremely beautiful" ginger jars displayed at the South Kensington Museum, Rossetti wrote to Marks:

My dear Marks,

I went yesterday to see Mr. Huth's hawthorn pot at Kensington, and really after that I could not become the possessor of the one you brought me, good as it is. I cannot afford to hate a fellow creature so much as I should the owner of the other one. If there is another like it in the world, I will gladly give what was given for that.<sup>162</sup>

"Hawthorn pot," as the name for a particular type of ginger jar, was of Rossetti's invention.<sup>163</sup> This type of ginger jar is "decorated all over with a deep blue background interspersed with fractured white lines, in imitation of cracked ice" which is ready to dissolve (Fig. 23).<sup>164</sup> Against this background is a flowering prunus branch (梅花 meihua), which is an allegory for the passing of winter and the coming of spring in Chinese tradition.<sup>165</sup> As seen in the decoration on the ceramic tiles of *The Blue Bower*, Chinese porcelain with the decorative pattern of "hawthorn" became Rossetti's favourite type. Marks was the one who recognised the beauty of this particular type of porcelain in the early days. Williamson wrote that Marks persuaded Huth to buy a hawthorn pot for £15 when it had not become popular yet and its price was exceedingly moderate.<sup>166</sup> However, Huth considered the price very expensive and returned it.<sup>167</sup> Yet Huth eventually purchased his famous hawthorn pot from a friend for £25 later, which would be sold for 5,900 guineas to the art dealer F. Partridge at his posthumous sale at Christie's on 17 May 1905 (lot 31).<sup>168</sup> Probably this piece was "Huth's hawthorn pot"

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<sup>161</sup> W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, vol. I, p. 263.

<sup>162</sup> D. G. Rossetti, *Letters*, vol. II, pp. 601-2, letter of 3 August 1866; Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>163</sup> W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, vol. I, p. 263.

<sup>164</sup> Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, p. 64.

<sup>165</sup> Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, p. 64. This allegory was perceived by British collectors, and these jars were "used for the conveyance of costly gifts of tea and other delicacies" for New Year's Day. Williamson, p. 34. The prunus blossom is one of the most common patterns in Chinese art, because it is considered as one of the Four Noble Gentlemen (四君子 sijunzi) along with orchid (兰 lan), chrysanthemum (菊花 juhua) and bamboo (竹 zhu) in Chinese literati culture.

<sup>166</sup> The year this happened is unknown.

<sup>167</sup> Later Marks sold that piece to Mr. Andrews for £300. Williamson, p. 55.

<sup>168</sup> Gardner C. Teall, 'Mr. Whistler and the Art Crafts,' *House Beautiful*, vol. 13 (New York, February 1903), p. 188, quoted in Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 170; Christie's, *A Catalogue of Export Art of*

that Rossetti saw at the exhibition in the South Kensington Museum in 1866. In March of 1867, Marks brought over Rossetti two hawthorn pots with their covers, which cost Rossetti £120.<sup>169</sup>

In *Monna Rosa* (Fig. 24) painted in 1867, Rossetti depicted his hawthorn pot. *Monna Rosa* is a portrait of Mrs. Frances Leyland, the wife of Frederick Richards Leyland, one of the most important clients of both of Rossetti and Marks. Rossetti painted a portrait of Mrs. Leyland by the same name in 1862 (Fig. 25). Although the 1867 *Monna Rosa* was significantly different from the previous one, in a letter to Leyland dated 18 June 1867, Rossetti explained why he chose the same title:

I have now given the figure a flowing white and gold drapery, which I think comes remarkably well and suits the head perfectly. [...] I think I cannot do better than call the picture again *Monna Rosa*, and adopt a quotation from Poliziano, which fits it happily:

Con manto d'oro, collana ed anelli,

La piace aver con quelli

Non altro che una rosa ai sua capelli.

[with a golden mantle, necklace, and rings,

it pleases her to have with these

nothing else but a rose in her hair]

Thus the lady, richly dressed, is cutting a rose to put in her hair, & the treatment of the figure is accounted for.<sup>170</sup>

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*China and Japan* (London, 7 April 1997), p. 26. I would like to thank Colin Sheaf at Bonhams through whose hands this piece passed in the 1997 sale, and who shared this reference with me.

<sup>169</sup> W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, vol. I, p. 263. Rossetti sold back to Marks his pair of hawthorn pots for £70 or £80 in 1872 when he was in need of funds. Marks sold them to Sir William Armstrong, "who placed them in the drawing room of his Northumberland country house designed by Richard Norman Shaw." See Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 171.

The price of this type of hawthorn pot increased rapidly. Between the autumn of 1868 and February 1869, Joel Duveen, then based in Hull, bought a hawthorn pot from a Dutch nobleman for £470. Soon he sold it to the painter and collector James Orrock for £1,200. See Colin Simpson, *The Partnership: The Secret Association of Bernard Berenson and Joseph Duveen* (London: Bodley Head, 1987), p. 13.

<sup>170</sup> D. G. Rossetti and F. R. Leyland, *The Rossetti-Leyland Letters: The Correspondence of an Artist and his Patron*, ed. Fennell Jr. and Francis L. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1978), letter no. 6 (18 June 1867).

Inspired by this lyric by Poliziano, the Italian poet of Quattrocento, in *Monna Rosa* Rossetti portrays Mrs. Leyland as the ideal of female beauty in the Italian Renaissance style.<sup>171</sup> Like his other paintings of voluptuous women, the figure is in the close-up composition omitting foreground and background. “Richly dressed” in the heavily embroidered white and gold drapery in Venetian style (which is also used for *Monna Vanna* of 1866), she plucks a rose from the Chinese blue and white pot, probably to put it in her Titianesque red hair as described in the poem.

Along with peacock feathers streaming down behind the figure and the bamboo rack in East Asian style, the hawthorn pot serves to create an exotic mood in this poetic image. Jessica F. Feldman argues that in *Monna Rosa* the hawthorn pot “should not be viewed as simply decorative.”<sup>172</sup> According to her, this painting reveals Rossetti’s passion for the hawthorn pot as well as his penchant for translating it into the different cultural contexts and into the different medium, painting.<sup>173</sup> In order to translate the hawthorn pot on his canvas, Rossetti accentuated its colour and the aesthetic arrangements: the vivid colours of blue and white were interwoven in the pictorial composition of ‘Venetian’ mode. In his biography of Rossetti published in 1904, Henry C. Marillie also recognised the importance of the colour of the hawthorn pot in this painting.<sup>174</sup> Defining *Monna Rosa* as “a study in beautiful colour,” Marillie describes how the “blue jar” is harmoniously combined with the keynotes of the picture, gold and red, which are perpetuated in the ornaments of drapery, roses and peacock feathers.<sup>175</sup> In this way, the exotic element of Chinese porcelain is fused into the image of the historic ambience. That is, reflecting “the textures of the dress, roses and screen,” the hawthorn pot finds a way to dwell in the poetic image of Italian Renaissance.<sup>176</sup> While “the appropriating mirror-play” of the beautiful figure and various things composes the poetic world, the atmospheres of the whole scene, in return, set up the

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<sup>171</sup> The poet Angelo Ambrogini (1454-1494), commonly known by his nickname Poliziano, is a classical scholar and poet of Florentine Renaissance.

<sup>172</sup> Jessica Rosalind Feldman, *Victorian Modernism: Pragmatism and the Varieties of Aesthetic Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 69-71.

<sup>173</sup> Feldman, *Victorian Modernism*, pp. 69-71.

<sup>174</sup> Henry Currie Marillie, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: An Illustrated Memorial of His Art and Life* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1904), p. 101.

<sup>175</sup> Marillie, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, p. 101.

<sup>176</sup> Feldman, *Victorian Modernism*, pp. 69-71.



backdrop in which the particular things are able to appear significant.<sup>177</sup> Feldman pays attention to the unveiling of the being of Chinese blue and white porcelain through *Monna Rosa*: she asserts that the hawthorn pot “has become the emblem of aestheticism itself.”<sup>178</sup>

Rossetti’s inspiration by Chinese blue and white porcelain and his conscious rejection of temporal and geographical coherence in favour of the alternative logic of beauty were shared with other artists such as Albert Moore.<sup>179</sup> Convinced that “the foremost obligation of all art was to be ‘decorative,’” Moore employed abstract formal principles that make an imagery function purely visually with such elements as line, colour and form.<sup>180</sup> In his evolving pictorial system, narrative content was eliminated, and instead, ornamental vocabularies from the past and the foreign land were adopted.<sup>181</sup> Since he joined a convivial network of Aesthetic artists in the mid-1860s through Whistler, Moore became interested in Oriental ceramics. At his first dinner with Rossetti around 1865, Moore was amused by Rossetti who “impulsively checked the mark on the bottom of his soup dish while the vessel was still full to the brim.”<sup>182</sup> From these moments, blue and white ceramics began to appear within Moore’s paintings of the style that he had already founded on classical Greek art.<sup>183</sup>

For example, commissioned by Leyland, between 1868 and 1869, Moore executed a notable painting, *A Venus* (Fig. 26), in which allusions to Oriental art were mixed with the classical Greek influence.<sup>184</sup> Moore called this work ‘a Venus,’ denoting that it portrays a type of ideal beauty, rather than the mythological Roman goddess.<sup>185</sup> In order to convey the ideal beauty, Moore depicts a figure which replicates a standard pose in Greek sculpture, the *diadumenos*, or fillet-binder. The graceful movements of classical drapery in the background were juxtaposed with exotic elements such as azaleas blossoms, a white vase, an Oriental inspired cartouche, and Moore’s “cherished blue and white pots.”<sup>186</sup> The arrangements were

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<sup>177</sup> Heidegger, ‘The Thing,’ p. 121.

<sup>178</sup> Feldman, *Victorian Modernism*, pp. 69-71.

<sup>179</sup> Codell, ‘Exotic, Fetish, Virtual,’ p. 95.

<sup>180</sup> Asleson, *Albert Moore*, p. 77 and 88.

<sup>181</sup> Asleson, *Albert Moore*, p. 77.

<sup>182</sup> Walford Graham Robertson (1931), *Time Was: The Reminiscences of W. Graham Robertson / with a foreword by Sir John Gielgud* (London: Quartet, 1993), p. 60, quoted in Asleson, *Albert Moore*, p. 89.

<sup>183</sup> Apart from *A Venus*, Moore also depicted blue and white ceramic in *Lilies* painted in 1866, which demonstrates similarities to Whistler’s *Symphony in White No. III* (1865-7). See Asleson, *Albert Moore*, pp. 90-91.

<sup>184</sup> Asleson, *Albert Moore*, pp. 104-5.

<sup>185</sup> Asleson, *Albert Moore*, p. 105.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

laid out in the extrapolated colour scheme.<sup>187</sup> Influenced by Japanese prints, Moore also minimalises spatial depth and chiaroscuro. When this painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1869, the art critic Sidney Colvin noted that “A *Venus* was not an imitation of natural appearances [...] but an experimental arrangement of chromatic tones based on theoretical system.”<sup>188</sup> Colvin continued to explain how the colouring harmoniously combined various elements altogether:

The scheme of the artist has been to make a sort of symphony of pale flesh-colour; he has placed here a tint of pure white, there a tint of pure rose; he has coloured this drapery a little yellower than the flesh, then balanced it with drapery a little greyer, and so on, producing a complete and satisfying harmony in a certain key.<sup>189</sup>

Thus, in this painting, harmonious arrangements were achieved by the careful colouring which combines the decontextualised and dehistoricised objects.

Like Moore, Marks too was deeply impressed by Rossetti’s radical paintings. Marks was drawn to those images that Rossetti created with female figures and various objects in the Venetian Renaissance style. Marks’s interest in historical styles, in particular, that of the Italian Renaissance period is seen from the beginning of his career. At Christie’s sales, Marks frequently bought Italian Renaissance objects from the 1860s, even though his main acquisition was dominated by Oriental ceramics. For example, he bought two decorative objects in gold and silver respectively on 26-27 March 1863 (lots 131 and 324); four lots of old Venetian glass on 22 March 1865 (lots 29, 33, 49 and 70); and six lots of Majolica on 6-9 February 1866 (lots 213, 286, 301, 323, 329 and 336).<sup>190</sup> Marks’s commission of the painting, *La Bella Mano* (Fig. 27) by Rossetti in 1875 demonstrates that he advocated Rossetti’s sumptuous colouring and harmonious displays of objects within the pictorial system of the Venetian Renaissance.<sup>191</sup> This commission was recorded for the first time in Rossetti’s receipt

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>189</sup> Sidney Colvin, *Notes on the Exhibitions of the Royal Academy and Old Water-colour Society* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1869), p. 49.

<sup>190</sup> Christie’s, *A Catalogue of a Collection Objects of Art and Virtu, Formed Many Years Ago, Chiefly in Italy, by Countess-Dowaga of Ashburnham* (London, 26-27 March 1863); Christie’s, *A Catalogue of a Collection of Porcelain, Bronzes, and Other Ornamental Objects, Recently Received from the Continent* (London, 22 March 1865); Christie’s, *A Catalogue of Objects of Art and Virtu* (London, 6-9 February 1866).

<sup>191</sup> Marks sold this painting to “Mr. F. S. Ellis, the publisher, his friend and Rossetti’s friend, and the godfather of Marks’s only child.” At the Ellis sale it was transferred to Sir Cuthbert Quilter via Agnew’s for about two thousand guineas, and it was housed at Bawdsey Manor, Felixstowe. It now belongs to

to Marks dated the 15 February 1875 which is written as follows: "Received of Murray Marks. Esq., the sum of £400 on account of the picture of 'La Bella Mano', price one thousand guineas."<sup>192</sup> Then in several subsequent letters from Rossetti to Marks, Rossetti mentioned the process of the work, a preparatory chalk drawing and payment.<sup>193</sup>

The painting depicts a personification of love: Venus is assisted by two winged attendants.<sup>194</sup> Williamson tells us that Marks discussed every detail of the scene with the artist. In his work on Rossetti, William Sharpe carefully describes how this imaginary scene was composed:

The composition consists of a group of three figures, the chief of which is a three-quarter figure of a Venetian lady in the first bloom of womanhood: she is attired in a low-bodiced dress of crimson purple velvet, the ample sleeves of which, thrown back from her right arm over the shoulder, displays the lighter colour of the lining and gives a grateful relief of colour. The joyous, oval face, which is turned three-quarters towards the spectator, is crowned with a rich mass of golden auburn hair. The throwing back of the sleeve leaves bare the finely-moulded arms which the lady extends towards a golden scalloped basin in which she laves her long and delicately formed hands. On each side of the basin stands 'her loves', embodied as two beautiful children with scarlet wings, one of whom bears in a tray the jewels wherewith she shall be "ring girt and bracelet spann'd," while the other holds up a linen cloth ready for her use. Immediately behind the head of the principal figure is a large convex mirror, in which we see reflected the fire at the further end of the room, the chimney-piece garnished with china and ornaments, and the bed on one side of the chamber. To the left, on a table covered with white embroidery, stands a blue jar, in which is seen a pearl jewel for the hair; beside it is a golden toilet castor, and in the front lie two red tulips, towards which the foliage of a rose tree reaches up from the ground. On a bracket to the right of the mirror is a faience vase, in which is a purple iris, and between this, between the figures of the 'loves,' is a brazen water urn, surrounded by a winged figure. In the foreground of the picture is a lemon tree, the leaves of which grow up in front of the golden bowl; the tree stands in a large ornamental pot, the foliage and fruit being painted with rare skill and delicacy.<sup>195</sup>

Sharpe's description is focused on the Venetian lady's bodily presence in rich colouring and the endless list of ornamental things. W. M. Rossetti and a contemporary writer also noted

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the Delaware Art Museum, USA. The drawing, which Marks also purchased for £120, was taken to Delaware by Mr. Bancroft of Delaware. Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 79-82.

<sup>192</sup> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Library, MS, from Rossetti to Marks (15 Feb. 1875).

<sup>193</sup> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Library, MS, from Rossetti to Marks (30 Apr. 1875, 15 Jun. 1875, and 19 Jul. 1875).

<sup>194</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 77.

<sup>195</sup> William Sharp, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: A Record and a Study* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1882), quoted in Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 77-78.

the “extraordinary beauty of composition and colouring” of this painting.<sup>196</sup> Indeed, *La Bella Mano* is a typical example of Rossetti’s paintings of “sumptuous” colouring and display of bric-à-brac. As Julie Codell characterises Rossetti’s paintings as the juxtaposition of visual excesses of various objects, *La Bella Mano* is packed with a number of historic and decorative things which were mostly supplied by Marks.<sup>197</sup> According to a letter of 22 April 1875, Rossetti requested a square *Gris de Flandre* flower pot for the lemon tree.<sup>198</sup> In addition, Marks lent the blue jar, the toilet castor, the circular mirror and the brass urn, and Rossetti carried off Mrs. Marks’s open-work table-cover one afternoon. Furthermore, Marks recalled that he had bought the tulips and the iris in Covent Garden for the picture and that he had to make several purchases of tulips until he found flowers of the exact tint required to satisfy Rossetti.<sup>199</sup>

With these things, Marks and Rossetti created the world outré. According to Codell who draws on Deleuze’s concept of the *virtual*, the objects in Rossetti’s paintings are the virtual objects which “escape taxonomy, social propriety, and commodification” and exercise “a magic or power outside social systems.” This unclassifiable set of things creates “a border zone beyond the routine stability of meaning in everyday life.”<sup>200</sup> The actual things that Marks and Rossetti collected for *La Bella Mano* were from other places, times, and cultures. Instead of placing these deraciné things within the Victorian classification system, Marks and Rossetti recalled the memory of the Venetian Renaissance. Therefore, these things were transferred into the virtual world between the past and the present as well as between the actual and the abstract. The ideal world in which these things were translated to inhabit was well expressed in Rossetti’s sonnet of the same title. When he completed the painting, Rossetti wrote the sonnet on the frame:

O lovely hand, that thy sweet self doth lave  
In that thy pure and proper element,  
Whence erst the Lady of Love’s high advent  
Was born, and endless fire sprang from the wave; –

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<sup>196</sup> W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, vol. I, p. 240; Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 76.

<sup>197</sup> Julie Codell, ‘Displaying Aestheticism’s Bric-a-Brac: Rossetti’s Material and Virtual Goods,’ eds. Lee Glazer and Linda Merrill, *Palaces of Art: Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2013); Williamson, p. 76 and p. 83.

<sup>198</sup> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Library, MS, from Rossetti to Marks (22 Apr. 1875).

<sup>199</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 82-3.

<sup>200</sup> Codell, ‘Displaying Aestheticism’s Bric-a-Brac,’ p. 128.

Even as her Loves to her their offerings gave,  
For thee the jewelled gifts they bear; while each  
Looks to those lips, of music-measured speech  
The fount, and of more bliss than man may crave.

In royal wise ring-girt and bracelet-spann'd  
A flower of Venus' own virginity,  
Go shine among thy sisterly sweet band;  
In maiden-minded converse delicately  
Evermore white and soft; until thou be,  
O hand! heart-handsel'd in a lover's hand.<sup>201</sup>

Rossetti wrote in his letter to Stephens that both the painting and sonnet was inspired by the Italian poet Giusto de' Conti's lyric of the same title which was written in 1440.<sup>202</sup> Thus, Rossetti's poetic image envisaging the epoch of Italian Renaissance built the space in which various ornamental things come to appear and live another phase of their lives. Together with the ensemble of these things, *La Bella Mano* opened up the virtual temple in which the goddess is present.

Heidegger discusses the open relational context of the work of art through the example of a Greek temple:

Standing on the rocky ground, [...] the temple's firm towering makes visible the invisible space of air. [...] Tree and grass, eagle and bull, snake and cricket first enter into their distinctive shapes and thus come to appear as what they are. The Greeks early called this emerging and rising [Herauskommen, Aufgehen] in itself and in all things *phusis*. [...] The temple, in its standing there, first gives to things their look and to men their outlook on themselves. This view remains open as long as the work is a work, as long as the god has not fled from it.<sup>203</sup>

As the temple let the god, men, animals, plants and things come to appear as what they are, by its standing there, Rossetti's image of Venetian Renaissance made *bric-à-brac* emerge in themselves. Before Rossetti painted this scene, these miscellaneous things had always been there in the dust of the old curiosity shop. However, once Rossetti had created the imaginary space evoking the past, these things finally unveiled their faces and came into view. Thus, the ambiance of Venetian Renaissance in *La Bella Mano* built a virtual temple where the unnoticed things rose from the dead.

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<sup>201</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 79.

<sup>202</sup> The Rossetti Archive (<http://www.rossettiarchive.org/docs/34-1875.s240.raw.html>)

<sup>203</sup> Heidegger, 'The Origin of the Work of Art,' p. 42.

Marks's fascination for Rossetti's paintings of the Renaissance revival style affected his art trades. In the mid-1870s Marks explored inspirational sources of Rossetti's paintings, Renaissance old master paintings, and dealt in them. Also, Marks himself began to collect paintings by Italian Quattrocento and Cinquecento masters such as Bartolomeo Viranini, Matteo Di Giovanni, the school of Signorelli, the school of Mantegna, Beccafumi and Giulio Romano.<sup>204</sup> Marks's keen interest in Italian Renaissance art that was aroused largely by his interaction with Rossetti anticipated his later specialisation in Italian Renaissance bronzes.

### **The Aesthetic Shop: 395 Oxford Street**

While Marks, the dealer in Chinese blue and white porcelain, stepped into the vanguard artists' experiments, these artists attempted to market their works through the cooperation with Marks. In 1867, for example, Marks, D. G. Rossetti, Burne-Jones, William Morris and the architects Shaw & Nesfield planned to start "a somewhat different line of business, that of general decoration, somewhat on the same plan as the Morris firm."<sup>205</sup> William Eden Nesfield – Richard Norman Shaw's business partner at that time (1866-69) and Moore's close friend – shared the interest in East Asian art with this circle: he had produced architectural works with Japanese patterns and ornamental foliage since his very first architectural commission at Shipley in 1860.<sup>206</sup> William Morris was already running a firm of decoration, Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co., but in 1867 he was seeking a new strategy to rescue his firm from declining. In that year, under financial difficulty Morris "drew so much from his partnership account that he ended the year £91 in debt."<sup>207</sup> Perhaps this circumstance made

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<sup>204</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 86. Most acquisitions were not dated, except for the purchases of six pieces including *La Vierge au Berceau* by Giulio Romano, from the Condoover Hall Collection in 1897. Therefore, it is difficult to know since when he started collecting Renaissance old master paintings. Marks also owned three pieces by Velasquez, whose works had considerable influence on the Aesthetic circle. Christie's, *A Catalogue of Old Pictures Drawings and Prints: The property of Murray Marks Esq.* (London, 5 July 1918), lots 38, 42, 49, 52, 81, 82, 91, 101 and 102.

<sup>205</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 98; Spencer, *The Aesthetic Movement*, p. 51; William Rossetti diaries, 22/10/1867, quoted in Andrew Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 63.

<sup>206</sup> Asleson, *Albert Moore*, p. 92.

<sup>207</sup> Rosalind P. Blakesley, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: Phaidon, 2006), p. 40.

Morris participate in the plan. Meanwhile Marks wanted to market paintings by Rossetti, Burne-Jones, and Watts, and etchings by Whistler with the exclusive rights to sell, and to “make a point of recommending these pictures to the various art patrons of the day, doing their best to encourage the artists of that school, by providing pictures which were really objects of beauty.”<sup>208</sup> Marks’s intention was “playing into the hands of Morris & Co. to some extent, especially for painted glass, but making his affair a more pushing and enterprising scheme altogether.”<sup>209</sup> The patron and collector, Alexander Constantine Ionides, was greatly interested in this scheme, and offered financial support for the art firm.<sup>210</sup> However, unfortunately this plan was undermined by the notoriously dishonest art dealer, Charles Augustus Howell, who was scared of losing a proportion of his profits in the market.<sup>211</sup>

Nevertheless, Marks and these artists stayed in a reciprocal relationship. For Marks’s business, Rossetti, Whistler, and Morris made a trade card in around 1875 (Fig. 28).<sup>212</sup> This trade card depicts the Aesthetic circle’s emblems such as the hawthorn pot, the peacock feather and the six marks from the Kangxi reign, ‘大清康熙年製 Da Qing Kang Xi Nian Zhi.’ Williamson describes it as follows:

It was executed on a dull gold background, and represented a ginger-jar of Chinese porcelain, decorated with the prunus blossom, standing upon a shelf covered with a moroon-coloured material, and having its lid by its side. In the jar was a peacock’s feather, and close by the side of the jar another feather of the same kind, while around on the scroll were words referring to the various things about which Marks was already becoming a well-known expert – furniture, bronze, leather, tapestry, armour, carving, enamels, stuffs, Sèvres, Dresden, Oriental, and Nankin porcelain.<sup>213</sup>

According to Williamson, the principal design was Rossetti’s work.<sup>214</sup> Indeed, the coupling of the hawthorn pot with peacock feathers demonstrates Rossetti’s particular enthusiasm that favoured this specific type of blue and white porcelain and kept a peacock at his residence in Cheyne Walk.<sup>215</sup> The letters, “Murray Marks, 395 Oxford Street,” were written by Morris

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<sup>208</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 98-99.

<sup>209</sup> William Rossetti diaries, 22/10/1867, quoted from Saint, p. 63.

<sup>210</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 99.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> While Williamson wrote that this trade card was created by Rossetti, Whistler and Morris, some suggest that the card was Henry Treffry Dunn’s work. See Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 176-77; Stephen Calloway and Lynn Federle Orr, eds., *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1860-1900* (London: V&A Publishing, 2011), p. 116.

<sup>213</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 14.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>215</sup> W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, vol. I, p. 254.

who was interested in the shape of letters. Whistler drew the background of the card, with its series of Chinese star ornaments.<sup>216</sup> As Williamson notes, this trade card is a remarkable case to find a combination of the works of three notable artists.<sup>217</sup>

Marks's involvement with the Aesthetic Movement was applied to his business in a concrete form, when he remodelled his shop at 395 Oxford Street around 1875.<sup>218</sup> After Pickford's, the partner of his father Emanuel, moved out of the properties in 1874, Marks commissioned its redesign by Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912). Shaw was the celebrated architect of the Queen Anne style which emerged in domestic building in London in the mid-1870s. Shaw was also an enthusiastic collector of Chinese blue and white porcelain, and bought porcelain from Marks in the 1860s and 1870s. In a letter written to Marks on 2 June 1904, Shaw confessed: "I have no money to spend on "pots" – It's now many years since I ventured to buy even a small one and I often grin over the real bargains we had from you. Nearly 40 years ago. - !" <sup>219</sup> Shaw executed remodelling 395 Oxford Street according to historical sources, English Renaissance, and also respecting 'individual sensibility.'<sup>220</sup> Shaw's remodelling of the shop introduced an innovative decorative scheme for a curiosity shop or a commercial art gallery. Most curiosity shops in the second-half of the nineteenth century in Britain were packed with a vast array of objects, as we can see in a photographic illustration of Messrs Fenton's 'Old Curiosity Shop' in Bury St Edmunds (Fig. 29).<sup>221</sup> This type of stuffy display of bric-à-brac was common enough until the early twentieth century.<sup>222</sup> However, Shaw created a new space with an emphasis on the aesthetic ambience. When the remodelled shop opened in 1875, it became an important landmark of the Queen Anne revival. Deeply impressed, Coutts Lindsay, the founder of the Grosvenor Gallery, requested

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<sup>216</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>217</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 15.

<sup>218</sup> Marks moved his shop four times in total throughout his career: his first shop was located at 21 Sloane Street in 1864 and 1865; then he removed as a 'curiosity dealer' to 129 High Holborn and maintained the address until 1869; subsequently, he seemed to move back to his father's properties at 395 Oxford Street; in 1885, he combined with his partner, Durlacher Brothers, at 23A Bond Street eliminating his name; they moved again to 142 New Bond Street in 1887 where he traded until his retirement. Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 11-2 and p. 16; London Directories. For further information about addresses of Marks and Durlacher's, see Appendix 2.

<sup>219</sup> MS, from R. N. Shaw to Marks (2 June 1904) Fitzwilliam Museum Library, Cambridge.

<sup>220</sup> Barry Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750-1890* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 273.

<sup>221</sup> Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 149.

<sup>222</sup> Cohen, pp. 151-53.



advice on the decoration of his gallery from Marks.<sup>223</sup> Although Lindsay did not adopt Marks's recommendation but took Whistler's idea instead, as Clive Wainwright notes the new decorative scheme of 395 Oxford Street influenced prominent commercial art galleries in Bond Street including Agnew's (Fig. 30), Duveen's and Colnaghi's.<sup>224</sup>

It is difficult to describe the exact feature of the shop since the building was demolished in the early twentieth century and no images of the interior or the exterior seems to have survived.<sup>225</sup> Nonetheless, through the drawings by Shaw dated 22 November 1875 (Fig. 31) as well as Williamson's recollection, we can have a glimpse of the innovative transformation. According to Shaw's drawings, 395 Oxford Street was "a large 'shop' 30 ft wide by 50 ft deep and almost 12 ft tall on the ground floor, and upstairs there were two further showrooms."<sup>226</sup> "Into the Oxford Street façade Shaw inserted a witty neo-Georgian bow window with small rectangular glazing-bars juttied out on brackets, in direct opposition to the current fashion for plate-glass shop windows."<sup>227</sup> This bow window was similar to the modern show window: Williamson recalls "a window divided by carved wood into small square panels grouped around three circular-headed niches in which specially choice and small objects could be exhibited."<sup>228</sup> "The door-cases were either stone or terracotta, carved or moulded with Renaissance ornament, with the name Marks inscribed over one of them."<sup>229</sup>

Along with the façade, its colour scheme was also unconventional. Instead of using heavy dark wood panel, it "was painted in one colour, cream, without other tint or heightening effect of gold or colour."<sup>230</sup> This colour scheme provided a background to the individual pieces of Chinese porcelain themselves. Williamson remarks it as the first artistic business elevation in London in the style of Queen Anne.<sup>231</sup> Indeed, the harmonious display of exotic

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<sup>223</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 99-100.

<sup>224</sup> Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p 162; Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 99-100; Colleen Denney, 'The Grosvenor Gallery as Palace of Art: An Exhibition Model,' eds. Susan P. Casteras and Colleen Denney, *The Grosvenor Gallery: A Palace of Art in Victorian England* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 13; The Lindsays also remodelled the entrance doorway in the Renaissance manner holding to emulate Renaissance patrons. See Denney, 'The Grosvenor Gallery as Palace of Art,' pp. 18-19.

<sup>225</sup> Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 162.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>228</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 13.

<sup>229</sup> Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 162.

<sup>230</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 13.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*

and historic objects in the bright coloured space in a relaxed historic space was distinctive from the prior heavy Gothic interior. This was an obvious evolution from the piling up display in most curiosity shops at that time.

The remodelling of 395 Oxford Street created the aesthetic space which enabled Chinese blue and white porcelain and other objects to appear with new meanings and feelings. Codell argues that “bric-a-brac exemplified the ephemeral nature of an object’s meanings and significance,” because “in an endless circulation of goods, [...] things lose and gain meanings continuously.” According to her, the term bric-à-brac “links aesthetics and commerce because value could be determined by anyone” in the continual process of sold and resold.<sup>232</sup> Through the remodelling project, Marks transformed a commercial shop into a leading aesthetic attraction. In this way, he could locate Chinese blue and white porcelain into new contexts, distinguished from the shelves of the ‘old curiosity shop’. The new cultural environment metamorphosed the ‘old Nankin’ into an emblem of beauty, by adding different cultural connotation and value. Therefore, Marks’s involvement with the Aesthetic Movement led him to develop more creative and artistic business options.

### **Painted on Water: Cataloguing Thompson’s *Nankin* Porcelain**

After completing the remodelling project of his shop, in the autumn of 1876 Marks ventured to catalogue and to exhibit Sir Henry Thompson’s collection of Chinese blue and white porcelain. Thomson was a prominent physician whose patients included Leopold I of Belgium, Napoléon III of France and Nicholas II of Russia. He was also a student of astronomy and a painter who exhibited on several occasions at the Royal Academy between 1865 and 1885.<sup>233</sup> He had begun to collect Chinese porcelain on the advice of Rossetti, and one of Rossetti’s patrons who was introduced to Marks. Most of his collection of Chinese blue and white

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<sup>232</sup> Codell, ‘Displaying Aestheticism’s Bric-a-Brac,’ p. 128.

<sup>233</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 36.

porcelain was formed by Marks's hands, and it became one of the most important collections of Chinese blue and white porcelain in the late nineteenth century.<sup>234</sup>

Marks was likely inspired by the exhibition of Oriental ceramics at the Bethnal Green Museum in 1876 and its accompanying catalogue by Augustus Wallaston Franks.<sup>235</sup> Franks, the keeper of antiquities at the British Museum, lent his collection which had been systematically amassed. His catalogue "made the first attempt to distinguish the respective productions of China and Japan and to categorise all types of porcelains in a meaningful manner."<sup>236</sup> In the preface to the first edition of the catalogue (1876), Franks wrote:

Many collections contain larger and finer specimens, such for instance as the brilliant series formed by Mr Alfred Morrison and Mr Louis Huth; but it is probably that none of them illustrate so fully the different varieties of porcelain which have been produced in the manufactories of China and Japan. For it will be seen that this collection has not been limited to choice or ancient specimens, but that even common and modern examples have been included when they illustrate the subject. It is probably, moreover, the first time that any attempt has been made to exhibit Oriental porcelain divided into classes, and to distinguish the respective productions of China and Japan.<sup>237</sup>

Franks's attempt to classify Oriental porcelain was "based on visual characteristics of the ceramics, such as: 'Chinese Porcelain Not Painted' or 'Chinese Crackle Porcelain'."<sup>238</sup> Franks's categories and terminology do not accord with today's standard in English for taxonomic descriptions of Chinese ceramics which was established after adopting the categories of the *Tao shuo* (Descriptions of Ceramics), written by Zhu Yan in 1774.<sup>239</sup> The *Tao shuo* was translated into English as *Chinese Porcelain Before the Present Dynasty* in 1886 by Stephen W. Bushell who worked as a British Legation doctor in Beijing from 1868 until 1900 when he returned to Britain.<sup>240</sup> The categories of ceramics in the *Tao shuo* follow "the conventions established as early as the fourteenth century in China," which "are primarily related to

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<sup>234</sup> MacDonald, 'Whistler's Designs for a Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain,' p. 292.

<sup>235</sup> Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, p. 73.

<sup>236</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 171.

<sup>237</sup> Bethnal Green Museum, *Catalogue of a Collection of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery, Lent for Exhibition and Described by Augustus W. Franks, F.R.S., F.S.A.* (London, 1876), p. 9.

<sup>238</sup> Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, p. 73.

<sup>239</sup> Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, pp. 73-74.

<sup>240</sup> Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, p. 74; For biographical information on Bushell, see Judith Green, *Britain's Chinese Collections: Private Collecting and the Invention of Chinese Art*, PhD thesis, University of Sussex (2003) and Nick Pearce, 'Collecting, Connoisseurship and Commerce: An Examination of the Life and Career of Stephen Wootton Bushell (1844-1908),' *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 70 (2005-2006).

where the ceramics were produced [...] or their reign period.”<sup>241</sup> Although Franks’s attempt is distinguished from “the China-centred approach to the study and collecting of Chinese ceramics,” it marked an emerging movement for connoisseurship of Chinese porcelain.<sup>242</sup>

This kind of approach to Chinese ceramics was already seen in the *Catalogue of Chinese Objects in the South Kensington Museum*, written by C. Alabaster, in 1872, a few years before Marks’s publication of the catalogue of Thompson’s collection.<sup>243</sup> Alabaster catalogued two hundred examples of Chinese porcelain in the South Kensington Museum. Without illustration, this catalogue includes mainly Qing monochromes and enamelled wares, and includes a call for systematic collecting. Alabaster wrote:

Of the specially distinguishing art of China, that of porcelain manufacture, Europe is rich in specimens, although there has as yet been no attempt to form a collection systematically arranged, either to illustrate the general history, progress, and the present state of the art, or to show the beauty of form and colour which may be attained in it. Collectors as a rule seem to be guided by mania rather than by reason, and mix works of art, to the production of which intelligence and thought have been earnestly devoted, with common wares, whose beauty, if possessed, is but accidental, the unconscious following and imitation of the masters of the art. Still there exist ample means of study; and, although in the later works of our artists in poetry we seem to have attained a point beyond which further improvement is impossible, the lover of old china yet misses in European ceramics art that softness of colour and roundness of form which a warm sun and genial philosophy have combined to produce in the Chinese wares.<sup>244</sup>

Although Alabaster criticised the collecting of Chinese ceramics “guided by mania” not “by reason,” Marks’s selection for his catalogue exclusively concerns “Blue and White Nankin Porcelain.”<sup>245</sup> Marks must have been aware of the burgeoning connoisseurial approach to Chinese ceramics, because he clarifies that Franks’s catalogue was used for the reference of dates and marks in his own catalogue of the Thompson collection: “In all cases where dates and marks are given, they are in accordance with the Catalogue of Oriental China in the collection of A. W. Franks, Esq., F. R. S.”<sup>246</sup> However, Marks takes an Aesthetic approach to

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<sup>241</sup> Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, p. 74.

<sup>242</sup> Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, pp. 73-74.

<sup>243</sup> Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, p. 71.

<sup>244</sup> Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education, South Kensington Museum, *Catalogue of Chinese Objects in the South Kensington Museum. With an Introduction and Notes by C. Alabaster* (London, 1872), p. 10.

<sup>245</sup> Marks, *A Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain*, pp. v-vi.

<sup>246</sup> Marks, *A Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain*, p. vii.

the subject by focusing on visual elements such as form and colour and its representation rather than their historical and technological qualities.

The “Blue china book” was orchestrated entirely at Marks’s expense, without any commission or financial support by Thompson. In the letters to Joseph Pennell dated 25 November 1906 and 11 February 1907, Marks recalls: “Sir Henry Thompson had nothing to do with the catalogue beyond purchasing a certain number of copies from me.”<sup>247</sup> Marks himself wrote the catalogue of 339 sets of blue and white porcelain, which are described in sixty-seven pages and the preface which summarises a history of European reception of Chinese porcelain and the rise of *chinamania* within the Aesthetic circle.<sup>248</sup> Williamson notes that:

Marks’s description was not, perhaps, quite as full nor as detailed, as a description would be at the present day, because not so much was known about the collecting of Oriental china at that time, nor had the accepted nomenclature come into force, but it is simple and dignified and clear, and little more is required in a catalogue, while his introduction is just such as was needed to present the subject to the reader who was already interested in it.<sup>249</sup>

The journal *Athenaeum* reviewed the catalogue with a similar opinion to Williamson’s: the text was “merely descriptive ... and of no general interest.”<sup>250</sup> Indeed Marks’s description does not convey systematic knowledge of Chinese ceramics, but Marks carefully describes the form and colour of porcelain as well as the ornamental patterns. His emphasis on the visual elements was realised through the illustrations, the most original feature of the catalogue. Catalogues of Oriental ceramics were rarely illustrated at that time and, moreover, the style of the illustrations marked an unprecedented example in the study of the subject.<sup>251</sup> Marks commissioned Whistler and Thompson to produce the illustrations. From early in their acquaintance, Marks was familiar with Whistler’s rough sketches or pen-and-ink drawings of Chinese porcelain (See Fig. 15). It seems likely that Whistler had continuously made designs of porcelain, with wishes to produce them as porcelain even after the attempt to establish the Fine Art Company by Marks, Rossetti, Burne-Jones, Morris, Shaw & Nesfield and Ionides was undermined in 1867. In around 1872 Whistler submitted his sketches of porcelain to

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<sup>247</sup> MS 293, Marks to Joseph Pennell, November 25, 1906 and February 11, 1907, Pennell Whistler Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D. C., quoted in Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 176-77.

<sup>248</sup> Marks, *A Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain*, pp. v-vii.

<sup>249</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 45.

<sup>250</sup> ‘Fine-Art Gossip,’ *Athenaeum*, no. 2645 (6 July 1878), p. 25.

<sup>251</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 44.

Marks (Fig. 32). While some of them demonstrate typical Chinese patterns, others embody quotations from Whistler's own works such as *The Three Girls*, the image of Battersea Bridge, and "sailing ships resembling those Whistler painted in blue on the white walls of a passageway at 2 Lindsey Row."<sup>252</sup> Marks appreciated Whistler's remarkable skill to draw porcelain with "extraordinary facility" which, Marks believed, Whistler "alone, at that time, possessed."<sup>253</sup> On the other hand, Thompson was something of an artist who usually painted landscapes and oriental subjects. In his letter to Marks written on 10 January 1877, suggesting "which pieces should form the subject of some of the Whistler illustrations," Thompson demonstrates his ability to depict the effect of porcelain "by a few strokes" (Fig. 33).<sup>254</sup>

The earliest reference to the illustrations of the catalogue project is found in the artist J. Alden Weir's correspondence with his parents. When Thompson was on the trip to Spain to study the Alhambra, he met Weir whose father had taught Whistler at West Point. According to Weir's letter to his parents written on 9 October 1876, Thompson informed Weir that Whistler joined the catalogue project: "I asked him about [Whistler] ... and he said that at present he was working from some old china which he had lent him."<sup>255</sup> By the end of 1876, Whistler completed drawing the first instalment, and requested Marks to "bring a lot more pots." On 29 December 1876, Whistler wrote:

Dear Mr. Marks –

Come down here tomorrow morning at about 11. or 12. and take your drawings – they are charming – Bring a lot more pots and take away the old ones – and I will put them right through for you this next week – I wish enough you would bring me also £20 – on account – at this Xmas business they would come in very handy – and tomorrow morning would really materially be of great use – Your drawings I think you will find much more valuable than you expected –<sup>256</sup>

Whistler eventually drew thirty-eight pieces of porcelain for nineteen plates among twenty-six plates of the catalogue. Thompson contributed seven plates, Nos. II, V, VII, XI, XV, and XXII, incorporating thirteen pieces of porcelain (Fig. 34). As Whistler predicted, Marks recognised the aesthetic importance and higher value of Whistler's sumptuous wash

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<sup>252</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 172-73.

<sup>253</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 43.

<sup>254</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 44.

<sup>255</sup> MacDonald, 'Whistler's Designs for a Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain,' p. 292.

<sup>256</sup> Whistler's letter to Marks (December 29, 1876),

<http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/subject/display/?rs=3&indexid=749>

drawings. Many of them were kept by Marks, but “so high a price was, in fact, offered for them that Marks felt he was unable, with any ideas of economy, to retain them in his own hands.”<sup>257</sup> On February 7, 1879, when Marks sold his (or his father’s) stock at Christie’s, the sale included Whistler’s fifty-six pieces of original drawings (lots 527-534) most of which were purchased by Pickford Robert Waller, a designer and collector.<sup>258</sup>

In her article, ‘Whistler’s Design for the Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain,’ Margaret F. MacDonald carefully traces the sequence of Whistler’s work. According to her, “for each plate Whistler did at least one preliminary study” (Figs. 35 and 36).<sup>259</sup> Whistler’s designs were made with emphasis on “the essential lines of the composition, the style of brushwork and areas of pattern” rather than the accuracy of indicating “every detail in the designs on the porcelain.”<sup>260</sup> For example, in plate XVII of the catalogue, Whistler depicted a square canister “standing in front of a saucer-shaped dish with a bold design of white blossoms and leaves on a dark background.”<sup>261</sup> The square canister is one of the few cases where it is possible to compare Whistler’s drawing with the original porcelain.<sup>262</sup> The canister has been kept in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, since Thompson’s son the Egyptologist, Sir Herbert Thompson, donated the piece to the museum in 1920 (Fig. 37).<sup>263</sup> The canister is one of “THREE SQUARE CANISTERS,” described as No. 202 in Marks’s catalogue:

No. 202. THREE SQUARE CANISTERS, with square necks. Four subjects enclosed in ornamental panels. On one a mandarin seated in an inner court, surrounded by warriors and attendants, receiving offerings presented by three kneeling figures; at an outer gate an attendant holding a horse. On a second panel an interior with an emperor or person of rank, surrounded by five attendants, receiving in offering from a kneeling figure; in the foreground a terrace with five musicians. On another panel an empress or person of rank seated within a room, on either side two attendants carrying tall fans; before her a female figure dancing on a carpet; at an open window another female figure holding something in a cover; in the foreground four female musicians. On the fourth panel three mounted, three

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<sup>257</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 44.

<sup>258</sup> Christie’s, *Catalogue of the First Portion of the Valuable Stock of Mr. Marks. of Oxford Street, Who Is Retiring from the Business* (London, 5-7 February, 1879). Although the title of the catalogue indicates that the sale is only for “the First Portion” of the stock, I have not found subsequent auction sales of Marks’s stock in 1879;

<http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/subject/display/?rs=3&indexid=749>

<sup>259</sup> MacDonald, ‘Whistler’s Designs for a Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain,’ p. 292.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>262</sup> The original porcelain, *The Bottle of Compressed Globular Form*, depicted in plate XIX also survived in Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (c.28-1920), see MacDonald, ‘Whistler’s Designs for a Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain,’ p. 293.

<sup>263</sup> MacDonald, ‘Whistler’s Designs for a Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain,’ p. 292.

unmounted warriors advancing with raised standards through the defiles of a rock. Round the neck panels of flowers; on the cover a diaper ornament and a blue kylin. Mark, leaf and fillet in a sunk panel. Height, 12½ inches.

The three vases are ornamented with similar subjects, but slightly different in detail.<sup>264</sup>

In his preliminary study, Whistler made an attempt to translate two ornamental panels of the canister into watercolour drawing: the panel on the left hand depicts “a person of rank, surrounded by attendants” in an interior; and one on the right hand shows warriors riding (Fig. 38). However, MacDonald notes that Whistler’s rough sketch “painted with long angular brushstrokes” does not accurately indicate the patterns on the porcelain. She also points out that the two pieces were shaded by several washes of shadow and “at times the actual outline of the edge of the dish and the neck of the canister is totally confused.”<sup>265</sup> In the final design, Whistler only did a light wash so that the patterns and shapes of the porcelain are much more clearly represented (Fig. 39). Yet MacDonald argues that Whistler’s final work still brings “the painterly qualities of his first sketch” and loses “much of precision and dramatic contrasts of the original.”<sup>266</sup> Distinguishing the watercolour drawing as an artistic genre from one as a study of a real object, MacDonald asserts that Whistler’s design is useless as “a study of an individual item in a catalogue.”<sup>267</sup>

However, the very effects of rough brushstrokes in Whistler’s watercolour drawing may imply how the Aesthetic circle perceived Chinese blue and white porcelain. The use of watercolour to illustrate the catalogue was, perhaps a consciously-made choice, because in the late 1870s photographic reproduction was already an available, alternative method for the illustrations of cataloguing if Marks wanted to duplicate the porcelain accurately into the two-dimensional space. If the medium watercolour was chosen for its own special qualities, then what were those particular qualities and why were they suitable for Marks and the Aesthetic circle’s understanding of Chinese blue and white porcelain?

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<sup>264</sup> Marks, *A Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>265</sup> MacDonald, ‘Whistler’s Designs for a Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain,’ p. 292.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*



In his article 'The Autonomy of Color', Jordi Safont-Tria discusses the architect Steven Holl's use of watercolour to explain the unique effects of the medium.<sup>268</sup> According to Safont-Tria, watercolour is not an appropriate technique for "a rational representation that controls form and size," but "an agile technique, which can easily explore the effects of light and shadow on volumes."<sup>269</sup> He notes that in the aquarelles, the spontaneous brushstrokes and the exploration of volumes through light and colour are not restrained by gravity or scale. He defines the conceptual characteristics of watercolour as dynamism, mutability, and weightlessness: as if "color patches float on the space of the canvas in a random flow."<sup>270</sup> According to Safont-Tria, Holl's watercolour drawings are, as Holl himself argues, phenomenological investigations into an environment.

Holl's practice of creating architectural watercolour sketches were influenced by Heidegger's ideas.<sup>271</sup> Drawing on the Pre-Socratic thinker Heraclitus's concepts of *alētheia*, *logos* and *physis*, Heidegger criticises the contemporary idea of truth, the correctness of assertions and the self-consciousness of the modern era.<sup>272</sup> One of Heidegger's alternative models of truth is *alētheia*, the unconcealment of beings. Yet the truth as *alētheia* entails *lēthē*, concealment or absence, because everyday experience of the world is grounded in the vastness of the unintelligible, not in certainty. Nothing is a part of the status of our being which is thrown into death, an unknown end. Therefore, according to Heidegger, truth is found in the interplay of unconcealing and concealing, presence and absence, or the strife between *world* and *earth*. Truth is manifested in the reciprocity between subject and object, as our initial *Da-sein* ("there being" or the "kind of existence that is always involved in an understanding of its Being") is not separated from the world.<sup>273</sup> Moreover, due to *Da-sein*'s temporality, the event of the truth is always connected to the phenomenon of time.<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> Jordi Safont-Tria, 'The Autonomy of Color,' eds. Jordi Safont-Tria, Sanford Kwinter and Steven Holl, *Steven Holl: Color, Light, Time* (Freiburg and Zurich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2012), pp. 19-56.

<sup>269</sup> Safont-Tria, 'The Autonomy of Color,' p. 26.

<sup>270</sup> Safont-Tria, 'The Autonomy of Color,' p. 27.

<sup>271</sup> Adam Sharr, *Heidegger for Architects* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 1.

<sup>272</sup> Martin Heidegger, *Introduction to Metaphysics* (1953), trans. Gregory Fried and Richard Polt (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000), Chapter Four, pp. 98-221.

<sup>273</sup> Martin Heidegger, 'What is Metaphysics?' (1929 Lecture), *Basic Writings* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 48-49; Martin Heidegger, 'On the Essence of Truth' (1949), *Basic Writings* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 76-79.

<sup>274</sup> Heidegger, 'On the Essence of Truth,' p. 67 and p. 69.

Watercolour can thus be an effective technique to express *alētheia*, a Heideggerian model of truth. The dynamism, mutability, and weightlessness of watercolour might be a way to present the Being of things that are momentarily disclosed to the painter. The Heideggerian model of the truth suggests that the continual enigmatic tension between concealing and unconcealing cannot be fixed as one single substance; however, the spontaneous brushstrokes of watercolour can shed light on the unveiled being of the thing and simultaneously convey the withdrawal into shadows. In watercolour drawings, the mystery of the thing appears more vividly, because the medium itself is suitable to express the experience of time and the individual's understanding of a thing that develops through prolonged interaction with it. Perhaps Whistler's watercolour drawings of Chinese blue and white porcelain reveal the painter's understanding of the phenomenological presence of the thing. Whistler's drawings are not faithful representation of Chinese porcelain, but depictions of the interplay between the viewer and the things depicted. Although MacDonald points out that Whistler's drawings failed as illustrations for the catalogue, I argue that his watercolour drawings were an effective tool to express the Aesthetic circle's understanding of Chinese porcelain. Perhaps this is the reason the illustrations were valued so highly by Whistler and Marks.

The illustrations were reproduced through autotype printing, and in May 1878 the catalogue was published by Ellis & White, of 29 New Bond Street. Marks issued "only 220 copies of it, of which 100 were for private circulation and 120 for sale."<sup>275</sup> Two different versions of the binding exist, a Japanesque binding with the "hawthorn" pattern embossed in white on gold leather (Fig. 40), and "a superb leather binding inlaid with a blue-and-white ceramic plaque."<sup>276</sup> While it is not known who designed the bindings, Wainwright suggests that they were possibly created by Whistler and Marks.<sup>277</sup> A copy of an original catalogue binding in leather with ceramic plaque can now be found in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (Fig. 41). According to the diary of the American art dealer George Lucas, who purchased one of Whistler's original drawings not used in the catalogue from Marks, until 20

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<sup>275</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 42.

<sup>276</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 43; Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 165.

<sup>277</sup> Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 165.

January 1902, the catalogue was bound by the celebrated binder Meunier.<sup>278</sup> Lucas eventually sold this volume of the catalogue to Henry Walters.<sup>279</sup>

In order to celebrate the publication of the catalogue, in the spring of 1878, Marks exhibited Whistler's original illustrations and Thompson's 339 pieces of porcelain. Marks commissioned Norman Shaw to design "the frames which were erected at the end of the room for the display."<sup>280</sup> Marks commissioned Henry Treffry Dunn to design the invitation card for a special private viewing of the exhibition held on April 30 (Fig. 42).<sup>281</sup> Because satirical plays on *chinamania* within the Aesthetic circle were emerging at that time, Merrill argues that the theatrical presentation of the invitation card might be Marks's attempt to appeal to guests working within the theatre. For instance, *A Tale of Old China*, performed at St. George's Hall in the spring of 1875, told a story about "a German art dealer who recognises the rising value of 'oriental china' in London."<sup>282</sup> Merrill suggests that Marks could have been uncomfortable with the satire of his profession.<sup>283</sup> However, Marks had a particular interest in the theatre, for example, in July 1877 he joined the foundation of the Green Room Club, and it is possible that the invitation cards simply referenced this passion.<sup>284</sup> Williamson explains that, "Marks retained with great satisfaction a bundle of the acceptances from the Dramatic profession."<sup>285</sup> A notable example is the acceptance letter sent by the actor Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree, also known as Mr. Herbert Beerbohm where he depicts a number of Marks's contemporaries and members of the Aesthetic Movement (Fig. 43).<sup>286</sup> Along with artists, dramatists and actors, many notable people in the London art scene came to the private viewing, and the "very *recherché* supper" was served on blue and white dishes.<sup>287</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> George A. Lucas, ed. L. A. Randall, *The Diary of George A. Lucas: An American Art Agent in Paris 1857-1909* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), quoted in Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 165 and note 38.

<sup>279</sup> Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 165. It is not known when Lucas sold the catalogue to Walters.

<sup>280</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>281</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 176-77.

<sup>282</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 177.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>284</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 177. For further discussion on Marks's recreation in the theatre, see 'Chapter X. The Green Room Club' in Williamson's biography.

<sup>285</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 38.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*

According to Williamson, the private viewing of the exhibition was successful. In his work on the painter and collector James Orrock, Byron Webber remarks that many people were impressed by Thompson's collection.<sup>288</sup> This exhibition gave Orrock "his first revelation of the manifold splendour of Blue China" and he began to purchase Chinese blue and white porcelain from Marks.<sup>289</sup> Marks lost between two and three hundred pounds from the publication. However, the catalogue and accompanying exhibition was a commercial success because it established Marks's reputation as a prominent dealer in Chinese porcelain. Collectors like Orrock sought out Marks to secure fine pieces of porcelain, and the market value of these products increased enormously. When Thompson's collection was sold at Christie's in London in June 1880, two years after the exhibition, the prices had risen dramatically.<sup>290</sup>

Marks's catalogue project and the exhibition of Thompson's porcelain are hailed as a milestone in the vogue of Victorian *chinamania* and the growing market of Chinese porcelain, but these events are also illustrative of the commercial practices of the Aesthetic circle. In *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, Dianne Sachko MacLeod notes that Marks combined personalised attention and professionalism, which made him an outstanding art dealer.<sup>291</sup> She contrasts the Grosvenor Gallery's "gratuitous opulence [which] ushered in an exaggerated phase that signalled its decline" with "Marks's custom-tailored creations [that] represented the union of art and idealism that marked the Aesthetic movement and its apogee."<sup>292</sup> Due to his ability to create intimate Aesthetic environments, Marks became the Aesthetic circle's preferred dealer to Agnew's, Ernest Gambart and the Grosvenor Gallery.<sup>293</sup> Through the remodelling of his shop at 395 Oxford Street, the catalogue of Thompson's collection and accompanying exhibition, Marks established his own dealership that accorded with the Aesthetic circle's "notion of the Aesthetic shrine to art."<sup>294</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> Byron Webber, *James Orrock, R. I. Painter, Connoisseur, Collector* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1903), vol. 2, pp. 189-90.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>290</sup> Christie's, *Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain Formed with Great Taste and Judgment by Sir Henry Thompson* (London, 1-2 June 1880). Marks himself acquired a number of pieces at this sale; Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 176.

<sup>291</sup> Dianne Sachko MacLeod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 313-14.

