

‘A Great Commerce in Curious Pictures’:
The Roles and Practices of Art Dealers and Agents in
the Reception and Re-Evaluation of Pre-1500 European
Paintings in Britain, c. 1800-53

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is their own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

The first half of the nineteenth century in Britain saw a quiet, though significant, swell of interest in paintings of the earlier Italian, German, and Netherlandish schools. Concentrating on the period between c. 1800 and c. 1853 in Britain, this thesis examines the roles and practices of art dealers and agents in these first murmurings of interest in early European paintings; paintings which, since, have come to characterise the pre-1500 holdings of the National Gallery, London and the Bowes Museum, County Durham – the institutional partners of this Collaborative Doctoral Partnership PhD. Drawing from the possibilities provided by studies of the art market, this thesis complicates more conventional consumer- or institution-focused readings of the shift in taste towards early pictures. By redressing the historic marginalisation of dealers and agents – who are often maligned as perceptibly spurious protagonists marred by commerce – this thesis instead proposes that they constitute vital and complex cultural actors and tastemakers. Significantly, this thesis also highlights the British – rather than the Continental – context, and additionally focuses on decades which are usually discounted in reception histories of early paintings in favour of the mid- to late nineteenth century.

Arranged chronologically and thematically across four chapters, the thesis brings the collections and archival holdings of the National Gallery and the Bowes Museum into new dialogue with overlooked or little-known archival material in the UK and Europe. The opening chapter examines the hybrid, antiquarian market for early pictures, investigating how a spectrum of print and book sellers, and art, antique, and curiosity dealers in London directly affected the consumption and study of such paintings among British antiquaries. Out of this multifaceted marketplace, the thesis moves to examine the emergence of the ‘picture dealer’, shedding light on the increasingly stratified and responsive techniques which were used to market and sell early pictures. The final two chapters interrogate key aspects of these stratifying practices: the expansion and concretisation of efficient networks between dealers and agents, which directly affected shifting patterns in picture collecting, and the role of the dealer as exhibition maker – curating didactic displays of early paintings in line with, and sometimes prefiguring, contemporary museum practice. From shopkeepers to scholars, agents to advisors, network creators to exhibition makers, this thesis highlights the breadth and complexity of the roles and practices of dealers and agents in relation to early pictures, during a period in which approaches to art history, the public art museum, and the very idea of ‘the dealer’ as a professional category, were developing in Britain.

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Figure 5.15, After Robert Campin (c. 1375/9-1444), *The Descent from the Cross*, c. 1440-1500, oil on panel, 59.9 x 26.5 cm (left panel), 59 x 60.2 cm (centre panel) and 59.6 x 26.3 cm (right panel). WAG 1178, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

Figure 5.16, Numbered diagram of the Reading Room hang at the Liverpool Royal Institution, taken from *Catalogue of a Series of Pictures, Illustrating the Rise and Early Progress of the Art of Painting, in Italy, Germany, &c. Collected by William Roscoe, Esq. and Now Deposited in the Liverpool Royal Institution* (Liverpool: printed by James and Jonathan Smith, 1819). NC30 LIVERPOOL Roy. 1819, National Gallery Library, London.

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Figure 6.1, Jacques Joseph (James) Tissot (1836-1902), *Portrait of Algernon Moses Marsden*, 1877, oil on canvas, 48 x 72.5 cm. NG6696, National Gallery, London.

Abbreviations

BOD: Bodleian Library Special Collections, Oxford

DRO: Durham Record Office, Durham

GPI: Getty Provenance Index (online)

LMA: London Metropolitan Archives, London

MCL: Manchester Central Library, Manchester

NA: National Archives, Kew

NGA: The National Gallery Archive, London

NGL: The National Gallery Library, London

SRO: Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford

TBM: The Bowes Museum Archive, Barnard Castle

TCL: Trinity College Library, University of Cambridge, Cambridge

WFA: Waltham Forest Archives, Walthamstow

ZA: Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin

Note to Reader

Original spellings and grammar have been retained in the quotations and transcriptions which feature in this thesis and the appendices. The author has taken the decision not to mark any errors in the interests of retaining authenticity and flow.

It should also be noted that, in some cases, the nineteenth-century attributions and titles of certain paintings are employed in the main thesis. The paintings, as they are known today, are identified with accession numbers when they belong to the National Gallery or Bowes Museum (beginning with 'NG' or 'B.M.' respectively) and, more generally, are detailed in the relevant footnote and/or illustration caption.

Introduction

The first half of the nineteenth century in Britain saw a quiet though significant swell of interest in paintings of the earlier Italian, German, and Netherlandish schools. These were the first murmurings of a striking shift in taste towards early paintings that would develop throughout the nineteenth century, to be re-called by later scholars as a ‘rediscovery’ or ‘revival’ of the ‘primitives’ – a subject to which ample scholarship has been, and continues to be, devoted.¹ Much of this scholarship has focused on the period from the 1840s – when early European paintings began to be written about, collected, and publicly exhibited in more perceptibly prominent and streamlined ways in Britain – and onwards into the later nineteenth century.² By contrast, the first half of the century – which this thesis covers – is now providing rich rewards, having been hitherto comparatively less well-studied.

During the first half of the century, early paintings were co-opted and coveted by consumers in myriad ways in Britain. Earlier in the century, they could be viewed as ‘material representatives of history’ by antiquaries and early art historians who were moving towards more empirical research methods, interested in technical subjects such as the invention of

¹ See, for example, Tancred Borenius, ‘The Rediscovery of the Primitives’, *The Quarterly Review*, 239 (1923), 258-70; J. R. Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance: The Growth of Interest in its History and Art*, 4th edn (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), pp. 112-27 (first published 1954); Suzanne Sulzberger, *La Réhabilitation des Primitifs Flamands, 1802-1867* (Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1959); Giovanni Previtali, *La Fortuna dei Primitivi: Dal Vasari ai Neoclassici* (Torino: Einaudi, 1964); Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France* (London: Phaidon, 1976), pp. 37-70; Francis Haskell, ‘Old Master Exhibitions and the Second “Re-Discovery of the Primitives”’, in *Hommage à Michel Laclotte: Etudes sur la Peinture du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance*, ed. by François Avril and Michel Laclotte (Milan: Electa; Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1994), pp. 552-64. The term ‘primitive’ will be duly examined in this Introduction and is used here in reference to historic terminology.

² For a mid-century focus see, for example, Matthew Plampin, ‘From Rio to Romola: Morality and Didacticism in the English Appreciation of Early Italian Art 1836-1863’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2001).

painting in oil.³ By the 1840s, the effects of European Romanticism, the ‘Oxford Movement’, and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood of artists coalesced to foreground the aesthetic and perceivably transcendental possibilities of early pictures.⁴ From the mid-century, a new visibility was conferred onto early paintings as they began to be collected in greater numbers, publicly exhibited, and acquired into increasingly taxonomic museum collections such as London’s National Gallery.⁵ As such, early paintings offered expansive terrain, from providing

³ For which topic see Chapter One. For quotation see Mark Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer in Britain 1815-1850: The Commodification of Historical Objects* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), p. 66.

⁴ Much has been written on these rich areas and only a brief selection of useful texts are given here. For clerical collecting, see Susanna Avery-Quash, ‘Collector Connoisseurs or Spiritual Aesthetes? The Role of Anglican Clergy in the Growth of Interest in Collecting and Displaying Early Italian Art (1830s-1880s)’, in *Sacred Text -- Sacred Space: Architectural, Spiritual and Literary Convergences in England and Wales*, ed. by Joseph Sterrett and Peter Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 269-95. For the Pre-Raphaelites see Susanna Avery-Quash, ‘“Pre-Van Eycks”: The Influence of Early Netherlandish and German Art on the Pre-Raphaelites’, in *Truth and Beauty: The Pre-Raphaelites and the Old Masters*, ed. by Melissa E. Buron (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco/Legion of Honor, 2018), pp. 31-38; Alison Smith and others, *Reflections: Van Eyck and the Pre-Raphaelites* (London: National Gallery Company, 2017); Colin Harrison, ‘The Pre-Raphaelites and Italian Art before and after Raphael’, in *The Pre-Raphaelites and Italy*, ed. by Colin Harrison and Christopher Newall (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, 2010), pp. 10-21; Carly Collier, ‘British Artists and Early Italian Art c. 1770-1845: The Pre Pre-Raphaelites?’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2013); Robyn Cooper, ‘The Relationship between the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and Painters before Raphael in English Criticism of the Late 1840s and 1850s’, *Victorian Studies*, 24.4 (1981), 405-38.

⁵ For British collectors of early paintings see, for example, *Roscoe and Italy: The Reception of Italian Renaissance History and Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. by Stella Fletcher, 2nd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016); Oliver Bradbury and Nicholas Penny, ‘The Picture Collecting of Lord Northwick: Part I’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 144.1193 (2002), 485-96; Oliver Bradbury and Nicholas Penny, ‘The Picture Collecting of Lord Northwick: Part II’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 144.1195 (2002), 606-17; Francis Haskell, ‘William Coningham and his Collection of Old Masters’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 133.1063 (1991), 676-81; Erik Hinterding and Femy Horsch, ‘“A Small but Choice Collection”: The Art Gallery of King Willem II of the Netherlands (1792-1849)’, *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 19.1(1989), 5-122; Nicola Figgis, ‘The Roman Property of Frederick Augustus Hervey, 4th Earl Bishop of Bristol and Bishop of Derry (1730-1803)’, *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, 55 (1989), 77-103; Hugh Brigstocke, ‘Lord Lindsay as a Collector’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 64 (1982), 287-333; Hugh Brigstocke, ‘Lord Lindsay and James Dennistoun: Two Scottish Art-Historians and Collectors of Early Italian Art’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Edinburgh College of Art, 1976). For exhibitions and museums see, for example, Elisa Camporeale, ‘In Homes and Novels: Early Italian Pictures in England from Early Nineteenth to Early Twentieth Century’, in *The Discovery of the Trecento in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Louise Bourdua (= *Predella Journal of Visual Arts*, 41-42 (2017)), 233-55; Elizabeth A. Pergam, *The Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857: Entrepreneurs, Connoisseurs and the Public* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 138-58; Susanna Avery-Quash, ‘The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting

the bedrock for rigorous art-historical research and novel forms of art writing, through to encouraging new directions among contemporary painters and printmakers.⁶

This general, conventional picture of the so-called ‘primitive revival’, briefly outlined above, is familiar in scholarship as one which privileges the consumer and the institutional actor: the collector, the artist, the scholar, the museum professional. By contrast, this thesis foregrounds another branch of actors who were vital enablers and orchestrators in this shift in taste towards early European paintings in Britain: these are, art dealers and agents. Art dealers and agents active in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century amassed skills, experience, and expertise which, as this thesis will demonstrate, affected the early stages of the so-called ‘primitive revival’ in Britain. On the one hand, art dealers and agents were the practical actors who sourced, procured, packed, transported, restored, lined, and framed paintings; those who, in logistical terms, enabled early European pictures to enter and circulate in Britain. On the other, they could be learned and well-travelled art experts who pronounced on obscure attributions and valuations, analysed a work’s condition, researched and encouraged particular

in Britain’, in *The Fifteenth Century Italian Paintings*, by Dillian Gordon (London: National Gallery Company, 2003), pp. xxv-xliv.

⁶ For art writing and research see, for example, Susanna Avery-Quash and Corina Meyer, “‘Substituting an Approach to Historical Evidence for the Vagueness of Speculation’: Charles Lock Eastlake and Johann David Passavant’s Contribution to the Professionalization of Art-Historical Study through Source-Based Research”, in *The Emergence of the Museum Professional in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Elizabeth Heath (= *Journal of Art Historiography*, 18.1 (2018)), pp. 1-49 <<https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2018/05/avery-quash-and-meyer.pdf>> [accessed 20 June 2019]; Maria Alambritis, ‘Modern Mistresses on the Old Masters: Women and the Writing of Art History, 1865-1915’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Birkbeck, University of London, 2020); Robyn Cooper, ‘The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting in Britain: George Darley and the Athenaeum, 1834-1846’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 43 (1980), 201-20. For the Pre-Raphaelites see above at n. 4. For other painting and printmaking projects see, for example, Sharon L. Joffe, “‘The Little Hot-Bed of Fresco Painting’: Queen Victoria’s Garden Pavilion at Buckingham Palace’, in *Victoria’s Lost Pavilion: From Nineteenth-Century Aesthetics to Digital Humanities*, by Paul Fyfe and others (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 13-29; Lucina Ward, ‘A Translation of a Translation: Dissemination of the Arundel Society’s Chromolithographs’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, The Australian National University, 2016).

directions in art-historical study, built and expanded sophisticated market networks, and curated didactic exhibitions of early art.⁷

Pinning down exactly who art dealers and agents were, and the precise parameters of their diverse roles and practices, is challenging. This is the case particularly in the first half of the century when their positions in the cultural field were not necessarily stratified – in the sense of not necessarily being distinct or divided up into well-defined social groups – or professionalised. Further, as Chapter Three demonstrates with the case of the multifaceted dealer Edward Solly (1776-1844), art dealing could constitute just one element in the matrix of a person's complex cultural identity, proving to be a flexible rather than full-time pursuit which did not necessarily follow a standardised path through the cultural field or rely on maintaining a shop or gallery. As Jan Dirk Baetens, Susan Bracken, and Adriana Turpin have observed, 'it is frequently impossible to make neat distinctions between the different agents operating in the market [...] many of these agents acted in different capacities, often at the same time'.⁸ Nonetheless, art market scholar Krzysztof Pomian has usefully suggested that an art dealer's particular expertise might be characterised as combining the dialectic of '*théorie*' and '*pratique*' – in other words – uniting cerebral with practical components.⁹ Pomian's definition provides a valuable starting point for interrogating the roles and practices of dealers and agents in the early stages of the so-called 'primitive revival'.

⁷ The instructions given to then National Gallery keeper, Thomas Uwins (1782-1857) and the dealer-agent William Woodburn (1778-1860), when visiting the Manfrin collection in Venice in 1851, give a good idea of the broad responsibilities of dealers. See London, National Gallery Archive (NGA), NG5/86/9, Letter from George Saunders Thwaites to Thomas Uwins and William Woodburn, 5 May 1851; NG5/87/2, Letter from Uwins to Thwaites, 14 June 1851.

⁸ Susan Bracken, Adriana Turpin, and Jan Dirk Baetens, 'Introduction', in *Art Markets, Agents and Collectors: Collecting Strategies in Europe and the United States, 1550-1950*, ed. by Susan Bracken and Adriana Turpin, 2nd edn (New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2022), pp. 1-22 (p. 8).

⁹ Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990), pp. 155-56.

By focusing on the roles and practices of art dealers and agents, this thesis questions the idea that shifts in taste are inevitable phenomena which just ‘happen’. How was it that those consumers and institutional actors, outlined in the opening to this Introduction, could respond to and re-imagine early European paintings in the ways that they did? With his interdisciplinary approach, Francis Haskell (1928-2000) stands out in British scholarship, and in this thesis, as a pioneer who argued for the fruitfulness of interrogating how art market forces affected the so-called ‘primitive revival’.¹⁰ In his *Rediscoveries in Art* (1976), Haskell identified the ‘primitive revival’ as one in a series of nineteenth-century shifts in taste through which complex socio-cultural phenomena in the European art world might be most productively interrogated. For Haskell, ‘taste, however capricious, always depends on more than taste. Any aesthetic system, however loosely held together, is inextricably bound up with a whole series of forces.’¹¹ He acknowledged the role of the art market in the changing fashions for the ‘primitives’, observing in this context the roles of art dealers and agents in ways that went beyond tired historical stereotyping. As he noted, ‘simple conspiracy theories, which centre round cunning dealers who exploit an insecure and ignorant public, are too crude to account for highly complicated developments’.¹²

Looking to Haskell’s model, this thesis likewise moves beyond ‘simple conspiracy theories’ surrounding dealers and agents, to investigate them instead as vital and complex cultural actors adeptly operating across the landscape of the early nineteenth-century art world in Britain. Chronologically and thematically across its four chapters, this thesis examines how art dealers and agents contributed to the shift in taste for early paintings in the first half of the nineteenth

¹⁰ For the continued appraisal of Francis Haskell’s contribution to scholarship see the conference organised by Tom Stammers: ‘A Revolution in Taste: Francis Haskell’s 19th Century’ (St John’s College, University of Oxford, 23-24 October 2015).

¹¹ Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, p. 17.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 5.

century. It examines the early, hybrid market for ‘antiquarian pictures’, in which dealers – as part of an antiquarian ‘meta-economy’ in Britain – directly affected approaches to the study and appreciation of early paintings.¹³ It then moves to examine the stratifying and professionalising ways in which the increasingly specialised ‘picture dealer’ sold early European paintings, adapting to a progressively market-driven landscape. The final two chapters interrogate two key aspects of these stratifying practices: the expansion and concretisation of efficient transnational networks between dealers and agents, which directly influenced shifting patterns in picture collecting, and the role of the dealer as exhibition maker – curating didactic displays of early paintings in line with, and sometimes prefiguring, contemporary museum practice.

Though he did not explicitly state it, what remains useful about Haskell’s approach to the ‘primitive revival’ is that he largely uses what John Michael Montias (1928-2005) – writing in the same moment – perceived as a ‘process-based’ rather than ‘product-based’ approach. In ‘Cost and Value in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art’ (1987), Montias outlined the distinction between ‘product innovation’ and ‘process innovation’: ‘art historians are chiefly concerned with product innovations and, by and large, ignore process innovations’.¹⁴ Ultimately, he argued that innovation and shifts of artistic taste and style could be – and could best be – explained by economic factors.¹⁵ This thesis employs a historiographical approach closer to Haskell rather than Montias’s econometric one. Yet, it certainly seeks, in response to Montias’s recommendation, to interrogate ‘process’, in as much as its primary focus is on art dealers and

¹³ For the term ‘meta-economy’ see Paul Baines, “‘Our Annus’: Antiquaries and Fraud in the Eighteenth Century”, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 20.1 (2008), 33-51 (p. 36).

¹⁴ John Michael Montias, ‘Cost and Value in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art’, *Art History*, 10 (1987), 455-66 (pp. 456-57).

¹⁵ John Michael Montias, ‘The Influence of Economic Factors on Style’, *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 6 (1990), 49-57. For contemporaneous approaches to the link between style and socio-economic forces see Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

agents. This is instead of privileging a ‘product-based’ approach – which necessarily concerns itself with consumers or the primary makers of objects – or more traditional art-historical observations concerning authorship, style, or effect within the early paintings themselves.¹⁶

Looking to dealers and agents, this thesis also contributes to recent shifts in the art-historical discipline which have restored marginalised cultural actors into debates concerning the nineteenth-century revival of taste for early paintings in Britain. A group of scholars have investigated the role of overlooked female art writers, such as Anna Jameson (née Murphy; 1794-1860), in the development of an expanding, alternative art-historical discourse on early European paintings – beyond the framework of the formal art-historical monograph or catalogue raisonné.¹⁷ Similarly to the art dealers and agents with which this thesis deals, contemporary women art writers who, in their case, were endeavouring to make not only a reputation but also a living from writing about early European painters, were also moving through a nascent and shifting cultural landscape where to forge a profession in the art world had ‘associations with commoditisation, from which the amateur [by contrast], free of the pressures of commercial production and the need to make a living, was absolved’.¹⁸ Yet, as Hilary Fraser advises, these challenges in the nineteenth-century cultural landscape encouraged innovative roles and practices to be productively forged.¹⁹ As this thesis examines, for art

¹⁶ For an introduction to Montias’s econometric approach see Neil de Marchi and Hans J. van Miegroet, ‘Introduction’, in *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe 1450-1750*, ed. by Neil de Marchi and Hans J. van Miegroet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 3-16 (pp. 6-8).

¹⁷ See, for example, Anna Jameson, *Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters: And of the Progress of Painting in Italy from Cimabue to Bassano*, 2 vols (London: Charles Knight & co, 1845). See also Maria Alambritis, ‘Edith Coulson James, Francesco Francia and “The Burlington Magazine”, 1911-17’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 164.1426 (2022), 41-49; Maria Alambritis, ‘Modern Mistresses’; *Old Masters, Modern Women*, ed. by Maria Alambritis, Susanna Avery-Quash, and Hilary Fraser (= *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 28.1 (2019)) <<http://19.bbk.ac.uk/>>; Carly Collier, ‘Maria Callcott, Queen Victoria and the “Primitives”’, *Visual Resources*, 33.1-2 (2017), 27-47; Maria Callcott, *Discovering Ancient and Modern Primitives: The Travel Journals of Maria Callcott, 1827-28*, ed. by Carly Collier and Caroline Palmer (= *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, 78 (2016)).

¹⁸ Hilary Fraser, *Women Writing Art History in the Nineteenth Century: Looking like a Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 19.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

dealers and agents this state of affairs allowed them to assume and to complement innovative cultural roles including those of the scholar, the professional, the network creator, and the exhibition maker.

The ‘Old List’: A Catalyst at the Bowes Museum

This thesis arose from an AHRC-funded Collaborative Doctoral Partnership PhD project which was, unusually, a three-way partnership between the University of Leeds, the Bowes Museum, County Durham and the National Gallery, London. Its direction was inspired by the collections and archival material at the latter two institutions and supplemented by archives elsewhere in Britain and abroad, notably in Berlin, Germany. One particular inventory, overlooked and uncatalogued for years in the Bowes Museum’s holdings, henceforth called the ‘old list’, provided the first important catalyst for this thesis (for the ‘old list’ see **Appendix 3.1**).²⁰ Though the ‘old list’ is examined in Chapter Three, it is worth highlighting immediately that the information encapsulated within it provided the discursive basis for this thesis’s critical investigation of the diverse and important roles and practices of art dealers and agents within the growing taste for early European paintings in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In July 1887, the executor of the then deceased art collector and one of the founders of the Bowes Museum, John Bowes (1811-1885), sent a copy of an ‘old list’, unearthed by Bowes’s former steward, to the then curator of the Bowes Museum, Owen Stanley Scott (d. 1922). As the executor explained: ‘I enclose a copy of an old list which Mr Dent has found of pictures purchased by Mr Bowes prior to 1846, the original is in Mr Bowes’ handwriting’.²¹ It recorded no fewer than sixty paintings which Bowes had largely acquired between 1830 and 1844 while

²⁰ Barnard Castle, The Bowes Museum Archive (TBM), TBM/8/4/1/2, Facsimile List of Paintings Acquired by John Bowes, 1830-44; TBM/8/4/1/1, Letter from Messrs Western to Owen Stanley Scott, 11 July 1887.

²¹ TBM/8/4/1/1, Letter from Messrs Western to Owen Stanley Scott, 11 July 1887.

living in England, between County Durham and London. This was before Bowes resided more permanently in France, and before he and his French wife, the actress and painter Joséphine Benôte Coffin-Chevalier (1825-1874), developed their plans to establish the Bowes Museum.²²

Among the European Old Masters and contemporary British paintings recorded in the ‘old list’ – pictures which generally could be expected to be found there, according to what is known of contemporary tastes²³ – are some striking outliers. Attributions to ‘Santa Croce’, ‘the Old German School’, ‘Beato Angelico’, ‘Hemmelinck’, ‘F. Francia’, and ‘C. da Sesto’ signal Bowes’s pioneering preference by 1840 for pictures pre-dating, or dating to, the turn of the fifteenth century and even for obscure artists who were only just beginning to be known in Britain. Introduced fully in Chapter Three, these works presaged the paintings by European artists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which featured among the later acquisitions of John and Joséphine Bowes after the couple had begun collecting works of art in earnest for their museum from around 1858.²⁴ Since this type of art characterised John Bowes’s taste, it is unsurprising that such pictures still feature prominently in the acquisition policy of the Bowes Museum to this day.²⁵

²² Caroline Chapman, *John & Joséphine: The Creation of The Bowes Museum* (Barnard Castle: The Bowes Museum, 2010); Charles E. Hardy, *John Bowes and the Bowes Museum*, 2nd edn (Barnard Castle: Friends of the Bowes Museum, 1989); Simon Spier, ‘Creating the Bowes Museum, c. 1858-1917: Private Collecting and the Art Market in the Public Art Museum’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2021).

²³ See, for example, Iain Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England 1680-1768* (New Haven: published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1988).

²⁴ Simon Spier identifies a shift in the collecting practices of John and Joséphine Bowes around 1858 which, he suggests, marked a more structured engagement with the art and antiques market in Paris. See, Spier’s thesis.

²⁵ This was evidenced most recently by the Bowes Museum’s purchase of *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin and Child* (2016.10) by the workshop of Dieric Bouts the Elder (c. 1415-1475) in 2016, following a temporary export ban.

Initial research conducted in the Bowes Museum's archive and among the Strathmore family papers at the nearby Durham Record Office (DRO) at the outset of this project offered limited explanations for Bowes's taste for early paintings.²⁶ His catholicity of taste has at times been explained in generic terms by past scholars; for example, put down by biographer Charles Hardy to Bowes's appreciation of generally 'historical' things.²⁷ Yet, as this thesis discovered, a revealing clue for a more nuanced answer lies in the vital art market information which the 'old list' provides – evidence also borne out by letters in the DRO.²⁸ In the 'old list' are found two names of significant art dealers. Firstly, 'Woodburn': referring to the Woodburn family dealership of 112 St Martin's Lane, London (for whom see Chapter Four).²⁹ Secondly, 'Solly': referring to Edward Solly, the English timber merchant, collector, and art dealer whose collection of over three thousand paintings provided the foundation for the Prussian royal collection in 1821; later the Royal Museum in Berlin from 1830.³⁰ Five paintings were later

²⁶ John Bowes heralded from the Strathmore family, and thus his papers not directly related to the Bowes Museum appear among the Strathmore family's papers in the Durham Record Office, Durham.

²⁷ Hardy, p. 139.

²⁸ See, for example, the letters from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes at Durham, Durham Record Office (DRO), D/St/C5/29/94, 26 August 1840; D/St/C5/29/101, 2 September 1840; D/St/C5/38/25, 18 January 1842; D/St/C5/38/80, 4 April 1842; D/St/C5/46/12, 21 January 1843; D/St/C5/46/13, 27 January 1844; D/St/C5/54/69, 16 July 1844; D/St/C5/54/89, 9 November 1844 (**Appendix 3.2**).

²⁹ For the Woodburns see Jacob Simon, 'Woodburn', *British Picture Framemakers, 1600-1950 – W* <<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/w>> [accessed 31 March 2022]. For the most recent publication on Samuel Woodburn see Nicholas Penny, 'The Fate of the 'Lawrence Gallery': Samuel Woodburn and the National Gallery', *The Burlington Magazine*, 164.1438 (2022), 1234-51.

³⁰ For Edward Solly's Berlin career see Robert Skwirbliés and Sarah Salomon, *The Solly Collection 1821-2021: Founding the Berlin Gemäldegalerie*, ed. by Robert Skwirbliés and others (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2021). This publication accompanied the eponymous exhibition 'The Solly Collection, 1821-2021: Founding the Berlin Gemäldegalerie' (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, 3 November 2021-30 January 2022). See also Robert Skwirbliés, 'Edward Solly, Felice Cartoni and their Purchases of Paintings: A "Milord" and his "Commissioner" Anticipating a Transnational Network of Dealers c. 1820', in *Art Markets, Agents and Collectors*, ed. by Bracken and Turpin, pp. 174-84; Robert Skwirbliés, *Altitalienische Malerei als Preußisches Kulturgut: Gemälde Sammlungen, Kunsthandel und Museumspolitik 1797-1830* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2017); Robert Skwirbliés, '"Ein Nationalgut, auf das jeder Einwohner stolz sein dürfte": Die Sammlung Solly als Grundlage der Berliner Gemäldegalerie', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 51 (2009), 69-99; Frank Herrmann, 'Peel and Solly: Two Nineteenth-Century Art Collectors and Their Sources of Supply', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 3.1 (1991), 89-96; Frank Herrmann, 'Who was Solly?', *Connoisseur*, 164 (April 1967), 229-34; 165 (May 1967), 12-18; 165 (July 1967), 53-61; 166 (September 1967), 10-18;

bequeathed to the National Gallery, London, in 1879 by Solly's daughter, Sarah Solly (1804-1879).³¹ It was Edward Solly who purchased for Bowes, among other items, three early paintings: a *Saint Jerome and the Lion* (B.M.596; **Figure 4.1**) and a large *Crucifixion* triptych (B.M.168; **Figure 4.2**), both then thought to be of the 'early' or 'old' German School, and a 'Beato Angelico' fragment (B.M.52; **Figure 4.3**) in 1840 – which remain in the Bowes Museum's collection.³² Further archival research showed that Solly, along with the esteemed restorer and picture liner John Peel (c. 1785-1858) and a network of further art market actors, assisted Bowes in the sourcing, acquiring, cleaning, framing, and attributing of his picture collection – including the early paintings. These dealer-agent networks are examined in Chapter Three.

According once more to the 'old list', it was the Woodburns who supplied Bowes with a *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* (B.M.42; **Figure 4.7**) which was attributed to the Milanese artist Cesare da Sesto (1477-1523) in 1841, during a period when early Italian pictures formed a key part of this particular dealership's trade – as is examined in Chapter Four.³³ The pictures amassed by the Woodburns culminated between the late 1830s and 1853 in the dealer Samuel

169 (September 1968), 12-17; Hardy, pp. 139-40; Ellis Kirkham Waterhouse, 'Some Old Masters Other than Spanish at the Bowes Museum', *The Burlington Magazine*, 95.601 (1953), 120-23 (p. 120).

³¹ These paintings are: Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait of Giovanni della Volta with his Wife and Children*, completed 1547, NG1047; Ludolf Bakhuizen, *Dutch Men-of-War Entering a Mediterranean Port*, 1681, NG1050; Giovanni Battista Bertucci the Elder, *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas with a Donor from the Calderoni Family*, c. 1510-12, NG1051; Italian School, *Portrait of a Young Man*, c. 1518, NG1052; Emanuel de Witte, *The Interior of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam, During a Sermon*, c. 1660, NG1053, National Gallery. For the legacy of the Solly collection at the National Gallery see Susanna Avery-Quash and Christine Riding, 'Two Hundred Years of Women Benefactors at the National Gallery: An Exercise in Mapping Uncharted Territory', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 23.2 (2020), 1-91 (pp. 20-21) <<https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2020/11/avery-quash-and-riding.pdf>> [accessed 15 March 2021]; Nicholas Penny and Giorgia Mancini, *The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings: Bologna and Ferrara*, 3 vols (London: National Gallery Company, 2016), III, p. 38.

³² These paintings are all in the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle: Circle of St Gudula Master, *St Jerome and the Lion*, c. 1475-99, B.M.596; Master of the Virgo Inter Virgines, *Crucifixion*, c. 1490s, B.M.168; Sassetta, *A Miracle of the Eucharist*, c. 1423-26, B.M.52.

³³ TBM, TBM/8/4/1/2, List of Paintings, 1830-44. This painting is: Andrea Solario, *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness*, c. 1510-15, B.M.42, Bowes Museum.

Woodburn's (1783-1853) collection of eighty-three early Italian paintings, inspired by the Florentine collection amassed by the then well-known Italian dealers Francesco Lombardi (1787-1864) and Ugo Baldi (active third quarter of the nineteenth century).³⁴ Thus, these scraps of evidence provided by Bowes's 'old list' suggested the worth of undertaking a new and in-depth interrogation of the field, to determine answers to fundamental and hitherto neglected questions. Such questions include the extent to which dealers like Solly and Woodburn wielded agency within the shift of taste towards early paintings, including through their influence over collectors such as John Bowes, and how they – and those in their art market networks – acquired, marketed, circulated, and exhibited this type of early European art in Britain.

Solly's role as art advisor, agent, and middleman to Bowes has been underplayed, in no small part due to this dealer's obscurity in the Bowes Museum's historical record and his fragmentation within British archives. Even in the 'old list', Solly's name does not appear by certain purchases that it is clear that he made. It is worth highlighting that no letters from Solly are held in the Bowes Museum's own archive today, while only eight survive in the Durham Record Office (these are transcribed and published for the first time in **Appendix 3.2**). This state of affairs is characteristic of the broader, discursive marginalisation of the art dealer and agent in the space of the archive – a condition which has affected the thesis as a whole. Mark Westgarth is one scholar who has attended in a serious way to the historic marginalisation of the dealer.³⁵ He observed that the notion of the dealer as a 'problem' – and the enduring idea that the objects dealers peddle and the spaces they inhabit are illegitimate or marred by commerce – has contributed in no small measure to their historic marginalisation in socio-

³⁴ Penny, 'The Fate of the 'Lawrence Gallery'', pp. 1248-51; Avery-Quash, 'The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting', pp. xxvii-xxviii; Dorothy Lygon and Francis Russell, 'Tuscan Primitives in London Sales: 1801-1837', *The Burlington Magazine*, 122.923 (1980), 112-17 (pp. 113-14). For the Lombardi-Baldi collection see Martin Davies, *The Early Italian Schools Before 1400*, revised edn (London, National Gallery Publications, 1988), pp. 119-21.

³⁵ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, pp. 20-49.

cultural and in scholarly terms.³⁶ The papers relating to the curiosity dealer John Coleman Isaac (1803-1887), preserved in the archives at the University of Southampton and mined by Westgarth, are a rare survival which, as a corpus, document his quotidian activities.³⁷ Other scarce survivals in the British context are the letters from the dealer William Buchanan (1777-1864) to his agents, penned between 1802 and 1805, and transcribed and published by Hugh Brigstocke, which inform in various ways Buchanan's self-aggrandizing and pseudo-hagiographic *Memoirs of Painting* (1824).³⁸ The latter, published in the same year as the founding of the National Gallery, encapsulates this dealer's desire to construct an identity for himself in a cultural landscape where the art market professional was still an uncertain, hybrid category – as will be examined in Chapter Two. Yet, oftentimes, the voices, roles, and practices of art dealers and agents are lost, fragmented, or dispersed across disparate historic archives – while many important conversations took place in person and went undocumented.

The fragmentation and dislocation of the art dealer and agent within the archive is connected to the hybrid and nebulous nature of their art market identities and their interactions. This thesis adds new information to the important work that has been done to interrogate and illuminate earlier dealers and agents in this regard. Biographically-focused approaches emerged in the 1980s, such as Louise Lippincott's work on the 'amphibious' Arthur Pond (1701-1758) and Brigstocke's research into Buchanan, outlined above.³⁹ More recently, dealers and agents are

³⁶ Ibid, p. 7.

³⁷ Ibid, pp. 2-5.

³⁸ William Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting, with a Chronological History of the Importation of Pictures by the Great Masters into England Since the French Revolution*, 2 vols (London: printed for R. Ackermann, 1824); William Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade: 100 Letters to his Agents in London and Italy*, ed. by Hugh Brigstocke (London: The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1982).

³⁹ Louise Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond* (New Haven: published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1983), for 'amphibious' quotation see p. 10; Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*.

being examined as part of broader cultural contexts.⁴⁰ Yet, it still remains difficult to define exactly *who* constituted a dealer or agent in the nineteenth century, even as such identities were stratifying and becoming more professionalised in the period.⁴¹ As this thesis demonstrates, in relation to paintings of the earlier schools, dealers and agents active in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century acted as advisors to collectors, museum curators, and government officials on issues ranging from collecting policies to attributions; organised temporary exhibitions; served as domestic and transnational agents; were itinerant or, contrastingly, rented premises; carried out work such as framing, conservation, and lining; authored publications, and influenced scholarly approaches towards art history.

It has already been observed that scholarship on the so-called ‘primitive revival’ in Britain can often be structured around the consumer, of which the collector is a prominent focal point.⁴² As found with Solly’s barely flickering presence among Bowes’s papers, archives themselves are also more commonly constructed around the pervasive, culturally-sanctioned figure of the art collector. As Arnold Hunt observes of archives, the collector becomes ‘the central fixed point around whom the rest of the learned world appears to revolve’.⁴³ Their central place within the archive has reinforced the singling out of the collector in scholarship on the history of collecting, to the detriment of art dealers and agents. As Susan Crane concluded, ‘although the collector is not an isolated individual, collectors have long been distinguished by their reputation for idiosyncratic, eccentric passions which mark them as separate and unusual’, thus

⁴⁰ See for example, Diana Davis, *The Tastemakers: British Dealers and the Anglo-Gallic Interior, 1785-1865* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2020); Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*.

⁴¹ Bracken, Turpin, and Baetens, p. 8.

⁴² As will be seen, there are some exceptions – for example, Donata Levi, ‘Carlo Lasinio, Curator, Collector and Dealer’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 135.1079 (1993), 133-48; Christopher Lloyd, ‘Some Unpublished Letters of Carlo Lasinio’, *Italian Studies*, 33.1 (1978), 83-91.

⁴³ Arnold Hunt, ‘Sloane as a Collector of Manuscripts’, in *From Books to Bezoars: Sir Hans Sloane and his Collections* (London: The British Library, 2012), pp. 190-207 (p. 204). Quoted in Will Burgess, ‘State of the Field: The History of Collecting’, *History*, 106.369 (2021), 108-19 (p. 112).

perceivably more worthy of study.⁴⁴ Popular titles such as Frank Herrmann's *The English as Collectors* and James Stourton and Charles Sebag-Montefiore's *The British as Art Collectors* serve to confirm the long-standing tendency to structure changes in taste and collecting through the perceived figurehead of the collector.⁴⁵ In providing a framework through which objects of desire are contained and understood, the enduring notion of 'the collection', and the reflexive potentialities inherent in the act of collecting, have become linked with the primacy of the collector's identity and performativity. By contrast, this thesis deliberately swings the spotlight away from collectors such as Bowes to illuminate also dealers and agents such as Solly and Woodburn – a focus which is extrapolated to examine a whole host of other early nineteenth-century dealers and agents treated within the thesis as a whole.⁴⁶

This thesis enhances what is already known of dealers and agents who circulated early European paintings by shedding light on the first half of the century, rather than the mid- to late nineteenth century, about which much more is known. For example, some later art market networks were elucidated in John Fleming's (1919-2001) influential tripartite series 'Art Dealing and the Risorgimento' (1973-79) which examined a particular Anglo-Italian network comprised of Sir James Hudson (1810-1885), Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894), Giovanni Morelli (1816-1891), and William Blundell Spence (1814-1900), from the 1850s until the turn

⁴⁴ Susan Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), p. 61.

⁴⁵ Frank Herrmann, *The English as Collectors: A Documentary Sourcebook*, 2nd edn (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: John Murray, 1999); James Stourton and Charles Sebag-Montefiore, *The British as Art Collectors: From the Tudors to the Present* (London: Scala, 2012). However, it should be noted that particular private collectors have also suffered neglect in certain portions of nineteenth-century collecting histories, due to the tendency to focus on the archives of museums and institutions. For example, to remedy this state of affairs, Tom Stammers has reclaimed the role of the private collector in relation to the notion of *la patrimoine* in France, for which see Tom Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past: Collecting Cultures in Post-Revolutionary Paris c. 1790-1890* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

⁴⁶ For an overview of how collectors and dealers have been viewed as discrete entities see Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, pp. 38-40.

of the twentieth century.⁴⁷ The combination of an extensive archive and the historic, seductive mythologising of Stefano Bardini (1836-1922) has also led scholars to explore this dealer and his networks with museums and collectors such as Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929), the Jacquemart-Andres, John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913), and Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840-1924).⁴⁸ This thesis focuses instead on the first half of the century and the British context.

A Collaborative Doctoral Partnership Project

This thesis forms part of a specific research landscape cultivated across three institutions working in academic partnership: the National Gallery, the Bowes Museum, and the University of Leeds. Revisionist approaches to, and histories of, dealers and agents have constituted important research outputs from all three institutions – in the wider context of new studies into the institutional histories of the first two partners, as well as, more broadly still, studies of the art market.⁴⁹ Through the National Gallery’s designated research strand, ‘Buying, Collecting, and Display’, particular dealers have been foregrounded through significant acquisitions of archival material relevant to the Gallery’s holdings of European paintings between 1260 and

⁴⁷ John Fleming, ‘Art Dealing and the Risorgimento I’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 115.838 (1973), 4-17; John Fleming, ‘Art Dealing in the Risorgimento II’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 121.917 (1979), 492-508; John Fleming, ‘Art Dealing in the Risorgimento III’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 121.918 (1979), 568-80.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Lynn Catterson, ‘Duped or Duplicitous? Bode, Bardini and the Many Madonnas of South Kensington’, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 33.1 (2021), 71-92; Lynn Catterson, ‘Art Market, Social Network and Contamination: Bardini, Bode and the Madonna Pazzi Puzzle’, in *Florence, Berlin and Beyond: Late Nineteenth-Century Art Markets and their Social Networks*, ed. by Lyn Catterson (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 498-552; Annalea Tunesi, ‘Stefano Bardini’s Photographic Archive: A Visual Historical Document’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2014); *Stefano Bardini e Wilhelm Bode: Mercanti e Connaisseur Fra Ottocento e Novecento*, ed. by Valerie Niemeyer Chini (Florence: Polistampa, 2009).

⁴⁹ The historiography of studies of the art market has already been richly mapped by numerous scholars. See, for example, Guido Guerzoni, ‘Historiographies: The Perspectives of Economics, Economic History and Art History’, in *Apollo and Vulcan: The Art Markets in Italy 1400-1700*, trans. by Amanda George (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2011), pp. 1-28. In particular relation to studies of the London art market see, for example, Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, ‘Introduction: The State of the Field’, in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850-1939*, ed. by Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 1-25.

1920, such as the stock books of the major art dealership Thomas Agnews and Sons in 2014.⁵⁰ Earlier, in the 1980s, Carol Togneri Dowd transcribed and edited the travel diary of the National Gallery's first (and only) salaried travelling agent, Otto Müндler (1811-1870), who held this role officially between 1855 and 1858.⁵¹ The more recent publication (2011) by Susanna Avery-Quash of the travel diaries of Sir Charles Eastlake (1793-1865), keeper (1843-47), trustee (1850-55), and finally first director of the National Gallery (1855-65), shed further light on Old Master paintings in European collections and dealers' premises abroad, as well as mechanisms of acquisition, from 1830 but predominantly between 1852 and 1865.⁵² The indexes accompanying Togneri Dowd and Avery-Quash's work provide invaluable resources for researchers of nineteenth-century art dealers, agents, and picture movements on the Continent.⁵³

At the University of Leeds, Westgarth has addressed the nineteenth-century emergence of the British antique and curiosity dealer and their role in the commodification of historical objects.⁵⁴ A key output of Westgarth's work was the publication (2009) of the first dictionary of antique

⁵⁰ See Alan Crookham and Barbara Pezzini, 'Transatlantic Transactions and the Domestic Market: Agnew's Stock Books in 1894-1895', *British Art Studies*, 12 (2019) <<https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-12/pezzini-crookham/oim>>; Alison Clarke, 'The Spatial Aspects of Connoisseurship: Agnew's and the National Gallery, 1874-1916' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Liverpool, 2018); Barbara Pezzini, 'Making a Market for Art: Agnew's and the National Gallery, 1855-1928' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Manchester, 2018). See also the following conference, 'Negotiating Art – Dealers and Museums 1855-2015' (National Gallery, London, 1-2 April 2015).

⁵¹ Otto Müндler, *The Travel Diaries of Otto Müндler, 1855-1858*, ed. by Carol Togneri Dowd (= *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, 51 (1985)).

⁵² Charles Eastlake, *The Travel Notebooks of Sir Charles Eastlake*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash, 2 vols (= *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, 73 (2011)). See also David Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

⁵³ See also Susanna Avery-Quash, 'A Network of Agents: Buying Old Masters for the National Gallery, London', in *Old Masters Worldwide: Markets, Movements and Museums, 1789-1939*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash and Barbara Pezzini (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020), pp. 83-98.

⁵⁴ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*; Mark Westgarth, *Sold! The Great British Antiques Story* (Barnard Castle: published in association with the Bowes Museum, 2019); Mark Westgarth, "'Florid-Looking Speculators in Art and Virtu": The London Picture Trade, c. 1850', in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market*, ed. by Fletcher and Helmreich, pp. 26-46; Mark Westgarth, 'The Art Market and its Histories', *The Art Book*, 16.2 (2009), 32-33.

and curiosity dealers in Britain; this resource remains a valuable reference point.⁵⁵ Investigating British antique and curiosity dealers continues to gain ground through scholars including Diana Davis and Simon Spier, and through the Centre for the Study of the Art and Antiques Market at Leeds, directed by Westgarth.⁵⁶ Crossing the epistemological divide between ‘the university’ and ‘the museum’, Westgarth has staged interventions such as the exhibition ‘Sold! The Great British Antiques Story’ (2019) at the Bowes Museum, upturning normative exhibition discourse by displacing the Romantic trope of artist-as-genius with the primacy of the dealer, to whom visitors were introduced through object labels that privileged information concerning the dealer.⁵⁷ This exhibition recalibrated traditional narratives in order to ask questions of dealers as legitimate and significant cultural actors within museum collections and art history. It followed earlier precedents at the National Gallery, such as the revisionist view taken in the exhibition ‘Inventing Impressionism’ (2015), which foregrounded the influential and entrepreneurial role and practices of the French art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel (1831-1922) within the movement.⁵⁸ This thesis contributes to the revisionist objectives pursued by the institutions working together in this particular Collaborative Doctoral Partnership, by making its focal point art dealers and agents and arguing for their role to be recognised as legitimate cultural actors responsible in large measure for certain significant shifts in taste.

⁵⁵ Mark Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers* (= *Regional Furniture*, 23 (2009)), pp. 1-205.

⁵⁶ Davis; Spier. For an overview of the French context see, Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past*, pp. 50-62.

⁵⁷ ‘Sold! The Great British Antiques Story’ (The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, 26 January-5 May 2019); Westgarth, *Sold!*. For an introduction to this ‘epistemological divide’ see *The Two Art Histories: The Museum and the University*, ed. by Charles Werner Haxthausen (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francis Clark Art Institute, 2002).

⁵⁸ ‘Inventing Impressionism: The Man Who Sold a Thousand Monets’ (National Gallery, London, 4 March-31 May 2015); *Inventing Impressionism: Paul Durand-Ruel and the Modern Art Market*, ed. by Sylvie Patry (London: National Gallery, 2015).

The nineteenth-century shift in taste towards early paintings has also been investigated at the National Gallery. Relevant public-facing outputs have included the exhibition and catalogue ‘Strange Beauty: Masters of the German Renaissance’ (2014) and the conference ‘“Primitive Renaissances’: Northern European and Germanic Art at the Fin de Siècle to the 1930s’ organised by Juliet Simpson (Coventry University) in collaboration with Susan Foister (National Gallery) and Jeanne Nuechterlein (University of York).⁵⁹ These events formed part of a larger research network examining how the reputations of early northern European art were revived and appropriated in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.⁶⁰ A group of Collaborative Doctoral PhD theses at the National Gallery have also contributed to this area. Imogen Tedbury and Nicola Sinclair have interrogated the mid- to later nineteenth-century formation and critical fortunes of overlooked tranches of the Gallery’s early holdings – early Sieneese and early German pictures, respectively – while Maria Alambritis examined women’s contributions to art writing on artists of the earlier schools during the same century.⁶¹ Avery-Quash has published extensively on the subject of the reception in nineteenth-century Britain

⁵⁹ ‘“Primitive Renaissances’: Northern European and Germanic Art at the Fin de Siècle to the 1930s’ (National Gallery, London, 11-12 April 2014). Juliet Simpson is editing a book derived from this conference, currently in press with Ashgate Publishing (accepted 2018). See also, ‘Reflections: Van Eyck and the Pre-Raphaelites’ (National Gallery, London, 2 October 2017-2 April 2018); ‘Strange Beauty: Masters of the German Renaissance’ (National Gallery, London, 19 February-11 May 2014); Alison Smith and others, *Reflections: Van Eyck and the Pre-Raphaelites* (London: National Gallery Company, 2017); Caroline Bugler, *Strange Beauty: German Painting at the National Gallery* (London: National Gallery Company, 2014).

⁶⁰ This network was instigated at the conference ‘Visions of the North: Re-Inventing the Germanic ‘North’ in Nineteenth-Century Art and Visual Culture in Britain and the Low Countries’ (Compton Verney Museum and Art Gallery, Warwickshire, 17 June 2016).

⁶¹ Alambritis, ‘Modern Mistresses’; Imogen Tedbury, ‘“Each School Has Its Day”: Collecting, Reception and Display of Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Sieneese Paintings in Britain 1850-1950’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2018); Nicola Sinclair, ‘Nineteenth-Century British Perspectives on Early German Paintings: The Case of the Krüger Collection at the National Gallery and Beyond’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2016).

of early pictures, to which her catalogue essay ‘The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting in Britain’ provides one such institutionally-focused overview.⁶²

Definitions and Parameters: ‘Primitives’

This thesis concentrates on early Italian, Netherlandish, and German paintings – inspired by the collections and archives of the Bowes Museum and the National Gallery. These paintings are those which have often been grouped together under the banner of the now antiquated term ‘primitives’, a term so far consciously referred to with inverted commas to signal its fallibility. Since the nineteenth century, terms such as ‘primitive’ – one of a selection of synonyms used to refer to earlier paintings – have developed as complex concepts, contexts, and chronologies. As Ernst Gombrich (1909-2001) in *The Preference for the Primitive* (2002) observes, so-called ‘primitive art’ constitutes a semantically-shifting and culturally-located classification, often used in Western contexts to refer to work seen as old, unsophisticated, inferior, and other.⁶³ In the period covered by this thesis, the term was often used to refer to Italian paintings perceived to pre-date the mature style of Raphael (1483-1520), along with more expansive interpretations for pictures of the earlier northern European schools. The exhibition organised by the Musée

⁶² Avery-Quash, ‘The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting’. Of many publications see, for example, Susanna Avery-Quash and Marika Spring, ‘Eastlake Encounters Van Eyck (1828-1865): Contextualising Sir Charles Eastlake’s Research into Jan van Eyck’s Techniques and Purchases of his Work for the National Gallery’, *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, 40 (2019), 86-111; Avery-Quash, ‘Collector Connoisseurs or Spiritual Aesthetes?’. Avery-Quash also edited the following e-publication in which are included useful essays on early pictures in Britain. Susanna Avery-Quash, “‘Incessant Personal Exertions and Comprehensive Artistic Knowledge’: Prince Albert’s Interest in Early Italian Art”, *Victoria and Albert: Art and Love Symposium*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash, 1.1 (2012), 1-22; Susan Foister, ‘Prince Albert’s German Pictures’, *Victoria and Albert*, ed. by Avery-Quash, 1-18; Jonathan Marsden, ‘Mr Green and Mr Brown: Ludwig Grüner and Emil Braun in the Service of Prince Albert’, *Victoria and Albert*, ed. by Avery-Quash, 1-13; Lucy Whitaker, “‘Preparing a Handsome Picture Frame to Pattern Chosen by HRH The Prince’: Prince Albert Frames his Collection”, *Victoria and Albert*, ed. by Avery-Quash, 1-37
<<https://www.rct.uk/collection/themes/exhibitions/victoria-albert-art-love/the-queens-gallery-buckingham-palace/contents>> [accessed 7 April 2023].

⁶³ Ernst H. Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive: Episodes in the History of Western Taste and Art* (London: Phaidon, 2002). Gombrich died in 2001 and the book was published posthumously.

du Louvre's first director, Dominique Vivant, Baron Denon (1747-1825) at the Louvre, Paris in 1814, was advertised as displaying '*des tableaux des écoles primitives de l'Italie [et] de l'Allemagne*' and sought to introduce visitors to artists predating the death of Raphael, as noted in the *avertissement*.⁶⁴ Even the earlier style of the celebrated Raphael, when he was studying under the painter Pietro Perugino (living 1469-d. 1523), could be decried as 'primitive'. As shall be seen in Chapter Two, two pictures attributed to Raphael belonging to the dealer Buchanan came to be seen as dating to this artist's earlier period and consequently were lambasted by British tastemakers: '[they] could not be by Raffaelle or if they were it was before Raffaelle was a painter'.⁶⁵ Often, the term 'primitive' – and its synonyms – could be reserved, in a pejorative sense, for pictures which were perceived to be old, unfamiliar, crude, or simplistic, among other traits. In such a climate, Buchanan could dismiss his early 'Raphael's' as 'too simple and primitive' for prevailing British taste.⁶⁶

The conception of what constitutes a 'primitive' painting has narrowed in twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholarship, and, in the case of Italian paintings, today often refers solely to so-called 'gold-backs'. As Suzanne Sulzberger further observes, largely synonymous descriptors such as 'gothic' and 'medieval' were, two centuries ago, applicable to northern European paintings encompassing a broad period from the Middle Ages right up to the late sixteenth century, while the nomenclature 'Flemish primitives' was a later and narrower term cemented with the exhibition of '*Les Primitifs Flamands*' of 1902 in Bruges, Belgium.⁶⁷ As

⁶⁴ *Notice des Tableaux des Ecoles Primitives de l'Italie, de l'Allemagne, et de Plusieurs Autres Tableaux de Exposés dans le Grand Salon du Musée Royal* (Paris: L.-P. Dubray, 1814), pp. i-iii.

⁶⁵ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 23 July 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 94.

⁶⁶ Quotation from letters transcribed and typeset from originals (possibly c. 1946) in London, National Gallery Library [NGL], (P.). NC 505 BUCHANAN, Letter from William Buchanan to Johann Georg von Dillis, 9 July 1827, letter 8, p. 5. Cited in Nicholas Penny, 'Raphael and the Early Victorians', in *Raphael: From Urbino to Rome*, ed. by Hugo Chapman, Tom Henry, and Carol Plazzotta (London: National Gallery Company, 2004), p. 296.

⁶⁷ Sulzberger, pp. 14-20; Hinterding and Horsch, pp. 9-10, n. 18.

Eric Hinterding and Femy Horsch observed, when, in 1823, the art dealer Chrétien-Jean Nieuwenhuys (1799-1883) sent the Prince of Orange (1792-1849; later King Willem II of the Netherlands) a list of twenty-three ‘*tableaux gottiques*’, it included works by the fifteenth-century painters Jan van Eyck (active 1422-d. 1441) and Hans Memling (active 1465-d. 1494), in addition to later painters including Quinten Massys (1465/6-1530) and Jan Mabuse (also known as, Gossaert) (active 1508-d. 1532).⁶⁸ As will be seen, several early northern paintings which feature in this thesis moved through this important collection.

Haskell has also highlighted that while Italian artists such as Francesco Francia (c. 1447-1517) and Bernardino Luini (c. 1480-1532) are not chronologically considered ‘pre-Raphaelite’ today, during the mid-nineteenth century they were regarded as such, on account of their unfamiliarity in Britain.⁶⁹ As seen in Chapter Three, Solly and his networks were purchasing paintings attributed to Francia, Bartolommeo Ramenghi (also known as, Il Bagnacavallo) (1484-1542), and Ercole de’Roberti (active 1479-d. 1496) – artists who, working concurrently with or even a little after Raphael, but hailing from the comparatively understudied Emilia-Romagna region of northern Italy, were then still relatively obscure in Britain. Certainly, an artist’s relative obscurity, as opposed to their life dates, affected a work’s classification. By the same token, artists such as Raphael, Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/8-1543), and Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553), long associated with ideas of a revival of the arts in southern and northern Europe respectively, retained enduring popularity in Britain deriving in large measure from their well-known representation in the esteemed collections of King Henry VIII (1491-1547), Charles I (1600-1649), and the Earl of Arundel

⁶⁸ Hinterding and Horsch, pp. 9-10, n. 18.