<sup>292</sup> MacLeod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, p. 314.

<sup>293</sup> MacLeod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, p. 313.

<sup>294</sup> MacLeod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, p. 314.

## Marks in the Vogue of *Chinomania*

*Chinomania* within the Aesthetic Movement emerged from the British Empire's expansion to East Asia as well as consumer culture in Britain, but the artistic circle appropriated Chinese blue and white porcelain for their unconventional works which explored the unknown territories in the grand narratives of the Victorian cultural system. The Aesthetic circle and Marks were not interested in the ethnographical approach to Chinese art as well as the systematic study and collecting of Chinese ceramics. Nor did they consume Chinese blue and white porcelain as mere commodities. What they attempted to do was to bring the being of Chinese blue and white porcelain into its presence. They enshrined this banal object in their 'altar piece' which opened up the ultimate world, and in their intimate 'temple of beauty.'

Codell rightly relates the Aesthetic circle's enthusiasm for bric-à-brac to the 'fetishism' of exotic and old things. The Chinese blue and white porcelain became seen by the Aesthetic circle as things that brought earth and sky, the mortals and the divine together and thereby disclosed the truth of the world. In 1874, as an undergraduate student at Magdalen College, Oxford, Oscar Wilde caught this 'epidemic' of *chinomania*. Wilde wrote, "I find it harder and harder every day to live up to my blue china."<sup>295</sup> The Aesthetic circle's fetishism, which was considered deviant from the Victorian social order, became a target of satire. From 1874, George du Maurier drew a series of cartoons in *Punch*, ridiculing the *chinomania* of the Aesthetic Movement (Fig. 44). A notable collector of European ceramics, Lady Charlotte Schreiber, also shew a critical view on the trend. At her trip to The Hague in May 1876 when she found London dealers "flitting about" in quest of the blue and white porcelain, she wrote: "The rage for everything 'blue and white' is truly ridiculous. [...] The dealers own it to be so, but are not to be blamed for profiting by the madness of the hour."<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>295</sup> Gere with Lesley Hoskins, *The House Beautiful*, p. 13.

<sup>296</sup> Charlotte Schreiber, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Journals: Confidences of a Collector of Ceramics and Antiques throughout Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Austria, and Germany from the Year 1869 to 1885*, ed. Montague J. Guest, vol. 1 (1911), pp. 431-35.

Nonetheless, the 'cult' of beauty of the Aesthetic circle caused the unusual rise of the market value of Chinese blue and white porcelain from the 1860s until around 1917, when the United States of America entered the First World War.<sup>297</sup> The value of Chinese blue and white porcelain did not originate in the marketplace, but in poetry and beauty. Whistler and Rossetti's translations of the old blue Nankin into their experimental pictorial system brought the forgotten banal thing near, by drawing its being into visibility. The idealism of the vanguard artists was combined with Marks's professionalism and expertise in the art market. His extraordinary ability to create an aesthetic ambience in his shops as well as his artistic associations differentiated himself from the common trade. For example, Messrs. Farmer & Rogers or Arthur Lasenby Liberty's import shops in Regent Street achieved a great commercial success in dealing in Oriental porcelain and decorative objects.<sup>298</sup> On the other hand, Marks did not set an entrepreneurial organisation but focused on dealing with an exclusive clientele of the Aesthetic circle and plutocrats. His close relationship with the artists of the Aesthetic Movement and their patrons was brought to fruition with the 1878 catalogue of Thompson's collection of Chinese blue and white porcelain with the unique illustrations by Whistler, which demonstrate the phenomenological approach to the subject. In this way, Marks played a significant role in the vogue of *chinamania* within the Aesthetic Movement.

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<sup>297</sup> Tharp, 'China Mania,' p. 23.

<sup>298</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 171; Alison Adburgham, *Liberty's: Biography of Shop* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1975); Sarah Nichols, 'Arthur Lasenby Liberty: A Mere Adjective?' *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, vol. 13, Stile Floreale Theme Issue (Summer, 1989), pp. 76-93; *Liberty's 1875-1975: An Exhibition to Mark the Firm's Centenary* (London: V&A, 1975).

## Chapter Two. 'Poetically Man Dwells': 49 Prince's Gate

### The Attuned Space

Marks's creation of the Aesthetic ambience from the mid-1870s had a crucial impact not only on the way that works of art were displayed in commercial art galleries, but also on the decoration of domestic interiors. His significant influence on the Aesthetic interior can best be found in the collection and display at 49 Prince's Gate, the dwelling of Frederick Richards Leyland (1831-1892), a major patron of the Aesthetic artists.

Interiors associated with the Aesthetic Movement are usually characterised by the overall visual harmony into which historical and exotic works of art are aesthetically combined. The ambience created by this visual unity between different historical and cultural contexts enables experience of an imaginative re-fashioning of time and space. However, in the Aesthetic interior, the principle of a harmonious ensemble is applied not only to the collection and display of the works of art within the space, but also to the mode that the viewer relates to the space. As some scholars argue, this feature of the Aesthetic interior is often considered as phenomenological.<sup>1</sup> If we consider this phenomenological feature of the Aesthetic interior in the case of 49 Prince's Gate, it would illuminate how the owner of the house, Leyland, was related to the space, and what Marks's plan to manifest Leyland's dream was. This would be a story of the house seen from Leyland's viewpoint, a completely different version from the one publicised by Whistler.

According to Heidegger, as Being-in-the-world, *Dasein* is already spatial and has the atmospheric dimension.<sup>2</sup> For the space which "has an appropriate mode of coexistence with" *Dasein*, Elisabeth Ströker coins the term, 'the attuned space,' in her *Investigations in Philosophy of Space*.<sup>3</sup> Ströker explains the attuned space:

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<sup>1</sup> Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart, 'Introduction,' eds. Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart, *Rethinking the Interior, c. 1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson, pp. 145-46.

<sup>3</sup> Elisabeth Ströker, *Investigations in Philosophy of Space*, trans. Algis Mickunas (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1987), p. 19. Perhaps the concept of attunement is borrowed from Heidegger's articulation of the fundamental attunement in *Dasein* in his various works such as *The Fundamental Concepts of Metaphysics: World, Finitude, Solitude* (1929/30 lecture course, 1983), trans. William McNeill and Nicholas Walker (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 59-77.

The understanding of this space is not perception, and awareness of space is not cognition: it is rather a way of being moved and affected. [...] Space is not primarily an object for a subject who performs acts of spatial understanding. Rather as *attuned* space, it has an appropriate mode of coexistence with the lived ego. Such coexistence escapes all the conceptual determinations of a thought founded on the opposition of object and subject as a “relationship” or “connection.” All these in their turn are founded on the primordial and intransgressible bond between the corporeal subject and space. [...] Here lived experience means a unique communication of the living- experiencing ego with another, with an expressively animated space.<sup>4</sup>

“The primordial and intransgressible bond between the corporeal subject and space” was exactly what Leyland sought when he set about remodeling 49 Prince’s Gate in 1875. In order to understand his plan for this new residence on the basis which his “factual life” was lived, a biographical sketch of Leyland would be fundamental.<sup>5</sup> Drawing on the first-person perspective of phenomenology which means the self-specificity manifested in the integration of the bodily experience and the spatial frame,<sup>6</sup> I will argue why Leyland’s viewpoint is important to reveal the significance of the interior design for the house within the history of art.

Leyland had a precise idea to decorate 49 Prince’s Gate in the Venetian Renaissance style which was interpreted by the Aesthetic Movement. However, most art historical literature on the house has focused on the Peacock Room, as an isolated masterpiece by Whistler, not in the context of the entire house. As a result, the house is often characterised as japonism or orientalism of the Aesthetic interior in the nineteenth century. Although some elements of japonism or orientalism are undeniable, the simplistic view neglects a Renaissance revival which appeared in a large part of the decoration of the house as well as a possibility to interpret the Peacock Room within the long history of chinamania. Perhaps the art-historical implications of the house can be reassessed and clarified if Leyland’s original plan for the house is investigated.

Moreover, the examination of Leyland’s idea would give Marks rightful credit for his crucial role in the remodeling project. Marks’s contribution to the decoration of 49 Prince’s Gate was vital, but rarely discussed to the full extent. Probably it was because the dealer-decorator’s advice on forming the collection and displaying works of art is not as visible as architects or designers’ works. According to Williamson, however, Leyland was never tired of

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<sup>4</sup> Ströker, *Investigations in Philosophy of Space*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>5</sup> Martin Heidegger (1988), *Ontology: The Hermeneutics of Facticity*, trans. John van Buren (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), p. 65

<sup>6</sup> Shaun Gallagher, *Phenomenology* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 149.



praising “his adviser” Marks’s taste, saying that “Marks had converted his house into a dwelling of “perfect harmony.””<sup>7</sup> Indeed, Marks was the adviser who deeply understood that a dwelling provided Leyland the basis for his mode of being “in” a world. Marks read Leyland’s necessities which were projected onto the patron’s plan for the house. With works of art and their display, he translated the Venetian Renaissance in accordance with Leyland’s present needs. Through “an interpenetration [that] arises out of a mutuality between past and present,” Marks assisted Leyland in exposing his present situation to change.<sup>8</sup> In addition, the dealer’s expertise in Chinese porcelain was applied to creating the space in which Leyland could experience the “other.” The exotic ambience led Leyland to “self-awareness” or “self-confrontation.”<sup>9</sup> Consequently, Marks’s scheme of decoration for the house shaped an imaginary world in which Leyland could remedy existing deficiencies, listen to his own voice, and have a different everyday life.

Since Marks’s original decoration can be found only in the photographs taken for the sale of the house in 1892 and a contemporary visitor Theodore Child’s article, it would be worthwhile to describe the collection and display room by room.<sup>10</sup> Reconstructing the process of decoration, I will also highlight the forgotten architect-designer Thomas Jeckyll’s role in the project. Marks’s collaboration with Jeckyll is invaluable to understand how they attained the fusion of Venetian Renaissance and Chinese art. Their translations of the past and the other into 49 Prince’s Gate were adapted for the ‘reader’ Leyland. However, Whistler’s vociferous participation in the project changed the dynamics of decoration. Although Whistler defined the controversy over his design as a clash between “l’art et l’argent,” his approach lacked understanding of the patron’s inextricable ties with his dwelling. Rethinking 49 Prince’s Gate from Leyland’s perspective, this chapter will explore its new meanings.

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<sup>7</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 84 and p. 97.

<sup>8</sup> Wolfgang Iser, ‘Coda to the Discussion,’ *The Translatability of Cultures: Figurations of the Space Between*, eds. Sanford Budick and Wolfgang Iser (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 296.

<sup>9</sup> Iser, ‘Coda to the Discussion,’ p. 298.

<sup>10</sup> Osborn & Mercer, *No. 49 Prince’s Gate, S.W.: Repair and Decoration Carried out under the Superintendence and Assistance of Norman Shaw and James McNeill Whistler* (London, 17 June 1892); Theodore Child, ‘A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,’ *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 82 (New York, December 1890), pp. 81-99. Also, M. Susan Duval discussed some parts of the house in her article, ‘F. R. Leyland: A Maecenas from Liverpool,’ *Apollo*, vol. 294 (August 1986).

## Leyland Living in the Strife between *World and Earth*

As Mary Susan Duval describes in her article, Leyland (Fig. 45) was a self-made business man in Liverpool at the time when the city was becoming a significant world port.<sup>11</sup> Yet Leyland preferred to obscure the details of his humble origins, never choosing to discuss his early success in business during the age of great industrial development and global trade.<sup>12</sup> For this reason, there exist only several rough sketches of his youth, based on rumours and speculation.

While Leyland's church baptism was registered on 28 October 1831,<sup>13</sup> a contemporary Liverpoolian B. G. Orchard recorded Leyland's birth date on 30 September 1831.<sup>14</sup> Most biographical sketches of Leyland paid attention to the absence of his father while growing up. Although it was stated in Leyland's marriage certificate that his father was John Leyland, a bookkeeper, Merrill questions his father's occupation, suspecting that Leyland invented it in the interests of respectability.<sup>15</sup> Along with Orchard, a colleague of Leyland, Henry E. Stripe, and the Liverpool historian William Heaton Wakefield (1861-1936) revealed the rumour that John Leyland had deserted his wife and children.<sup>16</sup> According to the *Modern English Biography*, John Leyland's death was recorded in 1839.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, Whistler wrote to Helen Whistler in 1880 when his relationship with Leyland deteriorated that "his former patron's father had been transported, presumably to a penal colony in Australia."<sup>18</sup> All of these conjectures cannot be verified, but would explain why Leyland's mother was in financially difficult circumstances with her small children.

In the 1841 England census, Leyland's mother, Ann Jane Leyland, was recorded as Anne Leyland, the head of family, age thirty, living at 15 Gill Street in Liverpool, with four children: Frederick, then nine; John, seven; Eliza, five; and Thomas, three.<sup>19</sup> It is well known that Ann

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<sup>11</sup> Duval, 'F. R. Leyland,' p. 110.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> *Church of England Births and Baptisms, 1813-1911.*

<sup>14</sup> B. G. Orchard, 'Victor Fumigus,' in *A Liverpool Exchange Portrait Gallery. Second Series: Being Lively Biographical Sketches of Some Gentlemen Known on the Flags; Sketched from Memory, and Filled in from Fancy* (Liverpool: Matthew Brothers, 1884), p. 93.

<sup>15</sup> Orchard, 'Victor Fumigus,' pp. 93-94; Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 109.

<sup>16</sup> Orchard, 'Victor Fumigus,' pp. 93-94; Henry E. Stripe, *Sketch of the Commercial Life of Henry Stripe* (1886), Merseyside Maritime Museum, DX/1471; Duval, 'F. R. Leyland,' p. 110.

<sup>17</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 111.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> *1841 England Census.*

Leyland supported her family by selling pies in the streets of Liverpool. Stripe, who had been working as a clerk of the shipping company, John Bibby & Sons, recalled her eating-house, named *Keile*, on Chapel Street, where the merchants and clerks of the firm dined frequently.<sup>20</sup> Stripe assumed that she had discussed her eldest son's future with her loyal customer Mr. Bibby, which initiated Leyland's journey into the shipping business.<sup>21</sup> Others recount a similar story: for example, Marie Spartali Stillman wrote, "Once he [Mr. Bibby] asked her [Ann Leyland] what she was going to do with her son and, as her plans for him were vague, took the boy to sweep out his office and run his errands."<sup>22</sup> In 1844 Frederick joined the shipping company as Bibby's office boy at the age of thirteen, interrupting his formal education at the Mechanics' Institute on Mount Street (later the Liverpool Institute).<sup>23</sup>

The old established shipping company, Messrs. Bibby, Sons, & Co. was founded in 1807 by John Bibby (1775-1840), and began to transport passengers and mail between Liverpool and Dublin. From 1813 when the East India Company's monopoly of trade with India was repealed, the firm expanded its operation into shipping service to Egypt.<sup>24</sup> Upon the death of John Bibby in 1840, his sons John and James Jenkinson Bibby inherited the business, renaming the firm John Bibby & Sons. Soon after Leyland arrived in the office, the abolition of the British Corn Laws of 1846 encouraged James Bibby to launch into the Mediterranean trade.<sup>25</sup> Despite nineteenth-century belief that the steam would damage the flavor of tea and fruit, the firm replaced sailing ships with steamers during the 1850s.<sup>26</sup> This decision, made ahead of most of their competitors, brought the firm enormous profit. Leyland's son-in-law, Valentine C. Prinsep, wrote that Leyland had contributed to the firm's critical shift by suggesting the deep and narrow design of steamships.<sup>27</sup> Although company histories record a different figure, Edward J. Harland, as the designer and engineer of the steamships, there is no doubt that Leyland's role within the firm became indispensable.<sup>28</sup>

With the ambition "to make a fortune" and extraordinary mathematical skills, Leyland ascended his position "from office boy to bookkeeper by 1855, to clerk by 1857, to merchant

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<sup>20</sup> Stripe, *Sketch of the Commercial Life*, p. 68.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted in Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 111.

<sup>23</sup> Stripe, *Sketch of the Commercial Life*, p. 69.

<sup>24</sup> George Chandler, *Liverpool Shipping: A Short History* (London: Phoenix House, 1960), p. 85.

<sup>25</sup> William Shaw Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce*, vol. 4 (1876), p. 418.

<sup>26</sup> Clement W. Jones, *Pioneer Shipowners* (Liverpool: C. Birchall & Sons, 1934), p. 115.

<sup>27</sup> Val Prinsep, 'The Private Collections of London: The Late Mr. Frederick Leyland's in Prince's Gate,' *The Art Journal*, vol. 55 (August 1892), pp. 129-30.

<sup>28</sup> Nigel Watson, *The Bibby Line, 1807-1990: A Story of Wars, Booms, and Slumps* (London: James & James, 1990), pp. 18-19.

by 1859.”<sup>29</sup> In order to be proficient in the Mediterranean trade, he took evening classes of modern languages, such as Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese.<sup>30</sup> He also travelled to the ports where the firm did business.<sup>31</sup> All these efforts brought to fruition that the Bibby brothers handed over the Mediterranean enterprise to Leyland.<sup>32</sup> Probably this early enthusiasm for Mediterranean shipping and maritime trade inducted him into emulating “the life of an old Venetian merchant.”<sup>33</sup> However, for Leyland who lived in the age of British Empire, it was not the end of the journey. In around 1864 Leyland became a partner of the firm, and James Bibby retired one year later. Since then Leyland managed the firm almost single-handedly. When the Suez Canal was opened in 1869, he decided to expand the trade beyond Suez or into the United States.<sup>34</sup> However, because Bibby was not willing to expand the business, Leyland began negotiations to buy the firm. In a letter to Rossetti written on 11 November 1872, he boasted the outcome:

I have been most anxious and worried these last few months in disputes with my partners as to what is to be done on the approaching termination of our partnership on the 31<sup>st</sup> December. However, I have at last carried my point and got quietly rid of them and they leave me in full possession on the 1<sup>st</sup> January when I shall hoist my own flag and carry on the business in my own name ... I have succeeded in dictating my own terms.<sup>35</sup>

On 1 January 1873, Leyland took over the firm and converted John Bibby, Sons & Co. into Frederick Leyland & Co.<sup>36</sup> Leyland’s launch of North Atlantic operation between Boston and Liverpool to transport passengers and cargo became greatly successful, and drew much attention of Americans who envisaged expanding their shipping business on a global scale. Indeed, after Leyland’s decease in 1892, the firm was merged into the International Mercantile Maritime Company in 1902 by the American financier, John Pierpont Morgan.<sup>37</sup> Here William Bower Forwood summarised Leyland’s extraordinary professional life: “The success of the Line [the Bibby Line] was largely due to the genius of a young man, Mr. F. R. Leyland, who worked his way up from one of the lower rungs of the ladder, and eventually

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<sup>29</sup> Stripe, *Sketch of the Commercial Life*, pp. 63-64, and 72; Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p 113.

<sup>30</sup> Stripe, *Sketch of the Commercial Life*, p. 72; Jones, *Pioneer Shipowners*, p. 117.

<sup>31</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p 113.

<sup>32</sup> Orchard, ‘Victor Fumigus,’ pp. 94-95.

<sup>33</sup> Theodore Child, ‘A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,’ *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 82 (New York, December 1890), pp. 81-82.

<sup>34</sup> Stripe, *Sketch of the Commercial Life*, pp. 76-77; Duncan Haws, *Merchant Fleets in Profile*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Patrick Stephens Ltd, 1979), p. 109.

<sup>35</sup> *The Rossetti-Leyland Letters*, no. 45.

<sup>36</sup> Stripe, *Sketch of the Commercial Life*, pp. 80-90.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas R. Navin and Marian V. Sears, ‘A Study in Merger: Formation of the International Mercantile Maritime Company,’ *The Business History Review*, vol. 28, no. 4 (1954), p. 291-98.

became the owner of the company. The career of Mr. Leyland is one of the most remarkable in our annals.”<sup>38</sup>

Although Leyland dedicated himself to the business and achieved his goal, he felt animosity towards Liverpool society. Leyland disliked “the society of the philistines,” and stayed in social isolation.<sup>39</sup> Orchard explained: “His was one of those intense natures which, long after Fortune has been conquered, long after taunts and hasty sneers have been forgotten by their utterers, allow the string of early troubles to rankle in their hearts.”<sup>40</sup> Unlike Orchard’s view, however, there existed considerable hostility towards Leyland in Liverpool even after he became a partner of the firm. Charles Augustus Howell wrote to Rossetti in a letter dated 15 November 1872: “Leyland’s Liverpool enemies are so numerous and loud that he seems to hurry through the streets, and stands there almost hated ... It seems that over night some one posted up the office with placards – ‘Skunks, and robbers kick over / the ladder up which they climb.’”<sup>41</sup> Enduring his daily strife, Leyland hoped to find psychic release in art. Through music, most of all, he could immerse himself in a more pleasurable world. Prinsep reported that Leyland was the admirer of Richard Wagner and had bought a piano with his first savings.<sup>42</sup> Leyland is said to have devoted some time every morning before breakfast to piano practice.<sup>43</sup> Whistler too sarcastically revealed his patron’s “portentously solemn and serious” passion for music to the Pennells, “describing how he would come home from the office and head straight for his piano without stopping to speak to a soul.”<sup>44</sup>

When Leyland began to collect paintings and decorative objects in the mid-1860s, the emotional value remained as the foremost principle. His daily life was based on the advent of modernism which was tangled up with possessive individualism, industrial environment, global trade, and the standardising of time.<sup>45</sup> Unlike William Morris or John Ruskin who could distance themselves from their frustration with adjusting to different ways of living through devoting their time to artistic practice or art criticism, Leyland did not have much freedom to

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<sup>38</sup> William Bower Forwood, *Reminiscences of a Liverpool Shipowner, 1850-1920* (Liverpool: H. Young & Sons, 1920), p. 44.

<sup>39</sup> A letter from Leyland to Whistler, 19 August 1875, quoted in Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 116.

<sup>40</sup> Orchard, ‘Victor Fumigus,’ p. 95.

<sup>41</sup> Clarence Lee Cline, ed., *The Owl and the Rossettis: Letters of Charles A. Howell and Dante Gabriel, Christina, and William Michael Rossetti* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978), no. 163; Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, p. 286.

<sup>42</sup> Prinsep, ‘The Private Collections of London,’ pp. 129-30.

<sup>43</sup> Prinsep, ‘The Private Collections of London,’ p. 129.

<sup>44</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 116.

<sup>45</sup> Ben Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction* (Oxon: Routledge, 2002), pp. 5-11.

create an alternative lifestyle for soothing the disturbed equilibrium of his mind. Forced by his professional duties and personal ambition, probably the weary businessman could only turn inward, building a sanctuary in the interior of himself in which he could release the pressures of ordinary routine and loneliness. Once money became no object, he sought for more tangible images of 'other' worlds, built with paintings and old furniture, which would provide him 'other everydays.'

As Prinsep put it, Leyland's aesthetic taste was closer to "the extreme school of the emotional and decorative."<sup>46</sup> However, at the beginning of his collecting practices, Leyland was influenced by the local collector/dealer John Miller, to whom he was possibly introduced by John Bibby. Following Miller's advice on purchasing paintings with the consideration of reselling them for profit, Leyland bought Romantic landscapes by J. M. W. Turner and David Cox which were popular with collectors. Indeed, he profitably disposed them "in May 1872 yield[ing] £15,500 that Leyland probably used to buy out his business partners; a second sale in 1874 raised money for new ships."<sup>47</sup> Apart from the profit, these sales enabled him to reshape his collection, focusing on his own taste for the works of the Aesthetic Movement.<sup>48</sup>

Leyland's acquaintance with D. G. Rossetti in 1865 was a very special occasion, which ripened into the "one real friendship" of his life.<sup>49</sup> Leyland met the artist probably through Miller with whom Rossetti kept in contact or through his daughters' governess, Louisa Parke, an old friend of Rossetti's mother. Leyland was immediately interested in Rossetti's works and unique personality. Before 1866 was over he purchased several works of the artist, and made his first commission for *Lady Lilith* (Fig. 46) in 1867.<sup>50</sup> Subsequently Leyland extended his collection to the works of prominent artists of the Aesthetic circle such as Whistler, Edward Burne-Jones, Frederic Leighton, Albert Moore, Alphonse Legros, Frederick Sandys, Ford Madox Brown, James Smetham, William Windus, and John Everett Millais.<sup>51</sup> Since he desired to be a patron who shared the artistic ideal with his artist friends, and not only to act as a mere purchaser, Leyland also acquired other items, which could be found in the studios of bohemian artists, or which acted as sources of artists' inspiration. He purchased these works through their most favoured dealers such as Marks and Charles Augustus Howell.<sup>52</sup> His fine collection of Chinese blue and white porcelain, historic objects, and paintings by old

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<sup>46</sup> Prinsep, 'The Private Collections of London,' p. 130.

<sup>47</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 115-16.

<sup>48</sup> Prinsep, 'The Private Collections of London,' p. 130.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> The Rossetti-Leyland Letters, pp. xiii-xiv.

<sup>52</sup> Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, pp. 311-13.

masters such as Crivelli, Tintoretto, Giorgione, Velasquez, Botticelli, Lippi, Rubens, Rembrandt and Memling reveals that he shared the tastes of the Aesthetic artists.<sup>53</sup>

As the works of the Aesthetic Movement avoided the grand narratives of Victorian society but provided pleasurable sensations of imagining, they must have fulfilled Leyland's desire to find a more satisfying world. Leyland embraced the Aesthetic artists' technique of rendering what is most familiar unfamiliar, and of the surprising juxtaposition. If Rossetti metamorphosed banal old Nankin into mysteriously opulent background in his painting (*The Blue Bower*), Leyland began to transform his home into a shrine of art. Leyland's designing of the interior may have aimed to recast his everyday life as a poetic ritual. His collecting practices and house decoration were far from a simply vast accumulation and ostentatious display. As Howell observed, "he only buys a thing when he wants it for a certain place."<sup>54</sup> Leyland always perceived works of art in relation to the place within a collection which they would suit well. Perhaps it was because he was keenly aware that the space became different in accordance with the differences in the things which inhabited it.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, it is likely that he sensed that his expressive understanding of the space affected himself. This unique communication with the animated space became his attuned lived experience. That is to say, he "perceived his existence by way of the nature of dwelling."<sup>56</sup>

Leyland's ontological approach towards designing his private living spaces is echoed in Heidegger's argument: "Poetry is what really lets us dwell. But through what do we attain to a dwelling place? Through building. Poetic creation, which lets us dwell, is a kind of building."<sup>57</sup> Heidegger articulates that "dwelling" which occurs through "poetic creation" is accomplished when "the presencing of the fourfold" is brought into things – "In saving the earth, in receiving the sky, in awaiting the divinities, in initiating mortals."<sup>58</sup> He explains that preserving the fourfold in things is the role of "building," or "poetic creation."<sup>59</sup> Indeed, Leyland's creation of the harmonious ensemble which consisted of things – paintings, marquetry tables, Chinese porcelain, Beauvais tapestries, Renaissance bronzes, and many other decorative things – was an attempt to transform his ordinary living spaces into "dwelling," in which he could stay on an ontological level, not merely as a social being but as Dasein.

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<sup>53</sup> *The Rossetti-Leyland Letters*, p. xiii.

<sup>54</sup> Howell to Rossetti, 4 March 1873, from *The Owl and the Rossettis*, no. 207.

<sup>55</sup> Ströker, *Investigations in Philosophy of Space*, p. 19.

<sup>56</sup> Heidegger, '...Poetically Man Dwells...' p. 215.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Martin Heidegger, 'Building Dwelling Thinking,' *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 151.

<sup>59</sup> Heidegger, '...Poetically Man Dwells...' p. 215; Heidegger, 'Building Dwelling Thinking,' p. 151.

Leyland's first attempt to create his "dwelling" can be traced back to the time when he took a lease of Speke Hall on 16 October 1867 at an annual rent of £350.<sup>60</sup> Despite his wife Frances's objections to this impractical manor house, Leyland insisted on moving to Speke Hall. It was the fine timber-frame Tudor house, located in the picturesque suburbs of Liverpool (Fig. 47).<sup>61</sup> Throughout his tenancy, he carried out an extensive renovation of Speke Hall. In the architectural work of improvements, Leyland tried to maintain the Elizabethan spirit of the house.<sup>62</sup> Yet, in the corridors, library and gun room, he used wallpapers that were produced by Messrs. Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. during the 1860s (Fig. 48).<sup>63</sup> Leyland's choice of the contemporary decoration for the historical building was progressive; it was "in advance of popular taste."<sup>64</sup> In the banqueting hall and other parts of the house, his growing collection of paintings was installed. Works of Turner, Rossetti, Whistler and Velazquez must have brought an unconventional atmosphere.<sup>65</sup> However, Duval argues that the display of paintings at Speke Hall was not refined: the house was used as a kind of temporary storage of works that Leyland's London town houses could not afford to display.<sup>66</sup> Nonetheless, operating the renovation of the country house, Leyland claimed not only his newly elevated status but also his desire to build a poetic world in which he hoped to dwell.

When his tenancy at Speke Hall was terminated in June 1877, Leyland purchased another country house near Liverpool, Woolton Hall, for £19,000. As he had transformed Speke Hall into a remarkable aesthetic attraction during his relatively brief tenure, he refurbished his new country house as another shrine of beauty, setting the tone with Burne-Jones's works and Old Masters such as Coello, Velazquez, Giorgione and Tintoretto.<sup>67</sup> In addition, during the 1880s he acquired another house, the Convent or Vilette, near Broadstairs in Kent, and commissioned Norman Shaw to remodel it into the Neo-Gothic style.<sup>68</sup>

As Leyland's trips to London became more frequent, he bought a London residence at 23

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<sup>60</sup> Tony Tibbles, 'Speke Hall and Frederick Leyland: Antiquarian Refinement,' *Apollo*, vol. 387 (1994), p. 34.

<sup>61</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 118.

<sup>62</sup> Tibbles, 'Speke Hall and Frederick Leyland,' p. 35; Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 120-21.

<sup>63</sup> Tibbles, 'Speke Hall and Frederick Leyland,' p. 35.

<sup>64</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 121.

<sup>65</sup> Tibbles, 'Speke Hall and Frederick Leyland,' p. 36.

<sup>66</sup> Mary Susan Duval, 'A Reconstruction of F. R. Leyland's Collection: An Aspect of Northern British Patronage,' *Courtauld Institute of Art*, MA (1982), pp. 14-15.

<sup>67</sup> Frederic George Stephens, 'The Private Collections of England,' *The Athenaeum*, no. 2866 (30 September 1882), p. 439; Frederic George Stephens, 'The Private Collections of England,' *The Athenaeum*, no. 2869 (21 October 1882), pp. 534-35; Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 294-95.

<sup>68</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 294-95. Leyland's relationship with his wife Frances turned sour in the late 1870s, and this new country house Vilette was purchased to live with his mistress Annie Ellen Wooster with whom he fathered two sons, Fred Richards Wooster, born in 1884, and Francis George Leyland Wooster, born in 1890.



Queen's Gate in the borough of Kensington in 1868. He preferred a place to feel at home to the opulent Alexandra Hotel.<sup>69</sup> Soon 23 Queen's Gate was decorated to create the artistic ambience which was attuned to Leyland's internal world. Duval reports that Leyland developed the notion "of a complete artistic environment" during his years at Queen's Gate.<sup>70</sup> He also "accumulated most of his art collection" in this period.<sup>71</sup> When he acquired a new London residence at 49 Prince's Gate in the spring of 1874, he was fully prepared to create the interior which would correspond with the image that he was envisioning.

### **Building a Venetian *Palazzo* in Modern London**

The idea in Leyland's mind for the interior decoration of 49 Prince's Gate was to realise a "dream that he might live the life of an old Venetian merchant in modern London."<sup>72</sup> With this task Leyland considerably entrusted Marks whom he called "a man of exquisite taste," and "who trafficked in virtually everything an aesthete might require for furnishing a palace of art."<sup>73</sup> As an enthusiast for interior design, Leyland must have recognised Marks's skill at creating Aesthetic environments. Although it was before the completion of the sensational new design of his shop at 395 Oxford Street, Marks's genuine interest and talent in arrangement of various works of art in suitable juxtaposition was well known in the London art world. Marks is said to have been as "the only person who was consulted by a President of the Royal Academy [Lord Frederic Leighton], concerning the hanging of his own pictures, outside of the Hanging Committee."<sup>74</sup> Williamson continues:

On more than one occasion, Leighton not only consulted Marks and took his advice concerning the hanging of pictures in his own home, but also took him, the night before the private view, to the Royal Academy; to tell him what he thought of the hanging of certain pictures, more especially of his own.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 153.

<sup>70</sup> Duval, 'F. R. Leyland: A Maecenas from Liverpool,' p. 110.

<sup>71</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 153.

<sup>72</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' pp. 81-82.

<sup>73</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 84; Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 156.

<sup>74</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 165.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

Ruskin too admired Marks's ability and asked him to arrange the minerals and jewels that Ruskin collected in a cabinet.<sup>76</sup> These cases demonstrate that Marks was considered as an established decorator.

However, designing the entire interior of the mansion was a task to require far more synthetic sense than is needed in arranging objects in a single cabinet or in hanging a few paintings. Furthermore, what Leyland wished was the subtly nuanced poetic atmosphere of an old Venetian *palazzo* in modern London. How could Marks read the images in Leyland's mind? Perhaps Marks's capability to conduct this project was not irrelevant to his love of theatre. For Marks, theatre was one of the most important sources of pleasure. As mentioned in Chapter One, he was so passionate about theatre that he joined the foundation of the Green Room Club in July 1877.<sup>77</sup> At nights in the theatre, sitting in the darkness, he sunk into the life on the spotlighted stage, which shone as the only island floating on the ocean. Through theatre, Marks developed the sense of attunement between the mood and emotion of the protagonist and the stage design where the ego was living. Acting as the artistic adviser of the Club, he proved his talent in setting up and arranging the stage, and often supplied suitable props for scenes.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, his deep interest in dramatic art reveals how he had obtained "his insight into his clients' psychology."<sup>79</sup> It is presumed that a great deal of indirect experience enlarged his understanding of various types of human life. As MacLeod argues, Marks penetrated Leyland's unique personality and exactly what he envisioned for remodeling 49 Prince's Gate.<sup>80</sup> He could easily sympathise with Leyland's fictional narrative, and to map out a plan to represent it in a spectacular theatrical form, which would satisfy Leyland's taste for Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

As a faithful translator, Marks began to gather right players and things that would realise Leyland's dream. First of all, Marks's choice of the architect-designer Thomas Jeckyll (1827-1881) was made taking into account the ability to configure spaces orchestrating the combination of exotic, historic, and contemporary works of art.<sup>81</sup> Jeckyll (originally his last

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 176-77.

<sup>78</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 178-86.

<sup>79</sup> Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, p. 313. In addition to his interest in dramatic art, Marks's lifelong study of Benedictus de Spinoza's philosophy might be another notable source of his extraordinary insight into human psychology. In his work, *Ethics*, Spinoza inquired into the origin and nature of the "affectus" – emotions and moods (Books III and IV). This was an outstanding and original approach to human being in the tradition of modern European philosophy which was dominated by epistemology based on rationality. Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 18-20; Benedictus de Spinoza (1677), *Ethics: Treatise on the Emendation of the Intellect*, in *The Collected Writings of Spinoza*, vol. 1, trans. Edwin Curley (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 3-45.

<sup>80</sup> Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, p. 313.

<sup>81</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 85.

name was spelled as Jeckell, but 'Jeckyll' was his preferred spelling from the mid-1850s) was born in Wymondham, Norfolk, to Maria Ann (Balduck) and George Jeckell, a Church of England clergyman.<sup>82</sup> His professional training in architecture was not recorded: while Merrill suggests an apprenticeship in the office of a local architect, Soros and Arbuthnott argue for training by his father, an accomplished draftsman and painter, who was listed as a practicing architect in the local post office directory and provided architectural and clerical services.<sup>83</sup> In about 1847 Jeckyll opened his own office as an architect and surveyor in Norfolk. In the 1850s he was involved in the restoration of over twenty parish churches as well as designs for parish schools and parsonage houses.<sup>84</sup> Like his father who had a strong interest in local antiquities, Jeckyll was enthusiastic for antiquities and became an active member of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society. The society's president, Sir John P. Boileau, was Jeckyll's vital client who commissioned from him a number of antiquarian projects such as a monument in Ketteringham Church in 1856.<sup>85</sup> However, Jeckyll's ecclesiastical architectural works in the 1850s and early-60s were generally considered unexceptional: Peter Ferriday comments, "Gothic was not his style."<sup>86</sup>

On the other hand, Jeckyll's ornamental designs which were made after his move to London began to receive wide acclaim. In around 1857 when he inherited a fortune from a member of the Balduck family, he moved to 10 Buckingham Street, Adelphi, in the Strand area of London, maintaining his Norwich office until 1863.<sup>87</sup> One of the most significant designs in this period is his Norwich Gates, a set of monumental gates for a park. This work was commissioned in 1859 by Barnard, Bishop, and Barnards, a Norwich brass and iron foundry, which started to establish a reputation for ornamental metalworks. Jeckyll designed naturalistic wrought-iron panels which were "composed of interlacing patterns of hawthorn branches, oak leaves, morning glories, and wild flowers."<sup>88</sup> When his Norwich Gates were exhibited at the International Exhibition in London of 1862, both the public and the critical press praised them as one of the finest pieces in the show (Fig. 49). The Gentlemen of Norfolk and Norwich purchased this work for the Prince of Wales as a wedding present, and "they

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<sup>82</sup> Susan Weber Soros and Catherine Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll: Architect and Designer, 1827-1881* (London: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 22.

<sup>83</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 158; Soros and Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>84</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 158; Soros and Arbuthnott, *Soros and Arbuthnott, Thomas Jeckyll*, pp. 25-27.

<sup>85</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 158; Soros and Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, pp. 25-27.

<sup>86</sup> Quoted in Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 158.

<sup>87</sup> Soros and Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 36.

<sup>88</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 160.

were installed in 1863 at the new royal residence at Sandringham Park.”<sup>89</sup>

In his ornamental designs of metalworks for Barnard, Bishop, and Barnards, Jeckyll began to apply the vocabulary of East Asian design from 1867.<sup>90</sup> His interest in the art of Asia was influenced by the Aesthetic circle.<sup>91</sup> Jeckyll made the acquaintance with Whistler in 1860 through his early friend George du Maurier who sublet Whistler’s studio at 70 Newman Street.<sup>92</sup> Subsequently, he became closely associated with the Aesthetic circle, and encountered the orientalisng style of these artists such as Rossetti, Whistler and Frederick Sandys.<sup>93</sup> Jeckyll’s design of another set of wrought-iron gates for Barnard, Bishop, and Barnards in 1867 demonstrates how he assimilated principles of East Asian design. The 1867 gates known as the Vienna Gates or the Four seasons Gates, which were exhibited first at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1867 and again at the Weltausstellung in Vienna in 1873 where they won a prize medal, incorporated Japanese floral and animal forms into the Gothic-revival stand (Fig. 50).<sup>94</sup> Jeckyll developed this Anglo-Asian grammar of art and introduced it into his designs for domestic metalwork and furniture throughout his career.<sup>95</sup> About a decade after the Vienna Gates, Jeckyll and the firm Barnard, Bishop, and Barnards created a celebrated oriental-inspired metalwork extravaganza. The large cast- and wrought-iron pavilion in the shape of a pagoda was designed for the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876 (Fig. 51). Combining Chinese architectural form with Japanese and English flora and bird motifs, “the pavilion itself assimilated an exotic artistic style into the familiar landscape of England.”<sup>96</sup>

The Anglo-Asian theme expanded into Jeckyll’s architectural works. Between 1870 and 72, he designed a five-story house for the mayor of Cambridge, Henry Rance, at 62 St. Andrew’s Street, Cambridge. This house, familiarly known as Rance’s Folly due to its scale and extravagant facilities, was one of the earliest examples to be built in the Aesthetic-movement style called Queen Anne.<sup>97</sup> Soros and Arbuthnott describe the “Queen Anne” details of the house (Fig. 52):

“Rance’s Folly” demonstrates the panache with which Jeckyll stretched the limits of the town house form, where small plots of land compelled vertical development. He made virtue of the building’s height by highlighting the vertical elements of the

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 161; Soros and Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, pp. 42-43.

<sup>91</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 161.

<sup>92</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 158.

<sup>93</sup> Soros and Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, pp. 42-47.

<sup>94</sup> Soros and Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, pp. 207-11.

<sup>95</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 161.

<sup>96</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 201; Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, pp. 223-27.

<sup>97</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 162-63; Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 107.

design using bands of colored brickwork alongside the windows and vertical reeding on the towering external chimney that emerged from a two-story polygonal turret, which was set at the angle of the main building and a three-story squared block behind. Jeckyll also broke up the main façade with asymmetrical fenestration and a two-story, off-center semicircular bay, topped with a balcony. White-painted sash windows worked towards unifying the design, and they, together with a small whimsical turret with a bell roof, added a touch of “Queen Anne” quaintness to the overall effect.<sup>98</sup>

The interior was decorated with Japanese motifs. A surviving photograph of the dining room reveals a remarkable “mathematical ceiling” and a Japanese “wave pattern” of the wallpaper in the frieze (Fig. 53).<sup>99</sup>

In 1870 when Jeckyll was commissioned to design a new wing for 1 Holland Park, London, the house of the Greek merchant, financier and collector Alexander Constantine Ionides, Jeckyll continued to experiment with the Queen Anne style, mixing Old English elements with the Asian-influenced aesthetic.<sup>100</sup> He designed a two-story addition to the house which included a morning room, a billiard room, a master bedroom, and servants’ hall. The structure featured a broad semicircular bay of windows with Old English-style leaded glass, a Chinese-style roof, a band of waves under the eaves, and a series of wavy incisions (Fig. 54).<sup>101</sup>

Principles of the Queen Anne style were also employed in the interior design scheme of the new wing, the interior which anticipated 49 Prince’s Gate. One of the most striking parts of the interior was the fireplace with overmantel and grate in the morning room. The overmantel was designed to display Chinese porcelain. Reaching the ceiling, the étagère above the mantelpiece had a central rectangular mirror and panels of Japanese carved red-lacquer in order to form the “background to the rare red-and-white Nankin vases.”<sup>102</sup> Seventeen blue and white dishes were embedded in the green marble mantelpiece, to correspond to the medallions of the Japanese motif in the brass grate (Fig. 55). Jeckyll designed another arresting fireplace and overmantel for the billiard room. Red-lustre tiles depicting sunflowers, by William De Morgan, framed the brass grate of the same design. “A high oak structure inset with [red] lacquer panels” was installed to display porcelain and *bric-à-brac* (Fig. 56).<sup>103</sup> It seems likely that Jeckyll refined the way of displaying Chinese porcelain through his design project for 1 Holland Park. Although no photograph or drawing of the servants’ hall seems to have survived, Lewis F. Day’s description testifies that blue and white

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<sup>98</sup> Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 107.

<sup>99</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 163.

<sup>100</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 163; Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 183.

<sup>101</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 164; Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 183.

<sup>102</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 164-65; Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 184.

<sup>103</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 165; Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 186.

porcelain was displayed on shelves from floor to ceiling of the hall: "One leaves it with an impression of fresh and delicately beautiful colour, blue and white and pale yellow, and a wonder what the servants think of it! [...] a very museum of old blue china [...] built, as one may say, upon the wreck of Mr. Jeckyll's work."<sup>104</sup> This shelving was clearly introduced to the Peacock Room a few years later.

Along with the display of china, Jeckyll's design for 1 Holland Park reveals another important aspect. Jeckyll may have referred to traditional European design for chinoiserie rooms in order to create spaces of the oriental theme. Merrill notes that the billiard room (Fig. 57) is reminiscent of "the playfully extravagant chinoiserie rooms of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which were often lined with Asian lacquerware."<sup>105</sup> Comparing with the Dutch pleasure-palace of Honselaarsdijk near The Hague in which Chinese lacquer screens were transformed into the walls of a "Chinese" closet, Merrill argues that Jeckyll used the same scheme but only replaced Chinese screens with Japanese ones on account of the Victorian taste for things Japanese.<sup>106</sup> This suggests that Jeckyll's design which has generally been characterised as nineteenth-century novel style, Anglo-Japanese or Japanesque, can be re-examined in continuity of the history of chinoiserie.

Jeckyll's remarkable achievement at 1 Holland Park which incorporated the trend of chinamania must have impressed Marks. By the time Marks was in search of the architect-designer for Leyland's house, he was already associated with both the Ionides family and Jeckyll. His connection with the Ionides family seemed to be made at least from the late 1860s, since at that period Marks planned to establish an interior design firm with Alexander Constantine Ionides, Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Morris as shareholders.<sup>107</sup> Although it was not recorded exactly when Marks made an acquaintance with Jeckyll, it is highly possible that Jeckyll became a frequent visitor to the dealer's shop from the early 1860s when he began to study Asian arts and crafts. As Jeckyll never had an opportunity to visit Asia, imported goods in London stores and the works of art exhibited at International Exhibitions were main sources of his inspiration. Indeed, he purchased a number of Asian artifacts at importers' shops such as Farmer and Rogers' Oriental Warehouse in Regent Street, Wareham in Leicester Square, and Hewitt's in Baker Street.<sup>108</sup> Probably Marks's shop was among the

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<sup>104</sup> Lewis F. Day, 'A Kensington Interior,' *Art Journal*, vol. 56 (May 1893), p. 143-44, quoted in Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 167-68.

<sup>105</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 165.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, p. 313 and p. 433; Spencer, *The Aesthetic Movement*, p. 51.

<sup>108</sup> Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, pp. 173-74.

places of his pilgrimage to Asian art in London, particularly since he became engaged with the Aesthetic circle. Therefore, Jeckyll's project at 1 Holland Park may have led Marks to choose his style as suitable for Leyland's commission.<sup>109</sup>

When Jeckyll embarked on remodeling 49 Prince's Gate in 1875, he did not alter the exterior which had been designed by architect H. L. Elmes in 1869.<sup>110</sup> The outside of the sober Italianate stucco house was left with no sign of the style of Queen Anne (Fig. 58). However, Jeckyll was to transform the interior into the palace of art. Later, in his article 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' Theodore Child remarked the contrast between the ordinary exterior and the lavish interior of Leyland's residence.<sup>111</sup> Perhaps this polarised treatment corresponded to Leyland's personality which frequently crossed the frontier between the actual business world and his inner paradise.

The existing photographs, auction catalogues, and notably the 1890 plans of the ground and first floors after remodeling for Leyland and before the modification for Mrs. Watney in 1895-6, show how Jeckyll designed the space (Fig. 59).<sup>112</sup> On the ground floor, the entrance hall was located in the middle; the dining room was on the left hand with terrace over Prince's Gardens; and the morning room on the right hand. On the first floor, the three interconnecting drawing rooms, separated by two screens, were overlooking Prince's Gate, Exhibition Road. On the second and third floors, there were six pairs of bedrooms and dressing rooms as well as seven bedrooms for servants. The basement consisted of the study, servants' hall, a butler's bedroom, a kitchen, a pantry, a scullery and cellars.<sup>113</sup>

While Jeckyll was designing the interior, Marks began to gather decorative items and works of art in order to transform the ordinary house into an artful space. The collaboration between Jeckyll and Marks worked well and Leyland too was satisfied with the process.<sup>114</sup> According to Williamson, Marks was asked to advise on the purchases in various categories.<sup>115</sup> Through Marks, Leyland bought a number of fine pieces of Chinese porcelain. Although he was not passionate about blue and white porcelain, Leyland understood the

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<sup>109</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 163-68; Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 191.

<sup>110</sup> Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 190.

<sup>111</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion', pp. 81-82.

<sup>112</sup> British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol45/pp191-205#h3-0006>

<sup>113</sup> Osborne and Mercer, *No. 49 Prince's Gate, S.W.: Repair and Decoration Carried out under the Superintendence and Assistance of Norman Shaw and James McNeill Whistler* (London, 17 June 1892).

<sup>114</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 93-95.

<sup>115</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 86.

importance of its decorative effect and “its adaptability to its surroundings.”<sup>116</sup> Howell observed Leyland’s tendency to regard Chinese porcelain primarily as a decorative item rather than an individual work of art which can be appreciated in its own right. In his letter to Rossetti dated on 4 March 1873, he wrote: “Leyland [was] never taken with the beauty of a certain pot or any thing, he only sees that such and such a corner requires a pot and then he orders one.”<sup>117</sup> Indeed, Leyland did not have a ‘craze’ for blue and white porcelain as much as Rossetti or Whistler did. Rossetti’s letter sent to Marks in May 1870 reveals their difference in degrees of enthusiasm for Chinese porcelain. In this letter, Rossetti wrote with great delight that he had received a pot as a gift from Leyland, and asked Marks to find the lid.<sup>118</sup> If Leyland could happily give away a pot, Rossetti was eager to possess the missing part of this pot. With his enormous fortune, perhaps Leyland was more relaxed about hunting for Nankin porcelain, but no episode related to his chinamania was reported. Nonetheless, Leyland eventually acquired a massive quantity of Chinese blue and white porcelain from Marks.<sup>119</sup> Christie’s sale of his collection at 49 Prince’s Gate and Woolton Hall, near Liverpool, held on 26 May 1892, recorded that Leyland amassed at least 146 lots of old Nankin porcelain, as well as 29 lots of enameled Chinese porcelain, which were sold for 5235 guineas 18 shillings and 6 pennies in total.<sup>120</sup>

In addition, Leyland chose various pieces of decorative items on Marks’s advice. The gilded carving of two female figures “at the base of the staircase in the entrance hall, which Marks had himself acquired from a Venetian palace,” Florentine cassoni, Milanese cabinets, French commodes, Chippendale chairs, marquetry tables, Persian carpets, several pieces of Beauvais tapestry, Venetian and Spanish leather were supplied by Marks.<sup>121</sup> Marks also recommended purchasing a number of contemporary paintings such as “seven pictures by Burne-Jones, nine by Rossetti, three by Albert Moore, one by Ford Madox Brown, and one by Watts.”<sup>122</sup> Along with paintings by Aesthetic artists, Leyland collected Italian Renaissance paintings extensively, as he wished to create an atmosphere of Italian Renaissance. In order to fulfill Leyland’s demands, Marks selected “the story of Coriolanus by Signorelli, the picture of St. George and

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<sup>116</sup> A. T. Hollingworth, *Old Blue and White Nankin China*, vol. 26 of *Sette of Odd Volumes* (London: Chiswick Press, 1891), p. 25; Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 168-69.

<sup>117</sup> *The Owl and the Rossettis*, no. 207; Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, p. 286.

<sup>118</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 63.

<sup>119</sup> Hollingworth, *Old Blue and White Nankin China*, p. 25; Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 169.

<sup>120</sup> Christie’s, *The Valuable and Extensive Collection of Old Nankin Porcelain, Old Chinese Enamelled Porcelain and Cloisonné Enamels, Decorative Objects, Furniture, and Tapestry, The Property of F. R. Leyland, Esq., Deceased, Late of 49, Prince’s Gate S.W., and Woolton Hall, near Liverpool* (London, 26-27 May 1892).

<sup>121</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 86-87; Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 147.

<sup>122</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 86.



the Dragon, and St. Peter and St. Paul, by Crivelli, one by Filippo Lippi of Virgin and Child, a portrait by Lotto, of a man in black cap, the portrait of a lady by Luini.”<sup>123</sup> In addition, Marks advised Leyland to acquire the six paintings by Botticelli considering the pleasing harmony with his collection of contemporary paintings.<sup>124</sup>

All of these works of art were listed in Christie’s two posthumous sale catalogues of Leyland’s collection which were sold on 26-27 May 1892.<sup>125</sup> However, because these catalogues contained the artworks not only from 49 Prince’s Gate but also from Leyland’s country house near Liverpool, Woolton Hall, and because the catalogues were not taken room by room, they do not offer accurate information about the collection and display at 49 Prince’s Gate. Yet, existing photographs, sketches and visitors’ recollections help to have a glimpse of Jeckyll and Marks’s decoration. Reconstructing their decorative design for the house would shed light on Marks’s role in the project which has been largely neglected in previous studies.

## The Study

The study on the lower ground floor was probably the first room that Jeckyll designed (Fig. 60).<sup>126</sup> It was a space for Italian Renaissance paintings. In order to complement the old master paintings, Jeckyll set the colour scheme with old gold and green bronze.<sup>127</sup> The walls were paneled with American walnut and lined with “old-gold Spanish leather with a soft floral design interspersed between bold red-brown Arabesques.”<sup>128</sup> Together with these antique leather hangings, the room was decorated with antique furniture from various times and

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Among them, four paintings purchased in 1879 which depict scenes from Boccaccio’s *Decameron* were the pieces that Vasari had seen in the house of the Pucci in Florence. Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 86.

<sup>125</sup> Christie’s, *The Valuable and Extensive Collection of Old Nankin Porcelain, Old Chinese Enamelled Porcelain and Cloisonné Enamels, Decorative Objects, Furniture, and Tapestry, The Property of F. R. Leyland, Esq., Deceased, Late of 49, Prince’s Gate S.W., and Woolton Hall, near Liverpool* (London, 26-27 May 1892); Christie’s, *The Very Valuable Collection of Ancient and Modern Pictures of Frederick Richards Leyland, Esq., Late of 49 Prince’s Gate, and Woolton Hall, Liverpool, Deceased* (London, 28 May 1892).

<sup>126</sup> Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 191.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Child, ‘A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,’ p. 84.

places such as a Florentine cassone, a Louis XVI bureau, baroque inlaid cabinets of German and Italian origin, Chippendale chairs.<sup>129</sup> There was a piano for Leyland's practice every morning. Over the piano, Sandro Botticelli's *The Madonna with the Infant Christ and St. John* was hung together with Carlo Crivelli's *St. Peter and Paul* and *St. George and the Dragon*. Signorelli's fresco, *Coriolanus Persuaded by His Family to Spare Rome*, was displayed above the cassone. To the left of the cassone, *The Infant Bacchus* by Giovanni Bellini (which was attributed to Niccolò Giolfino at Christie's sale in 1892), *Virgin and Child with Swallow* by Francesco Pesellino and *A Portrait of a Man* by Giorgione were hung above a cabinet.<sup>130</sup> In the spirit of Italian Renaissance of the room, Leyland's portrait, probably by Rosa Frances Corder, was displayed, claiming his princely presence in modern London. Jeckyll's elaborate gas lamps, supplied by B. Verity and Sons, also added a contemporary touch with oriental inspiration, for Leyland who became a director of the Edison and Swan Electric Light Co.<sup>131</sup>

## The Entrance Hall

Jeckyll was also responsible for the renovation of the entrance hall and the main staircase (Figs. 61 and 62).<sup>132</sup> Most visitors confessed the striking features of the entrance hall when they entered the house.<sup>133</sup> Indeed, the staircase was built with the opulent brass balustrade with a mahogany railing which was originally made for Northumberland House in the late eighteenth century.<sup>134</sup> On the floral mosaic floor, a six-panel screen of old Venetian stamped and gilt leather, Chinese cloisonné enamel vases, Venetian chairs and oriental rugs were arranged. The tonality of the space was green, and paneled dado was "decorated with delicate sprig of pale rose and white flowers in the Japanese taste."<sup>135</sup> While Jeckyll was designing the hallway, Whistler joined the project. The arresting the paneled dado was Whistler's decoration.<sup>136</sup> For the entrance hall, Marks selected contemporary paintings:

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<sup>129</sup> Nicolas Cooper, *The Opulent Eye: Late Victorian and Edwardian Taste in Interior Design* (London: The Architectural Press Ltd., 1976), p. 28.

<sup>130</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 84.

<sup>131</sup> Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 191; Macleod, p. 442.

<sup>132</sup> Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 191.

<sup>133</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 82.

<sup>134</sup> Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 191.

<sup>135</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 82.

<sup>136</sup> Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 191.

Rossetti's *Sea Spell* and *Roman Widow*, Burne-Jones's *Cupid and Psyche*, George Frederic Watts's *Portrait of D. G. Rossetti* and Alphonse Legros's *Rehearsal* were displayed. On the wall beneath the stair, Rossetti's *La Pia de' Tolomei* was hung. Along the staircase, William Lindsay Windus's *Burd Helen*, Legros's *Le Maître de Chapelle*, Rossetti's *Loving Cup*, Burne-Jones's *Wine of Circe* and Frederick Sandys's *Valkyrie* were hung in ascending order.<sup>137</sup> All of these Aesthetic artists' paintings displayed together with furniture from different cultures and periods in the background of exquisite dado formed a unique ensemble of overwhelming beauty.

### **The Peacock Room**

Perhaps Jeckyll and Marks prepared the most ambitious and striking design for the dining room. Marks planned to model the dining room as a cabinet of porcelain or *porzellankammer*.<sup>138</sup> Having observed Jeckyll's success in displaying Chinese porcelain at 1 Holland Park, Marks attempted to increase the scale of Jeckyll's shelving, recalling the traditional cabinet of porcelain.

The cabinet of porcelain constitutes separate spaces for porcelain in an architectural context. According to an inventory of Wardour Castle, Wiltshire, from 1605, one hundred and fifty four porcelain items were displayed in the space called 'Possylen House.'<sup>139</sup> In Robert Cecil's London residence, Salisbury House, an inventory from 1612 lists eighty one un-mounted porcelain vessels in a room described as the 'Cabonnett.'<sup>140</sup> These pieces were acquired in Amsterdam where the Dutch East India Company auctioned off its cargoes.<sup>141</sup> Amalia of Solms (1602-1675), consort of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange and Stadholder of the Netherlands (1584-1647), is also known to have created one of the earliest European examples of a cabinet of porcelain constructed specifically for decorative ends.<sup>142</sup> By the

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<sup>137</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 82.

<sup>138</sup> Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 167.

<sup>139</sup> Susan Bracken, "'Chyna" in England before 1614,' *Oriental Art*, vol. XLVII, no. 2 (2001), pp. 9-10.

<sup>140</sup> Bracken, pp. 9-10.

<sup>141</sup> Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums*, p. 28.

<sup>142</sup> C. Willemijn Fock, 'The Apartments of Frederick Henry and Amalia of Solms: Princely Splendour and the Triumph of Porcelain,' *Princely Patrons: The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia of Solms in the Hague*, eds. Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren (Hague: Mauritshuis, 1997), pp. 80-81.

second half of the seventeenth century, this type of cabinet of porcelain was so fashionable that they were built in many princely palace or grand ducal mansion across Europe.<sup>143</sup>

The descendants of the House of Orange contributed to the spread of the Dutch style cabinet of porcelain. Amalia and Frederick's oldest daughter, Princess Louise Henrietta of Orange-Nassau (1627-1667) brought her porcelain collection when she married Frederick William, the Elector of Brandenburg (1620-1688) in 1646, and created her own cabinet of porcelain: one in the Oranienburg Palace, north of Berlin; and another in the Oranienstein.<sup>144</sup> In the 1690s, Louise Henrietta and Frederick William's third son, Frederick III, the Elector of Brandenburg (1657-1713), the future King of Prussia, Frederick I (from 1701), commissioned the architect Andreas Schlüter (1664-1714) to re-create the cabinet of porcelain at Oranienburg.<sup>145</sup> Schlüter's design has survived in an 1733 engraving by J. B. Broebes (Fig. 63), which shows the walls covered with plates and the flutes of the Corinthian columns covered with 160 cups.<sup>146</sup> The room also contained "specially made stands, wall brackets, shelves and cornices [that] were layers deep in vases."<sup>147</sup> This cabinet of porcelain was so impressive that Augustus II 'the Strong,' the Elector of Saxony, was swept up in chinamania after paying a visit to Oranienburg around 1710. Augustus immediately sent his agent, Count Lagnasco, to Amsterdam with instructions to "buy porcelain and have it sent to Dresden, not by single items but by complete sets and services."<sup>148</sup> Subsequently, in order to create his own cabinet of porcelain, Augustus bought the Dutch Palace in Dresden from Count Jacob Heinrich von Fremming in 1717, and remodelled the palace into the 'Porcelain' or 'Japanese' palace.<sup>149</sup> Alongside the remarkable cabinet of porcelain at Oranienburg, Frederick created two more cabinets of porcelain to commemorate the death of his wife Sophie Charlotte in 1705. He commissioned the Swedish architect Johann Friedrich Eosander to create the two cabinets of porcelain at Charlottenburg Palace in Berlin. They are preserved today in their original condition, and demonstrate the typical scheme of a cabinet of porcelain: displaying Chinese blue and white porcelain of varying sizes and shapes, featuring custom niches, cornices and mirrors to accommodate particular porcelain pieces (Fig. 64).<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay* (London: John Murray, 1961), p. 50.

<sup>144</sup> Shirley Ganse, *Chinese Export Porcelain: East to West* (San Francisco: Long River Press, 2008), p. 89.

<sup>145</sup> Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie: The Impact of Oriental Styles on Western Art and Decoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 164.

<sup>146</sup> Impey, *Chinoiserie*, p. 164.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>148</sup> Emmanuelle Gaillard and Marc Walter, *A Taste for the Exotic: Oriental Interiors* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2011), p. 36.

<sup>149</sup> Gaillard and Walter, *A Taste for the Exotic*, p. 39.

<sup>150</sup> Gaillard and Walter, *A Taste for the Exotic*, pp. 32-33.

William of Orange (1650-1702), another grandson of Amalia and Frederick, introduced the cabinet of porcelain to England. When he arrived in London to ascend the English throne in 1689, he commissioned the Dutch court designer Daniel Marot (1661-1752), a French Huguenot, to create a cabinet of porcelain at Kensington Palace to exhibit the porcelain collection belonging to his wife, Mary of England (1662-1698). Marot created a lavish showcase of Queen Mary's vast collection of ceramics, ranging from Chinese and Japanese porcelain to Delftware (Fig. 65). A contemporary of Marot described how he heaped the Queen's porcelain in precarious piles "on pieces of furniture, writing cases and the narrowest mantelpieces until it reached the ceiling... to the point where the expenditure thus accrued became the subject of reproach, and even prejudicial to [her] family and possessions."<sup>151</sup> Despite this viewer's concern, Queen Mary's lavish cabinet of porcelain made it fashionable to collect Oriental porcelain among the members of the British nobility.

Jeckyll and Marks's plan for the dining room at 49 Prince's Gate was in the succession of this European tradition. The preface of the catalogue of Thompson's collection of Nankin porcelain demonstrates that Marks perceived the chinamania within the Aesthetic circle from a historical perspective. Before discussing the vogue of chinamania led by Whistler and Rossetti, Marks explained its ancestral root:

During the latter half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Dutch merchants began to import the finest specimens in large quantities, and it was at this period that many valuable collections were formed in Holland, several of which remain intact at the present time.

This beautiful ware appears to have met with due appreciation also from the crowned heads of Europe, notwithstanding the warlike and troublous nature of time; for collections were formed by Emperor Leopold I., the Elector of Bavaria, Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, and the Prince of Orange. How rich this last collection must have been, the specimens still to be seen at Hampton Court Palace are evidence. To the war-like Elector of Saxony we owe the magnificent collection of the Japan Palace at Dresden.<sup>152</sup>

With this knowledge of Dutch cabinet of porcelain and its variations across Europe, Marks and Jeckyll chose a traditional architectural form to display Chinese porcelain in the dining room. Williamson explains their original scheme: "The idea of the decoration of the dining-room at Princes Gate was that the Blue and White china should be well displayed on a background wholly suitable to it, and that it should be arranged in open shelves of carved and gilt wood, which would make a series of upright lines on the walls of the room, subdivided at intervals in Japanese fashion, in order to exhibit the plates, pots, beakers and

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<sup>151</sup> Gaillard and Walter, *A Taste for the Exotic*, p. 36.

<sup>152</sup> Marks, *A Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain*, pp. v-vi.

vases.”<sup>153</sup>

For the dining room, Jeckyll employed another critical feature of traditional cabinet of porcelain: covering the walls with gilt leather. This technique, which originated at Oranienburg, became fashionable in the decoration of cabinet of porcelain due to its colour effect as a background for oriental porcelain.<sup>154</sup> Indeed, gilt leather-covered backgrounds became associated with objects from the Far East as well as chinoiserie in the eighteenth century, since the production of gilt leather, which originated in Islamic culture and dominated in Spain until the seventeenth century, was enhanced by the invention of a new technique of embossing in Holland.<sup>155</sup> Jeckyll revived this tradition when he was commissioned to design a suite of rooms for the installation of blue and white porcelain by the barrister and rentier Cyril Flower, later Lord Battersea, around the same time of the project at Prince’s Gate. Using gilt leather for the wall covering of Flower’s ‘Japanese Room’ at 3 Albert Mansions, Victoria Street, Westminster, he verified the astonishing harmony of colour between leather hangings and blue and white porcelain.<sup>156</sup>

Marks and Leyland appreciated Jeckyll’s treatment with gilt leather hangings, and agreed to employ it for the dining room.<sup>157</sup> Marks secured painted leather which was acquired from a Tudor house, Catton Hall in Old Catton, Norfolk. Williamson describes it as “fine Spanish embossed leather” with the pattern of “open pomegranates” which was presented to Queen Catherine of Aragon by the City of Cordova when she came to England as the bride of Henry VIII.<sup>158</sup> However, Merrill claims that the leather was not embossed but painted with the pattern of “spiraling ribbons of roses and other summer flowers,” not “open pomegranates, the emblem of Catherine of Aragon.”<sup>159</sup> Moreover, she questions whether this gilt leather was manufactured in Spain around the beginning of the sixteenth century. She argues that the pattern is more likely Dutch, presumably dated from the third quarter of the eighteenth century.<sup>160</sup> Yet, Merrill’s suggestion has the underlying motive to defend Whistler who was blamed for ruining the gilt leather, a national treasure of British history, when he participated in the decoration. What she attempts to claim is that the leather was not as valuable as had

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<sup>153</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 89.

<sup>154</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 191.

<sup>155</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 191; Eloy Koldewey, ‘The Marketing of Gilt Leather in Seventeenth-century Holland,’ *Print Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 2 (June 1996), pp. 136-48; Eloy Koldewey, ‘Gilt Leather Hangings in Chinoiserie and Other Styles: An English Speciality,’ *Furniture History*, vol. 36 (2000), pp. 61-101.

<sup>156</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 191; Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 191.

<sup>157</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 89.

<sup>158</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 89-91.

<sup>159</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 194.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

been thought. However, in contradiction to her argument, the leather was embossed, and two different types of leather were used by Jeckyll. Because the amount of the original leather was not enough to cover all the walls, Marks supplied different, but similar leather hanging.<sup>161</sup> Both of these two different types of leather were precious material for which Leyland paid £1,000.<sup>162</sup> Whether they were old Spanish or eighteenth-century Dutch, the gilt-leather wall covering was a key element of Jeckyll's scheme of decoration which reinterpreted the traditional cabinet of porcelain.

Jeckyll's original design of the dining room had been preserved by Kensington builder Joseph William Duffield who constructed the room. When the room entered the market for sale, Duffield wrote a letter on 3 June 1904 to the dealers, Obach & Co., asserting that the design of the room should be credited to Jeckyll, rather than Whistler: "In fact we have the original architects drawings from which Whistler borrowed his work. We have thought it would be to your interest to place you in possession of these facts, otherwise you may be called to account."<sup>163</sup> Unfortunately, the drawings do not seem to have survived.

In 1997, Peter R. Nelsen made reconstructive illustrations of the dining room according to Jeckyll's design (Fig. 66). It shows that "the walls were covered with yellowish gilt leather adorned with a pattern of tired flowers" and a double-paneled dado of Jacobean derivation.<sup>164</sup> From the dado to the double-coved cornice on three walls of the room, a series of walnut shelves with finely carved vertical supports was set to display blue and white porcelain (Fig. 67).<sup>165</sup> "Shelves and cages" were carefully designed "to accommodate one of the standard shapes and sizes of Qing-dynasty blue and white": "tall, slender vases were to fill the vertical spaces in the upper regions of the room; large shallow dishes fit the square niches on the west wall opposite the windows; smaller 'saucers' could be ranged in rows above the doors."<sup>166</sup> According to Williamson, Marks declared that the dining room had "never looked so well as it did when first of all the Blue porcelain was put up upon Jeckyll's shelves, and the dull, quiet, rich effect of the leather formed the sumptuous background."<sup>167</sup>

Jeckyll's basic structure of the cabinet of porcelain was enriched with a Tudor-inspired fan-

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<sup>161</sup> Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 194.

<sup>162</sup> Obach & Company, *The Peacock Room* (London, June 1904).

<sup>163</sup> A letter from J. W. Duffield to Obach & Co., 3 June 1904, Charles Lang Freer Papers, Freer Gallery of Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.; quoted in Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 195.

<sup>164</sup> Linda Merrill and Sarah Ridley, *The Princess and the Peacocks* (New York: Hyperion, 1993); Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 192.

<sup>165</sup> Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, pp. 192-94.

<sup>166</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 82; Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 204.

<sup>167</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 95.

vaulted ceiling which was reminiscent of “the sixteenth-century geometrically composed ceiling in the Oak Parlour at Heath Old Hall which Jeckyll restored for Edward Green in 1866.”<sup>168</sup> There hung eight pendant gas lamps of the same design used in the study, which were manufactured by B. Verity and Sons, London.<sup>169</sup> The fireplace was adorned with Turquoise blue mosaic tiles and Jeckyll’s gilt-bronze sunflower andirons which originally appeared at the pavilion for the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876 (Fig. 68).<sup>170</sup> Above the mantel, Whistler’s *La Princess du pays de la porcelain* was hung (Fig. 69). As Oliver Impey notes, this painting reveals the eclectic nature of chinamania within the Aesthetic Movement: Anglo-Greek Christine Spartali wearing Japanese costume is surrounded by numerous Asian objects such as porcelain, fans, a rug and screen.<sup>171</sup> Indeed, this painting corresponded with the scheme of decoration which consisted of various sources of inspiration – Old English, Chinese, Japanese, Dutch and the contemporary Aesthetic Movement.

Jeckyll completed the architectural fittings of the dining room by April 1876, and he wanted to consult Leyland about the treatment for the woodwork, including the ceiling and dado, as well as shutters and doors. Regarding this matter, Leyland consulted Whistler who successfully decorated the dado of the staircase in the entrance hall the previous year. He wrote to Whistler on 26 April 1876: “Jekell [sic] writes to know what colour to do the doors and windows in [the] dining room. He speaks of two yellows and white – Would it not be better to do it like the dado in the hall – i.e. using Dutch metal in larger masses. It ought to go well with the leather. I wrote to him suggesting this but I wish you would give him your ideas.”<sup>172</sup> On this request, Whistler joined the project, and was to transform Jeckyll’s dining room into the notorious Peacock Room.

Although the colour effect of the wall covering with gilt leather as background of blue and white porcelain was a crucial part of Jeckyll’s design, ironically the colour of leather hangings became the cause of Whistler’s dissatisfaction. Commencing with decorating the ceiling, the canvas cornice and upper dado, the walnut wainscoting, and the shutters and doors, Whistler became gradually determined to modify the colours of leather hangings because he thought “that the red flowers scattered over the gold ground of the Spanish leather hurt the harmony

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<sup>168</sup> Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 192.

<sup>169</sup> Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 193.

<sup>170</sup> Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 195.

<sup>171</sup> Impey, *Chinoiserie*, pp. 188-89.

<sup>172</sup> F. R. Leyland to J. A. M. Whistler, 26 April 1876, Glasgow University Library, Glasgow, Scotland, Department of Special Collections, Whistler Collection; quoted in Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 196.



of his picture.”<sup>173</sup> Whistler complained not only about these “red flowers” painted on the leather, but also about the red pattern in the border of a precious Indian carpet which Leyland bought for the room because the red pattern “killed the rose in the painting.” As he trimmed the border off the carpet, it was replaced with a custom-made turquoise carpet.<sup>174</sup> He also tried to gild the red flowers on the wall covering, but the result was “horrible.”<sup>175</sup> Over Marks’s objection, Whistler eventually painted the leather hangings in mottled shades of blue, and added a “wave pattern” in gold. This alteration was made to harmonise with four majestic peacocks in gold which he painted upon the shutters painted in deep blue (Fig. 70).<sup>176</sup> Like Marks, Leyland was dismayed by Whistler’s bold conversion of the leather hangings. Their quarrel over the payment resulted in Whistler’s last touch: the mural of the fighting peacocks on the south wall, known as ‘L’Art et l’Argent’ (Fig. 71).<sup>177</sup> By February 1877 Whistler finished transforming the room into his “Harmony in Blue and Gold: the Peacock Room.”<sup>178</sup>

The dining room was no longer Jeckyll’s cabinet of porcelain. After Whistler had completed his decoration, Marks and Leyland had to remove a very large portion of the blue and white porcelain that had been arranged earlier in Jeckyll’s design. Williamson reports their disappointment: “They felt that very little porcelain was needed in the room, the decoration of the room itself was sufficient, but they did, both of them, regret that the leather had disappeared, and the original scheme had been transformed.”<sup>179</sup>

## The Morning Room

Around the time when Whistler intervened in the decoration of the dining room in the summer of 1876, Jeckyll succumbed to his mental illness which eventually led to his death in 1881.<sup>180</sup> Due to his sudden withdrawal from the remodeling project, Leyland and Marks hired Morris & Co. to continue the decoration of the rest of the house. However, the members of

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<sup>173</sup> Child, ‘A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,’ p. 82.

<sup>174</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 211; Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 197.

<sup>175</sup> *Whistler Journal*, p. 109. quoted in Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 211.

<sup>176</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 211-12 and pp. 217-21.

<sup>177</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 238.

<sup>178</sup> Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 197.

<sup>179</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>180</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 91-94; Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll*, p. 196.

Morris & Co. too left while Whistler was involved in the project.<sup>181</sup> Once again, in 1879, Leyland asked Marks to recommend a new designer. Marks brought Richard Norman Shaw, with whom he had already collaborated for the renovation of his shop in 1875. The renovation of the morning room on the ground floor was Shaw's work in around 1885.<sup>182</sup>

Shaw designed this room to accommodate old Brussels tapestries. It featured an oak ceiling inlaid with a geometrical pattern in black and white, simple dado and a chimney piece (Figs. 72 and 73). All four walls of the room were covered with three large and six small pieces of Brussels tapestries with design representing "Teniers subjects."<sup>183</sup> On the north and south walls, there hung a pair of oblong panels depicting figures returning from harvest, a wheat field and extensive landscape in the background; a winter scene, with figures skating, a windmill and buildings in the background. Alongside these oblong panels, Shaw installed a pair of upright panels representing sportsmen reposing outside an inn; and a pastoral scene. On north and south walls as well as the west wall, there were a set of three narrow upright panels with peasants and landscapes. On the east wall, there hung a large tapestry with numerous figures feasting and dancing in front of an inn, and extensive landscape. Over door, a small oblong panel with a seaport was hung.<sup>184</sup> This suite of pastoral scenery created a comfortable and cozy atmosphere.

The room was furnished with Italian, Tyrolese and Indian cabinets, oriental carpet and Chinese cloisonné enamel vases. The Chimneypiece and the door were garnished with symmetrical assemblages of Chinese porcelain. Along with these garnitures, bronze statuettes from the period of Italian Renaissance were displayed to ornament cabinets. The selection of decorative items and the arrangement clearly reflected Marks's taste.

### **The Drawing Room**

Shaw carried on with remodeling the space on the first floor. For Leyland who wished to create the drawing room as the "place of honor in the intimacy of the aesthetic life," Shaw

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<sup>181</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 207.

<sup>182</sup> Andrew Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 152-53.

<sup>183</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 82.

<sup>184</sup> Christie's, *Sale of Leyland's Collection of Porcelain and Decorative Objects* (26-27 May 1892); Osborn & Mercer, *No. 49 Prince's Gate* (17 June 1892).

incorporated Leyland's dream of living "the life of an old Venetian merchant in modern London" into his scheme of decoration.<sup>185</sup> The whole of this floor formed one vast rectangular space seventy feet long, with a spacious wing at each end, which was divided into three interconnecting rooms. Shaw unified the three salons by the ceilings identical in design. The ceilings were "paneled in natural walnut with caissons of gilt arabesque design" (Fig. 74).<sup>186</sup> His elaborated design for the ceilings followed on from Jeckyll's experiments in the dining room and the study. Indeed, he maintained Jeckyll's general design. As the architect who had been practicing the Queen Anne style, Shaw could easily familiarise himself with Jeckyll's work.<sup>187</sup> In a letter to Marks, Shaw wrote: "My Dear Marks, No I had nothing to do with the lamps in the "Peacock Room". They were poor Jeckels [sic] -and I always thought them exceedingly well designed & indeed all his work there was most admirable I only wish I could have done anything half as good."<sup>188</sup> In order to adorn the ceilings of the drawing room, Shaw employed Jeckyll's design of the pendent gas lamp.

The three rooms had respective themes. The glass-roofed front salon overlooking Exhibition Road was devoted primarily to Rossetti's single-figure paintings; the middle-drawing room to varied contemporary paintings including seven works by Burne-Jones; and the third salon ornamented with Italian Old Master pieces and furniture on the theme, "without is London, within is Italy."<sup>189</sup> The three rooms were separated, and simultaneously, connected without blocking the view by two screens designed by Shaw after the Rood Screen removed from the Cathedral of St John at Bois-le-Duc, Holland, which Marks had acquired and ceded to the South Kensington Museum in 1869 (Figs. 75, 76 and 77).<sup>190</sup> The screens were manufactured in 1879 by the firm Charles Mellier & Company.<sup>191</sup>

Marks hung all of the paintings on the walls covered with silk and paper which was designed by Rossetti and was produced at Morris and Co. As the music lover Leyland wanted, these paintings were hung "like music notes."<sup>192</sup> As many Aesthetic artists explored the synesthesia, this idea of musical correspondence with visual images was significant.<sup>193</sup> In the

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<sup>185</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 87; Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, p. 285; Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 156-57.

<sup>186</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 84.

<sup>187</sup> Spencer, *The Aesthetic Movement*, p. 43; Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw*, pp. 152-53.

<sup>188</sup> A letter from R. N. Shaw to Marks (2 June 1904), Fitzwilliam Museum Library, Cambridge.

<sup>189</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 84; Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 156-57.

<sup>190</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 88.

<sup>191</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 366.

<sup>192</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 86; Duval, 'F. R. Leyland: A Maecenas from Liverpool,' p. 112; Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 156.

<sup>193</sup> For further discussion see Fennell, p. xxiv; Kirk Savage, 'A Forcible Piece of Weird Decoration: Whistler and The Gold Scab,' *Smithsonian Studies in American Art*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Spring 1990), pp. 41-42.

landing, three female figures by Albert Moore, presumably *A Venus*, *Seagulls* and *Shells*, were displayed.<sup>194</sup>

The first drawing room was dedicated to Rossetti's works along with a few by Burne-Jones. Next to the screen, Rossetti's *Monna Rosa* was hung over a cabinet. On the wall to the right of the screen, Rossetti's *Mnemosyne* (also called *The Lamp of Memory* or *La Ricordanza*), *The Blessed Damozel* and *Proserpine*, which were influenced by Venetian Renaissance paintings, were carefully arranged imitating the traditional way of presentation such an altarpiece (Fig. 78).<sup>195</sup> On the wall to the left of the screen, Burne-Jones's *The Beguiling of Merlin* and *Phyllis and Demophoon* were hung over a seventeenth-century Venetian commode of marquetry and bronze made by the Caffieri family, probably Philip Caffieri (Fig. 79).<sup>196</sup> On the right and left of the fireplace, Rossetti's *Lady Lilith* and *Veronica Veronese* were displayed.<sup>197</sup> This shrine of Rossetti's works was furnished with a grand piano, old French marquetry cabinets manufactured by Boulle, an elegant chest of drawers by the French royal ébéniste Riesener, Chinese porcelain and a variety of decorative pieces.<sup>198</sup>

In the intermediate room, seven works by Burne-Jones – *Venus's Mirror*, *Day*, *Night*, *Spring*, *Summer*, *Autumn*, and *Winter* – were displayed. This room also housed Rossetti's *Salutation*, John Everett Millais's *Eve of St. Agnes* and Madox Brown's *Entombment*.<sup>199</sup> The walls above the dado of American walnut were covered with silk of gold tone. Immense oriental carpets were laid on the floor. Around the three casement windows in one side of this room were hung curtains in gold "with a rich design in red velvet appliqué-work of Portuguese origin."<sup>200</sup>

The last drawing room of the three which was devoted to works by Italian old masters reveals Shaw and Marks's adaptation of Renaissance art in the Aesthetic context. They gave the places of honor to Botticelli, "the idol and inspirer" of many Aesthetic artists.<sup>201</sup> Among six paintings by Botticelli which Leyland purchased on Marks's recommendation, five pieces were displayed in this room (the other was hung in the study):<sup>202</sup> Botticelli's series of *Nastagio degli Onesti*, four illustrations of the eighth tale of the Fifth Day of the *Decameron* by Boccaccio, which were originally placed in the Pucci Palace in Florence in around 1487;

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<sup>194</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 84.

<sup>195</sup> Duval, 'A Reconstruction of F. R. Leyland's Collection,' p. 48.

<sup>196</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 85.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid..

<sup>198</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' pp. 84-85.

<sup>199</sup> Duval, 'F. R. Leyland: A Maecenas from Liverpool,' p. 112; Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 84.

<sup>200</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 86.

<sup>201</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 87.

<sup>202</sup> Along with these six paintings, Leyland owned at least two more works by Botticelli: *The Saviour* and *The Virgin and Child*. Christie's, *Sale of Leyland's Collection of Pictures* (28 May 1892).

and *Madonna and Infant Christ with St. John* in a circle frame.<sup>203</sup> These pieces were displayed in symmetry with other Italian paintings of the Renaissance period.

A Renaissance painter of the Venetian school, Palma Vecchio's *Venus and Mars* was hung over the fireplace. To the left of it was Botticelli's tondo, *Madonna and Infant Child with St. John*; and to the right, *Adoration of the Magi* in a circular frame by Filippino Lippi, a Florentine painter of the Quattrocento (Fig. 80). On the lower part of this wall were hung the third and fourth scenes from Botticelli's series of *Nastagio degli Onesti*: to the left of the fireplace was found the third scene representing a table, with guests feasting in the pine wood; to the right, the fourth scene depicting two tables standing in an open colonnade, with guests feasting (Figs. 81 and 82).<sup>204</sup>

On the next wall, an Italian painter from Leonardo's circle Bernardino Luini's *Portrait of a Lady*, a Ferrarese painter of the Renaissance Lorenzo Costa's *Virgin and St. Joseph in Adoration*, and a variation of Leonardo da Vinci's *St John the Baptist* in the Louvre, presumably by a pupil of Leonardo, were hung in the lower row. In the upper row on this wall was displayed *The Rape of Ganymede* by Francesco Francia, after Michelangelo, between two copies of *The Virgin and Child* in arched-top frames, by Filippo Lippi, a Florentine painter of the Quattrocento (Fig. 83). To the right of the door on the same wall, another preferred painter by the Aesthetic circle, Hans Memling's *The Virgin and Child Enthroned* was placed.<sup>205</sup>

On the wall, opposite to the fireplace, a Venetian painter of the Renaissance, Giorgione's *Holy Family with the Portrait of the Donor and His Wife* was hung between *A Portrait of a Lady* and *The Virgin and Child*, by unverified painters, but presumably the Italians of the Renaissance (Fig. 84). Beneath these three paintings, the first and second scenes of Botticelli's *Nastagio degli Onesti* were displayed: to the right of Giorgione's *Holy Family* was the first scene representing a landscape, with a pine wood in the foreground, on the right a horseman, with dog pursuing a naked lady, on the left, *Nastagio*; to the left, the second scene depicting a pine wood, in the centre, a cavalier bending over a lady (Figs. 85 and 86).<sup>206</sup>

Corresponding with this magnificent collection of paintings by Italian masters of the Renaissance, Marks and Shaw richly decorated the room with Italian furniture. Child describes:

On the panels between the windows are Venetian mirrors; the tables and cabinets are Milanese inlaid work of the seventeenth century; the chairs, with the exception

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<sup>203</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 86; Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' pp. 87-90; Christie's, *Sale of Leyland's Collection of Pictures* (28 May 1892).

<sup>204</sup> Osborn & Mercer, *No. 49 Prince's Gate* (17 June 1892); Christie's, *Sale of Leyland's Collection of Pictures* (28 May 1892).

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*

of the modern upholstered seats which match the silk wall hangings, are of the same period. [...] the chimney piece is a handsome remnant of an Italian Renaissance house, surmounted by a carved wood over-mantel, designed by Mr. Norman Shaw.<sup>207</sup>

In addition, Marks supplied a number of bronze statuettes of fifteenth century *cire perdue* casting to arrange them here and there.<sup>208</sup> Although Leyland's collection of Italian Renaissance bronzes at 49 Prince's Gate has not received much attention, it was formed with extremely fine specimens. Leyland was obviously influenced by Marks's enthusiasm for this particular genre, and eventually had a genuine interest in it. When his son-in-law Val Prinsep recalled the last day of Leyland's life, Prinsep relates his image with bronzes: "Besides the pictures, there were many other valuable *objets d'art*. One especially – a small statuette by Donatello, purchased by Mr. Murray Marks – was the last thing he bought, and also the last thing he saw in the house; as, just before leaving home never to return alive, he ran up to the drawing-room to see his beloved bronze, which had just arrived."<sup>209</sup> Donatello's statuette, *David with the Head of Goliath*, which Leyland bought from Marks, came to the posthumous sale in May 1892 at Christie's, sold for 682 guineas and 10 shillings.<sup>210</sup>

Another source also reports that Leyland's collection of Italian Renaissance bronzes was well known among collectors and connoisseurs. In a letter to the Florentine art dealer Stefano Bardini dated around 1892, his agent in London, C. F. Walker considers Renaissance bronzes as main features of Leyland's collection, together with the paintings of the same period: "Leyland, 49 Princes Gate SW – This person is a wealthy collector of Italian paintings of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as well as ancient bronzes."<sup>211</sup>

Marks incorporated this opulent collection of Italian Renaissance art with Chinese porcelain. While he intended to install only Chinese blue and white porcelain from the Qing dynasty in the dining room, he selected more ancient pieces for the drawing room. Marks adorned the five niches of the over-mantel symmetrically with four black enamel vases of the

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<sup>207</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 86.

<sup>208</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 86; Christie's, *Sale of Leyland's Collection of Porcelain and Decorative Objects* (26-27 May 1892); Osborn & Mercer, *No. 49 Prince's Gate* (17 June 1892).

<sup>209</sup> Val C. Prinsep, 'A Collector's Correspondence,' *Art Journal*, vol. 55 (August 1892), p. 252.

<sup>210</sup> Child, 'A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,' p. 86; Christie's, *Sale of Leyland's Collection of Porcelain and Decorative Objects* (26-27 May 1892); In this sale, 15 lots (lots. 265-279) of old Italian bronzes were included.

<sup>211</sup> C. F. Walker to Stefano Bardini, around 1892, from the notebook *Appunti di Londra*, written by C. F. Walker in around 1892, The Stefano Bardini Archive, Florence; "Leyland 49 Princes Gate SW - Questi e' un amatore di quadri della scuola italiana del trecento quattrocento e cinquecento come pure bronzi antichi."

Ming dynasty and “a tall brown enamel vase of extreme rarity,”<sup>212</sup> for the centre (Fig. 87).<sup>213</sup> Two fine cylindrical Chinese vases of the *famille verte* from the San Donato collection were placed between the windows.<sup>214</sup> Next to these vases, a gigantic Chinese cloisonné enamel perfume burner was set. As Child describes, these Chinese works of art added “a sharp note of Oriental splendor to the discreet richness of the harmony of brown and gold in which the pictures are displayed.”<sup>215</sup> This particular mood, shaped by the ensemble of the Italian Renaissance and Chinese art, was persistently maintained across the whole floor by the intricate wood paneled ceilings in the late Renaissance style, ornamented by the pendent gas lamps of Jeckyll’s design, which evoke Chinese paper lanterns.<sup>216</sup>

At last, this imaginative refashioning of space and time created the interiors which were attuned to Leyland’s wish to live “the life of an old Venetian merchant” in nineteenth-century London. Like the Italian patrons of the Renaissance, who commissioned paintings from prominent artists, collected classical sculpture, and created the cabinet of curiosity filled with Chinese porcelain and other exotic curios, now the shipping magnate of the age of British Empire could emulate their magnificent life at his own palace of art. Paintings by the Aesthetic artists and old masters, Italian Renaissance bronzes and numerous Chinese porcelain, as well as their harmonious arrangement at 49 Prince’s Gate represented both the complex layers of the exotic and the historic. In this house, a poetic ambience created by the visual unity between different historical and cultural contexts is prized above accurate references to the origin of the works of art. This poetic ambience was the path through which Leyland could attune his being to the space and further, he could dwell in this world as Dasein.

In this regard, the remodeling project for 49 Prince’s Gate needs to be considered as a whole, not only of the various spaces but also of the person who was to live there. However, when the decoration of the house is discussed, Whistler’s celebrated Peacock Room tends to draw most attention. Indeed, among the various rooms of the house, only the Peacock Room was salvaged and sold on 16 May 1904 by Obach & Company to the American industrialist and collector, Charles Lang Freer, for £8,400 (or \$42,000) and continues its life in the Freer Gallery of Art, the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.<sup>217</sup> This Peacock Room has generally been known as a crown of the interior decoration in the style of Japonisme. Yet,

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<sup>212</sup> The companion piece of this vase was owned by W. T. Walters, of Baltimore, in the late nineteenth century. See Child, ‘A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,’ p. 86.

<sup>213</sup> Child, ‘A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion,’ p. 86.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

<sup>216</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 157 and p. 197; Wainwright, ‘A gatherer and disposer of other men’s stuffe,’ p. 167.

<sup>217</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 327; Obach & Company, *The Peacock Room* (London, June 1904).

there existed some contemporaries who recognised the significance of the entire scheme of decoration for Leyland's house.

### **Fenway Court: Echo in New England**

If the main feature of *chinoiserie* is the hybrid of the theme of China with various European styles, 49 Prince's Gate might be located within the continuities of *chinoiserie*.<sup>218</sup> Even though *chinamania*, the craze for Chinese blue and white porcelain, is distinguished from *chinoiserie* which means the European imitation and interpretation of East Asian art and design, it can be argued that they share similar sources of inspiration in a broad sense. Moreover, when *chinamania* is considered within the context of display, its scheme often reflects the very nature of *chinoiserie*. In fact, the interior decoration of Leyland's house which incorporated nineteenth-century *chinamania* also demonstrates the hybridity of the theme of East Asia with the Italian Renaissance. 49 Prince's Gate marked a prelude to the widespread crossover between Chinese and Italian Renaissance art in collecting, display, and art-historical studies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Among the contemporaries who were influenced by this Aesthetic interior, the American collector Isabella Stewart Gardner's collection and its arrangement in Fenway Court is significant, for it shows a very similar motivation of collecting to Leyland's, parallel contents of the collection consisting of Italian Renaissance paintings, oriental objects, and pictures by contemporary artists arranged by aesthetic criteria, and in particular, the crucial role of the agent, Bernard Berenson.

As a matter of fact, there is some evidence revealing the link between 49 Prince's Gate and Fenway Court. During the trip to France and Britain in 1879, Gardner was introduced to Whistler by Henry James, and she visited the Grosvenor Gallery. The stylistic display of the Grosvenor Gallery and its exhibition which consisted of avant-garde paintings and Old Master pieces together made a strong impression on Gardner. Gardner must have been affected by the Aesthetic circle during her sojourn in London in 1879.<sup>219</sup> In addition, she had known

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<sup>218</sup> Honour, *Chinoiserie*; Morena, *Chinoiserie*; David Porter, *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>219</sup> Hilliard T. Goldfarb, *The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum: A Companion Guide and History* (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 8-9.



about the Peacock Room at least by 1895. Since the alarming rumour that the new owner of 49 Prince's Gate Blanche Watney would remove the Peacock Room from the house was circulating from 1894, John Singer Sargent, who was staying in London at the time, wrote his patron Gardner on 29 August 1895, proposing to buy it: "[The Peacock Room] ought to be kept together. [...] but the shutters alone would be a treasure. How can you let the Peacock room belong to anybody else!"<sup>220</sup> Gardner became interested in Sargent's suggestion to transplant the room to Boston, but wanted only parts of the decoration.<sup>221</sup> In the hope to persuade Gardner, Sargent consulted Whistler on 1 November 1895: "Wouldn't you much prefer that it should be kept together in a space of the same size or thereabouts rather than that bits of it would be scattered about in a large hall?"<sup>222</sup> However, Gardner lost the opportunity to acquire the Peacock Room either entire or in part, because Watney had decided not to sell it after all.<sup>223</sup> Watney changed her mind once again in 1904, but Gardner learned it from Sargent only a few weeks after Freer of Detroit purchased the room *en bloc*.<sup>224</sup>

Although Gardner could not be the owner of the Peacock Room, she planned to employ parts of Whistler's design of the decoration. Some of her friends also passed her information about Whistler's scheme of decoration for the room. For example, on 6 February 1900, Edward Abbey wrote to Gardner: "I daresay you know all about another very fine Whistler – ...Perhaps you know the etching. This [Whistler's decoration of the Peacock Room] does not resemble it in the least! I can find out all about it – unless you know already – no dealers!"<sup>225</sup> Whistler's design for the Peacock Room, called 'Harmony in Blue and Green,' became widely known among artistic circles since Whistler moved from London to Venice late in 1879. He began to make a number of sketches of the peacocks painted on the shutters as well as of the mural so as to illustrate the story of the room for his friends.<sup>226</sup> In 1904, the artist Harper Pennington presented to Gardner Whistler's sketches of decorations from the Peacock Room, which were created in 1885 (Figs. 88 and 89).<sup>227</sup> These included illustrations of the wave

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<sup>220</sup> A letter from John Singer Sargent to Isabella Stewart Gardner on 29 August 1895, Isabella Stewart Gardner Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.; quoted in Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 314.

<sup>221</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 316.

<sup>222</sup> A letter from Sargent to Whistler dated on 1 November 1895, James McNeill Whistler Papers, Glasgow University Library; quoted in Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 316.

<sup>223</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 316.

<sup>224</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 330.

<sup>225</sup> A letter sent from Edward Abbey to Isabella Stewart Gardner dated on 6 February ca. 1900, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. See Fig. 89.

<sup>226</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 297.

<sup>227</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 297; A letter sent from Harper Pennington in 1904, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston; These sketches are currently displayed in Long Gallery on the third floor at Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.

pattern, four peacocks painted on shutters and the fighting peacocks of the mural. Among them, Whistler's design of the peacocks on the shutter was reflected in the decoration of Gardner's house, Fenway Court. In the landing of the third floor at Fenway Court, there were installed two wood panels adorned with gilt carvings of peacocks (Fig. 90).

However, the Peacock Room was just a small part of the resemblance of Gardner's Fenway Court to Leyland's collection and display at 49 Prince's Gate. Gardner acquired three paintings which had belonged to Leyland. When the sale of Leyland's collection was approaching in May 1892, Gardner, who was travelling in Venice from April of the year, came over to London. At this sale, she purchased Rossetti's *Love's Greeting* (lot 60) for 194 guineas and 5 shillings; Filippino Lippi's *The Virgin and Child* (lot 95) for 267 guineas and 15 shillings (later Berenson attributed this painting to an unidentified pupil); and Francesco Pesellino's *Virgin and Child with Swallow*<sup>228</sup> which had been displayed in the study at 49 Prince's Gate.<sup>229</sup>

Along with this provenance, Gardner's desire to seek psychic repose in the place decorated with works of art seems very similar to what Leyland pursued when he decorated 49 Prince's Gate. She discovered her passion for art while she sought to recover from a depression after the tragic loss of her son Jackie by pneumonia in 1865 and a miscarriage a year later.<sup>230</sup> Once again, at her husband Jack's sudden death on 10 December 1898, she tried to overcome grief by building her palace of art. On 31 January 1899, she acquired the Fenway land where her own Venetian *palazzo* in Boston was to stand.<sup>231</sup> Although Gardner linked her collection with the idea of social or patriotic service and with the self-promotion as a benefactor, as her favourite motto, "c'est mon Plaisir," encapsulates, her tastefully blended display of entirely personalised treasures formed her intimate fantastic world above all.<sup>232</sup> Fenway Court was so identified with the possessor that Gardner "insisted that not a single object be moved or

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<sup>228</sup> Megan Holmes, 'Virgin and Child with a Swallow,' eds. Alan Chong et al., *Eye of the Beholder* (Boston: ISGM and Beacon Press, 2003), p. 49. This painting did not appear in the sale catalogue. It seems likely that the painting was misattributed in this catalogue.

<sup>229</sup> Christie's, *Sale of Leyland's Collection of Pictures* (28 May 1892); Morris Carter, *Isabella Stewart Gardner and Fenway Court* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925), pp. 125-26.

<sup>230</sup> Jennifer R. Gross, 'C'est Mon Plaisir,' eds. Johanna Burton, Lynne Cooke, and Josiah McElheny, *Interiors* (Center for Curatorial Studies, Bard College and Sternberg Press, 2012), p. 56.

<sup>231</sup> Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects: American Women Collectors and the Making of Culture 1800-1940* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008), p. 89; Anne Hawley and Alexander Wood, 'A Sketch of the Life of Isabella Stewart Gardner,' in *Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum: Daring by Design* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2014), p. 42.

<sup>232</sup> Gross, 'C'est Mon Plaisir,' p. 54; Jonathan K. Nelson and Richard J. Zeckhauser, *The Patron's Payoff: Conspicuous commissions in Italian Renaissance art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 194-95; Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, p. 91. Gardner considered the aspect that her collecting of European treasures and works of art from other parts were able to "dedicate to raise America's cultural level," and this shaped her personal authority in the early twentieth century American society.

rearranged after she bequeathed it to the public.”<sup>233</sup>

Like Leyland who became fascinated by the buildings and artworks in Venice while he was responsible for the Mediterranean trade at John Bibby, Sons & Company, Gardner approached Venice with a great passion during her five-weeks stay in the spring of 1884 and the subsequent trips of 1886, 1888, 1890, 1892, 1894-95 and 1897.<sup>234</sup> She purchased commercial reproductions of the works by Venetian old masters such as Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, Titian, Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese, whose original works later would be acquired for her collection.<sup>235</sup> Furthermore, interacting with artists from European capitals in the Palazzo Barbaro on the Grand Canal where Boston friends Daniel and Ariana Curtis settled, Gardner envisaged a delightful life in a magnificent palace built in the style of the Venetian Renaissance (Fig. 91).<sup>236</sup> Indeed, the plan for Fenway Court reflected architectural elements of such palaces in Venice as the Palazzo Barbaro and the Ca’ d’Oro (Figs. 92, 93 and 94).<sup>237</sup>

If Marks played a crucial role in shaping Leyland’s collection of Italian Renaissance art and Chinese porcelain, for Gardner, the art historian Bernard Berenson advised on the acquisition of the paintings by Italian old masters, and the zoologist and celebrated Asian scholar Edward Sylvester Morse, who taught at the Imperial University, Tokyo, from 1877 to 1880, shared his knowledge of East Asian culture, architectural techniques and garden design.<sup>238</sup> With the assistance of these advisers, Gardner amassed numerous paintings by Italian Renaissance masters, old Italian furniture and decorative objects, as well as a wide range of Asian artworks. A large part of her acquisitions was made during her trips to Europe and Asia, under the influence of vastly different cultures. In particular, during her yearlong trip to Asia taken in the spring of 1883, she eagerly engaged with the architecture, music, gardens and people of Japan, China, Cambodia, Indonesia, India and Egypt.<sup>239</sup> Even though she was not yet a serious

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<sup>233</sup> Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, p. 89.

<sup>234</sup> Hawley and Wood, ‘A Sketch of the Life of Isabella Stewart Gardner,’ p. 25; Elizabeth Anne McCauley, ‘A Sentimental Traveler: Isabella Stewart Gardner in Venice,’ eds. Elizabeth Anne McCauley, Alan Chong, Rosela Mamoli Zorzo and Richard Lingner, *Gondola Days: Isabella Stewart Gardner and the Palazzo Barbaro Circle* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2004), pp. 3-52.

<sup>235</sup> Hawley and Wood, ‘A Sketch of the Life of Isabella Stewart Gardner,’ p. 25.

<sup>236</sup> Richard Lingner, “‘A most singular, original and entertaining couple’: Daniel and Ariana in Boston and Venice,” eds. Elizabeth Anne McCauley, Alan Chong, Rosela Mamoli Zorzo and Richard Lingner, *Gondola Days: Isabella Stewart Gardner and the Palazzo Barbaro Circle* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2004), pp. 64-80.

<sup>237</sup> Giovanna de Appolonia, ‘A Venetian Courtyard in Boston,’ eds. Elizabeth Anne McCauley, Alan Chong, Rosela Mamoli Zorzo and Richard Lingner, *Gondola Days: Isabella Stewart Gardner and the Palazzo Barbaro Circle* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2004), pp. 181-87.

<sup>238</sup> Hawley and Wood, ‘A Sketch of the Life of Isabella Stewart Gardner,’ p. 20; Carter, *Isabella Stewart Gardner and Fenway Court*, p. 59; Goldfarb, *The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum*, pp. 10-12; Ernest Samuels, *Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Connoisseur* (Cambridge MASS and London: Belknap Press, 1979).

<sup>239</sup> Hawley and Wood, ‘A Sketch of the Life of Isabella Stewart Gardner,’ p. 25.

collector, she shopped a great deal in this trip.<sup>240</sup> Like a vogue of *chinamania* among the Aesthetic circle in the 1860s and 70s, “Oriental art was the vogue among Bostonians” in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>241</sup> Gardner was among those Bostonian collectors who “were enthralled by Oriental thought: they were seekers of salvation in the Buddhist way.”<sup>242</sup> The exotic scenes “that were new and full of meaning” to her were imprinted on her mind, together with those images of Venice, and later fused into Fenway Court where her collection of the fragments of various cultures was transplanted altogether.<sup>243</sup>

When the building of Fenway Court was completed in 1903, Gardner began to install her collection, and constantly rearranged rooms to accommodate new acquisitions.<sup>244</sup> The way of display in Fenway Court followed the principles of the Aesthetic interior. Varying pieces from different periods and places, in different media were assembled shaping the organic harmony rather than by scientific order such as chronology, school or material. As Leyland blended Italian Renaissance art, Chinese porcelain and contemporary Aesthetic paintings in the scheme of decoration for 49 Prince’s Gate, Gardner also designed Fenway Court without “taxonomic obsession.”<sup>245</sup> For example, on the east side of the courtyard in the Venetian Renaissance style, Gardner created a Chinese Loggia next to a Spanish Cloister, where Sargent’s *El Jaleo* was placed (Fig. 95). There was also “a room defined until 1914 as Chinese by its array of Oriental artifacts”<sup>246</sup> (Fig. 96). In this room, a cabinet filled with Oriental ceramics was installed on the left hand of the old Italian chimney piece. To the right of the fireplace, there was hung Anders Zorn’s portrait of *Isabella Stewart Gardner in Venice* (1894). Above the painting, there was a Venetian glass mirror in carved and gilt frames, with flowers and scroll foliage, with metal branches for three lights, pairing with another one on the left side of the chimney piece. The wall was covered with Chinese hanging scrolls, folding screens. Statues of Buddha, various types of Chinese objects and furniture, and a Japanese writing box were arranged along with old Italian furniture. Regarding the roles that Asian arts play in

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<sup>240</sup> Alan Chong, ‘Introduction: Journeys East,’ ed. Alan Chong and Noriko Murai, *Journeys East: Isabella Stewart Gardner and Asia* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2009), pp. 21-22.

<sup>241</sup> Van Wyck Brooks, *New England: Indian Summer 1865-1915* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 358; Steven Conn, *Do Museums Still Need Objects?* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p. 86.

<sup>242</sup> Brooks, *New England*, p. 359; Conn, *Do Museums Still Need Objects?*, p. 86.

<sup>243</sup> Brooks, *New England*, p. 358.

<sup>244</sup> Christine M. E. Guth, ‘Asia by Design: Women & the Collecting & Display of Oriental Art,’ ed. Alan Chong and Noriko Murai, *Journeys East: Isabella Stewart Gardner and Asia* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2009), p. 62.

<sup>245</sup> Guth, ‘Asia by Design,’ pp. 62-63.

<sup>246</sup> Guth, ‘Asia by Design,’ p. 62.

Fenway Court, Christine M. E. Guth explains:

Asian artifacts were distributed unequally within and across rooms throughout the house, often in temporary arrangements. Whatever their location, Oriental cultural difference was marked, not by recognizing objects individually or organizing them in regional groups, but rather placing them in dialogic relationships with media, forms, and styles of other regions. Never does a single Chinese sculpture or Japanese screen define a space.<sup>247</sup>

Indeed, the arrangement in “dialogic relationships with media, forms, and styles of other regions” can be found everywhere. For example, the Chinese gilt bronze bears of the early Han dynasty are placed in the glass case to the left of the fireplace of in the Early Italian Room, evoking the fire-breathing dragons.<sup>248</sup> Another example, Botticelli’s *Madonna of the Eucharist* in the Long Gallery is displayed with “a fragment of a mid-fourteenth-century glass mosque lamp whose enamelled colors and gilt correspond to those in the Botticelli” (Fig. 97).<sup>249</sup>

Perhaps this characteristic visual harmony of Fenway Court corresponded with Gardner’s self-image. Sargent’s portrait of Gardner, painted in 1888, reflects the distinctive way that she assimilated Oriental and Italian Renaissance art (Fig. 98). Hawley and Wood also note it in this portrait: “Both her discovery of the “East” and of Venice had a profound effect on Mrs. Gardner, and shaped how she wished to be portrayed by Sargent when she sat for him at her home during his visit to Boston in December of 1887.”<sup>250</sup> Although this portrait alludes to Sargent’s previous work, *Portrait of Madame X* (1883-4), – a black dress with a plunging neckline –, Gardner managed to make her portrait dramatically differ from it.<sup>251</sup> For this work, she used Venetian velvet as background.<sup>252</sup> Like an homage to fifteenth-century Italian painting, in this portrait she appears like a Madonna with a halo which was formed by the enlarged pattern of the textile. On the other hand, Henry James and other viewers discerned Oriental elements in this painting. Henry James described it as a “Byzantine Madonna with a halo.”<sup>253</sup> *The Art Amateur* reviewed it: Mrs. Gardner “was enclosed as by an aureole in the Oriental arabesque of a dado, against which she stands, as if in testimony of her devotion to the fashionable Hindoo cult. The mystic smile – if smile it be – upon the quivering lips of this portrait was the prime tour de force of the whole exhibition... perhaps the clever Parisian

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<sup>247</sup> Guth, ‘Asia by Design,’ p. 63.

<sup>248</sup> Goldfarb, *The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum*, p. 51

<sup>249</sup> Goldfarb, *The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum*, pp. 128-29.

<sup>250</sup> Hawley and Wood, ‘A Sketch of the Life of Isabella Stewart Gardner,’ p.28.

<sup>251</sup> Chong, ‘Introduction: Journeys East,’ p. 26.

<sup>252</sup> It is still in the Gardner Museum. See Chong, ‘Introduction: Journeys East,’ p. 26.

<sup>253</sup> Henry James to Miss Reubell, 22 February 1888, cited in Chong, ‘Introduction: Journeys East,’ p. 27.

critics may unriddle for Boston this Eastern mystery.”<sup>254</sup> “The Gardners’ erstwhile traveling companion in Japan and now a major connoisseur of Japanese art,” Sturgis Bigelow, suggested a reference to an East Asian Buddhist idol, Kannon, which Gardner must have seen during the trip to Asia in 1883 (Fig. 99). He wrote to Gardner: “It was not a bad idea to have yourself painted as [Kwannon] the benign and omnipotent Providence.”<sup>255</sup> All of these comments support that Sargent’s portrait of Gardner successfully created the resonances between East and West, Renaissance Christianity and East Asian Buddhism, Gardner herself and the depicted image.

### **Crossover between Italian Renaissance and Chinese Art**

Gardner’s agent Berenson was also captivated by Italian Renaissance art through the British Aesthetic Movement, by reading Walter Pater’s *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*. Later he became enthusiastic for Oriental art through Chinese and Japanese paintings in the Freer Gallery, donated by Charles L. Freer who bought Leyland’s Peacock Room and began to collect Oriental art from the 1890s on the advice of Whistler.<sup>256</sup> Therefore, Berenson also seemed to share the main sources of inspiration of the Aesthetic Movement. His new interests drove him to conduct comparative study of Italian Renaissance and Chinese art from 1903.<sup>257</sup> In their art-historical studies, Osvald Siren and I. V. Pouzyn who wrote *La Chine, l’Italie et les débuts de la renaissance, XIIIe-XIVe siècles* (1935), also explored the same subject.

The crossover between Chinese and Italian Renaissance art emerged as an interesting topic in the practices of collecting and display as well as art-historical studies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. 49 Prince’s Gate which was created by Marks and the Aesthetic circle played a significant role in shaping this trend. In mid-Victorian Britain, Chinese blue and white porcelain was a familiar ‘other.’ However, Marks and the Aesthetic

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<sup>254</sup> ‘Art in Boston,’ *The Art Amateur*, vol. 18, no. 5 (April, 1888), p. 110, cited in Chong, ‘Introduction: Journeys East,’ p. 27.

<sup>255</sup> Sturgis Bigelow to I. S. Gardner, n.d.; cited in Chong, ‘Introduction: Journeys East,’ p. 27.

<sup>256</sup> Samuels, *Bernard Berenson*, p. 37 and p. 426.

<sup>257</sup> Bernard Berenson, ‘A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend. Part I,’ *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 7 (October 1903) and ‘A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend. Part II-(Conclusion),’ *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 8 (November 1903); Craig Clunas’s A. W. Mellon Lecture in the Fine Arts, ‘Chinese Painting and Its Audiences’ (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 2012).

circle recognised something ‘foreign’ in the appearance of this daily object, and translated it into visible forms. Combined with Venetian Renaissance art, the concept of the seventeenth-century Dutch cabinet of porcelain and contemporary artistic practice, the specific course of Chinese blue and white porcelain’s presence established the path to its existence. In this way, the new vogue of *chinamania* fused together both the reality and the imagery of China in post-Opium War Britain.

### **Making a New Hollow, a New Fold**

49 Prince’s Gate as attuned space did “not have an existence of its own, separated from the subject [Leyland], to which the subject should establish a relationship; as a space of [his] movement,” it became a space through him.<sup>258</sup> In other words, through the movement of Leyland’s lived body, the house became a space in its specific attunement.<sup>259</sup> In his vision, hearing, and touch, the “things” of the house were animated and constituted its atmosphere. What Whistler and some art-historical investigations in 49 Prince’s Gate overlooked is the fact that Leyland’s corporeal-physical body and self-movement, i.e. individual history, could not be as same as Whistler’s.

In his work *Phenomenology of Perception*, Maurice Merleau-Ponty asserts that the body and individual history intervene in human perception:

[The] spectacle perceived does not partake of pure being. Taken exactly as I see it, it is a moment of my individual history, and since sensation is a reconstitution, it pre-supposes in me sediments left behind by some previous constitution, so that I am, as a sentient subject, a repository stocked with natural powers at which I am the first to be filled with wonder. I am not, therefore, in Hegel’s phrase, ‘a hole in being’, but a hollow, a fold, which has been made and which can be unmade.<sup>260</sup>

Opposing Hegel’s idea of ‘a hole in being’ in *Lectures on Aesthetics (Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik)* which was suggested as pure freedom to reform existing order and to bring a new one, Merleau-Ponty argues that such pure, absolute freedom is not possible due to the bodily nature of human being and individual history. If human beings are endowed with freedom

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<sup>258</sup> Ströker, *Investigations in Philosophy of Space*, p. 44.

<sup>259</sup> Ströker, *Investigations in Philosophy of Space*, p. 31.