⁶⁹ Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, p. 55.

(1585-1646).⁷⁰ Nonetheless, as shown earlier with Raphael, even these celebrated painters could sometimes be aligned with the ‘primitive’.

Going forward, and bearing these complexities in mind, this thesis generally refers to paintings of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, with some overspill into the sixteenth century, as ‘early’ rather than ‘primitive’. ‘Pre-1500’ – as found in the thesis title – serves as a loose temporal marker. It is worth noting that this thesis takes a holistic view of the revival of taste for early paintings, attending generally to the Italian, German, and Netherlandish schools. What is critical and novel is that it applies a specific art market lens for the first time to this type of art in relation to its earliest broad reception in Britain. This contrasts to approaches which have focused on a single artist, artistic school, or period of early painting.⁷¹ It is hoped that the new information garnered through the novel focus on dealers and agents in this thesis may be mapped in fruitful, complementary ways onto these other valuable monographic approaches.

Definitions and Parameters: Geographic Contexts

This thesis concentrates on the British context, though recognises essential transnational elements of the market – particularly in Chapter Three. Notwithstanding its vast Empire, Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century was composed of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, following the Act of Union of 1801, which merged the Kingdoms of Ireland and Great Britain. Due to the locations of the collaborative partners of this thesis, the main locus is England – and mainly London, which represented the hub of the art market in the period.

⁷⁰ Foister, ‘Prince Albert’s German Pictures’, pp. 3-4.

⁷¹ Katharine Ault, ‘Giotto and Non-Giotto in Nineteenth-Century Britain’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, The Open University, in progress); Tedbury; Sinclair; Mark Evans and others, *Botticelli Reimagined* (London: V&A Publishing, 2016); Jenny Graham, *Inventing Van Eyck: The Remaking of an Artist for the Modern Age* (Oxford: Berg, 2007).

While seeking to place some pragmatic parameters on a wide subject matter, the choice to examine the British context also supports Dries Lyna and Jan Dirk Baetens's assertion that a focus on a nineteenth-century national market with transnational aspects recognises the period's 'obsession with national identity and borders' and also enables the examination of nation-specific contexts and developments which can risk being lost in a more sweeping international approach.⁷² It is hoped that this thesis contributes, synthetically, to other transnational examinations of the art market for early pictures in the period.⁷³

In relation to the early Italian, German, and Netherlandish paintings treated within this thesis, it must be recognised that notions of national and regional schools by which they were classified in the nineteenth century were semantically shifting and did not necessarily map straightforwardly onto coterminous political entities. Broadly, this thesis reflects the holdings of the National Gallery and the Bowes Museum in encompassing pictures painted in Italian- and German-speaking territories, while the label 'Netherlandish' largely refers to pictures painted in the parts of the Low Countries and present-day northern France once under the rule of the Burgundian Dukes and their Hapsburg successors.⁷⁴

During the nineteenth century, the territories from which these early paintings had once heralded underwent highly complex shifts which affected not only physical borders, through protracted processes of unification, but also broader understandings of historical

⁷² Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna, 'Introduction: Towards an International History of the Nineteenth-Century Art Trade', in *Art Crossing Borders: The Internationalisation of the Art Market in the Age of Nation States, 1750-1914*, ed. by Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 1-14 (p. 7).

⁷³ A synthetic model was proposed in Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, 'Epilogue: Reframing the "International Art Market"', in *Art Crossing Borders*, ed. by Dirk Baetens and Lyna, pp. 327-42.

⁷⁴ Lorne Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings* (London: National Gallery Company, 1998), p. 7.

consciousness, collective identities, and origins among their peoples.⁷⁵ For dealers and agents of the period, the French Revolution and ensuing Napoleonic Wars between 1789 and 1815 put an unprecedented number of early paintings into transnational circulation across Europe following the suppression of religious institutions and the sales of aristocratic collections. In Italy, such suppressions had occurred since the 1770s under Empress Maria-Teresa (1717-1780) and the 1790s under Leopold of Tuscany (1747-1792).⁷⁶ Further swathes of pan-European revolutions also occurred later in 1848 which concurrently marked an important year for early art in Britain, including the establishment of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and the Arundel Society.⁷⁷ An imbalance between availability and supply, and wealth and demand, in local secondary art markets on the Continent was conducive to the establishment of foreign markets in wealthier and more receptive locations such as London which, physically at least, was not war-torn. Art markets operating in cities such as London were reliant on external supply channels and thus encouraged innovative dealer practices such as arbitrage and triangular trading patterns.⁷⁸ The market for early paintings thus arose as part of these complex, pan-European cultural shifts which saw collecting cultures rapidly expand in Britain, due to a newly acquisitive public and a glut of available historic objects.

⁷⁵ Much has been written on these complex shifts and only a selection of useful examples are given here by way of an introduction to the topic, which ranges beyond the parameters of this thesis. See, for example, Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, pp. 50-77; Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past*, pp. 4-7, 10-17; Tom Stammers, 'The Bric-à-Brac of the Old Regime: Collecting and Cultural History in Post-Revolutionary France', *French History*, 22.3 (2008), 295-315; Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness*, pp. 7-19. See Michel Foucault's concept of 'epistemes', which has served as a foundation for many scholars in their understandings of these shifts, Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2005).

⁷⁶ Avery-Quash, 'The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting', pp. xxv-xxvi.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Hans J. van Miegroet, Hilary Cronheim, and Bénédicte Miyamoto, 'International Dealer Networks and Triangular Art Trade between Paris, Amsterdam and London', in *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market, 1780-1820*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash and Christian Huemer (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2019), pp. 51-63; Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna, 'The Education of the Art Market: National Schools and International Trade in the "Long" Nineteenth Century', in *Art Crossing Borders*, ed. by Dirk Baetens and Lyna, pp. 15-63 (pp. 38-45).

For dealers and agents, these geographical and cultural shifts affected the classification of the early paintings they were selling. As such, in this thesis, attributions given to paintings by dealers in the period are often referred to with inverted commas which signal their contingency, and are certainly not to be taken at ‘face value’. In Chapter Three, it is by no means coincidental that the dealer Edward Solly acquired important works attributed to the ‘Ancient German School’ for Bowes – the *Saint Jerome and the Lion* (B.M.596; **Figure 4.1**) and *Crucifixion* (B.M.168; **Figure 4.2**) triptych mentioned earlier. These paintings are today attributed to early Netherlandish masters. During the early nineteenth century, Netherlandish masters such as Memling and the Van Eyck brothers were co-opted by a spirit of German patriotism. In Britain, early Netherlandish pictures – such as an old copy of Van Eyck’s *Ghent Altarpiece* (**Figure 4.41**) – featured in the collection of the German ex-patriot merchant Carl Aders (d. 1846) at 11 Euston Square, London and were tellingly conceived of by the British poet Charles Lamb (1775-1834) as being ‘the Old German Masters’.⁷⁹

For dealers and agents, shifting borders also created logistical contingencies, from transportation networks to customs regulations.⁸⁰ When trying to return a ‘Raphael’ to Italy in 1803 – one of the ‘Raphael’s’ to be discussed in Chapter Two – the dealer Buchanan was obliged to explore many possible transport options, as recorded in his letters. England had just declared war on France, leading Buchanan to worry that ‘the French government appears particularly bitter against the British at present, and every means of Confiscation and Embargo will be

⁷⁹ Comments first published in *Hone’s Year Book* (19 March 1831). Lamb’s writings such as these were copiously reproduced in the nineteenth century; see, for example, Charles Lamb, *The Complete Correspondence and Works of Charles Lamb*, ed. by Thomas Purnell, 4 vols (London: E. Moxon, Son and Co., 1870), III, pp. 520-21. See also Jenny Graham, pp. 66-69. For an overview of the fate of the Aders collection see Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings*, pp. 12-13.

⁸⁰ Guido Guerzoni, ‘The Export of Works of Art from Italy to the United Kingdom, 1792-1830’, in *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market*, ed. by Avery-Quash and Huemer, pp. 64-78.

used'.⁸¹ At one moment, Buchanan planned for the painting to travel to Italy via Malta, the island serving as a shipping hub, particularly as British vessels at that moment were also banned from the Italian ports.⁸² This was a persisting type of logistical issue throughout the century.

Definitions and Parameters: Dates

This thesis focuses on the period largely between 1800 and 1853. Beginning around 1800, it is able newly to address how early paintings featured within dealer and agent practices in Britain as a sub-section of the evolving trade in Old Master paintings. The temporal bounds of the thesis end approximately around 1853. This date marks the death of the dealer Samuel Woodburn and the beginning of a hiatus while it was decided among his executors, the National Gallery's trustees, and Christie's auction house, what should be done with his vast collection of early Italian paintings. The year 1853 and the ensuing decade were marked by important developments in the taste for early pictures in Britain, including: the Select Committee on the National Gallery from 1853; the reconstitution of the National Gallery and the commencement of Charles Eastlake's tenure as director in 1855; and the Manchester 'Art Treasures' exhibition in 1857.⁸³ For the Bowes Museum and the National Gallery, the later 1850s also provide an approximate marker for a shift of dynamics in the formation of both collections and the roles of dealers and agents. 1855 saw the dealer Otto Mündler's tenure as the National Gallery's official travelling agent commence, a role which was brought to a premature end in 1858. That latter year also marked the period when Bowes began what Spier has recently identified as 'more structured' purchasing for the Bowes Museum project, heralded by the landmark

⁸¹ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 6 June 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 85.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

⁸³ For an overview see Avery-Quash, 'The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting', p. xxix. For 'Art Treasures' see Pergam; Tristram Hunt and Victoria Whitfield, *Art Treasures in Manchester: 150 Years On* (Manchester: Manchester Art Gallery, 2007).

acquisition of a fifteenth-century retable from the Parisian dealership Monbro (W.123 and B.M.1018-1023; **Figure 4.8**), acquired as a ‘Dürer’ in 1859.⁸⁴ The developments, from 1853, which have been outlined here, mark a gearshift in attitudes towards early pictures, and towards dealers and agents, and signal the stopping point for this thesis. This thesis instead follows a gamut of recent publications which have begun to turn attention towards the market for Old Masters in the first half of the century, of which early paintings are a discrete and the least studied part.⁸⁵

Thesis Structure

This thesis draws on Haskell’s approach in *Rediscoveries in Art* in which he employs the case study, or ‘test case’, as a tool through which to interrogate shifts in taste within a broad chronology. In doing so, he succeeds in mapping the micro onto the macro. Haskell lays out his approach as follows: ‘I have not tried to categorize those great changes in taste which are often familiar enough, but rather to examine a few test cases and assumptions’.⁸⁶ Following Haskell, this thesis treats its subjects discretely but also collectively, and each chapter is placed in chronological succession.

Each chapter builds on a case study derived from archival research. What Tom Stammers says of his chosen subjects in *The Purchase of the Past* (2020), applies to the choice of content in each chapter in this thesis, ‘[they] have not been chosen for their representativeness so much as for the richness of the archival documentation, [and] their influence in shaping discourses’.⁸⁷

When the direct archival traces of the art dealer and agent no longer survive, the researcher

⁸⁴ Spier. This painting is: Master of Saint Gudule, *Altarpiece of the Passion*, c. 1460-80, W.123 and B.M.1018-23, Bowes Museum.

⁸⁵ See, for example, *Art Markets, Agents and Collectors; Old Masters Worldwide; London and the Emergence of a European Art Market*.

⁸⁶ Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, p. 8.

⁸⁷ Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past*, p. 22.

must use available primary material – often grouped around collections and collectors – in creative ways to resituate these cultural actors within what have frequently become skewed and fragmented narratives.

As will now be outlined in the final section of the Introduction, each of the four chapters in this thesis is guided by a particular archive and a particular research theme. These themes are intended to coalesce across the chapters to become overarching ideas, which – when brought into dialogue together – distil the breadth and complexity of the roles and practices of dealers and agents in the shift in taste towards early European paintings in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Dealers and ‘Antiquarian Pictures’

Chapter One examines the early nineteenth-century trade in ‘antiquarian pictures’ in Britain. It shows how the relationship between London’s art, antique, and curiosity dealers and antiquaries effected a desire for early European pictures within the paradigm of antiquarianism. It traces how dealers assisted in crystallising the scholarly role of such paintings as empirical sources within the emerging discipline of art history, which both supported and capitalised on antiquaries’ research into particular areas of empirical enquiry, such as the early history of oil painting.

At the opening of the century, early European paintings occupied a part of the secondary art market which was, in many ways, quite distinct from the market for more mainstream Old Master paintings. With their seemingly archaic aesthetic, and often fragmentary or folding forms, paintings of the earlier schools could be perceived as highly curious items, and – as we can tell from auction prices – often commanded low prices. Artist and dealer William Blundell Spence could write in 1843 that ‘early quattroceto pictures are just coming into vogue but,

except for a very fine specimen are certainly not dear'.⁸⁸ Thus, despite their status as paintings (or 'fine art'), early European pictures also profit from being examined as part of the broader market for 'rare books, autographs, coins, armour, dress or pieces of furniture [...] whole new markets of collecting [...] for those on smaller budgets'.⁸⁹ As Elisa Camporeale observes, early paintings 'went for trifling sums and fit a scholar's inexpensive taste'.⁹⁰

As Westgarth has shown, in the century's opening decades the picture trade in Britain was part of the antique and curiosity market.⁹¹ Commonplace were picture dealers who also dealt in other items such as furniture, curiosities, china, and stationery, while many were connected to some kind of art or craft background as artists themselves or through frame-carving, gilding, cleaning, and restoration activities, often part of a family dynasty. Henry Farrer (1798-1866), a significant dealer in early pictures – the seller of Jan van Eyck's *Portrait of a Man (Self Portrait?)* (NG222; **Figure 1.1**) to the National Gallery in 1851 – also purveyed antiques, curiosities, and furniture as well as paintings, additionally carried out restoration work, and had first trained as a miniature painter.⁹² Lippincott's rich study of the painter, print-seller, dealer, and connoisseur Arthur Pond, and Julia Armstrong-Totten's investigations into dealer-connoisseurs Thomas Moore Slade (1749-1831) and Michael Bryan (1757-1821), likewise demonstrate the 'amphibious' natures of such individuals.⁹³

⁸⁸ Quoted in Fleming, 'Art Dealing in the Risorgimento II', p. 497.

⁸⁹ Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past*, p. 13.

⁹⁰ Camporeale, p. 239.

⁹¹ Westgarth, "'Florid-Looking Speculators'", pp. 26, 29-32.

⁹² This painting is: Jan van Eyck, *Portrait of a Man (Self Portrait?)*, 1433, NG222, National Gallery. For entries on Farrer see Jacob Simon, 'Henry Farrer', *British Picture Restorers, 1600-1950 – F* <<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/british-picture-restorers-1600-1950-f>> [accessed 8 October 2021]; Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 99-101.

⁹³ Julia Armstrong-Totten, 'From Jack-of-All-Trades to Professional: The Development of the Early Modern Picture Dealer in Eighteenth-Century London', in *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market*, ed. by Avery-Quash and Huemer, pp. 194-204; Lippincott, p. 10.

It is worth underscoring the fact that early European paintings within the British antiques trade, and within the paradigm of early nineteenth-century antiquarianism, have received little attention. This neglect is symptomatic of broader pejorative attitudes towards the figure of the antiquary. The enduring trope of the antiquary pedantically poring over fragments of lost worlds, as chaotic and melancholic, and even as mentally-ill, is a historic one which flourished in late Georgian and early Victorian Britain.⁹⁴ As Stephen Bann summarises, the conflated notions of curiosity and antiquarianism at this moment ‘had the force of a subversive paradigm whose potency threatened the ideal of useful instruction, and the progressive onwards march of modern history’.⁹⁵ The trade in ‘antiquarian pictures’ in this thesis is considered in light of more recent reappraisals of antiquarianism as a paradigm existing meaningfully at the intersection of social, imaginative, and political worlds.⁹⁶ These reassessments are often cited as beginning with the Italian historian Arnaldo Momigliano (1908-1987) who, in the 1950s, sympathetically compared the practices of the contemporary historian with those of the historic antiquarian.⁹⁷

In Rosemary Hill’s recent roll call of nineteenth-century antiquarian pursuits, early paintings were not listed among the roster of ‘architecture and stone circles, pottery, sculpture, coins, bells, armour, textiles’ which such individuals pursued.⁹⁸ Yet, by the opening decades of the

⁹⁴ For a comprehensive summary of the critical fortune of the antiquary see Stephen Bann, ‘Preface’, in *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice, 1700-1850*, ed. by Martin Myrone and Lucy Peltz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. xvii-xxiii.

⁹⁵ Stephen Bann, ‘The Return to Curiosity: Shifting Paradigms in Contemporary Museum Display’, in *Art and Its Publics: Museum Studies at the Millenium*, ed. by Andrew McClellan (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003), pp. 117-32 (p. 121).

⁹⁶ Out of a rich landscape of publications see, for example, Barbara Furlotti, *Antiquities in Motion: From Excavation Sites to Renaissance Collections* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2019); *Producing the Past*; Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness*; Stammers, ‘The Bric-à-Brac of the Old Regime’.

⁹⁷ Arnaldo Momigliano, ‘Ancient History and the Antiquarian’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 13.3/4 (1950), 285-315.

⁹⁸ Rosemary Hill, *Time’s Witness: History in the Age of Romanticism* (London: Allen Lane, 2021), Preface, para. 8. E-book.

nineteenth century, interest in early pictures was enmeshed with what are today the much more well-studied aspects of antiquarian researches. This included interest in the literature, architecture, customs, manners, and costume of medieval and Gothic worlds, and the origins of ideas and technologies – subjects for which early paintings could provide empirical evidence, rather than necessarily being taken seriously as aesthetically-pleasing objects in their own right. The collecting and cataloguing of early European illuminated manuscripts, prints, and engravings complemented antiquarian interest in early paintings. As Anthony Griffiths suggests, ‘given the recurrence of some names it seems that the collecting of early engravings may have been a powerful stimulus to the collection of early paintings’; the same can be said of early illuminated manuscript cuttings.⁹⁹ J. E. Graham mapped the antiquarian networks invoked during the lengthy cataloguing of the Holkham manuscript collection, Norfolk, between 1820 and 1829.¹⁰⁰ Graham’s work indirectly shows that through collectors such as Dawson Turner (1775-1858) and William Roscoe (1753-1831), this cataloguing project crossed over with their interests in early European painters.¹⁰¹ Heather MacLennan, in relation to early northern prints, has shown how the antiquary Francis Douce (1757-1834), when keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum (1799-1811), developed new forms of print connoisseurship, not chiefly characterised by aesthetic appreciation, but engaged with the origins of ideas, technologies, and the social contexts of artefacts.¹⁰² Comparable trends were

⁹⁹ Antony Griffiths, ‘William Smith (1808-76) and the Rise of Interest in Early Engraving’, in *Landmarks in Print Collecting: Connoisseurs and Donors at the British Museum Since 1753* (London: Published by the British Museum Press and the Parnassus Foundation in association with The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 1996), pp. 90-112 (p. 96).

¹⁰⁰ J. E. Graham, ‘The Cataloguing of the Holkham Manuscripts’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 4.2 (1965), 128-54.

¹⁰¹ Xanthe Brooke, ‘Roscoe’s Italian Paintings in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool’, in *Roscoe and Italy*, ed. by Fletcher, pp. 65-96.

¹⁰² Heather MacLennan, ‘Antiquarianism, Connoisseurship and the Northern Renaissance Print: New Collecting Cultures in the Early Nineteenth Century’, in *Producing the Past*, ed. by Myrone and Peltz, pp. 149-68.

occurring in Douce and others' approaches towards early paintings, which were concerned with questions such as the invention of oil painting – to be examined in Chapter One.

One of the early nineteenth-century British antiquaries to have been more fully examined with regards to their collecting and display of early European paintings is the Liverpool-based banker, lawyer, and writer William Roscoe. Assisted by art dealer Thomas Winstanley (1768-1845), Roscoe's collection was formed between 1804 and 1813.¹⁰³ Sold in Liverpool following his bankruptcy between 19 August and 2 September 1816, Roscoe's didactic collection of early European paintings was put on public display from 1819 at the Liverpool Royal Institution, which he had helped to found.¹⁰⁴ Yet even Roscoe's reputation has required rehabilitation; as Stella Fletcher describes, 'appreciation of Roscoe's contribution to the study of Italian history and culture waned significantly in the twentieth century, not least because historians enjoyed increasing ease of access to the archives which had been beyond his reach'.¹⁰⁵ As Stephen Bann reminds us, antiquaries have often been judged on the merits of their historiographic practice 'according to contemporary lights'.¹⁰⁶

Even less has been written on the role of dealers within the trade of 'antiquarian pictures' in crystallising a desire for, and responses to, early European paintings – a situation which this thesis seeks to remedy in Chapter One. Clive Wainwright in fact suggested that the antiquarian market for historic objects was primarily collector-driven, rather than dealer-driven.¹⁰⁷ This

¹⁰³ Hale, pp. 60-78; Edward Morris, 'The Formation of the Gallery of Art in the Liverpool Royal Institution, 1816-1819', *The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 142 (1992), 87-98; Brooke. See also William Roscoe, *The Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, Called the Magnificent*, 2 vols (Liverpool: printed by J. M'Creery, and sold by J. Edwards, London, 1795).

¹⁰⁴ *Catalogue of a Series of Pictures, Illustrating the Rise and Early Progress of the Art of Painting, in Italy, Germany, &c. Collected by William Roscoe, Esq. and Now Deposited in the Liverpool Royal Institution* (Liverpool: printed by James and Jonathan Smith, 1819).

¹⁰⁵ Stella Fletcher, 'Introduction', in *Roscoe and Italy*, ed. by Fletcher, pp. 1-20 (p. 3).

¹⁰⁶ Bann, 'Preface', p. xviii.

¹⁰⁷ Clive Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior: The British Collector at Home, 1750-1850* (New Haven: published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press,

narrative has since been revisited by Westgarth and Davis who both place the nineteenth-century art and antique dealer as a pivotal cultural actor in creating a desire for and disseminating historical objects.¹⁰⁸ Sam Smiles and Carly Collier have rehabilitated the eighteenth-century artist, antiquary, and dealer Thomas Patch (1725-1782) as a key contributor to the ‘recuperation’ of the early Italian Renaissance through his engraving projects in 1770s Florence.¹⁰⁹ Patch and his contemporary Ignazio Hugford (1703-1778) were both dealers in early paintings, as well as antiquaries, artists, collectors, and scholars. Yet, neither Smiles nor Collier link Patch and Hugford’s dealing practices with their scholarly ones; the fact of their dealing activities is only an addendum. Jeannie Chapel recently examined the formation of the antiquary William Beckford’s (1760-1844) picture collection. While shedding valuable light on his relationships with art dealers and agents, the trade in early European paintings only formed a small part of the art market activities discussed.¹¹⁰ William Young Ottley’s (1771-1836) collecting and scholarly contributions to the study and reproduction of early art in the period have also been richly studied.¹¹¹ Yet, Ottley’s hybrid role as a picture dealer, an important component of his wider cultural life, is not explored within these studies.¹¹² Finally,

1989), pp. 3, 36. For Westgarth’s observations on Wainwright see Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁸ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 2; Davis, p. 6.

¹⁰⁹ Sam Smiles, ‘Thomas Patch (1725-1782) and Early Italian Art’, *The British Art Journal*, 14.1 (2013), 50-58 (p. 50); Carly Collier, ‘The Pre Pre-Raphaelites?’, pp. 79-114. See also for example Thomas Patch, *La Vita Di Masaccio* (Florence: [n. pub.], 1770).

¹¹⁰ Jeannie Chapel, ‘William Beckford: Collector of Old Master Paintings, Drawings, and Prints’, in *William Beckford, 1760-1844: An Eye for the Magnificent* (New Haven: published for the Bard Graduate Center for studies in the decorative arts, design and culture by Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 229-50. See also William Beckford, *Biographical Memoirs of Extraordinary Painters* (London: J. Robson, 1780).

¹¹¹ Katharine Ault, ‘How Did Ugolino di Nerio’s Santa Croce Polyptych Challenge and Change the Art Historical Canon between 1780 and 1887?’ (unpublished MA thesis, The Open University, 2017), pp. 13-19, 36; Hugh Brigstocke, Eckart Marchand, and A. E. Wright, *John Flaxman and William Young Ottley in Italy* (= *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, 72 (2010)); Ellis Kirkham Waterhouse, ‘Some Notes on William Young Ottley’s Collection of Italian Primitives’, *Italian Studies*, 17 (1962), 272-80.

¹¹² For the formation and sale of William Young Ottley’s painting collection, including one brief reference to his connection to the dealer Abbé Luigi Celotti (1759-1843), see Hugh Brigstocke,

Donata Levi and Christopher Lloyd's valuable articles on the Pisan dealer Carlo Lasinio (1759-1838) examined the art-historical 'cabinets' which this dealer constructed for his British antiquarian clients, largely comprised of paintings of the Tuscan schools from the Duecento to the Cinquecento.¹¹³ As both a dealer and engraver like Ottley, Lasinio is recognised as contributing to the revival of interest in early Italian art, contributing to a shift which saw early Italian frescoes become coveted as aesthetic objects, not just historical documents.¹¹⁴ His engravings of the early frescoes in the Pisan Camposanto complex (1812) contributed to a corpus of newly available visual records of early Italian works, while his art dealing activities made physical relics of the early Tuscan schools available to Continental and British buyers.¹¹⁵

Crucially though, how the transnational activities of dealers such as Lasinio mapped onto London's extant, domestic trade in early European pictures has not been examined and is a gap that this thesis fills. In Chapter One, by interrogating the role of the art, antique, and curiosity dealer in the formation of the collection of early European paintings amassed by the antiquary Francis Douce, new light is shed on a range of dealers and agents: from booksellers and curiosity dealers such as Horatio Rodd (active 1798-1858) through to travelling agents such as François Louis Thomas Francia (1772-1839), who occupied spaces from shops to hotel rooms. It finds that these dealers and agents did more than simply circulate early paintings through the secondary market; they also influenced the direction and approach of antiquarian study of such paintings.

'William Young Ottley in Italy', in *John Flaxman and William Young Ottley in Italy*, pp. 341-71 (pp. 352-53).

¹¹³ Levi, 'Carlo Lasinio'; Lloyd, 'Some Unpublished Letters of Carlo Lasinio'.

¹¹⁴ J. B. Bullen, 'The English Romantics and Early Italian Art', in *Continental Crosscurrents: British Criticism & European Art 1810-1910* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 9-34 (pp. 14-15).

¹¹⁵ Carlo Lasinio, *Pitture a Fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa* (Florence: Molini, Landi and Campagno, 1812).

Stratification and Professionalisation

Alongside London's art, antique, and curiosity dealers selling 'antiquarian pictures' among other objects, Chapter Two investigates the rise of the increasingly specialist 'picture dealer' in Britain. The chapter charts how dealers' strategies for buying, selling, and circulating early European paintings became increasingly stratified and professionalised, in response to a market-driven landscape. It examines the strategies employed by dealer William Buchanan to sell the early European paintings in his stock, strategies which became more expanded and efficient as he became increasingly familiar with and responsive to market conditions.

The structures and processes of professionalisation and the expansion of the professional classes in the nineteenth century have been much written on, though the term 'professionalisation' itself remains malleable and shifting.¹¹⁶ Terence Johnson exposes one of the dichotomies that the study of professions presents: 'Janus-headed, [the professions] promise both a structural basis for a free and independent citizenry in a world threatened by bureaucratic tyranny and at the same time themselves harbour a threat to freedom' through the perceived self-interestedness of their members, and the further fact that 'professionalisation' itself can impose a limiting unilineal view of occupational development.¹¹⁷ While acknowledging its ideological complexities, the notion of professionalisation can remain useful. Fraser, writing on nineteenth-century women art historians, sees professionalisation as 'a critical site for the negotiation and contestation of cultural values and norms'.¹¹⁸ In this thesis, it becomes a useful, though by no means exhaustive, framework around which the evolution of dealer and agent practices can begin to be mapped and examined.

¹¹⁶ See, for example, Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England Since 1880*, 3rd edn (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2002).

¹¹⁷ Terence J. Johnson, *Professions and Power* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1972), pp. 17-18.

¹¹⁸ Fraser, p. 19.

Professionalisation is often linked to the emergence of bureaucracy and institutions in the nineteenth century, institutions viewed by some as structuring forces, and by others as exclusionary ones.¹¹⁹ Philippa Levine has viewed professionalisation in the discipline of history as being driven by institutional developments. Writing on the growing gap between amateur archaeologists and professional historians in the nineteenth century, she links the professionalisation of the historian to the emergence of sites such as public record offices and universities which, she argues, recalibrated the dynamics of knowledge communities.¹²⁰ More recent attention has been paid to the institution of the art museum and, as such, the emerging museum professional in the mid- to late nineteenth century. A special issue of the *Journal of Art Historiography* (2019), edited by Elizabeth Heath, investigated the notion of these salaried art gallery officials as a defined community, an investigation which followed Giles Waterfield's (1949-2016) observations on the 'uncertain' rise of the art curator.¹²¹ As Charlotte Guichard observes, by the turn of the nineteenth century, what she terms 'art world expertise' was recalibrated from the realm of private collections towards the art market and public arts administration.¹²² Dealers and agents were certainly involved in these changes and, in this connection, Anne Helmreich observes that,

¹¹⁹ For the art museum as a structuring, institutional force see Anne Helmreich, 'David Croal Thomson: The Professionalization of Art Dealing in an Expanding Field', *Getty Research Journal*, 5 (2013), 89-100 (p. 89). As an exclusionary mechanism see Almabritis, 'Modern Mistresses', pp. 271-74. It should be acknowledged that the term 'structuring force' is reminiscent of the lexicon used by Pierre Bourdieu in his description of the concept of habitus – 'structuring structures' – for which see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2010), p. 166.

¹²⁰ Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). For institutional control of occupational activity see Johnson, p. 38.

¹²¹ *The Emergence of the Museum Professional*; Giles Waterfield, *The People's Galleries: Art Museums and Exhibitions in Britain, 1800-1914* (New Haven: published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 17-18, 266-71.

¹²² Charlotte Guichard, 'Connoisseurship and Artistic Expertise, London and Paris, 1600-1800', in *Fields of Expertise: A Comparative History of Expert Procedures in Paris and London, 1600 to Present*, ed. by Christelle Rabier (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), pp. 173-92.

art dealers were active in a field of cultural production that was becoming more densely populated with the growth of art history as an academic discipline and the boom in museums, and they strategically negotiated their positions and practices.¹²³

The importance of museums in this regard has been corroborated by Christopher Whitehead, who has argued that ‘the museum’ was a pivotal institutional agent in the construction of both knowledge and disciplinarity, namely in the ways that art history and archeology became differentiated from each other in the early to mid-nineteenth century.¹²⁴ As seen in particular in Chapter Two with William Buchanan and Chapter Four with Samuel Woodburn, the stratifying and professionalising practices and priorities of art dealers and agents were often driven by institutional developments surrounding emergent art museums such as London’s National Gallery. Yet, important areas of art-historical knowledge and practice were still formed outside museum collections and even before museums such as the National Gallery were founded – as seen in Chapter One, where the hybrid antiques market played a key role in structuring art-historical research around early paintings.

Anne Helmreich and Pamela Fletcher assign the professionalisation and systematisation of the art market in Britain to the second half of the nineteenth century, the period which they observe saw professionalisation take a particular form through new cultural apparatus such as mass print markets and the commercial gallery.¹²⁵ Certainly, far more is known about the professionalisation of the dealer of early European paintings in the second half of the nineteenth century than in the first half. During and following the Risorgimento in Italy – the period

¹²³ Helmreich, ‘David Croal Thomson’, p. 89.

¹²⁴ Christopher Whitehead, *Museums and the Construction of Disciplines: Art and Archaeology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Duckworth, 2009). For his definitions of ‘knowledge’ and ‘discipline’ see pp. 8-9.

¹²⁵ Anne Helmreich, ‘The Art Market and the Spaces of Sociability in Victorian London’, *Victorian Studies*, 59.3 (2017), 436-49; Pamela Fletcher, ‘Shopping for Art: The Rise of the Commercial Art Gallery, 1850s-90s’, in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London*, ed. by Fletcher and Helmreich, pp. 47-64.

surrounding Italy's unification in 1861 – particular dealers became increasingly specialised, their practices became highly efficient, and their output and global reach expanded. These themes were explored in the exhibition and catalogue *Primitifs Italiens* (2012) at the Musée Fesch, Ajaccio, which examined the demand for early Italian paintings and dealer practices in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹²⁶ From the second half of the nineteenth century, this demand resulted in a huge number of copies, falsifications, re-configurations, re-framings, adaptations, and divisions of early altarpieces and panel paintings carried out by artists, dealers, and agents.¹²⁷ Such practices led to particular later dealers becoming associated with the efficient and calculated production and circulation of these 'altered' works, notably Emilio Costantini (1842-1929), Luigi Grassi (1858-1937), Elia Volpi (1858-1938), and Stefano Bardini.¹²⁸

By contrast, this thesis examines the growing stratification and professionalisation of dealers and agents trading early European pictures in the first half of the century in Britain, and helps to contextualise these understandings which we already have from the later period. The kinds of practices employed by Bardini and others in the second half of the century were not entirely new or formed in a vacuum. As Julia Armstrong-Totten has observed more generally of the Old Master picture dealer in the first half of the century,

a leading picture dealer would need to have certain skills in place in order to purchase and introduce new stock to an interested but selective London audience [...] the sudden

¹²⁶ *Primitifs Italiens: Le Vrai, le Faux, la Fortune Critique*, ed. by Esther Moench (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2012).

¹²⁷ Esther Moench and Philippe Costamagna, "Le Cabinet de Gothicités", in *Primitifs Italiens*, ed. by Moench, pp. 193-258.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 196-97.

availability of high-quality art for sale from the Continent brought about a need for more professionals'.¹²⁹

Symptomatic of dealers' professionalisation is that in 1842, the 'Virtuosi Fund' (or 'Dealers in Fine Arts Provident Fund') was established in Britain to provide for members and their dependents who 'kept shop, showroom, or gallery, principally for the sale of works of art'.¹³⁰ The creation of this source of relief specifically for art dealers proves to an extent that before the middle of the century they were acknowledged as a defined, albeit complex and diverse, group with socially and culturally recognised expertise and skills.

The idea of professionalisation necessitates the growth of expertise, skills, values, identities, and cultural norms across a recognised body of professionals. Are there particular skills, experience, and expertise that it is possible to assign to art dealers and agents in the early nineteenth century? The ideas of '*théorie*' and '*pratique*', used by Pomian to elucidate the expertise of the art dealer, were introduced in the opening discussion to the thesis.¹³¹ As Helmreich has observed, art dealers developed their expertise in a largely self-regulated environment without a recognised formal curriculum, qualifications, or training, which saw them enact roles and practices that were often liminal (even invisible), contingent, and innovative.¹³² Writing on the albeit later dealer David Croal Thomson (1855-1930), she identifies the convergences between museum professionals, art writers, critics, and dealers, which represented 'nebulous and overlapping fields of knowledge' and between whom strategic and beneficial networks could be created.¹³³ This is certainly a picture corroborated by the findings of this thesis.

¹²⁹ Armstrong-Totten, 'From Jack-of-All-Trades to Professional', p. 203.

¹³⁰ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 101.

¹³¹ Pomian, pp. 155-56.

¹³² Helmreich, 'David Croal Thomson', pp. 89-90.

¹³³ *Ibid*, p. 90.

The period with which this thesis deals predates the later systematic catalogue raisonnés of earlier European art such as Joseph A. Crowe (1825-1896) and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle's (1819-1897) pioneering *The Early Flemish Painters* (1857) and *A New History of Painting in Italy* (1864-66).¹³⁴ In fact, the early nineteenth century in Britain saw the art market develop as a crucial mechanism for the classification and critical appraisal of early European pictures, particularly in the absence or emergence of other systematising mechanisms such as the art-historical catalogue raisonné and the art museum. There was significant information asymmetry between dealers and buyers, in favour of the dealer – who often travelled on the Continent, routinely saw many paintings at any given time, and nurtured ‘information networks’.¹³⁵ Pomian observed that by the end of the eighteenth century, dealers had wrestled agency from collector-connoisseurs in questions of attributions and authenticity – which he perceives as a primary aspect of a dealer's expertise.¹³⁶ A core aspect of this, he observes, was the dealers' encyclopaedic visual repertoire: ‘this is why only daily contact with paintings over several years could provide the competence needed to make attributions, along with frequent journeys abroad’.¹³⁷ Ivan Gaskell builds on Pomian's assertion, observing that, from the time of the dealer Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774) in the early eighteenth century,

¹³⁴ Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Painting in Italy from the Second to the Sixteenth Century*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1864-66); Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *The Early Flemish Painters: Notices of Their Lives and Works* (London: J. Murray, 1857). For the role of the dealer in this landscape see Antoinette Friedenthal, ‘John Smith, his Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters (1829-1842) and the “Stigma of PICTURE DEALER”’, *Journal of Art Historiography*, 9.2 (2013), 1-20 <<https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/friedenthal.pdf>> [accessed 21 March 2021].

¹³⁵ The definition of ‘asymmetric information’ in the *Oxford Dictionary of Business and Management* is ‘the situation in which one party to an agreement or transaction has superior information to the other’. The term is often used in business, healthcare, or management settings. *Oxford Dictionary of Business and Management*, ed. by Jonathan Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) <<https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780199684984.001.0001/acref-9780199684984-e-406?rsk=3YuPqP&result=1>> [accessed 7 April 2023]. For ‘information networks’ see Baetens and Lyna, ‘Introduction: Towards an International History’, p. 11.

¹³⁶ Pomian, pp. 138-68.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

the task of making attributions was a sphere in which the interests of scholars in universities and museums, and dealers, have intersected.¹³⁸

Early European paintings were often placed by dealers under popular attributions such as ‘Fra Angelico’, ‘Giotto’, ‘Van Eyck’, and variations on ‘Hemmelinck’ (Hans Memling).¹³⁹ As seen in Chapter Two with William Buchanan and in Chapter Three with Edward Solly, dealers played an important role in classifying paintings. It is no coincidence that the *Saint Jerome and the Lion* (B.M.596; **Figure 4.1**), purchased for collector John Bowes by Solly, moved from being described as ‘Early German’ in 1840 to a ‘Jan van Eyck’ by 1848.¹⁴⁰ By this point, Van Eyck’s celebrated *Arnolfini Portrait* (NG186; **Figure 1.2**) had been on display in London’s National Gallery for six years.¹⁴¹ Surely, Solly – while working for Bowes – must have effected this change of attribution, being a great friend of the German art historian and museum director Gustav Waagen (1794-1868) – the author of the first monograph on the Van Eyck brothers, albeit in the German language.¹⁴² Yet, as well as placing works under popular names, dealers such as Samuel Woodburn, who is examined in Chapter Four, were also instrumental in bringing new and unusual names of early painters to the British art world, thus making the first steps in developing previously unknown artistic identities (for a list of Woodburn’s early Italian paintings see **Appendix 4**).

¹³⁸ Ivan Gaskell, ‘Tradesmen as Scholars: Interdependencies in the Study and Exchange of Art’, in *Art History and Its Institutions: Foundations of a Discipline*, ed. by Elizabeth Mansfield (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 146-62.

¹³⁹ On these artists see Alison Clarke, ‘The Rediscovery of Fra Angelico in Nineteenth-Century Britain’ (unpublished MA thesis, The Warburg Institute, University of London, 2014); Jenny Graham; Ault, ‘Giotto and Non-Giotto’.

¹⁴⁰ DRO, D/St/E5/2/20, List of Paintings at Gibside to be Insured, 25 December 1848.

¹⁴¹ This painting is: Jan van Eyck, *Portrait of Giovanni (?) Arnolfini and his Wife*, 1434, NG186, National Gallery.

¹⁴² Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Ueber Hubert und Johann van Eyck* (Breslau: Josef Max, 1822).

Picture Trade Networks

Chapter Three highlights a later hallmark of this stratification and professionalisation, turning to examine how British art dealers and agents had begun to expand and solidify their domestic and transnational networks by the 1840s. Taking John Bowes's picture collection as a framework, it examines how the structures and flows of art market networks help explain significant shifts in taste and divergent directions in collecting – in this case, towards paintings of the early European schools – in dynamic ways. The systematic and targeted art market networks orchestrated by the dealer Edward Solly while working for Bowes, examined in Chapter Three, form a striking comparison to the richly hybrid 'patchwork' of tradespeople circulating 'antiquarian pictures' on London's art, antiques, and curiosity market in Chapter One.¹⁴³

The recent scholarly return to art market networks builds on foundational earlier work by scholars such as Haskell and Fleming, both groups recognising the usefulness of such analysis in amplifying understandings of shifts in taste, the state of the market, and the formation of collections.¹⁴⁴ Bruno Latour's 'Actor-Network Theory' (2005) has fed into the return of a

¹⁴³ The *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of a 'network' is 'an interconnected group of people; an organisation; *spec.* a group of people having certain connections [...] which may be exploited to gain preferment, information, etc., esp. for professional advantage'. A 'network' thus gives the sense of an organised and advantageous system of interconnected actors. See 'Network, n. and adj.', *OED Online* (March 2023)

<<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/126342?isAdvanced=false&result=1&rskey=mDLwTe&>> [accessed 7 April 2023]. By contrast, 'patchwork' appears to be better suited to this earlier period of the British antiques, curiosity, and art market, which was multi-faceted and not standardised or stratified. This rich landscape is perhaps better reflected through the idea of the 'patchwork': 'something composed of many different pieces or elements, esp. when put together in a makeshift or incongruous way; a medley or jumble'. See 'Patchwork, n. and adj.', *OED Online* (March 2023) <<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/138708?rskey=jiHgSs&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>> [accessed 7 April 2023].

¹⁴⁴ For the historiographical approaches of the 1970s see, for example, Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*; Fleming, 'Art Dealing and the Risorgimento I'; Fleming, 'Art Dealing in the Risorgimento II'; Fleming, 'Art Dealing in the Risorgimento III'. John Michael Montias's econometric approach has already been introduced above. For more recent, econometric approaches to art market networks see Miegroet, Cronheim, and Miyamoto, pp. 51-63; *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe 1450-*

network approach, albeit addressing it from a different angle.¹⁴⁵ Although he was not explicitly writing about the art market, Latour's methodology has encouraged scholars to redress the art market not as a homogenous and impervious whole, but rather as an ongoing and transnational process made up of human and non-human actors. His theory also encourages a move away from collector-oriented biographies of collections, and towards a system whereby dealers and agents can be acknowledged as 'full-blown mediators' in the formation of collections.¹⁴⁶

The mapping of art market networks has also increased, both through econometric and more historiographical approaches.¹⁴⁷ Art objects, dealers, and agents have further been incorporated into broader and complementary object itineraries.¹⁴⁸ The itinerary approach has been developed by scholars of archaeology and social anthropology such as Rosemary Joyce, Susan Gillespie, Hans Peter Hahn, and Hadas Weis.¹⁴⁹ As both a 'representational trope' and 'an analytical concept', itineraries allow the researcher to follow objects as mobile entities as they

1750, ed. by Neil de Marchi and Hans J. van Miegroet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006). For online resources mapping art market networks see also Crookham and Pezzini; Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, with David Israel and Seth Erickson, 'Local/Global: Mapping Nineteenth-Century London's Art Market', *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, 11.3 (2012) <<http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn12/fletcher-helmreich-mapping-the-london-art-market>> [accessed 13 March 2021]; Mark Westgarth, *Antique Dealers Project Website*, <<https://antiquetrade.leeds.ac.uk/>> [accessed 13 March 2021]. For recent historiographical approaches to art market networks see Caroline McCaffrey-Howarth, "'Sèvres-Mania" and Collaborative Collecting Networks: The 2nd Earl of Lonsdale, Henry Broadwood and Edward Holmes Baldock', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 35.1 (2021), 61-76; Avery-Quash, 'A Network of Agents'.

¹⁴⁵ Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹⁴⁷ See above at n. 144.

¹⁴⁸ This approach was utilised in Anna Reeve, 'Ancient Cyprus in Leeds: Objects, Networks and Museums from 1870 to 1947' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2021).

¹⁴⁹ *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*, ed. by Rosemary A. Joyce and Susan D. Gillespie (Santa Fe, NM: SAR Press, 2015); Hadas Weiss and Hans Peter Hahn, *Mobility, Meaning & Transformations of Things* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013). See also J. Joy, 'Reinvigorating Object Biography: Reproducing the Drama of Object Lives', *World Archaeology*, 41.4 (2009), 540-56; Yvonne Marshall and Chris Gosden, 'The Cultural Biography of Objects', *World Archaeology*, 31.2 (1999), 169-78.

move in the world.¹⁵⁰ As Joyce suggests, object itineraries can supplement and expand provenance histories and also help to overcome some of the limitations of the object biography approach.¹⁵¹ Indeed, they preclude the need for objects to follow an anthropomorphised journey through ‘life’ and ‘death’, as well as usefully allowing them to become fragmented and dispersed. This is in fact of use for Chapter Two, which charts the itineraries of two panels attributed to ‘Raphael’, and later to ‘Masaccio’, in the dealer Buchanan’s stock, as lynchpins through which to examine the stratification of dealer practices.

This thesis helps to amplify what is already known of the art market networks through which early European paintings moved by shedding light on the first half of the century, rather than the mid- to late nineteenth century, about which more is known – as has been seen.¹⁵² In fact, as Chapter Three shows through Edward Solly’s activities, networks were an important component of the toolkit used by dealers and agents in the first half of the century, and were recognised as such by them. They relied on personal connections and contacts, before the emergence of ‘large corporate firms with branches in numerous countries’.¹⁵³ As Armstrong-Totten observed of the British dealer John Smith’s (1781-1855) networks, ‘as markets grew and expanded and collecting became more popular across different levels of society, networking could provide a variety of advantages for art dealers.’¹⁵⁴ Certainly, dealers such as

¹⁵⁰ Rosemary A. Joyce, ‘Things in Motion, Itineraries of Ulna Marble Vases’, in *Things in Motion*, ed. by Gillespie and Joyce, pp. 21-38 (p. 23).

¹⁵¹ For recent theoretical work on provenance histories see *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art*, ed. by Gail Feigenbaum and Inge Reist (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2012).

¹⁵² See above at pp. 15-16. Fleming, ‘Art Dealing in the Risorgimento I’; Fleming, ‘Art Dealing in the Risorgimento II’; Fleming, ‘Art Dealing and the Risorgimento III’; Müндler, *The Travel Diaries*; Eastlake, *The Travel Notebooks*; *Primitifs Italiens*. With many thanks to Susanna Avery-Quash for sharing her forthcoming article (2024) for the *Journal of the History of Collections* on Milanese networks entitled ‘Sir Charles Eastlake, the National Gallery and Milanese Contacts: A Study in Connoisseurial Networks’ (working title). See also Lynn Catterson’s work on Bardini.

¹⁵³ Avery-Quash, ‘A Network of Agents’, p. 83.

¹⁵⁴ Julia Armstrong-Totten, ‘Selling Old Masters in Britain, France and the Netherlands: The Networking Strategies of John Smith’, in *Old Masters Worldwide*, ed. by Avery-Quash and Pezzini, pp. 69-82 (p. 72).

Solly and Woodburn, who loom large in this thesis, were coveted in the period as a new type of well-connected dealer who had built up transnational networks and experience abroad.¹⁵⁵ Chapter Three in particular analyses the impact of these expanding picture trade networks on the uptake of early European pictures by British collectors, using art market networks to help explain this significant shift in taste.

Dealers and Display

Chapter Four examines the role of the dealer in the context of exhibitions. It uses the dealer as a lens through which to interrogate afresh developments surrounding the public display of early European paintings in Britain in the 1840s and 1850s. The notion of the dealer as an exhibition maker was interwoven with complex ideas surrounding the political economy of art, and the negotiation of perceptions of personal gain and public benefit. Indeed, as dealers made early paintings visible and accessible, they concurrently harboured commercial interestedness. Within their premises, dealers could also exercise a distinctive curatorial autonomy which was sometimes not possible inside private or government-funded institutions where art was displayed in Britain. As such, Chapter Four shows dealers exhibiting early European pictures within didactic display frameworks drawn from what was happening for the first time in European museums. The didactic displays of early Italian paintings in Samuel Woodburn's shop at 112 St Martin's Lane, examined in Chapter Four, form a further striking comparison with the earlier, more ad-hoc display strategies of Buchanan, discussed in Chapter Two, where he experimented with the visibility and invisibility of early pictures by 'Raphael' in his shop.

¹⁵⁵ As will be explored in Chapter Three, this became clear in the *Report from the Select Committee on Arts and Their Connexion with Manufactures: With the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index*, 2 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1836), II, pp. 126-50.

Dealers such as Woodburn were exhibiting their early paintings more extensively and systematically by the 1840s and 1850s, a period which saw some unprecedented moments where early European paintings were being displayed to the public in Britain.¹⁵⁶ One well-known episode is the acquisition by the National Gallery of Van Eyck's so-called *Arnolfini Portrait* (NG186; **Figure 1.2**) in 1842, following its exhibition at the British Institution the previous year. The painting's reception history and wide-ranging influence from the time of its first public exhibition have been richly examined.¹⁵⁷ As Jenny Graham observes, the visibility that the exhibition of Van Eyck's works garnered represented a key driver in the changing critical fortunes of this artist:

With his work centre stage in the greatest art museum of the day, interest in Van Eyck spread across Europe [...] museums took up his works as they were brought to light, the *Arnolfini Portrait* in particular carrying Van Eyck's name to a new audience when it made its debut at London's National Gallery in 1843 to crowds of visitors.¹⁵⁸

Another notable exhibition of this decade was the Old Master exhibition mounted at the British Institution, Pall Mall, in June 1848.¹⁵⁹ There was displayed the 'novelty' of 'a series of Pictures from the times of Giotto and Van Eyck' lent by a roster of private collectors.¹⁶⁰ This was also the year which, as noted, saw the foundation of the Arundel Society, which attended to

¹⁵⁶ For an overview of the general exhibition landscape see Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1978).

¹⁵⁷ 'Reflections'; Smith and others; Jenny Graham, pp. 91-123; Francis Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 71-72.

¹⁵⁸ Jenny Graham, p. 6.

¹⁵⁹ Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum*, pp. 71-72; Haskell, 'Old Master Exhibitions and the Second "Re-discovery of the Primitives"', pp. 557-58; Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, pp. 96-97.

¹⁶⁰ [British Institution], *Catalogue of Pictures by Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch, French and English Masters* (London: William Nichol, 1848).

popularising early Italian art through the circulation of affordable prints and publications, as well as the inauguration of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in Britain.

Exhibitions of early European paintings continued into the 1850s in Britain. As Camporeale has charted, in 1851, a selection of pictures from the collection of William Humble Ward, 1st Earl of Dudley (1817-1885) – later a National Gallery trustee – was placed on exhibition at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly.¹⁶¹ This pioneering if overlooked exhibition featured many early works which were praised by *The Athenaeum* on 5 July 1851 as the ‘connecting links in that chronological chain which we have so constantly advocated [for the National Gallery]’, and which were attributed to artists including Fra Angelico (active 1417-d. 1455), Giotto (c. 1267/76-d. 1337), Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449-1494), Andrea Mantegna (c. 1431-1506), Van Eyck, and Dürer.¹⁶² By 1857, Saloon A of the Manchester ‘Art Treasures’ exhibition would unite huge numbers of early European paintings drawn from British collections. Hung chronologically and comparatively, with northern European art facing examples from south of the Alps, under the aegis of curator and first secretary of the National Portrait Gallery, George Scharf (1820-1895), the earlier paintings garnered a wide-ranging critical response and encouraged art-historical connoisseurship to be practiced in real time.¹⁶³

Concerning the role of dealers and agents in exhibitions, Elizabeth Pergam has highlighted the role of dealers as lenders and advisors in the logistical side of the organisation of Manchester ‘Art Treasures’. In this connection Pergam observes how the exhibition’s Executive Committee endeavoured to separate itself from ‘the stain of the impure world of business and moneymaking’ with which they felt the host industrial city was irrevocably connected.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Camporeale, p. 237; Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, p. 97.

¹⁶² ‘Lord Ward’s Collection of Pictures’, *The Athenaeum: Journal of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts for the Year 1851* (London: J. Francis, 1851), pp. 722-23 (p. 722).

¹⁶³ Pergam, pp. 138-58.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 5.

Accordingly, she suggests that dealers had to be approached rather secretly; employed only in the sourcing, lending, packing, and framing of the loans.¹⁶⁵ Yet, significantly, Pergam did not examine dealers' broader roles as exhibition-makers or 'curators', as persons well-versed in the design and interpretation of a picture hang. Chapter Four suggests dealers' roles in exhibitions of early art were more expansive than Pergam's observations.

While museum professionals such as Eastlake and Scharf recur in the literature on the display of early paintings, it is of course worth remembering that the superintendent of the British Institution (from 1805) and the first keeper of the National Gallery (from 1824) was in fact a dealer: William Segulier (1772-1843).¹⁶⁶ In this vein, Westgarth has outlined the wide range of exhibitions of decorative arts and furniture – though not paintings – for which dealers were responsible in the period.¹⁶⁷ For Westgarth:

the connections between the didactic and utilitarian intentions of exhibitions and the emergence of the historical object as commodity in the early nineteenth century are

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, pp. 31-33. For dealers assisting with comparable contemporaneous exhibitions see Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, pp. 149-50.

¹⁶⁶ It is worth remembering that Otto Müндler, the Gallery's first salaried travelling agent from 1855, was also a Bavarian picture dealer. For Charles Eastlake and George Scharf see Susanna Avery-Quash, 'John Ruskin and the National Gallery: Evolving Ideas about Curating the Nation's Paintings during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century', *Art for the Nation: John Ruskin, Art Education and Social Change*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash, Janet Barnes, and Paul Tucker (= *Journal of Art Historiography*, 22.1 (2020)), pp. 1-43 <<https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2020/05/avery-quash.pdf>> [accessed 4 August 2021]. See also Lucy Hartley, "'How to Observe": Charles Eastlake and a New Professionalism for the Arts', in *The Emergence of the Museum Professional*, ed. by Heath, pp. 1-20; Elizabeth Heath, 'A Man of "Unflagging Zeal and Industry": Sir George Scharf as an Emerging Professional within the Nineteenth-Century Museum World', in *The Emergence of the Museum Professional*, ed. by Heath, pp. 1-38; Jacob Simon, 'George Scharf and Improving Collection Care and Restoration at the National Portrait Gallery', in *The Emergence of the Museum Professional*, ed. by Heath, pp. 1-21 <<https://arthistoriography.wordpress.com/18-jun-18/>> [accessed 4 November 2023]. See also Charlotte Klonk, 'Mounting Vision: Charles Eastlake and the National Gallery of London', *The Art Bulletin*, 82.2 (2000), 331-47.