<sup>260</sup> Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1945), *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London and New York: Routledge, 1962), pp. 249-50.

to revolutionise their lives, according to him, that freedom would be a possibility to make a new hollow or a fold over the existing ones, rather than pure freedom. As “a hollow, a fold, which [had] been made and which [could] be unmade,” Leyland hoped to transform his present and self-image into a new fold in which more positive bodily experiences and memories were stored. He clearly defined the outline of the new fold: “the life of an old Venetian merchant in modern London.” For Leyland, 49 Prince’s Gate was the space in which his new life articulated by the atmosphere of space and, simultaneously, which arose in its specific attunement to his expressive bodily movements.

The reciprocal relationship between Leyland and the house was well understood by Marks, and was reflected in the dealer’s selection and arrangement of works of art. Since the “primary access to attuned space is offered by the character of things in it,” Marks configured the spatiality of things which evoked mood-bearing moments.<sup>261</sup> Perhaps this is why Leyland was never tired of praising the dealer for converting his house into a dwelling of “perfect harmony.” While the remodeling project of 49 Prince’s Gate demonstrated Marks’s role as a remarkable translator faithful to his recipient, the structural characteristics of the house became a major milestone in the dealer’s career. Combining Chinese porcelain with Renaissance art within the influence of the Aesthetic Movement, Marks extended his dealing area to Italian Renaissance art. Furthermore, as a dealer-decorator, he contributed to the long history of *chinamania*, by creating another variation of hybrid between Chinese porcelain and European styles.

In the end, however, the story of the house reminds us about Gadamer’s analogy of art as game or play. All the participants in the project – Leyland, Marks, Jeckyll, Whistler and Shaw – were partial elements constituting the whole process. The decoration of 49 Prince’s Gate had its own dynamics independent of the consciousnesses of those playing. Even though Leyland was determined to shape a space in accordance with his lived experience and dream, the project unfolded destiny in its richness of complexities and gradations.

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<sup>261</sup> Ströker, *Investigations in Philosophy of Space*, p. 22.



## Chapter Three. Public Museum and Private Collector

### The Shift around 1880

Around 1880 a notable change occurred in Marks's business: his dealings in Chinese porcelain began to decrease. Given that the market for Chinese porcelain was rapidly emerging in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and that Marks had already established his reputation as a prominent dealer in this area, this change seems especially peculiar.<sup>1</sup> It seems that his father Emmanuel's retirement in around 1880 at the age of about 75 was the catalyst for Marks's decision to transform his business. Until 1879, directories for the address 395 Oxford St. W. recorded the occupant as "Emmanuel Marks, dealer in china (foreign & fancy), antique furniture, paintings, bronzes, articles of vertu, curiosities &c." Subsequently, in 1880, Emmanuel was replaced by "Marks, Durlacher Brothers, dealers in works of art & objects of general decoration." While Murray Marks took his father's shop, in the same year his brothers set up their own businesses. The 1880 directories list Marks's younger brother Lionel as "printseller, 61 Pall mall S. W." and elder brother Philip-Joseph as "Davis & Marks, furniture dealers, 216 Old Street, St. Luke's, E. C." Another younger brother, Charles, began his trade in porcelain in the late 1880s; he was recorded in the directories as "dealer in works of art, 32 Wigmore Street, W." from 1886 until 1888.<sup>2</sup> George Salting, one of Murray Marks's major clients for Chinese blue and white porcelain in the late 1870s, purchased Chinese porcelain from Charles during this period.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from the transformation of his family's business in around 1880, there was also a considerable shift at this time in Marks's client base. His earlier purchasers, the Aesthetic

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<sup>1</sup> Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste: The Rise and Fall of Objets d'Art Prices since 1750*, vol. 2 (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1963), pp. 202-15.

<sup>2</sup> Charles's dealings in porcelain are recorded in Christie's sale catalogues. For example, both Murray and Charles Marks attended the sale of porcelain from the George Hart collection. Murray acquired 8 lots and Charles 3 lots. Christie's, *A Collection of Porcelain, The Property of the Late George Hart, Esq.* (London, 27 March 1890).

<sup>3</sup> Stephen Coppel, 'George Salting (1835-1909),' ed. Anthony Griffiths, *Landmarks in Print Collecting: Connoisseurs and Donors at the British Museum since 1753* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), p. 195. While the Salting file at the V&A archives suggests that Charles was based at 78 Wigmore Street, off Cavendish Square, London directories list him at 32 Wigmore Street.

collectors, left the art market. First, the circle of Aesthetic artists was dissolved. For example, Dante Gabriel Rossetti died in 1882. Whistler, whose relationship with Marks had probably soured after the Peacock Room quarrel in the 1876-7, declared bankruptcy and left for Venice in 1879. Second, the major Aesthetic patron F. R. Leyland's purchases of works of art dropped off after remodelling 49 Prince's Gate in the late 1870s.<sup>4</sup> Third, the earliest generation with a 'craze' for Chinese porcelain – including such individuals as Louis Huth and Sir Henry Thompson, who were able to buy blue and white for relatively low prices in the 1860s and 70s – seems to have stopped collecting. After the glamorous 1878 exhibition of his collection of blue and white Nankin porcelain, accompanied by a catalogue with watercolour illustrations by Whistler and himself, Thompson sold off his porcelains at Christie's in 1880.<sup>5</sup> Huth too must have been hesitant to pay the newly inflated prices; as Marks remembered, he had previously decided not to purchase at what he considered was a high cost, even when blue and white had been moderately priced.<sup>6</sup> A letter written to Marks by the architect-designer Richard Norman Shaw, dated 2 June 1904, reflects the feelings of earlier collectors about the increase in value of Chinese porcelain: "I have no money to spend on "pots" – It's now many years since I ventured to buy even a small one and I often grin over the real bargains we had from you. Nearly 40 years ago. - !"<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, a new type of collector began to appear in the market. While the Aesthetic circle purchased works of art to decorate domestic interiors, Marks' clients from the late 1870s onwards were eager to amass the finest pieces for the purpose of public exhibition in museums and other institutions. Increasingly, therefore, a dealer's connoisseurship received greater appreciation than his tasteful skill as a decorator. This new demand exerted influence alongside the transition of Chinese blue and white porcelain from a decorative item at a modest price to a costly collectible item. It is probably for this reason that Marks, who acted as a creative decorator with Chinese porcelain and historical objects, lost interest in the market.

In the process of seeking a new position in the changing art market, Marks encountered a new type of buyer. Clients like George Salting, who were eager to amass the finest pieces

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<sup>4</sup> Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, pp. 294-95.

<sup>5</sup> Marks, *A Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain*; Christie's, *The Valuable Collection of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain Formed with great taste and judgement by Sir Henry Thompson* (London, 1-2 June 1880).

<sup>6</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>7</sup> A letter from Richard Norman Shaw to Murray Marks, 2 June 1904, Fitzwilliam Museum Library.

without any concern for their artful display; rather, they wished to ensure that their collections resembled a public museum. Increasingly, therefore, the dealer's connoisseurship received greater appreciation than his tasteful skill as a decorator. In the midst of this shift, it seems that Marks decided to establish his career as a specialist in Renaissance objects. In 1879, he went into partnership with the leading dealer Henry Durlacher's two sons, Alfred (b. 1855) and George (1857-1942).<sup>8</sup>

Henry Durlacher Jr. (1826-1902) founded his firm in London in 1843. In London directories from 1845, Durlacher is listed as a "picture dealer," "dealer in works of art," or "picture & curiosity dealer" at several addresses in the Mayfair area, which include 131 Regent Street (1845-47), 2 Brook St. Grosvenor Square (1848-50), 77 New Bond Street (1851-58), 113 New Bond Street (1859-72), 9 King Street, St. James (1873), 7 King Street, St. James (1874-81).<sup>9</sup> At the beginning of his career, Durlacher was active at major auction sales. For example, at Christie's 1848 sale of the contents of Stowe House, the collection of the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Durlacher bought 11 lots, including "a beautiful vase of rock-crystal, formed as a shell" (lot 1082, £25.00).<sup>10</sup> Durlacher was also recorded as the buyer of 54 lots at Christie's sale of the collection of Ralph Bernal in 1855.<sup>11</sup> At this sale, Durlacher also acted as agent on behalf of the Duke of Hamilton.<sup>12</sup>

In the 1850s and 60s Durlacher dealt principally in porcelain and majolica, eventually expanding into furniture, tapestries, decorative objects and paintings. In this period, the firm was instrumental in forming John Henderson's collection of Italian and Oriental ceramic and metal work, which was later bequeathed to the British Museum.<sup>13</sup>

When Chinese Imperial treasures, looted from the Summer Palace, or *Yuanmingyuan*, at the end of the Second Opium War, were brought back to Britain and sold off at auction, Durlacher was an active buyer of porcelain at numerous sales held between 1861 and 64. For instance, at Christie's sale of the objects from the Summer Palace on 20 and 21 July 1863,

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<sup>8</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> For further addresses, see Appendix 2.

<sup>10</sup> Christie's, *The Contents of Stowe House, near Buckingham* (London, 15 August 1848 and extending over thirty-seven days); *Eighty-Five Years of Art Dealing. A Short Record of the House of Durlacher Brothers* (London: Clowes, 1928), p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Christie's, *The celebrated collection of works of art, from the Byzantine period to that of Louis Seize, of that distinguished collector, Ralph Bernal, Esq., deceased* (London, 5-29 March and 17-30 April 1855); *House of Durlacher Brothers*, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Mark Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers* (Glasgow: The Regional Furniture Society, 2009), p. 90.

<sup>13</sup> *House of Durlacher Brothers*, pp. 1-2.

Durlacher acquired 17 lots, including “a magnificent bottle, with dragons and clouds...” (lot 175, £175.79.16).<sup>14</sup> He sold these works to the collectors who became enthusiastic for Chinese porcelain after the Opium Wars, such as Alfred Morrison. In order to enlarge his collection of Chinese Imperial porcelain, which was formed by purchasing Henry Brougham Loch’s loot from the Summer Palace for £400 in 1861, Morrison bought hundreds more pieces from Durlacher spending £40,000 in five years.<sup>15</sup>

Sir Richard Wallace was another giant collector who made principal acquisitions from Durlacher in the 1860s and 70s. He bought many pieces of 18<sup>th</sup>-century French furniture, Gobelin tapestries, Palissy ware and majolica, including a majolica wine cooler with the device of Cosimo I de’ Medici for £4,000.<sup>16</sup> A collection of armor, principally Oriental, was also sold to him *en bloc* by Durlacher for approximately £80,000.<sup>17</sup>

When his sons joined the business in partnership with Marks in 1879, Henry Durlacher still managed the firm at 7 King Street, St. James until his retirement in 1881. Probably Marks knew the Durlachers from the 1860s, because their dealing items were overlapping. Indeed, Marks and Henry Durlacher bid against each other for Chinese porcelain, majolica and old furniture at a number of Christie’s auction sales. The annotated catalogues of these sales often contain both men’s names.

With Henry’s two sons, Alfred and George, Marks continued the business at 395 Oxford Street. In London directories from 1880, their name appears as “Marks, Durlacher Brothers, dealer in works of art & objects of general decoration.” They used the same design of Marks’s celebrated trade card, created by Rossetti, Whistler and Morris in around 1875, by adding the name “Durlacher Bros.” (Fig. 100).

At the beginning of their partnership, Marks and Durlacher Brothers made an attempt to specialize in objects of general decoration, whether antique or modern. Probably Marks reconsidered setting up an interior decoration firm, his old plan which was thwarted by

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<sup>14</sup> Christie’s, *A Catalogue of Ancient Chinese Enamels, Bronzes, Carvings in Jade, and Porcelain, Collected during the Two Years’ Occupation of Tiensin, All from the Summer Palace and Peking* (London, 20-21 July 1863).

<sup>15</sup> *House of Durlacher Brothers*, p. 2; Caroline Dakers, *A Genius for Money: Business, Art and the Morrisons* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 227-9.

<sup>16</sup> *House of Durlacher Brothers*, pp. 2-3; Suzanne Higgott, ‘Sir Richard Wallace’s Maiolica: Sources and Display,’ *Journal of the History of Collections* vol. 15, no. 1 (May 2003), pp. 59–82; John Ingamells, ed. *The Hertford Mawson Letters: The 4<sup>th</sup> Marquess of Hertford to His Agent Samuel Mawson* (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1981), p. 131.

<sup>17</sup> *House of Durlacher Brothers*, p. 3.

Howell in the late 1860s. Marks launched the design and importation of decorated tiles in 1878. It may be assumed that Marks turned towards manufacturing blue and white tiles and ceramics in Holland, instead of tracking down Chinese blue and white porcelain from the Kangxi reign which was becoming too expensive and rare at the time. On 3 August 1878, a design of tile, representing a 'Bamboo' pattern, was registered in Marks's own name (Fig. 101).<sup>18</sup> In 1885, Marks's younger brother, Charles, who was dealing in Chinese porcelain at 32 Wigmore Street, registered a second design 'Damascus Flowers' (Fig. 102).<sup>19</sup> Although it is not known how wide a range of tile designs Marks stocked, there existed more than the two designs. For example, a tile in private hands, with the company name "Marks 395 Oxford St. London," depicts a pattern of chrysanthemum presumably taken from Chinese *famille verte* porcelain (Fig. 103).<sup>20</sup> Similar designs called 'Chrysanthemum' appear in the *Revised List of Hand Painted Tiles, Suitable for Fire-Place and Wall Decoration, &c., as formerly supplied by Messrs. Marks, Durlacher Bros.*, published by Thomas Elsley who bought Marks's tile interest between 1885 and 1887 (numbers 35, 57 and 58, see Fig. 104).<sup>21</sup> Richard Myers assumes that these were commissioned by Marks from Thomas Jeckyll, or designed under the influence of Jeckyll's works.<sup>22</sup> Among over two hundred designs in this catalogue, six designs were registered in Elsley's name. Some of the other patterns might be related to Marks, but Marks himself did not create the designs, but commissioned them from artists. Unfortunately, the designers' names were not recorded.<sup>23</sup>

These tiles were manufactured in Dutch tileries, probably by Ravesteijn which also made Morris & Company's designs.<sup>24</sup> Marks and Durlacher Brothers also stocked a number of traditional Dutch designs, which were called 'delft' in England. Hand-painted scenes and pictures in blue on white tin-glazed or engobe tiles clearly allude to the colour scheme of Chinese blue and white porcelain. These were sold for the purpose of decorating houses, principally for fireplaces.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Richard Myers, 'Murray Marks and Thomas Elsley, Importers of Dutch Tiles,' *Journal of the Tiles & Architectural Ceramics Society*, vol. 2 (1987), p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Myers, 'Murray Marks and Thomas Elsley, Importers of Dutch Tiles,' p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Kim Yahya who showed me this tile in his possession.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Elsley, *Revised List of Hand Painted Tiles, Suitable for Fire-Place and Wall Decoration, &c., as formerly supplied by Messrs. Marks, Durlacher Bros.* (London); cited in Myers, 'Murray Marks and Thomas Elsley, Importers of Dutch Tiles,' p. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Myers, 'Murray Marks and Thomas Elsley, Importers of Dutch Tiles,' p. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Myers, 'Murray Marks and Thomas Elsley, Importers of Dutch Tiles,' p. 3.

<sup>24</sup> Myers, 'Murray Marks and Thomas Elsley, Importers of Dutch Tiles,' pp. 6-7.

<sup>25</sup> Myers, 'Murray Marks and Thomas Elsley, Importers of Dutch Tiles,' p. 4.

Marks's tiles are found in a number of houses which were associated with the designers such as Morris, Jeckyll and Shaw. For example, the two designs called 'Persian Diaper' and 'Persian Flower' (numbers 66/67 and 77), copies of sixteenth-century Isnik tiles, were used for fireplaces at Morris's country home, Kelmscott Manor (Figs. 105 and 106). In addition, Marks's 'Bamboo' tiles are found in a fireplace designed by Jeckyll and made by Barnard, Bishop & Barnards, at Blaise Castle House in Bristol (see Fig. 101). Moreover, among Marks's stocks, Shaw used both traditional and contemporary patterns in blue and white to decorate Adcote, a country house in Shropshire, built in 1876-81, as well as many other houses of Queen Anne style in Bedford Park.<sup>26</sup>

It seems that Marks's dealings in Dutch tiles was profitable, as this decorative item appealed to a wide range of customers from the country house owners to the artistic middle-classes. In fact, when Marks wanted to sell his tile interest, Elsley, the erstwhile dealer in cast-iron and other metal wares, decided to buy it purely for commercial reason, without much personal interest in ceramics.<sup>27</sup> Considering the prosperity of the business, Marks's next move seems interesting. In 1884, the *Furniture Gazette* announced that Marks had "retired from the firm of Marks, Durlacher Bros. dealers in furniture and articles of virtue."<sup>28</sup> Probably it was due to Marks's frequent trips abroad in the early 1880s, not only to Holland but also to Russia, Poland and Constantinople.<sup>29</sup> Leyland's letter to Edward Lafontaine dated in February 1881 reveals Marks's trip to Constantinople: "In the bearer of this letter I have the pleasure to introduce Mr. Murray Marks who goes out to Constantinople on business."<sup>30</sup> Travelling extensively abroad, Marks may have needed to bring in a new partner. However, his resignation ended the firm's remarkable activities which can be characterized by the antique dealer-decorators' crossover into modern art.

By 1887 the firm had decided to move to 23A Old Bond Street. Wainwright suggests that it was because "the lower end of Oxford Street had become unfashionable as Soho began to lose its place as the centre of the antique trade to Bond Street."<sup>31</sup> After the relocation to

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<sup>26</sup> Myers, 'Murray Marks and Thomas Elsley, Importers of Dutch Tiles,' pp. 6-7.

<sup>27</sup> Myers, 'Murray Marks and Thomas Elsley, Importers of Dutch Tiles,' p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary*, p. 136.

<sup>29</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 84.

<sup>30</sup> Cited in Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 175.

<sup>31</sup> Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 167.

Bond Street, the firm began to focus on objects of the Medieval and Renaissance periods. Since then Marks's name was dropped and the firm became simply Durlacher Brothers.<sup>32</sup>

From then on, Renaissance art occupied most of Marks's dealings. His interest in Italian Renaissance art was already seen from the beginning of his career, in particular, his acquisitions at Christie's sales. Furthermore, when he worked for the Aesthetic circle, he played a crucial role in the reinterpretation of Italian Renaissance art by combining it with Chinese blue and white porcelain from the Qing dynasty. However, his approach towards Renaissance art drastically changed from the 1880s. While in the early days he understood works of art in the context of harmonious display in private spaces, he began to focus on the quality of the individual work of art which was essential in art connoisseurship. This shift was largely influenced by the South Kensington Museum, which was located just a few kilometers away from his home at 57 Egerton Crescent.

## **The South Kensington Museum**

What Marks and the founders of the South Kensington Museum had in common was a genuine interest in the trade and sales of decorative arts. This museum of decorative arts and design started from the result of a House of Commons Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures that sat in 1835-6.<sup>33</sup> Alarmed by the flood of cheap, mass-produced industrial goods on market, the Committee called upon artists, architects, curators, manufacturers, collectors and dealers as witnesses. "These witnesses were questioned by the Committee about forming a collection of the applied arts. For example, Robert Butt, superintendent of the Bronze and Porcelain Department of Howell, James & Co., the Regent Street store, was asked: 'Do you think that open exhibitions of the finest works of all sorts in stone, paintings, bronze, and so on would have a good effect in manufacturing artists, as giving specimens of the highest works of art?' He replied 'Undoubtedly'."<sup>34</sup> After the publication of the two

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<sup>32</sup> London directories from 1887; Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 167.

<sup>33</sup> Clive Wainwright, 'The Making of the South Kensington Museum I: The Government Schools of Design and the Founding Collection, 1837-51,' *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2002), pp. 3-4.

<sup>34</sup> *The Report by the House of Commons Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures (1835-6)*; cited in

*Reports* by the Committee, the Government decided to establish a School of Design and to form a collection of the applied arts. The aim of the School was to promote “a knowledge of the Arts and of the principles of Design among the people (especially the Manufacturing Population) of the Country.”<sup>35</sup> The collection for the School developed into the Museum of Manufacture, which was founded at Marlborough House in 1852 in the wake of the Great Exhibition of 1851. This museum was renamed the Museum of Ornamental Art in 1853, and the South Kensington Museum on its present site in 1857. Once again, in 1899 its name was changed to the current one, the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>36</sup>

The significance of the South Kensington Museum which was exclusively devoted to the applied arts is, as Krzysztof Pomian says, “the blurring of the boundaries between [the enlightenment idea of] Art – in the singular and still with its capital A – and the plural “decorative,” “applied,” “minor,” and “industrial” arts.”<sup>37</sup> In the South Kensington Museum, the functional objects which were gathered for practical and commercial reasons were considered art. Here art was no longer regarded as God-like genius’s highest, fullest and noblest expression. Art was not considered one and universal. Instead, art became plural and particularised “because its form and content were thought to be dependent upon its epoch, country of origin,” and function.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, the principles of ‘specialisation and classification’ emerged as distinct features of this Museum.<sup>39</sup>

In order to establish a specialist museum of decorative art, first director of the Museum Henry Cole and other members of the Museum endeavoured to accumulate a vast array of decorative art from different times and places. Perhaps these Victorians had “the will to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes,” as Michel Foucault remarks on the modern museum in his essay ‘Of Other Spaces.’<sup>40</sup> The collection of the Museum was rapidly developed, and consequently affected the art market. Marks was one of the prominent dealers who were associated with the history of the Museum’s collections, along

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Wainwright, ‘The Making of the South Kensington Museum I,’ p. 4.

<sup>35</sup> *The Report by the House of Commons Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures* (1835-6); cited in Wainwright, ‘The Making of the South Kensington Museum I,’ pp. 3-4.

<sup>36</sup> Anthony Burton, *Vision and Accident: The Story of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publications, 1999).

<sup>37</sup> Krzysztof Pomian, *Museum Art Exhibitions: Between Aesthetics and History*, transcript of key note lecture at the CODART Congress (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 17 March 2014), pp. 7-8.

<sup>38</sup> Pomian, key note lecture at the CODART Congress, p. 8.

<sup>39</sup> David Murray, *Museums: Their History and Their Use* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1904), p. 231; cited in Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Michel Foucault (1967), ‘Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias,’ *Diacritics*, vol. 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1986), p. 26.



with John Webb and Stefano Bardini.<sup>41</sup>

Marks's first involvement with the South Kensington Museum was his gift of twenty-one pieces of seventeenth-century polychrome Spanish stamped leather panels in 1869.<sup>42</sup> These seem like a similar type of gilt leather hangings that he supplied for the study and the Peacock Room of Leyland's house. With this present of leather work, Marks also brought the 's-Hertogenbosch Choir Screen (see Fig. 77). This colossal choir screen, designed by Coenraed van Norenberch, was built in 1600-13 for the cathedral of St John in 's-Hertogenbosch, the Netherlands. After the restoration of the cathedral during the 1850s, the choir screen was removed because it obstructed the congregation's view of the high altar, and also because "its style did not fit with the original Gothic architectural style of the cathedral."<sup>43</sup> Perhaps Marks was informed about the sale of the choir screen during his frequent trips to Holland or through his business contacts or relatives there. He bought the screen for 1,200 francs in 1866 from a stonemason's yard.<sup>44</sup> To offer the screen on loan, Marks wrote to Henry Cole on 4 May 1869: "I beg to offer the Rood loft [...] on loan for one year should the department be prepared to pay the expenses of carriage (about £150) and to rental at the rate of 5% per annum on £900 at which price I offer the Rood loft to the Museum."<sup>45</sup> The choir screen was installed against the south wall of the new Cast Court (now the west Cast Court) of the museum, facing the plaster cast of Trajan's Column. In 1871, on the recommendation of the architect and art historian Matthew Digby Wyatt, the Museum purchased it.<sup>46</sup> The choir screen must have impressed some designers and manufacturers. As mentioned in Chapter Two, for example, Shaw took a motif from this work for the screen which he designed for Leyland's drawing room at 49 Prince's Gate. Shaw's case accorded perfectly with the Museum's aim to encourage designers through its collection of fine examples.

Since this transaction Marks's association with the museum lasted until the end of his life. Many other smaller Renaissance works were also sold subsequently, including an engraved

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<sup>41</sup> Clive Wainwright, 'The Making of the South Kensington Museum IV: Relationships with the trade – Webb and Bardini,' *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2002), pp. 63-78.

<sup>42</sup> Murray Marks file, MA/1/M826/1–2, V&A Archive.

<sup>43</sup> *Choir Screen from 's-Hertogenbosch* (V&A), p. 11.

<sup>44</sup> Charles Avery, 'The Rood-Loft from Hertogenbosch,' *Victoria & Albert Museum Yearbook*, vol. 1 (London, 1969), pp. 1-25.

<sup>45</sup> Murray Marks file, MA/1/M826/1–2, V&A Archive.

<sup>46</sup> Murray Marks file, MA/1/M826/1–2, V&A Archive; Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' pp. 168-69. The Museum's acquisition of this choir screen "sparked debate in the Netherlands and led to the introduction of a policy for the protection of ancient monuments in that country." See P. Williamson, 'The Formation of the Collection,' *European Sculpture at the Victoria and Albert Museum*, ed. P. Williamson (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1996), p. 13.

and gilt brass lock with steel key of sixteenth-century Italian work.<sup>47</sup> In addition, Marks often bid at auction on behalf of the Museum. In 1878, Marks secured for the Museum a splendid German Renaissance oak cabinet which was made in Hessen between 1625 and 1635 (V&A 332-1878, Fig. 107).<sup>48</sup> At the posthumous sale of Leyland's collection at Christie's on 27 May 1892, he purchased two pieces among the four that the Museum instructed him to bid for: an old Italian oak chair, with carved openwork back, with rails and arcades (lot 288, £17.17); a group of Italian Renaissance bronzes – *Venus Kneeling with Cupid* on wood pedestal, with bronze drawer, forming an inkstand (lot 267, £32).<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, he missed lot 273, a bronze of *David with the head of Goliath* attributed to Donatello, on which the Museum bid £400; it was sold to Foule for £682.10. Lot 285, "The ornaments of a Venetian Gallery attributed to Sansovino" went to V. P. [?] for £325.10.<sup>50</sup> Although Marks acquired only a tiny part of Leyland's collection for the Museum, this was an interesting process of the dealer's transfer. He moved the fragment of Leyland's palace of art that had been constructed largely by his hands to the Museum, the space built to promote among the public a knowledge of art and the principles of design. These pieces were to begin a completely different life in the new environments. At this stage, Marks seems to have adjusted to the nature of the South Kensington Museum. He supplied numerous specimens of decorative art to fill the Museum. Until the Taylor sale in July 1912, he bid at auction for the Museum.<sup>51</sup>

Marks also lent a wide range of decorative objects to the Museum. Perhaps it was an effective marketing strategy, as his loan of the choir screen to the Museum in 1869 resulted in its sale. Moreover, like many major European public museums of the late nineteenth century, the South Kensington Museum had become a legitimate authority of art and taste. Using the Museum as his showcase surely elevated him to a prestigious position in the art world. Those examples that the Museum accepted from Marks to display comprise:

Rhodian Faïence, Italian Majolica, Hispano-Mauro ware, German stone ware, carved wood work of German, Italian, and Flemish workmanship, and French

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<sup>47</sup> Murray Marks file, MA/1/M826/1–2, V&A Archive; Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 198.

<sup>48</sup> Murray Marks file, MA/1/M826/1–2, V&A Archive; Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 168.

<sup>49</sup> Murray Marks file, MA/1/M826/1–2, V&A Archive; Christie's, *Sale of Leyland's Collection of Porcelain and Decorative Objects* (26-27 May 1892). In the annotated sale catalogue, the buyer appears in the name of the firm "Durlacher."

<sup>50</sup> Murray Marks file, MA/1/M826/1–2, V&A Archive; Christie's, *Sale of Leyland's Collection of Porcelain and Decorative Objects* (26-27 May 1892); Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 168.

<sup>51</sup> Murray Marks file, MA/1/M826/1–2, V&A Archive; Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 168.

Walnut-wood Furniture; also some German Table Clocks, objects in carved ivory, alabaster and cannel coal, a lead statuette, a Persian bowl, and many other things, including a collection of Foreign Silver.

He also lent a fine Greek Box-wood Cross and an oblong panel of Italian or Flemish sixteenth-century Tapestry.<sup>52</sup>

Among the loans made by Marks, a collection of 980 designs for jewellery and goldsmiths' work by Reinhold Vasters is particularly interesting (Fig. 108). The Aachen goldsmith Reinhold Vasters (1827-1909) was an established craftsman, but today he is generally known as a prolific perpetrator of gold fakes in the Renaissance style. Since he worked for Frédéric Spitzer, a Viennese art dealer in Paris, many fakes by Vasters were widely dispersed, in particular, through the auction sale of Spitzer's collection in Paris in 1893.<sup>53</sup>

As an antique dealer, Marks was very interested in fakes that had penetrated the market. Marks's letter sent to Wilhelm von Bode, Director of the Berlin Museums, dated on 17 October 1907, demonstrates that he was extremely cautious about fake bronzes and majolica:

Thank you for the information about the false bronzes which you say are made in Bologna, can you give me the names of any of the makers? It is really very necessary now to know what is going on in the world. Do you know the maker's [sic] of the false primitive Majolica that you speak of? I think the South Kensington Museum would probably like to purchase some.<sup>54</sup>

In 1910, Marks encountered "the false primitive Majolica," which was brought by Domenico Fuschini, a dealer in Orvieto ware, who was active in London.<sup>55</sup> On 14 February 1910, he wrote to Bode:

A Signor Tuschina has bought over here a large collection of 13<sup>th</sup>. And 14<sup>th</sup>. cent. faience of Orvieta, it consists of about 220 pieces all more or less like those described in Imbert's book "Ceramiche Orvietane". The owner says the pieces were taken out of walls at Orvieta some few years ago and that the collection is known to you. They ask £6000 for it, I believe it could be bought for half or less, it seems that they cannot send it back to Italy. Can you give me any information about this collection as I have never bought any examples of this ware and know nothing about it beyond the feeling that it is very interesting and in many cases very artistic though more or less crude. Imbert is supposed to have purchased a good many of his specimens from this source.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 199.

<sup>53</sup> Yvonne Hackenbroch, 'Reinhold Vasters, Goldsmith,' *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, vol. 19/20 (1984/1985), pp. 169-268.

<sup>54</sup> Letter from Murray Marks to Bode, 17 October 1907, NL Bode 3541/1-5, Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin.

<sup>55</sup> Warren, 'Bode and the British,' p. 125; see Orvieto, Palazzo Papale, *La ceramica orvietana del medioevo* (Florence: Centro Di, 1985), p. 19.

<sup>56</sup> Letter from Murray Marks to Bode, 14 February 1907, NL Bode 3541/1-5, Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin.

In his next letter written on 17 February, Marks said:

I am obliged to you for the report on the Orvieto pottery and under the circumstances we shall not make an offer for the collection.<sup>57</sup>

Alerted to fakes circulating on the market, probably Marks discerned that Vasters's works were skillful forgeries. He bought the collection of Vasters's drawings at the sale of Vasters's estate in Aachen in 1909.<sup>58</sup> When he lent these drawings to the South Kensington Museum in 1912, Edward Strange, Keeper of the Department of Engraving, Illustration and Design, reported that they were "designs for goldsmiths' work, many pieces of which, I understand, have been placed on the market as old work."<sup>59</sup> Next year Marks offered them as a purchase, but the Museum decided not to buy them.<sup>60</sup> However, these drawings were bought by Lazare Lowenstein (presumably L. M. Lowenstein & Co, Pearl Merchant at 19 & 20 Holborn Viaduct) for £37.16 at the posthumous sale of Marks's collection at Christie's on 5 July 1918 (lot 17), and eventually presented to the Museum in 1919 (E.2570-3619-1919).<sup>61</sup>

As Wainwright notes, the case of the Vaster drawings reveals Marks's connoisseurial concerns.<sup>62</sup> His approach towards the works for the Museum appears strikingly different from his previous activities. When he was associated with the Aesthetic circle, he freely mixed historical works of art with modern ones. The visual harmony among various works of art had been prized above their historical values. However, now scientific basis for his attribution and accurate eyes to discern authentic works became more important. A considerable number of various artworks that he supplied to the Museum were classified by specialist Departments and then displayed in material divisions, in a manner calculated to make intelligible a historical development of specific media.

Marks may have advocated the philanthropic idea of the public museum to extend a knowledge of and a taste for art among the people. He made donations to many museums and libraries in Britain and Belgium, which included the South Kensington Museum; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; the British Museum Library; the New Library of the University of Louvain; the Birmingham Art Gallery; the London Library; and the Brighton Museum and Library. Among them, he was most generous to the South Kensington Museum.

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<sup>57</sup> Letter from Murray Marks to Bode, 17 February 1907, NL Bode 3541/1-5, Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin.

<sup>58</sup> Hackenbroch, 'Reinhold Vasters, Goldsmith,' p. 164.

<sup>59</sup> Murray Marks file, MA/1/M826/1-2, V&A Archive.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Hackenbroch, 'Reinhold Vasters, Goldsmith,' p. 164.

<sup>62</sup> Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 170.

The list of his donations made to the Museum is as follows:<sup>63</sup>

Date	Registered No. of Objects	Description
1869	471 to 487-1869	17 Panels for furniture. Leather.
1871	1651 to 1654-1869	4 Panels for furniture. Leather.
1898	381-1898	Embroidered binding, Louis XVI.
1903	1205 to 1244-1903	40 Photographs mounted, of the "Brentano" Missal in portfolio.
	1097-1903	Miniature portrait of an old gentleman, by Horace Hone.
1904	1374-1904	Large copper vessel used for carrying grapes.
1910	W.44-1910	Frame containing 37 wood patterns of Louis XVI., ornamental metal mounts.
		2 Negatives of the marble bust of Charles I.
1911	W.67-1911	Panel of stamped leather.
1912	W.2-1912	Carved wood block for stamping leather.
	W.3-1912	Spanish carved, painted and gilt wood frame.
	M.340-1912	Iron rod, decorated with silver inlay, with silver swivel.
	W.38-1912	A 14 <sup>th</sup> -century French Gothic carved wooden box from the church of Holy Trinity at Eu in Normandy. Exhibited at Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, 1857, and National Exhibition of Works of Art, Leeds, 1868.
1913	A.4-1913	Portrait-medal in bronze of Murray Marks, by Cecil Brown.
	M.44-1913	Movement of a table-clock in engraved brass and steel.
1914	M.45-1914	Bronze oval medallion, pattern of the lid of a snuff-box.
	C.370-1914	Bowl, blue and white Chinese porcelain, Kangxi period.
1916	W.52&A-1916	Pair of Old English globes on mahogany frames forming stands.
	W.59toB.1916	Three carved wood brackets, painted and partially gilt.
	M.129-1916	Bronze model for ormolu decoration, French, about 1780.
	W.68&A-1916	Oak door, in two pieces, carved with linen-scrolls.

Additionally, three months before his death, Marks offered his last gift to the Museum. In a letter written on 14 February 1918, he wrote to Cecil Harcourt Smith, Director and Secretary of the Museum: "I have just signed a new Will in which I bequeath to the Victoria and Albert Museum the beautiful [?] cinque-cento bronze group of a youthful Bacchus and Faun."<sup>64</sup> This bequest of the small Renaissance bronze group to this Museum is significant, for its collection of Italian Renaissance bronzes had played an instrumental role in Marks's transition from a dealer in Chinese blue and white porcelain to a specialist in Renaissance bronzes.

<sup>63</sup> Murray Marks file, MA/1/M826/1-2, V&A Archive.

<sup>64</sup> Letter from Murray Marks to Cecil Smith, 14 February 1918, Murray Marks file, MA/1/M826/1-2, V&A Archive.

In the 1880s, Marks's interest in decorative art as well as the Italian Renaissance led him to the then emerging market for Renaissance bronzes, which was influenced by the South Kensington Museum. From the 1850s onwards, a vast quantity of Italian Renaissance bronzes had flowed into Britain. The demand for Italian Renaissance bronzes can be traced back to the curator of the South Kensington Museum, John Charles Robinson (1824-1913, Fig. 109). When Robinson was appointed the first Curator of the Museum of Ornamental Art at Marlborough House in 1853, his acquisitive zeal was directed towards examples of historical sculpture rather than contemporary art.<sup>65</sup> For Robinson, sculpture was doubly important as both a fine art "and also as a decorative art or industry"; and this characterisation of sculpture conformed precisely to the museum's aims.<sup>66</sup> Seeking to enlarge the museum's collection of European sculpture – largely neglected by the British Museum outside the Greek or Roman periods – Robinson decided to construct a collection of post-antique sculpture. During the 1850s and 1860s, the South Kensington Museum's sculpture collection was rapidly developed by Robinson's acquisitions, and his great achievement was in the area of Italian Renaissance sculpture.<sup>67</sup> In the descriptive catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance sculpture in the Museum's collection, published in 1862, Robinson wrote:

During the middle ages all the western countries of Europe produced remarkable works of sculpture, but it was in Italy alone that the art attained to a perfection worthy of comparison with the antique, and in Italy alone can its monuments be thoroughly studied. [...] It may be observed that it is the intimate connection of mediæval and renaissance sculpture with the decorative arts in general, which clearly indicates this Museum as the proper repository for this class of the National acquisitions; consequently the present Collection should be regarded as part of a methodic series, following the antique sculptures of the British Museum, to be eventually continued down to our own time, so as to form a complete collection of what, in contradistinction to the similarly general term *antique*, may be fitly designated *modern* sculpture.<sup>68</sup>

Here Robinson drew a genealogy between "renaissance sculpture" of the South Kensington Museum and "antique sculpture" of the British Museum. Giving the same status as that of classical sculpture to Renaissance art, he set the rationale of the collection of Renaissance

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<sup>65</sup> Anthony Burton, 'Collecting to Inspire: Early Museum Acquisitions, Display and Design Reform,' Julius Bryant, ed., *Art and Design for All: The Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publishing, 2011), p. 53.

<sup>66</sup> John Charles Robinson, *Italian Sculpture of the Middle Ages and Period of the Revival of Art: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Works Forming the above Selection of the Museum, with Additional Illustrative Notices* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1862), p. viii.

<sup>67</sup> P. Williamson, 'The Formation of the Collection,' p. 11.

<sup>68</sup> Robinson, *Italian Sculpture of the Middle Ages and Period of the Revival of Art*, pp. vi and xi.

art at the South Kensington Museum.

As he recognised the intimate connection of Renaissance sculpture with the decorative arts, Robinson's purchases included not only figure sculpture but certain types of artefact categorised between sculpture and the decorative arts, such as metalwork, ceramics, woodwork, ivories and bronzes. Regarding Italian Renaissance bronzes, he stated: "Italy alone, in the middle ages, inherited the ancient taste for that beautiful but austere simple material bronze; elsewhere the substitute was brass or "latten", meant to be kept bright, and in preference always gilded whenever the importance of the object would allow of the outlay. [...] The Quattro-cento period then, was the great age of Italian bronze working."<sup>69</sup>

A considerable number of Italian Renaissance bronzes came into the Museum's holdings via the Soulages Collection (1859-65) and the Gigli-Campana Collection (1860), with more arriving through other purchases made chiefly in Italy.<sup>70</sup> Political uncertainty in Italy on the eve of and immediately after Unification (1861) facilitated the collection of Renaissance sculpture, with an ever-greater number of works of art from suppressed churches and convents becoming available on the collectors' market. However, a more important factor was the conventional hierarchy of 'fine' art and 'decorative' art: a distinction firmly retained in Italy at this time. Even when Italy's new government, along with several states, enacted severe legislation to prohibit the increasing exportation of their 'national heritage', the restriction was applied only to painting and sculpture, not *objets d'art* such as bronzes, ceramics, and furniture. Thus, the two different valuations applied to the genre bronzes enabled Robinson to hunt down these works of art in Italy with substantial freedom.<sup>71</sup>

Soon, the South Kensington Museum's collection began to inspire private collectors to seek out Italian Renaissance bronzes. That tendency among collectors to imitate public

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<sup>69</sup> John Charles Robinson, *Catalogue of the Soulages Collection: Being a Descriptive Inventory of a Collection of Works of Decorative Art, Formerly in the Possession of M. Jules Soulages of Toulouse; Now, by Permission of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, Exhibited to the Public at the Museum of Ornamental Art, Marlborough House* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1856), pp. 105-6.

<sup>70</sup> The acquisition of thirty pieces of Gherardini Collection in 1854 was the cornerstone of the Museum collection of Italian Renaissance sculpture, but it only contained terracotta and wax models including some pieces attributed to Michelangelo at that time. Helen Davies, 'John Charles Robinson's Work at the South Kensington Museum Part I: The Creation of the Collection of Italian Renaissance Objects at the Museum of Ornamental Art and the South Kensington Museum, 1853-62,' *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 10, no. 2 (1998), pp. 174-84.

<sup>71</sup> Robinson, *Italian Sculpture of the Middle Ages and Period of the Revival of Art*, pp. vii; Davies, Helen Davies, 'John Charles Robinson's Work at the South Kensington Museum,' p. 173; Donata Levi, "'Let agent be sent to all the cities of Italy": British Public Museums and the Italian Art Market in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,' eds. John E. Law and Lene Østermark-Johansen, *Victorian and Edwardian Responses to the Italian Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), *passim*.

museums had increased with the growth of these museums in the last decades of the eighteenth century.<sup>72</sup> The liberal system of private loans at the South Kensington Museum also motivated collectors to follow the museum's example.<sup>73</sup> As a consequence, a huge number of Italian Renaissance bronzes entered the hands of private collectors in Britain, and the study of bronzes burgeoned. Charles Drury Edward Fortnum (1820-1899) was one of the earliest collectors to be influenced by the South Kensington Museum. He travelled in Italy with Robinson in search of Renaissance bronzes in the 1850s and 1860s, and was also a prolific lender to the museum. His collection, now in the Ashmolean Museum (donated in 1899), is one of the most important groups of Italian bronzes in the world, and his catalogue of the South Kensington Museum's collection of European bronzes is a landmark study of the subject (1876).<sup>74</sup> The widespread enthusiasm for bronzes lasted until the early 1930s.<sup>75</sup> As a consequence, even though the South Kensington Museum purchased very little sculpture after Robinson's resignation in 1869, its holdings of Renaissance bronzes continued to be enriched by private collectors' loans and donations.<sup>76</sup> Fortnum's 1876 catalogue described over six hundred pieces of European Renaissance bronzes in the Museum's collection. Since Fortnum's work a considerable number of bronzes entered the Museum constantly.<sup>77</sup>

Thus, when Marks and Durlacher Brothers decided to specialise in medieval and Renaissance art by moving to Bond Street in the mid-1880s, there existed substantial demands for Renaissance bronzes in Britain. Marks's interest in this genre of art was already seen in his decoration of Leyland's house at 49 Prince's Gate in the late 1870s. Yet an anecdote shows that his dealings in Renaissance bronzes began much earlier. According to Williamson, Marks first met Leighton in Paris when the future President of the Royal Academy was quite a young man. Thus, it goes back at least several years before 1878, the year when Leighton was elected as President. Their acquaintance was made in a Paris sale-room where

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<sup>72</sup> Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, p. 89.

<sup>73</sup> Levi, 'Let agent be sent to all the cities of Italy,' p. 37.

<sup>74</sup> Jeremy Warren, *Renaissance Master Bronzes from the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: the Fortnum Collection* (Oxford: Daniel Katz Ltd. and the Ashmolean Museum in association with the National Art Collections Fund, 1999), pp. 13-14 and 22-23; Nicholas Penny, *Catalogue of European Sculpture in the Ashmolean Museum, 1540 to the Present Day* (Oxford: Daniel Katz Ltd. and the Ashmolean Museum, 1992), p. xvii; Charles Drury Edward Fortnum, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Bronzes of European Origin in the South Kensington Museum, with an Introductory Notice by C. Drury E. Fortnum* (London, 1876).

<sup>75</sup> Wilhelm von Bode and Murray Marks (1907-1912), *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, trans. by William Grétor, ed. and rev. James David Draper (New York: M A S De Reinis, 1980), p. x.

<sup>76</sup> P. Williamson, 'The Formation of the Collection,' p. 13.

<sup>77</sup> Peta Motture, "'None but the finest things': George Salting as a Collector of Bronzes,' *The Sculpture Journal*, V (2001), p. 42.



they were bidding against each other for “a fine early Italian bronze.” Marks eventually acquired and then ceded it to Leighton. Since then, they formed a close friendship upon “a mutual love of bronzes,” which continued throughout their lives.<sup>78</sup> Marks’s dealings in Italian Renaissance bronzes, together with his expertise in Chinese porcelain, led him to the collector George Salting.

### **George Salting (1835-1909)**

George Salting was described as “the greatest English art collector of this age, perhaps of any age” in his obituary of *The Times* after his decease on 12 December 1909.<sup>79</sup> He built a magnificent collection which comprised small-scale sculpture, metalwork, ceramics, enamels, lacquered furniture, tapestries, illuminated manuscripts, miniatures, paintings and prints.<sup>80</sup> After his death an inventory of his art collection was drawn, and it was valued at £1,287,906.<sup>81</sup> In his large and diverse collection, Chinese porcelain and Italian Renaissance bronzes are particularly of the highest quality, while there are some second-rate paintings and drawings. Probably Chinese porcelain and Renaissance bronzes were his favourite genres. In about 1900 when he posed for two portrait photographs which were executed by Dr. Otto Rosenheim, he was examining Chinese porcelain for one and a bronze for the other (Figs. 110 and 111). Many pieces of his finest porcelain and bronzes were accumulated with Marks’s assistance. A large bundle of receipts of his art purchases deposited at the Guildhall Library demonstrates that Marks sold over two hundred pieces of Chinese ceramic and Renaissance bronzes to Salting.<sup>82</sup> For this reason, Marks was regarded as the one who knew best about Salting’s collection. When it was bequeathed to the Victorian and Albert Museum, the Museum Authorities called Marks to evaluate Salting’s collection of more than 2,500 *objets d’art*.<sup>83</sup> Thus, Salting’s collection was an important part of Marks’s association with the

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<sup>78</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 164.

<sup>79</sup> ‘Mr. George Salting,’ *The Times* (14 December 1909), p. 10.

<sup>80</sup> Motture, ‘None but the finest things,’ p. 42; Frank Davis, *Victorian Patrons of the Arts: Twelve Famous Collections and Their Owners* (London: Country Life, 1963), p. 80.

<sup>81</sup> ‘Mr. Salting’s Estate,’ *The Times* (26 January 1910), p. 11.

<sup>82</sup> The Archives of P. W. Flower and Sons, Guildhall Library, London; Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 34.

<sup>83</sup> The George Salting file, MA/1/S293, V&A Archive, London.

Museum. Indeed, this had already begun in the-mid 1870s when Salting became a regular visitor to Marks's shop and lent his collection to the Museum, and lasted for more than thirty years.

Salting began to collect works of art after he settled in England. He was born in Sydney on 15 August 1835. His Danish parents arrived in Australia in 1834, and his father Severin Kanute Salting established himself as a successful marine merchant. In 1842, Salting senior entered into a partnership with Philip William Flower, the son of a London City merchant, called Flower, Salting and Company. The profits from the firm were invested in sheep stations and sugar plantations, which became a main source of Salting's fortune. In 1848 George was sent to Eton, but returned to Sydney five years later due to his delicate constitution; he was described as "a pale, lean, tall, eccentric person."<sup>84</sup> In March 1854 he entered University Sydney where he read Classics. In 1858 when his father retired, the family came to England. George went to Oxford to continue his study, but had to leave Balliol after only one term when his mother died. In the autumn and winter of 1858/9, he accompanied his father on a trip to Rome. The sojourn in Rome was the catalyst for George's life-long enthusiasm for art. The rich artistic heritage of the city made an extraordinary impression on him. He passionately took up photography of Rome's great treasures.<sup>85</sup> After a brief visit to Australia, the family moved to England where they settled at a house called Silverlands, near Chertsey, Surrey. Severin Salting died on 14 September 1865, leaving George a fortune of £30,000 a year.<sup>86</sup>

At the age of thirty, George Salting found himself in England, with ample means, "no desire to marry, no philanthropic instincts, and a vague interest in art and curiosity."<sup>87</sup> It was at this point that Salting began to spend most of his time in the pursuit of works of art from the past so as to form his collection, while leading a comparatively simple life rather than baronial splendour, as Charles Hercules Read describes.<sup>88</sup> Instead of maintaining a grand house in the Highlands or Mayfair, shortly after his father's death he took out a lease on a suite of rooms above the Thatched House Club, which cost him only £52.10.0 per quarter.<sup>89</sup> His bachelor chambers were furnished economically:

a plain peacock blue felt covered the floors of his bedroom and sitting room, over

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<sup>84</sup> Coppel, 'George Salting,' p. 189.

<sup>85</sup> Coppel, 'George Salting,' pp. 189-90.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> 'Mr. George Salting,' *The Times* (14 December 1919), p. 10.

<sup>88</sup> Charles Hercules Read, 'George Salting,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, vol. 16, no. 83 (February 1910), pp. 250-51.

<sup>89</sup> Coppel, 'George Salting,' p. 192.

which were placed old Persian and Daghestan rugs; plain dark linoleum, then a new flooring material, was put down in the small entrance lobby; and heavy maroon curtains hung from the windows, which were fitted with Venetian blinds to keep out the light.<sup>90</sup>

The contrast between his art collection and the simplicity of his life often appears in many anecdotes of his legendary parsimony. His obituary in *The Times* wrote about his “queer personal miserliness which made him deaf to appeals and yet allowed him to spend thousands on a picture or a Holbein miniature.”<sup>91</sup> One famous story tells us: Salting was with a little group of connoisseur friends in his rooms when a porter from Christie’s came to deliver a Chinese porcelain vase for which Salting had paid 700 guineas in the sale-room that same day. To the porter who placed the parcel on the table, Salting said, “Open it, please. I want to be sure you haven’t cracked it.” The man unwrapped the parcel, and Salting picked up the vase. After scrutinising it, Salting felt in both trouser pockets for a tip. ‘All he could find was half-a-crown, which he put back immediately. Looking about him he opened a drawer and pulled out a paper bag in which was a penny currant bun left over from the previous day.’ He offered the bun to the standing porter.<sup>92</sup>

Salting’s exceeding meanness was also characterised by the dealers in Bond Street whose shops Salting visited every afternoon for more than forty years when in London. For example, James Henry Duveen, who sold him a number of Chinese porcelain and other *objets d’art* from the 1880s onwards, recalled:

Salting loved a deal, being almost Oriental in his love of protracted haggling. He would often spend half a day in a shop when he really wanted to buy something at his own price. As a youngster I have been present when he and my stepfather, Joseph M. Duveen, have sat down and talked about some beautiful and expensive *objet d’art*. Presently conversation would degenerate into desultory remarks, and at any given moment either or both of them might be seen asleep. But in the end the deal was always concluded, for Salting very rarely let go when he had set his heart on something.<sup>93</sup>

Salting’s process of purchases was not over when he left the dealer’s shop with his desired piece. He consulted acknowledged connoisseurs in the field to examine its quality. If the object did not meet his demanding standards, he came back to the dealer in order to trade up with something of higher quality. Read remarked this trait of his collecting:

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<sup>90</sup> Coppel, ‘George Salting,’ pp. 192-93.

<sup>91</sup> ‘Mr. George Salting,’ *The Times* (14 December 1919), p. 10.

<sup>92</sup> Davis, *Victorian Patrons of the Arts*, p. 81.

<sup>93</sup> James Henry Duveen, *Collections and Recollections: A Century and a Half of Art Deals* (London: Jarrolds, 1935), p. 114.

Where he felt uncertain of his own judgment, he would walk to one or other of the museums or to a fellow collector, to obtain an opinion. At times he bought objects that on examination did not prove to be of good enough quality for his taste, and he would cause dealers embarrassment by offering these, which he called ‘marbles’ in allusion to schoolboy usage, in part payment for something of higher quality.<sup>94</sup>

Perhaps this process of continually refining his collections explain why the bronze he is examining in his portrait photograph (see Fig. 111) does not appear to have remained in his bequest to the South Kensington Museum.<sup>95</sup> His principles of collecting “nothing but the best and rarest” were notorious: he was called “the prince of weeders” by fellow connoisseurs.<sup>96</sup>

At the beginning of his collecting career, Salting relied on the advice offered by his friend Louis Huth, a City merchant-banker and collector, as well as by Joseph Henry Fitzhenry, Charles Drury Edward Fortnum and Augustus Wollaston Franks of the British Museum.<sup>97</sup> As early as 1876 Salting was introduced to Marks by Huth, who had been a buyer of Chinese blue and white porcelain from the dealer since the 1860s.<sup>98</sup> As Huth’s celebrated blue and white ‘hawthorn pot’ tantalized Rossetti, his distinguished collection also inspired Salting to collect Chinese porcelain seriously. The receipts show that between 1876 and 1878 Salting purchased from Marks a number of blue and white Nankin porcelain in the form of beakers, vases and bottles.<sup>99</sup> While Marks was transforming his business in partnership with Durlacher Brothers in 1880-1883/4, Salting also began to move into the area of Renaissance bronzes and majolica. At the Fontaine sale of 1884, he acquired many important pieces of his majolica collection, including examples from Gubbio and Castel Durante.<sup>100</sup> In the meanwhile, he kept enlarging his collection of Chinese porcelain. In the mid-1880s, he bought many pieces of blue and white porcelain from Marks’s brother Charles at 78 Wigmore Street, off Cavendish Square.<sup>101</sup> Then Joseph Joel Duveen (later the Duveen Brothers) became his principal supplier of Chinese porcelain. During the 1880s and 90s his collection of Chinese ceramics extended into varying specimens, such as highly regarded enamel pieces – *famille rose*, *famille verte* and *famille noire* (Fig. 112).<sup>102</sup>

Salting’s great passion for Chinese porcelain and Renaissance bronzes was well described in the

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<sup>94</sup> Charles Hercules Read, ‘George Salting,’ in the *Dictionary of National Biography, Second Supplement*, vol. III (London: Smith, Elder, 1912), p. 255.

<sup>95</sup> Motture, ‘None but the finest things,’ pp. 45-46.

<sup>96</sup> ‘Mr. Salting’s Spitzer Purchases,’ *The Times* (14 July 1893), p. 15; Coppel, ‘George Salting,’ p. 194.

<sup>97</sup> Coppel, ‘George Salting,’ p. 190; Motture, ‘None but the finest things,’ p. 42.

<sup>98</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum, *The Salting Collection* (London, 1911).

<sup>99</sup> The Archives of P. W. Flower and Sons, Guildhall Library, London.

<sup>100</sup> Coppel, ‘George Salting,’ p. 190.

<sup>101</sup> The Archives of P. W. Flower and Sons, Guildhall Library, London.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

dealer Edward Fowles's memoirs. When he was an assistant at Duveen's firm in 1898, he recalls:

George Salting [...] often walked over to the gallery from his bachelor flat in the Albany [sic] carrying a small work of art in his hands, which he would then proceed to sell in order to buy something finer. As he waited in the reception hall, he would stroke it lovingly, explaining to me all the while that one should not be satisfied by the mere look of a vase or a bronze, but that one should fondle it, and thereby learn to appreciate its texture.<sup>103</sup>

Apparently, his attitude towards Chinese porcelain or bronzes seems similar to the Aesthetic circle's fetish of them. Indeed, his principles of collecting Chinese porcelain were focused on the aesthetic value rather than historical interest or technological development. Read noted:

[Salting's Chinese porcelain] was especially valuable and important as presenting, perhaps more satisfactorily than any other, a complete series of the strictly artistic productions of the Chinese in this material. He cared but little for the historical interest of the wares or for tracing their history; in his taste Chinese porcelain was confined to what he considered beautiful, without regard either to antiquity or to the evolution of the manufacture.<sup>104</sup>

It was not difficult for Marks to provide superb series of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century examples of Chinese porcelain which would satisfy Salting, while there began to appear some collectors and museums that sought ancient examples with historical value. Since the examples from earlier dynasties were reaching Europe after the Opium Wars, particularly after the coming of the railway to China, early Tang, Song and Ming Dynasty pieces drew attention from European connoisseurs.<sup>105</sup> However, Marks could not easily access these ancient pieces, because they were excavated or looted in China by a limited number of the Europeans who stayed in the country in the late nineteenth century. For example, the South Kensington Museum appointed Stephen W. Bushell, a British Legation doctor in Beijing, as the Museum's purchasing agent in November 1874.<sup>106</sup> His accessibility to local historic places across the country as well as his knowledge of Chinese language and culture was vital for this role.<sup>107</sup> By 1900 when he returned to Britain from China, an interest in a new type of connoisseurship in Chinese porcelain was sprouting. His China-centric knowledge of the subject was highly valued. He was commissioned to write a catalogue of

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<sup>103</sup> Edward Fowles, *Memoirs of Duveen Brothers* (London: Harper Collins, 1976), p. 10.