¹⁶⁷ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, pp. 141-52.

brought into sharper focus when one considers the role and function of antique and curiosity dealers in the evolving nineteenth-century exhibition culture.¹⁶⁸

Numbering among these dealer exhibitions were: Thomas Gwenapp's (d. 1851) exhibitions at the *Oplotheca* (Lower Brook Street) and the 'Gothic Hall' (Pall Mall) in the 1810s and 1820s; the Pratt family's armour exhibitions at The Gothic Armoury in New Bond Street, of which the 1838 exhibition was reportedly 'one of the most brilliant and interesting ever seen in London'; and William Gibbs Rogers's (1792-1875) exhibitions of the 1830s at his shop in Church Street, Soho, in which were displayed carvings by Grinling Gibbons (1678-1721).¹⁶⁹ Westgarth also shows how dealers later played an increasing role in large-scale national exhibitions in London, Manchester, and Leeds in the 1850s and 1860s.¹⁷⁰

Westgarth has also identified the role that the antique and curiosity shop, as an exhibitionary space, played in the trade of historical objects in Britain.¹⁷¹ As he suggests, the shop enabled new relationships to be forged between enduring antiquarian collecting patterns and new, broader interests in historic objects. As well as a shop, Armstrong-Totten has further confirmed the importance of a gallery premises for early nineteenth-century picture dealers such as Michael Bryan.¹⁷² Using cultural geography, Westgarth has mapped a conscious transition occurring in London by the 1820s which saw antique and curiosity dealers move their shops from certain locations perceived to be spurious and marginal, such as Wardour Street, Soho and the City, to more exclusive shopping areas such as New Bond Street and Regent Street in London's West End.¹⁷³ The early nineteenth-century dealer's shop and gallery also prefigured

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, pp. 141-42.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, pp. 142-44.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, pp. 145-52.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, pp. 116-60.

¹⁷² Armstrong-Totten, 'From Jack-of-All-Trades to Professional', p. 202.

¹⁷³ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 10.

the birth of the commercial art gallery, with its series of changing exhibitions, in London's West End in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁴ As opposed to the dealer's shop, the commercial gallery was a new type of space in the city's luxury shopping district through which dealers sought to 'carve out a reputable niche for the sale of art, differentiated from the itinerant traders and fraudulent dealers that formed the common perception of the art trade'.¹⁷⁵

An important contribution to knowledge of dealers' exhibition models in the first half of the century is Armstrong-Totten's work on the private contract sale, a form of exhibition which proliferated in Britain between the 1790s and 1840s.¹⁷⁶ This type of selling exhibition developed in tandem with the market for Old Master paintings, and took place at a dealer's premises or rented rooms. Paintings were sold as part of a temporary exhibition and accompanied by a catalogue. The dealer profited by charging an admission fee, usually of a shilling, and also by charging commission. Indeed, the paintings for sale did not always belong to the dealer, who thereby could sometimes also assume the status of a middleman. As Armstrong-Totten observes, this type of selling exhibition, unregulated by the Public Excise Office, provided a longer-term and more cost-efficient system through which to buy and sell paintings, removed from the payment of fees associated with an auction house. She further credits this model with a recalibration of dealer behaviours as they moved away from more traditional hoarding habits. Building on Armstrong-Totten's work on dealer exhibitions of Old

¹⁷⁴ Anne Helmreich, 'The Art Market and the Spaces of Sociability'; Pamela Fletcher, 'Shopping for Art'; Anne Helmreich, 'Victorian Exhibition Culture', *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*, 55 (2009) <<https://www.erudit.org/en/journals/ravon/2009-n55-ravon3697/039556ar/>> [accessed 18 August 2021]; Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, 'The Periodical and the Art Market: Investigating the "Dealer-Critic System" in Victorian England', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 41.4 (2008), 323-51.

¹⁷⁵ Pamela Fletcher, 'Shopping for Art', p. 48.

¹⁷⁶ Julia Armstrong-Totten, 'Expand the Audience, Increase the Profits: Motivations Behind the Private Contract Sale', in *The Circulation of Works of Art in the Revolutionary Era, 1789-1848*, ed. by Roberta Panzanelli and Monica Preti-Hamard (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes; Paris: Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art; Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007), pp. 45-56. For reflections on Armstrong-Totten's chapter see Susanna Avery-Quash and Barbara Pezzini, 'Introduction', in *Old Masters Worldwide*, ed. by Avery-Quash and Pezzini, pp. 1-36 (p. 20).

Master paintings in the first half of the nineteenth century, this thesis also seeks to re-populate what is known of the period, though shedding new light on how dealers exhibited early European paintings – including in their private contract sales.

This thesis places a spotlight on dealers' exhibitions and their modes of displaying early paintings in dealers' shops and galleries as well as in rented premises and even hotel rooms. It is worth highlighting the decision in the current thesis not to concentrate on auctions, auctions and auction data having long characterised studies of the art market.¹⁷⁷ It has been estimated that a sole focus on auctions might overlook as much as seventy-five percent of art market activity including private treaty sales and sales arranged between collectors, dealers, and agents.¹⁷⁸ It would certainly also preclude the possibility of exploring 'the identity and profession of the market agents involved in the transactions'.¹⁷⁹ Correspondence between the antiquaries Francis Douce and Thomas Kerrich (1748-1828) on the subject of early pictures – discussed in Chapter One – also shows that such paintings were sometimes purposefully left out of auctions if it was felt they might not sell, thus suggesting that early European paintings

¹⁷⁷ On the discursive nature of the auction see, for example, Nicole Cochrane, 'Ancient Art and the Eighteenth-Century Auction: Collecting, Catalogues and Competition', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 44.3 (2021); Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, pp. 134-41; Cynthia Wall, 'The English Auction: Narratives of Dismantlings', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31.1 (1997), 1-25; Charles W. Smith, *Auctions: The Social Construction of Value* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989); Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 3-63 (p. 21). For auction data see Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste: The Rise and Fall of Picture Prices 1760-1960*, 3 vols (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961); Frits Lugt, *Repertoire des Catalogues de Ventas Publiques*, 4 vols (Paris: 1938-64); Algernon Graves, *Art Sales* (London: Bradbury, 1921); George Redford, *Art Sales* (London: Whitefriars Press, 1888); John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters*, 9 vols (London: Smith & Son, 1829-42). See also online resources such as the Getty Provenance Index (GPI) <<https://www.getty.edu/research/tools/provenance/search.html>> [accessed 7 April 2023].

¹⁷⁸ Neil de Marchi, 'Introduction to Part One', in *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market*, ed. by Avery-Quash and Huemer, pp. 15-20 (p. 18).

¹⁷⁹ Guido Guerzoni, 'Reflections on Historical Series of Art Prices: Reitlinger's Data Revisited', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 19.3 (1995), 251-60 (p. 251).

were circulating in overlooked locations beyond auctions.¹⁸⁰ Accordingly, Dorothy Lygon (1912-2001) and Francis Russell's illuminating survey of Christie's sales catalogues between 1801 and 1837, through which they charted a growing taste for early Tuscan paintings in Britain, has been utilised in this thesis, albeit with a degree of caution, and while bearing other kinds of art market sources in mind which foreground the activity of the dealer and agent.¹⁸¹

This thesis examines how art dealers and agents assumed and complemented diverse and innovative cultural roles in relation to early European paintings during the first half of the nineteenth century in Britain, including those of the scholar, the professional, the network creator, and the exhibition maker. Through taking 'early European paintings' and 'art dealers and agents' as its dual subjects, the thesis nuances the timbre of the reception of early paintings but also the changing status of these art market actors – at a moment when both were moving in from 'the margins' of the cultural field to some extent. The cultural identities of art dealers and agents were stratifying and professionalising while these same art market actors were grappling with unfamiliar early paintings beginning to enter Britain. Drawing closely from the collections and archives of the Bowes Museum and the National Gallery, the thesis also looks beyond these sites to reveal the diversity of the marketplace for early paintings. The thesis complicates, and complements, consumer- and institution-focused readings of the 'primitive revival', and demonstrates that the British marketplace was an important motor in the reception of early paintings beyond the public art museum, even before the founding of the National Gallery in 1824. Finally, the thesis opens up the conventional periodisation of both the so-called 'primitive revival' and the professionalisation of the art dealer in Britain as cultural phenomena that have both been perceived to occur in the mid- to later nineteenth century.

¹⁸⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Special Collections (BOD), MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 22 May 1822, fol. 201.

¹⁸¹ Lygon and Russell.

Chapter One

The Trade in ‘Antiquarian Pictures’ and Approaches to Empirical Art History through the Art Market, c. 1800-34

Responding to the National Gallery’s pre-1500 European paintings, this chapter addresses a lesser-studied part of their art market histories: the early nineteenth-century trade in ‘antiquarian pictures’ in Britain. It shows how the relationship between dealers and antiquaries effected a desire for early European pictures within the paradigm of antiquarianism in the opening decades of the nineteenth century in Britain. It traces how dealers influenced the emerging role of such paintings as empirical art-historical objects within antiquarianism and the nascent discipline of art history, thus influencing how art history was practiced and told. In that connection, it will explore in particular how dealers’ activities supported, and capitalised on, antiquaries’ research into particular areas of empirical enquiry, notably the early history of oil painting. It is worth highlighting here that it was only later in the 1840s that early paintings would become incorporated into aesthetic and theoretical discourses in Britain, as what were perceived to be the transcendental qualities of such pictures began to be interrogated and appreciated more systematically and by greater numbers of people.¹⁸² Notwithstanding, the uniquely hybrid and overlapping nature of the secondary art market in the century’s opening decades enabled these earlier important developments to occur, creating a complex patchwork of antique, curiosity, and art dealers in Britain who contributed to developing patterns of antiquarian consumption, knowledge creation, and discipline formation.¹⁸³ As such, the chapter

¹⁸² Isobel Armstrong, *Victorian Scrutinies: Reviews of Poetry, 1830-1870* (London: Athlone Press, 1972), pp. 8-11; Cooper, ‘The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting’, p. 211. See also Ludwig Tieck and Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, *Herzensergießungen eines Kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1797); Alexis-François Rio, *De la Poésie Chrétienne dans son Principe, dans sa Matière et dans ses Formes: Forme de l’Art, Peinture* (Paris: Debécourt, 1836); Jameson, *Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters*; Alexander Crawford Lindsay, *Sketches of the History of Christian Art*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1847).

¹⁸³ For the definition of ‘patchwork’, see above at n. 143.

builds on the findings of Ivan Gaskell in ‘Tradesmen as Scholars’ that looked afresh at the longheld common assumption that art dealers were antithetical to art-historical scholarship, or at least removed from it.¹⁸⁴ As Gaskell’s research revealed, and as this chapter corroborates, art dealers have historically, though sometimes clandestinely, worked in dialogue with scholars in ways which have moulded the discipline – ‘whether abstruse theorist or rank salesman, [they] are intimately intertwined’.¹⁸⁵

‘Antiquarian Pictures’ in the Trade of the Old Masters

‘Antiquarian pictures’ here refers to paintings of the early Italian, Netherlandish, and German schools which were gaining traction among British antiquarian communities in the century’s opening decades.¹⁸⁶ These early paintings could be viewed quite separately from works which were often referred to at the time as ‘Old Master’ paintings, which usually encompassed paintings of a later date and became ‘conventional shorthand for the most esteemed painters of the historical European tradition’.¹⁸⁷ As Mark Westgarth has observed, a distinction between ‘the antiquary’ and the cultivated ‘man of taste’ or ‘virtuoso’, and their respective branches of collecting, was a recognised trope within contemporary cultural discourse.¹⁸⁸ As such, Westgarth observes that art and antique dealers strategically and discretely catered for the antiquary, as part of their broader and overlapping offering to those who might be termed more mainstream buyers of historic art.¹⁸⁹ Antiquaries formed a discrete and important target market

¹⁸⁴ Gaskell, pp. 146-62.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 146.

¹⁸⁶ Hugh Brigstocke describes early Italian paintings as constituting an ‘antiquarian interest’ in Britain in the 1820s for which see Hugh Brigstocke, ‘William Buchanan: His Friends and Rivals. The Importation of Old Master Paintings into Britain during the First Half of the 19th Century’, in *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, ed. by Brigstocke, pp. 1-42 (p. 28).

¹⁸⁷ For discussion of the term ‘Old Masters’ see Avery-Quash and Pezzini, ‘Introduction’, pp. 4-6, quotation p. 5.

¹⁸⁸ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, pp. 89, 121.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 121.

for British art and antiques dealers in this period, and were important though overlooked buyers of early pictures.

To take an illuminating example, the distinction between ‘antiquarian’ early paintings and ‘gentlemanly’ Old Master paintings characterised the organisation of the picture collection of the Norfolk-based antiquary and collector, Dawson Turner (1775-1858) – the uncle and correspondent of Elizabeth Eastlake (née Rigby; 1809-1893), who would go on to marry Charles Eastlake, who became the first director of the National Gallery.¹⁹⁰ Dawson Turner kept his early ‘gold-back’ Tuscan pictures, purchased from the Pisan art dealer and museum keeper Carlo Lasinio between 1826 and 1830, discrete from the rest of his Old Master collection.¹⁹¹ The ‘Old Masters’ were reproduced in *Outlines in Lithography from a Small Collection of Pictures*, published privately in 1840.¹⁹² This comprised prints after Turner’s Old Master pictures, executed by his daughters Hannah Sarah Brightwen (née Turner; 1808-1882) and Mary Anne Turner (1803-1874), ranging through artists such as Titian (active c. 1506-d. 1576), Guido Reni (1575-1642), Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), and Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), along with some contemporary works by Turner’s artist friends. In two watercolours (**Figures 2.1-2**) by Turner’s daughter Elizabeth (1799-1852) of the Drawing Room of their Yarmouth home Bank House, only the more recognisably traditional Old Masters are recorded as being on display – with the exception of Giovanni Bellini’s (c. 1435-1516) *Cornbury Park Altarpiece* (**Figure 2.3**), purchased by Turner from the dealer William Paulet Carey (1759-1839) in

¹⁹⁰ For Elizabeth Eastlake see Julie Sheldon, “‘His Best Successor’”: Lady Eastlake and the National Gallery’, in *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*, ed. by Kate Hill (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2012), pp. 61-74; Elizabeth Eastlake, *The Letters of Elizabeth, Lady Eastlake*, ed. by Julie Sheldon (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009); Johann David Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England: With Notices of Private Galleries, and Remarks on the State of Art*, trans. by Elizabeth Eastlake, 2 vols (London: Saunders and Otley, 1836).

¹⁹¹ Levi, ‘Carlo Lasinio’, pp. 133-48.

¹⁹² Dawson Turner, *Outlines in Lithography from a Small Collection of Pictures* (Yarmouth: [privately published], 1840).

Yarmouth in 1814.¹⁹³ Turner's exclusion of his early Tuscan 'gold-backs' from *Outlines* and from the display of his art collection in the Drawing Room was likely because he viewed them as part of a discrete antiquarian project. They had after all been referred to in 1826 by Turner's friend, the Royal Academician Thomas Phillips (1770-1845), as Turner's 'black letter pictures', a light-hearted reference to the gothic script which some of them displayed and which was coveted by many bibliophile antiquaries.¹⁹⁴ Evidently, earlier European pictures, due to their association with the paradigm of antiquarianism, were perceived quite distinctly from Old Masters in the opening decades of the century. As such, they also formed a discrete part of the trade in historic pictures.

During this period, the picture trade in Britain was still part of an emerging and hybrid local antique and curiosity trade which, in London at least, emanated from Soho.¹⁹⁵ The role of this hybrid trade in the opening decades of the nineteenth century in effecting encounters with, responses to, and collections of, early European paintings in Britain has been little acknowledged. One of the first to draw attention to this phenomenon was Westgarth, who observed that 'the market for antiquarian pictures was considerable in the period and [...] there were a large number of dealers in the chains of supply'.¹⁹⁶ He cites the bookseller and antique and curiosity dealer Horatio Rodd, whose illustrated sale catalogue of 1842 included a specific section dedicated to historic portraits; a taste which Westgarth situates within the broader

¹⁹³ These watercolours may have been painted before Carlo Lasinio's pictures had arrived. With thanks to Hemali Chudasama at Norfolk Museums Service for sending images of these watercolours during the COVID-19 lockdown. The sale was held on 25 October 1814, Hazard's auction house, Yarmouth, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-1228, lot 37 [accessed 15 Sept 2022]. This painting is Giovanni Bellini, *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints ('The Cornbury Park Altarpiece')*, 1505, 1977P227, Birmingham Museums Trust.

¹⁹⁴ Cambridge, University of Cambridge, Trinity College Library (TCL), MS.0.13.31, Letter from Thomas Phillips to Dawson Turner, 19 Feb 1826, fol. 29.

¹⁹⁵ Westgarth, "Florid-Looking Speculators", pp. 26-46.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 31.

antiquarian tradition of collecting ‘heads’ and ‘effigies’.¹⁹⁷ The 1827 trade card (**Figure 2.4**) of the London ‘picture dealer’ and ‘picture cleaner’ Thomas Gwenapp junior (1798-1845), the son of the renowned armour dealer, visualises the antiquarian taste for historic heads that Westgarth describes; portraits of kings and queens are propped around the central easel, alongside other curiosities.¹⁹⁸ Further, in Rodd’s 1842 catalogue, alongside ‘portraits’ and ‘anonymous portraits’, there is an entire section dedicated to ‘pictures’, which also featured among its illustrations one of an unknown *Portrait of a Lady and a Gentleman* and another of *Moses Holding the Ten Commandments* attributed to Salvator Rosa (1615-1673) (**Figure 2.5**).¹⁹⁹ Returning to Westgarth’s analysis of Rodd though, no mention is made of this antique dealer’s engagement with the trade in early European pictures. It emerges that at the sale of the German merchant Carl Aders’s collection of early paintings on 26 April 1839, Rodd purchased five paintings, four of which were attributed to painters of the earlier Italian and northern European schools: Antonello da Messina (active 1456-d. 1479), Albrecht Dürer, Lorenzo di Credi (c. 1458-1537), and Masaccio (1401-1428/9?).²⁰⁰ At least two of these entered the collection of John Rushout, 2nd Baron Northwick (1770-1859), and must have been purchased in Rodd’s capacity as Northwick’s domestic agent, a role which Nicholas Penny and Oliver Bradbury have elucidated.²⁰¹ They later entered the National Gallery’s collection: Lorenzo di Credi’s (c. 1458-1537) *The Virgin Adoring the Child* (to whom the painting is still attributed)

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, pp. 30-31; Horatio Rodd, *Catalogue of Portraits, Pictures, Drawings, Carvings in Oak, Ivory, & Boxwood, Antique Furniture & Plate, Crosses, Chalices, Tabernacles, Shrines, Stained Glass, &c. for Sale* (London: J. Harris, 1842), pp. 1-15.

¹⁹⁸ Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 110-12.

¹⁹⁹ Rodd, pp. 16-19.

²⁰⁰ 26 April 1839, Christie’s, London, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-5015, lots 10, 26, 30, 45, 49 [accessed 15 Sept 2022]. Carl Aders’s collection was exhibited for sale in 1832 at the Suffolk Street Gallery, London, then moving to 10 Warwick Street in Golden Square. The sales were not a success and the pictures were subsequently auctioned at Foster’s auction house. Many works were bought in, and the collection was assigned to trustees, with the final sale organised at Christie’s in 1839. For an overview see Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings*, pp. 12-13; Jenny Graham, pp. 62-79.

²⁰¹ Bradbury and Penny, ‘Lord Northwick: Part I’, pp. 485-96; Bradbury and Penny, ‘Lord Northwick: Part II’, pp. 606-17. See also NGA, NGA28/1, *The Northwick Papers, 1790-2010*.

in 1860 (NG648; **Figure 2.6**), and the ‘Antonello da Messina’ *Virgin and Child, with Six Saints* (NG1939; **Figure 2.7**) in 1904; the latter is now catalogued as a work by a follower of the early Netherlandish painter and illuminator Lieven van Lathem (active 1454-d. 1493).²⁰² As will be seen, the Rodd dealership likewise played a key role in introducing the antiquaries Francis Douce and Thomas Kerrich to early paintings.

The Douce Papers and the National Gallery Collection

The Virgin and Child with Two Angels by Cimabue (documented 1272-d. 1302) (NG6583; **Figure 2.8**) serves as a nodal point for this chapter. Re-discovered and acquired by the National Gallery in 2000, the painting was first published in 2003 by its then curator of early Italian art, Dillian Gordon, who proposed that it may have once formed part of the collection of the British antiquary, and former British Museum keeper, Francis Douce.²⁰³ In short, Gordon proposed that the painting may have been the one depicted in the lower right corner of a sketch of 1829 (**Figure 2.9**), which came from Carlo Lasinio – the Pisan dealer and keeper of the Camposanto museum complex there.²⁰⁴ The sketch, preserved among Douce’s ‘Notes on Objects and Documents of Antiquarian Interest’ in the Bodleian Library Special Collections, Oxford, shows a suggested grouping of fourteen paintings arranged by Lasinio for Douce.²⁰⁵ Lasinio did not elucidate the composition of the painting but noted it to be a ‘*Madonna di Cimabue 1200*’. Its

²⁰² Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings*, pp. 293-99; Jenny Graham, pp. 74-75.

See also the provenance fields on The Museum System Database, The National Gallery. These paintings are: Lorenzo di Credi, *The Virgin Adoring the Christ Child*, 1490-1500, NG468 and Follower of Lieven van Lathem, *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor*, c. 1500, NG1939.

²⁰³ Dillian Gordon, ‘The Virgin and Child by Cimabue at the National Gallery’, *Apollo*, 157.496 (2003), 32-36. See also Dillian Gordon, *The Italian Paintings Before 1400* (London: National Gallery Company, 2011), pp. 32-39.

²⁰⁴ BOD, MS Douce d. 57, ‘Lasinio’s Pictures’, fol. 84.

²⁰⁵ In the end, Douce received sixteen paintings from Lasinio. It is possible to calculate this from the following document: BOD, MS Douce d. 57, Accounts of Charges on 2 Cases Pictures Received from Messrs Geo’ Warren & Co. of Leghorn and the Albion Capt. James Burrell for Accounts of Mr Duce [sic], 12 November 1830, fol. 83.

relative size in the sketch suggests that the painting was akin to the dimensions of a small panel such as NG6583.

While Gordon proposed that NG6583 entered Douce's collection, she also cautioned that this was not certain.²⁰⁶ The panel now neither exhibits the characteristic red and black seals featuring Lasinio's initials and the mark of the Camposanto nor the handwritten labels that often featured on the reverse of his pictures, including some pictures which entered Douce's collection and were later catalogued as part of the Doucean Museum in 1836 (**Appendix 1**).²⁰⁷ Other panels have also since been proposed as being the one recorded in Lasinio's sketch.²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, Gordon's hypothesis provides a compelling catalyst for a new, expanded consideration of Douce's relationships with the trade in early paintings; not just with Lasinio, whose sales of early Italian paintings to British antiquaries have already been richly examined by Donata Levi (1993) and Christopher Lloyd (1978), but more widely with local art, antique,

²⁰⁶ Gordon, 'The Virgin and Child by Cimabue', pp. 34-35.

²⁰⁷ Douce bequeathed the majority of his painting collection – along with carvings and miscellaneous antiquities – to his friend, the antiquary Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick (1783-1848) at Goodrich Court, Herefordshire. Meyrick published a catalogue of what came to be called 'the Doucean Museum' in five instalments in *The Gentleman's Magazine* between August and December 1836. For the picture collection see [Samuel Rush Meyrick], 'The Doucean Museum', in *The Gentleman's Magazine. January to June Inclusive*, ed. by Sylvanus Urban (London: William Pickering, John Bowyer and Son, 1836), pp. 245-53. Goodrich Court was open periodically to the public, although the Doucean Museum appears to have perhaps been a more private space. It was described in 1862 how there was 'a suite of apartments reserved for the family, and not opened to the public. These are the library, the dining, breakfast, and drawing rooms, the Doucean Museum' in William Howitt and Mary Howitt, *Ruined Abbeys and Castles of Great Britain* (London: A.W. Bennett, 1862). Thank you to Katie Ault for this reference. Douce's other collections were bequeathed to the public. For Douce's will see London, National Archives (NA), PROB 11/1830/19, Will of Francis Douce of Upper Gower Street Bedford Square, Bedfordshire, 11 April 1834. For the later sale of Meyrick's collection see *Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures, Water-colour Drawings, Engravings, &c., of Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, Deceased, Removed from Goodrich Court*, 23 November 1872, Christie's, Manson & Woods, London. A copy is held at the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

²⁰⁸ The early Tuscan *Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist, Saint Peter and Two Angels* (1952.5.60) in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, is one. See 'Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist, Saint Peter and Two Angels', *National Gallery of Art Website* <<https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.41675.html#provenance>> [accessed 15 Sept 2020].

and curiosity dealers in the secondary art market in London, a topic that has hitherto received scant attention.²⁰⁹

Douce's papers are a lynchpin for this chapter due to their richness. As observed in the Introduction to this thesis, archives often coalesce around collectors and so must be utilised by art market scholars in creative ways. Douce's papers are invaluable for this thesis as they evidence his extensive engagement with the art and antiques trade, through his meticulous record keeping and the comprehensive preservation of his papers following their bequest to the Bodleian in 1834.²¹⁰ Douce maintained close ties to the art and antiques trade in Britain, in various ways. He was, for example, a regular patron of the Rodd dealership who in November 1825 requested £1000 from Douce, and a friend, to assist with the firm's 'great pecuniary difficulties'.²¹¹ Nevertheless – though Douce's broader relationship with the British antiques trade has been acknowledged – perhaps surprisingly, nothing has been written on Douce's collection of early Italian, German, and Netherlandish paintings in its entirety, and neither on the intersecting dealers who engineered his encounters with early pictures, and influenced the direction and approach of Douce's collection and research in this field.²¹²

Douce was enabled to start collecting paintings after he and his antiquarian correspondent and fellow early picture collector, Thomas Kerrich, inherited a portion of the estate (money not works of art) of the sculptor Joseph Nollekens (1737-1823) (for Douce's painting collection see **Appendix 1**).²¹³ Douce's first major acquisition came in June 1827, with the purchase of

²⁰⁹ Levi, 'Carlo Lasinio', pp. 133-48; Lloyd, 'Some Unpublished Letters of Carlo Lasinio', pp. 83-91.

²¹⁰ BOD, Papers of Francis Douce; [Bodleian Library], *The Douce Legacy: An Exhibition to Commemorate the 150th Anniversary of the Bequest of Francis Douce (1757-1834)* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1984).

²¹¹ BOD, MS Douce d. 25, Letter from Thomas Rodd to Francis Douce, 1 November 1825, fol. 120. See also A. N. L. Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures 1750-1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 44.

²¹² 'The Douce Legacy', p. 21.

²¹³ *Ibid*, p. 20.

an *Annunciation* then attributed to Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533) but thought by Douce – as annotated in his copy of the auction catalogue – to be by the fifteenth-century German artist, Martin Schongauer (active 1469-d. 1491).²¹⁴ Correspondence between Douce and the English banking house of Messrs Lubbock & Co. evidences that he had purchased sixteen early Italian pictures from the Pisan dealer Lasinio well before the end of 1829.²¹⁵ He had been waiting a long time for them when his ‘Italian pictures came at last from Lasinio’ in November 1830, as recorded in his *Diary of Antiquarian Purchases*.²¹⁶ Beginning with a *Virgin and Child* of the ‘Greek School’ – what might be termed a ‘gold-back’ picture – and encompassing then highly obscure artists such as the Piedemontese Pietro da Alba (active at the end of the fourteenth century), this early Italian ‘*gabinetto*’ (‘cabinet’) would provide a nucleus for Douce’s collection of largely early paintings which, by the time of his death, would include over forty-six paintings and miniatures.²¹⁷

Though well-documented through Douce’s archive, this now dispersed group of paintings has not received sustained scholarly attention, greater attention having been paid to other areas of Douce’s rich collection which ranged across books, manuscripts, prints, drawings, coins, medals, medieval ivories, and countless curiosities.²¹⁸ The relationship between Douce and Lasinio, as well as other British collectors who engaged with this Pisan dealer such as Dawson Turner, and Augustus (1779-1844) and Maria Callcott (née Dundas; 1785-1842), have been

²¹⁴ 1 June 1827, Stanley’s, London, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-2983, lot 36 [accessed 15 Sept 2022]. This painting is: Joos van Cleve, *The Annunciation*, c. 1525, 32.100.60, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

²¹⁵ BOD, MS Douce d. 26, Letter from Messrs Lubbock to Francis Douce, 3 December 1829, fol. 274. See also, BOD, MS Douce d. 57, Bill issued to Messrs Lubbock (for Douce) from the St Katharine Dock Company, 30 Oct 1830, fol. 81; Bill issued to Douce from the St Katharine Dock Company for extra loading charges, 13 Nov 1830, fol. 82; Accounts of charges on 2 cases pictures, 12 November 1830, fol. 83; MS Douce d. 63, *Diary of Antiquarian Purchases*, Book 3, fol. 114.

²¹⁶ BOD, MS Douce d. 63, *Diary of Antiquarian Purchases*, Book 3, fol. 114.

²¹⁷ The painting by Pietro da Alba has been located by the present author. It is: Pietro da Alba, *Trittico*, 15th century, 0774/D, Palazzo Madama, Turin.

²¹⁸ For a focus on Francis Douce’s manuscript illuminations, for example, see Munby, pp. 35-56. Douce’s paintings from Carlo Lasinio are given only one page in ‘The Douce Legacy’, p. 21.

examined by Lloyd and Levi.²¹⁹ Their respective articles made known previously unpublished correspondence and related Florentine export licences. Yet, with these contributions came the specific focus on early Tuscan paintings in British collecting cultures, a path also well-trodden by Lygon and Russell in their 1980 survey of ‘Tuscan primitives’ in early nineteenth-century Christie’s catalogues.²²⁰ Their studies did not extend to consider early paintings from other parts of Italy or early northern European paintings as this chapter – and thesis – does.

What these researchers also did not do was place Lasinio’s practices as a dealer within the wider context of the trade in antiquarian pictures and the gamut of local sellers simultaneously circulating early art in Britain. From the names which feature in Douce’s papers alone, it becomes clear that early Italian, German, and Netherlandish paintings were exhibited, circulated, and sold by an intersecting patchwork of dealers in Britain. This included the curiosity and booksellers, Horatio and Thomas (1796-1849) Rodd; the dealer in pictures, prints, and drawings, Samuel Woodburn; the collector-dealer William Young Ottley; the artist and itinerant agent François Francia; the curiosity and picture dealer Dean William Tuck (d. 1838); the Molteno dealership of print sellers; and two currently obscure dealers, ‘Emanuel’²²¹ and ‘Thane’²²² (**Appendix 1**). This corroborates what Westgarth has already observed that, in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, the picture trade was still very much part of the antique and curiosity trade.²²³

²¹⁹ Levi, ‘Carlo Lasinio’; Lloyd, ‘Some Unpublished Letters of Carlo Lasinio’. For the Callcotts’s purchase of early paintings from Lasinio see BOD, MS. Eng., d. 2278, *Journal of a Tour by Lady Callcott to Dresden, Munich and Milan*, vol. 5, Nov 1827-5 June 1828, fols. 93v-96r. It is also transcribed in Collier and Palmer, *Discovering Ancient and Modern Primitives*, pp. 26, 31-32, 38, 43, 211-12.

²²⁰ Lygon and Russell, pp. 112-17.

²²¹ For possible dealers see entries for ‘Emanuel’ in Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 93-94.

²²² Possibly William Thane (1784?-1850) for whom see Jacob Simon, ‘William Thane’, *British Picture Restorers, 1600-1950 – T*,

<<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/british-picture-restorers-1600-1950-t>> [accessed 27 January 2023].

²²³ Westgarth, “‘Florid-Looking Speculators’”, pp. 26-46.

Strikingly, Douce's archive shows that early paintings later acquired for the National Gallery were already prominently circulating within the antiquarian trade in Britain, with which he was firmly enmeshed. In correspondence between Douce and Kerrich, early paintings were frequently discussed. On 5 November 1804, Douce and Kerrich examined together, for example, the artist's inscription – 'HB Baldung 1512' – found on 'a very curious picture – large upright figures less than life. It was sold by [the auctioneer] King, with the books, after Dr Farmer's death; but I know not who bought it; what is become of it now.'²²⁴ The picture in question was *The Trinity and Mystic Pièta* by Hans Baldung Grien (1484/5-1545) (NG1427; **Figure 2.10**) which was much later purchased by the National Gallery in 1894.²²⁵ Nicola Sinclair has examined the neglect of early German painters, such as Baldung Grien, in the historiography of British collecting through her case study of the Krüger collection, acquired by the National Gallery in 1854 – an acquisition long thought to have been 'a mistake' because these early German paintings were seen to be inferior to their counterparts from Italy and the Netherlands.²²⁶

Other paintings of note, which are mentioned in Douce's papers, include the fragments of the wings of the *Saint Bertin Altarpiece* (NG1302-03; **Figures 2.11-14**), which in Douce's time were attributed to Hans Memling. Douce was approached as a potential purchaser of them, in his capacity as a prominent member of the Society of Antiquaries, by the itinerant artist-dealer François Francia in January 1822, who had brought the panels to London.²²⁷ Like the Baldung Grien painting, these fragments have suffered a historiography of neglect since their accession into the National Gallery's collection. Eventually purchased as part of the Beaucousin

²²⁴ BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 5 November 1804, fol. 9. For its sale see Thomas King, *Bibliotheca Farmeriana* (London: [n. pub.], 1798), p. 379, lot 58.

²²⁵ The painting is: Hans Baldung Grien, *The Trinity and Mystic Pietà*, 1512, NG1427, National Gallery.

²²⁶ For reference to the acquisition being a mistake see Sinclair, p. 2.

²²⁷ BOD, MS Douce d. 24, Letter from François Francia to Francis Douce, 24 January 1822, folio 3^r.

collection in 1860 under then director Eastlake, the panels were among those which ‘in the judgement of the trustees, [were] not required for the National Gallery’ and were subsequently sent to the Circulation Department of the South Kensington Museum until 1889.²²⁸ It is worth noting that Kerrich bequeathed his own collection of early European paintings, ranging from historic portraits to altarpiece panels, to the Society of Antiquaries, London, in 1828. Kerrich’s bequest to the Society came four years after the National Gallery’s founding in 1824 but such paintings would only be firmly embedded within the National Gallery’s own acquisition agenda after its reconstitution in 1855.²²⁹ In short, although the trade in antiquarian pictures of the early Italian, Netherlandish, and German schools is hardly disconnected from the National Gallery’s history of taste and collecting, it has been neglected as an area of study.

The National Gallery, Antiquarianism, and a Historiography of Neglect

The Cimabue *Virgin and Child* (NG6583), the fragments of the shutters of the *Saint Bertin Altarpiece* (NG1302-03), and Hans Baldung Grien’s *Trinity and Mystic Pietà* (NG1427) were all circulating within the early nineteenth-century antiquarian trade in Britain, as evidenced by Douce’s papers in which, as noted, they feature. Yet these paintings have never been considered together in this way. Illuminating the early nineteenth-century trade in ‘antiquarian pictures’ fruitfully contributes to historiographies of the National Gallery. Firstly, it provides a contextualising foil to the types of more traditional Old Master paintings amassed in gentlemanly private collections such as that of John Julius Angerstein (1735-1823) upon which the National Gallery was first founded in 1824, and the area in which the Gallery continued to acquire almost exclusively for the first three decades of its existence.²³⁰ This more mainstream

²²⁸ NGA, NG5/138/5, Return of All the Pictures Purchased for the National Gallery from its Establishment, June 1860. See also Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings*, p. 303.

²²⁹ On the reconstitution see Susanna Avery-Quash, ‘The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting’, pp. xxix-xxxii.

²³⁰ On Angerstein see Susanna Avery-Quash, ‘John Julius Angerstein and the Development of his Art Collection at No 100, Pall Mall, London’, in *The Georgian London Town House: Building, Collecting*

Old Master trade has received renewed attention through recent edited volumes such as *Old Masters Worldwide* (2022) which examined key changes in the art market resulting from this taste, including the rise of the larger, professional dealerships from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.²³¹

Secondly, by using the hybrid antique, curiosity, and picture trade as a lens through which to interrogate the Gallery's earlier holdings, illuminating cross-sectional links can be made between early Italian, German, and Netherlandish paintings which have tended to be siloed by the Gallery's enduring schools-based designations. Such an approach allows interesting answers to emerge from interesting new questions such as: what links Cimabue's *Virgin and Child* (NG6583), the shutter fragments from the *Saint Bertin Altarpiece* (NG1302-03), and Baldung Grien's *Trinity and Mystic Pietà* (NG1427), spread across the Gallery's Italian, Netherlandish, and German holdings respectively?

It is worth examining briefly why the intertwined antiquarian histories of these paintings have been overlooked at the National Gallery. Indeed, the early nineteenth-century trade in antiquarian pictures is passed over somewhat fleetingly in literature pertaining to the Gallery's nineteenth-century formation. In Lorne Campbell's preface to the early Netherlandish paintings (1998), less than a page is dedicated to the antiquarian trade in such works (though the term 'antiquarian' is not explicitly used), with the earlier activities, perceived of as spurious, of the art dealer and forger William Sykes (c. 1600-1724) given precedence.²³² This fits with pervasive associations between antiquarianism, dealers, and forgery, as examined by Paul

and Display, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash and Kate Retford (New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019), pp. 247-66; Susanna Avery-Quash, "'The Lover of the Fine Arts is Well Amused with the Choice Pictures that Adorn the House": John Julius Angerstein's "Other" Art Collection at his Suburban Villa, Woodlands', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 33.3 (2021), 433-52.

²³¹ *Old Masters Worldwide*. Other recent edited volumes include *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market*; *Art Crossing Borders*; *Art Markets, Agents and Collectors*.

²³² Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings*, p. 12.

Baines²³³, and preconceived ideas of an inauthentic relationship between the dealer and collectable objects.²³⁴ In Avery-Quash's valuable introduction to the National Gallery's early Italian paintings (2003), she briefly describes how 'antiquarian zeal, [graduated] into real art-historical scholarship and connoisseurship'.²³⁵ This description is symptomatic of depreciating ideas of antiquarianism as a middle-ground or 'a link between two worlds'.²³⁶ The latter notion has characterised the foundational scholarship of both Krzysztof Pomian and Stuart Piggott (1910-1996), where a perceived decline of antiquarianism is seen to herald new epistemological structures.²³⁷

When considering the neglect of the antiquarian histories of early paintings in the National Gallery, it is worth first considering their status as 'curious pictures', as they were commonly described during the period. When the itinerant artist-dealer François Francia invited Douce to view the *Saint Bertin Altarpiece* shutters (NG1302-03) at his hotel room in October 1822, it was to see 'a very curious suite of ancient paintings'.²³⁸ As Susan Crane outlines, curiosity is both 'an attitude' (a desire to know) and 'a type of object', which come together in the story that the said object represents.²³⁹ These concepts unite within the broader paradigm of curiosity which, as Nicholas Thomas and Stephen Bann have observed, is an 'authored' notion which since the eighteenth-century has been connected to enduring ideas of possessiveness,

²³³ Baines, "'Our Annus'", pp. 33-51; Paul Baines, *The House of Forgery in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

²³⁴ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 37; Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary*, p. 18.

²³⁵ Avery-Quash, 'The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting', p. xxv.

²³⁶ Bann, 'Preface', p. xx. Quotation from Stuart Piggott, *William Stukeley: An Eighteenth-Century Antiquary*, 2nd edn (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), p. 15.

²³⁷ See, for example, Piggott, p. 15; Pomian, p. 64.

²³⁸ BOD, MS Douce d. 24, Letter from François Francia to Francis Douce, 24 January 1822, fol. 3.

²³⁹ Susan Crane, 'Story, History and the Passionate Collector', in *Producing the Past*, ed. by Peltz and Myrone, pp. 187-203 (pp. 188, 190).

commerce, desire, and licentiousness.²⁴⁰ Accordingly, as Thomas and Bann suggest, the concept of curiosity has harboured a challenging relationship with the detached, historical mode of the public art museum, a phenomenon of the nineteenth century. As Bann has suggested, antiquarianism is in fact interesting as a potentially ‘subversive counter-discourse’ – in this case, disrupting the sanctioned taxonomies of the art museum.²⁴¹ Indeed, in 1836, following the Select Committee of Arts and Manufactures, former Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850) could explicitly state ‘I think we should not collect curiosities’, in response to the recommendation that the Gallery might begin acquiring paintings of the earlier schools.²⁴²

Pomian located curiosity as having ‘enjoyed a temporary spell in power, the interim rule between religion and science’ during the early modern period.²⁴³ His notion of a transition from ‘curiosity’ to ‘science’ has become foundational for the ways in which the perceived overshadowing of eighteenth-century cabinets of curiosities by the nineteenth-century art museum has often been understood.²⁴⁴ Yet, Bann has suggested that Pomian’s envisioning of curiosity as an epistemological stage risks relegating it to a transitory, ‘middle-ground’, the limitations of which have already been noted. Instead, Bann re-conceptualises curiosity as a recurring historical framework which can assume transgressive, ‘hybrid or multiple meanings’ – not least within the museum.²⁴⁵ Bann even observed a ‘*ricorso*’ (‘a running back in time’ to use Bann’s definition) to curiosity within some contemporary museums.²⁴⁶ In doing so he summarised what he posited to be ‘the basic contrast between the development of

²⁴⁰ Nicholas Thomas, ‘Licensed Curiosity: Cook’s Pacific Voyages’, in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. by John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994); Bann, ‘The Return to Curiosity’, pp. 117-32.

²⁴¹ Bann, ‘Preface’, p. xx.

²⁴² Hale, p. 119.

²⁴³ Pomian, p. 64. For Bann’s discussion of Pomian’s early conclusions see Stephen Bann, *Ways Around Modernism* (Oxford: Routledge, 2007), pp. 137-38. For Bann’s observations of Pomian’s methodological relation to Foucault see Bann, ‘Preface’, p. xx.

²⁴⁴ For an overview see Burgess, pp. 113-14.

²⁴⁵ Karen Lang and Stephen Bann, ‘The Sense of the Past and the Writing of History: Stephen Bann in Conversation with Karen Lang’, *The Art Bulletin*, 95.4 (2014), 544-56 (p. 549).

²⁴⁶ Bann, ‘The Return to Curiosity’, p. 120.

“historicizing” museum practice in the nineteenth century and the widespread cult of “curiosity” in collecting’, observing:

the victory over antiquarian eccentricity expressed through [...] the chronological hang and the notion of the national school, seems to aspire to the Utopia of a display without an author. In other words, authority is vested in the objectivity of History itself. Curiosity, by contrast, invariably presumes an authored display, or a display as a subjective act of enunciation.²⁴⁷

The distinction which Bann outlines here assists in conceptualising why paintings such as the Cimabue (NG6583), the Saint Bertin fragments (NG1302-03), and Baldung Grien’s *Trinity and Mystic Pietà* (NG1427) have not been assessed together in the context of the National Gallery’s collection. To unite these intersecting antiquarian histories is to transgress the sanctioned taxonomies of a historicised, chronological, schools-based, and geographically organised collection, inherited from the terms of the National Gallery’s reconstitution in 1855. The first Annual Report of the Gallery, which was published in 1857-58 following the institution’s reconstitution, summarised ‘the expediency of forming, by means of a chronological series of works by early masters, an historical foundation for a complete gallery of pictures’ which as well as attending to chronology was also structured around geographical schools of painting.²⁴⁸

The neglect of antiquarian histories – including those of hybrid antique and curiosity dealers – within the National Gallery’s collections is symptomatic of enduring pejorative attitudes towards the practice of British antiquarianism. As also outlined in the thesis Introduction, this chapter instead favours more recent reappraisals of antiquarianism. This has enabled an important move beyond just teleological or binary judgements on the antiquary’s nature and

²⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 123.

²⁴⁸ Quoted in Avery-Quash, ‘The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting’, pp. xxix, xli, n. 55.

practice, ‘largely defined by the evident wish to distinguish good from bad historiographic practice’.²⁴⁹ Contributing to a now more expansive picture, this chapter rehabilitates the obscured role of the dealer within the trade of antiquarian pictures in Britain, a role which crucially helped to direct the scope and practice of antiquarianism and art history.

The Douce-Kerrich Correspondence: Empirical Approaches to Early Paintings

As purveyors of objects, dealers served as a catalyst for, and responded to, emerging approaches to art-historical objects among antiquarian communities in Britain. The range of experiences that antiquaries could have with early paintings on the British secondary market served to promote and develop responses which foregrounded close visual analysis and critical, in-person engagement with the work of art itself, rather than with a reproduction or text. Certainly, the importance of reproductions in antiquarian approaches towards early art in the eighteenth century has been examined by Sam Smiles.²⁵⁰ As Smiles has observed of the artist-dealer Thomas Patch, his engravings in the 1770s after works by early Italian artists served as a catalyst for ‘the possibility of the image as a resource for serious study [which] was growing apace’.²⁵¹ As Smiles suggests,

[this] antiquarian approach may be viewed as part of a more wide-spread intellectual trend where, in their use of the image, eighteenth-century antiquarians were making a decisive contribution to art history.²⁵²

Importantly, Patch was also a well-known dealer of early paintings and his impact upon the practice of art history through his publications was directly linked to the creation of a covetous market for the works he was purveying. Indeed, when a fresco fragment depicting *Salome* then

²⁴⁹ Bann, ‘Preface’, p. xviii.

²⁵⁰ Smiles.

²⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 57.

²⁵² *Ibid*.

attributed to Giotto from the Carmelite Church, Florence, was sold from Ottley's collection on 25 May 1811 in London, its time spent with Patch was proudly noted: 'sawed from the wall by Mr Patch, before the rebuilding of the Church, after the fire of 1770'.²⁵³ This direct link between Patch's reproductions and Patch's dealing of early art was not dissected by Smiles and perhaps reflects the scholarly marginalisation of dealer practices discussed in the Introduction.

As will duly be examined, by the opening decades of the nineteenth century, the interconnections between dealers and antiquarians encouraged empirical, object-focused approaches towards early paintings to flourish, displacing the earlier emphasis upon reproductions promoted by antiquarian artist-dealers such as Patch. As Tom Stammers has suggested, 'the burgeoning trade in antiques [...] made the marketplace a motor in producing new types of historical sensibility'.²⁵⁴ In this connection, unpublished correspondence consulted for this thesis between Douce and Kerrich, dating between 1804 and 1827, offers new insights into the approaches of British antiquaries towards early European paintings which are useful to examine before turning to the role of dealers in earnest.²⁵⁵ By the end of this period of correspondence, Douce was beginning to amass his own collection of early European pictures from the secondary market (**Appendix 1**). Alongside the accumulation of his early paintings collection, the letters further show that Douce was also concerned with the question of how to construct a history of early painting.²⁵⁶ His colleagues and contemporaries at the Society of Antiquaries were working on comparable projects, of which Douce was aware and

²⁵³ 25 May 1811, Christie's, London, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-889, lot 28 [accessed 27 January 2023]. This fragment is: Spinello Arentino, *Salome*, c. 1387-95, WAG 2752, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

²⁵⁴ Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past*, p. 13.

²⁵⁵ BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letters from Thomas Kerrich, 1804-27. Correspondence from Francis Douce to Thomas Kerrich during the same period is also held in the archives of Corpus Christi College, University of Cambridge, but could not be consulted due to archival closures during the Covid-19 pandemic.

²⁵⁶ See for example BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 7 November 1805, fol. 22-23; Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 13 January 1815, fol. 124.

with which he even assisted, such as the *Epochs of the Arts* (1813) by Prince Hoare the Younger (1755-1834), which focused on the progress and patronage of the arts in England – as opposed to on the Continent.²⁵⁷ By the 1820s, Douce was also considering a tour of Europe (which did not go ahead) in order to research ‘old painters’ first hand, an ambition which demonstrated his keen desire to experience works in the flesh.²⁵⁸

The correspondence evidences that Douce and Kerrich viewed early paintings as primary sources of visual evidence and historical fact. In May 1805, they mused together on the inscription and gruesome subject matter of a fifteenth-century Netherlandish *Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* (**Figure 2.15**) in Kerrich’s collection, which the latter thought to be by an English artist ‘John Holyburne’ due to a mistaken reading of its inscription (it is today attributed to an unknown Netherlandish artist).²⁵⁹ It was over a similar question concerning iconography that Douce contacted Dawson Turner in 1828 regarding the latter’s early Italian pictures purchased from Lasinio in Pisa:

Among the pictures you bought in Italy of the Giotto time is there any one or more of a contemporary artist Margaritone? I want to know how he has represented the figure of Christ crucified, whether with the feet crossed & fastened with one nail, or according to the invariable practice of the Greek church with a nail on each foot separate.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁷ For reference to Prince Hoare’s project see BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 7 November 1805, fol. 23. Prince Hoare, *Epochs of the Arts: Including Hints on the Use and Progress of Painting and Sculpture in Great Britain* (London: printed for J. Murray, 1813).

²⁵⁸ BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 5 Feb 1822, fol. 199.

²⁵⁹ BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 10 May 1805, fol. 15; 11 May 1805, fol. 17. The painting in question is: Unknown Netherlandish Artist, *Saint Erasmus*, 1474, Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London.

²⁶⁰ TCL, MS. 0.14.2, Letter from Francis Douce to Dawson Turner, 30 May 1828, fol. 63. An excerpt from this letter is also reproduced in Levi, ‘Carlo Lasinio’, p. 137.

Douce's contact with Turner, on the subject of the latter's paintings purchased from Lasinio, which had by then arrived, must have planted the seed of the idea that Douce might also acquire similar paintings from this dealer. While Douce was concerned with inscriptions, dates, and iconographic details of certain early pictures, he was also interested in setting them in some kind of wider historical context, an approach also taken in his publications such as the *Dance of Death*.²⁶¹ Kerrich certainly cautioned Douce on searching for facts without having in mind a broader scholarly framework:

the oldest date I ever saw upon a Picture is 1221 upon a Virgin & Child by Guido of Siena, in the rhyming verses under it, at Siena. But is not all this labour employed about looking after dates upon old paintings merely hunting a shadow? When we find them, what do we gain "but what we know before that they had pictures & painters at these times"?²⁶²

The painting referenced by Kerrich here was the gold ground *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, now given to Guido da Siena (**Figure 2.16**) in the church of San Domenico in Siena, Italy, famed for the artist's inscription including a date (questioned by later scholars).²⁶³ This work was well known through popular and repeatedly re-published handbooks such as Mariana Starke's (1761/2-1838) *Travels in Italy* which graced the shelves of many British libraries.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ Francis Douce, *The Dance of Death: Painted by H. Holbein, and Engraved by W. Hollar* ([London]: [James Edwards], 1794); Francis Douce, *The Dance of Death Exhibited in Elegant Engravings on Wood with a Dissertation on the Several Representations of That Subject but More Particularly on Those Ascribed to Macaber and Hans Holbein* (London: William Pickering, 1833).

²⁶² BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 26 October 1814, fol. 120. This painting was known through handbooks such as Mariana Starke, *Travels in Italy, Between the Years 1792 and 1798, Containing a View of the Late Revolutions in That Country: Also a Supplement, Comprising Instructions for Travelling in France*, 2 vols (London: printed for R. Phillips by T. Gillet, 1802), I, p. 323.

²⁶³ The painting is: Guido da Siena, *Virgin and Christ Enthroned*, c. 1275-80, San Domenico, Siena.

²⁶⁴ Starke, p. 323.

Douce and Kerrich discussed how to compile a meaningful history of early European painting based on primary visual evidence. Kerrich perceived that writing – or reading the written sources – about early paintings by ‘Cimabue, Giotto, Masaccio etc.’ could convey ‘Ideas of comparative excellence only’ rather than revealing the ‘absolute quantity of excellence’ possessed by each painting.²⁶⁵ Such descriptions, he wrote, left the reader unclear as to how a picture actually looked. According to Kerrich, seeing and knowing a picture in person was vital:

words cannot convey any ideas of the particular style, or excellence of Pictures – or at least none but what are so extremely inadequate as to be of no value. I do not know that any good History of Painting, in any country, has yet been written, except for what we have of it scattered amongst the Lives of the Painters: Vasari’s book is a good book, notwithstanding the mistakes in it, & when it is read in Italy by a man who will take the pains to visit the works referr’d to, which thanks to the climate are still at hand, & in their places, he certainly may acquire a competent knowledge of the different States of Painting in Italy, in several different countries – But should another man in some distant country – in America – or in England, that had never seen any of these works, take the same book into his hands & pore over it till doomsday, he could get no clear or distinct ideas, & of course, could have no knowledge.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵ BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 7 November 1805, fol. 22.

²⁶⁶ Ibid. Regarding the reference to Giorgio Vasari, editions of Vasari’s *Lives* were published in Italian and French before and during the nineteenth century, and were featured in British libraries. See, for example, the edition published between 1807 and 1811, Giorgio Vasari, *Vite de’ Più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Scritte da Giorgio Vasari Pittore e Architetto Aretino Illustrate con Note*, 16 vols (Milan: Società Tipografica de’Classici Italiani, 1807-11). It was not until 1850-52 that Eliza Foster (1802-1888) (‘Mrs Jonathan Foster’) translated the *Lives* into English, in fact the same year in which the individual *Life of Fra Angelico* (1850) was also published in English. See Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. by Mrs Jonathan Foster, 5 vols (London: Bohn, 1850). For Vasari in Douce’s collection see *Catalogue of the Printed Books and*

Kerrich himself had visited Italy between 1772 and 1774 and had seen early paintings first hand. He also made etchings there, including at the Camposanto, Pisa.²⁶⁷

While seeing and experiencing early paintings in person was preferable to Kerrich, in his correspondence to Douce he conceded to a cautious and critical use of prints:

Prints from the Old Paintings in the Campo Santo [underlined in red] at Pisa, & Masaccios works etc at Florence, will be a most important addition to the stock of materials for a History of Painting. The quantity of old pictures by the 3cento & 4 cento painters remaining in Italy, when I was there was, prodigious. It would have required no small quantity of brains to have made a judicious selection – I mean such a one as would have answered the purpose, in any great degree – as well as uncommon care & caution in the men who were to copy them, lest they should misrepresent the style & throw in a considerable portion of their own manner. ²⁶⁸

While Kerrich lauded Lasinio's and Patch's engraved reproductions, which he referred to here, his concerns for 'uncommon care' and 'caution' in copying early paintings informed Kerrich's distrust of William Young Ottley's publication of *A Series of Plates after the Most Eminent Masters of the Early Florentine School* in 1826.²⁶⁹ This volume reproduced line drawings after

Manuscripts Bequeathed by Francis Douce, Esq., to the Bodleian Library (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1840), p. 4.

²⁶⁷ Thomas Kerrich's etchings from this trip are held in the Prints and Drawings Room of the British Museum, London. For Kerrich's researches on architecture in Italy see Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 48–51. See also Thomas Kerrich, 'Some Observations on the Gothic Buildings Abroad, Particularly Those of Italy and on Gothic Architecture in General', *Archaeologia*, 16 (1812), 292-325; Thomas Kerrich, 'Observations upon Some Sepulchral Monuments in Italy and France', *Archaeologia*, 18 (1817), 186-97.

²⁶⁸ BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 13 January 1815, fol. 124. Kerrich refers here to Lasinio, *Pittura a Fresco*; Patch. For Douce's literature on the Camposanto see *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts*, p. 242.

²⁶⁹ William Young Ottley, *A Series of Plates Engraved after the Paintings and Sculptures of the Most Eminent Masters of the Early Florentine School* (London: Published by the editor, and sold by Colnaghi, 1826).

works dating between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries in Florence, Pisa, Lucca, Assisi, Perugia, Orvieto, and Rome with the aim of representing the advancements of earlier artists in laying the ‘foundations’ for Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), Michelangelo (1475-1564), and Raphael, who were celebrated by Ottley.

Kerrich wrote in detail to Douce of what he perceived to be Ottley’s failings in the publication of 1826, namely Ottley’s incorporation of the prints into a sweeping narrative rather than focusing on what was to be seen in the original artwork, including any areas of damage:

My objection to the letter-press that Mr O – or anybody else may publish with their prints from ancient Pictures is not that I grudge to pay it, but because I dread it’s being added to support some Theory or nonsensical System the Editor may be infatuated with. And this it is that makes one wish that all such prints should be published quite separately, neither in the form of books nor Numbers – with nothing attach’d to them, but the Names of their Authors the men that made the drawing & that engraved the Plate, with a clear account of the Original (I mean of the state in which it now is, & not criticisms upon it) & where it is actually now to be seen.²⁷⁰

Kerrich also disapproved of Ottley’s strategy of only reproducing details of works; for example, reproducing in Plate L (**Figure 2.17**) just the lower section of Botticelli’s *Mystic Nativity* and excluding the top part depicting angels dancing in a circle in the heavens (NG1034; **Figure 2.18**), a painting then in Ottley’s own collection.²⁷¹ Most notable though is Kerrich’s censure of ‘Theory’ and ‘nonsensical systems’, both words underlined by him for emphasis. The antiquarian resistance to system and theory had by then been summarised in the maxim of the British antiquary and traveller, Sir Richard Colt Hoare (1758-1838), which formed the first

²⁷⁰ BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 13 January 1826, fol. 295.

²⁷¹ This painting is: Sandro Botticelli, *Mystic Nativity*, 1500, NG1034.

line of *The Ancient History of Wiltshire* (1812-21): ‘we speak from facts, not theory’.²⁷² Hoare’s text was firmly situated within a developing branch of inductivist thought in antiquarianism, which foregrounded the empirical observation of facts and material evidence as the principle means of deriving knowledge. More broadly, both Kerrich and Hoare in these examples were writing in a context in which antiquarian methodologies existed in mutual critique with contemporary, Whiggish conceptions of history.²⁷³ For Kerrich, these Whiggish approaches – which he referred to above as ‘nonsensical systems’ – refigured the past as a neat progression of events leading to a civilised, prosperous, and enlightened society. For example, Ottley’s 1826 publication followed the widely held Vasarian progression which placed Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Raphael at the apex of Italian painting. It was out of his resistance to these ‘nonsensical systems’ that Kerrich, in his correspondence to Douce, placed importance back onto early European paintings themselves, as empirical art-historical objects in their own right and worthy of individual study rather than being tied into an overarching narrative. As Westgarth has observed, ‘the historical object itself had become a material representative of history – a historical artefact’.²⁷⁴

During the period in which Kerrich and Douce were corresponding, antiquarian and art-historical research was becoming increasingly enmeshed. It would be entirely wrong to view these discourses as being separate from one another – as is often the case. Indeed, as Susan Crane has observed, curious objects – within which we can count early European paintings – once ‘housed in curiosity cabinets were being revisited and revalued [... and were] subject to new scrutiny’ by antiquaries.²⁷⁵ When Douce was forming his collection of early paintings in earnest from 1827, antiquarian methods of induction from material objects were firmly

²⁷² Richard Colt Hoare, *The Ancient History of Wiltshire*, 2 vols (Wakefield: EP Publishing for Wiltshire County Library, 1975).

²⁷³ For antiquarianism and its relationship to the discipline of history, see Levine.

²⁷⁴ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 66.

²⁷⁵ Crane, ‘Story, History and the Passionate Collector’, p. 188.

intertwined with emerging methodologies of art-historical research emanating from Germany and France. This branch of art-historical enquiry was based on historical-critical methods developing across European universities, which privileged the critical study of authenticated primary textual sources.²⁷⁶ Taken up by art historians, this methodology was applied to visual and textual primary sources diligently gathered from collections and archives.²⁷⁷ For example, between 1827 and 1831, the German art historian Karl Friedrich von Rumohr (1785-1843) published *Italienische Forschungen* which sought to elucidate afresh the corpus and character of the Italian artists whom he treated by combining close visual analyses of paintings in person with an equally close reading of what he perceived as reliable documentary archival information.²⁷⁸ Rumohr's source-based, historical-critical method diverged to some extent from the abstract concepts and idealism of methodologies such as those of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), who was delivering his lectures on aesthetics in Heidelberg in the same moment that Rumohr was acting as an advisor for the newly founded Gemäldegalerie in Berlin.²⁷⁹ As Avery-Quash and Corinne Meyer have observed, it was this branch of historical-critical methodology, based on first-hand study of objects and historical records, which also characterised Eastlake's later research in the 1840s, while keeper of the National Gallery, into the early origins and development of the medium of oil painting.²⁸⁰ Bearing what has just been discussed in mind, Douce and Kerrich's correspondence between 1804 and 1827,

²⁷⁶ For a brief introduction to this methodology see, for example, Avery-Quash and Meyer, pp. 24-25. See also Susanna Avery-Quash, "I Consider I Am Now to Collect Facts Not Form Theories": Mary Merrifield and Empirical Research into Technical Art History During the 1840s', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 19.2 (2018), 1-18 <<https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2018/08/avery-quash-rev.pdf>> [accessed 21 March 2021].

²⁷⁷ Avery-Quash and Meyer, pp. 24-25.

²⁷⁸ Carl Friedrich von Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen* (Berlin: Nicolai'sche buchhandlung, 1827).

²⁷⁹ Michael Hatt and Charlotte Klonk, *Art History: A Critical Introduction to Its Methods* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 42-48, in particular p. 44. Hegel's lectures were published posthumously in Germany between 1835 and 1838. See Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, trans. by Thomas Malcolm Knox, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

²⁸⁰ Avery-Quash and Meyer, pp. 24-31. See also Charles Eastlake, *Materials for a History of Oil Painting* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1847).

and their responses to early European paintings, should be understood as informing, and being informed by, this changing methodological landscape of art history in the opening decades of the nineteenth century which relied on primary visual material. As this chapter now goes on to examine, London's art, antique, and curiosity dealers played a significant role in enabling in-person encounters with early paintings for British antiquarians.

Antiquarian Encounters with Early Pictures on the Secondary Art Market

Douce's papers suggest that art and antique dealers served as a catalyst for, and responded to, the widespread methodological shifts occurring among the approaches of British antiquaries, examined above. As Gaskell observed in 'Tradesmen as Scholars', art dealers have historically, and sometimes clandestinely, worked in dialogue with scholars in ways which have moulded the practice of art history.²⁸¹ In the trade of antiquarian pictures, the secondary art market provided striking opportunities through which antiquaries could encounter early European paintings without leaving British shores themselves, in a cultural landscape where there were still only very limited opportunities to view early paintings in Britain. Encounters with early paintings in dealers' shops in particular encouraged close and haptic engagements conducive to antiquarian modes of practice which privileged touching, passing objects around, and visual scrutiny – as well as access to a dealer's own knowledge and opinions. Close encounters with early paintings were particularly important for antiquaries who sought, in many ways quite literally, to 'hold in their hands the physical ties between 'the visible and the invisible worlds'' and who desired 'to possess the past in the form of artefacts [...] which had metonymic relationships to stories about the past'.²⁸² As will be seen, early pictures became important

²⁸¹ Gaskell, pp. 146-62.

²⁸² Crane, 'Story, History and the Passionate Collector', p. 187. The notion of 'visible and invisible worlds' is interrogated by Pomian, pp. 7-44.

interlocutors in antiquarian researches into enquiries such as the invention of oil and other early painting and binding media.

The series of Christie's sale catalogues dating between 1801 and 1837 consulted by Francis Russell and Dorothy Lygon in 1980 demonstrate that early Tuscan paintings were quietly circulating on London's auction market in the opening decades of the nineteenth century.²⁸³ To augment Russell and Lygon's survey, it is worth noting that Douce's papers help to contextualise the nature and dynamics of encounters with early paintings in this auction market given that Douce amassed many catalogues, which he personally annotated.²⁸⁴ For instance, a note in his handwriting, now misplaced from its original position but slotted into one bound volume of catalogues, reads: 'the 4 paintings are very much in the stile of N. 61 in Lucian Bonaparte's collection ascribed to Beato Angelica de Fiesole'.²⁸⁵ Douce is referring here to the painting of 'A Miracle. A curious example of this very early master' (**Figure 2.19**) which he would have seen at the dealer William Buchanan's Pall Mall rooms in February 1815.²⁸⁶ This scrap of evidence demonstrates the breadth of Douce's visual repertoire, garnered from attending many auctions and equipping him – in this case – with the ability to cross-reference other so-called Fra Angelico paintings which he had encountered during past sales. Douce also corresponded with auctioneer James Christie the Younger (1773-1831) of the eponymous auction house. Christie was able to advise him in matters of early paintings, which Douce was

²⁸³ Lygon and Russell.

²⁸⁴ For the list of auction catalogues that were bequeathed by Douce see *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts*, pp. 57-59.

²⁸⁵ This note is slotted into a bound volume of catalogues and has likely been moved: BOD, Douce CC 280 (1).

²⁸⁶ This painting is: Fra Angelico, *The Apostle Saint James Freeing the Magician Hermogenes*, c. 1426-29, AP 1986.03, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas. It is not clear what the four pictures are that Douce refers to. However, for 'N. 61' see lot 61 at Buchanan's private contract sale, 60 Pall Mall, London, 6 February 1815, and lot 96 at auctioneer George Stanley's sale, 29 Saint James's Street, London, 14-16 May 1816; GPI, Sale Catalog Br-1248 and Sale Catalog Br-1392 [accessed 22 September 2022]. Both were sales of the collection of Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino (1775-1840).

actively seeking to acquire for his own nascent collection. Christie wrote to Douce in June 1808 to console him that,

you have not lost any very precious relick of antiquity in losing the Altarpiece bought by Somers, which was not painted by L. da Vinci, but by honest Lucas of Leyden whose works may be frequently picked up for less than he gave for the picture in question.²⁸⁷

It was in fact a perceived ‘Van Leyden’ which marked Douce’s first major early painting acquisition in 1827 (**Appendix 1**). While demonstrating that Christie was well within Douce’s network, the auctioneer’s comments here also serve to caution against the generic attributions which were given to early paintings at this moment.

The limitations of solely examining auctions and auction data have already been presented in the Introduction to this thesis. As revealed by the Douce papers, early pictures were often sold, exchanged, and experienced privately on the secondary market, beyond the auction room. Sometimes they were even withheld from auction. Kerrich wrote to Douce in May 1822 to ask how best to sell some early pictures belonging to a deceased friend which had been held back from auction as ‘it was thought [they] would not find their value here’ due to being perceived as old and unfashionable, while their state of preservation was doubtless another contributing factor.²⁸⁸ Of the pictures, ‘two of them are very ancient pictures which were used to be venerated by the Greeks, & had lights constantly burning before them [...] they are in bad condition, but I really believe, are great curiosities’.²⁸⁹ These paintings are probably what today

²⁸⁷ BOD, MS Douce d. 21, Letter from James Christie to Francis Douce, 11 June 1808, fol. 171. For the critical reception of Van Leyden in the nineteenth century see, for example, Jenny Graham, pp. 22-25. The artist’s biography was known through popular texts such as André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les Vies et sur les Ouvrages des Plus Excellens Peintres Anciens et Modernes; Avec la Vie des Architectes par Monsieur Félibien*, 6 vols (Trevoux: L’Imprimerie de S.A.S., 1725). Douce owned a copy for which see *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts*, p. 99.

²⁸⁸ BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 22 May 1822, fol. 201.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

would be classified as icons from the Byzantine tradition. Carlo Lasinio certainly sold what he termed ‘early Greek’ paintings to Douce and Turner.²⁹⁰ Of ‘Greek paintings’, the contemporary of Douce and Turner, the botanist, antiquary, and diplomat William Thomas Horner Fox-Strangways, 4th Earl of Ilchester (1795-1865), could also proclaim in 1827 the merits of a collection which spanned ‘Gothic & Greek paintings beginning as high up as you can get them & ending with Giotto, Perugino, Francia, Gianbellino etc.’²⁹¹

Beyond the auction room, Westgarth has demonstrated the cultural importance of the antique and curiosity dealer’s shop in this period in Britain, as ‘a space of commerce, as a key structural element in the consumer culture for historical objects in nineteenth-century Britain, and as a potent signifier’.²⁹² As one writer of 1806 could describe, ‘sometimes in old curiosity cabinets and antique shops, one still comes across old paintings, remnants of Gothic times’.²⁹³ Douce’s correspondence and notebooks bear quotidian references to early Italian and northern European paintings which he encountered in dealers’ shops in London. His meticulous diary of ‘Coincidences’ records these moments, such as a characteristic entry in November 1821 which notes: ‘26 Nov’ Returning home I saw in Piccadilly a fine specimen of Giotto’s painting for which more was asked than I could afford to give’.²⁹⁴ This coincided with the receipt of a letter ‘from [the antiquary John] Pinkerton at Paris in which he spoke of a Giotto that had turned up there & of which he gave me a particular account’.²⁹⁵ Certainly, the dealer’s shop in Britain, as in other leading art market centres like Paris, was a notable space in which close encounters with early pictures could take place.

²⁹⁰ See, for example, Levi, ‘Carlo Lasinio’, pp. 140-41.

²⁹¹ Letter transcribed in Christopher Lloyd, ‘Picture Hunting in Italy: Some Unpublished Letters (1824–1829)’, *Italian Studies*, 30.1 (1975), 42-68 (p. 59).

²⁹² Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 10.

²⁹³ Quoted in Jenny Graham, pp. 57-58. Quoted from Jean-Baptiste Boutard, ‘Salon de l’Art 1806’, *Journal de l’Empire* (4 October 1806).

²⁹⁴ BOD, MS Douce e. 87-88, Coincidences I, fol. 41.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

Douce's papers offer a vital insight into how these encounters in the dealer's shop could be structured. Firstly, these sites provided platforms for the exchange of knowledge and ideas about early paintings. On 11 May 1818 and again in December 1824, for instance, Douce was invited to view a 'very singular painting' at the shop of the booksellers and curiosity dealers Horatio and Thomas Rodd.²⁹⁶ These fraternal dealers had been given the picture without any information, as part payment of a debt. According to Douce's account of the picture, which included his musings on its inscription and his research into the protagonists' genealogy, he proposed that it dated to Holbein's time and that it depicted Lady Jane Grey (c. 1537-1554) with Bishop Bonner (c. 1500-1569) and Abbot John Feckenham (c. 1510-1584).²⁹⁷ The presence of early pictures in the Rodds' shop was not unusual. As already noted, Horatio Rodd was a regular buyer and seller of such paintings, acting, for instance, as an agent for the collector Lord Northwick in this regard.²⁹⁸

Rodd was certainly keen to elicit information from his antiquarian associates, clients, and potential buyers. In his 1842 sale catalogue, he could petition the reader as follows: 'H. RODD will feel obliged to any Gentleman who will give him information respecting the following portraits'.²⁹⁹ Being a bookseller and curiosity dealer, Rodd was not the type of more specialist picture dealer that was concurrently emerging – of the ilk of William Buchanan, the lawyer turned picture dealer who will be examined in more detail in Chapter Two. In fact, a lack of specialist knowledge about paintings did dissuade some curiosity dealers from incorporating pictures into their trade. As Westgarth observes, the curiosity dealer John Coleman Isaac

²⁹⁶ The painting is as yet unknown. BOD, MS Douce d. 57, Rodd's Picture of Bonner etc., fol. 42. See also BOD, MS Douce d. 57, Letter from Horatio Rodd to Francis Douce, 26 December 1824, fol. 44.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Bradbury and Penny, 'Lord Northwick: Part I', p. 494; Bradbury and Penny, 'Lord Northwick: Part II', p. 607.

²⁹⁹ Rodd, p. 13.

removed himself from a deal to buy certain paintings from a German dealer, Wimpfen, because he felt he did not have the requisite knowledge or networks to sell them to best advantage.³⁰⁰

As well as providing advice on early paintings to dealers, Douce used dealers' shops to assist his own research. By the early 1820s, Douce was tracing surviving portraits of the quattrocento poet Petrarch (1304-1374) and his beloved Laura de Noves (1310-1348), an intellectual enquiry then being more widely published on and debated among similarly-minded scholars. Douce was garnering information for his own essay on the subject, today preserved among his papers.³⁰¹ In December 1821, he wrote to Samuel Woodburn to enquire into what this dealer remembered of a portrait of Laura from his recent buying trip to Italy.³⁰² As Douce rarely travelled abroad, itinerant dealers like Woodburn provided important points of contact with the Continent. Woodburn advised Douce that the 'ancient' picture had been engraved by Raphael Morghen (1758-1833) and published by Antonio Marsand (1765-1842) (**Figure 2.20**), 'a professor of Padua I think of the name of Marchand or Marsant', and was 'an antient picture considered to be by S. Memmi'.³⁰³ Woodburn further invited Douce to his premises at 112 St Martin's Lane, London, to view related pictures in person: 'we have in the House two antient pictures of Dante and Beatrice which I shall be happy to show you if they will afford you any interest' – undoubtedly two of many portrait copies then circulating on the market (**Figure 2.21**).³⁰⁴ Douce's collection of sale catalogues includes that for Woodburn's exhibition and

³⁰⁰ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 97.

³⁰¹ BOD, MS Douce b. 7, Early Essays and Notes, Including an Unfinished Printing, fols 1-20.

³⁰² See Chapter Four for the Woodburn dealership.

³⁰³ BOD, MS Douce d. 24, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Francis Douce, 1 January 1822, fol. 6. Letter also cited in Levi, 'Carlo Lasinio', pp. 137-38. The painting was engraved and published in Francesco Petrarca, *Le Rime Del Petrarca*, ed. by Antonio Marsand, 2 vols (Padova: Tipografia del Seminario, 1819-20). Dawson Turner had also been advised to visit Raphael Morghen in Florence see, TCL, MS 0.13.30, Letter from Arthur Judd Carrighan to Dawson Turner, 16 August 1825, fol. 37. The English antiquary Robert Finch (1783-1830) also met Morghen and his business partners in Florence, for which see the Finch journals, BOD, MS Finch e. 17, 13 June-15 October 1815, pp. 17-18.

³⁰⁴ BOD, MS Douce d. 24, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Francis Douce, 1 January 1822, fol. 6.

private contract sale a few years later at St Martin's Lane in March 1826, suggesting that Douce may well have been in attendance at it.³⁰⁵ Whether that was the case or not, given his interest in early Italian pictures, two *tondi* representing *The Adoration of the Magi*, which constituted the opening lots would have peaked his interest, the first attributed to Beato Angelico (**Figure 5.3**) and the second to Sandro Botticelli (NG1033; **Figure 5.4**) (c. 1445-1510).³⁰⁶ The latter was later purchased for the National Gallery in 1878.

As seen with Douce's experiences with Woodburn and Rodd, antiquaries could encounter early paintings as part of a mutually informative dialogue with a dealer. Dealers' shops offered antiquaries the opportunity to encounter early European pictures up close and in ways that differed to the experiences which took place in the space of the museum and perhaps even in private collections. Fundamentally, there were in fact few public opportunities to view early paintings beyond the art market in early nineteenth-century Britain; more opportunities later arose in the 1840s.³⁰⁷ Some exceptions were Roscoe's didactic collection of early European paintings which was on public display from 1819 at the Liverpool Royal Institution; while Fox-Strangways's first gifts of early Italian paintings were made to Christchurch College, Oxford in 1828 and 1834.³⁰⁸ By 1827, Fox-Strangways believed that taxonomic collections of early paintings which spanned 'Gothic & Greek paintings' to 'Giotto' and 'Gianbellino' were most suitable for a public collection, as shown in his correspondence cited earlier.³⁰⁹ Even in private collections early pictures could often be sealed within particular framing and glazing schemes,

³⁰⁵ Messrs Woodburn, *Descriptive Catalogue of a Very Choice and Select Collection of Pictures by the Leading Masters of the Italian, German, Flemish, Dutch and French Schools* (London: printed by T. and J. B. Flindell, 1826). A copy is held at BOD, Douce CC 281 (1).

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7. These paintings are: Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi, *The Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1440-60, 1952.2.2, National Gallery of Art, Washington; Sandro Botticelli, *The Adoration of the Kings*, c. 1470-75, NG1033, National Gallery.

³⁰⁷ For exhibitions and the display of early paintings see Chapter Four.

³⁰⁸ For the formation of the Liverpool collection see Morris, pp. 87-98; Brooke, pp. 65-96. For Strangways see Christopher Baker, 'Framing Fox-Strangways', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 17.1 (2005), 73-84; Lloyd, 'Picture Hunting in Italy'.

³⁰⁹ Lloyd, 'Picture Hunting in Italy', pp. 56, 59.

and hung out of reach and easy visibility. This is evident in Charles Mottram's (1807-1876) print of the poet, collector, and National Gallery trustee Samuel Rogers's (1763-1855) Breakfast Room (**Figure 2.22**). Hanging framed and high above the doorway is Spinello Arentino's (1345-52-1410) *Two Haloed Mourners* (NG276; **Figure 2.23**), one of the four surviving fragments of the Manetti Chapel fresco extracted by Patch in Florence in the 1770s, then attributed to Giotto.³¹⁰ Whether Douce would have visited Rogers at home is difficult to know, but he did certainly own at least five volumes of Rogers's poems.³¹¹

Douce did receive invitations to visit private collections of early European paintings, at Dawson Turner and Ottley's houses in Yarmouth and London respectively.³¹² These collectors also visited Douce's home. Douce recorded in his 'Coincidences' for 7 May 1826 (the same year as Woodburn's exhibition discussed above) that it was he who had in fact introduced Turner to Ottley and his collection of early pictures:

Mr Dawson Turner called on me & when talking of some old Italian pictures he had purchased in Italy I undertook to introduce him to Ottley's collection [...] when in the very moment Ottley's name was announced by the servant, & the introduction took place.³¹³

At 31 Devonshire Street, London, Ottley's early paintings from 'before the time of Raphael' were displayed in a connecting corridor which linked Ottley's main picture gallery with the domestic space of his house, as Katie Ault has mapped.³¹⁴ A letter from Ottley to Turner in

³¹⁰ For Patch see Smiles; Collier, 'The Pre Pre-Raphaelites?', pp. 79-114.

³¹¹ *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts*, p. 140.

³¹² TCL, MS 0.13.1, Letter from Francis Douce to Dawson Turner, 13 June 1828, fol. 73; MS 0.14.3, 29 January 1829, fol. 18.

³¹³ BOD, MS. Douce, e. 88, Coincidences II, fol. 3.

³¹⁴ For a reconstruction see Ault, *Ugolino di Nerio's Santa Croce Polyptych*, pp. 16, 107. I am grateful to Katie for sharing her MA thesis with me.

October 1826, responding to an invitation to Turner's home, paints Ottley as the confident domestic cicerone in front of his early paintings:

I might feel myself a less important personage than I may sometimes appear to think myself when laying down the law, as you with great patience have heard me, in my own Gallery of Giunta Pisanos, Cimabue and Giotto's.³¹⁵

A long description is dedicated to Douce's own visits to Ottley's gallery in the retrospective remembrances (published 1899) of the engraver John Sartain (1808-1897), who had worked for Ottley: 'Francis Douce, the antiquary, was another of the frequent visitors. He had a loud voice and used it in a dictatorial way.'³¹⁶ Sartain's observations suggest that Ottley's gallery was simultaneously a semi-public picture gallery, a room connected to a domestic house, and also a commercial space where objects could be picked up, 'passed from hand to hand', scrutinised, and even purchased.³¹⁷ As Sartain writes, 'Mr Ottley had a large table in the middle of the gallery, on which was an accumulation of all kinds of things, - books, drawings, prints, and what not, - piled on one another in a confused way'.³¹⁸ It was from this pile that Douce would inspect, discuss, and subsequently purchase ten guineas-worth of ornamental ivory mirror backs, along with Ottley's *Italian School of Design* (published by subscription from November 1808, and in full in 1823) for twelve guineas.³¹⁹

Beyond these visits to the houses of contemporary collectors (and collector-dealers in the case of Ottley), the premises of London dealers were important sites where Douce encountered early

³¹⁵ TCL, MS 0.13.31, Letter from William Young Ottley to Dawson Turner, 2 October 1826, fol. 114.

³¹⁶ John Sartain, *The Reminiscences of a Very Old Man, 1808-1897* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1899), p. 103.

³¹⁷ Bann, 'The Return to Curiosity', pp. 123-24.

³¹⁸ Sartain, p. 103.

³¹⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 103-05; William Young Ottley, *The Italian School of Design: Being a Series of Fac-Similes of Original Drawings, by the Most Eminent Painters and Sculptors of Italy; with Biographical Notices of the Artists, and Observations on Their Works* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1823).

pictures: the historic ‘Holbein’ at the Rodds’; the portrait of Dante’s Laura, and works by Fra Angelico and Botticelli at Woodburn’s; and a ‘Giotto’ in a dealer’s shop at Piccadilly, have been noted as key examples. In contrast to the fresco fragment hung high out of reach in Rogers’s Breakfast Room, it is possible to speculate that Douce would have engaged in more ‘hands on’ encounters with early paintings in the space of the dealer’s shop, where close visual analysis and tactile engagement with pictures was more possible – as often remains the case today. As Stephen Bann writes, antiquaries placed great importance on ‘the passing of small items from hand to hand’; something which Bann further finds to be at odds with the ‘general prohibition on touching objects’ in museum settings.³²⁰ The diverse sensory experiences that nineteenth-century shops offered has received recent, renewed attention in *Shopping and the Senses 1800-1970* (2022).³²¹ As Serena Dyer observes,

haptics, smell, sound and taste were gradually layered onto the sensory experience at the hand of the shop assistant, as they carefully revealed objects to the consumer [...] for genteel customers, this mingling of sensory experience was an act of intimacy with the objects they inspected.³²²

The trade card (**Figure 2.24**) of the dealer William Neate (active by 1819) – a goldsmith and jeweller, and dealer in curiosities, diamonds, pearls, paintings, and enamels – dating between the 1810s and 1830s, shows a customer being proffered a painting in this dealer’s shop. Removed from the wall display behind, the customer is afforded the opportunity for a more intimate encounter with the picture at hand; we see the dealer getting ready to hand over the picture to them.

³²⁰ Bann, ‘The Return to Curiosity’, pp. 123-24.

³²¹ *Shopping and the Senses, 1800-1970*, ed. by Serena Dyer (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).

³²² Serena Dyer, ‘Introduction’, in *Shopping and the Senses*, ed. by Dyer, pp. 1-16 (p. 10).

Close encounters with early paintings in the dealer's shop could also be extended into the intimacy of the client's home. As the archive evidences, Woodburn brought early paintings directly to Douce's house to be inspected and, he hoped, purchased. Douce's house at 15 Upper Gower Street in Bloomsbury was only a twenty-minute walk from Woodburn's in St Martin's Lane, and a shorter carriage ride. On 16 December 1830, Woodburn called at Douce's home 'with the portrait of Luther & his wife' (**Appendix 1**), which was purchased, along with a printed volume, for £100, and later catalogued among Douce's other early German paintings.³²³ Woodburn's visit demonstrates the dissolving of the boundary between his shop and his client's home. In this way, dealers such as Woodburn and the Rodds actively integrated themselves into a vibrant antiquarian culture founded on the circulation of early paintings and ideas about them.

In short, as purveyors and suppliers of objects, dealers served as a catalyst for, and responded to, new approaches to early paintings in antiquarian communities. The encounters that they engineered favoured the kind of tactile, sensory engagement and close visual analysis which was central to antiquarian practice, and helped to foreground early paintings as legitimate art-historical objects and 'material representatives of history'.³²⁴ This combined to feed directly into the emerging historical-critical antiquarian methodologies surrounding early paintings which were based on in-person, empirical analysis of the paintings themselves as sources in their own right, rather than being reliant solely on texts about them or reproductions of them.

Dealers and Trends in Antiquarian Research: Selling the Invention of Oil Painting

Douce's papers also demonstrate that dealers capitalised on and helped to direct particular avenues of enquiry in relation to early paintings. Levi has already examined specific

³²³ BOD, MS Douce e. 88, Coincidences II, fol. 16.

³²⁴ For quotation see Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 66.

antiquarian interests fostered through Lasinio's cabinets of early Italian paintings.³²⁵ Levi observes that Lasinio's early Italian pictures were largely objects of curiosity for 'omnivorous' buyers of them such as Dawson Turner and Douce.³²⁶ She finds that the paintings sold by Lasinio provided sources of interesting iconography for British antiquaries and sometimes represented the likenesses of literary men coveted by them such as Dante and Petrarch.³²⁷ By the 1830s, Levi suggests, Lasinio's early paintings were thought to be of use also to the students of art at the Royal Academy, London.³²⁸ This section adds another aspect to Levi's scholarship, beyond the early Italian context, through drawing on Douce's papers to trace how art and antique dealers in Britain directed and supported a particular antiquarian interest in the invention and history of oil painting and other binding media – namely, concerned with the identification of the first use of oil as a binding media for pigment.³²⁹ Complemented by documentary research being carried out by antiquaries in archives, this interest in the technical history of painting demanded close looking at, and interventions into, paintings and their material aspects.

As Douce's papers show, he was involved in contemporary empirical research concerned with investigating historic painting mediums that was being undertaken and discussed within transnational antiquarian and art-historical circles in Britain. Historical painting manuals such as Cennino Cennini's (c. 1370-c. 1440) *Il Libro dell'Arte* (republished in Italian in 1821) were present in Douce's library.³³⁰ In particular, Douce concerned himself with the question of when

³²⁵ Levi, 'Carlo Lasinio'.

³²⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 136-37.

³²⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 137-38.

³²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 139.

³²⁹ For the wider context see, for example, Avery-Quash and Spring, pp. 87-102; Jenny Graham, pp. 41-42.

³³⁰ *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts*, p. 61. The book would not be published in English until 1844, translated by Mary Philadelphia Merrifield (1804-1889). Cennino Cennini, *A Treatise on Painting*, trans. by Mrs Merrifield (London: Edward Lumley, 1844).

precisely oil painting had started to be practised in Europe. His participation in these debates concerning the ‘discovery of painting’ was directly related to his acquisition of paintings of the earlier northern schools. For instance, on 17 August 1831, in his book of ‘Coincidences’, Douce recorded the acquisition of ‘a portrait by Van Eyck dated 1425’ (**Appendix 1**) which was immediately followed by ‘the next day in reading a Dutch book I came to an article about Van Eyck and his discovery of p. [painting] in 1410’.³³¹

The subject of the invention of oil painting was incendiary, by pitting northern against southern Europe and inciting partisan passion among those arguing for the origins of the use of oil as a vehicle in painting in England. In his life of the painter Antonello da Messina written in the 1550s, Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) had stated that Jan van Eyck had invented the miraculous art of oil painting by boiling up linseed and nut oil with his pigments.³³² As Vasari wrote, in hearing about Van Eyck’s innovation, Antonello travelled to Flanders in order to learn his secret and return it to his homeland of Italy – a tale which lived on into the nineteenth century imagination.³³³ In the following decade the writer Lodovico Guicciardini (1521-1589) gave 1410 as the date of the invention in his account of the early Flemish school (republished in 1795), and this was the date known and referenced by Douce in his ‘Coincidences’ above.³³⁴ Karel van Mander’s (1548-1606) *Schilder-Boeck* (1604) and Jean-Baptiste Descamps’s (1714-1791) *La Vie des Peintres* (1753) also supported the Netherlandish claim of precedence.³³⁵ In

³³¹ BOD, MS Douce, d. 63, Diary of Antiquarian Purchases, Book 3 (starting 1824), fol. 116.

³³² Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. by Gaston du C. De Vere, 2 vols (London: David Campbell Publishers, 1996), I, pp. 424-29.

³³³ For a summary of the nineteenth-century reception in Britain of this fable see Jenny Graham, p. 10.

³³⁴ Lodovico Guicciardini, *Guicciardini’s Account of the Ancient Flemish School of Painting. Translated from His Description of the Netherlands, Published in Italian at Antwerp, 1567. With a Preface, by the Translator* (London: printed for I. Herbert, 1795), p. 4.

³³⁵ Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters, From the First Edition of the Schilder-Boeck (1603-1604): Preceded by the Lineage, Circumstances and Place of Birth, Life and Works of Karel van Mander*, ed. by Hessel Miedema, 6 vols (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994); Jean-Baptiste Descamps, *La Vie des Peintres Flammands, Allemands et Hollandois* (Paris: Librairie du Roi, 1753-64). See also Avery-Quash and Meyer, p. 10.

Britain, eighteenth-century British antiquaries such as Horace Walpole (1717-1797) played an important role in discrediting these Continental claims, seeking to prove instead that oil had been used much earlier in England.³³⁶ Further artist names were also added to the debates such as ‘Hemmelinck’ – Hans Memling. William Beckford’s humorous satire, the *Biographical Memoirs of Extraordinary Painters* (1780), had included the old painter and chemist ‘Hemmeline’ – a not so subtle allusion to Memling – who ‘discovers’ his protégée Aldrovandus, versed in Van Eyck’s secrets of oil painting.³³⁷

Members of Douce’s extensive network were conducting empirical research which debated Van Eyck’s claim to the discovery of oil, and sometimes sought to demonstrate that it had been used in England and elsewhere before 1410. Indeed, a copy of Gustav Waagen’s first art-historical publication on Van Eyck (1822) was owned by the Callcotts who, like Douce, had purchased early Italian paintings from Lasinio.³³⁸ Francis Palgrave (1788-1861), with whom Douce later exchanged his early Italian paintings from Lasinio, published a document in the 1830s from the books of the Painter’s Company in London that gave evidence to suggest that oil was in use by the ‘eleventh year’ of King Edward I’s reign, thus 1285, to paint heraldic bearings and ornaments.³³⁹ Two camps developed between those who believed oil was in use in England during the thirteenth century for decorative purposes, and those that argued that it was used for paintings as well.³⁴⁰ Douce was well aware of Palgrave’s discoveries and discussed them with his correspondent, the amateur print collector Nathan Hill (dates as yet

³³⁶ Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England; With Some Account of the Principal Artists; and Incidental Notes on Other Arts; Collected by the Late Mr. George Vertue; And Now Digested and Published from His Original MSS.*, 4 vols (Strawberry Hill: Thomas Farmer, 1762), I, pp. 26-27.

³³⁷ Beckford, pp. 1-25.

³³⁸ Waagen, *Ueber Hubert und Johann van Eyck*. The Callcotts’s copy is now in the library of the Royal Academy, London, catalogued at 06/3888.

³³⁹ Francis Palgrave, *Truths and Fictions of the Middle Ages. The Merchant and the Friar* (London: J. W. Parker, 1837), pp. xxii-xxiii. For the exchange with Palgrave see Bod, MS Douce, d. 63, Diary of Antiquarian Purchases, Book 3 (starting 1824), fol. 115.

³⁴⁰ Avery-Quash and Meyer, p. 11.

unknown), who was in Antwerp in 1833 and whom Douce had met in the *Cabinet d'Estampes* in the Royal Library, Paris, during his only trip abroad in August 1817.³⁴¹ Hill believed that oil painting probably came to England from Bruges and he introduced Douce to archival information demonstrating the use of oil for a number of decorative purposes in Bruges 'long before the brothers Van Eyck employed them to fix & preserve the exquisite productions of their genius'.³⁴²

Debates were amplified in Britain in the 1820s by important re-discoveries of early paintings surviving in Britain. This included the 1827 re-discovery of an early retable in Westminster Abbey (today known as *The Westminster Retable*), which was found to have been painted with a binding medium containing linseed oil.³⁴³ Dawson Turner and artist Thomas Phillips discussed the 'find' in 1827, critiquing the hanging of the retable and speculating on its origins:

the wise men there have hung it so high that no one can see its characteristics without a step ladder! It is a very curious remnant of the art at a period previous to its restoration by Cimabue whether painted here or no cannot I suppose be ascertained. It may have been done in Italy & sent here which appears quite as probable as the reverse.³⁴⁴

The first part of Turner's comment to Phillips here – the lament that the retable could not be accessed without a stepladder – demonstrates the importance in which he and his circle held

³⁴¹ BOD, MS Douce d. 23, Letter from Nathan Hill to Francis Douce, 25 November 1818, fol. 110. Nathan Hill appears to have been part of a circle of print collectors operating in Manchester. He owned the hand-coloured metalcut of the 'bernhardinus milnet' *Virgin and Child* (c. 1480), 1914,0406.30 in the British Museum, London. He corresponded with Douce about this very metalcut in 1834. See BOD, MS Douce, d. 28, Letter from Nathan Hill to Francis Douce, 20 January 1834, fol. 240. For Douce's passport from this trip see, BOD, MS Douce, c. 8, Letters and Drafts of Letters from Douce, 1786-1831, with Miscellaneous Notes, fol. 44.

³⁴² BOD, MS Douce d. 28, Letter from Nathan Hill to Francis Douce, 20 December 1833, fol. 214.

³⁴³ *The Westminster Retable: History, Technique, Conservation*, ed. by Paul Binski, Ann Massing and Marie Louise Sauerberg (Cambridge: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2009).

³⁴⁴ TCL, MS.0.14.1, Letter from Thomas Phillips to Dawson Turner, 30 July 1827, fol. 29.

empirical, close-looking at paintings and their material qualities when conducting research into the early history of painting techniques.

There were certainly relatively few opportunities for those interested in this branch of art history to view such large-scale early altarpieces in Britain in the 1820s. For someone like Douce who did not often travel abroad, he had to rely on what information could be accessed at home. As his passport shows, and as was just mentioned, Douce travelled to Paris once in 1817, two years after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.³⁴⁵ Douce had considered a more extensive tour of Europe in order to research the ‘old painters’, but no such itinerary was ever undertaken, perhaps because he heeded the warnings of Kerrich who had questioned whether such a research trip was likely to reap any real benefit: ‘I should think your continental tour, would hardly answer the purpose for which you wish to make it’.³⁴⁶ Douce’s appetite to view early paintings abroad for himself had likely been aroused by Hill, introduced above. Hill wrote to Douce at length of the ‘antique Flemish pictures’ he had seen at Ghent, Brussels, Cologne, Armstadt, and Heidelberg, latterly in the then famous Boisserée collection, hoping that Douce would be able to travel to see them.³⁴⁷ Yet, Douce would never see the Boisserée collection; he was resistant to travelling too far afield.

³⁴⁵ BOD, MS Douce, c. 8, fol. 44.

³⁴⁶ BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 5 February 1822, fol. 199.

³⁴⁷ BOD, MS Douce d. 23, Letter from Nathan Hill to Francis Douce, 25 November 1818, fol. 110. Melchior (1786-1851) and Supliz (1783-1854) Boisserée put their large collection of early German and Netherlandish paintings on display first in Heidelberg (from 1810) and then in Stuttgart (from 1819). In 1827 the pictures were bought by King Ludwig I of Bavaria (1786-1868), and by 1836 were on display in the newly-opened Munich Pinakothek. See Till-Holger Borchert, ‘Collecting Early Netherlandish Paintings in Europe and the United States’, in *Early Netherlandish Paintings: Rediscovery, Reception, and Research*, ed. by Bernhard Ridderbos, Anne van Buren, and Henk Th. van Veen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), pp. 173-217 (pp. 181-87); Jenny Graham, pp. 58-61; Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings*, p. xx; Lorne Campbell, *The Early Flemish Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. xlvii.

Instead, Douce encountered examples of early northern European paintings on the British secondary market. Being ephemeral in nature, these encounters have gone largely unnoticed by the contemporary researcher.³⁴⁸ For context, in their correspondence of the 1820s, Kerrich was encouraging Douce to research the history of the arts in the Netherlands, before the time of the Van Eycks, concluding for example that ‘any information concerning Hemmelick [Memling] would be most acceptable’.³⁴⁹ In June 1822, Douce had long conversations with Kerrich about the invention of oil painting and the discovery of new evidence for the English claim at Ely Cathedral, Cambridgeshire.³⁵⁰ In the same moment, in October 1822, the French artist and dealer François Francia contacted Douce to invite him to his hotel room at Leicester Square to view the wings of the large retable (**Figure 2.11-14**) formerly of the Abbey of St Bertin, Saint-Omer, attributed to Memling.³⁵¹ The Abbey was largely demolished in 1830, and was recorded in its ruined state (**Figure 2.25**) prior to that by Francia’s pupil, Richard Parkes Bonington (1802-1828), who may have travelled there with him. This dealer’s export of the retable’s wings had been enabled through his hybrid role as secretary to the British Consul in Calais, and he may have been the ‘art-lover’ to whom the shutters were sold by a local baker who had acquired them in the 1790s.³⁵²

Francia’s letter to Douce about the altarpiece shutters, once in England, was likely one of many approaches that this dealer had made within the London art world before he planned to take

³⁴⁸ For example, encounters with dealers are rarely mentioned by Jenny Graham.

³⁴⁹ BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 5 February 1822, fol. 199; 25 October 1824, fol. 265.

³⁵⁰ BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 20 June 1822, fol. 203.

³⁵¹ BOD, MS Douce d. 24, Letter from François Francia to Francis Douce, 24 January 1822, fol. 3. For the provenance of the panels see Hinterding and Horsch, pp. 4, 10, 11, 43, 57, n. 20, n. 178; Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings*, pp. 300-09.

³⁵² Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings*, p. 303; Marcia Pointon, *Bonington, Francia & Wyld* (London: T. Batsford in association with the Victoria & Albert Museum, 1985), pp. 68-70; William T. Whitley, *Art in England, 1821-1837* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), pp. 34, 150-51.

them abroad, as he outlined to Douce. Francia presumably knew that Douce was a prominent member of the Society of Antiquaries in London and may even have been aware that he was researching early northern European paintings and the history of oil painting alongside others in his circle. The panels were offered for sale by Francia with an attribution to Memling who, as already outlined, was closely linked by this date to debates around the invention of oil painting in British culture, his name promulgated by texts ranging from Descamps's *La Vie des Peintres* to Beckford's fictitious *Biographical Memoirs*.³⁵³ Works belonging to the artist we today know as Simon Marmion (active 1449-d. 1489) – to whom the wings are today attributed – were often wrongly classified in Britain under the generic name Memling.³⁵⁴ Memling's persona was yet to reach its zenith. It would not be until 1839 that the Hospital of Saint John in Bruges would open as a public museum where visitors could view the *The Shrine of Saint Ursula* (**Figure 2.26**), along with five other Memlings, thought to have been made by the artist in return for shelter there in the myth popularised by Descamps.³⁵⁵ Nonetheless, two decades earlier, in his hotel room at J. Levens's hotel, 27 Leicester Square, the dealer Francia – as he told Douce – '[made it his duty] to be in wait every day from 10 in the morn^g until 1oclock P.M. to attend visitors' to 'Memling's' altarpiece wings.³⁵⁶ Confined inside a likely modestly-sized room, we can imagine the kind of intimate encounter this would have engendered.

The right-hand wing of the altarpiece showed a wall painting of the *Dance of Death* adorning the Abbey's cloister; a subject of great interest among British antiquaries including Douce.³⁵⁷ To speculate though, surely striking about these altarpiece wings would have been the self-

³⁵³ For the attribution see 'Remarkable Picture', in *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle from January to June 1822*, ed. by Sylvanus Urban (London: John Nichols and Son, 1822), p. 350.

³⁵⁴ Jenny Graham, pp. 76-81.

³⁵⁵ The reliquary is today in the Hospitaalmuseum, Bruges. Jenny Graham, pp. 130-36.

³⁵⁶ BOD, MS Douce, d. 24, Letter from François Francia to Francis Douce, 24 January 1822, fol. 3.

³⁵⁷ Douce, *The Dance of Death*, 1833; Douce, *The Dance of Death*, 1794. The *Dance of Death* wall painting was thought to be the most interesting aspect of the painting, for which see 'Remarkable Picture'.

referential phenomenon of what was thought to be an early Netherlandish painting in oil in which was reproduced an even earlier wall painting depicted within the artist's impression of the Abbey's cloister. On the left-hand side of the right wing, two laymen are depicted intently discussing a section of the wall painting in the cloistered background (**Figure 2.27**). This is a persuasive vignette for the contemporary researcher, prompting the reimagining of what surely would have been in turn animated conversations about historic painting mediums in front of these wings in J. Levens's hotel in 1822.

Nevertheless, the wings went without a buyer in England and Francia took them back to France. As it was retrospectively recorded in the memoirs penned by the Society of Antiquaries in the French region of the Morinie (which now forms part of the Pas-de-Calais, and was the region in which the Abbey of St Bertin was located), they were exhibited for sale at the Hôtel Bullion in Paris to be purchased by the transnational dealer Lambert-Jean Nieuwenhuys (1777-1862).³⁵⁸ It was Nieuwenhuys who would separate the protruding sections of the shutters – the parts today in the National Gallery (NG1302-03; **Figure 2.13-14**) – from the main wings, and through whose hands they would enter the collection of the Prince of Orange, later Willem II, King of the Netherlands, in the same year.³⁵⁹ This provenance helps to articulate how, through itinerant dealers coming to Britain like Francia, antiquaries such as Douce, who rarely left home shores, became part of a transnational antiquarian network through which diasporic early paintings travelled on the secondary market. It was through these often ephemeral, though nonetheless important, opportunities to encounter early paintings in person on the secondary art market that Douce could meaningfully engage with enquiries that required first-hand experience of works of art and their innate material qualities; not least when researching the

³⁵⁸ [Henri de Laplane], '[St Bertin]', *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, 7 (1847), 54-55.

³⁵⁹ Hinterding and Horsch, p. 57; Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings*, p. 303. For an introduction to the Nieuwenhuys family see Hinterding and Horsch, p. 9, n. 17; Herrmann, 'Peel and Solly', pp. 91-92; Baetens and Lyna, 'The Education of the Art Market', pp. 42-43.

invention and technical history of oil painting. In this way, dealers constantly supplied antiquarian research communities with a new and ever-rotating stock of empirical material which helped to guide particular research directions and the growth of knowledge in particular fields.

Dealers, Authenticity, and the Material Qualities of Early Paintings

This chapter closes by observing the innate dualism of the dealer's position in the development of empirical art history. They provided unprecedented access to early paintings for antiquaries and enabled source-based, empirical approaches, yet at the same time they could control the ways in which the material aspects of these objects actually appeared and were understood. Prevalent art market practices such as cleaning and re-varnishing were key ways in which the material aspects of early pictures could be altered by dealers who, in turn, could directly affect antiquaries' researches into the technical histories of early paintings. Indeed, as Matthew Hayes has observed of the nineteenth century: 'repairing works of art and writing about them – the practices that became art conservation and art history – share a common ancestry'.³⁶⁰

Dealers and antiquaries in early nineteenth-century Britain were operating in a cultural landscape in which attitudes towards the role of the dealer, restoration practices, and notions of historical authenticity were evolving and changing, such attitudes always being culturally and temporally contingent. Authenticity is never an inherent property of an object and thus, in early nineteenth-century Britain, attitudes towards historical authenticity mapped onto a broad cross-section of value structures in the taste for art and antiques. By no means exhaustively, this could range from cherishing idealised notions of beauty and wholeness in a work of art, through to celebrating the visible patina of age and the artist's original intentionality. This cross-section of values is found most starkly in the difference in attitudes towards the

³⁶⁰ Matthew Hayes, *The Renaissance Restored: Paintings Conservation and the Birth of Modern Art History in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Publications, 2021), p. 1.

restoration of classical sculpture in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. In 1811, the Italian neo-classical sculptor Antonio Canova (1757-1822) famously refused to restore the fragments of the *Parthenon Frieze* which Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin (1766-1841) had then recently brought to England, claiming that ‘it would be sacrilege in him or any man to presume to touch them with a chisel’.³⁶¹ As the commentator in the *Monthly Review* could muse in 1811, ‘it is moreover desirable to see the remains of antiquity in the very state in which they were found, without the tricks which may be played on them by modern artists’.³⁶² By contrast, at the same moment, between 1816 and 1818, the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1797-1837) accepted the commission of King Ludwig I of Bavaria (1786-1868) to restore the fragmentary pediment sculptures of the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina soon after their rediscovery in 1811.³⁶³ Thorvaldsen’s privileging of the ‘wholeness’ of the work of art (later termed *Gesamtkunstwerk* in discourse of the 1820s) meant that he endeavoured to leave no gaps among the fragments by incorporating his own contemporary additions and imitating the Greek originals. The restored sculptures went on display in Munich’s Glyptothek in 1830, and later came under attack in the twentieth century as attitudes towards restoration practices developed and changed.³⁶⁴

The British trade in early European paintings was situated within these broader discussions concerning historical authenticity. Consequently, the ability of dealers to alter early paintings is worthy of investigation when it is remembered that antiquaries relied on such paintings as empirical source material. Within antiquarian enquiry into the technical history of painting,

³⁶¹ Quoted in ‘Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin’s Pursuits in Greece’, in *The Monthly Review; or Literary Journal, Enlarged: From May to August Inclusive* (London: Becket and Porter, 1811), pp. 267-78 (p. 277).

³⁶² *Ibid.*

³⁶³ William J. Diebold, ‘The Politics of Derestoration: The Aegina Pediments and the German Confrontation with the Past’, *Art Journal*, 54.2 (1995), 60-66 (p. 60).

³⁶⁴ Johannes Siapkas and Lena Sjögren, *Displaying the Ideals of Antiquity: The Petrified Gaze* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p. 104.

early pictures – and related archival documents – were pored over in highly-detailed and nuanced ways by transnational antiquaries. Investigations relied on the paintings in question being able to communicate *a posteriori* information about the time of their making, often then weighed up against documentary findings. Jilleen Nadolny has traced the early histories of the technical study of painting, illuminating the techniques that were employed during the period c. 1780 to c. 1880, which included the earliest ‘wiping tests’, as well as sampling, analysis of inorganic and organic materials, and the use of magnification and cross-sections.³⁶⁵ One of the earliest ‘wiping tests’ which Nadolny identifies would have been well-known to Douce.³⁶⁶ The German librarian, writer, and scientist Rudolf Raspe’s (1739-1794) *A Critical Essay on Oil Painting* (1781) saw Raspe conducting wide-ranging experiments, including what would now be termed ‘invasive’ investigations into the bindings of Egyptian mummies in the University of Cambridge’s holdings in order to deduce whether or not they had employed oil varnishes.³⁶⁷ As Nadolny shows, Raspe tested the solubility of the varnish by wiping it with different liquids and, when no effect occurred, he concluded that oil must be present.³⁶⁸ Douce, who had Raspe’s publication in his library, corresponded over the matter of oil varnishes with Kerrich in 1822, the same year that Douce was invited to see the wings of ‘Memling’s’ *Saint Bertin Altarpiece* by the dealer Francia, a fact which this thesis has already argued was by no means coincidental.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁵ A wiping test involved ‘wiping a surface with solvents in an attempt to characterise its composition by establishing its solubility parameters [...] undertaken to provide evidence for the use of oil-based binders’ in Jilleen Nadolny, ‘The First Century of Published Scientific Analyses of the Materials of Historical Painting and Polychromy, c. 1780-1880’, *Studies in Conservation*, 48.4 (2003), 39-50 (p. 40).

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³⁶⁷ For his main conclusions see Rudolf Erich Raspe, *A Critical Essay on Oil-Painting; Proving That the Art of Painting in Oil was Known before the Pretended Discovery of John and Hubert van Eyck* (London: H. Goldney, 1781), p. 64.

³⁶⁸ Nadolny, p. 40.

³⁶⁹ *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts*, p. 233. BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 20 June 1822, fol. 203.

On the secondary market, dealers – who often doubled-up as artists, picture cleaners, liners, and restorers – had the capacity to control the material aspects and surface qualities of early paintings through conservation and restoration approaches. This element of control is particularly striking when it is considered that antiquarian researches were so empirically, technically, and materially based. Yet, as Hayes has reminded us,

Objects are not static but subject to change through time and conservation [...] sometimes the works were remade at the very moment they entered scholarship, even restored at the hands of their chroniclers. In other cases, these interventions had occurred far in the past, and writers regarded pictures through the veil of old substances added for their preservation or improvement.³⁷⁰

As such, consideration of dealers' attitudes towards the conservation, restoration, and presentation of the early pictures in their care adds a further dimension to how these paintings were experienced by antiquaries.

It should be highlighted immediately that, as concepts, 'conservation' and 'restoration' were understood very differently at this moment than they are today. As Nadolny observes, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, 'early chemical investigations of historical materials were not expected to provide information that could assist restorers with their work' – a connection that was not made until later in the century.³⁷¹ It was not until 1828, thus during Douce and Kerrich's lifetimes, that the first treatises appeared that specifically addressed painting conservation, in both theoretical and practical terms – though these texts were in German not English.³⁷² As Hayes suggests, such books began to represent 'a shift from the secrecy of earlier artisans and, though perpetuating a certain amateurism, signaled the existence of appropriate

³⁷⁰ Hayes, p. 2.

³⁷¹ Nadolny, p. 39.

³⁷² Hayes, p. 5, n. 12.

treatment measures and of the conservation professional'.³⁷³ In early nineteenth-century London, conservation and restoration practices were still what Hayes has termed 'artisanal' rather than 'professional', and were often services offered by dealers. The dealer John Bentley (c. 1794-1867) proves an exemplary figure here. Similar to the Rodds, Bentley was a comparable type of hybrid dealer working across London's art, antique, and curiosity trade.³⁷⁴ In the 1820s, he was variously listed in directories as a repairer of paintings, as a curiosity dealer, and as owning a repository for china and pictures in Wigmore Street, although by the 1840s, Bentley was usually described as an artist, based in Sloane Street, before, later still, being brought onto the National Gallery's books as a picture restorer from 1854.³⁷⁵ His career demonstrates the gradual move from 'artisanal' beginnings in Wigmore Street to more desirable premises in the West End, coupled with his coming into the orbit of the bureaucratic force of the public art museum.³⁷⁶ Under Eastlake's directorship, Bentley took on the routine conservation and restoration of National Gallery paintings, including a number of their important early Italian pictures.³⁷⁷

It was not uncommon to find early paintings being significantly transformed by dealers and restorers during the period that Douce and Kerrich were encountering early paintings on the secondary market. Striking are the changes that were made by an early nineteenth-century restorer – who was likely also a dealer – to what was then titled *The Presentation in the Temple*

³⁷³ Ibid, p. 5.

³⁷⁴ For the dealer as a hybrid figure see Westgarth, "Florid-Looking Speculators", pp. 29-32.

³⁷⁵ For a biography of Bentley see Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 72-73; Jacob Simon, 'John Bentley', *British Picture Restorers, 1600-1950 – B*

<<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/british-picture-restorers-1600-1950-b/>> [accessed 22 September 2022].

³⁷⁶ For the move of picture dealers towards London's West End see, for example, Westgarth, "Florid-Looking Speculators", pp. 32-37.

³⁷⁷ With thanks to Susanna Avery-Quash for sharing with me, with the author's permission, Jacob Simon's detailed, unpublished research conducted in 2019 on the history of picture restoration at the National Gallery, in which Bentley features heavily.