<sup>104</sup> Read, 'George Salting,' p. 255.

<sup>105</sup> Davis, *Victorian Patrons of the Arts*, p. 82.

<sup>106</sup> The Stephen Wootton Bushell file, MA/1/B3676, V&A Archive, London.

<sup>107</sup> Judith Green, *Britain's Chinese Collections: Private Collecting and the Invention of Chinese Art*, PhD thesis, University of Sussex (2003); Nick Pearse, 'Collecting, Connoisseurship and Commerce: An Examination of the Life and Career of Stephen Wootton Bushell (1844-1908),' *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 70 (2005-2006).

Chinese works of art in the Museum's collections, which was published in 1904.<sup>108</sup> And then, he was called to revise the *Catalogue of the Morgan Collection of Chinese Porcelains* (1907).<sup>109</sup>

These scholarly catalogues demonstrate a completely different approach to the subject from that of Marks's 1878 catalogue of Thompson's collection. As Frank Davis speculates, Salting would have been greatly interested in ancient examples of Chinese porcelain if he lived longer to see their arrival to the European market, but "he seems to have been wholly a man of his age, steeped in the theory, so common in his day, that particular crafts reach a particular degree of perfection at a certain time and that their origins are scarcely worth consideration."<sup>110</sup> Therefore, Marks bought many pieces at Christie's sale of Thompson's collection on 1-2 June 1880, and resold them to Salting whose taste was shaped largely by the Aesthetic circle's chinamania of the 1860s and 70s.<sup>111</sup> For example, a vase illustrated in Plate XIX (Fig. 113) came into Salting's collection via Marks, and then was bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>112</sup>

Salting had the same principles of collecting when it came to the field of Italian Renaissance bronzes. Unlike Franks or Fortnum he was not a scholar-connoisseur. He "never published or gave papers on marvellous objects in his collections."<sup>113</sup> Instead of conducting research into the history of bronze sculpture or the evolution of the manufacture, "he drew on the learning of others to form his own aesthetic judgements," and obsessed about amassing none but the finest pieces.<sup>114</sup> Marks and Bode were among those authorities on whom Salting relied for bronzes. Two of Salting's handwritten notebooks of the three, which is now kept in the V&A Archive, as well as Salting's correspondence with Bode in the Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin reveal that he consulted both men about bronzes.<sup>115</sup>

Salting purchased many bronzes from Durlacher Brothers which included several pieces attributed to the Paduan sculptor Andrea Briosco, known as Riccio (c. 1470-1532). For example, he bought a *Head of a Satyr* from Durlacher Brothers with ascription to Riccio, or school of, for £45 on 14 December 1892 (Fig. 114).<sup>116</sup> According to Peta Motture, however, this work has

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<sup>108</sup> Stephen Wooton Bushell, *Chinese Art* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1904).

<sup>109</sup> Stephen Wooton Bushell and William Mackay Laffan, *Catalogue of the Morgan Collection of Chinese Porcelains* (New York, 1907).

<sup>110</sup> Davis, *Victorian Patrons of the Arts*, p. 82.

<sup>111</sup> Christie's, *Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain Formed with Great Taste and Judgment by Sir Henry Thompson* (London, 1-2 June 1880).

<sup>112</sup> Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 170 and p. 175.

<sup>113</sup> Coppel, 'George Salting,' p. 200.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> The George Salting file, MA/1/S293, V&A Archive, London; The George Salting file, Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin.

<sup>116</sup> The George Salting file, MA/1/S293, V&A Archive, London.

recently been considered to be a 19<sup>th</sup>-century fake. She argues: “The bronze, which probably formed part of a larger piece, is a comparatively gushed surface finish, bearing none of the hallmarks of a true Riccio.”<sup>117</sup> Another similar case is the *Venus Pudica with a Mirror* which Salting bought from Durlacher for £180 on 30 December 1907. Marks and Durlacher provided a note that it came from the collection of Professor Grassi of Florence, and that it was after or by Riccio. However, Anthony Radcliffe recognised it as a fake. In contrast, the triangular pounce box (or sander) with plaquettes purchased from Durlacher Brothers for £17. 10s. on 13 May 1885 remained unrecognised at that time, but is generally known as Riccio’s work today. Marks bought this piece for £15. 15s. at the Cheney sale at Christie’s on 30 April 1885.<sup>118</sup> In addition, on 30 April 1895, Marks also sold to Salting an ornamented tazza which was made by the same Milanese workshop that produced the Ashmolean’s ‘Annoni-Visconti’ marriage bowl, possibly dated about 1570-80. In Salting’s notebook, its provenance was recorded as “the Antiq collection, Paris.”<sup>119</sup>

Whether they are nineteenth-century fakes or genuine Renaissance works in today’s connoisseurship, Salting’s intention was to accumulate Renaissance bronzes. His collection of ‘Renaissance’ bronzes consisted of statuettes and groups, as well as utensils. There are approximately eighty small bronze groups, about two hundred medals and about one hundred plaquettes. The vast majority of these are Italian, while there exist a substantial number of medals.<sup>120</sup>

This massive collection of bronzes, together with Salting’s collections of Chinese porcelain and other decorative arts, was deposited on loan to the South Kensington Museum from 1874.<sup>121</sup> Although Salting’s interest in aesthetic quality of the artwork above other values was similar to that of the Aesthetic circle, his approach towards display was completely different from theirs. While Whistler, Rossetti and Leyland put extraordinary efforts into the arrangement of their collections in their houses, Salting simply piled up his collections in cabinets, mahogany showcases, and then every corner, instead of refurbishing his living space with beautiful artworks.<sup>122</sup> A correspondent for *The Times* reported: “These rooms are like the apartments of Balzac’s Cousin Pons, for every corner is filled to congestion with masterpieces of the great artists of Italy, Holland and England stacked up in every available corner.”<sup>123</sup> With no desire to move to a bigger house,

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<sup>117</sup> Motture, ‘None but the finest things,’ p. 50.

<sup>118</sup> Motture, ‘None but the finest things,’ p. 50 and p. 60.

<sup>119</sup> The George Salting file, MA/1/S293, V&A Archive, London; Motture, ‘None but the finest things,’ p. 52 and p. 60.

<sup>120</sup> Motture, ‘None but the finest things,’ p. 45.

<sup>121</sup> Coppel, ‘George Salting,’ p. 190.

<sup>122</sup> Coppel, ‘George Salting,’ p. 193.

<sup>123</sup> ‘The Salting Collection,’ *The Times* (15 December 1909), p. 10.

Salting used the South Kensington Museum as a depository of his treasures, as his collections were growing. One famous occasion when he attended the Spitzer sale in Paris from April 1893 over the course of seven weeks, he obtained a number of Renaissance objects on which he spent more than £35,000; his “purchases were conveyed in cases directly to the South Kensington Museum.”<sup>124</sup>

Marks, who previously acted as a dealer-decorator, did not have much to do about the display of Salting’s blue and white porcelain and Renaissance decorative artworks, but to supply fine examples. However, when Salting’s collections of the decorative arts were bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum, Marks became involved in arranging Salting’s Chinese ceramics in the public space. According to Salting’s will, written and signed on 14 October 1889, he left his immense and diverse collections to the nation:

unto the Nation my Art Collections, namely my pictures or such as they, the Trustees may select for the National Gallery[,] and my other collections, whether in my chambers or at the South Kensington Museum, to be kept at the said Museum, and not distributed over the various sections but kept all together according to the various specialities of my exhibits ... And as regards my prints and Drawings, which I leave to the Nation, I desire that the Trustees of the British Museum shall select any that they deem worthy of being added to the National Collections.<sup>125</sup>

In order to administer the will, a complete inventory of the contents of his rooms at the Thatched House Club was drawn. Along with Eric Maclagan of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Marks carried out the valuation of medals, plaquettes, coins and miniatures, while Salting’s executors Messrs. Flower & Flower employed two ex-policemen on the advice of Scotland Yard to guard his rooms until the collections could be removed.<sup>126</sup> The Museum’s reply to Messrs. Flowers’ request of 24 January, written on 14 February 1911, reveals that Marks’s valuation had been completed in January 1911: “The information which you send as to Mr. Murray Marks’s valuation is amply sufficient for the present purpose, since the Museum Authorities propose merely to furnish a valuation in gross.”<sup>127</sup> By 16 March, the Museum concluded the value of the whole collection of Salting’s bequest to the Museum at approximately £630,060.<sup>128</sup> The Board of the Museum proposed a payment to Marks and Durlacher Brothers who gave “their services to the Museum in

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<sup>124</sup> Coppel, ‘George Salting,’ p. 190.

<sup>125</sup> Will of George Salting, 14 October 1889; probate granted 22 January 1910. Somerset House, Probate Registry, London. A copy of the will is in the British Museum, Central Archives, Book of Presents, 1910, item 183; cited in Coppel, ‘George Salting,’ p. 198 and n47.

<sup>126</sup> The George Salting file, MA/1/S293, V&A Archive, London; The Archives of P. W. Flower and Sons, Guildhall Library, London; cited in Motture, ‘None but the finest things,’ p. 43 and n17.

<sup>127</sup> From C. Schuster of the V&A to Messrs. Flower & Flower, 14 February 1911, The George Salting file, MA/1/S293, V&A Archive, London.

<sup>128</sup> The George Salting file, MA/1/S293, V&A Archive, London.



connection with special information possessed by them regarding the provenance and the history of many of the Objects in the Salting Collection,” but they did not accept any payment. Then, the Museum sent them a gift: a copy of “Pollen’s Gold and Silversmith’s Work” and “Chinese Art” inscribed by the Director.<sup>129</sup>

Once again, the Museum asked Marks’s assistance in displaying Salting’s collections so as to honour Salting with the exhibition, which was to open on 22 March 1911.<sup>130</sup> Three large rooms, with a further two on the floor above in the south-east corner of the Museum were prepared to accommodate the Salting Collection.<sup>131</sup> Marks arranged Salting’s Chinese porcelain collection in no less than twenty-nine cases (Fig. 115). The Italian Renaissance bronzes and reliefs filled ten vitrines (Fig. 116).

In fact, Salting’s enormous collections were installed in accordance with the vast and bewilderingly arranged collection of the South Kensington Museum of the nineteenth century, and even after the Committee of Re-arrangement in 1908.<sup>132</sup> The Museum layout, with crowded cases classified according to material and processes of manufacture was appropriate for the anticipated visitors of the Museum. Principally these were such as designers, manufacturers and connoisseurs. Indeed, this arrangement was effective for the study of different materials and periods of art through contrast.<sup>133</sup>

The display of the collections from the Salting Bequest reflected the collector’s approach towards the work of art and its display. Salting focused primarily on the quality of the work while neglecting aesthetic or philosophical notions of display. Unlike Leyland, he did not appear to have attempted to create intimate spaces through the poetic arrangement of artworks. Even though he was genuinely interested in the arts from the past, he did not have such philosophies or Romantic notions of the past that eighteenth-century antiquarians established. Instead, he amassed enormous numbers of works of art following nineteenth-century public museums’ collecting patterns and display.

For Salting who continually refined his collections to the level of the highest quality (at least his collection of Renaissance bronzes, if not all), Marks was a reliable dealer who had discerning eyes and expertise, as well as the ability to track down fine, rare pieces. On the other hand, the peculiar

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<sup>129</sup> The George Salting file, MA/1/S293, V&A Archive, London.

<sup>130</sup> The Murray Marks file, MA/1/M826/1–2, V&A Archive, London; Coppel, ‘George Salting,’ p. 200.

<sup>131</sup> Coppel, ‘George Salting,’ p. 200; Burton, *Vision and Accident*, pp. 164–65.

<sup>132</sup> Burton, *Vision and Accident*, pp. 162–67.

<sup>133</sup> Malcolm Baker, ‘Bode and Museum Display: The Arrangement of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum and the South Kensington Response,’ *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museum*, vol. 38, Beiheft, “*Kennerschaft*”. Kolloquium zum 150sten Geburtstag von Wilhelm von Bode (Berlin, 1996), p. 146.

traits of this giant of collecting influenced Marks to shape a new method of his dealings. Marks transformed his career from a dealer-decorator to a specialist in a few branches of art. Moreover, interacting with Salting who was closely engaged with the South Kensington Museum, Marks transferred Chinese blue and white porcelain and Renaissance bronzes into the museum context. Through this process, he contributed to the creation of new values and meanings of the decorative items. When Chinese porcelain and Renaissance bronzes were taken out from the Aesthetic circle's home and displayed in the vitrines of the Salting collection at the South Kensington Museum, they were perceived as collectible objects which illustrated the development of technology and manufacture. Those fine examples were no longer incorporated in a visual ensemble which harmonised with the poetic space and the viewer's inner world. Instead, they were divided into specific categories of the decorative arts, and were displayed for the public education, alongside the Museum's vast collection of different types of art. For example, Salting's hawthorn pot as a specimen of Chinese porcelain was differentiated from Rossetti's as an emblem of the Aesthetic Movement. Even though Marks shared the Aesthetic circle's understanding of the hawthorn pot and employed it for his own trade card, when he was dealing with Salting, he suspended his own stance in order to listen to what the collector was trying to see. Consequently, he could successfully translate Chinese porcelain and Renaissance bronzes into a new artistic regime which was formed by the purpose of the South Kensington Museum and Salting.

## Chapter Four. Cataloguing Renaissance Bronzes

From the late 1880s, Marks's clients were becoming increasingly international. Director of the Berlin Museums, Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929) was one of them (Fig. 117). Between 1907 and 1912 Bode published the three-volume catalogue, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes from the Renaissance* (Fig. 118).<sup>1</sup> In this book Bode acknowledged in particular the assistance of Marks. The author was given as "Wilhelm Bode, Director General of the Royal Museums at Berlin, assisted by Murray Marks," and Bode prefaced the catalogue proper with the statement that "I am especially indebted to Murray Marks, who has assisted me in this work, and through whose hands so many beautiful specimens have passed."<sup>2</sup> As James D. Draper and Clive Wainwright point out, Marks's wide network of bronze collectors greatly facilitated this cataloguing project.<sup>3</sup> However, in her recent study of J. Pierpont Morgan's bronzes, Flaminia Gennari-Santori claims that Marks not only tracked down the owners of the bronzes, but also identified many of the pieces.<sup>4</sup> This implies that Marks was involved with the project at a fundamental level – an innovative conclusion, since the catalogue is generally characterised by scholars today as a series of new attributions for bronzes.<sup>5</sup>

In order to evaluate the significance of Marks's role in the project, it is vital to examine the processes involved in working on the catalogue. The nature of Bode and Marks's collaboration can be traced through their correspondence, which is now kept in the Central Archives of the State Museums of Berlin.<sup>6</sup> For the director of the Berlin Museums<sup>7</sup> and the

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<sup>1</sup> *Die italienischen Bronzestatuetten der Renaissance* was published in two volumes, by the publisher Bruno Cassirer in Berlin in 1907. The English edition, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance* followed a year later, published by H. Grevel & Co. in London. In 1912, a third volume appeared in both German and English.

<sup>2</sup> Wilhelm von Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, vol. 1 (London: Grevel & Co., 1908), pp. 1 and 3.

<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm von Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, ed. James David Draper (New York: M A S De Reinis, 1980), p. ix.; Wainwright, 'A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe,' p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> Flaminia Gennari-Santori, "'I was to have all the finest': Renaissance bronzes from J. Pierpont Morgan to Henry C. Frick,' *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 22, no. 2 (2010), pp. 309-11.

<sup>5</sup> Bode, ed. Draper (1980), *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, p. ix; and Gennari-Santori, 'I was to have all the finest,' p. 309.

<sup>6</sup> Murray Marks and Durlacher Brothers, 315 MS papers, NL Bode 3541/1-5, The Central Archives of the State Museums of Berlin (Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen: ZA), 1888-1926.

<sup>7</sup> In the late 1880s, Bode was a director of the Sculpture Department of the Berlin Museums. He had begun working in this department in 1872, in the role of assistant. When the equivalent post in the

London-based art dealer, posted letters offered the primary means of communication. Unfortunately only letters from Marks to Bode are preserved, since Bode's letters to Marks seem not to have survived when the firm Durlacher Brothers of London was sold to its New York branch in 1937.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, more than three hundred letters and invoices from the dealer provide the documentation necessary to reconstruct their relationship, which lasted for twenty-five years, from around 1888 until 1913. Yet for all its importance, this material has remained largely neglected in Anglophone literature on the subject.<sup>9</sup> Bringing their correspondence to light, this chapter aims to demonstrate how Marks's collaborative project with Bode on this pioneering work in bronze studies was associated with his next step in art dealings. The Renaissance bronzes that Marks sold to Bode were similar to those that Marks sold to Leyland and Salting. Dealing with Bode, however, Marks encountered a different artistic tradition which led him to a new understanding of the subject. Marks's transferring Renaissance bronzes to Berlin became a process of translating something foreign embodied in them. The cataloguing project will disclose what Marks and Bode saw in Renaissance bronzes and how it was articulated.

### **Acquisitions for Berlin**

The first letter Marks sent to Bode was entitled "Re: Bronze Book". The project of the catalogue, the so-called "Bronze Book", was the core interest of their relationship from the very beginning.<sup>10</sup> In this letter, Marks passed on information about private collectors: "Dear Dr. Bode, the Vienna Rothschild is Baron Alphonse. Mrs. Taylor's full name is Mrs. John Edward Taylor. Edmond Foulc. Mr. Hollitsehler has a few very good bronzes, and you get any for the publication." This list of collectors offers a glimpse of Marks's wide-ranging

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Painting Gallery was temporarily axed, he took over the tasks of the manager of the Painting Gallery at the same time. In 1878, Bode became director of the post-antique section of the Sculpture Department, and in 1885 director of the Sculpture Department proper. From 1890 onwards, he also ran the Picture Gallery. In 1905, he finally became Director General of the Berlin Museums.

<sup>8</sup> Durlacher Bros. records, 1919-1973, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles

<sup>9</sup> The only English publication to consult this correspondence is Jeremy Warren's 'Bode and the British,' in *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, vol. 38 (1996), but the cataloguing project is not included in the article. I have not checked publications in German on the subject.

<sup>10</sup> NL Bode 3541/1, (ZA, n.d., probably before the 9<sup>th</sup> of February, 1888).

knowledge of private collections across Europe: the Alphonse Rothschild collection in Vienna, the Taylor collection in London, the Foulc collection in Paris and the Hollitseher collection in Berlin. Bode succeeded in including in his catalogue sixteen pieces drawn from all of these collections (Fig. 119).<sup>11</sup> Marks's ability to scout for fine bronzes must have impressed the director of the Berlin Museums; soon, Bode started purchasing bronzes from the firm Durlacher Brothers, in which Marks was a partner, and increasingly shared with Marks the responsibility for producing the catalogue.<sup>12</sup>

Of the many different fields of his expertise, Italian Renaissance bronzes was the area in which Bode made the most remarkable acquisitions and carried out the most pioneering research.<sup>13</sup> When Bode began working for the Berlin Museums in 1872, as an assistant in both the Sculpture Department and the Painting Gallery, the museum already possessed a substantial collection of Italian Renaissance art.<sup>14</sup> The Painting Gallery was filled with Italian Old Master paintings from the Giustiniani collection, which had been purchased by the King of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm III, in Paris in 1812.<sup>15</sup> The collection was enormously enriched in 1821 when Edward Solly, British timber and shipping merchant, sold 3,017 works of art, including opulent Trecento and Quattrocento paintings, to the museum.<sup>16</sup> By contrast, the Sculpture Department housed a solid but relatively small-scale collection from the Italian

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<sup>11</sup> From the Alphonse Rothschild collection, Benvenuto Cellini's *Inkstand with Allegorical Group* (Plate CXLV in Vol. 2); from the Taylor collection, Copies after the Antique, *The "Spinario" in sundry variants* (Plate LXXXIX in Vol. 1), *Vases and utensils of the Quattrocento* (Plate CXXV in Vol. 2), Riccio's *Inkstand* (Plate LI in Vol. 1) and Alessandro Vittoria's *Andirons with Apollo and Mercury* (Plate CLXIV in Vol. 2); from the Foulc collection, Copies after the Antique, *Hercules with the Club in the right hand* (Plate CI in Vol. 2), Bellano's *David, his foot on Goliath's head* (Plate XX in Vol. 1), Bertoldo's *Combat between a Negro on horseback and a Lion* (Plate XIV in Vol. 1), Adriano Fiorentino's *Venus on the Shell, wringing her hair* (Plate XVIII in Vol. 1), Riccio's *Seated Faun with Vase* (Plate XLII in Vol. 1), Jacopo Sansovino(?)'s *Door-Knocker, Sea-monster with her children* (Plate CLXXIV in Vol. 2), Paduan and other Artists of the Quattrocento, *Roe standing* (Plate CXIX in Vol. 2), Venetian Masters about 1575, *Sea-monster as Inkstand* (Plate CLXVI in Vol. 2), Venetian Masters about 1575, *Inkstand, Sea nymph playing on cithera* (Plate CLXIX in Vol. 2) and Style of Gian Bologna, late sixteenth century, *Female Figure* (Plate CCX in Vol. 3); and from the Hollitseher collection, Successor of Michael Angelo's *Nude Latona Reclining* (Plate CXXXVI in Vol. 2).

<sup>12</sup> After Marks' first letter, the subsequent letter from Durlacher Brothers to Bode includes an invoice for four bronze pieces and a list of ten groups of bronzes and carved ivory, on approval. Beginning in around 1888, Bode continued thereafter to buy bronzes from Durlacher's. NL Bode 3541/1, (ZA, n.d., probably before 9 February 1888).

<sup>13</sup> Volker Krahn, 'Wilhelm von Bode und die Italienische Skulptur: Forschen – Sammeln – Präsentieren,' *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, vol. 34. (1992), p. 105.

<sup>14</sup> Krahn, 'Wilhelm von Bode und die Italienische Skulptur,' p. 107.

<sup>15</sup> Silvia Danesi Squarzina, 'The Collections of Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani, Part I,' *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 139, no. 1136 (November, 1997), p. 766.

<sup>16</sup> Frank Herrmann, 'Peel and Solly: Two Nineteenth-Century Art Collectors and Their Sources of Supply,' *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1991), pp. 93-94; Carmen Stonge, 'Making Private Collections Public: Gustav Friedrich Waagen and the Royal Museum in Berlin,' *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 10, no. 1 (1998), pp. 63-65.

Renaissance period. Its holdings consisted mainly of glazed terracotta by the Florentine Della Robbia family, works from the Bartholdy collection in Rome (from 1828 onwards), and, notably, eighty pieces of Venetian Renaissance sculpture from the Pajaro collection in Venice, which were acquired in 1841/42 by Gustav Friedrich Waagen, the director at that time of the Picture Gallery.<sup>17</sup>

When Bode first began working for the Berlin Museums, his primary task was to extend the collection of Renaissance casts. Within a few years of taking up this responsibility, however, he argued convincingly in favour of adding original Renaissance sculptures of artistic importance - which he managed to prove were still obtainable at affordable prices - rather than expanding the collection of plaster-cast copies of classical sculpture.<sup>18</sup> Along with an increasing emphasis on original works over the reference to antique marbles, a split between antique and post-antique sculpture took place within the Sculpture Department in 1878. Bode was appointed as director of the department of post-antique sculpture, known as the "Department of the Sculpture of the Christian Epoch". Increasing sensitivity to the special meaning of Renaissance art led to further debate on the structure of the museum when the need for the construction of new buildings was raised. In around 1880, Bode drew up plans for a "Renaissance Museum" housing both sculptures and paintings, which was realised in 1904 as the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, today the Bode Museum (Fig. 120). Outlining his proposal for a systematic acquisition of Italian Renaissance sculpture for the planned Renaissance Museum, Bode concentrated on enlarging the collection of Florentine sculpture, as Venetian sculpture had already been comprehensively fortified by Waagen's purchases. As part of this acquisition policy, Bode also included genres neglected by his predecessors, such as reliefs and, in particular, small bronzes: the area in which Bode himself held the most interest and expertise.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Volker Krahn, 'Introduction: The History of the Collection,' *Sculpture Collection in the Bode Museum* (Berlin: Prestel, 2008), pp. 2-4.

<sup>18</sup> The preference for plaster casts of important works of art was championed by Bode's superiors in the museum, as well as by academic art historians such as Hans Grimm, lecturer at Berlin University. One reason for this lay in the conviction that only second- or third-class originals would be available to museums, with their limited budget. Krahn, 'Wilhelm von Bode und die Italienische Skulptur,' p. 108.

<sup>19</sup> Krahn, 'Wilhelm von Bode und die Italienische Skulptur,' pp. 107-8 and 112; Krahn, 'Introduction: The History of the Collection,' pp. 4-5; Barbara Paul, "'Collecting Is the Noblest of All Passions!': Wilhelm von Bode and the Relationship between Museums, Art Dealing, and Private Collecting,' *International Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 25, no. 2 (Summer 1995), pp. 10-11.

Bode bought the majority of his Italian Renaissance bronzes in London, not Italy.<sup>20</sup> In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, London was unquestionably at the heart of the circulation and exchange of works of art.<sup>21</sup> As mentioned in Chapter Three, there existed a substantial amount of Italian Renaissance bronzes circulating in the London market due to the South Kensington Museum's collections and its influence on British collectors. Despite making many purchases in Italy, particularly from the Florence-based dealer Stefano Bardini (1836-1922), Bode understood Britain to be the richest source of exportable art for his systematic process of acquisition.<sup>22</sup>

The British taste for Italian Renaissance bronzes received thorough study by Bode, who travelled extensively in Britain following his first visit in 1873. During his early visits to Britain, Bode became aware of the inferiority of the Berlin Museums to the great London museums. He spent an enormous amount of time learning about the works of art in London's museums, auction rooms and private collections, including details such as how, when and for what price they might be acquired. He also built up a wide network with private collectors and dealers in Britain, and maintained relationships with his contacts both correspondence and face-to-face meetings during his visits to Britain. As the years went by, Bode became better informed than many individuals associated with the British museums as to which works of art were in private possession in Britain, and what might soon come onto the market. Realising that the London market offered great opportunities for purchasing on behalf of Berlin, he arrived at a mutual arrangement with certain London dealers that "he would not bid against them if they would then offer certain pieces to Berlin". In this way, he was able successfully to acquire many masterpieces for Berlin from the London market.<sup>23</sup>

Marks was one of the Bond Street dealers who assisted Bode in this project. In the early days of his career as dealer, Marks had on several occasions traded in Italian Renaissance bronzes, and from the late 1880s he began to concentrate on Italian Renaissance art, with a particular emphasis on bronzes.<sup>24</sup> It is uncertain, however, whether Marks was an

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<sup>20</sup> Krahn, 'Wilhelm von Bode und die Italienische Skulptur,' p. 109.

<sup>21</sup> Warren, 'Bode and the British,' p. 122; Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, 'Introduction: the state of the field,' *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850-1939*, eds. Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> For the relationship between Bode and Bardini, see Paul, pp. 15-17; Valerie Niemeyer Chini, *Stefano Bardini e Wilhelm Bode: Mercanti e Connaisseur fra Ottocento e Novecento* (Florence: Polistampa, 2009).

<sup>23</sup> Warren, 'Bode and the British,' pp. 122-25.

<sup>24</sup> Christie's sales catalogues (June 13-14, 1865; May 8 and four following days, 1866; 16 June 1875; 20 February 1880; 29 April and two following days, 1885; and 6 May and following days, 1890); The Durlacher Brothers File, MA/1/D1979/1-6, V&A Archive.

established expert in Italian Renaissance bronzes when Bode first approached him in around 1888. Bode probably became aware of Marks's connoisseurship in this field via Salting's collection, of which many pieces were sold by Marks from the mid-1870s onwards.<sup>25</sup> Having become acquainted with Salting some time before 1882, Bode recognized the superlative quality of Salting's bronzes.<sup>26</sup> In his and Marks's catalogue, Bode reported that "there are still left in London and Paris some quite exquisite private collections. The choicest one in London belongs to George Salting."<sup>27</sup> It is likely that this inspired Bode to approach Marks himself.

Bode's suggestion that he and Marks collaborate on the cataloguing project, as well as his steady purchases of Renaissance bronzes from Durlacher Brothers, had a considerable effect on Marks's business activity. It was at this time that Marks took the role of specialist in bronzes at the firm Durlacher Brothers. When the South Kensington Museum began to purchase bronzes from Durlacher Brothers at the end of the 1880s, we learn from the Durlacher Brothers File (held in the archives of the Victoria and Albert Museum) that the Museum dealt specifically with Marks.<sup>28</sup> On the 28<sup>th</sup> of May 1889, for instance, when Durlacher Brothers offered the Museum one equestrian bronze statuette on an ebonized pedestal for a price of £600, it was Marks with whom the Museum negotiated: "Mr. Murray Marks seen for Messrs. Durlachers informed that we could not give anything like the sum asked for the bronze [...]."<sup>29</sup> On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July 1893, a report on a bronze bowl was also written under the name of "Mr. Murray Marks, 23a Old Bond Street."<sup>30</sup> On a number of occasions before the end of the 1910s, Marks was in charge of the South Kensington Museum's purchases of bronzes from Durlacher Brothers.<sup>31</sup> His bequest to the museum of a small cinquecento Florentine bronze group (*A Youthful Bacchus and Faun*) may best demonstrate the importance of the genre of Italian Renaissance bronze statuettes to Marks's professional involvement with this museum.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 34-35; The George Salting file, MA/1/S293, V&A Archive; James Henry Duveen, *Collections and Recollections: A Century and a Half of Art Deals* (London: Jarrolds, 1935), p. 113.

<sup>26</sup> Salting often consulted Bode about Renaissance bronzes. The George Salting file, ca. 1882-1905, NL Bode 4702, ZA; The George Salting file, MA/1/S293, V&A Archive; Motture, 'None but the finest things,' pp. 52-53.

<sup>27</sup> Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, vol. 1, p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> The Durlacher Brothers File, MA/1/D1979/1-7, V&A Archive.

<sup>29</sup> Report written between 28 May and 28 June 1889, The Durlacher Brothers File, MA/1/D1979/1, V&A Archive.

<sup>30</sup> Report written on July 3, 1893, The Durlacher Brothers file, MA/1/D1979/1, V&A Archive.

<sup>31</sup> The Durlacher Brothers File, MA/1/D1979/1-6, V&A Archive.

<sup>32</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, p. 198.



Along with the South Kensington Museum, several British collectors acquired bronzes from Marks. However, the majority of works were shipped to Berlin before 1902, when the American collector J. P. Morgan started buying bronzes.<sup>33</sup> During the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Berlin market for Renaissance art showed a dramatic increase due to Bode's strategy for constructing the planned Renaissance museum: the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. On one side, his aggressive acquisitions in the international art market drew art dealers' attention to Berlin. On the other, Bode's relationships with German private collectors and patrons increased the demand for Renaissance art in Berlin. As a museum employee with a limited financial budget, Bode sought to obtain support from private collectors and patrons, encouraging numerous individuals to shape their own collections of Renaissance art. Most of these collectors – of whom the majority were businessmen and bankers – showed a ready interest in Renaissance art, in the hope of emulating the widespread image of the Renaissance patron. Yet they had no concrete ideas of their own as to what they wanted to buy. Bode advised them in their acquisitions, and in exchange for his consulting work, he expected them to donate works of art or cash to the museum.<sup>34</sup> This reciprocity was institutionalised in the form of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum Association (Der Kaiser Friedrich Museums Verein) in 1897.<sup>35</sup>

Bode's relationships with private collectors were also favourable for art dealers, enabling dealers to enlarge their own clientele. Prominent art dealers based in London, such as Colnaghi's and Duveen's, leaned on Bode's wide network of Berlin collectors.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, Agnew's opened a branch in Berlin 1908 in order to enhance its contact with Bode and the Berlin market.<sup>37</sup> Marks's dealings were also influenced by Bode's status in the Berlin art world. On 26 January 1897, Marks wrote:

Dear Dr. Bode,

Will you kindly let me know whether you will be in Berlin about the middle of next month as I propose coming out with many fine objects of decoration, and some very good pictures but should not like to be there if you would be away. The Berlin

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<sup>33</sup> Gennari-Santori, 'I was to have all the finest,' p. 310.

<sup>34</sup> Paul, 'Collecting is the Noblest of All Passions,' p. 18.

<sup>35</sup> Paul, 'Collecting is the Noblest of All Passions,' p. 18 and p. 25.

<sup>36</sup> The Colnaghi file, 1887-1891, NL Bode 6151, ZA; The Duveen Brothers file, NL Bode 6163/1-2, 1900-1928, ZA; Stephanie M. Dieckvoss, 'Wilhelm von Bode and the English Art World,' unpublished MA dissertation (The Courtauld Institute of Art, 1995), pp. 23-30.

<sup>37</sup> The Agnew & Sons file, 1891-1927, NL Bode 6148/1-2, ZA; Dieckvoss, 'Wilhelm von Bode and the English Art World,' pp. 23-30.

collections depend [so?] entirely upon your judgment and opinion that it would be a loss both of time and money to go to Berlin in your absence. [...]<sup>38</sup>

Among “the Berlin collections” with which Marks was involved, James Simon’s collection is particularly noteworthy. Simon (1851-1932) was the head of the Simon Brothers cotton and linen plant, and became close to Bode during the mid-1880s.<sup>39</sup> For the opening of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in 1904, he donated an entire group of his Renaissance pieces to the museum. In the hope of encouraging other collectors to make similar endowments, Bode displayed the entire collection in one room, the so-called James Simon Cabinet (Fig. 121).<sup>40</sup> Marks helped to form Simon’s collection of Renaissance art works between 1901 and 1905, and all of these sales involved were made via Bode.<sup>41</sup> On the 17<sup>th</sup> of March 1904, for example, Marks wrote the following message to Bode: “I note that you have sold the little gilt bronze group, Venus and Adonis, to Mr. James Simon for £140., and I am obliged to you for the trouble you have taken.”<sup>42</sup>

Regarding the connection between Bode and his collector friends, Marks’s sales procedure operated in two different ways. Bode sometimes purchased single works for himself or certain collectors. Otherwise, works were shipped to Berlin *en masse* for the approval of the museum or his collector friends.

One of major examples of single works bought from Marks by Bode is Donatello’s *Tambourine Putto* (Fig. 122). This piece came into Marks’s hands via a Bond Street dealer who asked Marks to identify it. Marks remembered similar figures on the baptismal fountain in the Church of San Giovanni in Siena, and attributed the bronze statuette to Donatello, who was known to have worked at one point on this particular baptistery.<sup>43</sup> After buying the piece from the dealer, Marks tried to persuade the Sienese authorities to obtain and restore it, but

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<sup>38</sup> NL Bode 3541/1, ZA (26 January 1897).

<sup>39</sup> Wilhelm von Bode, *Mein Leben*, 2 vols, (Berlin: Nicolai, 1997), *passim*.

<sup>40</sup> Paul, ‘Collecting Is the Noblest of All Passions,’ p. 22; Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, vol. 2, p. 205.

<sup>41</sup> NL Bode 3541/2 (ZA, 18 November 1901); NL Bode 3541/2 (ZA, 22 November 1901); NL Bode 3541/2 (ZA, 31 July 1902); NL Bode 3541/2 (ZA, 3 October 1902); NL Bode 3541/2 (ZA, 8 October 1903); NL Bode 3541/3 (ZA, 17 March 1904); NL Bode 3541/3 (ZA, 28 August 1905); NL Bode 3541/3 (ZA, 3 September 1905); NL Bode 3541/3 (ZA, 10 October 1905); NL Bode 3541/3 (ZA, 3 November 1905); and NL Bode 3541/3 (ZA, 11 November 1905).

<sup>42</sup> NL Bode 3541/3 (ZA, 17 March 1904).

<sup>43</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 26-27.

his attempt failed. Eventually, the statuette was bought by Bode for himself, and was later given as a gift to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum.<sup>44</sup>

The majority of works sent by Marks to Berlin were sold to private collectors, with Bode's guidance. The symbiosis of the dealer's work and that of the museum director as consultant for collectors is vividly illustrated in a series of letters in 1891, excerpted as follows:

1. A letter written by Marks on the 19<sup>th</sup> of October 1891:

Dear Dr. Bode,

Of course we shall be very glad to send some fine bronzes for your friends' approval and hope to be able to send off a case by the end of the week when I will again write to you on the subject. [...]

Have you heard from Baron Tucker? He writes to say that he thinks the amount of our account [is] greater than you told him. The bill was as follows:

Price of bust in sale	11.11.0
5% commission	11.6
Making extra [shipping?]	
Case and packing	<u>2.10.0</u>
Total	<u>£14.12.6</u>

[...]

2. A letter written by Durlacher Brothers on the 29<sup>th</sup> of October 1891:

Dear Sir,

We have forwarded to you this day a case containing 10 old bronzes and we hope that your friend will find some to suit his requirements.

No 1. Although not very fine yet show certain Sansovino characteristics. The nozzles were not on them. Originally but are old ones we has by us. These not only make good candelabra but are really improved by the addition.

No 2. I presume are by Alessandro Vittoria and are much better than the usual [?] of these figures. With the Sansovino candelabra as a centre these 4 bronzes will make a beautiful garniture de cheminée. We are quite certain that we should [?] find anything to make a companion to the two boy candelabra.

No 3. We think is by Adrian de Vries, but we are not sure.

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<sup>44</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 26-27; Krahn, 'Wilhelm von Bode und die Italienische Skulptur,' p. 107; Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, vol. 1, Plate VL. Unfortunately, this piece was not recorded in the correspondence between Marks and Bode.

No 4. An exceptionally good example and probably still 16<sup>th</sup> century, although late.  
The rest require us special remark.

No 5. The 2 figures by J. da Bologna do not belong to us we shall therefore esteem  
of a favour if you will return them as soon as possible if they do not suit.

Have you heard from Baron Tucker?

We are, dear Sir,

yours very truly

Durlacher Bros.

P.S.

We have added to the case of bronzes a fine 17<sup>th</sup> century boxwood group, which  
may interest some of your friends. DB

3. A letter written by Marks on the 16<sup>th</sup> of November 1891:

Dear Dr. Bode,

It is really very good of you to take so much trouble, and we beg to offer you our  
thanks.

We have received from Baron Tucker £14.12.6 and from Mr. Gütterbock £40.0.0,  
and have placed the two amounts to the credit of your account.

Will you kindly return the pair of figures No 5. Hercules and a gladiator as they do  
not belong to us. All the other bronzes you can keep as long as you wish.

Today we are expecting for 3 bronzes which we shall offer to you if they are as good  
as described. [...]

4. A letter written by Durlacher Brothers on the 28<sup>th</sup> of November 1891.

Dear Sir,

We have heard from Mr. Liebermann to whom we will send the receipt for the two  
bronze figures. [...]<sup>45</sup>

As the letters above demonstrate, this kind of sale was being made on a continuous basis  
between Durlacher Brothers and the Bode circle in Germany. The pattern was something like  
this: first, Bode actively requested that the dealer send 'some fine bronzes' for his collector

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<sup>45</sup> NL Bode 3541/1 (ZA, 19 October 1891; 29 October 1891; 16 November 1891; and 28 November  
1891).

'friends'. Second, Durlacher Brothers sent off works *en masse* with notes on their attributions, periods, possible functions, etc. Next, collectors took up some pieces – probably as recommended by Bode – and, finally, payments were made directly to Durlacher Brothers by collectors.

It is likely that this sales procedure via Bode sometimes caused inconvenience. As the letters show, for example, when Baron Tucker misunderstood the price of a work, the dealer had to raise the issue several times, and resolve it indirectly through Bode. Despite this kind of trouble, however, both Marks and Bode persisted with the procedure because it suited the interests of the three main parties. Collectors were able to purchase works of high quality guaranteed by the museum director. For Bode, this consulting work was not only a crucial means to enlarge the Berlin collection and provide funds for the museum, but also a tactic to keep international dealers on his side. And it is certainly the case that Bode's authority and his wide network of buyers enormously favoured the dealer.

Auction sales were another important facet of the symbiotic relationship between Bode and Marks. The dealer was usually well acquainted with the latest information about forthcoming auction sales, and thoroughly investigated the works available on the market at any given time. Then he offered Bode's commission for certain pieces to the prospective buyer, providing his opinion on the lots in question, along with a sale catalogue.<sup>46</sup> In order to secure fine works, Bode often commissioned Marks to bid on his behalf, particularly at the auctions held in London. In this way, Bode was able to make successful purchases at very competitive major sales. One example is provided by a letter written by Marks on the 21<sup>st</sup> of November 1892, in which he informed Bode of two auctions of important private collections - the Spitzer Collection and the Hope Collection.

The sale of the Spitzer Collection is not likely in any way to lower the value of bronzes as it certainly does not contain a dozen good ones. I think when I last saw the collection I wanted 5 really fine examples. Mannheim<sup>47</sup> informed me that the sale will commence on the 17<sup>th</sup> April next, and will last 7 weeks, but that they will only sell 5 days in the week. The armour will not be sold. One or another of us will attend the room of the sale, and we shall be more than pleased if you well favour us with your commissions. I have seen Christie's re-the "Hope" Collection. They

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<sup>46</sup> NL Bode 3541/2 (ZA, 4 April 1902).

<sup>47</sup> A Parisian art dealer Charles Mannheim set up his business in 1841. He sold works to the South Kensington Museum, the 4<sup>th</sup> Marquess of Hertford and the Rothschild family during the 1860s and 1870s. He was the model for the character Elias Magus in Honoré de Balzac's novel, *Cousin Pons*. See Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary*, p.134.

inform me that nothing is settled, and it is not certain that the collection will come to the hammer.<sup>48</sup>

Bode himself appeared at the auctions of both collections. During the sale of the Spitzer Collection, however, he also commissioned Marks to bid for a number of lots.<sup>49</sup>

The collection consisted of a huge number of Renaissance objects. The Jewish dealer-collector Frédéric Spitzer (1815-1890), born in Vienna, had lived in Paris since 1852. In 1878, he bought a *hôtel particulier* on the rue Villejuste in Paris 16<sup>th</sup> arrondissement, and transformed it according to the style of the Renaissance with his vast collection of paintings and sculptures and *objets d'art*, including armour, weapons, tapestries, enamel works, ivories, ceramics, and bronzes (Fig. 123).<sup>50</sup> Decorating one's residence in the style of the Renaissance was fashionable in Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century, but Spitzer's originality lay in his use of his residence as a showroom for his business. Later, Spitzer's method of displaying art works in a residential setting was adopted by the leading art dealer Duveen's as a marketing strategy.<sup>51</sup> Bode was among those who were impressed by Spitzer's residence, the so-called Musée Spitzer, which had considerable influence on Bode's plan for the Kaiser Friedrich Museum.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, Bode was entering into a closer relationship to Spitzer by participating in the creation of a six-volume catalogue of Spitzer's collection. During work on this cataloguing project, Bode was responsible for the section on sculpture, of which he held bronzes in especially high regard.<sup>53</sup>

The auction of the Spitzer Collection held by *marchand d'art* Georges Petit in the Musée Spitzer, began in April 1893, and more than 4,000 works were dispersed. At this auction, Bode himself bought medallions, commemoratives pieces, and ivories.<sup>54</sup> For Bode, Marks secured fifteen lots: the invoice dated 11<sup>th</sup> May 1893 lists nine ivories, two Limoges pieces,

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<sup>48</sup> NL Bode 3541/1 (ZA, 21 November 1892).

<sup>49</sup> Paul, 'Collecting Is the Noblest of All Passions,' p. 15.

<sup>50</sup> Paul, 'Collecting Is the Noblest of All Passions,' p. 17; Charlotte Vignon, 'London – New York – Paris: Le Commerce d'Objets d'Art du Duveen Frères entre 1880 et 1940,' unpublished PhD thesis (Paris: Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2010), Chapter 1.

<sup>51</sup> Vignon, 'Le Commerce d'Objets d'Art du Duveen Frères,' Chapter 1.

<sup>52</sup> Paul, 'Collecting Is the Noblest of All Passions,' p. 17.

<sup>53</sup> Paul, 'Collecting Is the Noblest of All Passions,' p. 17; Wilhelm Bode, *La Sculpture: Pierre, Marbre, Terre Cuite, Bronze*, in the Spitzer Catalogue, vol. 4 (Paris, 1892); and The Spitzer File, NL Bode 5240 (ZA, 1876 and 1886).

<sup>54</sup> Paul, 'Collecting Is the Noblest of All Passions,' p. 17. At the sale, Bode was sitting next to Salting, who made off with almost one tenth of the lots. Warren, 'Bode and the British,' p. 126.

one silver, one *chasse*, one bone coffer and one bronze. The total price was £2099.3 (52479 francs), including a 5% commission (2499 francs).<sup>55</sup>

The huge scale of Bode's acquisitions for Berlin during the last decades of the nineteenth century must have motivated Marks, as dealer, to devote himself to his connection with Bode which revolved around their cataloguing project. Moreover, the catalogue itself met with commercial success. One of the earliest scholarly works on the subject, it nonetheless became a notable marketing tool. Just as Marks's 1878 catalogue of Henry Thompson's collection of Chinese porcelain distinguished the dealer from other curiosity dealers, the cataloguing project with Bode also benefited his business. Marks's collaboration with Bode, an outstanding expert in Renaissance bronzes, affected the market value of the works in which he traded. Indeed, when the American collector J. P. Morgan visited Durlacher Brothers for the first time in 1901, Bode and Marks's cataloguing project intrigued this collector sufficiently that Morgan decided to create his own collection of Renaissance bronzes.<sup>56</sup> The commercial success afforded by the connection with Bode thus an important factor in Marks's decision to collaborate with Bode on the cataloguing project for twenty-five years.

### **Bode's Studies of Renaissance Sculpture**

In comparison with the works by their predecessors at the South Kensington Museum – that is, Robinson's catalogue of the Soulages Collection (1856), and Fortnum's catalogue of the museum's European bronzes (1876) – Bode and Marks's catalogue was innovative in its approach to Italian Renaissance bronzes. The authors' new perspective on the subject was influenced by Jacob Burckhardt's theories regarding the art and culture of the Italian Renaissance. In the early days of his career as a museum employee, Bode was involved with the editing and publication of Burckhardt's *The Cicerone*, which shaped the intellectual foundation for his own various publications on Italian art. *The Cicerone*, a guide to Italian art for travellers, was first published in 1855, and subsequently revised and edited several times

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<sup>55</sup> NL Bode 3541/1 (ZA, 11 May 1893).

<sup>56</sup> NL Bode 3541/2 (ZA, 3 April 1901).

by the author in collaboration with other highly competent writers.<sup>57</sup> Bode contributed to the second and the third editions, which were managed by Dr. Albert von Zahn of Dresden.<sup>58</sup> After Zahn's death, Bode took over the fourth and the fifth editions.<sup>59</sup> In 1874, Bode was selected by the author to manage the editing of the book. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of November 1874, the Leipzig publisher E. A. Seemann sent Bode a contract of publication:

After Professor Jacob Burckhard from Basle has given his consent as the author of the *Cicerone* that Mr. W. Bode, currently in Berlin, may in his place manage the publishing of the 4<sup>th</sup> and possibly following editions of the mentioned piece of work with no restrictions, the following agreement has been made between the named Dr. W. Bode and the cosignatory publisher E. A. Seemann in Leipzig with regards to the publishing rights of the respective piece of work. [...] <sup>60</sup>

Originally divided into three sections – architecture, sculpture and painting – *The Cicerone* catalogued buildings and the art works contained in them. This arrangement helped Bode to see “the individual work of art not in isolation, but in its cultural and artistic context.”<sup>61</sup> *The Cicerone's* structure was given visual form in the period rooms of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, each of which integrated painting, sculpture and decorative art works (Fig. 124). Here, Bode's display – influenced by Burckhardt's view on art – clearly contrasted with the arrangement of the collection at the South Kensington Museum in the nineteenth century.<sup>62</sup> In fact, when Bode and Burckhardt visited the South Kensington Museum independently in 1879, they both criticised its style of display. Bode felt that the museum's holdings were “packed like herrings,” lacking “any kind of order, as well as any scientific spirit with regards to collecting.” He went on to remark that “for the enjoyment of works of art [there are] no more miserable collections than those of the Louvre or South Kensington [...] for it is

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<sup>57</sup> Jacob Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone: Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens* (Basel: Schweighauser'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1855).

<sup>58</sup> The second edition was published in 1869-1870, and the third in 1874. *The Letters of Jacob Burckhardt*, ed. and trans. by Alexander Dru (London: Liberty Fund Inc., 2001), p. 160.

<sup>59</sup> The fourth edition was published by E. A. Seemann in Leipzig, in 1879, and the fifth edition appeared in 1884. I have consulted the French version of the fifth edition: *Le Cicerone: Guide de l'Art Antique et de l'Art Moderne en Italie*, trans. by Auguste Gérard (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1885).

<sup>60</sup> NL Bode 1131 (ZA, 20 November 1874): “Nachdem Herr Professor Jacob Burckhard in Basel als Verfasser der “Cicerone” sich damit einverstanden erklärt hat, dass Herr W. Bode, der Zeit in Berlin, an seiner Stelle die Herausgabe der vierten und der etwa folgenden Ausgaben des genannten Werkes in unbeschränkter Weise besorge, ist zwischen genannten Herrn Dr. W. Bode und dem mitunterzeichneten Verlagsbuchhändler E. A. Seemann in Leipzig, als Inhalt der Verlagsrechte an gedachtem Werke, folgendes Übereinkommen getroffen.“

<sup>61</sup> Krahn, ‘Introduction: The History of the Collection,’ p. 5; Charles C. Perkins, ‘The Cicerone,’ *The American Art Review*, vol. 1, no. 4 (February 1880), p. 167.

<sup>62</sup> Malcome Baker, ‘Bode and Museum Display: The Arrangement of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum and the South Kensington Response,’ *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, vol. 38 (1996), pp. 143-46



impossible to show properly their thousands of art-products in such labyrinths.”<sup>63</sup>

Burckhardt wrote to Max Alioth in a similar vein:

Then I took my interim fodder in one of the oldest city pubs that I had visited nineteen years ago (The Bell, Old Bailey), and went by Underground to the South Kensington Museum again.

My wonder increased considerably. Where will our history of art lead us, if people go on collecting at the present rate, and nobody tries to take a really general view of it? If I had a year to spend here, I would turn up my sleeves, spit on my hands and do what I could, with the help of others, to formulate as clearly as possible the living law of *forms*. However, I can't change the course of my life for the sake of such splendours. [...]<sup>64</sup>

As applied to *The Cicerone*, Burckhardt's "living law of *forms*" involved integrating art completely with the general conditions of the period, while at the same time organizing these art works by genre, school and artist.<sup>65</sup> The influence of Burckhardt's method is easily detected in Bode's later publications. For example, Bode's handbook *The History of Italian Sculpture*, issued in 1891, was written in a similar manner to *The Cicerone*.<sup>66</sup> Using examples from the Berlin collection, it characterised the sculpture of the early Italian Renaissance in terms of social context, materials used, and the creative power of individual artists. Following the publication of the handbook, Burckhardt sent a congratulatory letter to Bode:

First of all I would like to express my most sincere thanks and admiration for the Italian Sculpture ("die Italienische Plastik"). Such presentation will bring to thousands a close view of the major phenomenon like hardly any previous publication.

And in addition, the prospect that this is only the first of a series of guides linking art history's greatest and most prosperous locations with the treasures of Berlin!

This is such an achievement as neither Paris nor London (let alone other centres) could have managed: using one's native collections as a means of opening the eyes of anyone born with a sense of art to the art of the whole world. [...]<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Cited in Baker, 'Bode and Museum Display,' p. 145; cited in Krahn, 'Wilhelm von Bode und die Italienische Skulptur,' p. 109

<sup>64</sup> Burckhardt's letter was written in London on 2 August 1879; here in Dru's translation, pp. 194-95.

<sup>65</sup> Burckhardt, *Le Cicerone*, passim.; Lionel Gossman, 'Jacob Burckhardt as Art Historian,' *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 11, no. 1 (1988), p. 29; Max Dessoir, 'Art History and Systematic Theories of Art,' *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Summer, 1961), p. 463.

<sup>66</sup> Wilhelm von Bode, *Geschichte der italienischen Plastik* (Berlin, 1891).

<sup>67</sup> NL Bode 1131 (ZA, 6 November, 1891): "Zunächst meinen aufrichtigsten Ausdruck des Dankes und der Bewunderung für die Italienische Plastik. Solch eine Darstellung bringt Tausenden das ganze große Phänomen in eine Sehnähe wie gar keine bisherige Publikation.

Among Bode's publications, which comprises about 600 titles in various areas, his numerous works on Italian Renaissance sculpture are particularly significant, because those of his contemporaries who specialised in the history of Italian Renaissance art frequently neglected sculpture. Indeed, in his 1907 review of Maud Cruttwell's publication on Antonio Pollaiuolo, Bode went as far as to state that "the school of Morelli ignores sculptural art."<sup>68</sup> Both the Morelli school and the reading public at large focused their interests on painting. This was reflected in the fact that the English edition of *The Cicerone* contained only its painting section, contrary to Burckhardt's original intention.<sup>69</sup> However, Italian Renaissance sculpture took a privileged place in Bode's studies of the broad spectrum of art forms as linked to their various cultural contexts. His principal publications on Italian Renaissance sculpture, including his monumental work on Florentine sculpture, *Monuments of the Renaissance Sculpture of Tuscany (Denkmäler der Renaissance-sculptur Toscanas, 1892-1905)*, and *Florentine Sculptors of the Renaissance*,<sup>70</sup> illustrate the depth of his knowledge, employing an experimental structure that subdivided works by school, individual artist, material used, and subject-matter.<sup>71</sup>

Bode's study of bronzes developed both in the process of writing articles on single pieces, and in the catalogues he constructed for private collectors of Renaissance art. In 1891, Bode published his first essay on a bronze statuette which he attributed to Donatello's pupil, Bartolommeo Bellano.<sup>72</sup> He then wrote several more essays, most taking as their subject

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Und dazu die Aussicht, dass dieses nur das erste in einer Reihe von Handbüchern sein wird welche die größten und blühendsten Gegenden der ganzen Kunstgeschichte an die Schätze von Berlin knüpfen werden!

Das ist eine Leistung wie sie weder Paris noch London und (andere Centren zu geschweigen) sich haben auferlegen mögen: von der Warte der eigenen Sammlungen aus dem Kunstsinniggeborenen die Augen für die Kunst der ganzen Welt zu öffnen."

<sup>68</sup> Wilhelm von Bode, 'A New Book on the Pollaiuoli,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, vol. 11, no. 51 (June, 1907), p. 181; Jaynie Anderson, 'The Political Power of Connoisseurship in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Wilhelm von Bode versus Giovanni Morelli,' *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, vol. 38 (1996), passim.

<sup>69</sup> For the first English edition, published in 1873, Mrs. A. H. Clough translated only the part devoted to painting from the second German edition, with Dr. Zahn's revision. A new English edition entitled *The Cicerone: an Art Guide to Painting in Italy*, revised and corrected by J. A. Crowe, appeared in 1879, but also contained only the painting section, as the title shows.

<sup>70</sup> I have not found yet the original title. The English version of this text, translated by Jessie Haynes, was published in 1908.

<sup>71</sup> Krahn, 'Wilhelm von Bode und die Italienische Skulptur,' p. 107; and Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, p. v.