(B.M.48; **Figure 2.28**), and was later acquired by the collector John Bowes in 1840 as *The Circumcision*, attributed to ‘Santacroce’ of the Veneto region.³⁷⁸ While probably consolidating damage and wear to the picture, this nineteenth-century restorer simultaneously altered the subject matter to meet contemporary tastes – perhaps to appeal to the then current antiquarian interest in curious historic customs.³⁷⁹ During the cleaning of the painting in 1983, conservators discovered that fundamental changes had been made.³⁸⁰ This painting started life depicting *The Presentation in the Temple* before being converted to a depiction of *The Circumcision* in the early nineteenth century. The implements of Christ’s circumcision – arranged upon the white altar cloth – had been added, along with large sections of the right-hand priest. The woman kneeling with the basket was also originally holding a larger basket containing doves. Along with a nineteenth-century cradle, inserts had also been added to the picture to extend the perspectival tiled floor and golden dome, perhaps to fit it within the gilt frame in which it hung during the nineteenth century. Though difficult to corroborate, this picture may have been *The Presentation at the Temple* attributed to Girolamo Santacroce (active 1516-d. 1556?) in the collection of the antiquary and diplomat John Strange (1732-1799), exported from Venice to Britain in 1799.³⁸¹ If the painting is Strange’s *Presentation at the Temple* then the Santacroce was certainly converted into *The Circumcision* by a restorer working on the British, rather than the Italian, secondary art market in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, after the sale

³⁷⁸ This painting is: Attributed to Girolamo da Santacroce, *The Presentation in the Temple*, c. 1500-56, B.M.48, Bowes Museum.

³⁷⁹ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 57.

³⁸⁰ This information is contained in the conservation file for B.M.48, held in the Conservation Studio at the Bowes Museum. See in particular the conservation report by R. Hobson and others, likely written around 1983. In the file is also a cutting taken from a newspaper article entitled ‘Restoration – Restored’. The newspaper it is taken from is as yet unknown but perhaps also dates from around 1983 when the restoration and condition report were presumably carried out.

³⁸¹ For recent work on John Strange and his contemporaries see Laura-Maria Popoviciu, ‘Shaping the Taste of British Diplomats in Eighteenth-Century Venice’, in *Art Markets, Agents and Collectors*, ed. by Bracken and Turpin, pp. 129-36. A portion of Strange’s collection was exhibited and sold posthumously at the European Museum, London, 27 May-29 June 1799. For the Santacroce see lot 270 in GPI, Sale Catalog Br-A2428 [accessed 22 February 2022].

of Strange's collection in 1799. The nineteenth-century additions were removed during cleaning, likely carried out in the 1980s, and the painting is again referred to as *The Presentation in the Temple* today.

Contrastingly, certain dealers actively positioned themselves, in words at least, as empathetic towards antiquaries' empirical approaches to early paintings. Such dealers employed the fairly common rhetoric that they had not interfered with the paintings in their care in any way. Certainly, this was the impression that well-known contemporary dealers such as William Buchanan strove to convey. He could write to his agent in 1804 that,

All the pictures which have hitherto come into my possession have been taken direct from the walls of those Palaces, on which they were most likely placed by the hands of the painters themselves, and where till this time they had remained under a pure Italian sky, unclog'd with damps, and what is more, unannoyed by the touch of vile picture cleaners.³⁸²

Douce had seen Fra Angelico's *The Apostle Saint James Freeing the Magician Hermogenes* (Kimbell Art Museum, Texas) (**Figure 2.19**) in Buchanan's rooms in 1815, as mentioned earlier.³⁸³ Like Buchanan, dealers within Douce's antiquarian networks offered at least the impression of taking a fairly restrained attitude towards cleaning and restoration, which complemented the antiquarian desire to preserve the integrity of the original media and surface qualities of a picture. The dealer Lasinio and his earlier predecessor, Patch, both demonstrated an archaeological antiquarian approach to early paintings by indicating areas of damage and restoration within their then well-known engravings of frescoes by trecento and quattrocento

³⁸² Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 5 April 1804 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 228.

³⁸³ See above at n. 286.

masters (**Figures 2.29-30**).³⁸⁴ ‘The state’ of pictures was certainly something in which Kerrich and Douce were interested, as demonstrated in their correspondence cited earlier.³⁸⁵ The early Tuscan paintings that Lasinio sold to Dawson Turner in the 1820s were described in correspondence as ‘*conservatissimo*’ – in a very well preserved state – and as ‘*intatti*’ (‘intact’) and ‘*senza ritochi*’ (‘without retouchings’).³⁸⁶ Lasinio also highlighted areas of damage and restoration to his client, akin to the approach found in his engravings. A Greek *Pietà* earmarked for Turner in 1827 was highlighted as a damaged work, sporting ‘*una fessa nel mezzo*’ (‘a crack in the middle of it’).³⁸⁷

In the antiquarian diaspora, Lasinio was not alone in marketing his paintings in ways that suggested a moderate, ‘hands-off’ approach to restoration – surely appealing to antiquarian buyers interested in historic painting materials. Similar conclusions can be drawn around the antiquary James Dennistoun (1803-1855), who acted as a Continental agent buying early Italian ‘gold-backs’ for Horatio Walpole, 3rd Earl of Orford (1783-1858) in the 1840s. His correspondence, published in part by Carly Collier, reveals a network of dealers, picture cleaners, and restorers in Florence and Rome such as Nicola Cianfanelli (1793-1848), Johann Metzger (1772-1844), Anasi, and Landrini.³⁸⁸ Correspondence of 1846 shows the arrangements Dennistoun made to have a *Madonna of Humility* (**Figure 2.31**) readied, and its frame and ornaments restored by Anasi.³⁸⁹ The picture had been particularly attractive to Dennistoun for

³⁸⁴ Smiles, pp. 51, 57.

³⁸⁵ BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 13 January 1826, fol. 295.

³⁸⁶ TCL, MS 0.14.3, Letter from Carlo Lasinio to Dawson Turner, 16 February 1829, fol. 38. Also transcribed in Lloyd, ‘Some Unpublished Letters’, p. 88.

³⁸⁷ TCL, MS 0.13.32, Letter from Carlo Lasinio to Dawson Turner, 13 May 1827, fol. 115. Also transcribed in Lloyd, ‘Some Unpublished Letters’, p. 87.

³⁸⁸ Carly Collier, ‘A Forgotten Collector of Early Italian Art: Horatio Walpole, 3rd Earl of Orford’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 153.1301 (2011), 512-17.

³⁸⁹ This painting is: Workshop of Lorenzo Monaco, *Madonna of Humility*, c. 1375-1423/4, 1945.30, Museum of Art, Toledo.

having ‘never [been] varnished or cleaned’.³⁹⁰ He could write to Orford of its cleaning and restoration in February 1846:

I have had your Gothic picture of the school of Beato [Angelico] cleaned by Anasi, and all the ornamental frame restored and regilt, and afterwards had the gold toned down to the colour of the gold ground. Though there was nothing to restore in the picture itself, the cleaning and ornaments took much time [...] a good deal of the carving and pillars etc. had to be replaced.³⁹¹

While the frame and ornaments received much work, the surface of the painting was reported not to have been subjected to any restoration. In contrast to Thorvaldsen, Lasinio and Dennistoun are aligned here with more moderate attitudes to cleaning and restoration that endeavoured to minimise interventions on the surface of the early European paintings.

Another aspect of technical art history that was at this time hotly debated and often concerned minute investigation related to the subject of varnishes. As evidenced by Douce’s papers, Raspe and Kerrich differed in their opinions over whether early oil varnishes proved that oil painting was in existence at a certain date, or whether the presence of a varnish merely proved the existence of oil; they also had varying thoughts concerning how an oil varnish might affect the status of a painting executed in a different, non-oil-based medium such as tempera.³⁹² It is worth noting in the current discussion that antiquaries’ technical investigations into oil varnishes had the potential to be disrupted by the later re-varnishing of paintings: a common practice among dealers.³⁹³ In correspondence of 1829 on the subject of a second group of ten early Italian

³⁹⁰ Letter from James Dennistoun to 3rd Earl of Orford, 14 January 1846, quoted in Collier, ‘A Forgotten Collector’, p. 516.

³⁹¹ Letter from James Dennistoun to 3rd Earl of Orford, 2 April 1846, quoted in Collier, ‘A Forgotten Collector’, p. 516.

³⁹² BOD, MS Douce d. 36, Letter from Thomas Kerrich to Francis Douce, 20 June 1822, fol. 203.

³⁹³ Dealers were operating in a context in which the subject of varnishing pictures could be highly controversial, a subject which would reach an incendiary climax by the time of the 1853 Select

paintings which the dealer Lasinio was putting together for Dawson Turner, this dealer shared a recipe for a pliable mastic varnish to be applied to ‘paintings in canvas and oil, and on panel in tempera’.³⁹⁴ This varnish recipe, comprised of turpentine and mastic gum, was to be used to consolidate the paintings following their passage at sea during which time, though wrapped in waxed canvas inside a tarred crate, they inevitably suffered from ‘the humidity that very much affects these sorts of pictures painted in tempera’.³⁹⁵ Thus what might be seen by a dealer to be the relatively simple process of re-varnishing a painting could in fact add another layer of complexity into antiquaries’ highly-nuanced research into the varnishes on early paintings. A substance like Lasinio’s mastic varnish would have had the potential to disrupt or at least mislead an antiquary’s experiment – a wiping test, for instance – through harbouring different levels of solubility to that of an original varnish layer.³⁹⁶ Certainly, as Robert Skwirblies has shown, there were very real concerns during the period that restoration was ‘little more than a commercial trick to brighten and polish up old works – causing irreversible damage such as the wiping off of the upper glazing colour coats’.³⁹⁷ Processes such as cleaning or varnishing often occurred behind collectors’ backs, adjudicated over or carried out by a dealer or agent on the collector or buyer’s behalf – a reminder of the control that these art market actors could exercise over how these paintings actually appeared and were understood by British buyers, not least scholarly antiquaries.

Committee on the National Gallery. For a concise summary see Sheldon Keck, ‘Some Picture Cleaning Controversies: Past and Present’, *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 23.2 (1984), 73-87. For an overview of historic varnishes used at the National Gallery see Raymond White and Jo Kirby, ‘A Survey of Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Varnish Compositions Found on a Selection of Paintings in the National Gallery Collection’, *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, 22 (2001), 64-84.

³⁹⁴ TCL, MS.0.14.3, Letter from Carlo Lasinio to Dawson Turner, 16 February 1829, fol. 38. Also transcribed in Lloyd, ‘Some Unpublished Letters’, pp. 89-90.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ Nadolny, p. 40.

³⁹⁷ Robert Skwirblies, ‘Restoration of Artworks in the Berlin Royal Picture Collection between 1797 and 1830. Internationalization, Professionalization, Institutionalization’, in *La Restauration des Oeuvres d’Art en Europe Entre 1789 et 1815: Pratiques, Transferts, Enjeux*, ed. by Noémie Etienne (= *CeROArt*, 2012)), (paras 13, 15) <<https://doi.org/10.4000/ceroart.2356>>.

The activities of art, antique, and curiosity dealers in Britain in the opening decades of the nineteenth century fed directly into evolving patterns of antiquarian consumption and learning surrounding early European paintings. While the activities of these dealers' counterparts on the Continent, such as Patch and Lasinio, are fairly well-known, the domestic trade in early pictures among Britain's art and antique dealers has, before now, been understudied. As art and antique dealers inserted themselves into a vibrant antiquarian 'meta-economy', antiquaries were offered the chance to engage with early European paintings at close quarters – at a moment where there were only limited opportunities to see such pictures elsewhere in Britain.³⁹⁸ Through providing important and often haptic encounters with the items in their stock, dealers contributed to a new conception of early paintings as empirical art-historical objects among antiquaries. Yet, keeping in mind the hybrid skills of dealers as picture restorers, liners, and cleaners, the chapter has shown how dealers also fostered the potential to complicate the emerging role of early paintings as empirical art-historical objects. As shown, dealers exercised a unique control over how the material aspects and surface qualities of these pictures appeared to consumers – whether undertaking potentially compromising cleaning or restoration processes which often happened away from the buyer, or re-varnishing paintings which could compromise the integrity of antiquaries' subsequent experiments into early, oil-based varnishes.

³⁹⁸ For 'meta-economy' see Baines, "Our Annus", p. 36.

Chapter Two

The Rise of the Picture Dealer: Learning How to Sell Early European Pictures in Britain, c. 1802-44

Chapter One navigated the overlapping marketplace of art, antique, and curiosity dealers who were selling early European paintings in London in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. As seen, dealers such as Horatio and Thomas Rodd – who were booksellers; dealers in art, curiosities, and antiques; and served as agents for private collectors – represent the hybridity of this type of important, though overlooked, trader of early paintings. That is not to say however that, because of the hybridity of their roles and practices, dealers like the Rodds were not part of the gradual stratification and professionalisation that was occurring across the British secondary market, during the first part of the century. It is worth recalling that Horatio Rodd became the first secretary of the Dealers-in-Fine-Arts Provident Institution (established in 1842), the guild-like society which contributed towards demarcating ‘dealers’ as a distinct group.³⁹⁹ While the limitations and malleability of the notion of professionalisation were examined in the Introduction to this thesis, the Provident Institution stands as a useful ‘recognizable signpost’ – to coin Anne Helmreich’s term – through which certain British dealers were beginning to assemble under a new sense of what might be termed ‘professionalism’.⁴⁰⁰

It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the dealer became more recognisably ‘professionalised’ in Britain – signposted through new cultural forms such as the commercial art gallery, deliberately located in salubrious, leisured locations such as New Bond Street in London, as Pamela Fletcher has suggested.⁴⁰¹ It was also in this later period that

³⁹⁹ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, pp. 101-02.

⁴⁰⁰ For quotation see Helmreich, ‘David Croal Thomson’, p. 90.

⁴⁰¹ Fletcher, ‘Shopping for Art’, pp. 47-64.

collecting patterns, art-historical knowledge, and dealer practices became what could be termed more fully specialised – notions of ‘specialized training’ and ‘expertise’ having been associated with the rise of professional classes.⁴⁰² Certain dealers even became specialised in early European paintings, beginning in Britain at least with the earlier example of Samuel Woodburn as examined in Chapter Four. By the century’s end, the art dealer and connoisseur Murray Marks (1840-1918) could even be depicted by the Florentine artist, restorer, copyist, and dealer in early Italian paintings, David A. Costantini, in the format of an early Italian portrait.⁴⁰³ In Marks’s portrait (**Figure 3.1**), today at Brighton and Hove Museums, Costantini painted the dealer in the guise of a Renaissance Italian statesman, seated against a monotone background and behind a parapet complete with an inscribed *cartolino*, a common epithet for the powerful and wealthy in the early Renaissance period. In fact, the portrait directly references prototypes such as the portrait of *Doge Leonardo Loredan* by Giovanni Bellini (NG189; **Figure 3.2**) which had been acquired by the National Gallery in 1844 from William Beckford’s collection at Fonthill.⁴⁰⁴ Just how much had changed by the end of the century is signalled by the fact that an art dealer in Britain would actively choose to promote his identity according to the particular conventions of early European painting which, as this chapter

⁴⁰² Helmreich, ‘David Croal Thomson’, p. 89. Carlo Lasinio and Samuel Woodburn are early examples of dealers who specialised in early Italian paintings, for whom see Chapter One and Chapter Four respectively. For specialist dealers of the second half of the century see those such as Stefano Bardini, for whom see above at n. 48.

⁴⁰³ For an introduction to Murray Marks as a dealer see Clive Wainwright, ‘“A Gatherer and Disposer of Other Men’s Stuff”: Murray Marks, Connoisseur and Curiosity Dealer’, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 14.1 (2002), 161-76. Born in London, Marks was from a Dutch Jewish émigré family. Much valuable work is being done on Jewish collecting, not least as part of the major AHRC project ‘The Jewish Country House: Objects, Networks and People’ (2019-23) led by Tom Stammers and Silvia Davoli. See also the related Collaborative Doctoral Partnership PhD between the National Gallery and the University of Durham being carried out by Isobel Muir, ‘Jewish Collectors and Donors at the National Gallery (c. 1830-1945)’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, in progress). For the Costantini family see, for example, Patrizia Cappellini, ‘Trading Old Masters in Florence 1890-1914: Heritage Protection and the Florentine Art Trade in Post-Unification Italy’, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 31.2 (2019), 363-71 (pp. 365-66).

⁴⁰⁴ Chapel, pp. 229-50.

shows, were precisely the conventions for which the early pictures in the dealer William Buchanan's stock were decried in the first part of the century.

Yet, the first half of the century had already seen a marked stratification and professionalisation among dealers – as their roles became more distinct, and their practices became increasingly efficient, well-organised, and adapted to the dynamics of the market. As Mark Westgarth observes, 'a key piece of evidence for the increasing distinctiveness of the antique and curiosity trade in the opening decades of the nineteenth century is the categories and classifications adopted by the British Trade and Post Office Directories'.⁴⁰⁵ In these directories of the period, dealers were grouped under increasingly specific nomenclature – pointing to a growing degree of specialisation and diversification within the trade in historical objects. Within this context, the 'picture dealer' was also becoming one such discrete identity. Westgarth has observed that particular knowledge and contacts were required to specialise in the trade for Old Master paintings, which he suggests were distinct from the more hybrid trade in art, antiques, and curiosities.⁴⁰⁶ It was for this reason, as noted earlier, that the antique dealer John Coleman Isaac decided to focus his business on curiosities precisely because of 'the discrete knowledge and collector networks required for the profitable acquisition and sale of paintings', which Coleman Isaac felt he lacked.⁴⁰⁷

Broadly, this chapter examines the rise of the distinct category of the Old Master picture dealer in the first half of the nineteenth century in Britain, a type of dealer who specialised in the trade of historic paintings. In 'From Jack-of-all-trades to Professional' (2019), Julia Armstrong-Totten observed that, by the turn of the nineteenth century, 'an individual with specific types

⁴⁰⁵ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 106.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 97; Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary*, p. 58. Interestingly, Westgarth does include Buchanan within his *Dictionary* as he sold furniture to the Lucy family, however this was certainly not a key part of his dealing practice. Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary*, p. 75.

⁴⁰⁷ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 97.

of experience and expertise was needed' through which to navigate the expanding market for Old Master paintings.⁴⁰⁸ She suggested that:

[political] turmoil and the sudden availability of high-quality art for sale from the Continent brought about a need for more professionals: those singularly dedicated to handling art, those who had the skills to obtain works of art during difficult war-time conditions, as well as those who were capable of exhibiting and selling them in a proper gallery setting.⁴⁰⁹

Using the example of the influential picture dealer Michael Bryan, she observed that Bryan's business card, which distinctively advertised his 'Picture Gallery', demonstrated his 'single-minded focus on the sale of paintings' in contrast to the hybrid and overlapping dealing activities which the business cards of contemporary dealers tended to promote (**Figure 2.24**).⁴¹⁰ In fact, Bryan's strategic business model, which focused on the display and sale solely of paintings, would become influential for new dealers entering the field such as William Buchanan, who set up his own premises in 1802, and who is the focus of this chapter's main case study.⁴¹¹ It was Bryan who had acted on behalf of the syndicate which purchased the French and Italian paintings from the esteemed Orleans collection in 1798, and Bryan who had exhibited the works in a much-vaunted two-venue selling exhibition, one location being his

⁴⁰⁸ Armstrong-Totten, 'From Jack-of-All-Trades to Professional', p. 195.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 203.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid, p. 195, fig. 4. For Michael Bryan see Julia Armstrong-Totten, 'The Rise and Fall of a British Connoisseur: The Career of Michael Bryan (1757-1821), a Picture Dealer Extraordinaire', in *Auctions, Agents and Dealers: The Mechanisms of the Art Market, 1660-1830*, ed. by Jeremy Warren and Adriana Turpin (Oxford: The Beazley Archive and Archaeopress in association with the Wallace Collection, 2007), pp. 141-50. See also Michael Bryan, *A Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers: From the Revival of the Art under Cimabue, and the Alleged Discovery of Engraving by Finiguerra, to the Present Time: With the Ciphers, Monograms, and Marks, Used by Each Engraver, and an Ample List of Their Principal Works* (London: Printed for Carpenter and Son, J. Booker, Whittingham and Arliss, 1816).

⁴¹¹ Armstrong-Totten, 'From Jack-of-All-Trades to Professional', p. 199.

picture gallery on Pall Mall and the other being a rented space at the Lyceum, on the Strand, between December 1798 and July 1799.⁴¹² As Armstrong-Totten observed, by contrast, when Buchanan first stepped into the art market arena at the turn of the nineteenth century ‘[he] was a newcomer with no experience in the trade, [and] planned to set himself up as an old master picture dealer’ during the process of which he demonstrated ‘his ruthless determination to take over the market’.⁴¹³ Before starting up as a picture dealer, Buchanan, the son of a hat maker, had been a law student in Scotland.⁴¹⁴ The ensuing, initial years during which Buchanan endeavoured to establish his role and practices as a picture dealer are best documented in his correspondence dating between 1802 and 1804, published by Hugh Brigstocke in 1982, and supplemented by the dealer’s own pseudo-hagiographic *Memoirs of Painting* (1824).⁴¹⁵ That publication appeared in the same year that the National Gallery was founded at 100 Pall Mall, London, and just eight years after the issue of Bryan’s own publication of his *Critical and Biographical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*.⁴¹⁶ Yet, as well as aping what he saw to be the ‘best practice’ of renowned picture dealers such as Bryan, this chapter suggests that

⁴¹² [Michael Bryan], *A Catalogue of the Orleans’ Italian Pictures which will be Exhibited for Sale by Private Contract, on Wednesday, the 26th of December, 1798, and Following Days, at the Lyceum in the Strand* (London: printed by Sampson Low, 1798); [Michael Bryan], *A Catalogue of the Orleans’ Italian Pictures which will be Exhibited for Sale by Private Contract on Wednesday, the 26th December, 1798, and Following Days, at Mr Bryan’s Gallery, No. 88, Pall Mall* (London: printed by Sampson Low, 1798). Much has been written on the Orleans collection in Britain, among which see Susanna Avery-Quash and Nicholas Penny, ‘The Dispersal of the Orléans Collection and the British Art Market’, in *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market*, ed. by Avery-Quash and Huemer, pp. 145-58; David Bindman, ‘The Orleans Collection and Its Impact on British Art’, in *The Circulation of Works of Art in the Revolutionary Era*, ed. by Panzanelli and Preti-Hamard, pp. 57-66; Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, pp. 27-28.

⁴¹³ Armstrong-Totten, ‘From Jack-of-All-Trades to Professional’, p. 199.

⁴¹⁴ Brigstocke, ‘William Buchanan: His Friends and Rivals’, p. 4. For a concise biography of Buchanan see Herrmann, *The English as Collectors*, pp. 127-45. For the relationship between the rising and stratifying mercantile classes and art buying during the nineteenth century see Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Fletcher and Helmreich, ‘Introduction: The State of the Field’, pp. 2-3.

⁴¹⁵ William Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*; William Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*.

⁴¹⁶ Bryan, *A Biographical and Critical Dictionary*.

Buchanan trialled and honed his own practices so that they became increasingly efficient and responsive to market conditions – later coming into the orbit of, and interacting with, the public art museum, particularly from the mid-1820s, after Bryan’s death in 1821.

Taking Buchanan as the subject of its case study, this chapter examines specifically the strategies that this picture dealer developed to market, circulate, display, and ultimately sell the early European paintings within his stock, especially two horizontal panels depicting the *Creation and the Fall of Man* and the *Lives of Cain and Abel* which entered his stock in 1802-03, as early works by Raphael (**Appendix 2**).⁴¹⁷ Using these paintings as a lynchpin, the chapter seeks to remedy a gap in current knowledge about how picture dealers in Britain in the first part of the century operated in relation to paintings of the earlier schools. By contrast, much more is known of the strategies employed during the second half of the century and on the Continent.⁴¹⁸ As noted in the Introduction to this thesis, the exhibition *Primitifs Italiens* (2012) at the Musée Fesch, Ajaccio, presented new information about the demand for early Italian paintings and dealer practices in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with a particular

⁴¹⁷ The first is: Mariotto Albertinelli, *The Creation and Fall of Man*, 1513-14, P.1966.GP.6, Courtauld Institute of Art, London. The second is now fragmented but is generally agreed to have been made up of the following paintings, in addition to a now lost portion depicting *Eve and the Children*. The known portions are: Mariotto Albertinelli, *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve*, c. 1514, Strossmayer Gallery, Zagreb, Croatia; Mariotto Albertinelli, *Cain Slaying Abel*, c. 1514, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Italy; Mariotto Albertinelli, *The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel*, c. 1514, 1906.5, Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, USA. The *Creation and Fall of Man* and the fragments from the second panel depicting the *Lives of Cain and Abel* are now generally attributed to Mariotto Albertinelli (1474-1515). For the most comprehensive catalogue raisonné of Albertinelli’s oeuvre see Ludovico Borgo, *The Works of Mariotto Albertinelli* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976), pp. 315-17, 348-57. See also Ludovico Borgo, ‘Mariotto Albertinelli’s Smaller Paintings after 1512’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 116.854 (1974), 245-50. Of note is that Borgo did not link *The Sacrifice* fragment with the other panels. For recent revisions to the provenance, which do link *The Sacrifice* with the other panels, see Ljerka Dulibić and Iva Pasini Tržec, ‘New Information on the 19th Century Provenance of Albertinelli’s Old Testament Cycle’, *RIHA Journal*, 35 (2012) <www.riha-journal.org/articles/2012/2012-jan-mar/dulibic-pasini-trzec-albertinelli-old-testament-cycle> [accessed 16 June 2020]; Ljerka Dulibić, ‘Provenance Research on the Paintings at Strossmayer Gallery — Selected Examples from the Collection of Italian Painting’, *Peristil: Zbornik Radova za Povijest Umjetnosti*, 48.1 (2005), 53-63.

⁴¹⁸ Westgarth has highlighted for example the scale of the literature on Bardini in Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 25.

focus on the French and Italian context.⁴¹⁹ Esther Moench and Philippe Costamagna observed that the demand for the Italian ‘primitives’ from the mid-century onwards resulted in a huge number of copies, falsifications, re-configurations, re-framings, adaptations, and divisions of early altarpieces and panel paintings effected by Italian dealers, agents, and artists.⁴²⁰ This led to particular later dealers becoming associated with, and specialised in, the highly-efficient and calculated production or circulation of these so-called ‘misappropriations’ such as Emilio Costantini, Luigi Grassi, Elia Volpi, and Stefano Bardini.⁴²¹ Moench and Costamagna also highlighted how early Italian altarpieces, ceiling panels, and furniture pictures recommended themselves to dealers to be broken up and sold – ‘it was easier to put on the market a Virgin and Child, or an isolated Saint, presented in a seductive frame’ – while the subsequent creation of more pictures also garnered more profit for the seller.⁴²² These later nineteenth-century strategies also extended to adapting paintings to suit the tastes of the day, including creating composites of different works combined within a new setting for then popular ‘*cabinets des gothicités*’ in France, and applying or adapting artist signatures or inscriptions.⁴²³ As such, dealer practices directly catered to, and served as a catalyst for, particular developments in the consumption of early paintings in this later period.

By contrast, this chapter examines dealer strategies for selling early paintings in the first half of the century in Britain which helps to contextualise these understandings which we already have from the later period, and on the Continent. It is important to note that the strategies which picture dealers used to sell these earlier paintings could differ in important ways from those used to sell more mainstream Old Master paintings – even in the first part of the century. As

⁴¹⁹ *Primitifs Italiens*.

⁴²⁰ Moench and Costamagna, pp. 193-258.

⁴²¹ *Ibid*, pp. 196-97.

⁴²² Translation author’s own. *Ibid*, p. 193.

⁴²³ Moench and Costamagna; Valentina Hristova, “‘Faux Vrai’: Vrais Tableaux, Fausses Signatures’, in *Primitifs Italiens*, ed. by Moench, pp. 119-30.

will duly be demonstrated with the episodic narratives of the ‘Raphael’s’ in Buchanan’s stock, the compositional qualities of early paintings tended to recommend themselves to processes such as division and fragmentation at the hands of dealers. To recall Moench and Costamagna’s observations, such paintings could be divided into individual narrative episodes, or into individual likenesses of certain saints, protagonists, or the Virgin and Child, for example.⁴²⁴ The fact that early paintings could often be on panel – rather than canvas, as was more common with later easel paintings – also made them a little more straightforward to cut, negating the need to re-stretch, re-line, or adhere a fragment of canvas to another support.

This chapter focuses on the discrete periods which particular early European paintings – namely the *Creation and Fall of Man* and *Lives of Cain and Abel*, mentioned above – spent in the hands of the ‘the dealer’ (Buchanan) rather than in the culturally-sanctioned space of ‘the collection’. As observed in the Introduction to this thesis, the concept of ‘the collection’ is often privileged in scholarship as the conventional framework through which objects of desire are contained and understood; while the reflexive potentialities inherent in the act of collecting are linked with the primacy of the collector’s (rather than the dealer’s) identity and role. A twentieth-century photograph (**Figure 3.3**) of the Library at Highnam Court, Gloucestershire, presents the viewer with a retrospective snapshot of a portion of the collection of the Anglican collector and inventor of the ‘spirit-fresco’ technique, Thomas Gambier Parry (1816-1888).⁴²⁵ There, the *Creation and Fall of Man* is pictured at the centre of an evocative, pseudo-historic arrangement of Italian paintings. In Christopher Rowell’s article of 2015 on Florentine *cassoni* panels in British collections, in which this photograph features, no mention is made of Buchanan’s earlier activities surrounding the *Creation* panel and its counterpart. Only the

⁴²⁴ Moench and Costamagna, p. 193.

⁴²⁵ Christopher Rowell, ‘Florentine “Cassoni” at Blicking, Knole and Cliveden’, *Furniture History*, 51 (2015), 21-49 (pp. 24, 33); Anthony Blunt, ‘The History of Thomas Gambier Parry’s Collection’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 109.768 (1967), 112-71. The photograph is reproduced in Rowell, p. 24, fig. 3.

dealers William Blundell Spence, Stefano Bardini, and Elia Volpi are albeit briefly discussed by Rowell as dealers of early Italian furniture pictures, yet another instance of the customary scholarly focus on better-known dealers and their practices from the second half of the century.⁴²⁶

Indeed, the time that an object spends with ‘the dealer’ – in this case, Buchanan – has traditionally often be treated as transitory, insignificant, and suspicious, seen to be marred by spurious and commercial connotations. It is for this reason that traditional provenance histories are constructed around objects moving from collection to collection, rather than from dealer to dealer; dealers and auction sales are treated merely as the conduits by which objects ultimately enter ‘proper’ collections.⁴²⁷ Anne Higonnet has highlighted the valuable ‘epic tales’ that sit obscured by the ‘dry lists’ of provenance histories.⁴²⁸ As she suggests:

if we have confined provenance to the lists we see, in their sparest form, on museum labels and in exhibition catalog entries, it is because we have not, as a discipline, been ready to confront the challenging ways in which meaning is transformed over time: flowing clearly and smoothly, wrapped, knotted, or tangled, while the forces of art criticism, art history, ownership, collection, and installation (among others) constantly create and compound new meanings that irrevocably alter all previous meanings.⁴²⁹

As anthropologist Rosemary Joyce observes, the recent resurgence of interest in object itineraries has helped to supplement and expand provenance histories, in the manner for which

⁴²⁶ Rowell, p. 33. It is worth noting that the *Creation* panel was likely not a *cassone* panel and was probably designed to be displayed on the wall, perhaps over a marriage chest.

⁴²⁷ For the anxieties that provenance can engender see Gail Feigenbaum and Inge Reist, ‘Introduction’, in *Provenance*, ed. by Feigenbaum and Reist, pp. 1-4 (p. 2).

⁴²⁸ Anne Higonnet, ‘Afterword: The Social Life of Provenance’, in *Provenance*, ed. by Feigenbaum and Reist, pp. 195-209 (p. 195).

⁴²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 200.

Higonnet calls.⁴³⁰ Itineraries, Joyce and Susan Gillespie suggest, help to overcome some of the limitations inherent in the approach of the albeit closely related object biography; they preclude the need for objects to follow an anthropomorphised journey through ‘life’ and ‘death’; as well as usefully catering for objects to become fragmented and dispersed – as was the case with many early European paintings, including the ‘Raphael’s’.⁴³¹

Returning to Higonnet’s ‘epic tales’ contained in ‘dry lists’, this chapter builds on the notion that the times which early paintings – such as the ‘Raphael’ panels – spent with picture dealers were in fact influential and illuminating periods in their respective provenances, where dealers were actively engaged in strategically mediating the value and reception of the items in their stock.⁴³² Taking this approach reveals that, already in the first half of the nineteenth century, British dealers were experimenting with and developing increasingly efficient and responsive strategies through which to sell early European paintings against the broader backdrop of the stratification and professionalisation of the roles and practices of the picture dealer.

Finding William Buchanan in the National Gallery’s Archive

Interrogating early paintings which actively were not acquired by the National Gallery’s trustees can often be just as illuminating as examining those which were accepted – and this is certainly the case with what we now know to be Mariotto Albertinelli’s (1474-1515) *Creation and Fall of Man* (**Appendix 2**) in the Courtauld Institute of Art, London. In the National Gallery’s archive is catalogued: ‘a letter from William Buchanan offering Titian’s “The Aldobrandini Madonna” for sale, together with another painting (Expulsion from the Garden

⁴³⁰ Joyce, ‘Things in Motion, Itineraries’, p. 31; Rosemary A. Joyce, ‘From Place to Place, Provenience, Provenance, and Archaeology’, in *Provenance*, ed. by Feigenbaum and Reist, pp. 48-60.

⁴³¹ Rosemary A. Joyce and Susan D. Gillespie, ‘Making Things Out of Objects That Move’, in *Things in Motion*, ed. by Joyce and Gillespie, pp. 3-20 (pp. 3, 11-12, 15).

⁴³² Higonnet, p. 195.

of Eden?) by Masaccio'.⁴³³ The letter is dated 4 March 1844. During the course of research for this thesis, this '(Expulsion from the Garden of Eden?) by Masaccio' was in fact revealed to be one of two horizontal panels, attributed to Raphael earlier in the nineteenth century, and which together depict the lives of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel. These were the two panels already introduced above: the *Creation and Fall of Man*, referenced in the 1844 letter, and another depicting the *Lives of Cain and Abel*, which by that time had been fragmented and dispersed (**Appendix 2**). Buchanan's transnational agent, the Scottish artist and dealer James Irvine (1757-1831), had first purchased the two paintings on the former's behalf in Florence in 1802-03, as part of a larger speculation organised by Buchanan.⁴³⁴ As we shall see, Buchanan's later advances to the National Gallery in March 1844 were the culmination of a final, wider campaign by him to interest public art galleries in the *Creation and Fall of Man*. The previous year, for example, Buchanan had been in touch with Baron Ignaz von Olfers (1793-1871), director of Berlin's Royal Museums, to try to interest him in what had become for Buchanan a lingering stock of paintings which coalesced around a nucleus of works separately purchased from the collection of Charles Louis, the Duke of Lucca (1799-1883).⁴³⁵

As letters in the National Gallery's archive evidence, this was not the first time that the *Creation and Fall of Man* had been offered for sale to public art galleries in Britain and on the Continent. Buchanan had offered it to the National Gallery, London, in 1827 – three years after its foundation – on which occasion it was refused due to it being, in Buchanan's words, 'too

⁴³³ NGA, NG5/55/21, Letter from William Buchanan to the secretary, 4 March 1844.

⁴³⁴ For the workings of the speculation see Brigstocke, 'William Buchanan: His Friends and Rivals', pp. 4-6. For Irvine see Hugh Brigstocke, 'James Irvine: A Scottish Artist in Italy. Picture Buying in Italy for William Buchanan and Arthur Champenowne', *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, 74 (2012), 245-479.

⁴³⁵ Lengthy correspondence is held in Berlin, Zentralarchiv (ZA), I/GG/166. See in particular ZA, I/GG/166, [Benjamin Dacosta], *Prospectus of a Plan for Disposing of Certain Pictures of High Importance by a Sale of Shares*, 1843, fols 170-71, lot 28. The pictures were exhibited at what was called The Gallery, 53 Pall Mall, London, which was described as 'being next door to the British Institution'. Benjamin Dacosta was listed as the secretary.

simple and primitive' for the trustees' tastes.⁴³⁶ The fact that the picture was not suitable for the Gallery's then nascent collection is not surprising; the Gallery would not purchase its first 'primitive' until 1842 with Jan van Eyck's so-called *Arnolfini Portrait* (NG186; **Figure 1.2**), while two side-panels from the *San Benedetto Altarpiece* (NG215; **Figure 3.4-5**) were bequeathed by the politician and art collector William Coningham (1815-1884) in 1848.⁴³⁷ Three years before Buchanan offered the 'Raphael' panel in 1827, the National Gallery had been founded on the purchase by the British Government of thirty-eight paintings from the collection of the art collector and philanthropist John Julius Angerstein, housed at 100 Pall Mall (**Figure 3.6**).⁴³⁸ As Susanna Avery-Quash summarised, Angerstein's collection 'displayed no 'quirks'' and was formed of Continental Old Masters, and family portraits and subject pictures by British artists; the types of pictures 'most highly praised by professors at the Royal Academy as forming part of the accepted artistic canon'.⁴³⁹ As shown in the letters from 1827 to 1828, Buchanan himself could write on what he perceived to be the canonical taste of the moment. He noted that seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish pictures were highly popular among British collectors at that moment, while he perceived that Italian paintings had fallen into disrepute.⁴⁴⁰ Certainly, what is known of late-Georgian collecting in Britain

⁴³⁶ NGL, NC 505 BUCHANAN. For the quotation see letter from William Buchanan to Johann Georg von Dillis, 9 July 1827, letter 8, p. 5. These letters are cited in Penny, 'Raphael and the Early Victorians', pp. 296-98, n. 23-24. Buchanan's resistance towards paintings of the earlier schools is observed in Brigstocke, 'William Buchanan: His Friends and Rivals', pp. 35-38.

⁴³⁷ The latter paintings are: Lorenzo Monaco, *Adoring Saints*, 1407-09, NG215-6, National Gallery. See Jenny Graham, pp. 91-123; Haskell, 'William Coningham', pp. 676-81.

⁴³⁸ Avery-Quash, 'John Julius Angerstein and the Development of his Art Collection'; Avery-Quash, "'The Lover of the Fine Arts'"; Susanna Avery-Quash, 'William Hazlitt's Account of "Mr Angerstein's Collection of Pictures"', *Tate Papers*, 24.2 (2015)

<<https://www.tate.org.uk/research/tate-papers/24/william-hazlitts-account-of-mr-angersteins-collection-of-pictures>> [accessed 18 April 2023].

⁴³⁹ Avery-Quash, 'John Julius Angerstein and the Development of his Art Collection', p. 248.

⁴⁴⁰ NGL, NC 505 BUCHANAN, Letter from William Buchanan to Johann Georg von Dillis, 9 July 1827, letter 8, p. 2.

corroborates this to a significant degree.⁴⁴¹ To be seen in Chapter Three is that the dealer Edward Solly, writing in the same moment in 1829, could describe the Dutch school purely as ‘merchandise’ which he perceived he was more or less guaranteed to be able to sell to advantage in London.⁴⁴²

As his letters further show, in 1828 Buchanan sent the *Creation and Fall of Man*, as part of a group of pictures, to King Ludwig I of Bavaria (1786-1868) through the artist and director of the royal collection, Johann Georg von Dillis (1759-1841), in another unsuccessful endeavour.⁴⁴³ Buchanan had first fostered the connection with Von Dillis in Germany on travels with his wife in 1817, and the dealer also maintained a friendship with August Baron de Cetto (1794-1879), the Bavarian Minister resident in England.⁴⁴⁴ The *Creation* panel was offered to the Bavarian king for £1500 (sterling), though Buchanan was also willing to exchange it for works of the Dutch and Flemish school, which he perceived would sell comparatively easily on the British secondary market:

Should His Majesty the King of Bavaria feel disposed to make an exchange of a work of Rubens, (of which you have so many) for the Composition by Raphael [...] I may

⁴⁴¹ For Sir Robert Peel’s (1788-1850) taste in Dutch and Flemish painting see Herrmann, ‘Peel and Solly’, pp. 89-92.

⁴⁴² Quoted in Robert Skwirbli, ‘Edward Solly’s ‘Stock of Paintings’’, in *The Solly Collection*, ed. by Skwirbli and others, pp. 11-37 (pp. 16, 35, n. 40).

⁴⁴³ For transcriptions of the letters pertaining to this endeavour see NGL, NC 505 BUCHANAN. See letters 12 and 13 for the works sent to Johann Georg von Dillis. For Von Dillis’s role in the Bavarian royal collection see Adrian Von Buttlar and Bénédicte Savoy, ‘Glyptothek and Alte Pinakothek, Munich: Museums as Public Monuments’, in *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th and Early 19th-Century Europe*, ed. by Carole Paul (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Publications, 2012), pp. 304-29 (pp. 319-26).

⁴⁴⁴ For Buchanan’s visit to Von Dillis see NGL, NC 505 BUCHANAN, Letter from William Buchanan to Johann George von Dillis, 30 August 1827, letter 9, p. 1. For Buchanan’s friendship with Baron de Cetto see for example NGL, NC 505 BUCHANAN, Letter from William Buchanan to Johann Georg von Dillis, 30 August 1827, letter 9, p. 3; 8 November 1828, letter 11, p. 2.

mention to you, that I am in search of a Landscape by Rubens, and if I remember right, there were three about 4 feet in length in your Gallery.⁴⁴⁵

Buchanan's advances to Von Dillis were prompted by the building of the new Pinakothek in Munich between 1826 and 1836, for which the latter had strongly advocated since 1822.⁴⁴⁶

As will be seen, Buchanan ultimately perceived his purchase of the 'Raphael' panels as a failure. Yet, these first discoveries among Buchanan's letters in the National Gallery's archive, and additionally the Berlin Zentalarchiv, represented a productive catalyst for this chapter. Firstly, they add some new information to the nineteenth-century provenance of the two 'Raphael' panels which was re-addressed by Ljerka Dulibić and Iva Pasini Tržec in 2012.⁴⁴⁷ Dulibić and Pasini Tržec suggested, for example, that the *Creation and Fall of Man* 'could have found a new owner in Italy, before reappearing on the English art market in 1841'.⁴⁴⁸ Buchanan's early letters show that the painting was certainly sent to Italy.⁴⁴⁹ Yet these archival findings from 1827-28 and 1843-44 suggest that the painting did not find a new owner and that in fact Buchanan was still trying to mediate the value and reception of this painting at these moments. It should be noted though that in the 1827-28 letters to Von Dillis, the paintings that he was offering the trustees (in addition to the 'Raphael') were recorded as being 'in the possession of different persons, most of them people of fortune' – though it is hard to know whether this was in fact the case, as the dealer was known to obscure aspects such as ownership in trying to sell paintings.⁴⁵⁰ Nevertheless, by 1844, the *Creation and Fall of Man* had been

⁴⁴⁵ NGL, NC 505 BUCHANAN, Letter from William Buchanan to Johann Georg von Dillis, 18 November 1828, letter 12, p. 3.

⁴⁴⁶ Von Buttlar and Savoy, pp. 320-21.

⁴⁴⁷ Dulibić and Pasini Tržec; Dulibić. For the provenance of the panels see **Appendix 2**.

⁴⁴⁸ Dulibić and Pasini Tržec, para. 19.

⁴⁴⁹ See, for example, letters from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 6 August 1803; [annotated 17 October 1803], in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 102, 107.

⁴⁵⁰ NGL, NC 505 BUCHANAN, Letter from William Buchanan to Johann Georg von Dillis, 30 August 1827, letter 9, p. 6.

part of Buchanan's stock – or at least, if not owned by him, then closely in his orbit – for four decades since its purchase in 1802-03, during which early period this painting and the *Lives of the Cain and Abel* appear in Buchanan's correspondence. Secondly, thanks to the length of time that the *Creation* was in Buchanan's stock, and to the richness of Buchanan's correspondence and the *Memoirs*, an unusual opportunity thus arose to investigate precisely how the dealer went about trying to sell this pair of early European paintings at the same moment in which he sought to establish, hone, and professionalise his role and practices within the Old Master trade.

This chapter thus examines key elements of how the *Creation and Fall of Man* and the *Lives of Cain and Abel* were strategically mediated by Buchanan in two discrete chronological windows – 1802 to 1804 and 1827 to 1844 – two periods which coalesce around the surviving archival material which relates to these paintings. This type of dualistic approach was used profitably by Barbara Pezzini and Michael G. Brennan in their article 'Provenance as a History of Change' (2018).⁴⁵¹ Their approach allowed them to interrogate 'two key moments'⁴⁵² in the history of Domenico Tintoretto's (1560-1635) *Portrait of a Young Man* in 1836 and 1927 respectively.⁴⁵³ It allowed them to,

illustrate a sea change in attitudes towards collecting and trade. The painting's role transformed proudly, from a marker of identity, culture and wealth in the mansion of a Scottish family to a specimen of art history in an American museum.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵¹ Barbara Pezzini and Michael G. Brennan, 'Provenance as a History of Change: From Caliori in Scotland to Tintoretto in America: The Commercial and Connoisseurial Trajectories of a Venetian Portrait', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 30.1 (2018), 77-89.

⁴⁵² *Ibid*, p. 2.

⁴⁵³ This painting is: Domenico Tintoretto (Robusti), *Portrait of a Young Man*, c. 1580-85, 27.862, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

⁴⁵⁴ Pezzini and Brennan, p. 11.

Rather than using the entry of paintings into collections as pivotal markers, as Pezzini and Brennan did and as is more traditional, this chapter instead focuses on key moments during the time that the *Creation and Fall of Man* and the *Lives of Cain and Abel* spent with the picture dealer, Buchanan.

The Strategy of Selection: Translating British Taste into Dealer Purchases

An understanding of the landscape of British taste was central to the selections that dealers and agents made when choosing works on which to expend resources, enabling them to respond to the dynamics of the market. As Buchanan wrote to his agent Irvine in Italy in 1803: ‘the taste of the day whatever it be must govern our transactions’.⁴⁵⁵ As his correspondence of 1802-03 shows, Buchanan was forming his understanding of British taste in Old Master paintings through his readings of the *Discourses* by the Royal Academy’s first president, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), combined with his own memories of the reception of the Orleans collection in Britain during the 1790s which he wrote about at length in his *Memoirs*.⁴⁵⁶ According to Buchanan, the Orleans sales had heralded a preference on the part of British buyers for ‘a few favourite masters’.⁴⁵⁷ Titian, Peter Paul Rubens, the Carracci family (active second half of sixteenth century), Anthony van Dyck, Guido Reni, Claude Lorrain (1604/5?-1682), and Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669) numbered among the artists whom the dealer listed. To fetch a high price though, Buchanan deemed that it was necessary that such pictures be considered ‘rare and highly celebrated’.⁴⁵⁸ These artist names tellingly featured in Thomas

⁴⁵⁵ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 6 August 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 97–98.

⁴⁵⁶ Joshua Reynolds, *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knight; Late President of the Royal Academy: Containing His Discourses, Idlers, A Journey to Flanders and Holland, and His Commentary on Du Fresnoy’s Art of Painting*, ed. by Edmond Malone, 3rd edn, 3 vols (London: T. Cadell jun. and W. Davies, 1801), I-II. For Buchanan on the Orleans collection see William Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, I, pp. 1-216.

⁴⁵⁷ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 6 June 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 82.

⁴⁵⁸ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 3 June 1803 in *ibid*, p. 78.

Rowlandson's (1757-1827) satirical coloured etching of 1812 depicting the shop of an apparently disreputable Italian art dealer abroad (**Figure 3.7**). A seemingly gullible English 'milord' is offered a coquettish female saint apparently by Reni, while works with attributions on their frames to Titian, the Carracci, Rubens, Parmigianino (1503-1540), David Teniers (1610-1690), and Salvator Rosa jostle on the walls behind. By contrast, according to Buchanan, if pictures by lesser-known masters than these were to find success on the market then they needed to be of the master's 'best time and manner' with 'unobjectionable subject matter' and to come with infallible attributions substantiated through written accounts or engravings.⁴⁵⁹ Buchanan's London agent David Stewart (dates as yet unknown) wrote to him in agreement in 1804 that 'since the Orleans Collection came to England a better taste has been introduced', observing that 'inferior' paintings bore 'no value at all' while 'all pictures of a secondary class have disappeared from the walls of the leading and wealthy collectors'.⁴⁶⁰ Buchanan retrospectively reflected on the effects of the Orleans sale in his later correspondence of 1827 to Von Dillis, observing that 'the leading Collections in England between the years 1800, and 1810, became much more pure, and composed of materials of a more refined class than they had previously been.'⁴⁶¹

Buchanan and Stewart's anecdotal conclusions have been corroborated by Bénédicte Miyamoto's recent econometric analysis of British buying patterns at auctions. From her research Miyamoto concluded that, by the turn of the century, high expectations and optimistic bidding forecasts occasioned by 'the Orleans effect' were indeed disrupting quotidian sales and led to greater numbers of 'average' works being bought in at auction.⁴⁶² The situation in Britain

⁴⁵⁹ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 30 April 1805 in *ibid*, p. 394.

⁴⁶⁰ Letter from David Stewart to William Buchanan, 5 April 1804 in *ibid*, p. 226.

⁴⁶¹ NGL, NC 505 BUCHANAN, Letter from William Buchanan to Johann Georg von Dillis, 30 August 1827, letter 9, p. 2.

⁴⁶² Bénédicte Miyamoto, 'British Buying Patterns at Auction Sales, Did the Influx of European Art Have an Impact on the British Public's Preferences?', in *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market*, ed. by Avery-Quash and Huemer, pp. 34-50.

at the turn of the century, as observed by Buchanan first hand, and as analysed recently by Miyamoto, was of a polarised auction market which favoured high-quality Old Masters and, as a result, did not favour works of the then more obscure earlier European schools.

Buchanan also understood British taste through the art discourse of the opening decades of the nineteenth century, which built upon the enduring art theory of earlier eighteenth-century figures such as Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), Jonathan Richardson the Elder (1667-1745), and wider tenets of civic humanism.⁴⁶³ As Iain Pears observed, the eighteenth century had not seen ‘a neat array of received opinion’ with regard to theories of visual art, taste, and perception, but what can be concluded is that ‘it was an evolving subject that bound the question of artistic perception to far weightier matters’ giving the visual arts ‘a significance they could not otherwise have attained’.⁴⁶⁴ In his *Characteristics of Man, Manners, Opinions, Times*, published between 1711 and 1714, Shaftesbury had established the mutual interdependence of art and virtue.⁴⁶⁵ These ideas were taken forward by figures including Richardson, the first to write authoritatively in English on issues of attribution and authenticity, and to recommend a connoisseurial framework through which critically to appreciate Old Master drawings and paintings.⁴⁶⁶ Through these eighteenth-century writers, painting – at its noblest – began to be positioned as a liberal art rather than a mechanical trade.

⁴⁶³ Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (London: printed by W. Bowyer, for John Churchill, 1715); Jonathan Richardson, *Two Discourses. I. An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism, as it Relates to Painting. Shewing How to Judge I. Of the Goodness of a Picture; II. Of the Hand of the Master; III. Whether it is Original, or a Copy. II. An Argument in Behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur; Wherein is Shewn the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure, and Advantage of it* (London: W. Churchill, 1719); Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, Etc.*, ed. by J. M. Robertson, 2 vols (London: Grant Richards, 1900).

⁴⁶⁴ Pears, p. 50.

⁴⁶⁵ Shaftesbury. For an overview of the Earl of Shaftesbury’s conclusions see Stourton and Sebag-Montefiore, p. 86.

⁴⁶⁶ Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*; Richardson, *Two Discourses*. For an overview of Richardson’s research and conclusions see also Collier, ‘The Pre-Pre-Raphaelites?’, pp. 25-26; Stourton and Sebag-Montefiore, p. 102; Hale, pp. 53-54.

As John Barrell has shown, these writers were referencing a historic discourse of civic humanism whereby ‘the most dignified function to which painting could aspire was the promotion of the public virtues’.⁴⁶⁷ While notions of public virtue were successively recalibrated, these earlier eighteenth-century theories whereby the state of art and society were perceived to be symbiotic continued to be highly influential into the nineteenth century.⁴⁶⁸

These concerns featured in Reynolds’s *Discourses* – fifteen lectures delivered biennially for students of the Royal Academy between 1769 and 1790 – which, as noted, would prove extremely influential for Buchanan. In his ‘Fourth Discourse’, Reynolds notably discussed the idea of the ‘Grand Manner’ in painting which was perceived to give ‘what is called the grand style to invention, to composition, to expression, and even to colouring and drapery’.⁴⁶⁹ In short, according to Reynolds’s theories, the best art encouraged the viewer to discover the universal, enduring, and virtuous principles of human nature upon which a liberal society was perceived to depend. Within this dialectic, paintings of the earlier European schools were perceived, by contrast, to display traits that were often described by contemporary voices – including Reynolds’s – as a ‘hard’, ‘dry’, or ‘minute’ manner, dwelling on the particular rather than the universal.⁴⁷⁰ As Walter Hipple has summarised of Reynolds’s aesthetic system, ‘the distinction

⁴⁶⁷ John Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt: The Body of the Public* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 1.

⁴⁶⁸ For discussion of the ‘Republic of Taste’ see *ibid.*, pp. 1-68.

⁴⁶⁹ Joshua Reynolds, ‘Discourse IV’, in *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, ed. by Malone, I, pp. 79-314 (p. 80).

⁴⁷⁰ See Reynolds’s comments on Masaccio which, although generally complementary, described the artist’s ‘manner’ as ‘dry and hard’. Joshua Reynolds, ‘Discourse XII’, in *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, ed. by Malone, II, pp. 69-108 (p. 93). See the observations made by Carly Collier, ‘From “Gothic Atrocities” to Objects of Aesthetic Appreciation: The Transition from Marginal to Mainstream of Early Italian Art in British Taste during the Long Eighteenth Century’, in *The Centre and the Margins in Eighteenth-Century British and Italian Cultures*, ed. by Frank O’Gorman and Lia Guerra (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp. 117-39 (pp. 124-25). See also Reynolds’s comments on Jan van Eyck’s *Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele* (Groeningemuseum, Bruges) and the so-called *Ghent Altarpiece* (St Bavo’s Cathedral, Ghent), which he saw respectively in Bruges and Ghent, Belgium, in Joshua Reynolds, ‘A Journey to Flanders and Holland’, in *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, ed. by Malone, II, pp. 245-427 (pp. 251, 254).

of general and particular is the constant analytic device, and universality the invariable criterion of excellence'.⁴⁷¹ In striving for universality, 'high art' for Reynolds was thus intellectual and idealised; a liberal and cerebral profession. Earlier European paintings, by contrast, were far more easily aligned with the dialectical opposite: the mechanical. For Reynolds, 'mechanical' art was produced by a class of artists perceived to perform 'bodily labour', and thus perceived to be 'totally void of taste' and 'incapable of thinking'.⁴⁷² There were some exceptions to this, however; Reynolds conducted a nuanced engagement with early Italian and northern art in his travels, teaching, and collecting.⁴⁷³ He occasionally collected examples of it; Giovanni Bellini's *The Agony in the Garden* (NG726; **Figure 3.8**), purchased by the National Gallery in 1863, had once belonged to Reynolds, in whose collection it was attributed to Mantegna.⁴⁷⁴

Buchanan referred directly to Reynolds's *Discourses* in correspondence to his domestic agent, Stewart. He could write in May 1804, in relation to a *Venus and Cupid* attributed to Van Dyck, that 'you will see in Sir Joshua Reynolds' *Discourses* that [Van Dyck] painted very few pictures in this very glowing manner'.⁴⁷⁵ Yet, it was a more generalised appreciation of the *Discourses* which infused Buchanan's attitudes towards Old Master paintings, his readings of British taste, and ultimately his detailed and strategic advice on these matters which he sent to his agents. In his correspondence of 1802-04, it was through Reynolds's lens that Buchanan directed advice on selecting pictures to Irvine, then operating on Buchanan's behalf in Italy with capital raised by Buchanan and his network.⁴⁷⁶ Adhering to Reynoldsian ideas of the 'Grand Manner',

⁴⁷¹ Walter J. Hipple, 'General and Particular in the Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Study in Method', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 11.3 (1953), 231-47 (p. 234).