<sup>72</sup> Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, ed. Draper, p. viii; Wilhelm von Bode, 'Lo scultore Bartolomeo Bellano da Padova,' *Archivio storico dell'arte*, vol. 4 (1891), pp. 397-416.

Berlin's latest purchases.<sup>73</sup> Meanwhile, between the production of the catalogue of Spitzer's sculptures in 1892 and the completion of a catalogue of Marks's in 1912, Bode produced catalogues for numerous private collections, all of which included Italian Renaissance bronzes: Liechtenstein (1896), Hainauer (1897), Kann (1900), Pfungst (1901), A. Beit (1904), Kaiser (1906), Huldshinsky (1909) and Morgan (1910). It seems likely that Bode carried out this work as a favour to the collectors, from whom he expected donations to the museum in return. Although Bode was often disappointed by the collectors' minimal gifts to the museum, these labours refined his knowledge and method in advance of producing the 'Bronze Book.'<sup>74</sup>

### Marks's Connoisseurship

If Bode's contribution to *The Cicerone* and his earlier studies of bronzes provided him with a theoretical framework and an appropriate level of knowledge for the Bronze Book, Marks offered practical support in the form of materials, information and administrative assistance. Most of all, Marks's provision of photographic illustrations made the catalogue an invaluable source.<sup>75</sup> When James D. Draper published a new edition in 1980, he emphasised that "the book's wealth of illustration has continued to make it indispensable – the mainstay of curators, collectors, dealers and scholars in general."<sup>76</sup> As many of the pieces originally included in the catalogue were subsequently dispersed from their original locations or lost during the Second World War, "Bode's plates are the sole record upon which any judgment can be based." Moreover, in spite of technology's limitations at the time, the illustrations are still considered to be of a high quality today; for instance, Draper appreciated that "nuances of movement in metal are notoriously difficult to catch in still photography, yet Bode's photographers clearly understood those nuances and supplied him with better results than can be found today."<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Bode, *Mein Leben*, passim.; Warren, 'Bode and the British,' passim.

<sup>75</sup> It is unlikely that Marks supplied all of the plates, but he seems to have passed on most of the photographs of bronzes held in Britain.

<sup>76</sup> Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, ed. Draper, p. ix.

<sup>77</sup> Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, ed. Draper, p. xiv.

As Draper remarked, Marks's letters give some indication of the effort he made in producing these plates:

My photograph of the 4 objects is a failure but perhaps it will be sufficient for your purpose. If you wish, I will take them again as I have had an extension put on to my camera and shall be able to do them over with much better [results]. I found the large photograph among these of Mr. [Ecyen?] von Millers' collection and I believe it is the same one. [...] <sup>78</sup>

Marks was responsible for making the arrangements for photographs to be taken of pieces belonging to private collections or public museums. When Marks listed for Bode the pieces of which he intended to take photographs, he often referred to certain collections or catalogues, so that Bode could easily imagine the works. He also enquired of Bode as to the specific requirements for the photographic reproductions, such as size of plate and number of positions. The two sets of letters below show Marks and Bode's typical pattern of communication:

I.

I have permission to photograph the best of Mr. Taylor's bronzes. Will you kindly let me know by return of post what size [of] plate you propose using for the new book as we could then include [these?]. Two of the bronzes are in Spitzer's large catalogue. Would it be better to copy these or to take fresh ones. [*sic.*] I presume one could not do better than I have them done by Dixon's. [...] <sup>79</sup>

II.

I am back in business to-day and have been to the South Kensington Museum to look at Mr. Morgan's bronzes; I presume the one that you want photographed is the Francesco de Sta. Agata the same as your boxwood figure; kindly let me know and I will attend to it at once. [...] <sup>80</sup>

I have been down to South Kensington to-day to arrange for Gray to photograph the small bronze figure. [...] <sup>81</sup>

Marks sometimes took photographs himself, but usually hired professional photographers. From 1890 until 1902 he worked with Dixon's: probably Henry Dixon & Son, whose firm at 112 Albany Street, Regent's Park was listed in directories, and who were also responsible for

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<sup>78</sup> NL Bode 3541/1 (ZA, 23 June 1894).

<sup>79</sup> NL Bode 3541/1 (ZA, 11 July 1894).

<sup>80</sup> NL Bode 3541/4 (ZA, 16 March 1906).

<sup>81</sup> NL Bode 3541/4 (ZA, 21 March 1906).

photographing Frederic Leyland's 49 Prince's Gate in 1890.<sup>82</sup> In 1903, Marks replaced Dixon's with William E. Gray at 92 Queen's Road, Bayswater.<sup>83</sup>

On the 1<sup>st</sup> December 1903, Marks and Bode began discussing a prospective publisher. On Bode's request for a publisher for the English edition, Marks's reply was as follows:

I do not know whether any publisher would be willing to take over the book (["Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance"]) but I will make enquiries; I presume the price - £4. to £5. - is for the two volumes? I shall be glad to receive the promised sample so as to get an idea of what the book will be like.<sup>84</sup>

Within a week, a publisher for the German edition was chosen: Bruno Cassirer, at 16 Derfflinger Straße in Berlin. The 'negatives' of all of the bronzes selected for the book were forwarded by the photographer, Gray, to the publisher before the 12<sup>th</sup> of December 1903.<sup>85</sup> As the plates sent by Gray could not be used in their original state, Cassirer had to make them suitable for the book "by means of a complicated process." In the meantime, Marks continued to send off supplementary photographs of his new discoveries.<sup>86</sup>

In August 1906, Marks first recommended Quarich as the publisher for the English version of the catalogue.

I have seen Quarich and I believe he is willing to take over the English edition of 150 copies of the Bronze Book to be issued in ten parts, which you propose to issue to the public at £ 10 a copy.

He wishes to know what you propose to charge him net for these 150 copies, he also wants to know whether there will be a French edition, and if so how many copies, and what number of copies the German edition will consist of.

Of course you will understand the reason for these questions is, that the more copies that are issued, the more difficult it is to find a market for the English edition.

I am going for my holiday to-morrow but as I shall only be a three hour's journey from London I can easily come up and consult with Quarich as soon as I receive a reply to his questions.<sup>87</sup>

However, Quarich's negotiations with Bode and Marks for the contract were not successful. In 1907, the firm H. Grevel & Co. was selected instead as the publisher of the English edition. Grevel & Co. printed 150 copies of the English edition, with no French edition published at

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<sup>82</sup> NL Bode 3541/1 (ZA, 29 March 1890); Merrill, *The Peacock Room*, p. 156; the 1876 London directory.

<sup>83</sup> NL Bode 3541/2 (ZA, 16 July 1903).

<sup>84</sup> NL Bode 3541/2 (ZA, 1 December 1903).

<sup>85</sup> NL Bode 3541/2 (ZA, 7 December 1903; 12 December 1903).

<sup>86</sup> NL Bode 3541/3 (ZA, 22 April 1904; 25 April 1904; 27 April 1904; 3 May 1904; 23 February 1905; 7 March 1905).

<sup>87</sup> NL Bode 3541/4 (ZA, 29 August 1906).

this time.<sup>88</sup> The English copies were distributed to a very limited audience, including museums, major collectors and prominent dealers.

When Cassirer began printing the German edition in January 1907, Marks and Bode agreed on William Grétor, a Danish painter and dealer living in London, as the translator.<sup>89</sup> Signing the contract with Cassirer for the English edition in January 1907, Marks took substantial responsibility for supervising the publication of the English edition and Grétor's translation. In a letter dated 18<sup>th</sup> January 1907, Marks reported to Bode that:

I have signed the contract with Cassirer for the English edition of the Bronze Book. I enclose a translation of the few titles which will have to be different in the English edition. I have shown these to one or two and they think there is no better way of translating the titles. Atelier is used in English to describe the studio of a sculptor. I think "In the manner of Brunellesco" sounds better than "In the style of Brunellesco".

Is it understood that Mr. Grétor is to do the translation as if so I will help him in the technical terms of it. [...] <sup>90</sup>

Marks requested of Grevel, the publisher of the English edition, that he "abide by the arrangement made between [Marks] and Mr. Cassirer."<sup>91</sup> When Cassirer was late in providing copies of the German text, Marks was also responsible for urging him to send them to London.<sup>92</sup>

Following the publication of the first volume of the German edition in March 1907, the second volume of the German edition and the two volumes of the English edition were completed before the 14<sup>th</sup> of January 1908.<sup>93</sup> When the English edition was finished, Marks focused on the project of cataloguing Morgan's bronzes, while Bode made plans for a third volume. Responding to Bode's suggestion that he and Marks collaborate on the new volume, the dealer wrote as follows:

Cassirer writes to me that you intend bringing out a 3<sup>rd</sup>. volume of the bronzes and wishes to know whether I will take the edition. As I have still the greater number of the copies left of the 1<sup>st</sup>. and 2<sup>nd</sup>. parts I have proposed to take the 3<sup>rd</sup>. part conditionally that he raises the price of the unsubscribed copies of the present edition and he has consented to do this.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> NL Bode 3541/4 (ZA, n.d. probably between 2 and 15 March 1907).

<sup>89</sup> NL Bode 3541/4 (ZA, 4 January 1907).

<sup>90</sup> NL Bode 3541/4 (ZA, 18 January 1907).

<sup>91</sup> NL Bode 3541/4 (ZA, n.d. probably between 2 and 15 March 1907).

<sup>92</sup> NL Bode 3541/4 (ZA, 18 March 1907).

<sup>93</sup> NL Bode 3541/4 (ZA, 25 March 1907; 14 January 1908).

<sup>94</sup> NL Bode 3541/4 (ZA, 14 January 1908).

By the time that the catalogue of Morgan's bronzes was nearing completion in August 1910, Marks had decided to work on the third volume, and again began to supply photographs, with the assistance of the photographer Gray.<sup>95</sup> Once the catalogue of Morgan's bronzes was finally published and sent to New York, in February 1911, Marks began preparing for the English edition of the third volume:

As soon as the text of the 3<sup>rd</sup>. volume is ready will you kindly forward me a type written copy as it is so much easier to translate. [...]

I am pleased to say the Morgan catalogue of the Italian bronzes is finished at last and has given very great satisfaction, the specimen copy we sent to New York was detained 2 or 3 weeks at the customs (oh! these Americans!) and we have only just received instructions for the binding.<sup>96</sup>

The English edition of the third volume was translated by Miss Ffoulkes, and the text was ready before April 1912.<sup>97</sup> Satisfied with the translation, Marks recommended that Bode pay £20 for her labour.<sup>98</sup> Finally, in August of the same year, the third volume of their *Bronze Book* was completed.<sup>99</sup>

As above mentioned, Marks's support was invaluable to the creation of the catalogue, but his contribution to the project was more than merely practical. In this catalogue, Bode adopted Burckhardt's framework for conceptualizing Italian Renaissance culture. In particular, Bode's method of classifying bronzes was significantly influenced by Burckhardt's description of the Renaissance self. In his preface to the catalogue, Bode argued for grouping Renaissance bronzes by school and artist rather than by the place where they were kept, or by their subject-matter.

Considering that previous works, - with the exception of short accounts by the undersigned, treating of a few artists - are almost entirely wanting, and that old documents, or traditions for the artist's classification (for which other great difficulties would still have to be overcome), exist only in limited numbers. It was natural to group the rich material of these small Bronzes with reference to the places where they kept, or according to their subject. Nevertheless, this would have left the classification of the schools and masters - a classification which at some time or another had to be made - to the arbitrary judgment of individuals. This is the reason why I have here come to the decision to undertake the difficult task of grouping them by schools and artists.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> NL Bode 3541/5 (ZA, 10 August 1910; 24 August 1910).

<sup>96</sup> NL Bode 3541/5 (ZA, 14 February 1911).

<sup>97</sup> NL Bode 3541/5 (ZA, 1 April 1912).

<sup>98</sup> NL Bode 3541/5 (ZA, 1 April 1912; 2 May 1912).

<sup>99</sup> NL Bode 3541/5 (ZA, 15 August 1912).

<sup>100</sup> Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, p. xv.

As observed by Michel Foucault, the notion of ‘author’ was generated by the process of *individualisation* in the history of ideas, knowledge, literature, philosophy and the sciences.<sup>101</sup> Likewise, Bode’s method of classification – based on “the solid and fundamental unit” of the artist and the work – was based on Burckhardt’s description ‘The Development of the Individual’, the second chapter of *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*.<sup>102</sup> Emphasising the creative power of the artist as originator and designer, Bode attributed to the individual Renaissance artist the status of a unifying artistic principle, and thereby systematised “a series of new attributions for pieces in both public and private collections.”<sup>103</sup>

The success of this project, which constructed a historical narrative of bronze sculpture, relied upon a comprehensive range of examples, and the expertise necessary to attribute these historical objects to specific artists. Ultimately, it was Marks’s assistance that enabled Bode undertake this task. Apart from supplying bronzes to Berlin in vast quantity, Marks was enthusiastic in his efforts to track down the various owners of bronzes.<sup>104</sup> The invoices sent from Marks to Bode, along with letters enclosing photographic reproductions of the pieces, show that the attributions of many of the bronzes were advanced by Marks at an early stage. And when the artists responsible for certain works were in question, Bode often consulted Marks, whose opinions were reflected in the catalogue.

For instance, Bode included in the catalogue three examples from the Morgan Collection, the Kaiser Friedrich Museum and the Fortnum Collection in the Ashmolean Museum, all of which were attributed to Francesco da Sant’Agata (Fig. 125).<sup>105</sup> When the piece in the Morgan Collection was sold by Durlacher Brothers in 1903, the invoice included an attribution to the ‘Bolognese jeweller’.<sup>106</sup> In December 1903, in response to Bode’s question concerning pieces of a similar style in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Marks gave a detailed argument for the attribution to the ‘Bolognese jeweller’ in comparison with the styles of other masters: “I have received the photographs of the pax and of the plaquettes at the

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<sup>101</sup> Michael Foucault (1969), ‘What is an Author?’ *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology*, ed. James Faubion, trans. Robert Hurley et al. (New York and London: Allen Lane, 1998), p. 205.

<sup>102</sup> Jacob Burckhardt (1860), *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (London: Penguin Books, 1990).

<sup>103</sup> Gennari-Santori, ‘I was to have all the finest,’ pp. 310-11.

<sup>104</sup> NL Bode 3541/2 (ZA, 28 November 1902).

<sup>105</sup> Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, vol. 1, plate LXXVIII.

<sup>106</sup> Gennari-Santori, ‘I was to have all the finest,’ p. 311.



Museum, and certainly when one compares the style there is a much greater resemblance to Riccio than to Carradosso; I must therefore take it that it is the work of a contemporary jeweller who has used Riccio's design for the subject."<sup>107</sup> A few weeks after Bode asked the question, Marks ventured to attribute the pieces to the Cinquecento artist Francesco da Sant'Agata, linking the design to the Wallace Collection's *Hercules* in boxwood, which was signed by the artist (Fig. 126), as well as to a statuette in the Fortnum Collection: "The inscription cut in the base of the boxwood figure of *Hercules* in the Wallace Collection is: "Opus Francisci Aurificis P." The description on the label is as follows: 'Francesco da Santa Agata of Padua. A figure somewhat similar in design in bronze exists in the Fortnum Collection in Oxford.'"<sup>108</sup> In this way, the three pieces of the *St. Sebastian*, sourced from different collections, were put together in plate LXXVIII, and Marks's opinions and the information passed on to Bode were incorporated in the introduction to the catalogue, as follows:

The activity of the Paduan artists in bronze of the Quattrocento above all that of Riccio, reaches far down into the Cinquecento, which in the painting of the neighbouring Venice introduced the new style almost at its very beginning. As Riccio in his later works did not remain uninfluenced by this, so others, only slightly later Paduan masters [sic] display the new art in more pronounced fashion, though still mingled with characteristic peculiarities of the Quattrocento style.

The most distinguished among these artists is Francesco da Sant' Agata, our knowledge of whom is due to an incidental mention by a contemporary writer, and whose signed masterpiece mentioned by that contemporary is fortuitously preserved to us. This ascertained work of his is the boxwood statuette of a Hercules in the Wallace Collection in London, signed on the plinth OPVS. FRANCISCI. AVRIFICIS.<sup>109</sup>

Furthermore, Marks was integrally involved in producing the general scheme of the catalogue; in deciding, for example, whether or not certain masters should be included. In 1902, Bode discussed with Marks the possible inclusion in the catalogue of Gian di Bologna and his followers. After some consideration, Marks recommended that works by Gian di Bologna and his followers be catalogued, mentioning several important criteria for their inclusion:

I have been thinking over the question of Gian di Bologna, and I see no reason why he should not be included in the book, as certainly a great deal of his best work was executed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and he is such an important master that no doubt

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<sup>107</sup> NL Bode 3541/2 (ZA, 2 December 1903).

<sup>108</sup> NL Bode 3541/2 (ZA, 21 December 1903).

<sup>109</sup> Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, vol. 1, p. 40.

many collectors would consider the book imperfect without specimens of his work.<sup>110</sup>

Bode agreed with Marks, and included Gian di Bologna and his followers as an entry in the third volume of the catalogue. More than thirty works by this master and his followers were catalogued, together with the photographic illustrations (Fig. 127). Moreover, Bode reserved a section of the introduction for the master – ‘Gian Bologna and his Flemish and Italian assistants and pupils in Florence’ – which was illustrated by thirteen pieces in bronze by Bologna and his followers.<sup>111</sup> It can thus be argued that Marks’s connoisseurship, as well as his enormous knowledge of collections, enabled Bode’s project – his aim to write a history of Renaissance bronzes which foregrounded the originality of the individual artist – to be accomplished.

Moreover, Bode and Marks drew on Burckhardt’s *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* for its selection of a certain period of history, and its interpretation of the Italian Renaissance. Like Burckhardt, who described fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Florentine culture as the re-birth of the classical era and the origin of modernity, they characterized fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Florentine bronze casting as the imitation of antique sculpture and the origin of a glorious blossoming of modern bronze statuettes. In the introductory text Bode wrote that:

These particular bronze statuettes, which from their character must be attributed to the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, are, without exception, of Florentine origin. The cradle of latter day art stood in Florence, whence also the modern bronze sculpture derived its source. It was here that this art, during two centuries, developed into a glorious blossom, and it was from here that it stretched its branches to other parts of Italy, continually deriving new vital power from its native soil of Tuscany.<sup>112</sup>

From the early Florentine and Paduan schools to late Florentine and Venetian Mannerists, the bronzes were methodically grouped by artist or school of origin. Volume One consists of Florentine bronze artists of the fifteenth century (including Lorenzo and Vittorio Ghiberti, Donatello, Antonio Filarete, Bertoldo di Giovanni, Adriano Fiorentino, and Antonio del Pollaiuolo); Paduan bronze artists of the fifteenth century (including Riccio and his atelier); and North Italian Masters under Paduan influence (including Sperandio, Antico, sculptors in bronze at Mantua, Cremona, and Milan, Giovanni da Cremona, sculptors in bronze in Venice, and Francesco da Sant’Agata). Volume Two contains copies of antique works of art in bronze

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<sup>110</sup> NL Bode 3541/2-3 (ZA, 28 November 1902; 12 July 1905).

<sup>111</sup> Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, vol. 3, pp. 1-10.

<sup>112</sup> Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, vol.1, p. 7.

statuettes by unknown masters, chiefly of the Paduan school; bronze representing animals and utensils, chiefly from Paduan ateliers; the Florentine small bronzes of the Haute Renaissance (including Leonardo da Vinci, Benvenuto Cellini and others); and the Venetian small bronzes of the Haute Renaissance (including Jacopo Sansovino, Alessandro Vittoria and others). Volume Three contains Gian Bologna and his Flemish and Italian assistants and pupils in Florence; Florentine contemporaries of Gian Bologna; Italian bronzes of the Cinquecento of uncertain origin; and supplement.

The texts were fully illustrated by photographs: Volume One – 36 illustrations; Volume Two – 34 illustrations; and Volume Three – 31 illustrations. Along with these illustrations, one of the most remarkable features of the catalogue, the plates, visualise a historical narrative of bronze sculpture. 252 plates in total (Volume One – 90; Volume Two – 76; and Volume Three – 86 plates) demonstrate Renaissance bronzes from a number of public museums and private collections across Europe. More than seventy collections allowed their bronzes to be included in the catalogue: public museums such as the Victoria and Albert Museum, Musée du Louvre, Museo Nazionale in Florence and the Hermitage in St. Petersburg; as well as major private collections such as the Gustave Dreyfus Collection in Paris, the Salting Collection and the Otto Beit Collection in London, and the Pierpont Morgan Collection.

### **Epistemological Approaches to Renaissance Bronzes**

In his collaboration with Bode for this cataloguing project, Marks's connoisseurship took on a far greater significance than empirical procedures in the art market. Their attempt to conduct art history through connoisseurship was based on the assumption that the masters who achieved the most elevated forms of artistic expression reflected distinctive characteristics of their respective cultures. Marks and Bode's understanding of artistic creation was predicated on the possibility of a transcendental aesthetic reception. They believed that, in viewing a work of art, one perceived simultaneously the particularity of the artist and the qualities of the age.

As noted in the book, *On Art and Connoisseurship*, by Max Friedländer, Bode's successor at the Berlin Museums, the aesthetic role ascribed to both artist and connoisseur is

reminiscent of the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer's explanation of aesthetic cognition.<sup>113</sup> Like Bode and Marks, Schopenhauer emphasised in his theory of genius the fundamental link between the work of art and the individual artist.<sup>114</sup> According to Schopenhauer, the genius "applies reflective consciousness not only to knowledge of the will in himself but to the world as well."<sup>115</sup> The genius's imagination is thus capable of creating works of art embodying the Idea apprehended. When a viewer sees the work produced by the genius, he or she is able both to perceive traits of the artist's imagination, and to contemplate the objective world (Figs. 128 and 129).

Schopenhauer's notion of the genius was rooted deep in Enlightenment culture, in which Man was considered in association with the Creator, the invisible, not as part of nature, the visible world. In this culture, art was an achievement of Man, a God-like being with creative powers. If the Creator with invisible creative powers was celebrated in the works of nature, Man could be celebrated in works of art.<sup>116</sup> Schopenhauer was the thinker who theorised this idea of art of Enlightenment culture. His aesthetic theory started from a critical view on Kant's philosophy.

In his transcendental philosophy, Kant made a distinction between the visible and the invisible, calling in his own terms, appearance and thing-in-itself. "The thing-in-itself is the world as it is intrinsically or in itself, apart from its apprehension by thought."<sup>117</sup> By its nature, thing in itself is unknowable for it exists without mind. Thus, our knowledge of the world is limited to the phenomena of appearance in the mind's conception. Schopenhauer drew on Kant's distinction between appearance and thing-in-itself, but he called thing-in-itself as Will,

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<sup>113</sup> Max J. Friedlander, *On Art and Connoisseurship*, trans. Tancred Borenius (London: Bruno Cassirer, 1942), p. 23.

<sup>114</sup> Arthur Schopenhauer (1819), *The World as Will and Representation*, trans. E. F. J. Payne, vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), pp. 376-98; Both Bode and Marks seem to be influenced by Schopenhauer's philosophy. According to the biographer Williamson, Marks made friends with Schopenhauer through his interest in philosophical investigation during his study in Frankfurt in the 1850s, and they kept a correspondence until Schopenhauer's death in 1860. (The letters do not appear to have survived.) Bode was indirectly connected to Schopenhauer through his mentor Jacob Burckhardt whose cultural history was largely indebted to this philosopher's pessimistic worldview. Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 18-21; Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), pp. 230-64.

<sup>115</sup> Cheryl Foster, 'Ideas and Imagination: Schopenhauer on the Proper Foundation of Art,' ed. Christopher Janaway, *The Cambridge Companion to Schopenhauer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 227.

<sup>116</sup> Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectionneurs, amateurs et curieux. Paris, Venise : XVIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), pp. 15-59.

<sup>117</sup> Dale Jacquette, 'Schopenhauer's metaphysics of appearance and Will in the philosophy of art,' *Schopenhauer, Philosophy, and the Arts*, ed. Dale Jacquette (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 3.

which means unindividuated power or endless undirected striving. Unlike Kant who claimed that thing-in-itself is unknowable by human cognitive faculty, Schopenhauer argued that we can have a glimpse of it, Will, through art.<sup>118</sup>

According to Schopenhauer, thing-in-itself is unknowable in ordinary circumstances. However, he argues: when we contemplate a great work of art which was created by the man of genius with imagination, we can have a glimpse of the ultimate world beyond appearance.<sup>119</sup> Schopenhauer conceptualises the artist, the man of genius, as a knower of the universal world, who extends beyond his individual experience.

Genius is the ability to leave entirely out of sight our own interest, our willing, and our aims, and consequently to discard entirely our own personality for time, in order to remain *pure knowing subject*, the clear eye of the world.<sup>120</sup>

Schopenhauer says that with the mastery of technical skills whereby his knowledge of Ideas is expressed, the artist creates *the work of art* which opens a window on the purely objective world. Then the viewer unites the artist's characteristic style with a greater universal significance in aesthetic contemplation.

Thus *the work of art* so greatly facilitates the apprehension of the Ideas in which aesthetic enjoyment consists; and this is due not merely to the fact that art presents things more clearly and characteristically by emphasising the essential and eliminating the inessential, but just as much to the fact that the absolute silence of the will, required for the purely objective apprehension of the nature of things, is attained with the greatest certainty.<sup>121</sup>

Perhaps Marks and Bode's method of writing a history of Renaissance bronzes shared similar metaphysics. Marks was a friend of Schopenhauer when he was educated in Frankfurt, and studied his philosophy throughout his life.<sup>122</sup> However, the dealer did not leave any philosophical writing. Yet one of his letters to Bode contained an interesting line. On 8 April 1891, Marks wrote:

I send with this [bronze sold to Drey], a photograph of a very important bronze plaque which has been offered to us. I take it to be a work of the end of the XVI century – say circa 1600. The casting is very fine and [...] by the hand of the artist who modelled it as the true feeling is not destroyed.

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<sup>118</sup> Jacquette, 'Schopenhauer's metaphysics,' pp. 2-5.

<sup>119</sup> Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, vol. 1, pp. 186-87.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, vol. 2, p. 370.

<sup>122</sup> Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends*, pp. 18-20.

Here Marks confessed that when he examined the bronze plaque, he perceived the sixteenth-century artist's "true feeling" during the creation of this piece. Was it "the purely objective apprehension of the nature of things" attained by the artist, and then transferred by the artist's creation? What Marks and Bode pursued in their catalogue was not an assemblage of fine craftsmanship, but art-historical knowledge of Italian Renaissance. Drawing on Burckhardt's belief that a society of a certain time can be best understood by its culture, in particular, by creative individuals' works of art, they attempted to describe a universal knowledge of the Italian Renaissance by corresponding with those masters' accomplishment. In fact, those small bronzes of the variety of their finish revealed "the artistic ideas of their masters more accurately than monumental sculptures."<sup>123</sup> Therefore, Marks and Bode's catalogue based on connoisseurship as well as the period rooms at Kaiser Friedrich Museum were made by an epistemological approach to Renaissance bronzes.

### **Morgan's Bronzes**

Marks's project of cataloguing Renaissance bronzes with Bode intrigued a phenomenal collector, the American financier John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913). Born in 1837 into an American wealthy family, Morgan grew up in Hartford and Boston. In 1854 his family moved to London as his father, Junius Spencer Morgan, joined an Anglo-American merchant bank. Until he returned to New York to work as an apprentice banker in 1857, Morgan was educated in Switzerland, and then the German university in Göttingen. During his sojourn in Continental Europe, he learned to speak French and German, and visited art museums, galleries, and historical sites in London, France and Rome. He became very familiar with European culture. Between the 1850s and 1890 his family worked primarily with railroads and foreign investors. Around the time of his father's death in 1890, Morgan established gigantic industrial corporations. The shift of the centre of world finance from London to New York at that time was enormously beneficial in raising his fortune. While he was working at Wall Street, Morgan spent his time and fortune in collecting art and supporting a wide range of cultural institutions that included the American Museum of Natural History, the American

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<sup>123</sup> Gennari-Santori, 'I was to have all the finest,' p. 309.

Academy in Rome, the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, the Metropolitan Opera, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In 1901 when he semi-retired unofficially, Morgan began to devote his life to collecting works of art. As a cartoon in *Puck* magazine of 1901, *The Magnet*, depicts, the scale of his acquisition of that year was colossal (Fig. 130).<sup>124</sup>

It was this year that Morgan purchased his first Renaissance bronzes. These were part of Charles Mannheim's collection of Renaissance *objets d'art* in Paris, which Morgan acquired on 17 May 1901.<sup>125</sup> Since then Morgan accumulated a considerable number of Renaissance bronzes until 1910. In a decade, he formed one of the most comprehensive and exquisite collections of the subject. This was possible largely due to his close association with the London milieu of connoisseurs. He was a member of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, and a financial supporter of the *Burlington Magazine*.<sup>126</sup> By the time he became interested in Renaissance bronzes in around 1900, many collectors' bronzes were exhibited on loan at the Victoria and Albert Museum. It was a supreme area to exercise connoisseurship among British collectors. Morgan learned to appreciate this particular genre of art. Probably Salting's bronzes at the Museum gave him a strong impression.

Like Salting, Morgan bought Italian Renaissance bronzes principally from Marks at the Durlacher Brothers. As early as June of 1900 he was introduced to Durlacher Brothers by John Henry Fitzhenry (1836-1913), a patron of the Victoria and Albert Museum and Salting's close friend. On this occasion, Morgan purchased three white Sèvres groups for £2,500.<sup>127</sup> From the next year onwards, Morgan purchased numerous bronzes from the firm. On 24 June 1901, an invoice from Durlacher Brothers records five pieces of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian bronzes for £1,000. Among them 'a small bronze winged Sphinx' from the Stefano Bardini collection was attributed to Cellini: "probably a model by Cellini for the angel of the damascened steel casket in the Hermitage at St Petersburg: Florentine XVI century; from the Bardini collection."<sup>128</sup>

Along with these pieces, Morgan purchased Henry Pfunst (1844-1917)'s collection of Renaissance bronzes *en bloc* on the same day: fifty-four pieces for £9,000.<sup>129</sup> Pfunst was an

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<sup>124</sup> Jean Strouse, 'J. Pierpont Morgan: Financier and Collector,' *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, new series, vol. 57, no. 3 (Winter 2000), pp. 4-9.

<sup>125</sup> E. Molinier, *Collection Charles Mannheim, Objets d'art* (Paris, 1898); Gennari-Santori, 'I was to have all the finest,' p. 310.

<sup>126</sup> Gennari-Santori, 'I was to have all the finest,' p. 309 and p. 311.

<sup>127</sup> The Durlacher file, ARC 1310, Morgan Library, New York.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

English connoisseur of German origin and formed a remarkable collection of Renaissance bronzes, mostly utensils, which resembled that of Fortnum.<sup>130</sup> Pfungst originally announced his willingness to sell the collection as early as 1892. In a letter sent to Bode on 5 June 1892, he offered his collection of bronzes *en bloc* for £3,000.<sup>131</sup> He added that Marks was prepared to buy only two thirds of the collection, but he did not want to divide the collection.<sup>132</sup> On 30 October 1892, Pfungst wrote to Bode that he would send photographs of his bronzes.<sup>133</sup> In the meanwhile, Marks's letters to Bode, written on 26 October as well as on 9 and 21 November 1892, reveal that they discussed Pfungst's collection of bronzes. Marks suggested Bode buy the collection together, because Pfungst would not reduce his price: if Bode was able to make an offer for those he wanted, Marks might be able to keep others.<sup>134</sup> Nothing came from this discussion. Eventually Marks's firm Durlacher Brothers bought the collection in October 1900, and sold it to Morgan the next year.

There exist similar examples that had been previously offered to Bode but eventually sold to Morgan. In a letter dated 4 April 1902, Marks asked Bode to confirm that he would only be willing to pay £200 for a fifteenth-century high-relief, *The Assumption* (Fig. 131). This piece came from the collection of Henri Cernuschi, an Italian financier based in Paris who formed a great collection of Chinese and Italian Renaissance art. Ten days later, the relief was sold to Morgan for £500.<sup>135</sup> That day, Marks wrote to Bode:

I hope you will not be disappointed, but we sold the bas-relief on April the 14<sup>th</sup> last to Mr. Morgan, as in one of your letters you only valued it at £200. and as you refused to accept it some time ago from Mr. Sulley I did not think you cared very much for it, also as you know it cost us a great deal more than the value you put upon it.<sup>136</sup>

However, Bode seems to have been disappointed by this news. Later, Marks tried to appease Bode. On 31 July 1902, Marks wrote:

I spoke yesterday to Sulley about the bronze plaque of the Assumption of the Virgin and he quite remembers offering to present it to you for the Museum but you told

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<sup>130</sup> Gennari-Santori, 'I was to have all the finest,' p. 310; H. J. Pfungst, *Descriptive Catalogue of a Small Collection, Principally of XVth and XVIth Century Bronzes* (London, n.d.).

<sup>131</sup> The Henry J. Pfungst file, NL Bode 4143/1-2, ZA.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> The Murray Marks and Durlacher Brothers file, NL Bode 3541/1-5, ZA; Warren, 'Bode and the British,' p. 125.

<sup>135</sup> The Durlacher file, ARC 1310, Morgan Library, New York.

<sup>136</sup> The Murray Marks and Durlacher Brothers file, NL Bode 3541/1-5, ZA.



him that you would sooner wait and secure something else. Of course if you had asked me to keep the plaque I would have done so with pleasure.<sup>137</sup>

Probably it was a shock for Bode who had been dominating the London market of Italian Renaissance bronzes in the 1880s and the 1890s. Since Morgan arrived in London, Berlin could not secure as many important pieces as before. For the next ten years, Morgan remained the most powerful collector of Renaissance bronzes in the world. His bronzes were lent to the Victoria and Albert Museum from 1901, and displayed together with Salting's marvellous collection of Renaissance bronzes in a large octagonal gallery devoted to these two loans.<sup>138</sup>

However, George Durlacher organised a project in which Bode could participate as a main player. It was another cataloguing project. In a letter dated 3 April 1901, Marks wrote:

The "great man" is very interested in the Bronze Book and would very much like a catalogue of his bronzes. Do you think it will be possible for you to undertake it? As if so I would come and see you on your return from Italy and talk the matter over.<sup>139</sup>

Morgan may have observed manuscripts and photographic illustrations for the Bronze Book at Durlacher Brothers' shop at Bond Street. It was before his first acquisition of Renaissance bronzes. Given that Morgan decided to create a catalogue of his own bronze collection a few years later, it seems likely that his acquisitions were made in consideration of the catalogue. As Marks's letter tells us, Morgan's interest in the catalogue was genuine. When Marks and Bode finally published their catalogue in 1907, it included thirty-one pieces from Morgan's collection.

Immediately after this publication, Marks and Bode concentrated on the catalogue of Morgan's bronzes. Marks's letters to Bode, written between 1908 and 1910, demonstrate that Marks's notes on attributions and provenances were passed to Bode. In addition, Marks recommended several pieces to be included as entries.<sup>140</sup> In a letter to Morgan's librarian, Belle da Costa Greene, dated on 14 July 1909, Durlacher announced that "Morgan is now through with his bronze collection, so he says, and wishes the Catalogue completed."<sup>141</sup> However, for the next several months Durlacher was struggling to produce photographic reproductions of the highest quality. Having produced Marks and Bode's Bronze Book, Durlacher had ambition to set a new standard of photographic reproduction of these three-

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<sup>137</sup> The Murray Marks and Durlacher Brothers file, NL Bode 3541/1-5, ZA.

<sup>138</sup> Gennari-Santori, 'I was to have all the finest,' p. 311.

<sup>139</sup> The Murray Marks and Durlacher Brothers file, NL Bode 3541/1-5, ZA.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> The Durlacher file, ARC 1310, Morgan Library, New York.

dimensional works of art. Since the catalogue was a marketing tool as a work of reference, the quality of illustrations was extremely important for him. At the end of November 1910, Morgan's catalogue was finally bound in Paris. Shipping the catalogue to New York on 29 November 1909, Durlacher wrote to Greene:

You really can have no idea of the enormous trouble we have all taken to make it a work worthy of his library; it really is the first successful catalogue that has ever been made of bronzes as their re-production in photographs is extremely difficult. To arrive at this satisfactory result, eliminating false shadows (our greatest trouble) most of the plates have had 4 separate printings from 4 different plates, I have asked Mr. Levy to forward you a few examples to show you the process. I wish you would be kind enough to explain this to Mr. Morgan when you are looking at the catalogue with him.<sup>142</sup>

Along with accurate photographic illustrations, this catalogue provided Bode's art-historical interpretation of Morgan's grandiose assemblage of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian Renaissance bronzes.

When Morgan's bronzes were exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1914, the display reflected both the principles of the Victoria and Albert Museum and Bode's art-historical method.

The bronzes were displayed in the third gallery of the exhibition and arranged in nine wall-cases and four floor-cases, devoted to a variety of schools: the cabinet containing Florentine bronzes had the Hercules by Pollaiuolo as centrepiece, but it displayed also sixteenth-century works. [...] Three cases were devoted to Paduan bronzes, one with Neptune and the Sea Monster as centrepiece, another gathering all the Riccios according to Von Bode's attributions, and a third which assembled a range of functional pieces. The other cases displayed Venetian, north Italian, sixteenth-century Italian, German and Flemish bronzes.<sup>143</sup>

These crowded cabinets clearly corresponded to the display at the Victoria and Albert Museum and Salting's bronze collection, which had been the model for Morgan's collecting. However, these cases were placed in "Renaissance Rooms" together with tapestries, terracotta, and other Renaissance works (Fig. 132). Curating this exhibition, Bode's pupil Wilhelm Valentiner adopted the scheme of period rooms. Thus, Morgan's collection was a remarkable synthesis of the innovative understanding of Renaissance bronzes, drawing together a comprehensive range of examples of the highest quality with an impressive art-historical catalogue, and producing an exhibition in the style rooms. This achievement was

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<sup>142</sup> The Durlacher file, ARC 1310, Morgan Library, New York.

<sup>143</sup> Gennari-Santori, 'I was to have all the finest,' p. 314.

largely indebted to Marks's connoisseurship. His discerning eyes saw beautiful small bronzes, perceived the artist's creative power, and then contemplated the invisible spirit of Renaissance culture.

Working for the establishment of Bode's Renaissance Museum and the cataloguing project, Marks moved into a different artistic regime which was based on the German tradition of philosophical aesthetics. Bode's interpretive framework for the Italian Renaissance deconstructed the principle of a vast accumulation of Renaissance bronzes in the South Kensington Museum, a museum of decorative arts, which concentrated on collecting works of technical and aesthetic qualities but lacked a theoretical background. Instead, Bode emphasised the link between a work of art and its creator, the man of genius with imagination. Rearranging Renaissance bronzes by artist or school of origin, he suggested that aesthetic contemplation of the works created by masters, the knowers of the ultimate world, would be a path to the purely objective knowledge of the world. Therefore, in his relationship with Bode, Marks's attributions of bronzes to specific artists were not just a virtue of the supplier, but laid the foundation of writing history of Renaissance culture. This connoisseur's knowledge translated Renaissance bronzes into a medium through which the viewer can go beyond the visible, further to the universal knowledge of the past.

## Conclusion. *Parergon*

In February 1910, when they completed the cataloguing project of Morgan's bronzes, Bode offered Marks a Sansovino frame as a gift.<sup>1</sup> It was a highly symbolic gift for the antique and curiosity dealer. In his *Critique of Judgment*, Kant suggests a hierarchical distinction between the *ergon*, the work of art itself, and the *parergon*, the extrinsic supplement, such as picture frames, drapery on statues and colonnades around buildings. Kant diminishes the *parergon* or ornamentation by arguing that it is not an intrinsic constituent in the complete representation of the object. However, in his work *Truth in Painting*, Derrida reverses the role of *parergon*. According to him, the *parergon* is a border which separates the work, not only from the body of the *ergon*, but also from the outside.<sup>2</sup> What makes it a *parergon* is not its adjunctive nature, but the *ergon's* need for it. Thus, the *parergon* is an exterior that became an interior because it was invited by the interior. That is, the *parergon* is a border of ambiguous uncertainty, which is neither the interior nor the exterior. Perhaps Derrida's conception of *parergon* illuminates Marks's role as a cultural translator, who was figuring the space between the inside and the outside of the artistic regimes, and whose translation created meanings of the work of art by the double process of deconstruction and reconstruction.

Throughout his career, Marks consistently traded with Chinese porcelain and Renaissance art; however, the manner in which he worked had often changed drastically in accordance with his clients' demands. As Gadamer's analogy, 'art as game', implies, his different understandings of a work of art were achieved by co-producing processes with various players and the work of art. Within the Aesthetic Movement, Marks's enthusiasm for Chinese porcelain evolved, by incorporating Aesthetic artists' pictorial interpretation of Chinese porcelain with his dealing practices. Moreover, he adopted these artists' sources of inspiration, in particular, Venetian Renaissance paintings. His commission of *La Bella Mano*, as well as his selection of Botticelli's paintings for Leyland reveal how deeply he was involved with the Aesthetic circle's taste. For this reason, he became their favourite dealer while the

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<sup>1</sup> Marks's letter to Bode, dated 15 February 1910, ZA, NL Bode 3541/5.

<sup>2</sup> Jacques Derrida, *La Vérité en peinture* (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), pp. 44-94.

grandiose Grosvenor Gallery had to close their business years after its opening. Indeed, Leyland chose Marks to direct the project of remodelling his new residence at 49 Prince's Gate. Its scheme of design created significant works: the crossover between Chinese porcelain and Venetian Renaissance and the attuned space. What Leyland wanted was a house in which he could dwell as Dasein; but Whistler's artistic ego disrupted his Venetian palazzo in modern London. Although the Peacock Room became a cornerstone of the Aesthetic interior, Leyland's plan for his dining room was ruined by Whistler's creation. Leyland's corporeal experience in the space could not be same as Whistler's. 49 Prince's Gate was planned for an individual's lived experience and desires. Marks understood Leyland's own truth, and the intimate relationship between space and the living being.

However, when he was dealing with the South Kensington Museum and Salting, he also adapted to the nature of the public sphere and the collector who was interested only in amassing the finest things, without any concern about display. His association with these two led him to exercise his connoisseurship.

His connoisseurship became more meaningful when Wilhelm von Bode proposed to work on his catalogue of Italian Renaissance bronzes. Writing art history based on connoisseurship, they shaped a new approach to the Italian Renaissance. Under the influence of the German tradition of Aesthetics, they appreciated the individual artist's creative power, believed in the possibility to attain universal knowledge of the ultimate world through art. This epistemological view made a dramatic difference from Marks's earlier understanding of the Italian Renaissance within the Aesthetic Movement. Like the conflict between Classicism and Romanticism, or between drawing/form and colour, two different stances resulted in changes in his trade. Perhaps the two catalogues that Marks created demonstrate the difference clearly. If Marks's catalogue of blue and white porcelain, with watercolour illustration, epitomises a phenomenological aspect in the flow of time, his catalogue of Italian Renaissance bronzes, with accurate photographic illustration, conveys the Enlightenment idea of art.

While continually transferring Chinese porcelain and Renaissance bronzes to different artistic regimes, Marks participated in the process of creating new meanings and values, and thereby translated, localised, and revived them.

## Illustrations



Figure 1. Cecil Brown, *Portrait Medal of Murray Marks*, 1913, V&A.

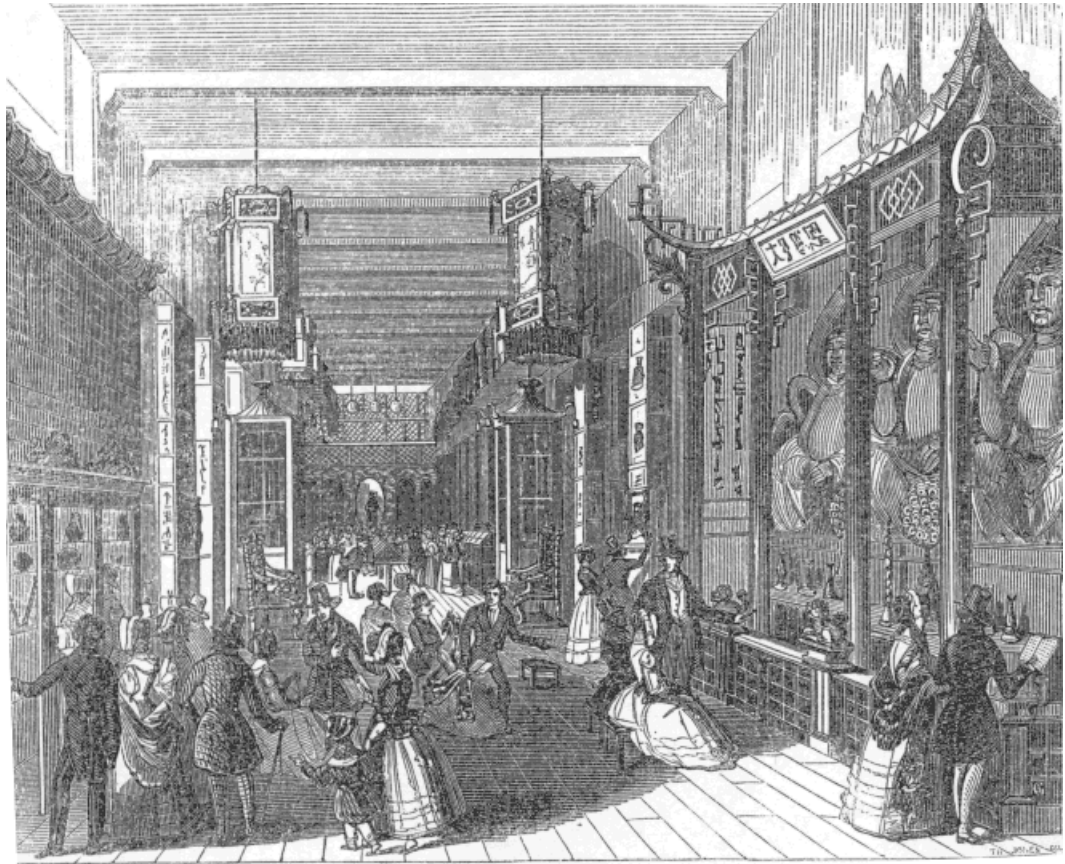


Figure 2. The Chinese Exhibition at Hyde Park, from *The Illustrated London News*, 6 August 1842.

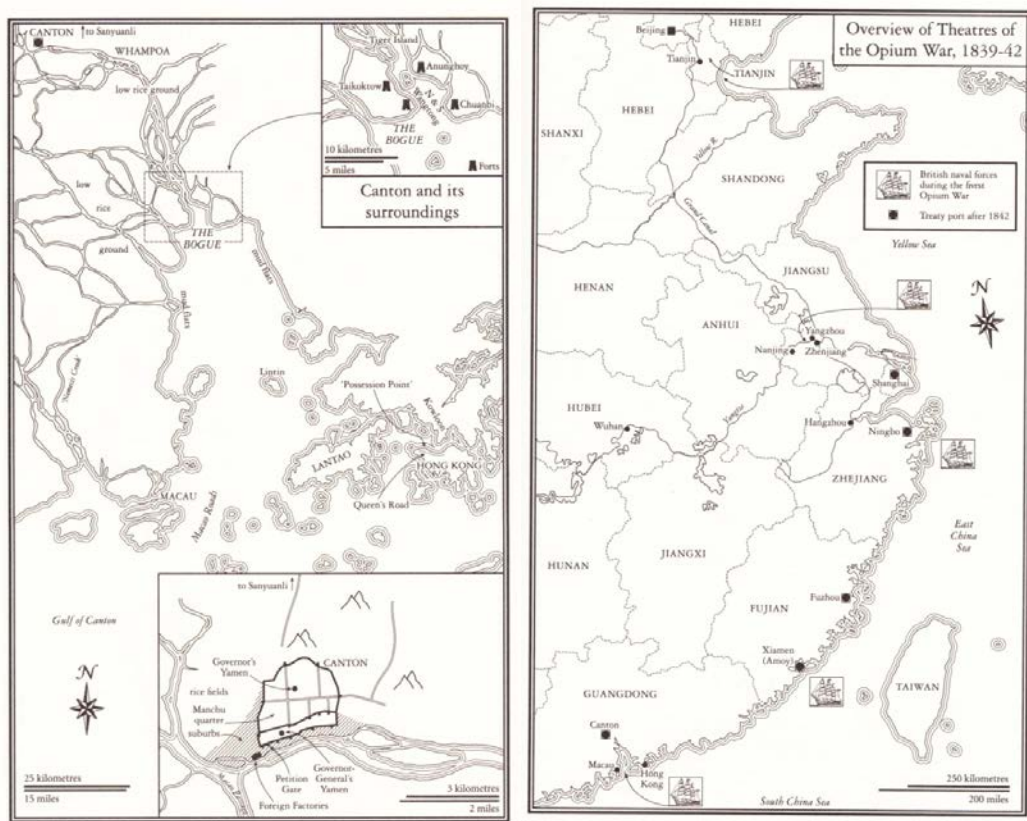


Figure 3. Canton and its surroundings and Treaty Ports after 1842.



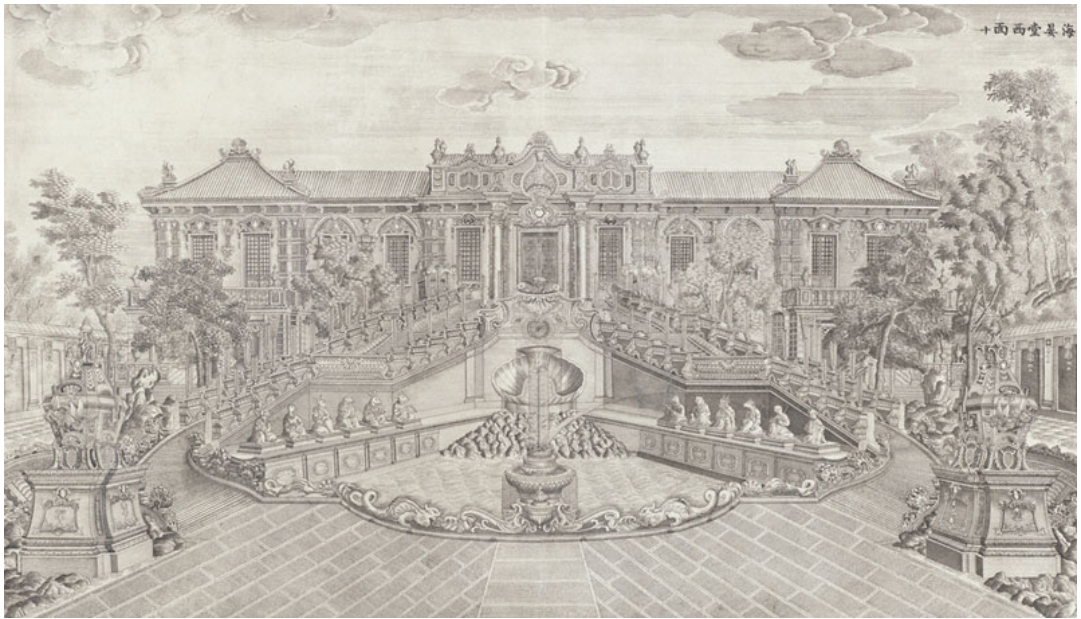


Figure 4. Yi Lantai, *West Façade of the Hall of Calm Seas*, engraving from *The European Pavilions at the Garden of Yuanmingyuan, Beijing*, 1783-86.

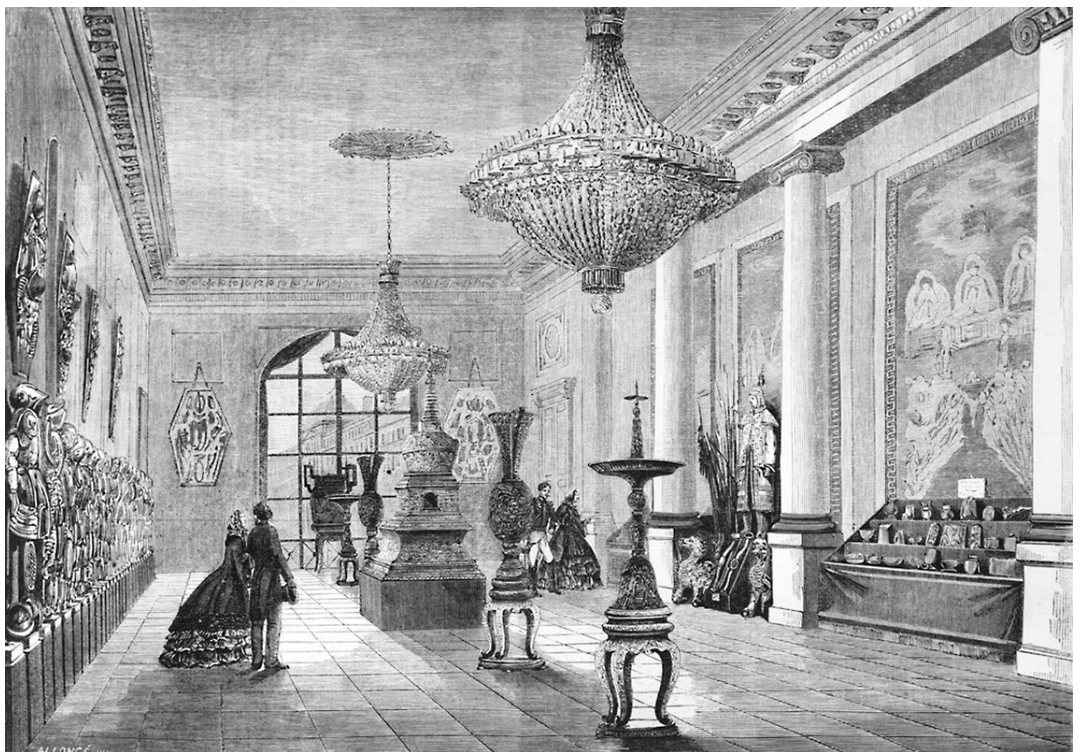


Figure 5. Anonymous, illustration of the Summer Palace exhibition in the Tuileries palace, in *Le Monde illustré*, 1861. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Figure 6. Anonymous, 'French Spoils from China Recently Exhibited at the Palace of the Tuileries', in the *Illustrated London News*, vol. 38, April 13, 1861, p. 334. Wood engraving. University of Hong Kong Libraries.



Figure 7. Pierre-Ambroise Richebourg, *View of the Interior of the Empress's Chinese Museum at Fontainebleau*, photograph, 1860-70, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



Figure 8. A blue and gold cloisonné 'chimera,' n.d., Le Musée Chinois de Impératrice Eugénie, Château de Fontainebleau.

LOT	DESCRIPTION	PRICE <sup>1</sup>
24	Six basins, enameled with flowers in colours	0.17
35	A pair of basins, enameled with butterflies and flowers	0.18
45	A PAIR OF OBLONG JARDINIERES, of turquoise crackle	27.6
48	A vase, enameled with Chinese figures in brilliant colours	2.00
52	A ribbed yellow bottle, with ribbon round the neck	1.60
55	A bowl, richly enameled with dragons in colours	1.00
63	A vase, with Chinese figures in Indian ink and red on white ground	1.11
65	A small turquoise vase, with dragons and ornaments in relief	0.14
76	A deep-blue globular bottle, with small neck	0.10
80	A square brown crackle bottle, with mask handles	0.17
81	A globular bottle, enameled with flowers in colours on green scale-pattern ground	0.10
90	A deep dish, richly enameled with Chinese figures	1.16
103	A BEAUTIFUL BASIN, with flowers in colours on pink ground, engraved with ornaments, utensils in compartments, and ornaments in blue inside	6.50
118	A white crackle bottle, in imitation of ivory	0.18
142	A grey crackle ditto [A MAGNIFICENT BOTTLE, of brilliant crimson crackle] - lip imperfect	4.00
187	A BEAUTIFUL SQUARE VASE, with ring-handles and cords in relief; stamped inscription on the bottom - 11 in. high	4.00
236	A small box and cover, of white jade, with beautifully carved ornaments in slight relief	1.10
242	A BEAUTIFUL BASIN, OF WHITE JADE	4.00
251	A BEAUTIFUL BOX AND COVER, of delicate white jade, the cover carved with characters	12.10
252	A group of four figures in white jade	2.10
256	A basin of white jade	2.15
271	A very fine block of lapis-lazuli, elaborately carved with figures in a landscape	10.50
273	A STAND, OF WHITE METAL OR SILVER CHASED, with foliage and with a gilt dragon entwined round the stem - 22½ in. high	29.10

Figure 9. Marks's acquisition at Christie's sale of objects from the Summer Palace, London, 20-21 July 1863.

<sup>1</sup> The monetary unit used by Christie's in the nineteenth century was guineas-shillings-pennies.



Figure 10. *A Magnificent Imperial Pink-ground Famille Rose Butterfly Vase, Qianlong iron-red six-character sealmark and of the period (1736-1795), 45.7 cm. high.*



(detail)

Figure 11. A FINE WHITE JADE BOWL AND COVER, Qianlong Period (1736-1795), 21.5 cm. diam. stand.



Figure 12. *Potters in a Jingdezhen Workshop*, late Ming (1368-1644), woodblock printed, from Jonathan Spence's *The Search for Modern China*.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> There was a riot in 1601 by the potters in Jingdezhen who outraged on their low wages while the blue and white porcelain was becoming valuable exports. Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York and London, 1990), no page number.





Figure 13. Chinese Blue and White porcelain, Kangxi period, the jar and cover and two plates were formerly in the collection of Whistler, while the gourd-shaped vase belonged to Rossetti, V&A.



Figure 14. J. M. Whistler, *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*, 61.4 x 48.8 cm, oil on canvas, 1865, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

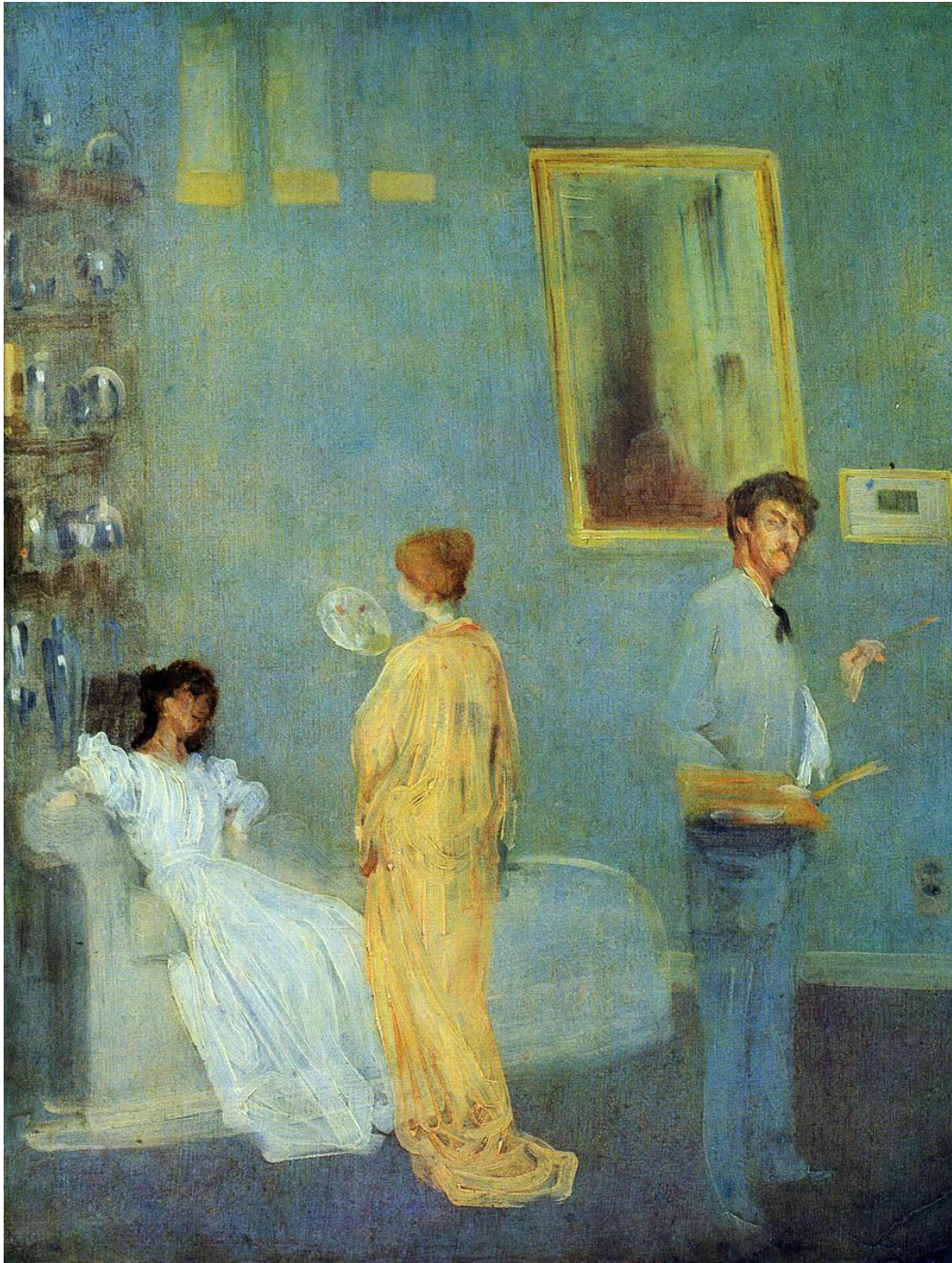


Figure 15. J. A. M. Whistler, *Whistler in His Studio*, oil on canvas, c. 1865, 46.3 x 62.2 cm, Art Institute of Chicago.



Figure 16. J. M. Whistler, *Purple and Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks*, 93.3 x 61.3 cm, oil on canvas, 1864, Philadelphia Museum of Art.



Figure 17. J. A. M. Whistler, Sketches of Blue and White Porcelain, 17.9 x 10.9, pen, ink and wash on paper, ca. 1867, present whereabouts unknown.



Figure 18. Whistler, illustration for Plate X, *A Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain forming the Collection of Sir Henry Thompson* (1878), pen, ink, and wash on paper.



Figure 19. Henry Treffry Dunn, *D. G. Rossetti and Theodore Watts-Dunton in the sitting room at Cheyne Walk*, 1882, National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 20. D. G. Rossetti, *Venus Verticordia*, 83.8 x 71.2 cm, oil, 1863-1869, Russell-Cotes Art Gallery, Bournemouth.





Figure 21. D. G. Rossetti, *Bocca Baciata*, 13 ¼ X 12 in., oil on panel, 1859, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 22. D. G. Rossetti, *The Blue Bower*, 35½ x 27¼ in., oil, 1865, The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, The University of Birmingham.



Figure 23. Hawthorn Pot, height 23 cm, Kangxi reign (1662-1722), from Salting Bequest, V&A.



Figure 24. D. G. Rossetti, *Monna Rosa*, 27 x 21 in., oil on panel, 1867, private collection.



Figure 25. D. G. Rossetti, *Monna Rosa*, probably 10¾ x 9 in., oil, 1862, current location unknown.

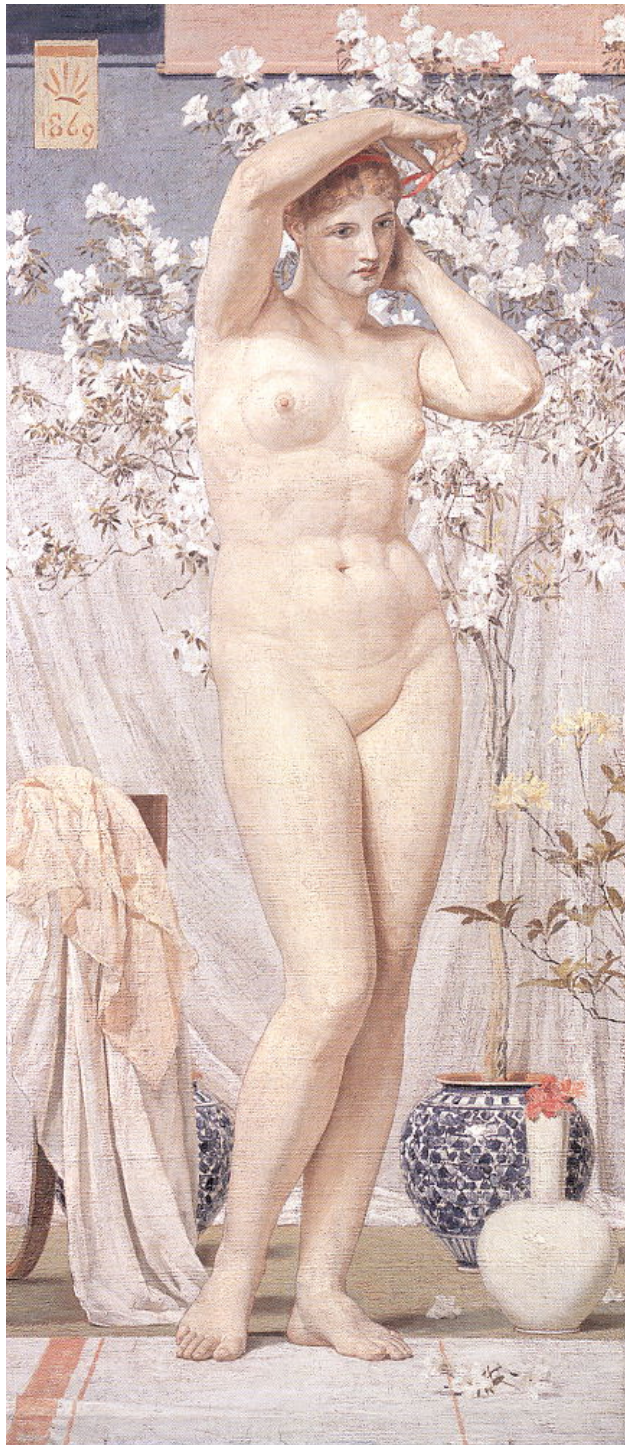


Figure 26. Albert Moore, *A Venus*, 76.2 x 160 cm, oil on canvas, 1869, York Art Gallery, York.



Figure 27. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *La Bella Mano*, 62 x 45 in., oil on canvas, 1875, Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington.

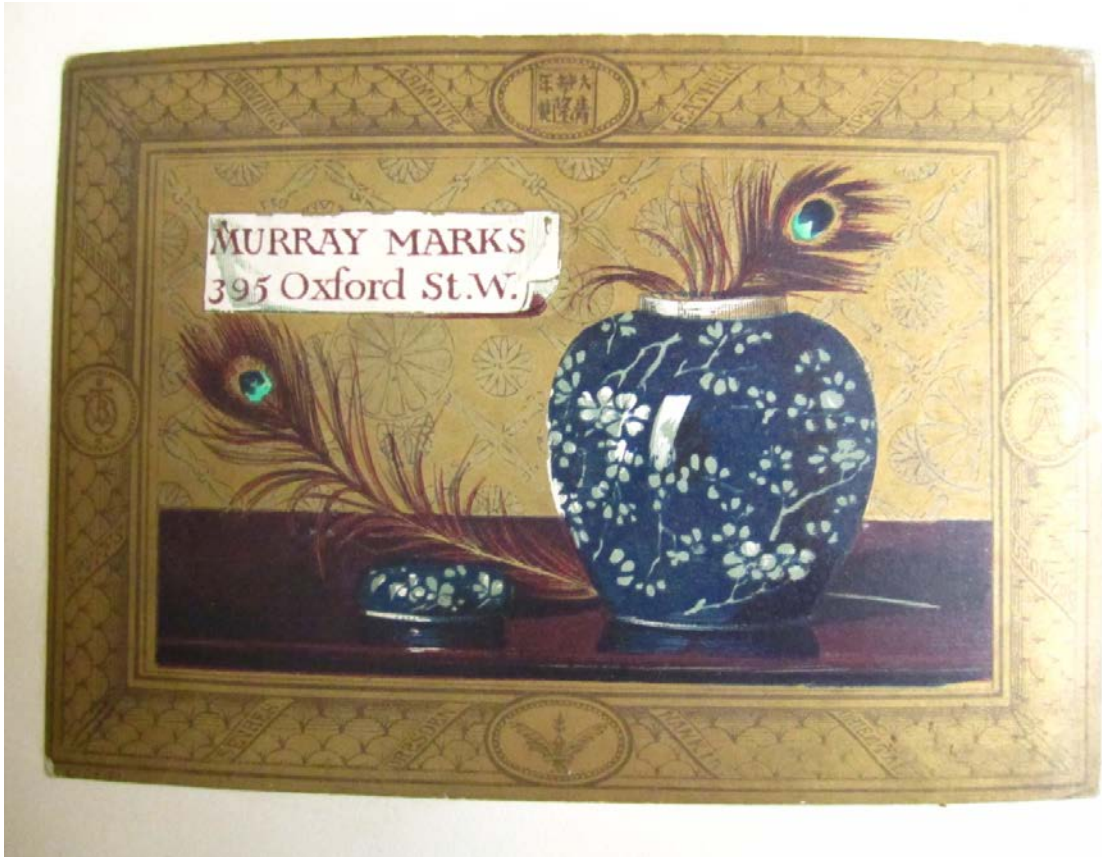


Figure 28. D. G. Rossetti, J. A. M. Whistler and W. Morris, *Trade Card Designed for Murray Marks*.





Figure 29. Messrs Fenton's Old Curiosity Shop, Bury St Edmunds, c. 1865.



Figure 30. Agnew's newly built Gallery, 39 (later 43) Old Bond Street, by the architect, E. Salomons, 1877.

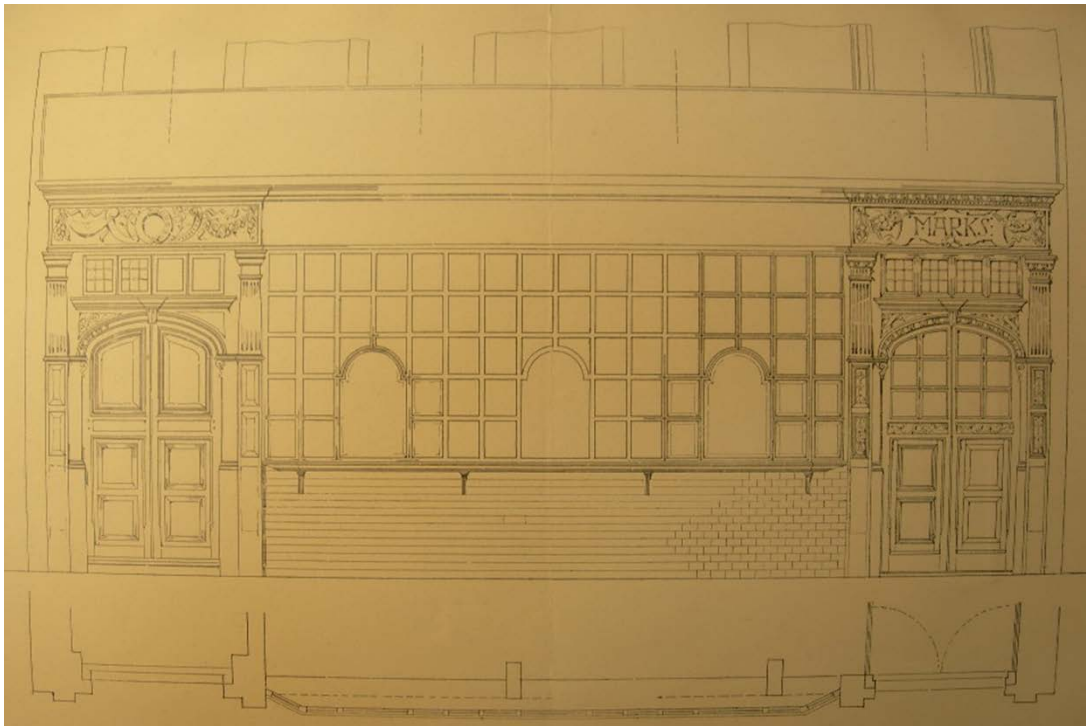


Figure 31. Richard Norman Shaw, Façade of 395 Oxford Street, 1875, The Library of the Royal Academy.

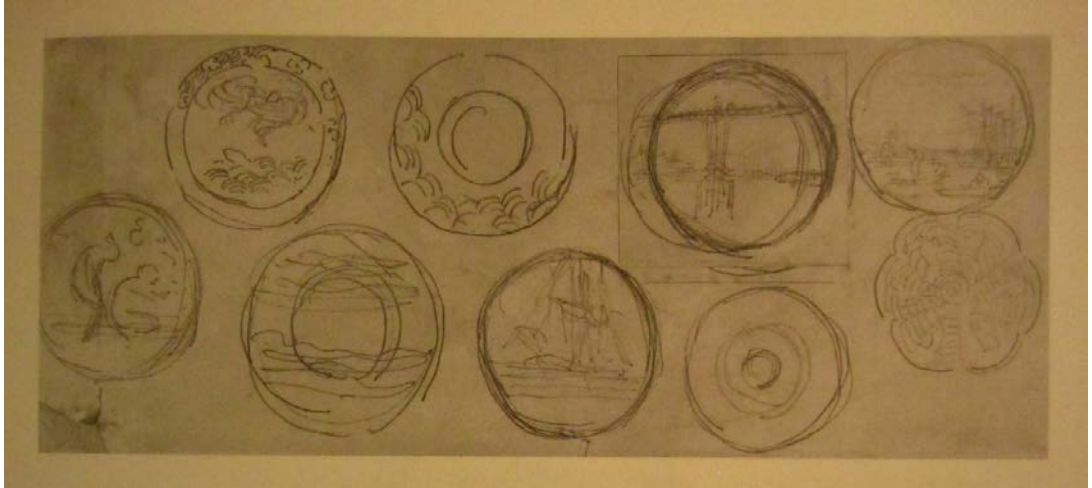


Figure 32. James Abbott McNeil Whistler, *Designs for Plates*, ca. 1872, pencil on paper, 9.7 x 23.2, The British Museum, London, Department of Prints and Drawings: presented by the Misses R. F. and J. I. Alexander (1958.2.8.16).



Figure 33. Sir Henry Thompson's Letter to Marks, January 10, 1877.



Figure 34. Henry Thompson, Illustration for Plate XV, *A Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain Forming the Collection of Sir Henry Thompson* (1878) Pen, ink and wash on paper.

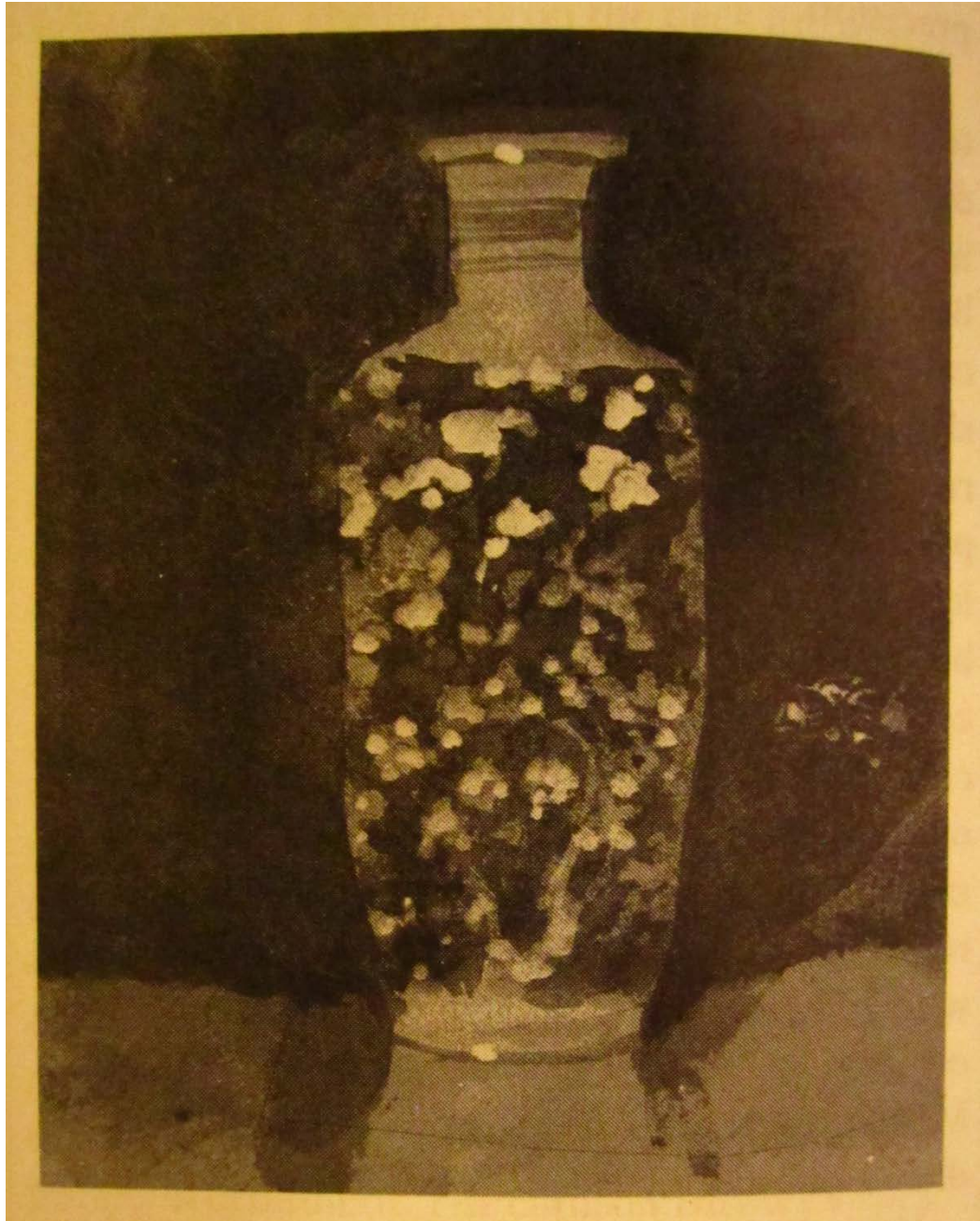


Figure 35. James Abbott McNeil Whistler, *Cylindrical Vase with Thick Neck*, preliminary design for plate XIII, Catalogue Number 130, grey and blue wash heightened with white on blue paper, 7¼ x 5½ inches. (Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, New York. acq. no. 69. 170.)

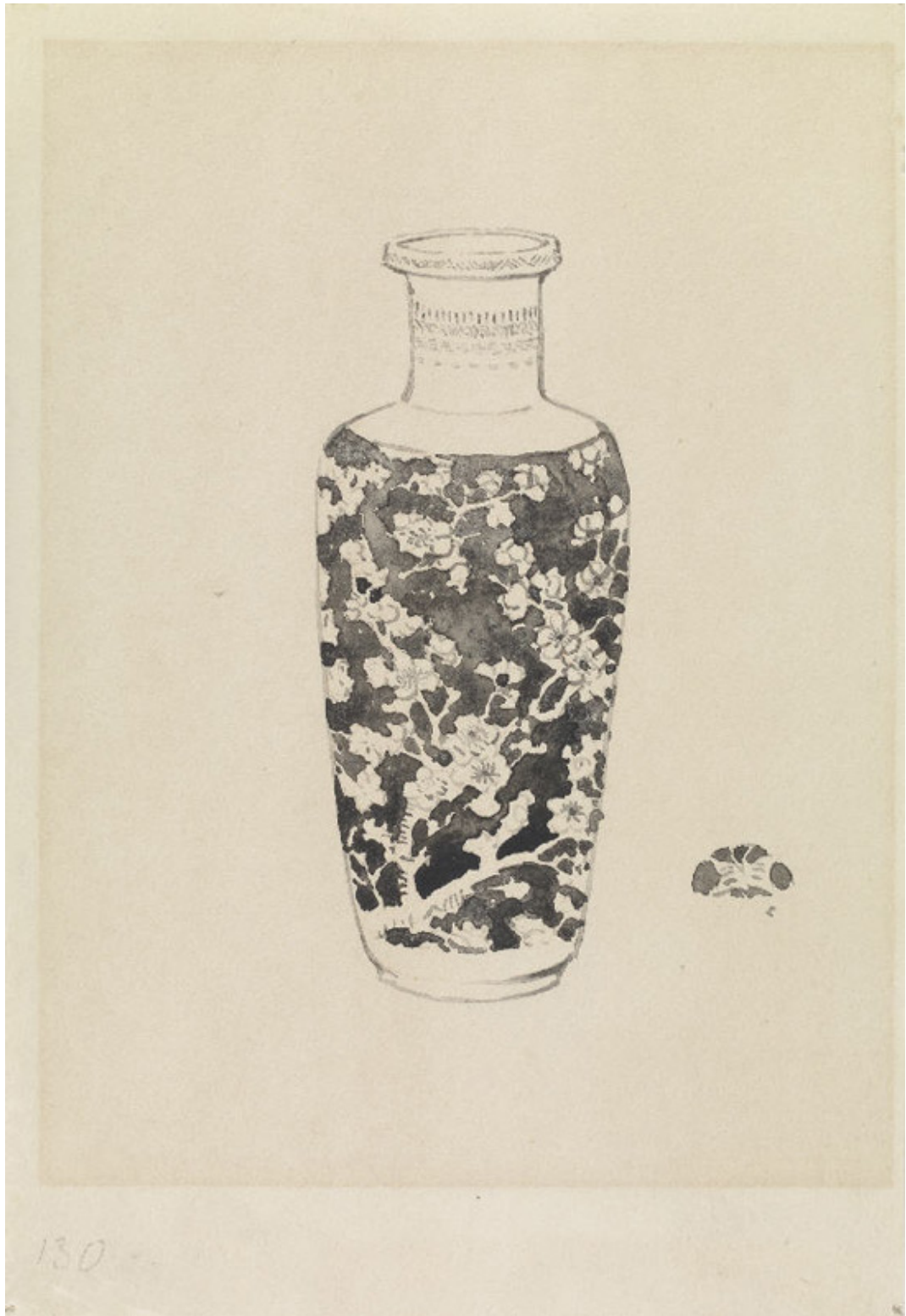


Figure 36. James Abbott McNeil Whistler, *Cylindrical Vase with Thick Neck*, final design for plate XIII, pen, ink and wash on paper,  $8\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{9}{16}$  inches. (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC., reg. no. 07. 174)



Figure 37. Chinese porcelain canister. Kangxi period (1662-1722), Height: 12½ inches. (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, c. 38-1920)



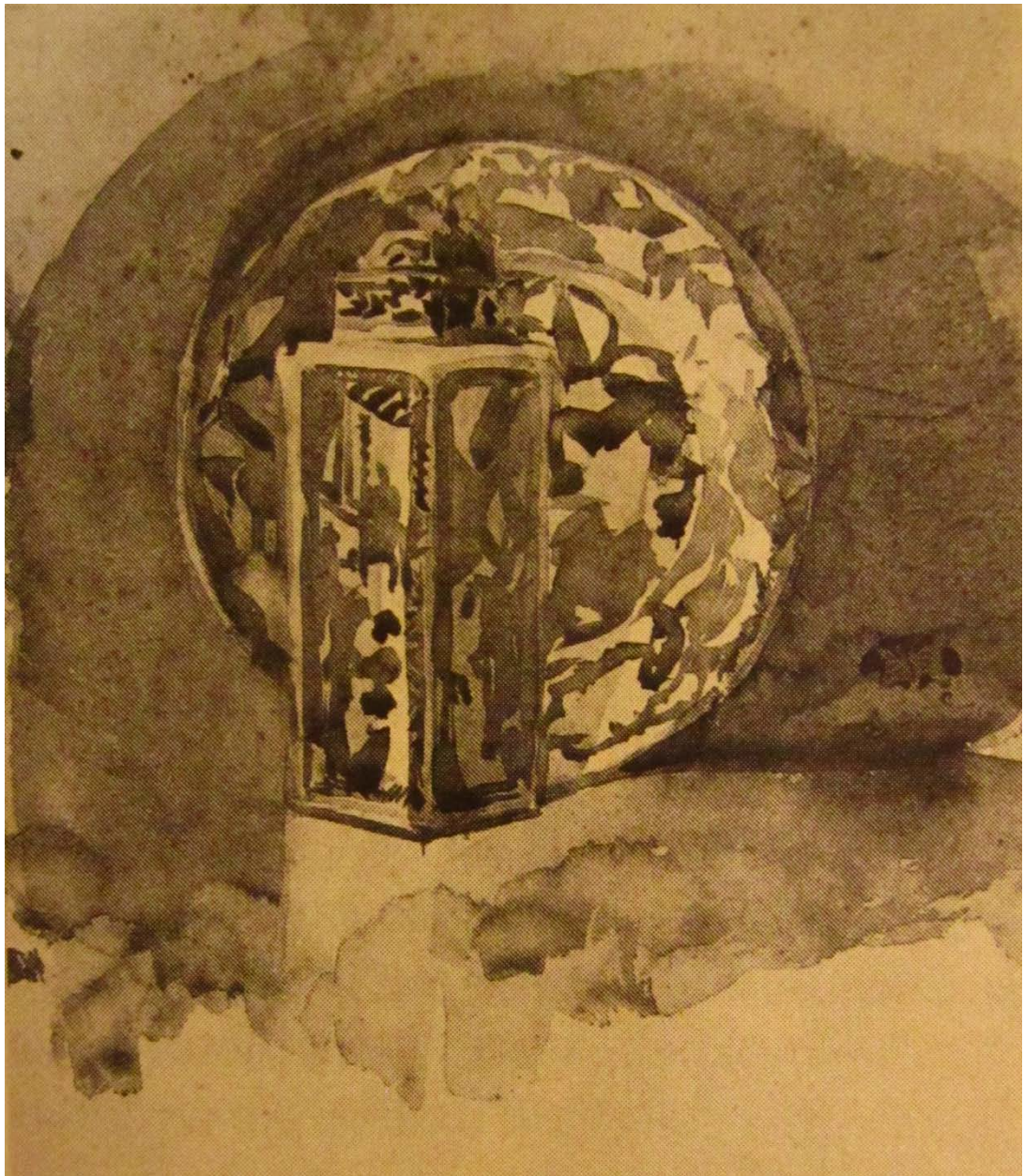


Figure 38. James Abbott McNeil Whister, *Square Canister with Square Neck and Saucer-shaped Dish: preliminary design for plate XVII*, Catalogue Numbers 202 and 113 in Thompson catalogue, wash on paper.  $9\frac{1}{16}$  x  $7\frac{1}{8}$  inches. (Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute. New York. acq. no. 69. 174)

PLATE XVII.

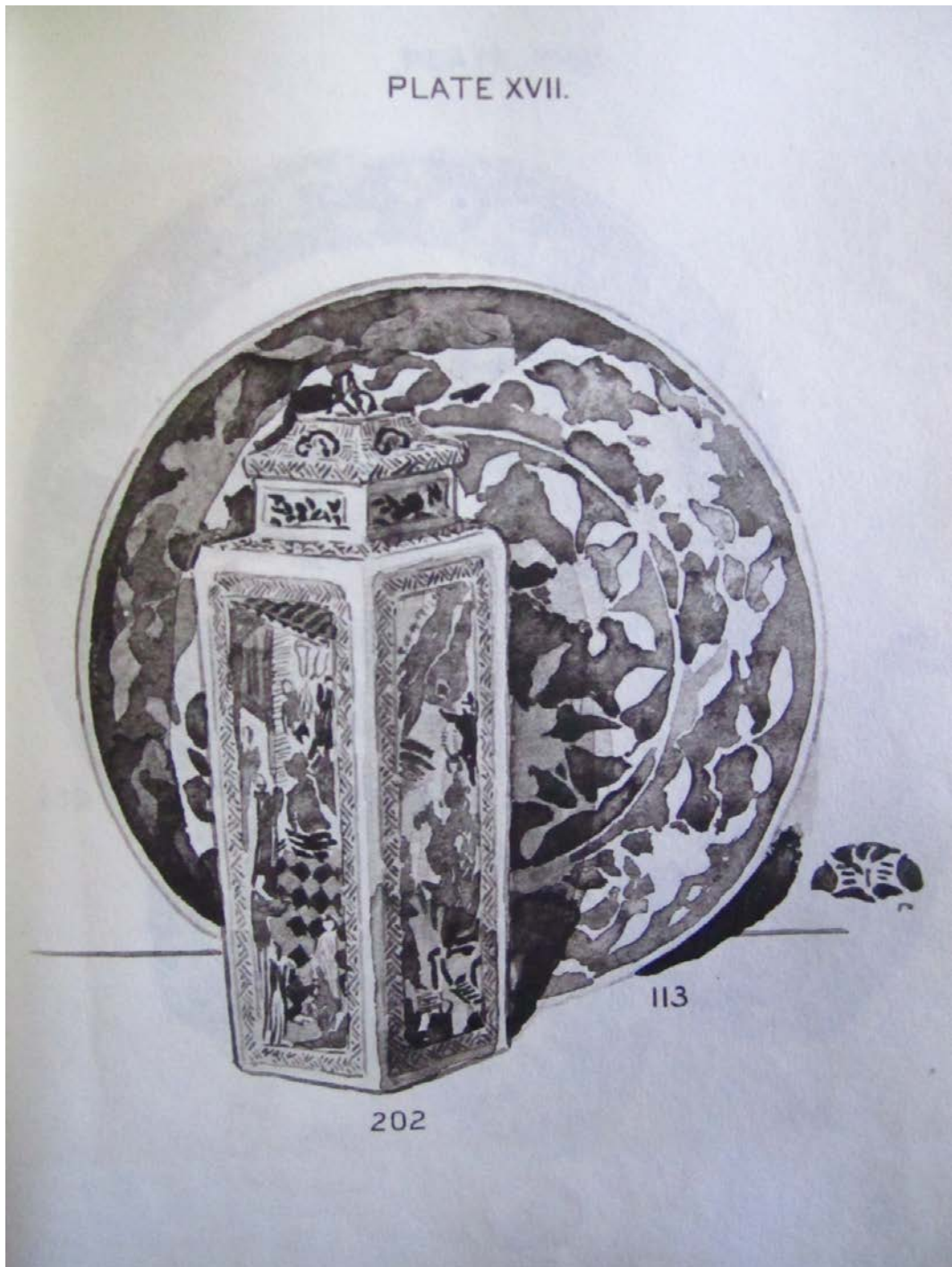


Figure 39. James Abbott McNeil Whister, *Square Canister with Square Neck and Saucer-shaped Dish: Plate XVII*, Catalogue Numbers 202 and 113 in Thompson catalogue, pen, ink and wash on paper.



Figure 40. The Japanesque cloth binding of *A Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain Forming the Collection of Sir Henry Thompson* (London, 1878), National Art Library, London.

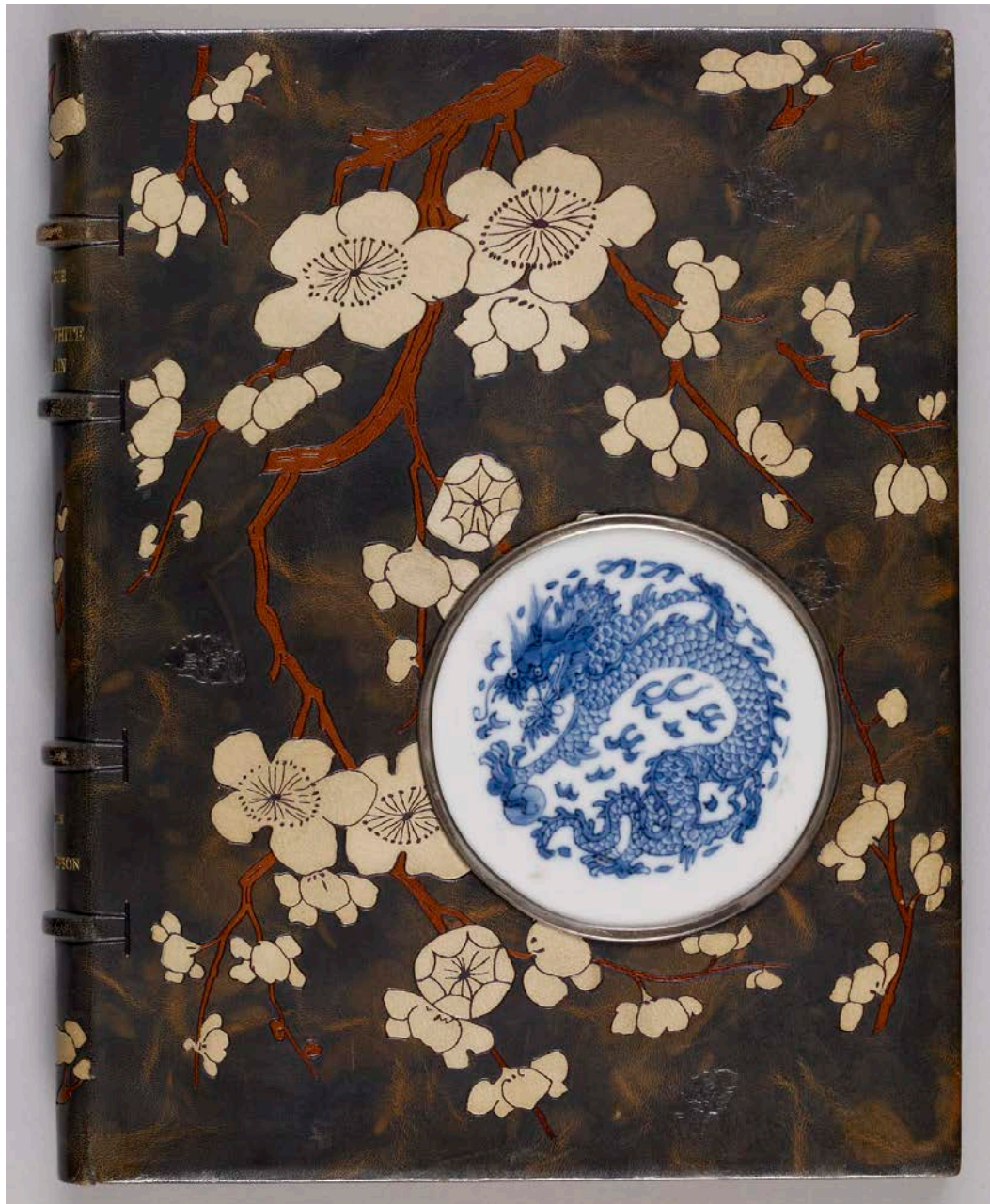


Figure 41. The leather binding of *A Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain Forming the Collection of Sir Henry Thompson* (London, 1878), bound by the binder Meunier in c. 1902, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

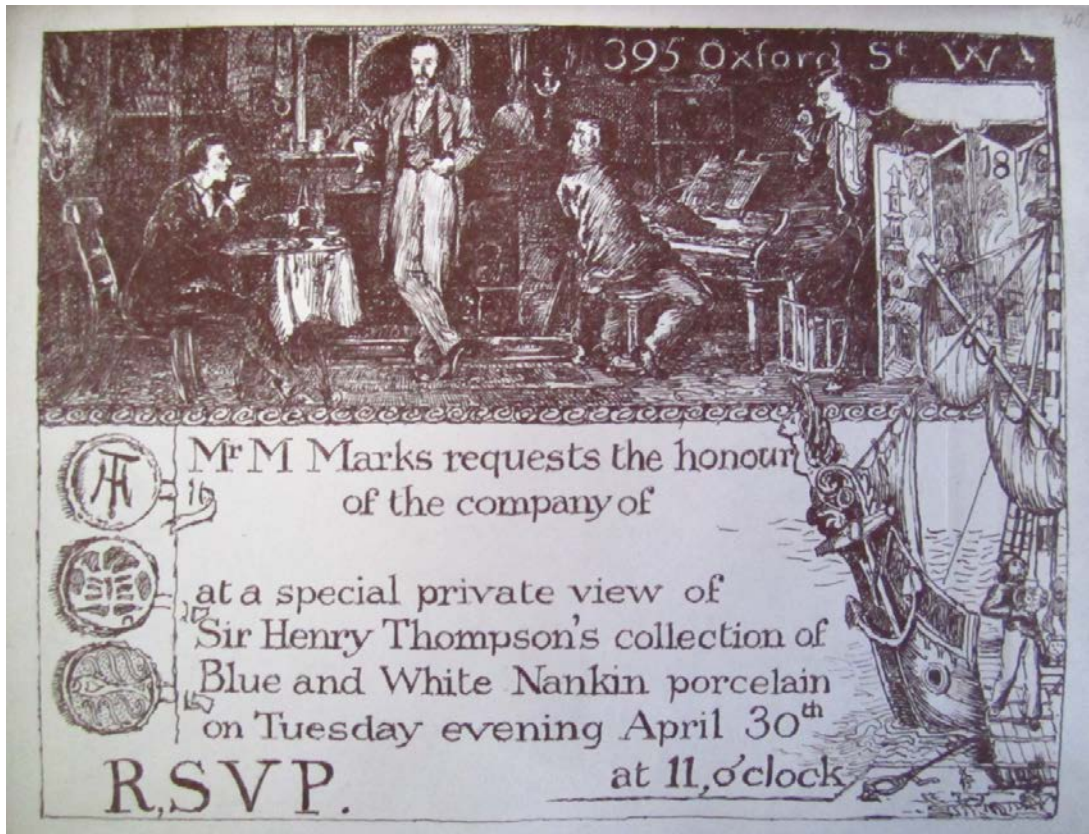


Figure 42. Invitation Card to a Private View of the Collection of Sir Henry Thompson at 395 Oxford Street, London, on April 30 1878, attributed to Henry Treffry Dunn (1838-1899). Pen and ink on paper, 18.5 x 24.0 cm, George C. Williamson's *Murray Marks and His Friends*. (photograph by the author)



Figure 43. The Reply from Mr. Herbert Beerbohm (afterwards Sir H. Beerbohm-Tree) to the invitation sent to him by Murray Marks, George C. Williamson's *Murray Marks and His Friends*. (photograph by the author)



**THE SIX-MARK TEA-POT.**

*Aesthetic Bridegroom.* "IT IS QUITE CONSUMMATE, IS IT NOT?"

*Intense Bride.* "IT IS, INDEED! OH, ALGERNON, LET US LIVE UP TO IT!"

Figure 44. George du Maurier, 'The Six-Mark Tea-Pot', *Punch*, 30 November 1880.



Figure 45. J. A. M. Whistler, *Arrangement in Black: Portrait of F. R. Leyland*, 1870-73, oil on canvas, 192.8 x 91.9 cm, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.





Figure 46. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Lady Lilith*, 1866-68, oil on canvas, 38 in x 33.5 in, Delaware Art Museum, Delaware.



Figure. 47. Speke Hall, Liverpool, 1867, photographed by M. W. H Wilson.



Figure 48. William Morris wallpapers, *Trellis*, in the west corridor, Speke Hall.

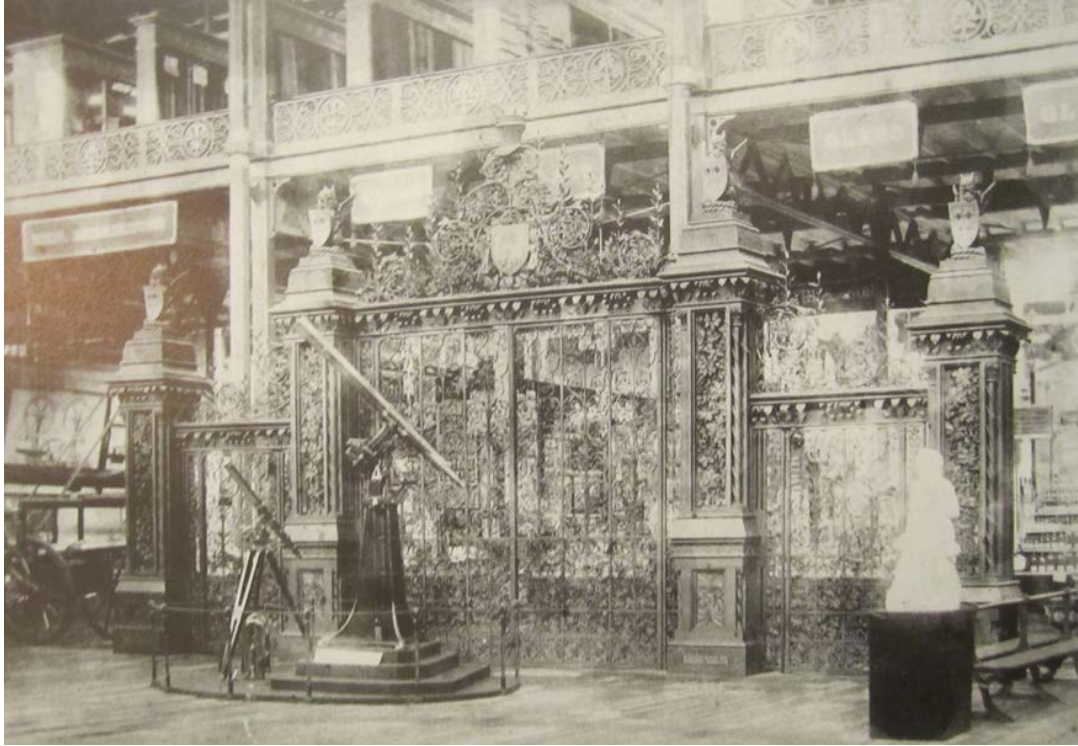


Figure 49. Thomas Jeckyll, *The Norwich Gates*, 1859-62, wrought iron, manufactured by Barnard, Bishop, and Barnards, photographed in 1862, at the International Exhibition, London.



Figure 50. Thomas Jeckyll, *The Vienna Gates*, engraving, from *Barnard, Bishop, and Barnards' Illustrated Catalogue* (1878): 133.



Figure 51. Thomas Jekyll, *Pavilion*, designed for the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, 1876, cast and wrought iron, paint, manufactured by Barnard, Bishop, and Barnards, photographed by the Centennial Photographic Co. Bridewell Museum, Norwich, England.

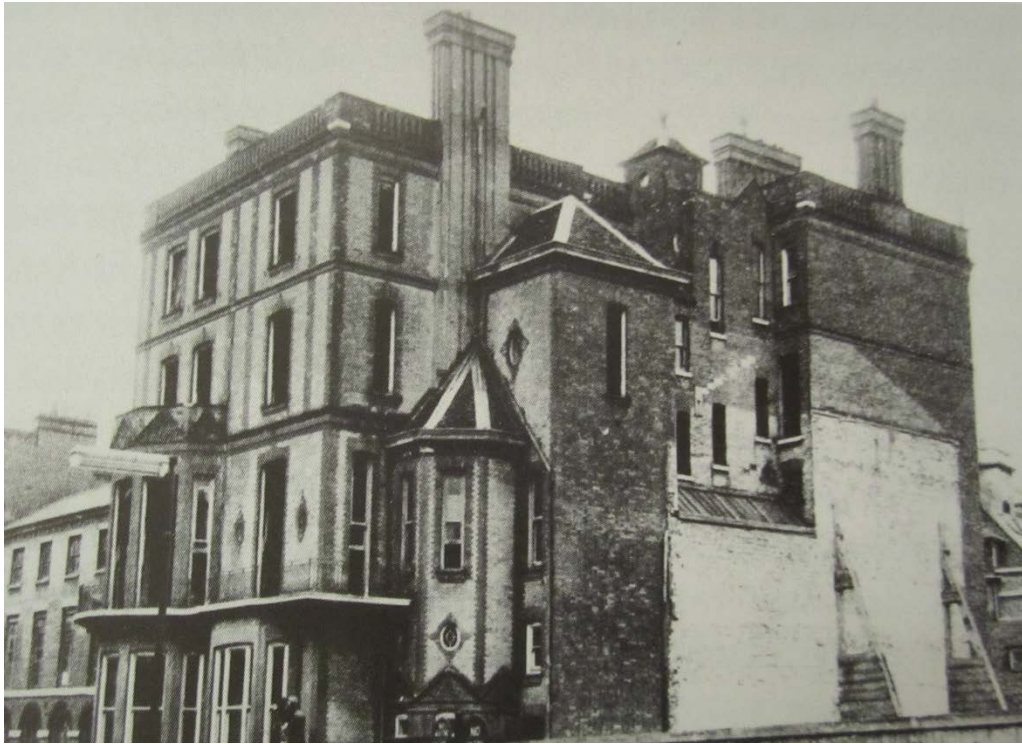


Figure 52. Thomas Jeckyll, "Rance's Folly," 62 St. Andrew's Street, Cambridge, 1870-72, photographed during demolition, May 1957.



Figure 53. Thomas Jeckyll, The dining room at 62 St. Andrew's Street, Cambridge, 1870-72.



Figure 54. No. 1 Holland Park, London, showing the extension designed by Thomas Jeckyll, 1870-72, photographed in 1902.



Figure 55. Thomas Jeckyll, Overmantel, fireplace, and grate in the morning room, 1 Holland Park, London, 1870-72, photographed ca. 1897.





Figure 56. Thomas Jeckyll, Overmantel and fireplace in the billiard room, 1 Holland Park, London, 1870-72, photographed in 1902.

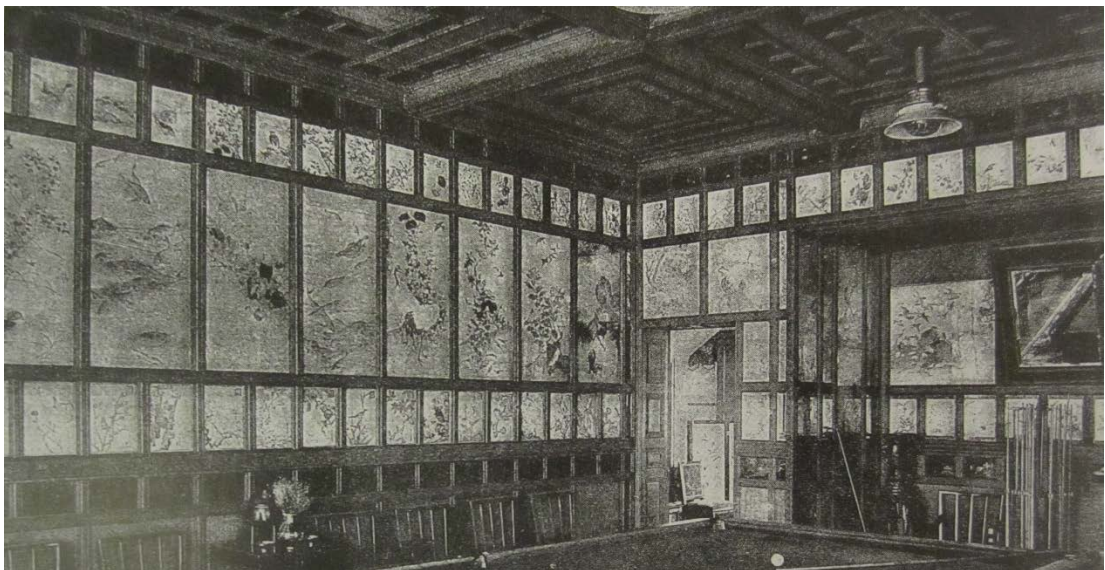


Figure 57. Thomas Jeckyll, Interior Wall and recessed bay, the billiard room, 1 Holland Park, London, 1870-72, photographed in 1902.



Figure 58. H. L. Elmes, No. 49 Prince's Gate (corner building), Kensington, London, 1869, photographed in 1949.

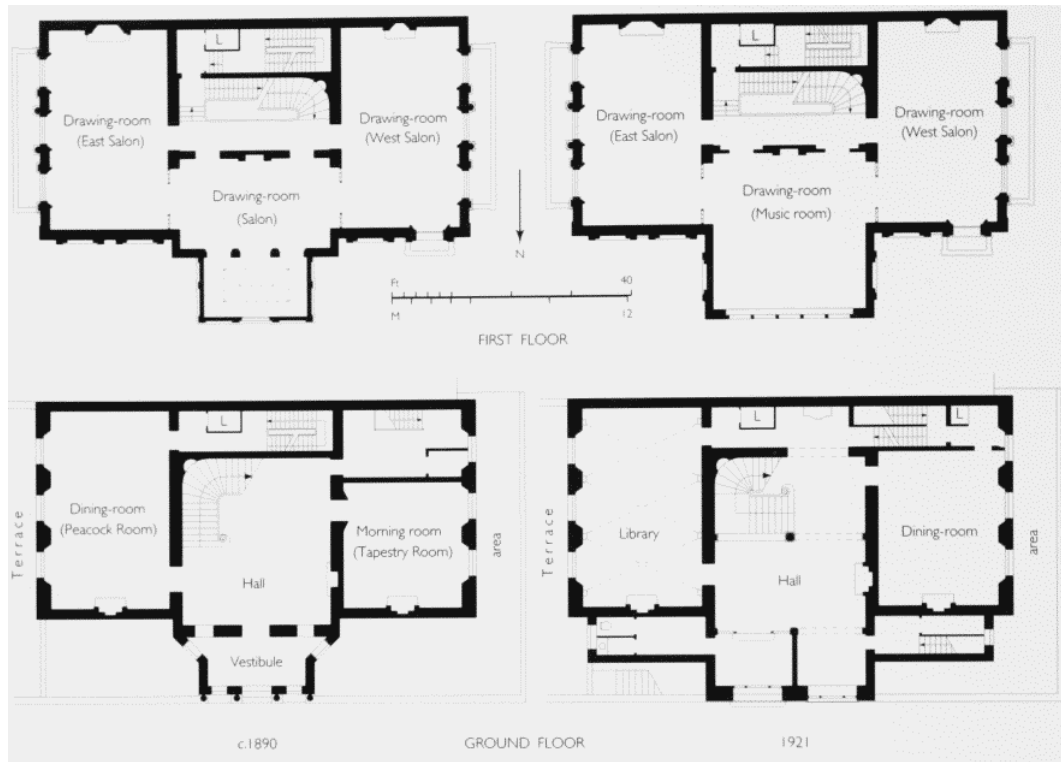


Figure 59. No 49 Princes Gate - plans in c1890 and 1921, showing the ground and first floors as modified for FR Leyland (left) and after remodelling in 1895-6 for Mrs. Watney.



Figure 60. Attributed to Thomas Jeckyll, Leyland's study at 49 Prince's Gate, London, 1875-6, photographed in 1892.



Figure 61. Thomas Jeckyll and James McNeill Whistler, the entrance hall and staircase, 49 Prince's Gate, Kensington, London, 1875-6, photographed in 1892.



Figure 62. Thomas Jeckyll and James McNeill Whistler, the entrance hall and staircase, 49 Prince's Gate, Kensington, London, 1875-6, photographed in 1892.



Figure 63. The Porzellankammer at Oranienburg, an engraving by J. B. Broebes, 1733.