⁴⁷² Quoted in Barrell, p. 14.

⁴⁷³ See, for example, Jenny Graham, pp. 42-44.

⁴⁷⁴ Anne Robbins and others, *Painters' Paintings* (London: National Gallery Company, distributed by Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 80-90 (p. 81).

⁴⁷⁵ Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 4 May 1804 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 294.

⁴⁷⁶ For the workings of the speculation see Brigstocke, 'William Buchanan: His Friends and Rivals', pp. 4-6.

Buchanan advised Irvine that virtuosity of ‘effect’ in colouring and light was of great importance to British buyers, suggesting that ‘it is the flowing, and mellow-toned pictures of Titian, Rubens, Van Dyck and Guido, Carracci and the like that please all – pictures too of bravura and breadth of light’.⁴⁷⁷ He also suggested to Irvine that British buyers preferred ‘gay’, ‘lively’, and superficially pleasing subject matters; shocking, sombre, or overtly religious images – such as pictures of Holy Families, God the Father, or ‘brown dark pictures of Saints’ – were perceived to be undesirable for the home given that ‘people don’t like to see death in their Drawing Rooms or Dining Rooms’ and ‘don’t give all their money to be made melancholy’.⁴⁷⁸ It is important to acknowledge that religious paintings, and in particular those which depicted specific Catholic doctrines, could still occupy a challenging position in British collections in a cultural landscape in which the Catholic Relief Act (or the Catholic Emancipation Act) of 1829 had still not yet been passed.

Perceived public attitudes towards early European paintings were summarised by Buchanan in his analysis of the so-called ‘Truchsessian Gallery’. This was a large suite of over nine-hundred paintings, opportunistically brought to England in 1802 during the Peace of Amiens (1802-03) by Count Joseph Truchsess de Zeyl-Wurzach, a Grand-Dean of the Cathedral of Strasbourg and a Canon, first in Cologne and later in Vienna.⁴⁷⁹ The gallery was exhibited, for sale, from 1803 at New Road, London, opposite Portland Place, and was advertised with particular respect to its ‘German, Dutch and Flemish masters’ though it also included works attributed to the Italian and Spanish schools.⁴⁸⁰ An entry ticket, initialled personally by the Count, is in the

⁴⁷⁷ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 3 June 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 78.

⁴⁷⁸ Letters from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 3 June 1803; 30 April 1805; 4 October 1805, in *ibid.*, pp. 79, 394, 432.

⁴⁷⁹ Morton D. Paley, ‘The Truchsessian Gallery Revisited’, *Studies in Romanticism*, 16.2 (1977), 165-77.

⁴⁸⁰ Joseph, Count Truchsess, *Plan of Subscription Submitted to the Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain: And to Continue Open during the Months February, March, and April, 1804; for the*

National Gallery's archive (**Figure 3.9**).⁴⁸¹ The Count had misguidedly hoped that through an ambitious system of public subscriptions it would form the basis of a National Gallery in London, two decades before such a gallery would in fact be founded. Three successive sales in 1806, organised by the auctioneers Messrs Skinner, Dyke & Co., saw the pictures sold without reserves and in general achieve low prices.⁴⁸² Although he had not yet viewed the pictures, by June 1803 Buchanan dismissed the Truchsessian Gallery as consisting of 'early masters, and early pictures of the masters which the English will not look at'.⁴⁸³ Certainly, the Gallery included among its offering perceptibly obscure works of earlier 'masters' and then little-known artists such as *The Corpse of Christ Brought to his Mother* (**Figure 3.10**) attributed to 'Mecheln (Israel van)' who was thought to be 'probably pupil to Jan van Eyk', and *A Mater*

Purchase of the Truchsessian Picture Gallery Now Exhibiting in the New-Road, London; and for Converting it into a Grand and Permanent National Establishment (London: C. Mercier, 1804); Joseph, Count Truchsess, *Catalogue of the Truchsessian Picture Gallery, Now Exhibiting in the New Road, Opposite Portland Place to which are Added Biographical Notices Respecting the German, Dutch, and Flemish Masters* (London: T. Jones, 1803); Joseph, Count Truchsess, *Proposals for the Establishment of a Public Gallery of Pictures in London* (London: W. Thorne, 1802).

⁴⁸¹ NGA, NG15/21, Misc Pamphlets & Articles, Ticket of Admittance to View the Truchsessian Picture Gallery.

⁴⁸² Joseph, Count Truchsess, *A Catalogue of the First Part of that Magnificent and Truly Capital Collection of Pictures, Well Known as Forming the Truchsessian Gallery; Which have been Imported at an Immense Expence from the Continent* (London: Skinner, Dyke & Co., 1806); Joseph, Count Truchsess, *A Catalogue of the Second Part of that Magnificent and Truly Capital Collection of Pictures, Well Known as Forming the Truchsessian Gallery; Which have been Imported at an Immense Expence from the Continent* (London: Skinner, Dyke & Co., 1806); Joseph, Count Truchsess, *A Catalogue of the Third Part of that Magnificent and Truly Capital Collection of Pictures, Well Known as Forming the Truchsessian Gallery; Which have been Imported at an Immense Expence from the Continent* (London: Skinner, Dyke & Co., 1806). Pictures from the Truchsessian Gallery also featured in a further sale at Peter Coxe's auction house, London, 2 June 1810, GPI, Sale catalog Br-779 [accessed 19 October 2021].

⁴⁸³ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 6 June 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 85. Buchanan's censure was part of wider contemporary criticism of the Truchsessian Gallery which further chastised the authenticity, originality, and condition of the pictures. See Joseph Farington, *The Farington Diary*, ed. by James Greig, 8 vols (London: Hutchinson & co., 1923), II, pp. 137-38; Paley, pp. 166-67.

Dolorosa ambitiously attributed to Daniele da Volterra (1509-1566) (**Figure 3.11**) – both today in the collection of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.⁴⁸⁴

With the lessons that Buchanan had learned from the Orleans legacy, Reynolds's *Discourses*, and his own analysis of the secondary market landscape, Irvine's purchase in 1802-03 of the two 'Raphael' panels for Buchanan appears at least somewhat incongruous. However, Irvine's Italian travel journal of 1802-06 does help to shed further light on the intricacies of the selection process.⁴⁸⁵ He had chosen the two 'Raphael's' from the stock held by the Florentine dealer and Knight of Malta, Cavaliere Giovanni Battista Caruana (1753-?) in December 1802.⁴⁸⁶ Irvine was struck by the multi-figured composition and the alleged provenance of the 'Raphael's' as having passed through old Florentine families. In his journal, he noted that the panels '[had] passed by fide commesso from the [Perini family] to the [Bonaccossi family]'.⁴⁸⁷ Indeed, he received a purported 'Declaration' of their provenance from Caruana, which subsequently circulated with the works.⁴⁸⁸ Nevertheless, how far the Raphael's would conform to British taste

⁴⁸⁴ These paintings are: Master of the Virgo Inter Virgines, *Lamentation Over the Dead Christ*, possibly about 1486, WAG 1014; Spanish School, *Pièta*, c. 1546-86, WAG 1180, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. Count Truchsess, *Catalogue of the Truchsessian Picture Gallery*, 1803, pp. 75, 131. These particular pictures later passed into the collection of the Liverpool antiquarian William Roscoe through the dealers Thomas Winstanley (1768-1845) and William Paulet Carey (1759-1839) respectively.

⁴⁸⁵ Brigstocke, 'James Irvine: A Scottish Artist in Italy', pp. 310-11.

⁴⁸⁶ At the time of the Napoleonic suppressions, Giovanni Battista Caruana had come into possession of many works of art from Florence and the surrounding countryside, including from the *commenda* (commandery) of San Sepolcro at the Ponte Vecchio, Florence, as detailed by Giacomo Alberto Calogero, 'Un' Aggiunta al Catalogo di Agnolo Gaddi', *Paragone*, 108 (2013), 34-39 (p. 35).

⁴⁸⁷ Brigstocke, 'James Irvine: A Scottish Artist in Italy', p. 311.

⁴⁸⁸ For reference to the 'declaration' see the letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 26 July 1805 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 423. See also the description in *A Catalogue of a Few Very Capital and Celebrated Pictures from the Colonna and Bernini Palaces of Rome and Buonacorsi Parini Palace of Florence. Lately Imported from Italy*, 12 May 1804, Christie's, London, lots 6, 7; GPI, Sale Catalog Br-263 [accessed 16 October 2022]. For the use of this kind of certificate by dealers more generally see Herrmann, *The English as Collectors*, p. 35.

was a cause for concern even from the time that Irvine first saw them in Caruana's shop in September 1802. He told Buchanan, as republished in the dealer's *Memoirs* (1824), that:

all I could see in passing was a pair on wood, said to be certainly by Raphael in his first manner (or rather between his first and second manner), and which are admirable in their way; but I have some fears of acquiring even Raphael's work of this time.⁴⁸⁹

As Irvine and Buchanan knew, Raphael's earliest work could occupy a challenging and unpredictable position in relation to British taste.

As Nicholas Penny observes in his work on Raphael's nineteenth-century reception, the name 'Raphael' generally held high esteem among collectors, artists, and art writers throughout the century.⁴⁹⁰ The reason for Irvine's caution though was that Raphael was seen to have 'three manners' in a tripartite career associated accordingly with the artistic centres of Perugia, Florence, and Rome.⁴⁹¹ Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* derided Raphael's Perugian period.⁴⁹² Vasari set the Perugian period apart from the perceived lofty genius of Raphael's later years:

in time he found himself much hindered and impeded by the manner that he had adopted from Pietro [Perugino] when he was quite young [...] since it was over-precise, dry, and feeble in draughtsmanship. His being unable to forget it was the reason he had great difficulty in learning the beauties of the nude and the method of difficult foreshortenings from [Michelangelo].⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁹ Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, II, p. 101.

⁴⁹⁰ Penny, 'Raphael and the Early Victorians'.

⁴⁹¹ This observation, along with a quotation from James Irvine's journal, is made in Hale, p. 81.

⁴⁹² For access to Vasari's *Lives* in Britain, see above at n. 266.

⁴⁹³ Vasari, 1996, I, p. 741.

It was with the controversial and less highly-regarded aspects of this early ‘first manner’ that the ‘Raphael’s’ chosen by Irvine came to be associated by British tastemakers such as the Royal Academicians Benjamin West (1738-1820), then the Academy’s president (1792-1805), and Richard Cosway (1742-1821). At the entry of the pictures onto the British market in Spring/Summer of 1803, West and Cosway declared that the pictures ‘could not be by Raffaele or if they were it was before Raffaele was a painter’ causing Buchanan to despair over the ‘want of drawing throughout which is horrible’ noting in particular the angels’ noses to be ‘out of place’.⁴⁹⁴ Buchanan’s later comments in his correspondence of 1827, which have been introduced above, that the panels were ‘too simple and primitive’ for the tastes of the National Gallery’s trustees, show that the panels sported an enduring association with the notion of Raphael’s early and perceivably ‘primitive’ aesthetic.⁴⁹⁵ Still by 1833, the artist, art historian, and later superintendent of the Städel Museum in Frankfurt (from 1840), Johann David Passavant (1787-1861), described what appears to be a fragment from the *Lives of Cain and Abel* – depicting *The Sacrifice* (**Appendix 2**) – as a ‘youthful production [...] bearing the full stamp of the Perugino school’, which he had seen at a London picture dealer’s premises (though not Buchanan by that time).⁴⁹⁶

Yet, when the ‘Raphael’s’ travelled from the Italian port of Livorno to London in February 1803, Buchanan was still receptive to Irvine’s view that they were ‘the most interesting and uncommon pictures I have ever met with’, a work’s rarity being a desirable selling point for

⁴⁹⁴ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 23 July 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 94.

⁴⁹⁵ NGL, NC 505 BUCHANAN, Letter from William Buchanan to Johann Georg von Dillis, 9 July 1827, letter 8, p. 5.

⁴⁹⁶ Perhaps the dealer in question was either Bernard Pinney (active by the 1830s) or Thomas Emmerson (c. 1776-1855) as detailed in the provenance for this painting in **Appendix 2**. Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist*, II, pp. 257-58; Johann David Passavant, *Raphael d’Urbino et Son Père, Giovanni Santi*, 2 vols (Paris: J. Renouard, 1860), II, pp. 314-15.

Buchanan, as already observed.⁴⁹⁷ It is worth noting in this regard that Irvine was more receptive than Buchanan to paintings which were deemed early and unfamiliar, and his influence on Buchanan can be felt here. As Brigstocke noted of Irvine's journal of his Italian travels between 1788 and 1789, he 'stepped well outside the range of conventional taste' by admiring works by Giotto, Altichiero (c. 1330-c. 1390), and Mantegna in Padua, reminding us of his 'capacity for independent thought and art-historical analysis'.⁴⁹⁸ When the 'Raphael's' were placed on display in Buchanan's rented rooms at 18 Oxendon Street, London, by May 1803, Buchanan optimistically informed Stewart that they had already begun to be 'much admired'.⁴⁹⁹ A month later however, Buchanan was resigned to the fact that 'nobody will look at the Raffaelles – they are called hard, brown, early and Gothick pictures' while their subject matter was seen to be 'of that leathery and grave cast which an Englishman will not look at'.⁵⁰⁰ Evidently, the stylistic and compositional features of the 'Raphael's' had proven inimical to Reynolds's notions of 'Grand Manner' painting and countered post-Orleans ideals in art. This episode demonstrates that translating understandings of the complexities of British taste into tangible dealer purchases oftentimes was not straightforward, not least when conducted through an agent and at a distance. As Armstrong-Totten observes, 'dominating the London art market proved to be much more difficult than Buchanan had anticipated', and required further strategies to be tried as he endeavoured to sell the pictures.⁵⁰¹

In fact, this state of affairs in 1803 proves advantageous for the contemporary researcher. The specific challenges which selling early paintings on the British secondary market entailed

⁴⁹⁷ Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 17 February 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 74.

⁴⁹⁸ Brigstocke, 'James Irvine: A Scottish Artist in Italy', p. 247.

⁴⁹⁹ Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, [annotated May 1803] in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 76.

⁵⁰⁰ Letters from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 3 June 1803; 6 August 1803 in *ibid.*, pp. 77, 97-98.

⁵⁰¹ Armstrong-Totten, 'From Jack-of-All-Trades to Professional', p. 199.

meant that Buchanan had to trial and develop an interesting range of strategies through which to mediate the value and reception of the two problematic ‘Raphaels’ in his stock. As such, Buchanan aligns with Michael Thompson’s ‘creative and upwardly mobile individuals’ who feature in this scholar’s influential ‘Rubbish Theory’, which charts the movement of objects through states of ‘transient value’, ‘Rubbish’, and ‘durable value’.⁵⁰² As Thompson explains:

a Transient object, decreasing in value with time and use, eventually sinks into Rubbish – a timeless and valueless limbo [...] it lingers on, unnoticed and unloved, until perhaps one day it is discovered by some creative and upwardly mobile individual and successfully transferred to the durable category.⁵⁰³

Thompson’s framework assists in beginning to conceptualise how the ‘Raphaels’ began to be moved from being conceived of as ‘rubbish’ – by tastemakers like West and Cosway – and into the ‘durable category’ by Buchanan. The following sections of the chapter examine the specific strategies which Buchanan employed to begin to achieve this, strategies which further point to the stratification and professionalisation of his practices.

Fragmentation and Dispersal

The perceived inability of the ‘Raphaels’ to satisfy the yardsticks of British taste came to affect their material histories in no small measure, thanks to strategies which were taken up by Buchanan. Buchanan used his understandings of British taste significantly to alter the appearance of the second of the two ‘Raphael’ panels: the *Lives of Cain and Abel*. He cut the painting into four discrete sections, thereby creating four cabinet-sized pictures: *The Sacrifice*

⁵⁰² Michael Thompson, *Rubbish Theory: The Creation and Destruction of Value* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

⁵⁰³ Michael Thompson, ‘A Bit of the Other: Why Scarcity Isn’t All It’s Cracked up to Be’, in *The Limits to Scarcity: Contesting the Politics of Allocation*, ed. by Lyla Mehta (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 2010), pp. 127-42 (p. 127).

(Harvard Art Museum/Fogg Museum, MA); *Eve and the Children* (location currently unknown); *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve* (Strossmayer Gallery, Zagreb); and *Cain Slaying Abel* (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo) (**Appendix 2**).⁵⁰⁴ As discussed earlier in relation to Moench and Costamagna's essay, it is already well known that similar practices were employed by transnational dealers around and after the middle of the nineteenth century in increasingly streamlined ways.⁵⁰⁵ Yet, alterations through which to make early paintings more perceivably palatable and profitable were certainly not uncommon in the first part of the century. A clear example of this earlier practice in the National Gallery's collection is the altarpiece of the *Trinity with Saints Mamas, James, Zeno and Jerome* (NG727; NG3162; NG3230; NG4428; **Figures 3.12-16**) by Pesellino (1422-1457), and finished by Filippo Lippi (c. 1406-1469) and workshop.⁵⁰⁶ After the suppression of the Confraternity of Priests in Pistoia, Italy, in 1783, by whom this altarpiece was once housed, the panel was sawn into at least five pieces and sold.⁵⁰⁷ Nevertheless, as Buchanan's activities help to show, these practices were not only occurring on the Continent in the opening decades of the century, but also in Britain at the hands of various dealers.⁵⁰⁸

Thus, by June 1803, the failure to sell the 'Raphael's' quickly had led Buchanan to readdress his sale strategy as the end of the picture-buying season drew closer. The season in London

⁵⁰⁴ For the most recent account of this process see Dulibić and Pasini Tržec.

⁵⁰⁵ Moench and Costamagna, pp. 193-96.

⁵⁰⁶ As well as the four fragments owned by the National Gallery, see Francesco Pesellino and Fra Filippo Lippi and workshop, *Saints Mamas and James*, 1455-60, RCIN 407613, Royal Collection Trust. The five parts are now displayed together as one altarpiece at the National Gallery.

⁵⁰⁷ Gordon, *The Fifteenth Century Italian Paintings*, pp. 260-87.

⁵⁰⁸ It should be acknowledged that the notion of 'the fragment' is a theoretical concept in itself, discussion of which goes well beyond the parameters of this thesis. With reference to nineteenth-century collecting cultures, fragments also became an important tool in the way that history began to be told and also had the potential to encourage intense responses through the Romantic imagination. See respectively, for example, Stammers, 'The Bric-à-Brac of the Old Regime', p. 303; Susan Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness*, p. 20. For the trade in architectural fragments in Britain see Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 92; Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior*, p. 6.

tended to peak in late May or early June, coinciding with the annual influx of elite society from their country houses into the capital.⁵⁰⁹ Buchanan perceived that if the ‘Raphael’s’ failed to sell as whole paintings, the nature of their compositions rendered them suitable to be cut into discrete pictures. After all, they depicted sequential narrative episodes from the Book of Genesis along a horizontal axis, with repeated figures across each episode. The intricacies of his decision were reached once Buchanan and Stewart had assessed thoroughly the prevailing market conditions:

It might probably do to have them cut down into different pictures, each containing its own subject and given as a series. This might ensure the sale of a part, if not the whole of them. If however they are so connected by the Landscape or otherwise as not to admit of this, they must just remain as at present and would have to take the chance of some rich Connoisseur purchasing them. Or if divided they might be shown privately before being cut to Mr Angerstein, and one or two of the greatest Connoisseurs to whom they might be offered at a certain price [...] of all these matters you must judge from what you find in the Market.⁵¹⁰

Buchanan’s targeting of an individual buyer, in this case John Julius Angerstein, is notable in light of the dealer’s hope that, although perceptibly lacking appeal for the more generalist amateur, the ‘Raphael’s’ might be considered suitable for who he viewed as particular connoisseurs.⁵¹¹ He certainly valued Angerstein’s painting collection highly – ‘the most select

⁵⁰⁹ It is worth bearing in mind that Matthew Lincoln and Abram Fox have recently shown this was not always strictly the case through their statistical analysis in Matthew Lincoln and Abram Fox, ‘The Temporal Dimensions of the London Art Auction, 1780-1835’, *British Art Studies*, 4 (2016) <<https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-04/afox-mlincoln>>.

⁵¹⁰ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 19 November 1802 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 49-50.

⁵¹¹ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 19 November 1802 in *ibid*, p. 49. The National Gallery, London, was founded on thirty-eight paintings from John Julius Angerstein’s collection in his former home at 100 Pall Mall, London. For Angerstein’s collection see Avery-Quash, “‘The Lover of

of any Collection in any single room in London’ – and had compiled private notes which helped him to build on existing collecting directions, identify gaps in the collection, and guide his approach to the collector, a practice that he replicated for others also.⁵¹² Buchanan noted for example that Angerstein already owned Raphael’s *Portrait of Pope Julius II* (NG27; **Figure 3.17**) which the dealer saw as confirming Angerstein’s taste for the artist.⁵¹³ Buchanan’s strategic ‘scoping’ practices were borrowed from what he knew of Bryan’s picture-selling strategies.⁵¹⁴

The continuous episodic narrative within the compositions of the ‘Raphaels’, with their repeated figures, seemingly rendered them challenging to ‘read’ and inimical to Reynolds’s notions of the ‘universal’. Indeed, the panels’ compositions were seen by Buchanan as ‘curious’ and ‘scattering’, while ‘the story [is] told in a way which is not comprehended here where people are led so much by the general effect of a picture’.⁵¹⁵ Given this judgement, it is not surprising to learn that the fragmentation was complete by August 1803.⁵¹⁶ Buchanan left the *Creation and Fall of Man* intact but cut down the second panel seemingly into four parts (*The Sacrifice; Eve and the Children; The Expulsion of Adam and Eve; Cain slaying Abel*) (**Appendix 2**). This process was perhaps carried out fairly roughly by Buchanan. At any rate, we know that an as yet unidentified painting of *Venus* in the manner of Van Dyck from the same speculation was cut down and its surface smoothed ‘with the assistance of [his] pen knife’.⁵¹⁷ There would have been some further restoration and overpainting of the *Cain Slaying*

the Fine Arts”’; Avery-Quash, ‘John Julius Angerstein and the Development of his Art Collection’; Avery-Quash, ‘William Hazlitt’s Account of “Mr Angerstein’s Collection of Pictures”’.

⁵¹² Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 19 November 1802 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 51-52.

⁵¹³ *Ibid*, p. 51.

⁵¹⁴ Armstrong-Totten, ‘From Jack-of-All-Trades to Professional’, p. 202.

⁵¹⁵ Letters from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 3 June 1803; 6 June 1803, in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 78, 86.

⁵¹⁶ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 6 August 1803 in *ibid*, pp. 102-03.

⁵¹⁷ Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 21 March 1804 in *ibid*, p. 212.

Abel fragment which had likely had *The Sacrifice* cut out of its top left corner, as Dulibić and Pasini Tržec have shown and as Irvine's journal entry corroborates.⁵¹⁸ This kind of restoration work may have been carried out by a British restorer such as the picture dealer and restorer George Simpson (active by 1784), who restored pictures in Angerstein's collection and the Royal Collection, and carried out other jobs for Buchanan.⁵¹⁹ Even by 1828, Buchanan had still not ruled out cutting down the *Creation* panel, observing that 'the Eve giving the fruit [...] would make of itself a beautiful Cabinet picture, if separated from the other part'.⁵²⁰

Market factors directly motivated Buchanan's eventual decision to keep two of the Raphael fragments in Britain, while sending the intact *Creation and Fall of Man* and two fragments of the second panel (seemingly the *Expulsion of Adam and Eve; Cain slaying Abel*) back to Irvine in Italy, to try to effect a sale within what Buchanan perceived to be a more dynamic secondary market then operating in Rome.⁵²¹ The two fragments returned to Italy were still then regarded by Buchanan to be deficient in draughtsmanship, colour, and composition:

You will find they are all full of bad drawing, particularly the arm of Abel fallen – the Deity in the Clouds – and in both places – and the Colouring on Adam driven out of the

⁵¹⁸ Dulibić and Pasini Tržec, paras 10, 23-24; Brigstocke, 'James Irvine: A Scottish Artist in Italy', pp. 310-11.

⁵¹⁹ For reference to George Simpson see letter from David Stewart to William Buchanan, 5 April 1804 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 223-24. For biographical details on Simpson see Jacob Simon, 'George Simpson', *British Picture Restorers, 1600-1950 – S* <<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/british-picture-restorers-1600-1950-s>> [accessed 10 November 2021].

⁵²⁰ NGL, NC 505 BUCHANAN, Letter from William Buchanan to Johann Georg von Dillis, 18 November 1828, letter 12, p. 2.

⁵²¹ See Buchanan's comments on Rome in letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, [annotated 17 October 1803] in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 107. On the subject of the Roman art market in the early nineteenth century see Pier Ludovico Puddu, 'Old Masters from Rome to London: Alexander Day and Pietro Camuccini', in *Old Masters Worldwide*, ed. by Avery-Quash and Pezzini, pp. 55-68.

Garden is quite leathery. Indeed the subjects and mode of treatment is the most distant from those likely to sell in this Country that can be figured.⁵²²

By contrast, the two works kept in Britain (seemingly *The Sacrifice* and *Eve and the Children*) were regarded as more acceptable by Buchanan since, then being smaller in size, they were thought to suit the British desire for small cabinet pictures, a desire itself also motivated partly by pressures on wall space and the size of rooms in typical London town houses of the day.⁵²³ Indeed, the fragments were positively described as a ‘cabinet picture’ and a ‘cabinet gem’, respectively, when they were later put up for sale at Christie’s, London, in May 1804.⁵²⁴ In summary, Buchanan’s strategy to fragment the *Lives of Cain and Abel* was predicated on his considered reaction to the climate of the secondary market, his nuanced understandings of British taste, and his consideration of the compositional qualities of the painting itself.

‘Raphaels’ at 18 Oxendon Street, London

As Armstrong-Totten observes, a formative aspect in the early consolidation of the identity of the picture dealer in Britain was the establishment of a premises with a picture gallery. She highlighted, in particular, the importance of having a (semi-)permanent and prestigious location as a ‘destination point’ from which picture dealers such as Bryan and Buchanan could advertise, exhibit, and sell Old Master paintings – a development which she observes was intimately bound up with the growing professionalism of the picture dealer.⁵²⁵ Bryan’s strategic

⁵²² Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 6 August 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 103.

⁵²³ See Buchanan’s comments regarding collectors who have ‘filled up their collections entirely’ in letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 6 August 1803 in *ibid*, p. 102. Buchanan also commented that ‘in the sale of the Orleans pictures the cabinet sized pictures and those of a moderate size bore by much the highest price’ in letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 5 May 1804 in *ibid*, p. 301.

⁵²⁴ *A Catalogue of a Few Very Capital and Celebrated Pictures*, lots 6, 7; GPI, Sale Catalog Br-263 [accessed 16 October 2022].

⁵²⁵ Armstrong-Totten, ‘From Jack-of-All-Trades to Professional’, pp. 202-03.

business model, focusing on the display and sale of paintings from his premises in Savile Row, and later Pall Mall, was an influential framework for new dealers in the field such as Buchanan. Buchanan's letters further reveal how the 'Raphael' panels in particular intersected with the network and display opportunities that his first premises provided at 18 Oxendon Street, in London's Haymarket area, in the same moment that this dealer was endeavouring to work out how he might utilise his new premises to their best advantage.

Buchanan's first rooms at 18 Oxendon Street were occupied and furnished by him around June 1802, some six months before the purchase of the 'Raphael's'.⁵²⁶ Enabled by the rise of the digital humanities, spatial and cultural geography approaches employed by scholars of the art market have deepened understandings of the movements and 'clustering' of art dealers in nineteenth-century Britain.⁵²⁷ These approaches allow physical locations to be fruitfully mapped onto discursive spaces, and linked to broader socio-economic or cultural trends.⁵²⁸ Indeed, Buchanan's choice of location for his rooms was symptomatic of patterns of behaviour identified among art dealers by Westgarth, Helmreich, and Fletcher.⁵²⁹ These developments saw discrete areas towards and around Regent Street and New Bond Street become associated with luxury and leisured consumption, and led to the simultaneous and related rise of the new

⁵²⁶ Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 11 June 1802 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 46-47. Insurance records for 18 Oxendon Street are housed at the London Metropolitan Archives: City of London (LMA). See, for example, the insurance record for some of the first paintings on which Buchanan speculated and which were housed there: LMA, MS 11936/427/750943, Insured: David Stewart, 9 August 1803.

⁵²⁷ Examples of this approach include the following unpublished paper delivered by Mark Westgarth, 'Locating the Jewish Art Dealer in London: Cultural and Spatial Geographies', *Jewish Dealers and the European Art Market 1850-1930* (Online workshop, 'The Jewish Country House' project, 9 September 2021); Léa Saint-Raymond, Félicie de Maupéou, and Julien Caverio, 'Les Rues Des Tableaux: The Geography of the Parisian Art Market 1815-1955', *Artl@s Bulletin*, 5.1 (2016), 119-59 <<https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1097&context=artlas>> [accessed 4 July 2021]; Fletcher and others, 'Local/Global'; Westgarth, *Antique Dealers Project Website*.

⁵²⁸ For discussion of this tenet see Westgarth, 'Locating the Jewish Art Dealer in London'.

⁵²⁹ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, pp. 118-34; Helmreich, 'The Art Market and the Spaces of Sociability', pp. 436-49; Westgarth, "'Florid-Looking Speculators'", pp. 32-37; Fletcher, 'Shopping for Art', pp. 47-64. On shopping more generally see, most recently, *Shopping and the Senses*.

format of the commercial art gallery from the mid-nineteenth century. As Westgarth observes, dealers were moving from more liminal spaces of the city, including from Wardour Street, Soho, and the City of London.⁵³⁰ Although these areas continued to feature prominently in the cultural biography of the dealer, they could be associated with pejorative associations of a spurious second-hand trade.⁵³¹ It is striking that by 1804, Buchanan was already looking to move his premises from the Haymarket even further towards the West End, specifically towards Bryan's rooms in Savile Row and Christie's rooms, then in Pall Mall. As such, he wrote to his domestic agent David Stewart: 'could you think of moving yourself towards the West end of Town'.⁵³² This move did not happen on this occasion, yet it demonstrates the attraction of the West End as a discrete and desirable area for commerce.

Buchanan's first location in the Haymarket put him in touch with a useful cross-section of other trades. 18 Oxendon Street itself was in fact shared with William Strachan (d. 1836?), a tailor.⁵³³

⁵³⁰ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, pp. 118-34; Westgarth, "Florid-Looking Speculators", pp. 32-37.

⁵³¹ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 10.

⁵³² Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 26 March 1804 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 222.

⁵³³ David Stewart appears on insurance records for paintings at 18 Oxendon Street on 9 August and 13 September 1803. William Strachan appears on insurance records from January 1805 until his executors John and James Leonard took over the insurance in February 1836. James Quaife, a spirit merchant, is also listed on the insurance between February 1830 and 1838. Buchanan's gallery was taken over by the picture dealer George Yates from 1814, who appears on insurance records between 1818 and 1830, while Mr W. Hammond, a Greek Street picture dealer, also appears there in 1816. See the insurance records held by LMA, as follows: MS 11936/427/750943, Insured: David Stewart, 9 August 1803; MS 11936/427/752262, Insured: David Stewart, 13 September 1803; MS 11936/431/769911, Insured: William Strachan, 5 January 1805; MS 11936/434/779173, Insured: William Buchanan, 28 August 1805; MS 11936/437/795915, Insured: William Buchanan, 14 November 1806; MS 11936/445/816490, Insured: The Right Honble. Lord Northwick, 11 May 1808; MS 11936/445/816491, Insured: James Campbell, esq. for Rubens's *The Brazen Serpent* at 18 Oxendon Street, 11 May 1808; MS 11936/445/825562, Insured: William Strachan, 14 January 1809; MS 11936/471/915244, Insured: William Strachan, 12 February 1816; MS 11936/472/944694, Insured: William Timson for pictures at Mr Yates Gallery 18 Oxendon Street, 12 August 1818; MS 11936/510/1049641, Insured: George Yates, 13 September 1826; MS 11936/527/1103175, Insured: William Strachan, 3 February 1830; MS 11936/527/1105557, Insured: George Yates, 7 April 1830; MS 11936/533/1133983, Insured: William Strachan, 3 February 1832; MS 11936/539/1168917, Insured: James Quaife, 29 January 1834; MS 11936/550/1215671, Insured: John and James Leonard, 17 February 1836.

Strachan worked as a clerk on the premises, carrying out duties such as attending the rooms and delivering calling cards, and certainly advanced credit to Irvine on the Continent.⁵³⁴ Oxendon Street also importantly placed Buchanan as a neighbour to other tradespeople around the Haymarket and St James's who, in the case of the famous librettist and Italian bookseller Lorenzo da Ponte (1749-1838), proved useful to Buchanan in establishing transnational networks and connections through which to progress his picture trading business, including in direct relation to the 'Raphaels'.⁵³⁵ Other neighbours included Pietro Molini (c. 1729-1806), the Italian bookseller; engravers including George Bride, Joseph Wragg, and T. Trimlet; the landscape painter, and later picture cleaner, Robert Brown (c. 1763-1834); and a roster of tailors, dyers, cutlers, and jewellers.⁵³⁶

⁵³⁴ For the proposed role of clerk see letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 11 June 1802 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 46. For numerous references to Strachan's role throughout Buchanan's letters see, for example, letters from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 30 April 1804; 8 September 1804, in *ibid*, pp. 289, 336. For numerous occasions when James Irvine drew credit from Strachan see Irvine's *Italian Travel Journal* (1802-06) and his accounts in Brigstocke, 'James Irvine: A Scottish Artist in Italy', pp. 296-364. See also Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, II, p. 101.

⁵³⁵ For Da Ponte see, for example, Lorenzo da Ponte, *Memoirs*, ed. by Arthur Livingston (New York: New York Review of Books, 2000); Sheila Hodges, *Lorenzo da Ponte: The Life and Times of Mozart's Librettist* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002).

⁵³⁶ See the trade cards held in the Banks Collection and the Heal Collection, British Museum, London. See, for example, *Trade Card of Pietro Molini, Bookseller in Oxendon Street*, 1791, D,2.532. George Bride is listed in Oxendon Street on the *Trade Card of Riviere, Clock-Maker, at No.23 New Bond Street*, 1789, D,2.1429. T. Trimlet's address features on the *Trade Card of Charman & Fearn, Goldsmith at the Corner of Albemarle Street, Piccadilly*, 1800-20, Banks,67.30. Insurance records held at LMA also provide a picture of the cultural geography of the area. See, for example, LMA, MS 11936/453/850679, Insured: Joseph Wragg, 23 Oxendon Street, 21 November 1810; MS 11936/419/715584, Insured Robert Brown, 24 Oxendon Street, landscape painter, 25 March 1801; MS 11936/445/814920, Insured Robert Brown, 24 Oxendon Street, landscape painter and picture cleaner, 31 March 1808. Myriad other trades also featured on the street. For example, Thomas Lewis, a silk dyer, appears in insurance records in premises at 27 Oxendon Street from 1792 to 1800. See LMA, MS 11936/419/709585, Insured: Thomas Lewis: 27 Oxendon Street, silk dyer, 20 November 1800. For biographical detail of the painter and picture cleaner Robert Brown, mentioned above, see Jacob Simon, 'Robert Brown', *British Picture Restorers, 1600-1950 – B* <<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/british-picture-restorers-1600-1950-b/>> [accessed 11 November 2021].

Buchanan's contacts with tradespeople and shopkeepers garnered through his location in Oxendon Street in the Haymarket proved important in the specific circulation of the 'Raphael' panels. In the second half of 1803, he decided that the intact *Creation and Fall of Man* along with two fragments of the second panel (*Expulsion of Adam and Eve; Cain slaying Abel*) would be sent back to Irvine in Italy to be sold or at least exchanged on the market there: 'I trust you will use your best endeavours to get the property returned, sold or exchanged as soon as possible'.⁵³⁷ First sent to Venice on *The Weymouth* by October 1803, the 'Raphael' panels were used as an experiment of sorts to test out a new potential contact with the Venetian bookseller, Antonio Graziosi (1741-1818), whom Buchanan thought could be useful as an agent.⁵³⁸ Importantly, this contact with Graziosi had come about through Buchanan's Haymarket neighbours. Buchanan had asked Stewart to make initial contact with their neighbour, the librettist and bookseller Da Ponte, who had deemed Graziosi 'respectable' and whom he employed as his own correspondent in Venice.⁵³⁹ This fits with Camilla Murgia's observation that a huge number of Italian artists, engravers, print-makers, and dealers had fled the revolutionary wars on the Continent and arrived in London from 1800 looking for a professional future abroad and 'bringing with them relationships and networks, as well as ideas and connections'.⁵⁴⁰ Indeed, the Molini family, who also ran a bookshop in Oxendon Street, provided an ex/importation service for prints, books, manuscripts, and paintings acquired on the Continent. As the archives of the antiquarians Francis Douce and Dawson Turner consulted

⁵³⁷ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 26 July 1805 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 423.

⁵³⁸ Letters from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 6 August 1803; [annotated 17 October 1803], in *ibid.*, pp. 102, 107. Graziosi was one of the leading members of the Venetian Booksellers' Guild and was the publisher (from 1778) of the *Notizie del Mondo* newspaper. See Renato Pasta, 'The History of the Book and Publishing in Eighteenth-Century Italy', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 10.2 (2005), 200-17 (pp. 201, 211, n. 2).

⁵³⁹ Letter from William Buchanan to James Stewart, 26 September 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 115-16.

⁵⁴⁰ Camilla Murgia, 'The Artistic Trade and Networks of the Italian Community in London Around 1800', in *Art Crossing Borders*, ed. by Baetens and Lyna, pp. 164-92 (p. 165).

in the previous chapter demonstrate, the Molini also had important connections to Italian picture dealers such as Lasinio.⁵⁴¹ However, perhaps the fault of Buchanan's overblown expectations, Da Ponte apparently failed to write to Graziosi outlining the proposed arrangement in which the agent was to forward on the case containing the 'Raphael's' to Irvine in Rome. The case was addressed to the landscapist, engraver, and friend of Irvine's Ludovico Caracciolo (1761-1842) in order for it to appear as Roman property in a bid to guarantee safer and cheaper passage to Irvine there.⁵⁴² In December 1803, Buchanan urged Strachan to go with Stewart to see Da Ponte in the Haymarket again, as from 'living in the neighbourhood [Strachan] may be better known', and also encouraged them to purchase 'one of Mozart's pieces on my account' to make '[Da Ponte] pay more attention to your request'.⁵⁴³ While correspondence from January 1804 shows that Graziosi did not take up Buchanan's proposal, it is clear that the acquaintances forged between neighbouring tradespeople in the Haymarket

⁵⁴¹ Antiquarians such as Francis Douce (for whom see Chapter One) received sale catalogues from the Molini family and employed them to carry out book-buying commissions in Florence in the first part of the nineteenth century. Douce's contact in London was Charles Frederick Molini of 14 Paternoster Row. See, for example, BOD, MS Douce d. 27, Letter from Charles Frederick Molini to Francis Douce, 8 July 1830, fol. 61; MS Douce e.77, Books (Mainly Modern) to be Imported. The Molinis also provided an ex/importation service for prints, books, manuscripts, and paintings, a service which Dawson Turner and his fellow travellers took up during and following their tour to Italy in 1825. The material directly relevant to this trip and Turner's purchases can be found largely in TCL, MS 0.13.30, which covers the second part of 1825. The Molinis also provided a direct connection to dealers of early paintings such as Carlo Lasinio. Lasinio's influential *Pittura a Fresco del Campo Santo* was published by Molini, Landi, and Campagno. Letters between Giuseppe Molini, Iseppo Landi, and Carlo Lasinio in this connection were not able to be consulted due to travel restrictions during Covid-19 but are held at the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, CA. Donata Levi notes that the Molini exported a panel painting of Petrarch and Laura, and others, in 1823, for which see Levi, 'Carlo Lasinio', p. 135, n. 25.

⁵⁴² Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 26 December 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 115-17. Ludovico Caracciolo must have been a relatively close contact as William Buchanan was entrusted with resolving a scandal that occurred between Caracciolo and the Scottish economist and advocate, James Loch (1780-1855). Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 18 April 1804 in *ibid*, pp. 260-61. Caracciolo also provided James Irvine with two paintings on 17 December 1804 in Brigstocke, 'James Irvine: A Scottish Artist in Italy', p. 326.

⁵⁴³ Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 26 December 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 115-16.

had a direct impact on a transnational network of agents which in this particular instance directly affected the circulation of the ‘Raphaels’.⁵⁴⁴

As well as forging networks, 18 Oxendon Street also provided a setting for Buchanan and his associates to experiment with the strategic display of the paintings within – a scheme of which the ‘Raphael’ panels were a not insignificant part. Before an adjoining gallery was built in 1805, the sale rooms at 18 Oxendon Street were organised along a complex set of ever-changing criteria chosen by Buchanan, with pictures strategically moved around according to which buyers were in town, in a manner borrowed from Bryan.⁵⁴⁵ From March 1804, the two remaining ‘Raphael’ fragments – seemingly *Eve and the Children* and *The Sacrifice* – were involved in this rotating display scheme. Buchanan had taken the small *Sacrifice* up to Scotland in an attempt to interest Francis Wemyss Charteris, Lord Elcho (1749-1808) of Gosford House in owning a ‘true Raphael’, who at that moment was ‘buying like fire just now in order to entail as many [pictures] as he can during his life’.⁵⁴⁶ As mentioned, targeting individual buyers was an important part of Buchanan’s strategies, an idea modelled yet again on Bryan’s template. Meanwhile, Stewart had been instructed to inform any interested visitors to 18 Oxendon Street that *The Sacrifice* had been ‘sent to the country’, another tactic actively borrowed from Bryan to retain mystery and heighten competitive interest.⁵⁴⁷

In London, the *Eve and the Children* fragment seems to have been shrouded in relative invisibility in the back room of 18 Oxendon Street, to which visitors did not generally have

⁵⁴⁴ Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 27 January 1804 in *ibid*, p. 126.

⁵⁴⁵ Armstrong-Totten, ‘From Jack-of-All-Trades to Professional’, p. 202.

⁵⁴⁶ It appears that William Buchanan had originally wanted to present *The Sacrifice* to his brother-in-law, Andrew Gordon, but the latter had rejected it. It also appears to have been ‘too dry’ for Buchanan’s own collection. See, for example, letters from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 24 January 1804; 18 April 1804; 27 April 1804, in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 122, 259, 283. For the Raphael taken to Lord Elcho see, for example, letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 7 March 1804 in *ibid*, pp. 170-71.

⁵⁴⁷ Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 7 March 1804 in *ibid*, p. 171.

access. It was brought out for prospective buyers and then immediately put back after such visits were concluded.⁵⁴⁸ Buchanan's display ideas were directly influenced by Bryan and West, who preferred a policy of storing most pictures out of sight in a back room and then bringing them out one by one as suited to the taste of the caller.⁵⁴⁹ This kind of system was perceived to be particularly beneficial for pictures that 'are not to be exhibited to public criticism', such as the 'Raphaels'.⁵⁵⁰ This highly-controlled, selective viewing experience was very different to the evocative cluttered interior of the antique and curiosity shop, which was considered in Chapter One, as well as the close hanging of pictures at selling exhibitions such as at the Royal Academy, then located at Somerset House (**Figure 3.18**). As David Solkin has shown, with pictures 'hung like sardines' and not necessarily seen from the correct position, this kind of multifarious viewing experience occasioned a plurality of possible viewpoints.⁵⁵¹ By contrast, in a space like 18 Oxendon Street, a singularity of vision was preferred. We recall that the illustrated trade card (**Figure 2.24**) of the London dealer William Neate shows this type of more targeted viewing experience taking place within his shop interior.⁵⁵² The dealer holds up a single painting to a prospective client, perhaps removed from those behind, again centring the dealer as the strategic manipulator of the display scheme and encouraging the buyer's focus on one particular work. Buchanan was further concerned about the effect that pictures had on each other when displayed in close proximity, a concern that led to a careful

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁹ Out of many references to Bryan's business practices see, for example, letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 26 March 1804 in *ibid*, pp. 220-21. Buchanan's emulation of Bryan's techniques are also commented on in Avery-Quash and Penny, p. 152; Armstrong-Totten, 'From Jack-of-All-Trades to Professional', p. 202.

⁵⁵⁰ Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 26 March 1804 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 220.

⁵⁵¹ David H. Solkin, 'Introduction: "This Great Mart of Genius": The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House, 1780-1836', in *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House, 1780-1836*, ed. by David H. Solkin (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and the Courtauld Institute Gallery by Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 1-8 (pp. 3-4).

⁵⁵² *Trade Card of William Neate*, c. 1817, 67.288, Heal Collection, British Museum, London.

system of veiling and unveiling works during the visits of clients. The ‘Raphael’ fragments would seemingly have tarnished Buchanan’s other pictures if displayed permanently alongside them. Indeed, Patrick Moir (1769-1810), artist, advisor, and cicerone to the Scottish Forbes family, had cautioned Buchanan that even when showing a client a picture in the comfort of their own home all other pictures should be covered ‘unless they were worse pictures and set off that which you meant to sell’.⁵⁵³

Buchanan’s preoccupations with displaying pictures to their best advantage even extended to exerting his influence over the ways his pictures were exhibited when up for auction. When *The Sacrifice* and *Eve and the Children* were put up for sale by Buchanan in Christie’s Great Room on 12 May 1804, the dealer was equally particular that the paintings should be displayed in optimal conditions.⁵⁵⁴ Buchanan had submitted a draft drawing of the sale-room hang to Stewart a month prior to the auction. The small ‘Raphael’ fragments were proposed to be hung low down, being of a more difficult scale to see.⁵⁵⁵ Buchanan also hoped that they would be displayed in what he saw as a favourable location, ideally on the left wall as seen in Rowlandson’s aquatint (**Figure 3.19**) – ‘directly opposite the fire’.⁵⁵⁶ In fact, the aquatint shows a beam of light falling at an oblique angle from the right-hand lantern windows, through which to illuminate optimally the pictures on that side of the room – including those by the rostrum.

As Buchanan’s detailed instructions to Stewart also demonstrate, experimenting with the beneficial effects of lighting played an important role in structuring the distribution and display of pictures throughout 18 Oxendon Street. Thought was given to when during the hours of

⁵⁵³ Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 20 March 1804 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 203-04.

⁵⁵⁴ *A Catalogue of a Few Very Capital and Celebrated Pictures*, lots 6, 7; GPI, Sale Catalog Br-263 [accessed 16 October 2022].

⁵⁵⁵ For the drawing see letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 21 April 1804 in *ibid*, p. 267.

⁵⁵⁶ Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 29 April 1804 in *ibid*, p. 286.

daylight a prospective client might be invited to view a picture.⁵⁵⁷ Oxendon Street was a narrow road, with limited natural light due to the tall buildings which lined it (**Figure 3.20**). As Buchanan lamented, ‘there is so little light as in Oxendon Street’.⁵⁵⁸ The ‘front room’ in which Buchanan often showed his paintings was seemingly lit by one light source from a window(s) facing the street – which he instructed Stewart should be ‘well cleaned’.⁵⁵⁹ Where possible, Buchanan seems to have preferred pictures to be placed side-on to the light; mindful that, when placed on the ‘front room’s’ ‘side wall’, pictures would have ‘the advantage’.⁵⁶⁰ Side-lighting was certainly recognised in the period as acceptable, sometimes preferable, particularly for small cabinet pictures.⁵⁶¹ Indeed, the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, built between 1826 and 1836, combined top-lit galleries with smaller side-lit galleries, the latter specifically to display, among the collection’s smaller paintings, ‘early (‘primitive’) works’.⁵⁶² The relative advantages of side-lighting, and top-lighting, were later discussed at length at the 1850 Select Committee on the National Gallery. One Select Committee witness, Gustav Waagen, then director of the Royal Museum at Berlin (which had opened in 1830), defended the choice of this lighting style in the Berlin state galleries by advocating that a high side light was reminiscent of the lighting of painters’ ateliers where the works were created in the first place.⁵⁶³ Buchanan’s own trials with lighting his pictures in Oxendon Street’s front room

⁵⁵⁷ Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 24 January 1804 in *ibid*, pp. 120-22.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid*.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid*.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid*.

⁵⁶¹ *Report from the Select Committee on the National Gallery Together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1850), p. 65; Susannah Brooke, ‘The Display and Reception of Private Picture Collections in London Town Houses, 1780-1830’, in *The Georgian London Town House*, ed. by Avery-Quash and Retford, pp. 149-68 (p. 162); Michael Compton, ‘The Architecture of Daylight’, in *Palaces of Art: Art Galleries in Great Britain, 1790-1990*, ed. by Giles Waterfield (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1991), pp. 37-47 (pp. 37-38).

⁵⁶² Compton, p. 37.

⁵⁶³ *Select Committee*, 1850, p. 37. The optimum light was believed to be a high north light, Compton, pp. 37, 47, n. 2.

should be read as an early example of these debates playing out in real time in the space of the dealer's shop.

With his concerns about Oxendon Street's gloomy lighting, it is by no means surprising that Buchanan decided to build a new suite of gallery rooms behind his existing rooms in 1805. Buchanan particularly liked the idea of possessing a top-lit picture gallery; as he instructed Stewart, 'a capital room lighted from above I think it absolutely necessary against another Season'.⁵⁶⁴ Since the eighteenth century, top-lighting via skylights, clerestory, or lantern windows was often seen to be favourable for illuminating pictures, whether in private houses, artists' studios, or in exhibition rooms, because it provided a relatively even distribution of light across an often densely-hung wall.⁵⁶⁵ Sir John Soane's (1753-1837) influential top-lit designs for Dulwich Picture Gallery, Britain's first purpose-built public art gallery, which allowed Old Masters to be viewed in natural light via lantern windows, would not be executed until between 1811 and 1817.⁵⁶⁶ It stands to reason then that Buchanan was, in fact, greatly influenced by well-known top-lit locations in the London art world such as Christie's Great Room (then at 83-84 Pall Mall) (**Figure 3.19**), the Royal Academy's exhibition room at Somerset House (**Figure 3.18**), the British Institution's exhibition rooms (**Figure 3.21**), and the publisher Rudolf Ackermann's (1764-1834) Repository of Arts at 101 The Strand (**Figure 3.22**). While light was an important instrument through which to 'enliven the inert matter of paint' and create prime viewing conditions, the particular qualities of lighting could be used

⁵⁶⁴ Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 26 March 1804 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 222.

⁵⁶⁵ Klonk, p. 340. For the different types of top-lighting see Compton, p. 39. For lighting choices more generally at Agnew's and the National Gallery see Alison Clarke, *Spaces of Connoisseurship: Judging Old Masters at Agnew's and the National Gallery, c. 1874-1916* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp. 100, 191-99, 261-65; Clarke, 'The Spatial Aspects of Connoisseurship', pp. 96-99, 162-66, 216-19.

⁵⁶⁶ Giles Waterfield, 'Dulwich Picture Gallery', in *John Soane: Architect: Master of Space and Light*, ed. by Margaret Richardson and MaryAnne Stevens (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1999), pp. 174-85.

advantageously by Buchanan to recall the experience and cachet of established and respected locations nearby where art was exhibited and sold.⁵⁶⁷

Buchanan's own trials with lighting his pictures – and the decision that he required a dedicated top-lit picture gallery in 1805 – should also, crucially, be understood as taking place before, and during, the experimental atmosphere then being fostered among London's commercial galleries, which preceded purpose-built, top-lit public art galleries in Britain. The studios and galleries of artists and dealers were some of the first, highly experimental spaces in which the possibilities of lighting effects were trialled, albeit in locations which often showed contemporary rather than historic paintings. As Giles Waterfield rightly observed:

in the design of galleries and in matters of display, [commercial galleries] have often been innovators, having enjoyed the advantage of free enterprise and having frequently depended on their ability to attract public attention for success and survival.⁵⁶⁸

Significant artist studios and commercial galleries in London at that moment were indeed top-lit. More or less contemporaneous with Buchanan's lighting experiments, and his desire to build a top-lit gallery at 18 Oxendon Street in 1805, were J. M. W. Turner's (1775-1851) experiments at 64 Harley Street; he converted some of the outbuildings attached to the house into a gallery in 1804, and by 1818 was planning a new purpose-built, top-lit gallery there (**Figure 3.23**). As Alice Barnaby has examined, Turner placed nets and tissue under the central skylights to better and more softly diffuse daylight.⁵⁶⁹ By contrast, in the top-lit gallery built

⁵⁶⁷ For quotation see Alice Barnaby, *Light Touches: Cultural Practices of Illumination, 1800-1900* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), p. 140.

⁵⁶⁸ Stephen Fronk, Elizabeth Wright, and Giles Waterfield, 'Commercial Galleries and Auction Houses', in *Palaces of Art*, ed. by Waterfield, pp. 159-70 (p. 159).

⁵⁶⁹ Barnaby, p. 141. See the virtual recreation of Turner's gallery in 'J. M. W. Turner, the Original Artist-Curator', *Tate Website* <<https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/joseph-mallord-william-turner-558/jmw-turner-original-artist-curator>> [accessed 24 Feb 2023].

posthumously by Benjamin West's sons in Newman Street at his death in 1820, exaggerated light and shade was played with, so that spectators stood in darkness while the paintings on which they looked were flooded with light (**Figure 3.24**).⁵⁷⁰ Buchanan viewed a top-lit picture gallery as one of the 'recognizable signposts' of a successful picture dealer, and the planning and building of his own gallery signalled his growing professionalisation in this regard.⁵⁷¹ The new gallery may have also helped differentiate and diversify him from his neighbouring shopkeepers in the Haymarket, as a picture dealer.

Buchanan's activities at Oxendon Street thus offer an early example of a picture dealer engaging with the possibilities that his premises could offer his business model at the opening of the nineteenth century. Specifically in relation to early European paintings, his premises directly enabled him to strategise network formation and display and lighting schemes as he mediated the 'Raphael's' on the British and transnational secondary market.

Re-Inventing Raphael and Making Masaccio for the Public Art Gallery, c. 1827-44

It is productive to examine the final major re-invention that the 'Raphael' panels underwent with Buchanan, namely in relation to the *Creation and Fall of Man*. From being 'a problem' for Buchanan in 1802-04, at least one of the panels had become an 'opportunity' by the 1840s. Buchanan newly described the painting as 'illustrative of the progress of Art [...] one of the most interesting examples which could possibly present itself for any Public Gallery' when he put it up for sale with Phillips's auction house at 73 New Bond Street in 1841.⁵⁷² On that occasion, it was bought in. By 1844, Buchanan had drastically re-attributed the painting; no

⁵⁷⁰ Barnaby, p. 141; Compton, pp. 36, 41, 77-78.

⁵⁷¹ For quotation see Helmreich, 'David Croal Thomson', p. 90.