Figure 64. *The Porzellankammer, Charlottenburg Palace, Berlin.*

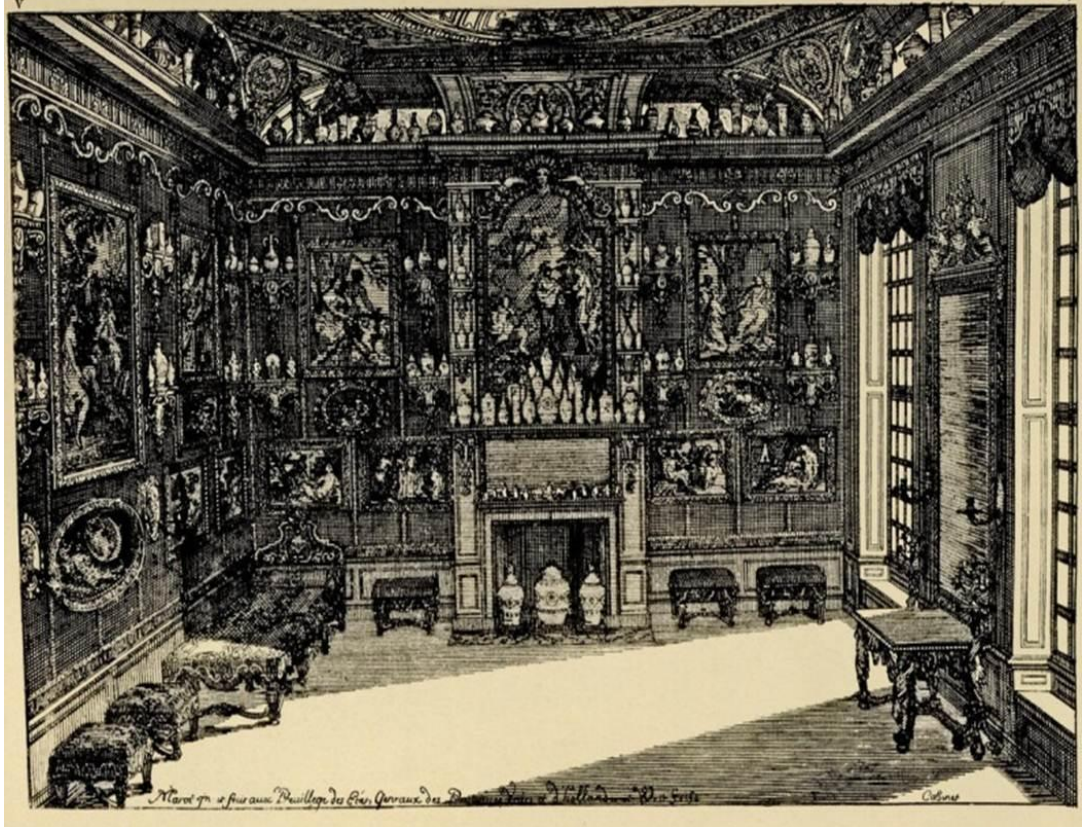


Figure 65. Daniel Marot, *Interior of Queen's Cabinet of Porcelain with Paintings and Vases*, etching, 18.7 x 27.3 cm, published by Pierre Husson in 1703 or 1712, The Hague.





Figure 66. Peter R. Nelsen, Southeast corner of the dining room at 49 Prince's Gate, London, as it may have appeared in April 1876, 1997.



Figure 67. The dining room (The Peacock Room) at 49 Prince's Gate, with Thomas Jeckyll's design of shelves, 1875-6, photographed in 1892.



Figure 68. Fireplace in the dining room at 49 Prince's Gate, London, with Jeckyll's sunflower andirons, 1875-6.



Figure 69. Fireplace wall of the Peacock Room, 49 Prince's Gate, London, showing Whistler's *La Princess du pays de la porcelain* (1865), Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.



Figure 70. Shutters of the Peacock Room, 49 Prince's Gate, London, showing Whistler's four majestic peacocks painted in gold, 1976, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.



Figure 71. Whistler's mural of the fighting peacocks in the Peacock Room, 49 Prince's Gate, London, 1877, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.



Figure 72. The morning room, 49 Prince's Gate, London, designed by Richard Norman Shaw, ca. 1885.



Figure 73. The morning room, 49 Prince's Gate, London, designed by Richard Norman Shaw, ca. 1885.

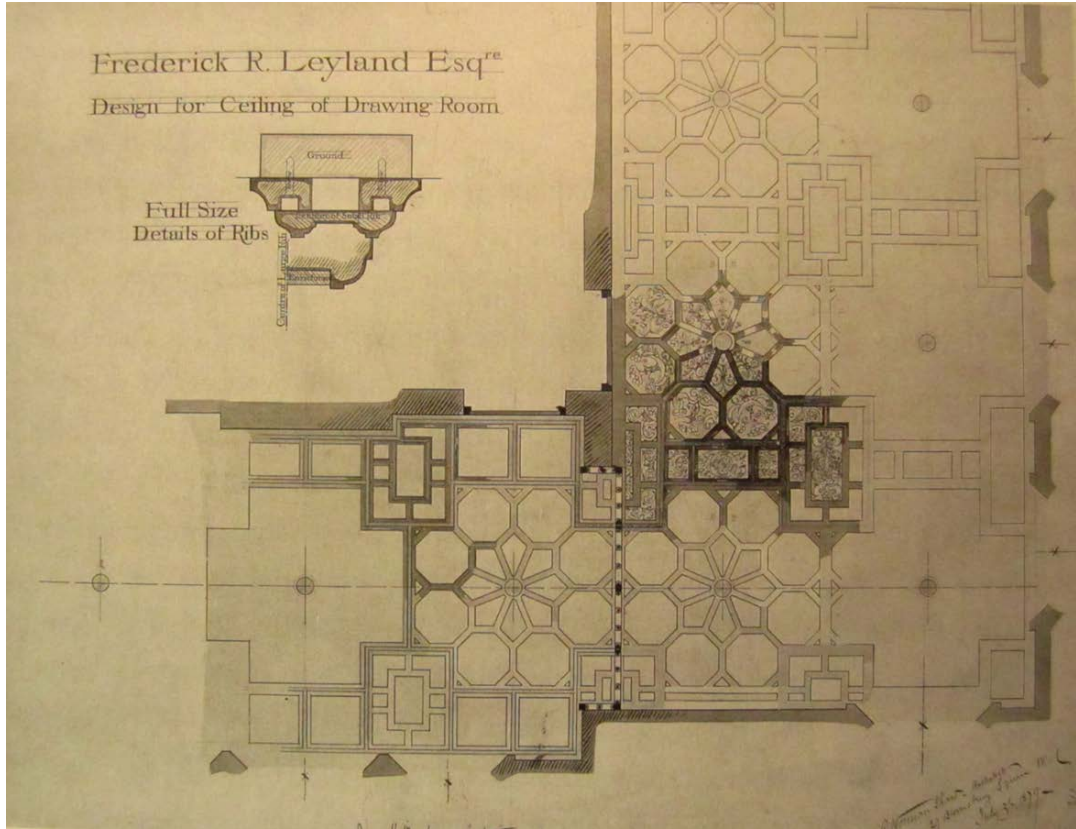


Figure 74. Richard Norman Shaw, Design for Ceiling of Drawing Room, 1879, ink and wash on paper, The Royal Academy of Arts, London.

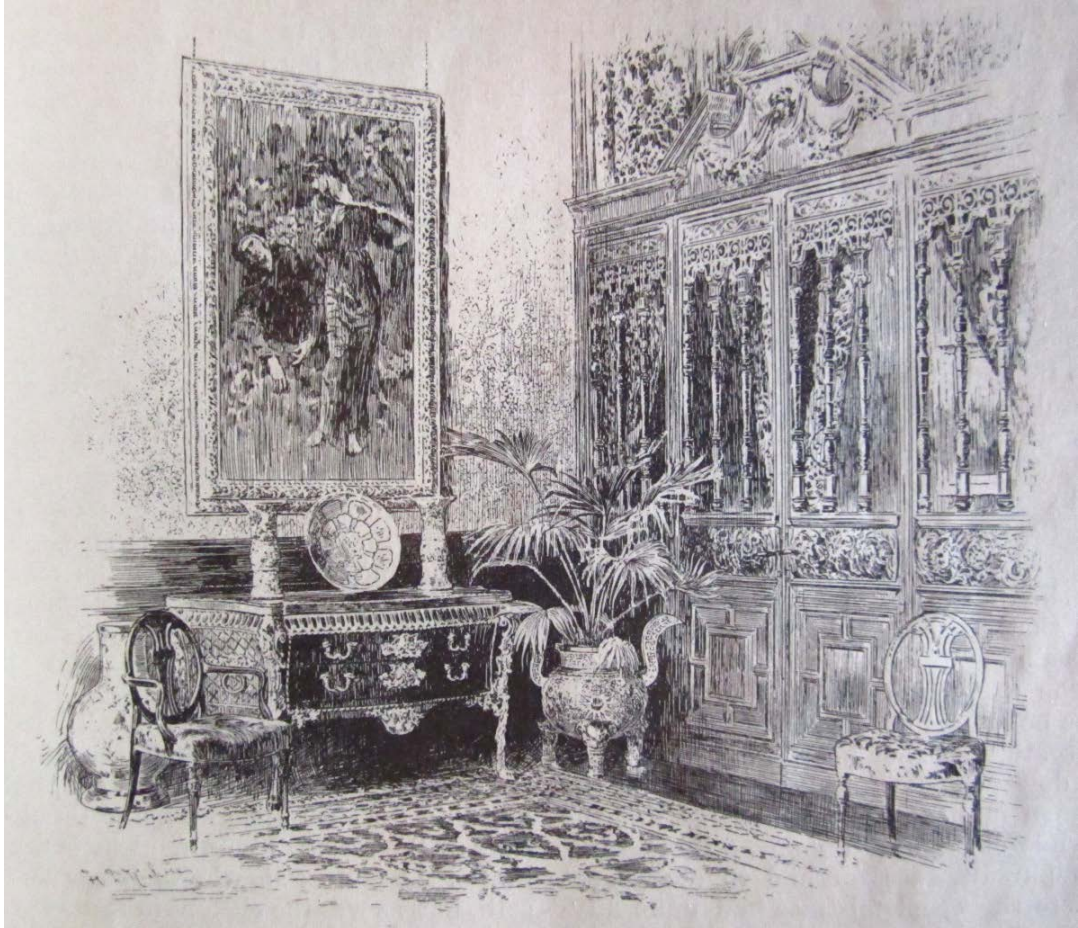


Figure 75. Screens of the drawing room, 49 Prince's Gate, London, designed by Richard Norman Shaw, 1879.





Figure 76. Screens of the drawing room, 49 Prince's Gate, London, designed by Richard Norman Shaw, 1879.



Figure 77. The 's-Hertogenbosch Choir Screen, by Coenraed van Norenberch, 1600 – 1613, sold by Marks to the South Kensington Museum in 1869-71.



Figure 78. The drawing room of 49 Prince's Gate, London, 1879, photographed by H. Bedford Lemere, 1892.



Figure 79. The drawing room of 49 Prince's Gate, London, 1879, photographed by H. Bedford Lemere, 1892.



Figure 80. The drawing room of 49 Prince's Gate, London, 1879, photographed in 1892.



Figure 81. Sandro Botticelli, *The Third Scene of the Story of Nastagio degli Onesti*, 1483, mixed method on panel, 32 in x 55 in, Museo del Prado, Madrid.



Figure 82. Sandro Botticelli, *The Fourth Scene of the Story of Nastagio degli Onesti*, 1483, mixed method on panel, 32 in x 55 in, private collection.



Figure 83. The drawing room of 49 Prince's Gate, London, 1879, photographed in 1892.



Figure 84. The drawing room of 49 Prince's Gate, London, 1879, photographed in 1892.





Figure 85. Sandro Botticelli, *The First Scene of the Story of Nastagio degli Onesti*, 1483, mixed method on panel, 32 in x 55 in, Museo del Prado, Madrid.



Figure 86. Sandro Botticelli, *The Third Scene of the Story of Nastagio degli Onesti*, 1483, mixed method on panel, 32 in x 55 in, Museo del Prado, Madrid.



Figure 87. Five enamel vases of the Ming dynasty installed in the niches of the over-mantel, the drawing room of 49 Prince's Gate, London, 1879, photographed in 1892.



Figure 88. J. A. M. Whistler, Sketches of decorations from the Peacock Room, 1885, presented to Isabella Stewart Gardner by Harper Pennington in 1904, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.

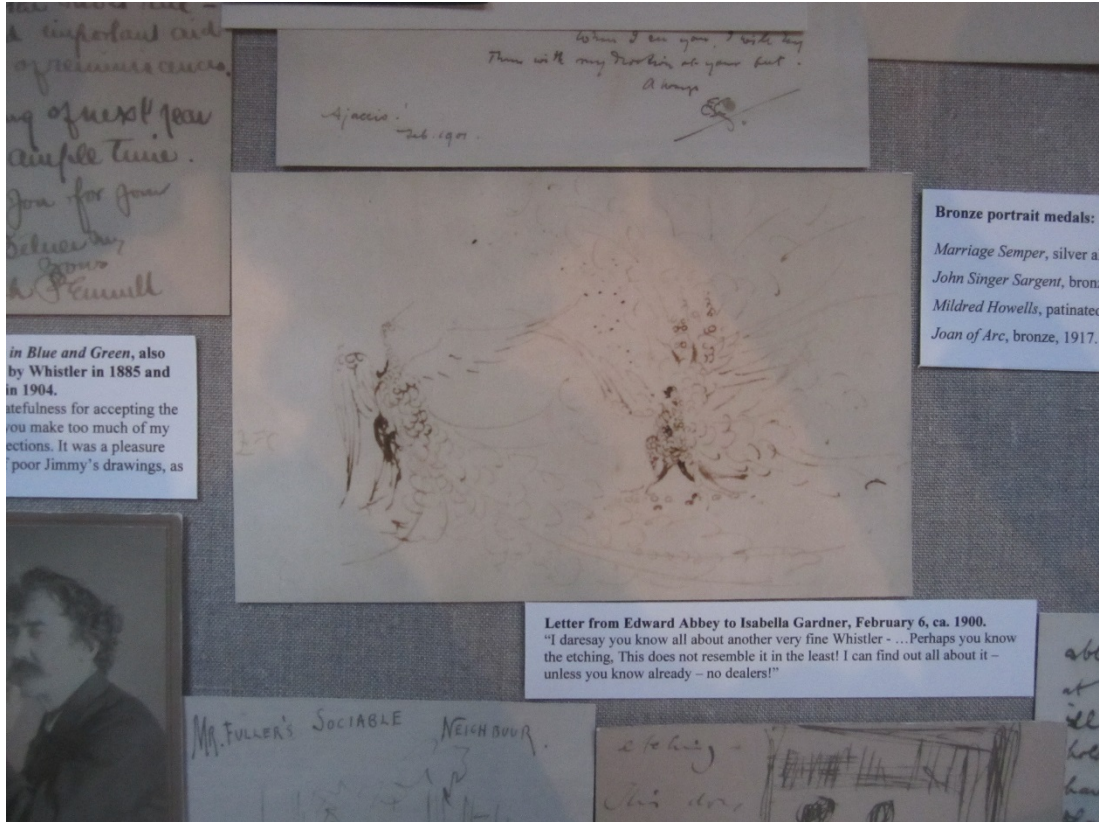


Figure 89. J. A. M. Whistler, *A Sketch of the Fighting Peacocks*, 1885, presented to Isabella Stewart Gardner by Harper Pennington in 1904, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.



Figure 90. Wood panels adorned with gilt carvings of peacocks, installed in the landing of the third floor in Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.

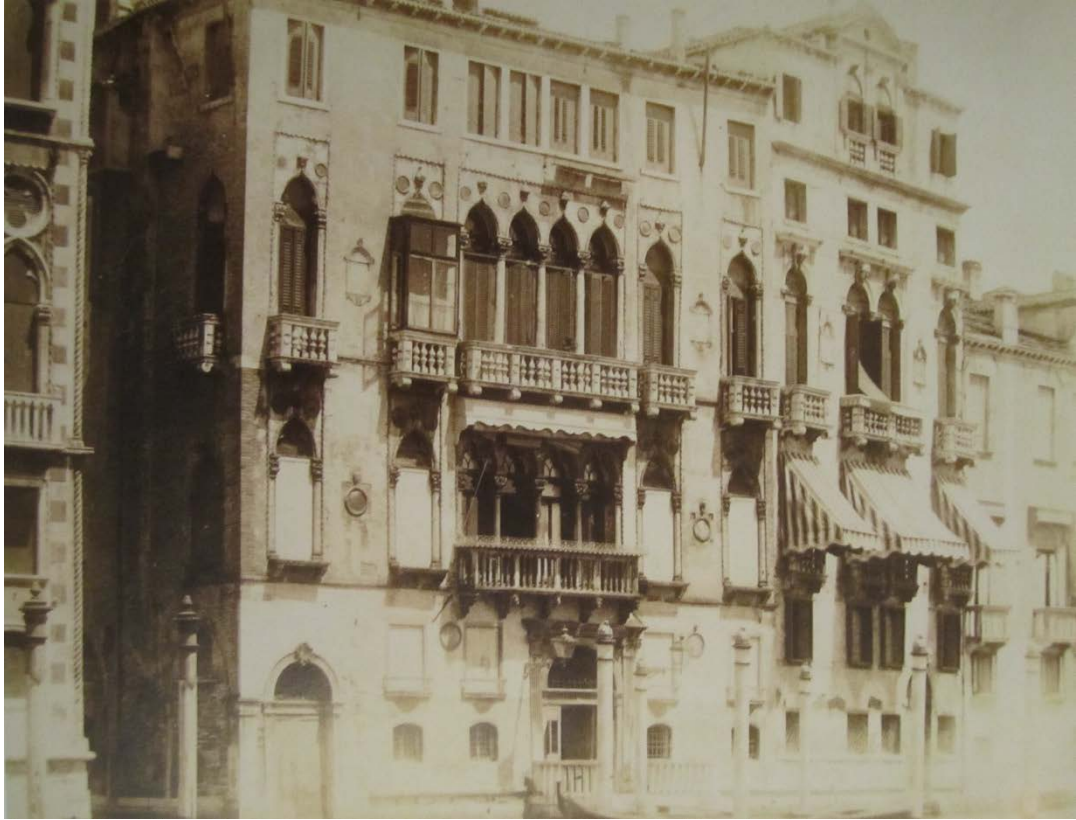


Figure 91. The exterior of the Palazzo Barbaro, Venice, from Isabella Stewart Gardner's European travel album, 1888.

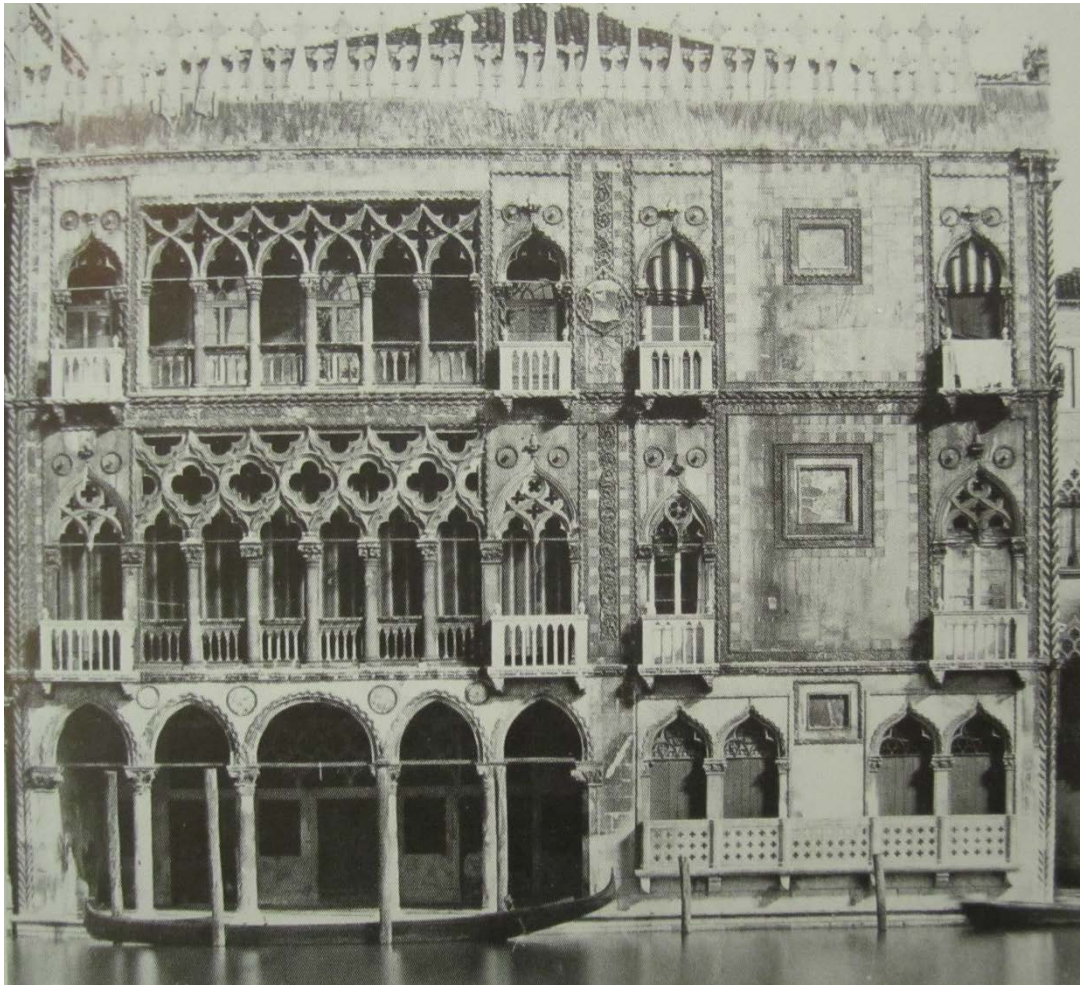


Figure 92. The exterior of Ca' d'Oro, Venice, photographed by C. Naya, 1880s.



Figure 93. Willard Sears, Preliminary Design for Fenway Court, 1899, watercolour, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.



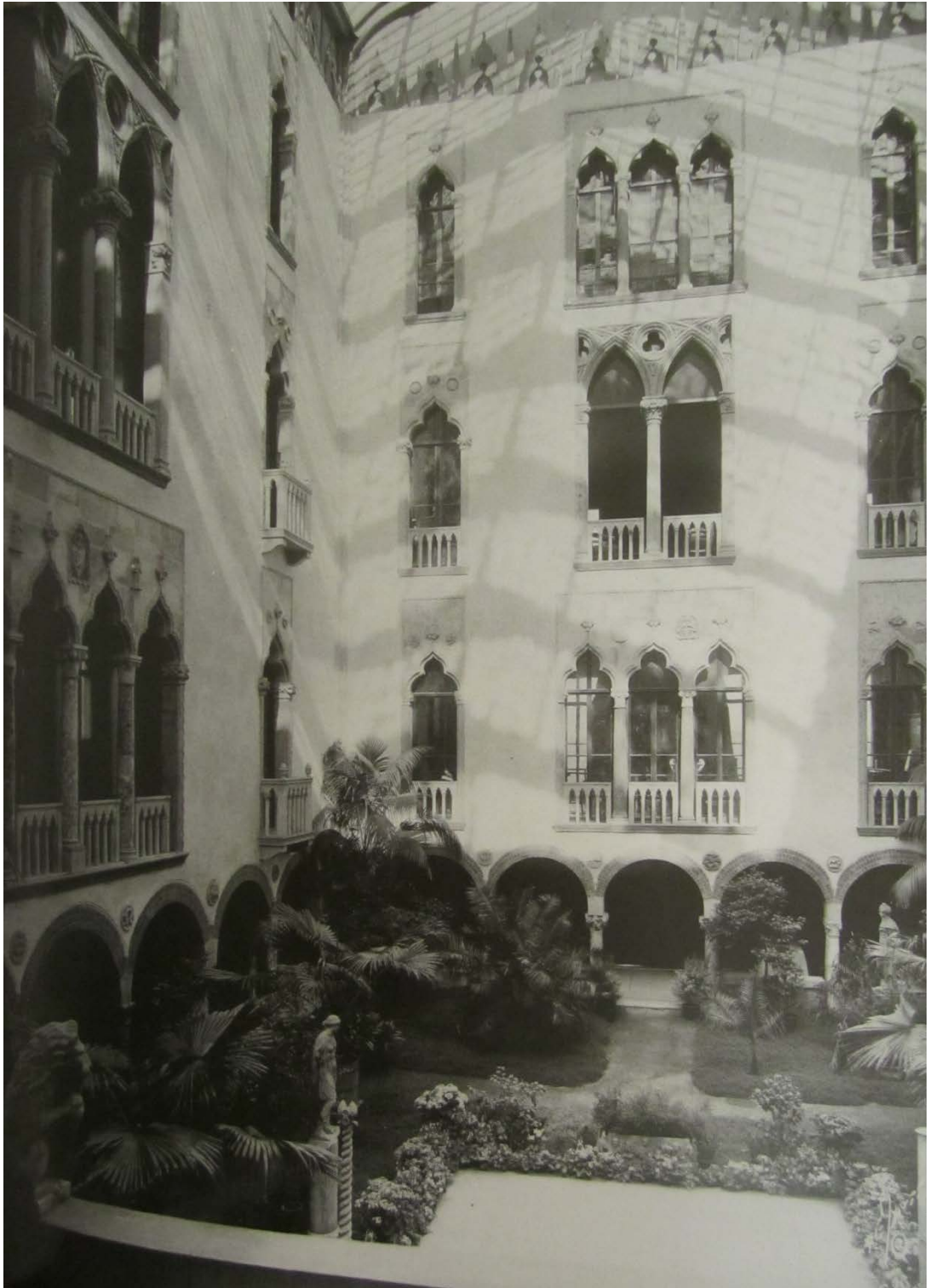


Figure 94. Courtyard, Fenway Court, Boston, 1903.



Figure 95. Chinese Votive Stele, 543, in the Chinese Loggia, Fenway Court, Boston, 1915. The stairway down to the second Chinese Room is at the end, the Spanish Cloister and Sargent's *El Jaleo* are at the right.



Figure 96. Chinese Room at Fenway Court, Boston, 1904.



Figure 97. Sandro Botticelli, *Virgin and Child with an Angel*, early 1470s, tempera and oil on wood, 85.2 x 65 cm, displayed with a fragment of a mid-fourteenth-century glass mosque lamp in the Long Gallery, Fenway Court, Boston.



Figure 98. John Singer Sargent, *Portrait of Isabella Stewart Gardner*, 1888, oil on canvas, 190 x 80 cm, displayed in the Gothic Room, Fenway Court, Boston.



Figure 99. Kannon in the Temple at Hase, print from Isabella Stewart Gardner's travel album, 1883: "Large gilded figure of Kannon in Temple at village of Hase, near the Daibutz."

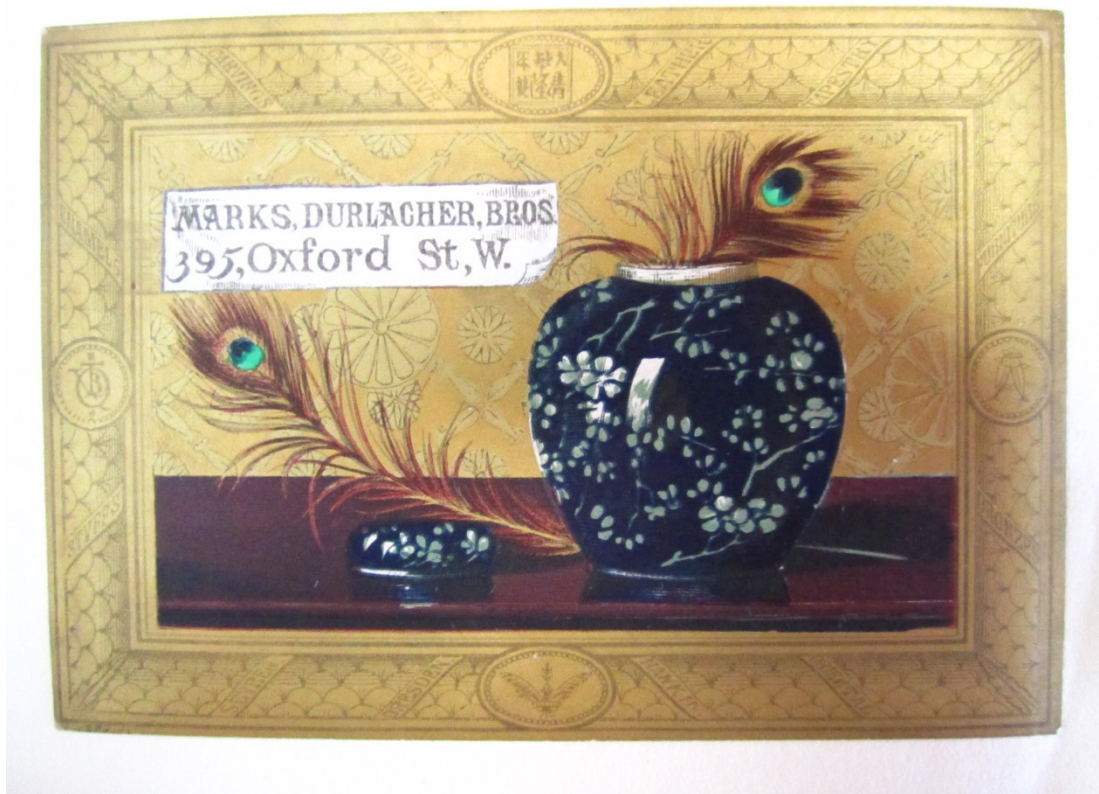


Figure 100. The trade card of Marks and Durlacher Brothers, 1880.



Figure 101. Marks's 'Bamboo' tiles in a fireplace designed by Thomas Jeckyll and made by Barnard, Bishop & Barnards, Blaise Castle House, Bristol.





Figure 102. Charles Marks's 'Damascus Flower' tiles with design registration number, and Elsley's catalogue numbers stencilled on the reverse, private collection.



Figure 103. Marks's tile depicting a pattern of chrysanthemum which presumably taken from Chinese *famille verte* porcelain, and Marks's name and address on the reverse, private collection.

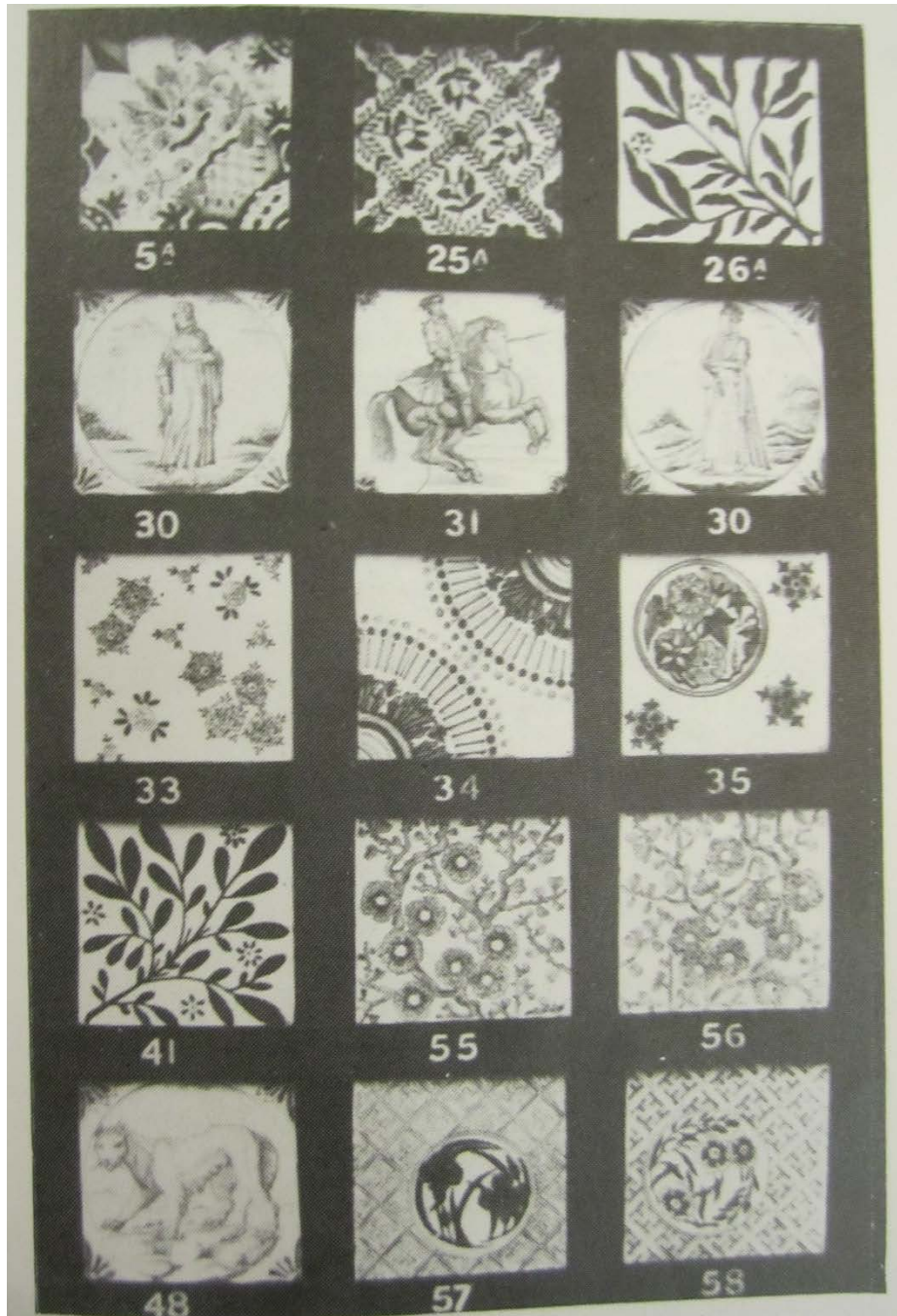


Figure 104. Thomas Elsley's catalogue, tile sheet number 3.



Figure 105. Fireplace decorated with Marks and Elsley's tiles, Kelmscott Manor.

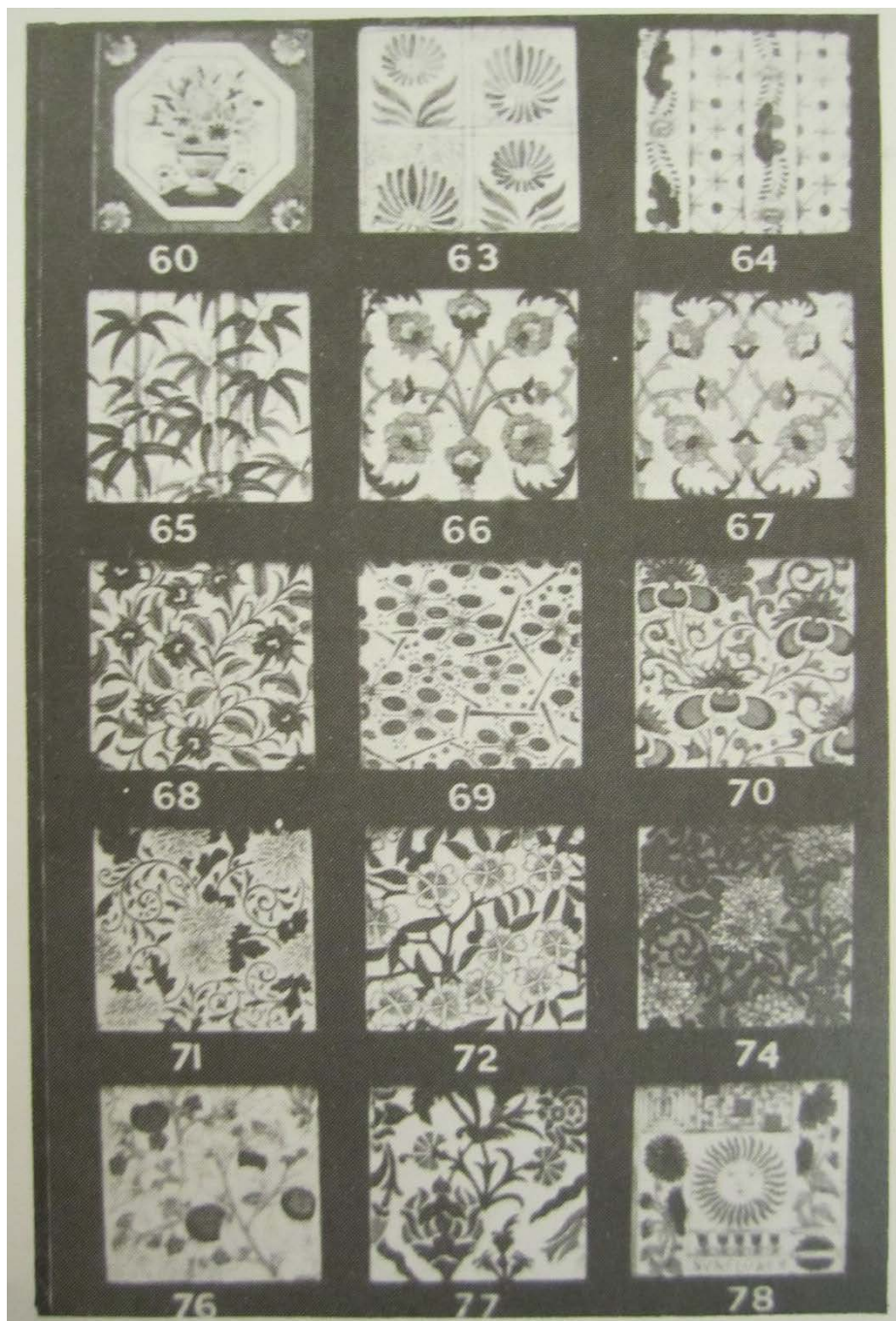


Figure 106. Thomas Elsley's catalogue, the sheet number 4.



Figure 107. German Renaissance oak cabinet, Hessen, 1625-35, V&A.

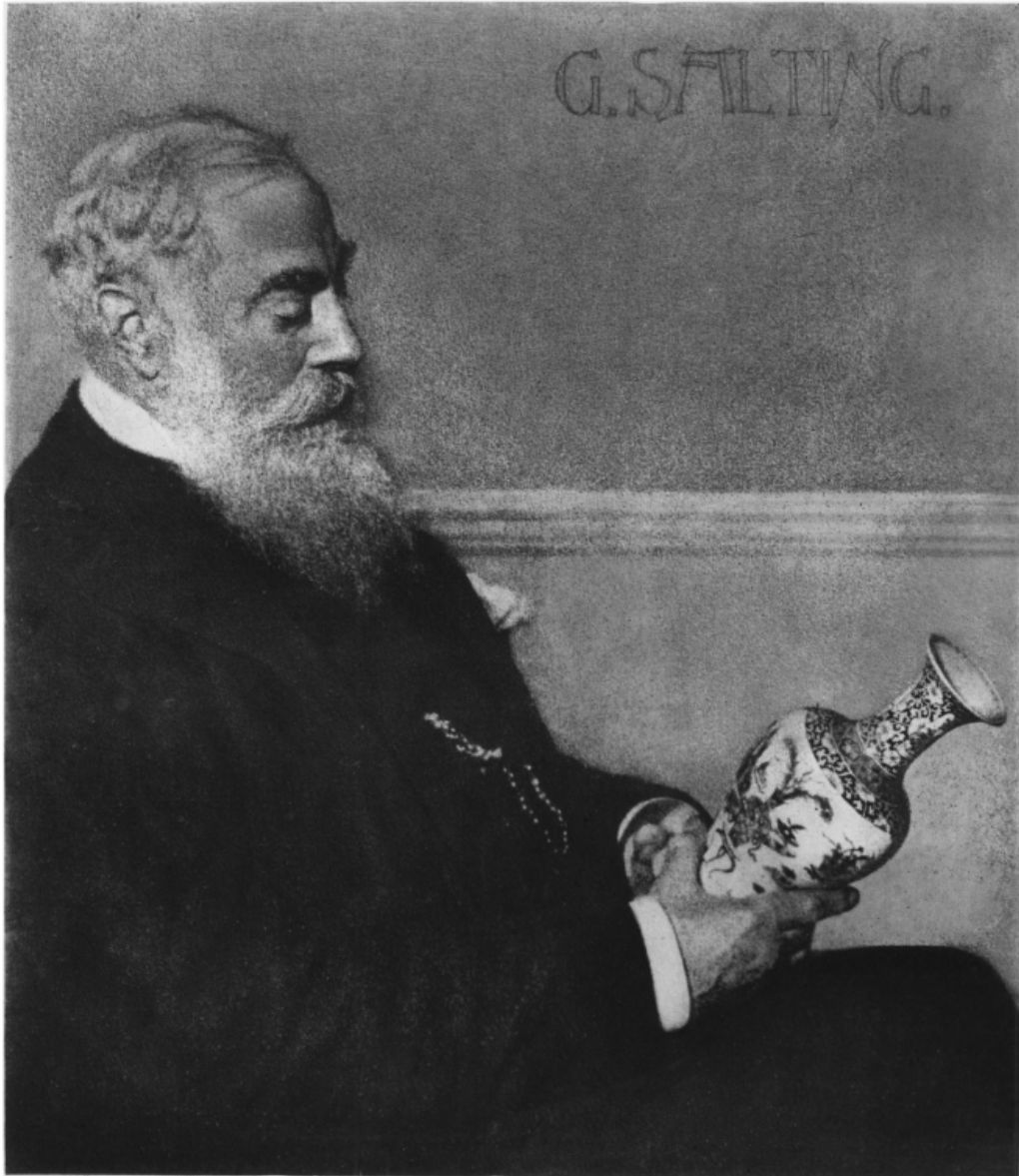


Figure 108. Design for goldsmith's work by Rheinhold Vasters (1827-1909), from G. C. Williamson, *Murray Marks and His Friends* (London, 1919), plate 6.



Figure 109. Carlo Marochetti, *John Charles Robinson at about the age of 40*, bronze bust, c.1864-65, V&A (inv. no. A.202-1929).





*George Salting*  
1.1836 - d.1909  
From a gum-print by G. Otto Rosenheim  
(by special permission)

Figure 110. *George Salting Examining Chinese Porcelain*, gum photograph by Dr Otto Rosenheim, c. 1900.



Figure 111. *George Salting Examining a Bronze*, gum photograph by Dr Otto Rosenheim, c. 1900.



Figure 112. Tall vase of *famille noire* porcelain, decorated in enamel colours with lustrous black background, Salting Bequest, V&A, London.

PLATE XIX.



Figure 113. Whistler, Illustration of Chinese blue and white porcelain vase, Plate XIX, *Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain, Forming the Collection of Sir Henry Thompson.*



Figure 114. Riccio/Unknown, *Head of a Satyr*, Italian, late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> century (could be 19<sup>th</sup> century, bronze, 19.5 cm, Salting Bequest, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 115. Chinese Porcelain from the Salting Bequest, V&A, London, displayed by Murray Marks in 1911.



Figure 116. Renaissance bronzes from the Salting Bequest, V&A, photograph from the W. H. Smith & Sons file (MA/1/S2380), V&A Archive, London.



Figure 117. Max Liebermann, *Wilhelm Bode looking at a statuette*, 1890, charcoal drawing, private collection.



THE ITALIAN  
BRONZE STATUETTES  
OF THE RENAISSANCE

BY

WILHELM BODE

DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE ROYAL MUSEUMS AT BERLIN

ASSISTED BY

MURRAY MARKS



VOL. I

LONDON  
H. GREVEL & CO.

BERLIN · BRUNO CASSIRER  
MDCCCXVII



Figure 118. Wilhelm von Bode and Murray Marks, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, vol. 1 (Berlin and London, 1907/8).



Figure 119. Benvenuto Cellini, *Inkstand with Allegorical Group*, Collection of Baron Alphonse Rothschild in Vienna, from *The Italian Bronze Statuettes from the Renaissance*, vol. 2, Plate CXLV.



Figure 120. Kaiser Friedrich Museum under construction, photographed in 1903.



Figure 121. The James Simon Cabinet, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, 1904.



Figure 122. Donatello, *Tambourin Putto*, in Bode's Catalogue, vol. 1, Plate VL.



Figure 123. The Residence of Frédéric Spitzer, Paris, 1880s.



Figure 124. Florentine Quattrocento Room, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, 1904.

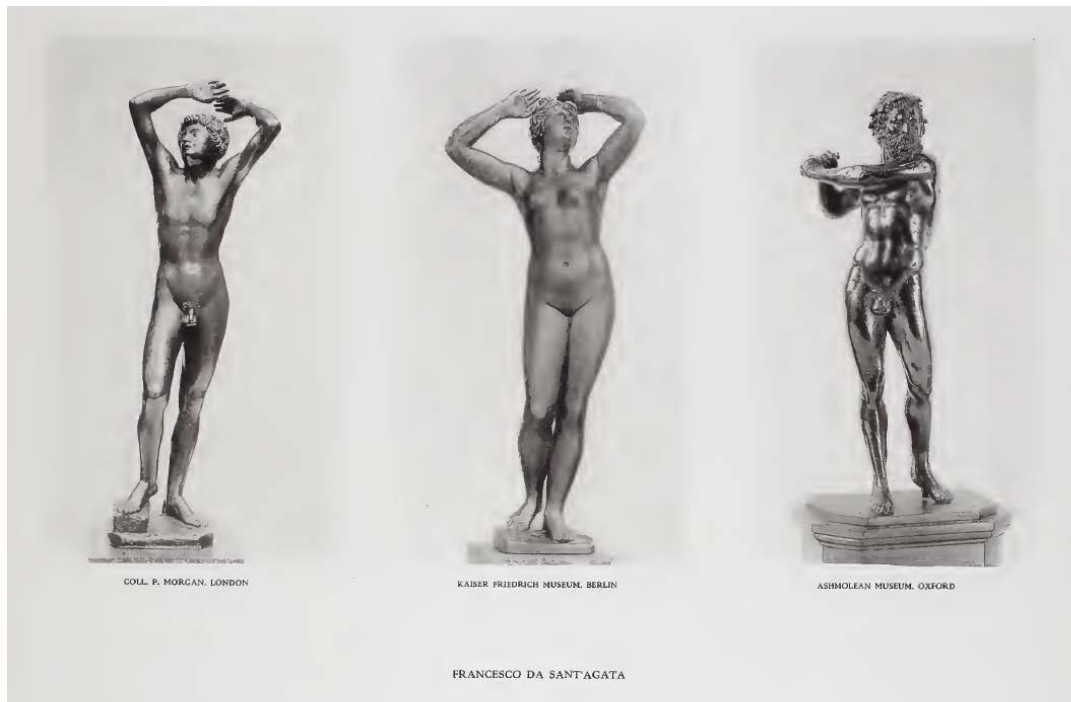


Figure 125. Bronzes attributed to Francesco da Sant'Agata, from the Morgan Collection, the Kaiser Friedrich Museum and the Ashmolean Museum, in the catalogue, vol. 1, Plate LXXVIII.



Figure 126. Francesco da Sant' Agata, *Hercules* in the Wallace Collection, from Bode and Marks's catalogue, vol. 1, text illustration no. 32.





Figure 127. Gian di Bologna, *Mercury*, from the Ce. Loeser Collection in Florence and the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, from Bode and Marks's catalogue, vol. 3, plate CLXXXVII.



Figure 128. The Rossellino Room, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, 1904.



Figure 129. The Donatello Room, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, 1904.



Figure 130. *The Magnet*, from *Puck* magazine, 1901.



Figure 131. Lombard School, probably by Bartolomeo Bono, *The Assumption*, 15th century, from the Henri Cernuschi Collection, Wilhelm von Bode's *Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan, Bronzes of the Renaissance and Subsequent Periods*, vol. 1, Plate LIV.



Figure 132. First Renaissance Room, the Loan Exhibition of the J. P. Morgan Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1914-1916.

## Appendix 1

### Chronology of China

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<b>c. 6500-1700 BC</b>	<b>Neolithic Period</b>
<b>c.2100-1600 BC</b>	<b>Xia dynasty</b>
<b>c.1600-1100 BC</b>	<b>Shang dynasty</b>
<b>c.1100-256 BC</b>	<b>Zhou dynasty</b> Western Zhou c.1100-771 BC Eastern Zhou c.770-256 BC Spring and Autumn Period 770-476 BC Warring States Period 475-221 BC
<b>221-206 BC</b>	<b>Qin dynasty</b>
<b>206 BC-AD 220</b>	<b>Han dynasty</b> Western Han 206 BC-AD 8 Xin (Wang Mang Interregnum) AD 9-23 Eastern Zhou AD 25-220
<b>220-265</b>	<b>Three Kingdoms</b> Wei 220-265 Shu Han 221-263 Wu 222-263
<b>265-420</b>	<b>Jin dynasty</b> Western Jin 265-317 Sixteen Kingdoms 304-439 Eastern Jin 317-420
<b>420-589</b>	<b>Southern and Northern dynasties</b> Southern dynasties: Liu Song 420-479 Southern Qi 479-502 Liang 502-557 Chen 557-589

	Northern dynasties:
	Northern Wei 386-534
	Eastern Wei 534-550
	Western Wei 535-556
	Northern Qi 550-577
	Northern Zhou 557-581
<b>581-618</b>	<b>Sui dynasty</b>
<b>618-907</b>	<b>Tang dynasty</b>
<b>907-960</b>	<b>Five dynasties</b>
	Later Liang 907-923
	Later Tang 923-936
	Later Jin 936-946
	Later Han 947-950
	Later Zhou 951-960
<b>907-1125</b>	<b>Liao dynasty</b>
<b>960-1279</b>	<b>Song dynasty</b>
	Northern Song 960-1127
	Southern Song 1127-1279
<b>1115-1234</b>	<b>Jin dynasty</b>
<b>1279-1368</b>	<b>Yuan dynasty</b>
<b>1368-1644</b>	<b>Ming dynasty</b>
	Hongwu 1368-1398
	Jianwen 1399-1402
	Yongle 1403-1425
	Hongxi 1425
	Xuande 1426-1435
	Zhengtong 1436-1449
	Jingtai 1450-1456
	Tianshun 1457-1464
	Chenghua 1465-1487
	Hongzhi 1488-1505
	Zhengde 1506-1521



	Jiajing 1522-1566
	Longqing 1567-1572
	Wanli 1573-1619
	Taichang 1620
	Tianqi 1621-1627
	Chongzhen 1628-1644
<b>1644-1911</b>	<b>Qing dynasty</b>
	Shunzhi 1644-1661
	Kangxi 1662-1722
	Yongzheng 1723-1735
	Qianlong 1736-1795
	Jiaqing 1796-1820
	Daoguang 1821-1850
	Xianfeng 1851-1861
	Tongzhi 1862-1874
	Guangxu 1875-1908
	Xuantong 1909-1911
<b>1912-present</b>	<b>Republic of China</b>
<b>1915-1916</b>	<b>Hongxian (Yuan Shikai)</b>
<b>1949-present</b>	<b>People's Republic of China</b>

### Appendix 3. Addresses of Marks's and Durlacher's<sup>1</sup>

	Marks's		Durlacher's	
	Emanuel Marks	Murray Marks	Henry Durlacher	Durlacher Bros.
<b>1845</b>	Newcastle St.	(b.1840).	'picture dealer', 131 Regent St.	Alfred P. (b.1855) and George L. (1857-1942).
<b>1848</b>	'curiosity dealer', 395 Oxford St.		'dealer in works of art', 2 Brook St. Grosvenor Sq.	
<b>1850</b>		'picture dealer', 77 New Bond St.		
<b>1851</b>		'dealer in works of art', 21 Sloane St.	'picture & curiosity dealer', 113 New Bond St.	
<b>1859</b>				
<b>1864</b>				
<b>1866</b>		'curiosity dealer', 129 High Holborn	'dealer in works of art', 9 King St., St. James, SW.	
<b>1870</b>	Emanuel Marks, 'dealer in china (foreign & fancy), antique furniture, paintings, bronzes, articles of vertu, curiosities & c.' 395 Oxford St.	'dealer in works of art', 7 King St., St. James, SW.		
<b>1873</b>				
<b>1874</b>				
<b>1880</b>	Marks, Durlacher Brothers, 'dealer in works of art & objects of general decoration', 395 Oxford St.		Marks, Durlacher Brothers, 'dealer in works of art & objects of general decoration', 395 Oxford St.	
<b>1881/2</b>	Marks, Durlacher Brothers, 'dealers in works of art & objects of general decoration', 103 (old number 395) Oxford St.			
<b>1887</b>	Durlacher Brothers, 'dealers in ancient works of art and objects of decoration', 23A Old Bond St.			
<b>1897/8</b>	Durlacher Brothers, 'dealers in ancient works of art & objects of decoration', 142 New Bond St. W. – T A "Amicably"; TN 5301 Gerrard			
<b>1913</b>	Murray Marks's retirement.	Durlacher Brothers, 'dealers in ancient works of art & objects of decoration', 142 New Bond St. W.		
<b>1918</b>	Murray Marks's decease.	New York branch was opened and managed by R. Kirk Askew, at 11 East 57 <sup>th</sup> St.; 142 New Bond St. W. London.		
<b>Early 1920s</b>		The firm was sold to Askew in 1937; Closure of the London branch in 1938.		
<b>1937/8</b>				
<b>c.1969</b>	Closure of the Durlacher Brothers.			

<sup>1</sup> *London Directories*, City of the Westminster Archives Centre, London; The Durlacher Brothers File (MA/1/D1979/1-7), V&A Archives, London; The Durlacher Brothers records, 1919-1973 (No. 950003), Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

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##### **City of the Westminster Archives Centre, London**

London Directories 1840-1890s.

##### **Freer Gallery of Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.**

Charles Lang Freer Papers and Freer Gallery Building Records

##### **Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles**

No. 950003 The Durlacher Brothers records, 1919-1973.

##### **Glasgow University Library**

(<http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence>)

James McNeill Whistler Papers, comprising the Rosalind Birnie Philip Papers and the Joseph W. Revillon Papers.

##### **Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.**

Manuscript Division, Pennell Whistler Collection, comprising the papers of Joseph Pennell, Elizabeth Robins Pennell, and James McNeill Whistler. Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection.

##### **Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge**

Murray Marks Papers, comprising the Dante Gabriel Rossetti, the Richard Norman Shaw, the Edward Burne-Jones paper.

### **Guildhall Library, London**

The P. W. Flower and Sons file

### **Morgan Library, New York**

ARC 1310 The Durlacher file

The Belle da Costa Greene file

The George Williamson papers

The Seligmann papers

### **The National Archives, Online**

([www.ancestry.co.uk](http://www.ancestry.co.uk))

England Census (1841-1921)

*Church of England Births and Baptisms, 1813-1911.*

### **The Rossetti Archive, Online**

(<http://www.rossettiarchive.org>)

### **The Stefano Bardini Archive, Florence**

The notebook *Appunti di Londra*, written by C. F. Walker in around 1892,

### **V&A Archive, London**

MA/1/B3676	Bushell, Dr & Mrs S W [art referee report]
MA/1/D1979/1-7	Durlacher Brothers
MA/1/D1980	George L Durlacher
MA/1/M826/1-2	Murray Marks
MA/1/S2380	W. H. Smith & Sons (includes photograph of The Salting Bequest)
MA/1/S293	George Salting

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NL Bode 1131	Jacob Burckhardt, MS papers
NL Bode 3541/1-5	Murray Marks and Durlacher Brothers, MS papers
NL Bode 4143/1-2	Henry J. Pfungst, MS papers
NL Bode 4702	George Salting MS papers
NL Bode 5913	G. C. Williamson, MS papers
NL Bode 6148/1-2	Agnew & Sons
NL Bode 6151	Colnaghi's
NL Bode 6163/1-2	Duveen Brothers

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\_\_\_\_\_ *A Catalogue of A Choice Cabinet of Carvings in Jade, and Other Chinese Works of Art and Curiosities, Brought from the Summer Palace at Peking, The Property of An Officer of Fane's Horse* (London, 6 June 1861).

\_\_\_\_\_ *A Catalogue of Fine Old Porcelain, Chiefly Taken from the Summer Palace at Peking* (London, 29 July 1861).

\_\_\_\_\_ *Catalogue of Ancient Porcelain, Enamels, and Lacquer Work, Formed during his Recent Visit to China and Japan, that Well-Known Traveler Robert Fortune, Esq.* (London, 31 and a following day, March 1862).

\_\_\_\_\_ *Catalogue of Oriental, Sevres, Dreseden, and Chelsea Porcelain, Delft and Wedgwood Ware, Porcelain; Jades and Bronzes from the Summer Palace; Clocks, Candelabra, French Bronzes and Decorative Furniture; Also Some Ornamental Objects and Chippendale Furniture* (London, 30 May 1862).

\_\_\_\_\_ *A Catalogue of Ancient Chinese Porcelain, Enamels and Carvings, and Jade, Including Specimens of Extreme Rarity and Beauty, All Brought from the Summer Palace at Peking, by an Officer* (London, 21 July 1862).

\_\_\_\_\_ *A Catalogue of a Collection Objects of Art and Virtu, Formed Many Years Ago, Chiefly in Italy, by Countess-Dowaga of Ashburnham* (London, 26-27 March 1863).

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