⁵⁷² For quotation see *Catalogue of an Important Collection of Pictures, from the Distinguished Collection of His Royal Highness the Duke of Lucca [...] and Other Fine Examples of the Italian, Spanish, Dutch, and Flemish Schools*, 5 June 1841, Phillips, London, lot 49; GPI, Sale Catalog Br-5297 [accessed 9 April 2023].

longer did he promote it as being a work by Raphael but rather the creation of Masaccio.⁵⁷³ This last re-invention saw Buchanan re-imagining the *Creation and Fall of Man* in direct response to the National Gallery's collecting remit. The emergent status of the public art gallery in Europe became a structuring device around which Buchanan began to focus his sale strategies, rather than on the private collector – as we saw earlier with his approaches to collectors such as Angerstein. This final episode represents the culmination of a detectable shift in Buchanan's approach, contiguous with the evolving art-historical discipline in Britain and the rise of the public art museum.⁵⁷⁴

It is first worth interrogating how Buchanan perceived his own relationship with the National Gallery. Buchanan had long envisioned his role as a dealer as innately connected to the formation of an art-loving nation, bound up with bringing high-quality Old Master paintings to Britain. In fact, he actively endeavoured to distance himself from the commercial connotations of dealing and speculation. He had employed Stewart as his public-facing London agent in his rooms at 18 Oxendon Street precisely because 'I should not wish my own name to appear in the business, on any account', concerned that 'if the Speculation was generally known' his reputation might be injured.⁵⁷⁵ After all, Buchanan had been a law student before he began picture dealing. Indeed, contemporary commentators on the practice of speculation could be damning, placing it in contrast to the respected practice of connoisseurship. In 1786, the French dealer François-Charles Joullain junior (1734-1790) had lambasted the speculator's 'reprehensible' nature: 'this class of amateurs, who, having no decided taste for anything,

⁵⁷³ NGA, NG5/55/21, Letter from William Buchanan to the secretary (with enclosure), 4 March 1844.

⁵⁷⁴ See Helmreich's observations, cited earlier, on dealers adapting their strategies in response to changes in the cultural field in Helmreich, 'David Croal Thomson', p. 89.

⁵⁷⁵ Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 11 June 1802 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 46.

attach themselves to everything by a spirit of speculation, buying second hand goods only to sell them again'.⁵⁷⁶

Buchanan's interwoven notions of commerce and philanthropy were predicated upon eighteenth-century ideas in Britain surrounding the links between art, society, and virtue. Eighteenth-century texts such as Bernard Mandeville's (1670-1733) *The Fable of the Bees* (first published anonymously in 1705) had satirised, through the metaphor of bees in a hive, the idea that when the desire for personal gain is abandoned in pursuit of virtue, in fact society and economy collapse.⁵⁷⁷ Mandeville thus showed how private vices could in fact lead to social benefit. The relationship between commerce and public benefit was successively recalibrated. Most notably, from the second quarter of the nineteenth-century, the art world was transformed by the rise of the middle-class businessman. Buchanan was himself a strikingly early case of this phenomenon; he had started out as a law student in Scotland, and his father was a Glasgow merchant, as noted.⁵⁷⁸ As Dianne Sachko Macleod has examined:

the expanding commercial elite in the early Victorian years made its presence felt throughout England in every sector of the cultural field: commercial art galleries, art schools and academies, public exhibitions and museums, auction houses, art magazines, and artists' studios. Not content to imitate the aristocracy, these energetic businessmen recast the cultural system in their own image.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁶ Translation author's own. The original quotation is '*cette classe d'amateurs, qui, n'ayant de goût décidé pour aucune chose, s'attachent a tout par un esprit de spéculation, achètent et brocantent pour vendre et brocanter*' from Charles François Joullain, *Réflexions sur la Peinture et la Gravure, Accompagnées sur d'une Courte Dissertation sur le Commerce de la Curiosité et les Ventes en Général* (Metz: Claude Lamort, 1786), p. 114. Quoted in Pomian, p. 162.

⁵⁷⁷ Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: Or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (London: Printed for J. Roberts, 1714).

⁵⁷⁸ Brigstocke, 'William Buchanan: His Friends and Rivals', p. 4.

⁵⁷⁹ Macleod, p. 2.

Buchanan's view of himself as ultimately philanthropic was cemented publicly with the publication of his auto-hagiographic *Memoirs of Painting* in 1824.⁵⁸⁰ It contained a 'chronological history of the importation of pictures by the great masters into England since the French Revolution', it earmarked Buchanan's contribution to particular importations, and it printed excerpts from correspondence with his agents, including on the subject of the 'Raphaels'.⁵⁸¹ Running through this publication were Buchanan's polemical appeals firstly for the establishment of a National Gallery in Britain, and secondly that he should be remunerated for the 'active and prominent part which he has always borne in securing for this country works of the highest class, during the most perilous times of war and revolution'.⁵⁸² Indeed, he ended the second volume with the proclamation that,

should the National Gallery of this country ever be formed upon a scale worthy of the British nation, the result of [Buchanan's] past exertions cannot fail to meet the eye of the observer at every glance which he may cast along its walls.⁵⁸³

It was by no means coincidental that the *Memoirs* was published in 1824, the year of the National Gallery's foundation at 100 Pall Mall. Thus, here we find Buchanan posturing for involvement and recognition in this then new public venture.

Throughout Buchanan's career, the National Gallery's trustees were lukewarm to the dealer's advances, which were thinly-veiled under the guise of philanthropy. At Buchanan's first offer of the sale of four pictures – two thought to be by Ludovico Carracci (1555-1619), one by Annibale Caracci (1560-1609), and another by Gerrit van Honthorst (NG3679; 1592-1656) – from the Duke of Lucca's collection to the Gallery in 1840, he proposed first exhibiting them

⁵⁸⁰ Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid*, II, p. 119.

⁵⁸² *Ibid*, p. 377.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid*.

in Britain's principal manufacturing towns, 'for the purpose of promoting a knowledge of the works of the great masters, and forwarding the cause of the Fine Arts generally'.⁵⁸⁴ The pictures travelled between cities including Birmingham and Dublin from 1840 to 1842.⁵⁸⁵ Despite their public benefit proposed by Buchanan, the trustees did not sanction the purchase of these pictures in 1842 due to the rival demand to allocate money towards the purchase of Van Eyck's so-called *Arnolfini Portrait* (NG186; **Figure 1.2**), a sign of slowly shifting tastes towards earlier European pictures.⁵⁸⁶

Strikingly, the last references to Buchanan in the Gallery's archive are in correspondence of August 1859 between director Charles Eastlake and keeper Ralph Wornum (1812-1877) regarding the then eighty-two-year-old's recent complaints that what he perceived as his services to the Gallery had been omitted from the recently-published collection catalogue.⁵⁸⁷ In essence, these complaints were a repeat of the appeal for remuneration and recognition that the dealer had penned in his 1824 *Memoirs*. Three years prior, in 1856, Buchanan had also sent a formal, printed testimonial and list of pictures, along with their respective values, which he claimed to have imported to Britain and which had since been accessioned into the National Gallery's collection.⁵⁸⁸ Wornum, however, was not convinced:

⁵⁸⁴ For quotation see NGA, NG5/41/4, Letter from William Buchanan to Sir Francis Baring, 1st Bart, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 30 July 1840. The paintings purchased and exhibited by Buchanan are: Domenico Fiasella, *Christ Healing the Blind*, c. 1615, SN113, Ringling Museum, Sarasota, FL; Domenico Fiasella, *Christ Raising the Son of the Widow of Nain*, c. 1615, SN112, Ringling Museum, Sarasota, FL; Gerrit van Honthorst, *Christ before the High Priest*, c. 1617, NG3679, National Gallery, London. The fourth is as yet unknown. For the as yet missing work thought to be by Annibale Carracci see Charles Dempsey, 'Annibale Carracci's "Christ and the Canaanite Woman"', *The Burlington Magazine*, 123.935 (1981), 91-95. See also Penny and Mancini, pp. 473-78.

⁵⁸⁵ See also NGA, NG5/49/7, Letter from William Buchanan to the secretary, 30 April 1842; DRO, D/St/C5/29/101, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 2 September 1840 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 2**).

⁵⁸⁶ For the recommendation of the Van Eyck see NGA, NG5/50/1, Letter from Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan, 1st Bart. to the trustees, 2 May 1842.

⁵⁸⁷ NGA, NG5/301/3, Letters from Charles Eastlake to Ralph Wornum, 8 August 1859; NG6/2/422, Wornum to Eastlake, 8 August 1859.

⁵⁸⁸ NGA, NG5/125/1, Letter from William Buchanan to the trustees, 1 February 1856.

I admire Mr Buchanan's impertinence, who seems to think I should be more entitled to my salary if I had noticed his picture-dealings, which he undertook I assume, for his own profit, not especially for the public good.⁵⁸⁹

Wornum's cynicism illuminates the complexity of the relationship between Buchanan's seemingly philanthropic aims, his desire to cement his own legacy, and his links to commerce through picture dealing.

The rise of the public art museum and the emerging discipline of art history signalled a detectable gear shift in Buchanan's practices; the final re-invention of the 'Raphaels' to be examined here is synecdochic of this change. Indeed, instead of being earmarked for a private collector such as Angerstein, as the 'Raphaels' had been in 1803, Buchanan now began to view the *Creation and Fall of Man* as a museum picture, capable of illustrating the early history of the progress of the arts in Italy. As Charlotte Guichard has observed, from the turn of the nineteenth century, 'art world expertise' was recalibrated from the realm of private collections towards public arts administration.⁵⁹⁰ Buchanan was clearly aware of key developments in public art museums in Britain and on the Continent. It was by no means coincidental that he wrote to Von Dillis between 1827 and 1828 in order to interest the Bavarian king in the 'Raphael'.⁵⁹¹ The previous year, 1826, King Ludwig I had ordered the architect Leo von Klenze (1784-1864) to design and erect a new building for the royal collection, which would open as the Pinakothek in 1836.⁵⁹² Buchanan thus accordingly positioned the 'Raphael' as the perfect picture for this nascent and didactic collection spanning the history of Western painting: 'I consider it as a picture of great interest for a public Gallery as showing the progress of the great

⁵⁸⁹ NGA, NG6/2/422, Letter from Ralph Wornum to Charles Eastlake, 8 August 1859.

⁵⁹⁰ Guichard, pp. 173-92.

⁵⁹¹ NGL, NC 505 BUCHANAN, Correspondence between William Buchanan and Johann Georg von Dillis.

⁵⁹² Von Buttlar and Savoy, pp. 319-26.

Master's works from an early period'.⁵⁹³ Buchanan's advances were unsuccessful, as were his later appeals to the Royal Museum in Berlin.

In 1841, when the *Creation* panel was again unsuccessfully put up for auction by Buchanan, at Phillips's auction house in London, it was still attributed to Raphael but with the assistance of 'his friend' Fra Bartolomeo (1472?-1517), and accompanied by a colourful, two-page-long description.⁵⁹⁴ As lot number 49 out of 54, thus near the climax of the auction, the 'Raphael' was presumably posited as one of the star items, according to Miyamoto's observations on the ascending momentum created in the ordering of British auction catalogues to maximize sales.⁵⁹⁵ At this sale, Buchanan still presented the painting as of great interest to the history of art and public museum collections:

on the whole, this picture, as illustrative of the progress of Art [...] is one of the most interesting examples which could possibly present itself for any Public Gallery, where classification, and a history of the great masters [...] is duly attended to.⁵⁹⁶

Buchanan had decided that the painting was in fact the very picture 'where Lanzi states he borrowed his Adam and Eve from the precious design of Masaccio', while venturing to add the further enticement that the figure of Adam constituted a portrait of Raphael himself.⁵⁹⁷ This long description in the 1841 auction catalogue demonstrates the new vigour with which Buchanan was approaching popular art-historical texts such as Luigi Lanzi's (1732-1810)

⁵⁹³ NGL, NC 505 BUCHANAN, Letter from William Buchanan to Johann Georg von Dillis, 18 November 1828, letter 12, p. 3.

⁵⁹⁴ *Catalogue of an Important Collection of Pictures, from the Distinguished Collection of His Royal Highness the Duke of Lucca*, 1841, lot 49; GPI, Sale Catalog Br-5297 [accessed 9 April 2023].

⁵⁹⁵ Bénédicte Miyamoto, 'Making Pictures Marketable': Expertise and the Georgian Art Market', in *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present: A Cultural History*, ed. by Charlotte Gould and Sophie Mesplède (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 119-33 (pp. 126-29).

⁵⁹⁶ *Catalogue of an Important Collection of Pictures, from the Distinguished Collection of His Royal Highness the Duke of Lucca*, 1841, lot 49; GPI, Sale Catalog Br-5297 [accessed 9 April 2023].

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

Storia Pittorica dell'Italia, which had importantly been translated into English by Thomas Roscoe (1791-1871) in 1828.⁵⁹⁸ By way of comparison, it is of note that Lanzi's name was only cited twice in the entirety of the dealer's earlier *Memoirs* of 1824.⁵⁹⁹ Certainly, the *Memoirs* seem to have been a way for Buchanan to create his own histories and mythologies for his paintings and certainly drew from the precedent of Bryan's *Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* published in 1816.⁶⁰⁰ Buchanan encouraged potential buyers to refer to pictures' histories in the *Memoirs* and he in fact earmarked a copy to Von Dillis as part of his earlier, unsuccessful attempt to interest the Bavarian king in the *Creation and Fall of Man* in 1827.⁶⁰¹ Yet, clearly by the 1840s, Buchanan was looking beyond his own *Memoirs* towards established art-historical texts to bolster his own research and marketing practices.

In March 1844, Buchanan wrote to the secretary of the National Gallery to interest the Gallery – for a second time – in the *Creation and Fall of Man*. In the letter, Buchanan borrowed the same passage from Lanzi, as used in the 1841 auction catalogue, but now to justify a new attribution for the *Creation* panel: to Masaccio. He wrote,

by reference to Italian writers [the *Creation and Fall of Man*] may be considered as established to be the work of Masaccio, as Lanzi in reference to these writers says, that Raphael on his visit to Florence studied much the works of that great master – “whose Adam and Eve he afterwards adopted “for his picture in the Vatican”, and this present picture is no doubt that to which Lanzi refers, as the same subject has been copied by

⁵⁹⁸ Luigi Antonio Lanzi, *The History of Painting in Italy, from the Period of the Revival of the Fine Arts to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, trans. by Thomas Roscoe, 6 vols (London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1828).

⁵⁹⁹ Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, I, p. 60; Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, II, p. 23.

⁶⁰⁰ Bryan, *A Biographical and Critical Dictionary*.

⁶⁰¹ NGL, NC 505 BUCHANAN, Letter from William Buchanan to Johann Georg von Dillis, 9 July 1827, letter 8, p. 5.

Raphael in the Vatican, and there can be no question of the present picture being of an anterior period to the picture in the Vatican.⁶⁰²

In addition to the main body of the letter, Buchanan also included a separate enclosed ‘Note’ through which he further introduced Masaccio’s biography, the artist ‘held by all writers on Art to have been the principle master of the Second, or Middle Age of Modern Painting, after the revival of Art by Cimabue’.⁶⁰³ There, he further outlined the perceived connections between elements of the *Creation* panel with specific motifs in the work of celebrated later artists whom he proposed had referred back to ‘Masaccio’s’ template. The newly attributed ‘Masaccio’ panel was thus presented by Buchanan as a foundational piece of source material for later artists such as Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Raphael; valuable ‘in illustrating the progress of art’.⁶⁰⁴

In making the new attribution to Masaccio, Buchanan had familiarised himself with the gamut of knowledge about the artist which had grown since the final quarter of the eighteenth century. As Sam Smiles corroborates, ‘optimistic auctioneers routinely ascribed pictures to Giotto and Masaccio, allowing specimens of early Italian art to be added as historical curiosities to collections otherwise more orthodox’.⁶⁰⁵ By the 1770s, the antiquarian, dealer, and engraver Thomas Patch had published – as part of a broader project – *La Vita di Masaccio*, which comprised twenty-six line-engraved plates of heads and groups of figures in the Brancacci Chapel of Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence.⁶⁰⁶ In his *Twelfth Discourse* of 1784, Reynolds

⁶⁰² NGA, NG5/55/21, Letter from William Buchanan to the secretary (with enclosure), 4 March 1844.

⁶⁰³ NGA, NG5/55/21, ‘Note’, enclosed in *ibid.* Buchanan also enclosed further information of a comparable nature regarding a version of Albrecht Dürer’s *Portrait of Katharina Fürleger* which he offered for purchase to the National Gallery in 1850, for which see NGA, NG5/80/5, Letter from William Buchanan to George Saunders Thwaites (with enclosures), 6 May 1850.

⁶⁰⁴ For quotation see NGA, NG5/55/21, ‘Note’ (enclosed in letter from William Buchanan to the secretary), 4 March 1844.

⁶⁰⁵ Smiles, p. 51.

⁶⁰⁶ Patch. See Collier, ‘From “Gothic Atrocities” to Objects of Aesthetic Appreciation’, pp. 119-25; Collier, ‘The Pre Pre-Raphaelites?’, pp. 79-114; Smiles.

further praised Masaccio as the first early painter to lead artists out of a barbarous past through, what was perceived to be, his heightened cerebral capacities – though his manner was perceived to remain ‘dry and hard’.⁶⁰⁷ The specific artistic bond between earlier artists like Masaccio and the cult of Raphael was an enduring trope emanating from the writings of Vasari which, as Collier has already traced, was also well-known in the period.⁶⁰⁸ In an earlier sketchbook of 1752 which contained notes on Masaccio’s Brancacci Chapel, Reynolds noted how ‘Raffaele has taken his Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise from hence’.⁶⁰⁹ As already seen, Lanzi had also drawn attention to how Raphael had ‘studied the works of Masaccio, an elegant and expressive painter, whose Adam and Eve he afterwards adopted in the Vatican’.⁶¹⁰ By the 1840s, art writers such as Anna Jameson were also ‘[offering] persons who in the main had never heard of Giotto, Masaccio, or Raphael an entry to their work, to its imaginative spaciousness, beauty, and historical resonance’.⁶¹¹ In summary, Reynolds’s *Discourses*, beloved by Buchanan, were once used by this dealer to understand sweeping notions of British taste in Old Master paintings which was largely founded on eighteenth-century ideals; by the 1840s, Buchanan was using a range of texts to garner specific, art-historical information about certain early paintings in a changing landscape dominated by the rise of the public art gallery. Finally, the new attribution to Masaccio also signalled a new confidence Buchanan felt in making attributions in relation to early European paintings. This reflects what Krzysztof Pomian has observed about the changing status of the dealer in the period.⁶¹² Pomian suggests that dealers gradually took over from connoisseurial collectors, as the people best able to talk

⁶⁰⁷ Reynolds, ‘Discourse XII’, II, pp. 50-51.

⁶⁰⁸ Collier, ‘The Pre Pre-Raphaelites?’, pp. 4-8.

⁶⁰⁹ Joshua Reynolds, *Sketchbook of Drawings of Old Masters, Made at Florence and on the Journey from Florence to Rome, 1752*, fol. 31^v, 1859,0514.305, British Museum, London.

⁶¹⁰ Lanzi, II, p. 61.

⁶¹¹ Adele Ernstrom, ‘The Anna Jameson Lecture’ (National Gallery, London, 30 September 2021). With thanks to Maria Alambritis for the quotation from this lecture.

⁶¹² Pomian, pp. 147-56.

cogently about paintings with ‘a deep and scholarly air’ and, most importantly, make attributions.⁶¹³ By the second quarter of the century, Buchanan’s approach was more in alignment with how the dealer Edward Solly had described the unique expertise of ‘the dealer’ at the 1835-36 Select Committee on Art and Manufactures – as opposed to the approaches of the collector-connoisseurs who formed the trustees of the National Gallery:

[The trustees] are gentlemen of taste, but I am not aware that they are gentlemen possessing the knowledge which it appears to me is requisite to be good judges of the ancient masters [...] they are most of them possessors of small collections of pictures, and I believe that they are good judges of pictures of that particular class, which they have a fancy for, but that they have not taken the pains to make it their study to attain that general knowledge which requires a great deal of deep research, and opportunity of making that research, which they have not, or have not cared to possess.⁶¹⁴

Buchanan – just as Solly had recommended in his comments at the Select Committee – was by then undertaking ‘deep research’, or at least a type of deeper research than before, into his early paintings, paintings which Buchanan newly perceived as viable commercial stock in a shifting cultural landscape.⁶¹⁵

Further, it also appears that Buchanan aspired to move from being a ‘reprehensible speculator’, to use Joullain’s words cited earlier, to a more connoisseurial type of dealer.⁶¹⁶ The dealer Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun (1748-1813) had summed up this distinction in 1783 in his defence of the art dealer and their trade in pictures:

⁶¹³ Ibid, p. 154.

⁶¹⁴ *Select Committee*, 1836, II, p. 146.

⁶¹⁵ For quotation see *ibid*.

⁶¹⁶ Joullain, p. 114.

anyone who can attain their heights will never be confused with the crowd of those who only contemplate the trade in general with a view to speculating and whose sole merit therefore is that of being intelligent calculators.⁶¹⁷

As already seen, Buchanan had originally expressed anxiety in 1802 that he did not want his reputation destroyed through being labelled as ‘a speculator’.⁶¹⁸ As such, by the 1840s, Buchanan had adjusted his picture dealing practices in order that they became strategically aligned with the priorities of the public art museum and the growing discipline of art history – and, through his research and experience, he was thus able to pick out artist names ‘of the moment’, such as Masaccio, to assign to the works in his stock. Symptomatic of this shift is that, by February 1851, Buchanan could even submit a list of seven ‘Pictures of the Cinque Cento period’ to the National Gallery’s trustees for consideration.⁶¹⁹ The list included works attributed to ‘Giovanni Bellini’, ‘Palma Vecchio’, ‘Innocenzio Francucci’, ‘Lionardo da Vinci’, ‘Albert Durer’, ‘Quintin Matzis’ and ‘Hans Holbein’ (original spellings retained). Each was accompanied by a brief description which referenced esteemed contemporary German art historians including Waagen and Passavant, again confirming Buchanan’s new brand of art-historical research.⁶²⁰

This chapter has examined a range of key moments during which two panels, first attributed to Raphael and, one, later to Masaccio, were strategically mediated by Buchanan in two discrete chronological windows: 1802 to 1804 and 1827 to 1844. Using these paintings as focusing lenses, the chapter has demonstrated how Buchanan developed and streamlined key strategies

⁶¹⁷ Quoted in Pomian, p. 158.

⁶¹⁸ Letter from William Buchanan to David Stewart, 11 June 1802 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 46.

⁶¹⁹ NGA, NG5/85/8, ‘List of Capital Pictures Now Offered to the Trustees of the National Gallery’ enclosed within letter from William Buchanan to George Saunders Thwaites, 28 February 1851.

⁶²⁰ See, for example, Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist*; Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists in England*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1838). Waagen visited England in 1850-51, the date of Buchanan’s correspondence, for which visit see Giles Waterfield and Florian Illies, ‘Waagen in England’, *Jahrbuch Der Berliner Museen*, 37 (1995), 47–59 (p. 50).

through which to mediate the value and reception of these early European pictures, strategies which responded directly to his perceptions of changing art market conditions. When Irvine first purchased the panels on Buchanan's behalf in 1802-03, Buchanan was building his picture dealing practice on the model of his predecessors and rivals such as Bryan. Buchanan tried to strategise his selection of paintings through his understandings of British taste, experimented with processes of fragmentation and dispersal, and used his new premises to forge his early networks, and to orchestrate particular display and lighting schemes, through which to best sell his 'Raphael's'. As Buchanan's correspondence from the second quarter of the century shows, emerging art-historical discourse and the public art museum would become particular structuring forces in the stratification and professionalisation of the art market. Buchanan began conducting new research into art-historical texts which enabled him to re-invent the *Creation and Fall of Man* as a 'Masaccio' to fit a teleological view of art-historical progress tailored to the public art museum. Taken as a whole, this data and analysis offer an important earlier and Anglo-centric context for the understandings that we already have of dealer strategies in the sale of early European pictures later in the century and predominantly on the Continent. They show British picture dealers to be agile actors within the market, who stratified and professionalised their roles and practices to suit the needs of a changing cultural field, and who were responsible for the creative modification and amputation of early paintings. As Helmreich has observed, art dealers developed their expertise in a largely self-regulated environment without a recognised formal curriculum, qualifications, or training, and thus dealers such as Buchanan had to learn and adapt on the job – as this chapter has shown.⁶²¹ The next two chapters examine further two particular aspects of the growing influence of 'the dealer' in the market for early paintings: through the consolidation of transnational and domestic networks, and the dealer as exhibition maker.

⁶²¹ Helmreich, 'David Croal Thomson', pp. 89-90.

Chapter Three

Dealer-Agent Networks and New Collecting Directions, c. 1835-47

Chapter Two examined the picture dealer as an increasingly stratified category, through interrogating the strategies employed by William Buchanan as he learned how to sell and market early European paintings in Britain. Strikingly, Buchanan's premises at Oxendon Street enabled him to forge some early domestic and transnational networks among the shopkeepers of London's Haymarket, and beyond. Yet, as was shown, the network ultimately fell through that Buchanan endeavoured to foster between the Haymarket librettist and bookseller Lorenzo da Ponte, and the Venetian bookseller Antonio Graziosi, through which to secure safe passage of his 'Raphael's' to Italy – a result of confused communication and overblown expectations, at this early point in Buchanan's career.⁶²² The present chapter now hones in on the steady expansion, by the second quarter of the nineteenth century, of the influence of British dealers and agents through the strategic cultivation and successful consolidation of domestic and transnational picture trade networks. As this chapter suggests, by the 1840s, these expanding and strengthening networks help to explain notable shifts in taste among British collectors, not least towards then obscure pictures of the earlier European schools.

This chapter examines the networking activities of the British dealer Edward Solly as a central case study, interrogating the role of his art market networks in shifting collecting directions towards early European pictures. As will be seen – when his roles and practices are duly examined – Solly's art world identity was complex and multifaceted. It is worth noting from the outset that Solly constitutes an important example of a further type of dealer and agent, which has not yet been interrogated in this thesis. Thanks in no small measure to the recent scholarship of Robert Skwirblies, Solly is best known for amassing his collection of over three-thousand paintings – many of which were early European pictures – which provided the

⁶²² See above at pp. 144-46.

foundation for the Prussian royal collection in 1821, and later the Royal Museum in Berlin in 1830.⁶²³ In this connection, Skwirblies variously described Solly as a ‘middleman’, ‘an agent’, ‘a businessman’, ‘a merchant’, ‘a collector’, ‘a diplomat’, and ultimately as ‘an investor, including in the art market, rather than a full-time art dealer’.⁶²⁴ This chapter focuses on Solly’s later, and far less known, British career and confirms that these were indeed cultural roles which Solly continued to expand and carry out on home shores. Solly’s varied roles certainly chime with what Jan Dirk Baetens, Susan Bracken, and Adriana Turpin have observed of art market agents more broadly: ‘it is frequently impossible to make neat distinctions between the different agents operating in the market [... they] acted in different capacities, often at the same time’.⁶²⁵ Solly was not a full-time dealer who relied entirely on trading art and keeping a shop or a gallery premises to support himself financially – as seen with dealers such as Horatio Rodd (in Chapter One), William Buchanan (in Chapter Two), and Samuel Woodburn (in Chapter Four), for example. Neither is Solly the type of dealer that would have been named in a trade directory; a state of affairs which complicates the reliance by some scholars on trade directories to locate the identities of dealers.⁶²⁶ Art dealing was certainly a significant part of Solly’s cultural identity though; over 1400 entries with Solly as a buyer or seller of paintings on the Getty Provenance Index show him to have been a highly active trader of paintings on the British secondary market, a number which does not even take into account his dealing which took place beyond the forum of the auction, as examined in this chapter.⁶²⁷ As Frank Herrmann confirms at the end of his articles of the 1960s on the subject of Solly’s Berlin career, ‘once

⁶²³ For Robert Skwirblies’s most recent, exhaustive account of Edward Solly’s Berlin career see Skwirblies and Salomon. For Skwirblies’s scholarship on Solly more widely see above at n. 30. See also Herrmann, ‘Peel and Solly’, pp. 93-94; Herrmann, ‘Who was Solly?’.

⁶²⁴ Skwirblies, ‘Edward Solly’s Stock of Painting’, pp. 11-13, 20.

⁶²⁵ Bracken, Turpin, and Baetens, ‘Introduction’, p. 8.

⁶²⁶ Though he uses them as a key piece of evidence, Westgarth acknowledges the limitations of relying on trade directories in Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 106.

⁶²⁷ The results of a search conducted for ‘Solly’ as buyer or seller on the GPI [accessed 22 October 2022].

back in London [Solly] had forsaken the timber trade and had started dealing in works of art'.⁶²⁸ Solly thus complicates what Pamela Fletcher has identified as a more 'professionalised' type of dealer by the mid-century, recognisable through their discrete engagement with new cultural formats such as the commercial art gallery.⁶²⁹ As the case of Solly demonstrates, important avenues of trading art were occurring outside what have been recognised in scholarship as standardised behaviours and professionalising or institutionalising structures. On the other hand however, as will be seen with Solly's use of art market networks, it remains possible to perceive this nebulous brand of dealer as employing increasingly efficient, streamlined, and systematic practices which do align with a sense of what might be termed as 'professionalisation'. Thus, in this chapter, when Solly is referred to as a 'dealer', this taxonomy serves as shorthand for his art market roles and practices that were in fact hybrid, complex, and did not necessarily follow a standardised path through the cultural field. After all, as Westgarth has observed in relation to classifying art dealers, 'naming is an unstable cultural register'.⁶³⁰

Solly certainly knew how to speculate and take advantage of the market. Yet – further testimony to his complex identity – he does not appear to have been the kind of 'reprehensible' speculator described by the French dealer François-Charles Joullain junior in the previous chapter, who 'having no decided taste for anything, attach themselves to everything by a spirit of speculation'.⁶³¹ In fact, as will be seen, Solly specifically honed and exercised the '*théorie*' and '*pratique*' which Krzysztof Pomian has identified as being key to dealers' skillsets as

⁶²⁸ Herrmann, 'Who was Solly?' (September 1968), p. 16.

⁶²⁹ Fletcher, 'Shopping for Art', pp. 47-64.

⁶³⁰ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, p. 106. For the comparable classification of collectors at the beginning of the nineteenth century see Stammers, *Purchase of the Past*, pp. 27-28.

⁶³¹ Translation author's own. Joullain, p. 114; quoted in Pomian, p. 162.

‘specialists of the art market’.⁶³² Acquiring ‘*pratique*’ involved ‘having viewed assiduously a great quantity of paintings from every school and all the principal masters’, while frequent travel and ‘daily contact with paintings over several years could provide the competence needed to make attributions’.⁶³³ Pomian proposed that honing these qualities also led to dealers becoming tasked by collectors to help to form collections.⁶³⁴ As this chapter will show, Solly’s art market career in Britain was characterised by these important observations made by Pomian. In particular, this chapter demonstrates that Solly’s domestic and transnational networks of dealers and agents were an integral part of his honing of ‘*pratique*’, as was in fact explicitly recognised by him. At the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures (1835-36), at which Solly served as a witness on 12 July 1836 by invitation of the Select Committee, he provided specific evidence of the importance of his art market networks.⁶³⁵ As Solly explained there, when he assembled his first painting collection in Berlin between around 1815 and 1821, he did so with the assistance and advice of his own ‘selection committee’, in fact a transnational network of agents, advisors, dealers, and middlemen.⁶³⁶ In his own words, this network had afforded Solly ‘a rare practical experience’.⁶³⁷ It was this ‘rare practical experience’ – honed and strengthened through his continuing and extensive art market networks – which characterised Solly’s buying, selling, and advising on art back in Britain, to which this chapter now turns.

To place some parameters on this chapter, the dealer-agent networks to be examined are those which Solly amassed, strengthened, and utilised when he was working as an agent, art advisor,

⁶³² Pomian, pp. 155-56.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁶³⁵ *Select Committee*, 1836, II, pp. 146-50.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 146. See also Skwirbli, ‘Edward Solly’s ‘Stock of Paintings’’, pp. 16-21; Herrmann, ‘Peel and Solly’, pp. 93-94.

⁶³⁷ Skwirbli, ‘Edward Solly’s ‘Stock of Paintings’’, pp. 22, 36, n. 80.

and middleman for the English art collector, colliery and racehorse owner, and MP, John Bowes, who later founded the Bowes Museum in Barnard Castle with his wife Joséphine. This working relationship between Solly and Bowes, while the latter was amassing his first picture collection between 1830 and 1844, fits with Pomian's notion that dealers, in becoming specialists of the art market, became charged with helping to form others' collections.⁶³⁸ The chapter largely focuses on the period between 1835, when John Bowes was likely first introduced to Solly, and 1847, when Solly's own collection was sold posthumously at auction. Solly proved a strategic art-world connection for Bowes as the latter sought to build his first painting collection in the years following his graduation from university and during the commencement of his career as an MP. Yet, Solly's role as art advisor, agent, and middleman for Bowes has been consistently ignored or underplayed, not least due to his obscurity in the Bowes Museum's historical record. In the 'old list' which documents Bowes's first picture collection between 1830 and 1844 – as explained in the Introduction to this thesis – Solly's name appears by eleven paintings acquired into Bowes's collection (**Appendix 3.1**).⁶³⁹ However, his name does not appear, for example, next to the four paintings purchased from the sale of Charles, the Duke of Lucca's collection in 1840 at Christie's which were definitely bought at that sale by Solly.⁶⁴⁰ Interestingly, the 'old list' stops in 1844, the year of Solly's death, suggesting that there was a discrete period when Solly was assisting Bowes and that there was a hiatus in picture-buying immediately after his death.

Solly's role as art advisor, agent, and middleman for Bowes has been uncovered by research conducted for this thesis, which shows that his activity was far more extensive than previously thought. As will be demonstrated, Solly served as Bowes's eyes and ears on the secondary

⁶³⁸ Pomian, p. 157.

⁶³⁹ TBM, TBM/8/4/1/2, List of Paintings, 1830-44.

⁶⁴⁰ *Catalogue of a Portion of the Gallery of His Royal Highness the Duke of Lucca*, 25 July 1840, Christie's, London, lots 2, 8, 31, 37-39. See also DRO, D/St/C5/29/101, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 2 September 1840 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 2**).

market in London and abroad, he bid at auction on Bowes's behalf, and sourced pictures for him from agents and dealers operating overseas and in Britain. Furthermore, Solly facilitated the cleaning and restoration of Bowes's newly-purchased pictures through his extensive and specialist networks in the domestic picture trade in Britain, which included individuals such as the picture liner, restorer, and frame-maker, John Peel.⁶⁴¹ As will be seen, once paintings had been acquired by Bowes, Solly also assisted with attributing them. Solly, Peel, Bowes, and Bowes's step-father and mentor William Hutt (1801-1882) all corresponded and visited each other at their London residences, although there are only limited allusions to these private conversations in a handful of extant letters at the Durham Record Office (**Appendix 3.2**).⁶⁴² Solly was a friend to Bowes, as well as being a middleman, agent, and art advisor. It is not only the warm tone of their correspondence that suggests this. When the prices paid for the purchases that Solly made for Bowes on the British auction circuit are compared with those recorded in the 'old list', they are the same, from which it is clear that Solly did not charge Bowes commission (**Appendix 3.1**). It is not yet clear whether Solly received financial recompense for his services via a different avenue; Bowes did certainly grant Solly particular favours, for example, providing his son with employment, as will be seen.

Bowes's first acquisitions in 1830 were of paintings attributed to 'Teniers' (B.M.197) and 'Snyders' (B.M.88), artists of the seventeenth-century Dutch school (**Appendix 3.1**).⁶⁴³ By 1840, Bowes's taste appeared to have shifted to include artists such as 'Santa Croce' (B.M.52; **Figure 2.28**), the 'Old German School' (B.M.596, B.M.168; **Figures 4.1-2**), 'Beato Angelico'

⁶⁴¹ Jacob Simon, 'John Peel', *British Picture Restorers, 1600-1950 – P*

<<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/british-picture-restorers-1600-1950-p>> [accessed 18 February 2022]. Simon does not mention Peel's connection with Solly or Bowes.

⁶⁴² For references to them visiting each other see, for example, DRO, D/St/C5/46/13, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 27 January [1843] (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 6**).

⁶⁴³ These paintings are: Cornelis Saftleven, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, c. 1625-81, B.M.197; Frans Snyders, *A Boar Hunt*, c. 1630-40, B.M.88, Bowes Museum.

(B.M.52; **Figure 4.3**), ‘Hemmelinck’ (Hans Memling) (B.M.175; **Figure 4.4**), ‘Francesco Francia’ (B.M.44, B.M.50; **Figure 4.5-6**), and ‘Cesare da Sesto’ (B.M.42; **Figure 4.7**) – pictures which pre-dated, or dated to, the turn of the fifteenth century as well as being by obscure artists who were only just beginning to be known in Britain.⁶⁴⁴ In the *Burlington Magazine* in 1952, the art historian Ellis Waterhouse (1905-1985) first gestured to Solly’s potential influence over these strikingly unusual directions in Bowes’s picture collecting, a perceptive summary which is worth quoting at length,

It is difficult to divine what may have been the bent of taste of the founders of the Bowes Museum from the 900-odd pictures which they accumulated. It may be that they sought advice, and from different people, in the course of their collecting career. A clue to this perhaps lurks in the remarkable and unorthodox taste shown in what must be some of John Bowes’s earliest purchases. In 1840 the ‘Gallery of His Royal Highness the Duke of Lucca’ was imported into England. [Six] lots were bought at that sale in the name of ‘Solly’ [... some of the] chief masterpieces in the collection – lot 2, *A Miracle of the Holy Sacrament*, described as by Angelico; and lots 37-9, described as of the ‘Ancient German school’ [...] It may be that Bowes’s adviser on this occasion was that Mr Edward Solly.⁶⁴⁵

From research undertaken for this thesis, it is possible to confirm that Waterhouse’s supposition – that Solly influenced the direction of Bowes’s tastes towards early European paintings – was correct, though he certainly did not account for the complexity of Solly’s art market activities.

⁶⁴⁴ These paintings are: Attributed to Girolamo da Santacroce, *The Presentation in the Temple*, c. 1500-56, B.M.48; Circle of St Gudula Master, *St Jerome and the Lion*, c. 1475-99, B.M.596; Master of the Virgo Inter Virgines, *Crucifixion*, c. 1490s, B.M.168; Sassetta, *A Miracle of the Eucharist*, c. 1423-26, B.M.52; Attributed to Circle of Ambrosius Benson, *Pietà and the Two Maries*, c. 1519-50, B.M.175; Girolamo Marchesi, *Saint Catherine*, c. 1495-1550, B.M.44; After Francesco Francia, *Madonna and Child*, possibly sixteenth century, B.M.50; Andrea Solario, *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness*, c. 1510-15, B.M.42, Bowes Museum.

⁶⁴⁵ Waterhouse, ‘Some Old Masters’, p. 120.

More specifically, the interrogation of Solly's picture trade networks in this chapter encourages a fuller understanding of Bowes's heretofore unexplained turn towards works of the earlier European schools and lesser-known northern Italian painters. Nothing substantial has been written before on Solly's art market networks once back in England, and certainly not on the nature of the influence of these networks on Bowes's first picture collection.⁶⁴⁶ As this chapter will demonstrate, Solly built and consolidated highly efficient networks between London, County Durham, northern Italy, and Berlin, through which knowledge was shared and paintings travelled. The new research carried out for this thesis shows that these networks were also peopled by diverse art market actors: from politicians, picture liners, and restorers in England, to itinerant agents, dealers, and professors at the Italian art academies in cities such as Bologna – many of whom embodied multifarious art market identities as dealers much like Solly. Importantly, Solly was but one agent in a wider network of art market actors who likewise are hard to find traces of within the historical record, though their influence can be felt in the direction that Bowes's first picture collection took, as will be seen.

Though Solly died in 1844, as late as the 1860s, Bowes's stepfather, William Hutt, was making enquiries on Bowes's behalf about 'a successor' to Solly as well as to Peel, who had died in 1858.⁶⁴⁷ It is not clear whom Hutt chose as Peel's successor in 1861, merely that he had 'marked down the best man in London for cleaning and arranging pictures & the cheapest' – the promised trade card is now missing from the archive.⁶⁴⁸ In 1861, Hutt recommended to Bowes the Neapolitan portraitist Spiridione Gambardella (c. 1815-1886), then working in Britain, to review his latest purchases as Solly presumably would have once done: '[Gambardella]

⁶⁴⁶ See brief references in Herrmann, 'Who was Solly?' (September 1968), p. 16; Waterhouse, 'Some Old Masters', p. 120; Hardy, pp. 139-40.

⁶⁴⁷ DRO, D/St/C5/143/4, Letter from William Hutt to John Bowes, [n. d.] 1861.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid.

possesses great pikcher lore as well as professional ability'.⁶⁴⁹ Notably the word 'pikcher' was, as Hutt and Bowes recalled, what 'poor Solly used to call it'.⁶⁵⁰ These nostalgic comments from Bowes and Hutt help to introduce some of the services that Solly and Peel – and their wider networks – would have provided in relation to acquiring, advising on, shaping, and organising Bowes's first picture collection. Importantly, the focus on Solly's transnational and domestic art market networks allows this chapter to decentralise and move away from an idea of Bowes as the 'figurehead' of the collection.

Art Market Networks

This chapter interrogates a period during which picture trade networks were being actively and strategically expanded and consolidated by British dealers and agents, a context in which Solly's networks form a representative example. As Julia Armstrong-Totten observed of the dealer John Smith's (1781-1855) networks:

as these markets grew and expanded and collecting became more popular across different levels of society, networking could provide a variety of advantages for art dealers. The opportunities could manifest themselves in several ways, through introductions, referrals and partnerships, for example – these were all-important components when conducting business, especially for dealers trading internationally.⁶⁵¹

Susanna Avery-Quash also provides an important reminder that, 'the early nineteenth-century Old Master market was not based on large corporate firms with branches in numerous countries, but [...] developed through private initiative', with multifarious agents 'utilizing networks of professional friendly contacts' across Western Europe to import and export art.⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁰ DRO, D/St/C5/95/63, Letter from William Hutt to John Bowes, [n. d.] August 1862.

⁶⁵¹ Armstrong-Totten, 'Selling Old Masters', p. 72.

⁶⁵² Avery-Quash, 'A Network of Agents', p. 83.

Transnational dealer networks were not in themselves a new development by the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century, Parisian dealers such as Edmé-François Gersaint (1694-1750) and, later, Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun (1748-1813) had developed strategic arbitrage systems where they ‘bought low’ in northern Europe – at auctions in Amsterdam, for example – and afterwards sold the same paintings for higher prices, first in Paris and, afterwards, in London.⁶⁵³ Yet, as this chapter examines, by the second quarter of the nineteenth century, in the aftermath of the Napoleonic upheavals, further countries such as Italy had become particularly attractive terrain for picture-hunting dealers, and notably new – and previously more obscure – locations there such as Bologna (as opposed to Florence or Rome), as will be seen with Solly. The period also saw a gearshift in that dealers such as Solly had by that time successfully consolidated dealer-agent networks which had been in development since the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars. The public art museum was also becoming another actor within these networks by this time.

This chapter looks to the recent return to networks as a focus in scholarship on the art market and histories of collecting. Bruno Latour’s ‘Actor-Network Theory’ (2005) has fed into the return of this focus, though Latour himself does not write in relation to the art market specifically, but the social world more generally.⁶⁵⁴ Yet, Latour’s suggestions regarding how works of art interact with the social are worth quoting here because, as Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel summarised, his approach ‘invites us to think in terms of flows and exchanges’ within the art market.⁶⁵⁵ As Latour observes of the interaction between ‘the viewer’ and of ‘the work of art’,

if you are allowed progressively to influence the quality of the varnish, the procedures of the art market, the puzzles of the narrative programs, the successive taste of

⁶⁵³ Miegroet, Cronheim, and Miyamoto, pp. 51-63.

⁶⁵⁴ Latour.

⁶⁵⁵ Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, ‘Circulation and the Art Market’, *Journal for Art Market Studies*, 1.2 (2017) <<https://doi.org/10.23690/jams.v1i2.13>>.

collectors [...] then the ‘inner’ quality of the work will not diminish but, on the contrary, be reinforced [...] It is counterintuitive to try and distinguish ‘what comes from viewers’ and ‘what comes from the object’ when the obvious response is to ‘go with the flow’ [...] everything interesting happens upstream and downstream. Just follow the flow.⁶⁵⁶

Following Latour’s lead, while this chapter uses the scope of John Bowes’s collection as a parameter for the chapter, it uses Edward Solly and the ‘flows’ of his picture trade networks as a means of tracing the changing critical fortunes of early European paintings ‘upstream’ from Bowes’s collection. As outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, in studies of the art market and histories of collecting, the impact of Latour’s approach has encouraged a move away from collector-focused biographies of collections, and towards more de-centralised, network-based systems whereby diverse actors such as dealers, agents, and works of art themselves can be acknowledged as ‘full-blown mediators’.⁶⁵⁷ As such, art collections and collecting trends can be understood not as fixed and integral phenomena spearheaded by the figure of the collector, but as flexible processes derived from particular flows and contingencies across complex networks.

This chapter layers onto ongoing research at the Bowes Museum and the National Gallery which has employed art market networks as productive analytical tools through which to understand more about the evolution of their respective collections in the mid-nineteenth century. The scope of this research was presented in the Introduction to this thesis. This chapter adds to that scholarship in distinct ways. Firstly, the chapter sheds new light on Solly’s lesser-known British career, and brings together a network of picture trade actors who have never been considered together before. The dealer-agent networks which enabled Bowes’s first

⁶⁵⁶ Latour, p. 237. Interestingly, Latour critiques what he sees as Francis Haskell’s lack of ‘social theory’ in relation to the observations made here, for which see Latour, p. 237, n. 332.

⁶⁵⁷ For quotation see *ibid*, p. 128.

paintings collection have never before been studied. This is in contrast to the later aspects of the collecting cultures of John and Joséphine Bowes, which have been investigated most recently in the doctoral theses of Simon Spier and Lindsay MacNaughton, by Tom Stammers, and earlier by Howard Coutts, Sarah Medlam, and Sarah Kane.⁶⁵⁸ This earlier scholarship was also undertaken largely with a focus on the Bowes Museum's collections of decorative arts and furniture whereas the current chapter – and thesis – focuses on paintings.

According to Spier, the engagement of John and Joséphine Bowes with transnational art and antiques dealers became markedly more structured from around 1858, the time when collecting with the intention of founding the Bowes Museum is perceived to have commenced.⁶⁵⁹ This is a different situation to the one in play when John was amassing his earlier private picture collection. Indeed, this perceived shift is often associated with their purchase in 1859-60 from the Parisian firm, Monbro fils aîné, of the large polychromed and sculpted altarpiece depicting episodes of Christ's passion, then attributed to the school of Albrecht Dürer (W.123; **Figure 4.8**).⁶⁶⁰ In fact, the 'Dürer' altarpiece was not the first early European painting to be purchased through a dealer, but rather confirmed a taste which had already been opened up to John through the art market networks built and consolidated by Solly in the first half of the century.

⁶⁵⁸ Spier; Lindsay MacNaughton, 'Staging and Collecting French History: John and Joséphine Bowes, c. 1845-1885' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 2021). For published accounts of John and Joséphine Bowes as collectors, examined together and as individuals, see *The Allure of Napoleon: Essays Inspired by the Collections of the Bowes Museum*, ed. by Tom Stammers (Barnard Castle: The Bowes Museum, 2017); Margaret Wills and Howard Coutts, 'The Bowes Family of Streatlam Castle and Gibside and its Collections', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 33 (1988), 231-43; Sarah Kane, 'Turning Bibelots into Museum Pieces: Josephine Coffin-Chevallier and the Creation of the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle', *Journal of Design History*, 9.1 (1996), 1-21; Howard Coutts and Sarah Medlam, 'John and Josephine Bowes' Purchases from the International Exhibitions of 1862, 1867 and 1871', *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850 – the Present*, 16 (1992), 50-61.

⁶⁵⁹ Spier, p. 70.

⁶⁶⁰ This painting is: Master of St. Gudule, *Altarpiece of the Passion*, c. 1460-80, W.123 and B.M.1018-23, Bowes Museum. For this purchase see TBM, JB/4/6/4/2, Monbro Bill, March 1860. See also the surviving sale catalogue and entry card to view the sale on 10 December 1859; TBM, JB/5/2/10, *Objets d'Art de Curiosité & d'Ameublement Composant les Riches Magazins de M. Monbro Aîné*, 12-17 December 1859, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, lot 253; JB/5/2/10/1, Carte d'Entrée.

The influence of dealer-agent networks on the collection before 1858 has received little to no critical attention; this chapter fills that important gap.

Information on the Bowes Museum's earlier European paintings is also, perhaps surprisingly, relatively sparse. Many of those pictures have never been catalogued and published in print; the exceptions are the Italian and Spanish paintings which were catalogued in 1970 and 1988, respectively, by Eric Young.⁶⁶¹ Individual pictures such as Sassetta's (active by 1427-d. 1540) *Miracle of the Sacrament* (B.M.52; **Figure 4.3**), acquired through Solly in 1840 as by 'Beato Angelico', have received more scholarly scrutiny linked, in this case, to the rise of an interest in Sienese painting occurring by the end of the nineteenth century in Britain.⁶⁶² As already seen, a selection of the early pictures in the Bowes collection were noted by Waterhouse following their loan to an exhibition in aid of the Bowes Museum at the Agnew dealership's London premises in Old Bond Street in 1952 – the year that Waterhouse was made director of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham.⁶⁶³ Correspondence in the Bowes Museum's painting files shows Waterhouse conducting initial research into the early pictures, namely the triptych by then attributed to Master of the Virgo inter Virgines (active c. 1483-1500) (B.M.168; **Figure**

⁶⁶¹ Bowes first catalogued his painting collection in TBM, JB/6/6/1/1, Picture Catalogue, 1878. For published catalogues of the painting collection see Eric Young, *Catalogue of Spanish Paintings*, 2nd edn (Durham: The Bowes Museum administered by Durham County Council, 1988); Eric Young, *Catalogue of Spanish and Italian Paintings* (Durham: County Council of Durham, 1970). The handbook or guidebook format, rather than the catalogue format, has also been used as an approach in recording the collection. See, for example, Elizabeth Conran and others, *The Bowes Museum* (London: Scala, 1992); Owen Stanley Scott, *Handbook to the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle* (Barnard Castle: W.R. Atkinson, 1893). Thanks to the rise of the digital humanities, digital catalogue entries for many of the Bowes paintings can be found at *The Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://www.vads.ac.uk/digital/search/searchterm/bowes%20museum>> [accessed 17 February 2022].

⁶⁶² Interest in Sassetta increased at the turn of the twentieth century. See, for example, Bernhard Berenson, *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, 2nd edn (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), p. 244. The Bowes Museum's Sassetta was loaned and catalogued as part of the *Exhibition of Pictures of the School of Siena and Examples of the Minor Arts of that City* (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1904). For the most recent commentary on this exhibition and its reception, including observations on the Bowes Museum's loan, see Tedbury, pp. 203-06.

⁶⁶³ Waterhouse, 'Some Old Masters'. For the exhibition and catalogue see 'Loan Exhibition of Pictures from the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. In Aid of the Friends of the Bowes Museum' (Thomas Agnew & Sons, London, 29 October-13 December 1952).

4.2).⁶⁶⁴ By the 1970s, a group of early pictures including Sassetta's *Miracle of the Sacrament* (B.M.52; **Figure 4.3**), the museum's two large altarpieces (B.M.168, **Figure 4.2**; W.123, **Figure 4.8**), a *Madonna Adoring the Christ Child* then attributed to Bastiano Mainardi (1466-1513?) (B.M.40; **Figure 4.9**), and *The Head of Saint John the Baptist* after Dieric Bouts (1400?-75) (B.M.959; **Figure 4.10**), were displayed at the Bowes Museum within a room dedicated to 'Gothic Art' on the first floor, separate from the main picture galleries above on the second floor.⁶⁶⁵ Despite featuring within all the different phases of the Bowes Museum's collecting and display histories, the early pictures have been treated inconsistently in scholarship, and intermittently grouped together at the museum. This chapter will draw fresh attention to them as an important group by investigating them together, especially in terms of their movement through art market networks.

As observed in the Introduction to this thesis, archival material is often grouped around collections and collectors and must be used in creative ways to resituate dealers and agents into a narrative which has frequently become skewed, fragmented, or dislocated. Using Bowes's first picture collection as its focusing lens, the chapter draws on unpublished archival material held in Durham Record Office, the National Gallery's archive, Waltham Forest Archives (Walthamstow being the former home of the Solly family), Staffordshire Record Office, and the central archive of the State Museums in Berlin, a uniting of primary sources which

⁶⁶⁴ See the correspondence preserved in the collection file for B.M.168 at the Bowes Museum. For example, a letter from Ellis Waterhouse to Thomas Wake (curator), 29 April 1953. The letter is requesting photographs of the reverse of B.M.168 to aid Waterhouse with research into the history of the picture.

⁶⁶⁵ These latter paintings are: Attributed to Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Madonna Adoring the Child*, c. 1465-1500, B.M.40; Attributed to after Dieric Bouts, *The Head of Saint John the Baptist on a Gold Dish*, c. 1600-50, B.M.959, Bowes Museum. For the layout see former Museum guidebooks such as Frank Atkinson and David Garlick, *The Bowes Museum* (Norwich: Jarrold & sons, 1970).

compensates for the absence of material relating to key dealers such as Solly in the Bowes Museum's own archive – an absence discussed in the Introduction to this thesis.⁶⁶⁶

Edward Solly in Britain

Solly was the tenth of fourteen children, born to Isaac (1724-1802) and Elizabeth (née Neal; 1741-1819) Solly in 1876 in Walthamstow, London.⁶⁶⁷ His father was a successful merchant in the Baltic timber trade and Edward's elder brother – also Isaac (1769-1853) – took over the family business. Isaac junior was also chairman of the London Dock Company, of the London Birmingham Railway Company, and of the British and American Steam Navigation Company. It is no surprise that early in life Edward Solly was also initiated into these transnational trade networks. At fifteen, he was sent by his family to Gdańsk, Poland (then part of Prussia) to gain experience in business. In 1800, he commenced in earnest as a merchant of timber, corn, tallow, and flax, with a large fleet of ships – the pursuit of which career later brought him to Berlin. It was in Berlin – equipped with the skills, experience, networks, and finances garnered through his mercantile trade – that Solly turned his attention to collecting and picture dealing, benefitting from the influx of works of art into that city, particularly from Italy, in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars.

Most recently, Robert Skwirbli has redressed the Berlin-based portion of Solly's dealing career, building on the scholarship of Frank Herrmann.⁶⁶⁸ Together, these scholars have mapped the formation, display, purchase, and restoration of Solly's first painting collection in

⁶⁶⁶ DRO, D/St/C5, Strathmore Papers, John Bowes Correspondence; NGA, NG/5-6, Letter Books; Walthamstow, Waltham Forest Archives (WFA), W96 SOL, Misc Solly Family Correspondence and Papers (Copies); Stafford, Staffordshire Record Office (SRO), The Sutherland Papers; ZA, I/GG 165, I/GG 166, *Erwerbung von Gemälden in Frankreich, Spanien und England*, Akten des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums, Teil II; TBM, TBM/8, Collections Management.

⁶⁶⁷ For biographical information, particularly on Edward Solly's early life see Herrmann, 'Who was Solly?' (April 1967). See generally WFA, W96 SOL, Letters, Family Papers and Research Notes Concerning the Solly Family. See, for example, W96 SOL 2/5, 8198, 'An Account of the Life of Edward Solly', pp. 1-13. For Skwirbli's wider scholarship, see above at n. 30.

⁶⁶⁸ See above at n. 30.

Berlin. Comprising over three thousand paintings, the collection was amassed between around 1815 and 1821 through a network of transnational agents and advisors.⁶⁶⁹ Following convoluted negotiations, Solly's collection was bought by the Prussian State between 1819 and 1821, which ultimately became the foundation of Berlin's Royal Museum by 1830. What is striking about Solly's first painting collection in Berlin was the proportion of pictures which belonged to the earlier European schools of painting – a collecting direction which would later be imitated in Bowes's first painting collection. As the German painter Gustav Carus (1789-1869) observed of Solly's collection as early as 1825:

[it] will undoubtedly be of the greatest importance for early art history. Much from that period may be poor and thin, badly drawn and often downright ugly in general [...] but one needs to know the unprepossessing seed if one wishes to fully understand the flower.⁶⁷⁰

As Skwirbliès has demonstrated, Solly's collecting patterns had shifted towards earlier paintings from 1817 after negotiations for the acquisition of the Boisserée collection of early northern European paintings by the Prussian state had failed.⁶⁷¹ After this time, Solly was engaged unofficially as a 'middleman' – to use Skwirbliès's nomenclature – by proponents of the future Royal Museum, including architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841) and art historian and archaeologist Aloys Hirt (1759-1837).⁶⁷² Their aim was 'to obtain exactly this type of [early] painting for the future museum' and, as a private individual, Solly provided the finances, flexibility, and networks that 'enabled him to grasp opportunities for buying that

⁶⁶⁹ Skwirbliès, 'Edward Solly, Felice Cartoni and Their Purchases of Paintings', pp. 74-84.

⁶⁷⁰ Skwirbliès, 'Edward Solly's 'Stock of Paintings'', pp. 32, 37, n. 139.

⁶⁷¹ See above at n. 347. Borchert, 'Collecting Early Netherlandish Paintings', pp. 181-87; Jenny Graham, pp. 58-61; Campbell, *The Early Flemish Pictures*, p. xlvii.

⁶⁷² Skwirbliès, 'Edward Solly's 'Stock of Paintings'', p. 20.

government agencies, hampered by a lack of funds and bureaucratic decision-making' did not have.⁶⁷³

Far less has hitherto been published with regard to Solly's career and networks after he returned to his native England from around 1819 (intermittently at first) – and thus it is the British period of his dealing activities on which this chapter focuses, namely in connection with Solly's work for John Bowes. A brief outline of those activities is useful here. In England, Solly retained his transnational networks comprised of dealers, agents, connoisseurs, scholars, and museum professionals.⁶⁷⁴ In 1830, Solly exchanged seven paintings acquired 'on the art trade' with the Berlin Museum's collection.⁶⁷⁵ The German art historian and director of Berlin's Royal Museum, Gustav Waagen, stayed with Solly and his second wife Auguste (née Krüger; 1797-1877) during his visit to England in 1835. Waagen recorded his experience as Solly's guest at his house, then at 7 Curzon Street, London, in his pioneering survey of important British public and private art collections: *Works of Art and Artists in Great Britain* (1838).⁶⁷⁶ As Waagen noted, 'I am more and more convinced how conveniently the house of Mr Solly is situated for the pursuit of my studies', Curzon Street being close to many notable public and private collections of art.⁶⁷⁷ Transnational guests at Solly's house during Waagen's stay included the German historian Friedrich Ludwig Georg von Raumer (1781-1873) and the Belgian ambassador Jean-Sylvain van de Weyer (1802-1874), who 'with very active mind expressed a lively interest in the history of painting in his own country'.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷³ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 23.

⁶⁷⁵ ZA, I/GG/165, List of Paintings, 1 May 1830, fol. 35. For the exchange see Robert Skwirbli and others, 'Catalogue', in *The Solly Collection*, ed. by Skwirbli and others, pp. 50-123 (p. 110); Herrmann, 'Who was Solly?' (May 1967), p. 14.

⁶⁷⁶ Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists*, I, pp. xiii, 13-17, 23, 43, 127-28, 242-43. For a detailed overview of Solly's collection of works 'from the time of Raphael' see Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists*, II, pp. 186-94.

⁶⁷⁷ Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists*, I, p. 23.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 243.

By the time of Waagen's visit, Solly was firmly embedded within art world networks in Britain. He seems to have strengthened his reputation as an art collector, just one aspect in the matrix of Solly's art world identity, as explored in this chapter's opening discussion. He was a Life Governor of the British Institution from 1827 until his death, an accolade available to subscribers of over one hundred guineas; it also appears his brother Samuel (1774-1847) had in fact been involved in its foundation.⁶⁷⁹ The Institution was a private society founded by a group of aristocratic collectors and politicians in 1805 at 52 Pall Mall, the site of the former Shakespeare Gallery.⁶⁸⁰ It organised two temporary exhibitions a year, which alternated between showing works by living artists and those by historic Old Masters, the loans all borrowed from private collectors who were members or directors of the British Institution. Solly's membership of the Institution would have permitted him to access the morning and evening views of the exhibitions and also afforded him the privilege of bringing along two friends.⁶⁸¹

Solly amassed a personal art collection of 'paintings of the Raffaele period'.⁶⁸² He displayed these collections at his London houses, 7 Curzon Street until 1837 and, subsequently, at 38 Bedford Row.⁶⁸³ This collection was seen and admired in situ by Waagen during his visit mentioned above:

⁶⁷⁹ Herrmann, 'Who was Solly?' (April 1967), p. 232. Solly appears in the 'List of Governors' in British Institution catalogues from 1827. [British Institution], *Catalogue of His Majesty's Collection of Pictures from Carlton House Palace* (London: William Nichol, 1827), p. 6. Prior to that an 'Edmund Solly, Esq.' was listed, perhaps in error.

⁶⁸⁰ Jonathan Conlin, *The Nation's Mantelpiece: A History of the National Gallery* (London: Pallas Athene, 2006), pp. 40-43.

⁶⁸¹ The benefits are outlined in the front pages of each of the British Institution's catalogues.

⁶⁸² [Edward Solly senior], *A Descriptive Catalogue of Some Paintings of the Raffaele Period in the Collection of E. S. No. 7, Curzon Street, May Fair* (London: J. Davy, 1834).

⁶⁸³ As shown by directories of the period, Solly also occupied 48 Upper Gower Street, though it has been suggested that he moved there in the last months of his life to be with his brother, Samuel. For this information see WFA, W96 SOL 2/5, 8198, 'An Account of the Life of Edward Solly', p. 1. The dates that Solly occupied these different properties are not entirely clear, and it appears that the houses may have moved between family members in quite a fluid way. In directories, Edward Solly junior

in the drawing-room, I saw myself surrounded by excellent Italian pictures, of the time of Raphael, and was therefore in the sanctuary of the arts [...] the dining-room was ornamented in the same manner; so that at my first English dinner [...] I now and then turned my eyes to the walls.⁶⁸⁴

Likewise the early and obscure Italian pictures made a striking impression on Solly's nephew, Nathaniel Solly (1811-1895), who recorded in his diary:

I recollect in the early part of 1821 going with my father and mother to stay at my Uncle Edward's house in Curzon Street Mayfair No. 7 where his rooms were adorned with fine old Italian paintings which made a great impression on my youthful imagination many years after this.⁶⁸⁵

Nathaniel Solly would have seen hanging in the hallway, for example, Carlo Crivelli's (c. 1430/5-1494) *The Annunciation, with Saint Emidius* (NG739; **Figure 4.11**), later acquired into the National Gallery's collection in 1864; it was surely rather impressive at over two metres high and nearly a metre and a half wide, and just one of five large works hanging in that single space.⁶⁸⁶ It was this collection of the Italian school which was, unsuccessfully, offered by Solly to the Berlin Royal Museum in 1834 and later to the National Gallery, London, in 1844.⁶⁸⁷ It was posthumously offered for sale to the National Gallery, London, in 1846 and then

also appears at Curzon Street and Bedford Row. Edward Solly senior had certainly moved away from 7 Curzon Street by 1837 – and onto 38 Bedford Row – because, at his sale at Foster's auction house that year, he was described as 'late of Curzon Street'. See, for example, the advert for the sale in 'Advertisements', in *The Athenaeum: Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts, from January to December 1837* (London: J. Francis, 1837), pp. 292-96 (p. 292). For the collection at Bedford Row see ZA, IG/GG/166, letter and catalogue from Auguste Solly, 1 December 1845, fols 261^r-67^r. Solly's letters to John Bowes during the 1840s in the DRO are also addressed from Bedford Row.

⁶⁸⁴ Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists*, I, pp. 14-15.

⁶⁸⁵ Quotation from WFA, W96 SOL 2/2, 8198, Unpublished Notebook on the 'Solly Family' Compiled by Nathaniel Neal Solly (photocopy), 7 April 1870, fols 36-37.

⁶⁸⁶ [Solly senior], *A Descriptive Catalogue of Some Paintings of the Raffaele Period*, n. 26.

⁶⁸⁷ [Solly senior], *A Descriptive Catalogue of Some Paintings of the Raffaele Period*. For a copy of this catalogue and related correspondence see ZA, IG/GG/165, fols 62-66. See a further letter that

to Berlin again between 1846-47 by Solly's wife Auguste and the picture liner (and, to be seen, Solly's collaborator) John Peel; neither institution responded positively so the collection was auctioned in London in 1847.⁶⁸⁸

Significantly though, Solly dealt in Old Master paintings for profit on the auction circuit in Britain from 1819 until the end of his life, with over 1400 entries linked to Solly as a buyer or seller in British sale records on the Getty Provenance Index, as mentioned.⁶⁸⁹ He was the main seller at four key auction sales: at Foster's auction house at 54 Pall Mall, London, on 18-21 January 1832, 21-22 March 1834, and 31 May 1837 and (posthumously) at Christie's auction house, 8 King Street, on 8 May 1847 (the sale mentioned above).⁶⁹⁰ It is worth observing that Solly perceived his personal painting collection 'of the Raffaele period' differently from his dealer's stock. This is clearly evidenced in a letter written from Solly to Waagen in 1829:

I am surrounded by a dozen large pictures in my drawing room and without – I could not be; but I am alone here in my love of art, as I regard the Dutch school like merchandise, and if I must have to do with it, it is only to provide means for satisfying the actual favourite occupation.⁶⁹¹

appears to be linked to this offer: ZA, IG/GG/166, Letter from Edward Solly to [unknown], 10 October [n. d.], fol. 291^r. See also NGA, NG6/1/351, Letter book entry, 5 June 1844.

⁶⁸⁸ For the approaches to Berlin see, ZA, IG/GG/166, fols 261^r-93^r. Of particular note are the letter and catalogue from Auguste Solly, 1 December 1845, fols 261^r-67^r; assessments of the Solly collection by Jakob Schlesinger and Gustav Waagen, 23 February 1846, fols 268^r-72^v; letter and catalogue from the picture liner John Peel, 4 September 1847, fols 308^r-15^r. See also Skwirblies, 'Edward Solly's 'Stock of Paintings'', p. 36, n. 87. For the National Gallery see NGA, NG6/1/436, Letter from trustees to the Treasury, 7 July 1846; NG5/63/1, Letter from the Treasury to trustees, 25 July 1846.

⁶⁸⁹ The results of a search conducted for 'Solly' as buyer or seller on the GPI [accessed 22 October 2022].

⁶⁹⁰ Foster's, London, 18-21 January 1832, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-3829; Foster's, London, 21-22 March 1834, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-4240; Foster's, London, 31 May 1837, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-4757; Christie's, London, 8 May 1847, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-5777 [accessed 27 February 2023].

⁶⁹¹ Quoted in Skwirblies, 'Edward Solly's 'Stock of Paintings'', pp. 16, 35, n. 40.

Solly's trading of Dutch pictures in this mercantile manner is corroborated by British auction records and what is known of British taste at the time, as explored in the previous chapter.⁶⁹² Certainly, Dutch pictures comprised the majority of those works put up for auction by Solly in 1834 and 1837, on the eve of the failure of Isaac Solly and Sons, and the bankruptcy of Isaac Solly (the younger).⁶⁹³ In fact, alongside works by early and obscure artists, to be discussed, Solly certainly sold later Dutch pictures to Bowes, presumably for relatively easy gain, including *View on the Rhine* (in 1840) attributed to 'Saftleven' (likely B.M.183), the *Landscape with River* attributed to 'Van der Meer' (in 1841) (likely B.M.789), and two portraits – one 'male' (B.M.103), one 'female' – attributed to 'Van der Helst' (in 1842) (**Appendix 3.1**).⁶⁹⁴ These particular Dutch works which entered Bowes's first picture collection may well have been left over in Solly's lingering stock of Dutch paintings which he had not been able to sell at auction.⁶⁹⁵ As this chapter will show, while Solly's presence as a dealer looms large in the Getty Provenance Index, this does not take into account that he was also active as a dealer in the picture trade in ways beyond the auction room. His role as an agent, middleman, and advisor for Bowes allows us to interrogate this lacuna.

Networks of Art and Trade: Solly, Bowes, Hutt, and Peel

As introduced in the opening discussion of this chapter, Solly's hybrid identity as a dealer was born from a matrix which saw business- and art-world interests coalesce. In fact, it was Solly's

⁶⁹² See above at pp. 120-21.

⁶⁹³ For the failure see WFA, W96 SOL 2/5, 8198, 'An Account of the Life of Edward Solly', p. 1.

⁶⁹⁴ These paintings appear to be: Herman Saftleven II, *View on the Rhine*, 1672, B.M.183; Attributed to Johann van der Meer, *Landscape with River*, possibly c. 1671-92, B.M.789; Attributed to Circle of Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Portrait of a Man in Black*, possibly c. 1628-70, B.M.103, Bowes Museum. It is as yet unclear which portrait constitutes the 'female' pendant.

⁶⁹⁵ For the Saftleven, possible candidates are: Christie's, London, 18-19 Feb 1820, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-1893, lot 92; Christie's, London, 14-15 May 1823, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-2445, lot 95; Stanley's auction house, London, 19 March 1825, GPI, Sale Catalogue Br-2675, lot 61; Christie's, London, 4 July 1840, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-5185, lot 44. For the Van der Meer, a possible candidate could be: Christie's, London, 7-8 June 1819, GPI, Sale Catalogue Br-1817, lot 31. For the Van der Helst, a possible candidate could be: Foster's, London, 3 May 1836, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-4600, lot 40 [accessed 27 February 2023].

art world networks combined with his business and trade networks that put this dealer into Bowes's sphere in the first place – via his stepfather, the liberal MP William Hutt. As well as being a prominent dealer and collector in Berlin and in London, Solly was an experienced merchant within Isaac Solly & Sons, which allowed him to insert himself into influential business networks abroad and at home. He harboured many government connections related to the British Board of Trade. These connections importantly put Solly in touch with Bowes's stepfather Hutt, who himself was a supporter of free trade, and engaged in commercial and colonial matters which, among them, included supporting the interests of ship owners like Solly.⁶⁹⁶ Hutt was later appointed Paymaster-General and Vice-President of the Board of Trade from 1860. As Armstrong-Totten has explained, 'introductions' and 'referrals' were 'all-important components' for dealers when conducting their business, and Solly's introduction to Bowes must have come through Hutt.⁶⁹⁷

It is useful to introduce Bowes briefly here. The only son of 10th Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne (1769-1820), John Bowes failed to inherit his family's ancestral title and associated Scottish estates following a lengthy legitimacy case after his father's death which questioned whether his parents had been lawfully married at the time of his birth.⁶⁹⁸ He did, however, retain the name of Bowes and the 10th Earl's English possessions, including Streatlam Castle and Gibside Hall, both in County Durham, and where his first picture collections predominantly hung. Hutt was Bowes's former tutor and, having married Bowes's then widowed mother, was granted Gibside as a grace-and-favour residence. In addition to a life-long passion for horseracing and dedicating much energy to the management of his highly lucrative collieries and the coal trade in the north of England, Bowes was first elected as Liberal MP for South

⁶⁹⁶ George Clement Boarse and Henry Colin Gray Matthew, 'Sir William Hutt', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004-2021) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14296>>.

⁶⁹⁷ Armstrong-Totten, 'Selling Old Masters', p. 72.

⁶⁹⁸ For what remains the most comprehensive biography of John Bowes, though referencing is sparse, see Hardy.

Durham in 1832 – following his time at Trinity College, Cambridge. In post-Napoleonic Britain, undergoing significant changes across the board, as characterised by the 1832 Reform Act, in many ways Bowes was obliged to embody a ‘more fluid and hybridized ruling class based initially on the ownership of landed property’ rather than noble titles.⁶⁹⁹ Through his business activities, and along with Solly and Hutt, Bowes overlapped with an expanding commercial elite which sought to express their identity and power and gain social standing through the mechanisms of the cultural field. Yet, unlike the businessmen collectors examined by Dianne Sachko Macleod, who tended to purchase early-Victorian narrative paintings and Pre-Raphaelite pictures, Bowes started out by amassing Old Masters rather than contemporary paintings (with a few exceptions), thus emulating a more aristocratic type of collection which suited his, albeit compromised, Strathmore ancestry.⁷⁰⁰ As such, as Spier has summarised, Bowes ‘crafted himself a new identity aligned to but separate from his long aristocratic ancestry’.⁷⁰¹

Like Bowes and Hutt, who were actively engaged in politics, business, and trade, rarely acknowledged in studies of Solly by art historians and art market scholars is the fact that this dealer was also an active political economist, an advocate of free trade, and a correspondent of the contemporary political economist David Ricardo (1772-1823).⁷⁰² In 1821, the year that the Political Economy Club was founded in England, Solly’s English translation of his paper on

⁶⁹⁹ Peter Mandler, ‘Caste or Class? – The Social and Political Identity of the British Aristocracy Since 1800’, in *What Makes the Nobility Noble?: Comparative Perspectives from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Jörn Leonhard and Christian Wieland (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2011), pp. 178-87 (p. 178).

⁷⁰⁰ See Macleod. Later, in Paris, Bowes did acquire contemporary French works when collecting with the museum in mind.

⁷⁰¹ Spier, p. 19.

⁷⁰² An exception is Herrmann, ‘Who was Solly?’ (April 1967), p. 232. For correspondence between David Ricardo and Edward Solly see Arnold Heertje, ‘Life and Activities’, in *The Elgar Companion to David Ricardo*, ed. by Heinz D. Kurz and Neri Salvadori (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2015), pp. 264–72 (p. 268); Arnold Heertje, ‘An Unpublished Letter by David Ricardo’, *History of Political Economy*, 39.3 (2007), 545–50.

Considerations on Political Economy (penned in Berlin in 1814) was published.⁷⁰³ He also gave direct advice or his name was invoked on thirteen different occasions between 1821 and 1843 during debates held at Parliament on the Agricultural Distress Report (1822), the protectionist measures of the Corn Laws, and timber duties.⁷⁰⁴ Episodes such as the so-called Peel's Bill of 1819, which saw a phased return of British currency to the gold standard and seen by many to risk deflation, prompted widespread tracts on political economy. Solly published his observations on the bill in 1823, along with *The Present Distress in Relation to the Theory of Money* in 1830.⁷⁰⁵

Through his son (from his second marriage), the chemist, antiquarian, and agronomist Edward Solly junior (1819-1886) – a contemporary of Michael Faraday (1791-1867) – Solly senior also attended lectures at the Horticultural Society and the Royal Institution in London, events to which he invited Waagen in 1835 and would later invite Bowes, who was also a subscriber to the former society.⁷⁰⁶ In fact, Solly used his connection with Bowes to secure a job for Solly

⁷⁰³ Edward Solly senior, *Considerations on Political Economy*, trans. by Thomas Wilkinson (London: J. M. Richardson, 1821).

⁷⁰⁴ This is corroborated by a survey of Hansard's online archive. See, for example, 'Timber Duties – Petition from New Brunswick in Favour Of', *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 9 February 1821, vol. 4, col. 547 <<https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1821-02-09/debates/2d656c8b-0a0b-410a-88b6-79153d757484/TimberDuties%E2%80%94PetitionFromNewBrunswickInFavourOf?highlight=solly#contribution-72cab252-2f39-4843-8c0d-4e8ed189a14c>> [accessed 18 February 2022]; 'Agricultural Distress Report', *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 9 May 1822, vol. 7, col. 459 <<https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1822-05-09/debates/bc58ada1-5e61-47e9-9c59-3ec238c55ad0/AgriculturalDistressReport?highlight=solly#contribution-ae36f380-17ea-4954-8daa-18c2cea5e0b8>> [accessed 18 February 2022].

⁷⁰⁵ Edward Solly senior, *The Present Distress in Relation to the Theory of Money* (London: James Ridgway, 1830); Edward Solly senior, *Remarks on the Policy of Repealing Mr Peel's Bill* (London: James Ridgway, 1823).

⁷⁰⁶ For a biography of Edward Solly junior see Grenville Arthur James Cole and V. E. Chancellor, 'Solly, Edward', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004-15) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25988>>. There is no evidence to suggest that Gustav Waagen and John Bowes ever met. Waagen did not visit Gibside or Streatlam in his tours of England. For Edward Solly senior taking Waagen to a lecture see Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists*, I, pp. 15-16. For Solly's references to lectures in correspondence to John Bowes see DRO, D/St/C5/38/23, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 18 January 1842 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 3**); D/St/C5/38/80, 4 April 1842 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 4**).

junior in investigating the commercial potential of the ironstone found on Bowes's extensive coal mining holdings.⁷⁰⁷ Evidently, Bowes, Hutt, and the Sollys were bound together as much through business, trade, and social connections, as art world networks.

By the mid-1830s, Solly was of a sufficiently advanced social standing in art and business to advise in contexts where matters of art were being debated on the national stage. Solly was likely introduced to Bowes through Hutt who was one of the MPs on the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures (1835-36) at which Solly was an invited witness on 12 July 1836 – alongside other art dealers and members of 'the trade'.⁷⁰⁸ This was also probably the occasion where Solly – and Hutt – met, or strengthened their contact with, the esteemed picture liner and restorer John Peel, who was a witness on the same day as Solly and who, as will be seen, would constitute an important and systematic part of the network through which Bowes's collection was formed. The importance of the Select Committee as a network hub is confirmed by correspondence to Bowes in the 1840s which reveals that Solly was still in touch – at least on agricultural matters – with other MPs from this Select Committee such as the agriculturalist and MP Philip Pusey (1799-1855).⁷⁰⁹ While Hutt, in his capacity as an MP on the Committee, was not in attendance on the days when Solly gave evidence, Hutt was engaged with the overall proceedings and subsequent report, not least because of his own personal investment in state-supported art and design during the time he knew Solly. Hutt was an active supporter of the North of England Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts from the 1840s, and in 1853 was

⁷⁰⁷ DRO, D/St/C5/29/117, Letter from William Hutt to John Bowes, 15 October 1840; D/St/C5/29/118, 18 October 1840. See also letters from Edward Solly junior to John Bowes, DRO, D/St/C5/30/22, [?] October 1840; D/St/C5/30/31, 5 November 1840; D/St/C5/30/36, 11 November 1840; D/St/C5/30/37, 13 November 1840; D/St/C5/30/41, 19 November 1840; D/St/C5/30/42, 23 November 1840; D/St/C5/30/43, 28 November 1840; D/St/C5/30/47, 18 December 1840 [date answered]; D/St/C5/38/3, 29 December 1840.

⁷⁰⁸ *Select Committee*, 1836, II, pp. 146-50.

⁷⁰⁹ DRO, D/St/C5/38/80, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 4 April 1842 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 4**).

made a Vice-President of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.⁷¹⁰ He was also a patron of Newcastle's Polytechnic Exhibition in both 1840 (along with Bowes) and 1848, an enterprise which exhibited many Old Master pictures (**Figure 4.12**) – though none were lent from Bowes and Hutt.⁷¹¹ Ultimately, what these facts demonstrate is that Hutt and Bowes's introductions to and engagement with Solly – and the picture liner Peel – were borne from art and trade networks which, in turn, were intimately bound up with notions of a political economy of art.⁷¹²

At the Select Committee of 1835-36, the shortcomings of not having strategic and systemised networks through which to acquire pictures were being realised. Then keeper of the National Gallery, the dealer William Segquier, was criticised for both his and the trustees' lack of picture trade networks on the Continent. Evidently, there were at the time no systematic networks or mechanisms in place for identifying pictures coming up for sale there. Although Segquier noted of the trustees, 'I believe they know of everything offered for sale, whether in this country or abroad', he could not say how that knowledge came about, admitting: 'I do not know that they have any particular communication'.⁷¹³ By contrast, well-connected and well-travelled dealers such as Solly and Samuel Woodburn, both present as witnesses, represented a new type of

⁷¹⁰ *Local Collections; or Records of Remarkable Events Connected with the Borough of Gateshead* (Gateshead-on-Tyne: William Douglas, 1843), p. 201; 'List of Members', in *Journal of the Society of Arts and of the Institutions in Union* (London: George Bell, 1854), II, pp. i-xv (pp. i, viii).

⁷¹¹ John Bowes was entreated, unsuccessfully, by the 1840 committee to loan some manuscripts. See DRO, D/St/C5/29/34, Letter from William Hutt to John Bowes, 22 Feb 1840. See *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures and Practical Science at Newcastle upon Tyne* (Newcastle: J. Blackwell, 1840) [not paginated]; *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures, and Practical Science at Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (Newcastle: J. Blackwell, 1848), p. 3; *Companion to the Catalogue Being a Guide to the Principal Objects of Interest in the Various Departments of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Polytechnic Exhibition, 1848* (Gateshead: William Douglas, 1848), pp. 10-12. Copies are held in Newcastle, Lit & Phil Library.

⁷¹² Julie F. Codell, 'Introduction: Political Economy and the Nation of Culture', in *The Political Economy of Art: Making the Nation of Culture*, ed. by Julie F. Codell (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008), pp. 13-26; Julie F. Codell, 'From Culture to Capital: Victorian Artists, John Ruskin, and the Political Economy of Art', in *The Political Economy of Art*, ed. by Codell, pp. 27-39.

⁷¹³ *Select Committee*, 1836, II, p. 129.

dealer who had built up domestic and transnational networks, and had experience of working across different countries – as their testimonies demonstrated. As outlined in this chapter’s opening discussion, Solly explained how he had assembled his first painting collection in Berlin with the assistance and advice of his own ‘selection committee’: a transnational network of agents, advisors, dealers, and friends who were ‘principal connoisseurs and professors of the art’ and who had given him ‘a rare practical experience’.⁷¹⁴ Hutt, and Bowes, would have thus been well aware of Solly’s art market networks from this time.

While it was networks of art and trade which brought Solly into Bowes’s orbit, we cannot ignore the fact that Solly had garnered some celebrity in England. As Pomian has observed, in this period when dealers were becoming charged with helping to form collections, a collector’s choice of a particular dealer to be an agent and advisor could be a form of self-advertisement – and this may well have been the case with Bowes’s choice of Solly.⁷¹⁵ In 1813, after the Battle of Leipzig, which saw Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) defeated, Solly – then in Germany – had obtained leave from the British Minister to Prussia to race to London with the news, reaching London allegedly twenty-four hours before the official messenger. Solly’s achievements were documented in the pages of contemporary newspapers, while his presence on the battlefield was commemorated on an inscribed presentation sabre (sold in 2015 at Bonhams auction house, London, as part of their ‘Waterloo Sale’) which Solly had presented to his compatriot, Captain Thomas Noel Harris (1773-1860).⁷¹⁶ As Stammers and

⁷¹⁴ Ibid, p. 146. See also Skwirbli, ‘Edward Solly’s ‘Stock of Paintings’’, pp. 22, 36, n. 80; Herrmann, ‘Peel and Solly’, pp. 93-94.

⁷¹⁵ Pomian, p. 157.

⁷¹⁶ News of Solly’s achievements spread around the British Empire, including in the following newspaper published in Kingston, Jamaica. ‘Leipsic Stormed’, *The Gleaner*, 14 January 1814, p. 1. See also D. H. Tomback, ‘The Sword of Lieutenant Colonel Sir Thomas Noel Harris K.h.’, *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 65.261 (1987), 20-22. Tomback could write ‘despite exhaustive investigations, the identity of Edward Solly remains a mystery’, testimony to Solly’s somewhat surprising obscurity in the historical record, for which see Tomback, p. 21.

MacNaughton have explored, the Bowes were fascinated by the ‘allure of Napoleon’ and it would not be a stretch to argue that, for John, Solly represented a piece of living history, straight from the Napoleonic battlefields.⁷¹⁷ When Bowes visited Brussels in 1829-30, a few years before he met Solly, Bowes had seen the Waterloo Battlefield and visited the house of Charlotte Lennox, Duchess of Richmond (1768-1842), the site of the famous ball held on the eve of battle.⁷¹⁸ In the Brussels Museum, Bowes noted also a painting depicting the Prince of Orange wounded at Waterloo.⁷¹⁹ For the purposes of this chapter though, the episode of Solly’s return after the Battle of Leipzig showed him to be extremely well-connected and agile, with a transport and communication network at his fingertips as a result of his mercantile connections which allowed him to reach England in record time.

Bowes’s First Picture Collection

It is useful briefly to introduce Bowes’s first picture collection – amassed between 1830 and 1844 – because it is this collection which provides the parameters for the study of Solly’s dealer-agent networks in this chapter. This was the collection that Bowes purchased while he was living in England (between London and County Durham), before he moved his life to France more permanently. By 1846, Bowes had invested in the Théâtre des Variétés in Paris, where he met the actress Joséphine Benôte Coffin-Chevalier and became domiciled in France.⁷²⁰ Following their marriage in 1852, the couple went on to develop their idea for a

⁷¹⁷ MacNaughton, ‘Staging and Collecting’; Tom Stammers, ‘John Bowes and the Collectors of Napoleon in Nineteenth-Century Britain’, in *The Allure of Napoleon*, ed. by Stammers, pp. 33-40.

⁷¹⁸ Hardy, pp. 34-35.

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34; Anne French, *Art Treasures in the North: Northern Families on the Grand Tour* (Norwich: Unicorn Press, 2009), p. 258. The Pocket Book referred to by Hardy, which records Bowes’s trip to Northern Europe, is now unfortunately lost. All that survives at the DRO from Bowes’s 1829-30 trip is his mainly blank ‘Livre de Post’ from the Hotel de Belle Vue, Brussels, 1829, catalogued at DRO, D/St/C1/16/597 and also D/St/C1/16/598, Guide to Brussels, with Plan, 1830.

⁷²⁰ For recent research specifically on Joséphine see Emmanuela Wroth, ‘Courting Celebrity: Creating the Courtesan on the Popular Parisian Stage and Beyond, 1831-1859’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 2022); Judith Phillips, ‘National Identity, Gender, Social Status and Cultural Aspirations in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England and France: Joséphine Bowes (1825-1874), Collector and Museum Creator’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Teesside University, 2020).

museum in Bowes's ancestral home of Barnard Castle. From around 1858 until Joséphine's death in 1874, they jointly conducted a more intensive purchasing programme for the future Bowes Museum than the purchases Bowes had previously made for himself as a bachelor in England.⁷²¹ As Spier writes, 'the Bowes bought an eclectic mix of art and objects, from fine art to decorative arts beginning in the late 1850s'.⁷²² John bequeathed their collection to the museum at his death in 1885 (the Founders' Bequest), and the museum was finally inaugurated in 1892.

During the 1830s and 1840s, Bowes was in the habit of frequenting his residences in London when Parliament was in session and travelling to Paris in the ensuing annual vacation.⁷²³ His London properties included 54 Conduit Street – which he gave to his mother and Hutt as a townhouse in 1833; the rooms he rented in the 1830s at 6 Suffolk Street, just behind Trafalgar Square; and 26 Charles Street, Mayfair, where he was living by 1838.⁷²⁴ Solly visited Bowes and Hutt at Conduit Street, and in turn they also visited Solly at Bedford Row (from where his letters to Bowes were addressed) to view pictures. Solly wrote to Bowes on one occasion to arrange 'an early opportunity of calling in [at] Conduit Street' and, on another, to talk to him about '[the picture] you have seen in my dining room'.⁷²⁵

Bowes's ancestral properties in County Durham remained most important. Solly junior certainly visited Bowes there, while investigating the commercial potential of the ironstone

⁷²¹ For the period after Joséphine's death and John Bowes's second wife see Lindsay MacNaughton, 'Beyond the Bowes Museum: The Social and Material Worlds of Alphonsine Bowes de Saint-Amand', 19: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 31 (2020) <<https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.3348>>.

⁷²² Spier, p. 47.

⁷²³ For John Bowes's early trips to Paris see *Streatlam and Gibside: The Bowes and Strathmore Families in County Durham* (Durham: Durham County Council, 1980), pp. 39, 42.

⁷²⁴ Hardy, p. 47.

⁷²⁵ DRO, D/St/C5/46/12, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 21 Jan 1843 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 5**); D/St/C5/46/13, 27 January 1843 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 6**).

found on Bowes's extensive coal mining holdings.⁷²⁶ It is not clear if Solly senior ever visited.⁷²⁷ Though often absent, Streatlam and Gibside symbolised Bowes's landed presence and required suitable furnishing.⁷²⁸ Bowes's first painting collection was largely sent to these properties. With Hutt and Bowes's mother lodged at Gibside, the part of Bowes's painting collection displayed there could be shown off to local visitors.⁷²⁹ In 1843, Hutt wittily recounted how a local personality had taken an interest in a painting attributed to Guido Reni:

I was showing Watson (the Wizard of Burnopfield) the pictures all over the house a few days ago, to his great illumination. He stopped opposite the Lucretia & evidently noticed it with due interest, at last he said – “was that Lady with the poignard, Sir, one of the family?”⁷³⁰

This was no family portrait but a representation of the ancient Roman heroine Lucretia (B.M.72; **Figure 4.13**), tormented and bare-breasted. It had been purchased in 1840, probably

⁷²⁶ Letters from William Hutt to John Bowes, DRO, D/St/C5/29/117, 15 October 1840; D/St/C5/29/118, 18 October 1840. See also letters from Edward Solly junior to John Bowes, DRO, D/St/C5/30/22, [?] October 1840; D/St/C5/30/3, 15 November 1840; D/St/C5/30/36, 11 November 1840; D/St/C5/30/37, 13 November 1840; D/St/C5/30/41, 19 November 1840; D/St/C5/30/42, 23 November 1840; D/St/C5/30/43, 28 November 1840; D/St/C5/30/47, 18 December 1840 [date answered]; D/St/C5/38/3, 29 December 1840.

⁷²⁷ There is one, albeit unclear, reference to Solly in the following letter; though it is not clear whether Solly senior or Solly junior is referred to; TBM, JB/1/9/54, Letter from John Bowes to Thomas Wheldon, 22 December 1840.

⁷²⁸ Rachel Stewart, *The Town House in Georgian London* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 56-59.

⁷²⁹ It is worth noting that the paintings were also viewed at Streatlam Castle for guidebooks of the 1870s, see *A Handbook for Travellers in Durham and Northumberland* (London: John Murray, 1873), pp. 88-89. Just when the paintings were packed ready to move to the Museum, the pictures were unpacked from their crates and viewed by the writer of ‘The Private Collections of England. No. XXIV – The Library of York Minster. The Minster. St Mary’s Abbey. Streatlam Castle’, in *The Athenaeum Journal of Literature, Science, the Fine Arts, Music and the Drama, July to December 1876* (London: John Francis, 1876), pp. 344-46 (p. 346). This article provides useful descriptions and commentaries on some of the pictures.

⁷³⁰ DRO, D/St/C5/049/029, Letter from William Hutt to John Bowes, 9 Dec 1843.

by Solly, and the cleaning and lining was also arranged by Solly in August of that year (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 1**).⁷³¹

Bowes's first picture collection was an evolving rather than a static entity, and new additions frequently arrived at Gibside and Streatlam – sent up from Solly and Peel in crates from London, seemingly by rail or boat, and then by cart for the last portion of the journey.⁷³² As Francis Russell has observed of picture hanging at country houses between 1700 and 1850, 'collectors generally altered the hang of their pictures as further acquisitions were made [...] the picture hang of any great house was thus a compromise between space available and the scale of the collection'.⁷³³ The transport, unpacking, and display processes were practical matters with which Bowes at first sought to be involved. For instance, in August 1838, he wrote from London to alert his estate manager Ralph Dent that two large cases with pictures and frames would be arriving imminently at Streatlam:

they will be very heavy, but I think a long cart with 2 horses will be sufficient for them; the men must be very careful in taking them in and offload the car so as not to shake them; when at Streatlam they had better remain in the cases till I arrive.⁷³⁴

⁷³¹ This painting is: After Guido Reni, *Death of Lucretia*, c. 1650-1750, B.M.72, Bowes Museum. DRO, D/St/C5/029/094, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 26 August 1840.

⁷³² For Edward Solly and John Peel sending pictures see, for example, DRO, D/St/C5/54/89, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 9 November 1844 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 8**); D/St/C5/61/193, Letter from John Peel to John Bowes, 4 November 1845.

⁷³³ Francis Russell, 'The Hanging and Display of Pictures, 1700-1850', in *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, ed. by Gervase Jackson-Stops and others (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1989), pp. 133-53 (pp. 133, 146-52).

⁷³⁴ TBM, JB/2/1/7/47, Letter from John Bowes to Ralph Dent, 15 August 1838. The pictures referred to in this letter were perhaps the nine pictures that Bowes had purchased between 1830 and 1837. They do not appear in the Streatlam Castle inventories of the 1830s and perhaps had remained at one of his London residences – or with John Peel – until this point. For the 1830s inventories see DRO, D/St/E1/3/25, List of 'Sizes of the Paintings in Streatlam Castle', n.d. (c. 1830s); D/St/E1/3/26, List of Paintings at Streatlam, n. d. (watermark 1834).

Hutt also helped to oversee these processes. When unpacking paintings on one occasion at Gibside in 1848, for instance, he forewarned Bowes that:

There's a scratch on the background of John the Baptist's Head [...] which I never beheld till today. How it got there I cannot say. I do not think it was done here, for the pictures were carefully unpacked, under inspection, by her Ladyship and myself.⁷³⁵

The painting in question may be the 'Leonardo da Vinci' so-called *Beheadal of St John the Baptist* (B.M.71; **Figure 4.14**) purchased in 1841 or the 'Bonifazio' *St John's Head on a Salver* (B.M.959; **Figure 4.15**) purchased by Solly for Bowes in 1844.⁷³⁶

The period between 1845 and 1848, when Bowes's life began to shift to France, saw a significant movement of paintings from Streatlam to Gibside, where Hutt and Bowes's mother were installed as grace-and-favour residents and presumably could oversee the collection in Bowes's absence.⁷³⁷ In 1845, some paintings also seem to have been sent to Peel's workshop, at 12 Marlborough Row, Golden Square, London, for cleaning.⁷³⁸ Remaining at Streatlam were principally family portraits, in addition to two large pictures attributed to seventeenth-century Dutch artists Frans Snyders (1579-1657) and Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678), from the collection of John's great-grandfather Sir George Bowes (1701-1760), which can be seen in the 1915 photograph taken for *Country Life* (**Figure 4.16**).⁷³⁹ It is perhaps not entirely coincidental that

⁷³⁵ DRO, D/St/C5/079/007, Letter from William Hutt to John Bowes, 7 Jan 1848.

⁷³⁶ These paintings are: Attributed to German School, *Saint John the Baptist Before Execution*, c. 1450-1550, B.M.71; After Andrea Solario, *The Head of the Baptist on a Tazza*, possibly c. 1550-1650, B.M.56, Bowes Museum.

⁷³⁷ DRO, D/St/E1/3/27, List of Paintings Left at Streatlam, 31 October 1845; D/St/E1/3/28, List of Paintings at Streatlam Castle to be Insured, 25 December 1848; D/St/E5/2/19, List of Paintings at Gibside, November 1845; D/St/E5/2/20, List of Paintings at Gibside to be Insured from 25 December 1848. It is worth noting that the present author has transcribed all the nineteenth-century paintings inventories for Streatlam and Gibside held at DRO and these are now in the Bowes Museum's files.

⁷³⁸ DRO, D/St/C5/61/93, Letter from John Peel to John Bowes, 4 November 1845.

⁷³⁹ DRO, D/St/E5/2/18, Inventories of Paintings at Gibside, Some Purchased by George Bowes, 29 April 1745-61.

this period of change in Bowes's collecting coincided with Solly's death in 1844 – the date that the 'old list' also ends.

On initial inspection, Bowes's collection appears typical of the period, epitomising more mainstream taste for pictures in late Georgian and early Victorian England (**Appendix 3.1**). However, what renders Bowes's first picture collection interesting for this thesis are the paintings in it by artists of the early German, Netherlandish, and Italian schools as well as works by obscure and lesser-known northern Italian painters, which began to enter Bowes's collection from 1840. The attributions to 'Santa Croce', the 'Old German School', 'Beato Angelico', 'Hemmelinck', 'Francesco Francia', 'Cesare da Sesto', and 'Bonifazio' in the 'old list' demonstrate this significant shift in his collecting habits.⁷⁴⁰ This notable change in taste within John Bowes's evolving collection towards early paintings can be explained by the structures, locations, and rhythms of the dealer-agent networks with which he was involved through Solly, and to which this chapter now turns.

Obscure, Northern Italian Artists

One key trend through which it is possible to locate the intervention of Solly's art market networks in Bowes's collection is through the accumulation of paintings by then relatively unfamiliar artists from northern Italy around the time of Raphael, hailing from cities such as Bologna – beyond more well-known artistic centres such as Florence and Rome. Bowes and Solly both collected paintings by northern Italian artists from northern regions now known as Lombardy, Emilia-Romagna, and the Veneto, during a period in which the identities of artists from these places were still crystallising. Not to be overlooked is the fact that until 1860, these regions variously comprised a patchwork of territories characterised by individual duchies and governed under the respective rules of Sardinia, Austria, and the Papal States.

⁷⁴⁰ TBM, TBM/8/4/1/2, List of Paintings, 1830-44; TBM, TBM/8/4/1/1, Letter from Messrs Western to Owen Stanley Scott, 11 July 1887.

By 1828, Luigi Lanzi's popular multi-volume *History of Painting in Italy* had been translated for British audiences by Thomas Roscoe. It covered the regions of upper Italy through the framework of progressive 'epochs'; Bologna featured in volume five.⁷⁴¹ Helped along by Lanzi's researches, the painter Francesco Francia came to be framed as the initiator of the Bolognese school, an inheritor of Pietro Perugino and Giovanni Bellini and the subsequent teacher of many itinerant pupils including Il Bagnacavallo, Innocenzo da Imola (c. 1490-1550), and Lorenzo Costa (1460-1535).⁷⁴² Major acquisitions by the National Gallery such as Francia's *Buonvisi Altarpiece* (NG179-80; **Figure 4.17**) in 1840-41, painted for the church of San Frediano in Lucca, brought the Bolognese artist further into British cultural consciousness.⁷⁴³ This was purchased from the Duke of Lucca's collection, from which Solly also bought works for Bowes. As Nicholas Penny has observed, the altarpiece became 'one of the most admired paintings in the National Gallery' for over half a century, and many copies were made – particularly of the lunette, which was hung low alongside the main panel for many years.⁷⁴⁴ George Darley (1795-1846), writing in the *Athenaeum* during the 1840s, would praise the transcendental qualities of the altarpiece, in the acquisition of which he had been a vocal supporter.⁷⁴⁵ Yet, it is equally notable that even at the end of the nineteenth century the leading female art historians such as Edith Emily Coulson James (1860-1936) were selecting artists such as Francia as their epistolary subjects precisely because they remained outside the

⁷⁴¹ Lanzi.

⁷⁴² *Ibid.*, v, pp. 1-95.

⁷⁴³ Penny and Mancini, pp. 150-53, 168-85.

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 177.

⁷⁴⁵ Cooper, 'The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting', pp. 204, 207-08. See also George Darley, 'The National Gallery', *The Athenaeum*, 24 July 1841, p. 558.

canon.⁷⁴⁶ Indeed, throughout the period, the Carracci remained the figureheads of the Bolognese schools within ‘Carracci-bitten’ Britain.⁷⁴⁷

Before the mid-century in Britain, Susanna Avery-Quash and Silvia Davoli have also suggested that there was no clear conception of Lombard artists including even, perhaps surprisingly, the itinerant Leonardo da Vinci.⁷⁴⁸ Notable publications of the 1840s and 1850s began to reframe the Lombard School. These included Franz Theodor Kugler’s (1808-1858) *Hand-book of a History of Painting* (translated 1842), which covered the Lombard School in a chronological and geographical treatment of Italian painting; Otto Müндler’s essay of 1850, which concerned Leonardo and questions of attribution; and Alexis-François Rio’s (1797-1874) work on Leonardo of 1855, which foregrounded his networks and artistic relationships.⁷⁴⁹ As Francis Haskell observed, though northern Italian artists – whether the Bolognese Francia or the Milanese Cesare da Sesto – are not considered ‘pre-Raphaelite’ today in terms of their chronology, in the middle decades of the nineteenth century they were considered as such due to their relative unfamiliarity in Britain.⁷⁵⁰

Solly had historically privileged this branch of collecting on a personal level, as well as understanding that paintings by then more unfamiliar artists of northern Italy would be

⁷⁴⁶ Alambritis, ‘Edith Coulson James’, pp. 41-49.

⁷⁴⁷ George Darley, ‘The National Gallery’, *The Athenaeum*, 24 July 1841, p. 558. Quoted in Cooper, ‘The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting’, p. 213.

⁷⁴⁸ Susanna Avery-Quash and Silvia Davoli, ‘The National Gallery Searching for Leonardo: Acquisitions and Contributions to Knowledge about the Lombard School’, in *Leonardo in Britain: Collections and Historical Reception*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash and Juliana Barone (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2019), pp. 141-63.

⁷⁴⁹ Avery-Quash and Davoli, pp. 145-46. Alexis-François Rio, *Léonard de Vinci et son École* (Paris: A. Bray, 1855); Otto Müндler, *Essai d’une Analyse Critique de la Notice des Tableaux Italiens du Musée National du Louvre: Accompagné d’Observations et de Documents Relatifs à ces Mêmes Tableaux* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, 1850); Franz Kugler, *A Hand-Book of the History of Painting, from the Age of Constantine the Great to the Present Time*, ed. by Charles L. Eastlake, trans. by Margaret Hutton (London: John Murray, 1842).

⁷⁵⁰ Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, p. 55.

important additions to the collections of public museums.⁷⁵¹ As shall be shown, the art trade networks he formed also rendered this an expedient direction in which to make acquisitions as a collector and dealer. When Solly gave evidence at the Select Committee in 1836, he explained that many of Raphael's contemporaries remained unknown in Britain but might profitably be acquired for the nation's collection. Solly's rollcall of interesting artists that should be considered as eligible for acquisition included Lombardian artists from Milan such as Bernardino Luini, Gaudenzio Ferrari (active 1508-d. 1546), Cesare da Sesto, and Salaì (1480-1524), in addition to painters of the lesser-known north Italian cities of Bergamo, Brescia, Padua, Verona, and Treviso.⁷⁵² It was works by these artists – predominantly in the form of very large altarpieces – which characterised Solly's personal painting collection at Curzon Street and later Bedford Row.⁷⁵³

Comparable north Italian names appear in Bowes's first painting collection, seemingly through Solly's influence.⁷⁵⁴ What was acquired as *The Circumcision* (B.M.48; **Figure 2.28**), attributed to the Venetian painter 'Santacroce', and a portrait (B.M.55; **Figure 4.18**) attributed to Trevisan-born Domenico Capriolo (1494-1528), were both purchased in 1840.⁷⁵⁵ Bowes went on to acquire two paintings by Francia in 1841: a *Saint Catherine* (B.M.44; **Figure 4.5**) and a *Madonna and Child* (B.M.50; **Figure 4.6**). This was the same year that the National Gallery purchased Francia's *Buonvisi Altarpiece* (NG179-80; **Figure 4.17**), as mentioned, which must have been an influence. In 1839, the Gallery had also purchased Raphael's *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (NG168; **Figure 4.19**) from John Rushout, 2nd Baron Northwick's collection which would have surely prompted Solly and Bowes to consider the similarities with the

⁷⁵¹ *Select Committee*, 1836, II, pp. 147-48.

⁷⁵² *Ibid.*

⁷⁵³ [Solly senior], *A Descriptive Catalogue of Some Paintings of the Raffaele Period*.

⁷⁵⁴ TBM, TBM/8/4/1/2, List of Paintings, 1830-44.

⁷⁵⁵ The latter painting is: Domenico Capriolo, *Portrait of Lelio Torelli, Jurisconsult at Fano*, 1528, B.M.55, Bowes Museum.

latter's version of the same subject attributed to Francia.⁷⁵⁶ Bowes also purchased the *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* (B.M.42; **Figure 4.7**), attributed to the Lombard artist Cesare da Sesto, from the Woodburn dealership in the same year, in addition to a so-called *Beheadal of Saint John the Baptist* (B.M.71; **Figure 4.14**) attributed to the school of Leonardo da Vinci. *St John's Head on a Salver* (B.M.56; **Figure 4.15**), attributed to 'Bonifazio' of the Veneto region, was also purchased by Solly for Bowes in 1843.⁷⁵⁷

Francesco Rosaspina and Art Market Networks at the Bologna Academy

Northern Italian cities in particular, such as Bologna, became important foci for Solly, and the networks he formed there intersected directly with the presence of obscure and early northern Italian artists in Bowes's first painting collection, as well as the dealer's own personal picture collection. By the time of his death, Solly's personal collection featured at least ten paintings that had explicit connections to Bolognese collections.⁷⁵⁸

Solly's networks in Bologna in the 1830s and 1840s built on those that he had formed earlier from Berlin. Skwirblies has shed light on the activities of Italian commission agents such as Felice Cartoni and Marziale Reghellini (1766-1853) working for Solly in northern Italy between about 1815 and 1820.⁷⁵⁹ Solly and these agents made particular use of institutions such as the Italian academies of art including in Venice, Florence, Rome, and Bologna. As the Italian states sought to bring their cultural heritage back under control from 1815, special commissions and institutions such as the academies of art were invested with new powers through which to evaluate and oversee the remaining cultural heritage in their respective geographic areas.⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵⁶ Bradbury and Penny, 'Lord Northwick: Part I', pp. 485, 488-89.

⁷⁵⁷ These latter paintings are: Attributed to German School, *Saint John the Baptist Before Execution*, c. 1450-1550, B.M.71; After Andrea Solario, *The Head of the Baptist on a Tazza*, possibly c. 1550-1650, B.M.56, Bowes Museum.

⁷⁵⁸ [Solly senior], *A Descriptive Catalogue of Some Paintings of the Raffaele Period*. See the paintings catalogued at numbers 1, 2, 3, 15, 19, 21, 30, 39-41.

⁷⁵⁹ Skwirblies, 'Edward Solly, Felice Cartoni and their Purchases of Paintings'.

⁷⁶⁰ Guerzoni, 'The Export of Works of Art', p. 71.

Oftentimes the Italian academies functioned as sites where paintings were gathered from secularised institutions and dispossessed collections in the region. Objects could then be stored, bought, sold, and exchanged, both legally and illegally, or restored and retained, depending on the calibre or quality of the work in question, and the integrity and loyalties of the officials presiding over these institutions and their protocols.⁷⁶¹

Cartoni's purchase in 1818 of thirty paintings from the Bolognese Academy's warehouse, later to be sold on to Solly in Berlin, provides an early example of this process.⁷⁶² The purchase is well documented in the correspondence and lists sent between the apostolic legate of Bologna, Alessandro Lante Montefeltro della Rovere (1762-1818); the carmelegno of the Holy Roman Church, Bartolomeo Pacca (1756-1844); the Bolognese Academy's assistant secretary and professor of architecture, Leandro Marconi (1763-1837); and conservator and professor of landscape painting, Gaetano Tambroni (1763-1841).⁷⁶³ The role of the apostolic legate was to serve as the papal representative in a particular region and to channel information back to the Holy See, while the carmelegno was the cardinal responsible for administering the property and revenue of the Holy See. As the professors of the Bolognese Academy explained to Montefeltro, when they sought to secure permission for the sale of thirty paintings to Solly in 1818,

The Academy have realised that in addition to possessing a sufficient number of classical paintings, it still also retains a good amount of discarded and duplicated

⁷⁶¹ Skwirblies, 'Edward Solly, Felice Cartoni and their Purchases of Paintings', p. 175. Thanks to Robert Skwirblies for providing further advice on this matter.

⁷⁶² Ibid.

⁷⁶³ Gian Piero Cammarota, *Le Origini della Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna: Un Raccolta di Fonti: Dalla Rifondazione all'Autonomia (1815-1907)*, 3 vols (Bologna: Minerva Edizioni, 2004), II, pp. 172-80.

paintings, which are still sitting inactive in the warehouse, and thus are unable to give any greater honour to these schools or benefit the teaching of the arts.⁷⁶⁴

This episode shows the Academy representatives being supportive of the sale.

Beyond Skwirblies's research into Solly and Cartoni, this thesis has firstly found that further later purchases made from the Bolognese Academy were taken by Solly back to England and put up for auction. The *Flight into Egypt* attributed to Garofalo (Benevenuto Tisi; c. 1481-1559) put up for sale by Solly at Christie's in January 1824, which had not appeared on Cartoni's list at the Academy, was annotated in the auctioneer's copy of the catalogue as 'bo^t from the academy at Bologna'.⁷⁶⁵ Solly's personal collection of paintings from 'the time of Raffaele', which hung at his successive houses in Curzon Street and Bedford Row, also significantly benefited from his links to the Bolognese art trade – with at least ten works of forty-three being explicitly linked with collections from that city.⁷⁶⁶ Solly's *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas* (NG1051; **Figure 4.20**), then attributed to Perugino (now catalogued as by Giovanni Battista Bertucci the Elder), was purchased from the Bolognese Hercolani collection around 1836, the same year that Solly likely met Bowes.⁷⁶⁷ Opportunities arising from the Bolognese art trade also presented themselves within the English auction circuit. For instance,

⁷⁶⁴ Translation author's own. Original text: '*L'Accademia s'accorse che oltre il possedere un sufficiente numero di Quadri classici, le rimaneva ancora un'altra buona quantità di Quadri tra scartie e duplicati, i quali tutt'ora stanna nel magazzino inoperosi, o per meglio dire incapaci di rendere alcun maggior decoro a queste Scuole, o profitto all'insegnamento delle arti.*' Transcribed in Cammarota, II, p. 173.

⁷⁶⁵ For a transcription of Felice Cartoni's list see Cammarota, II, pp. 177-78. For the auction catalogue see Christie's, London, 12-13 January 1824, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-2532, lot 42 [accessed 22 February 2022].

⁷⁶⁶ [Solly senior], *A Descriptive Catalogue of Some Paintings of the Raffaele Period*. See the paintings catalogued at numbers 1, 2, 3, 15, 19, 21, 30, 39-41.

⁷⁶⁷ This painting is: Giovanni Battista Bertucci the Elder, *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas with a Donor from the Calderoni Family*, c. 1510-12, NG1051, National Gallery. For Charles Eastlake, Michelangelo Gualandi, and the purchases of paintings from the Hercolani collection see Susanna Avery-Quash and Giovanni Mazzaferro, 'Michelangelo Gualandi (1793-1887) and the National Gallery: An Unofficial "Travelling Agent" for Sir Charles Eastlake', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 35 (2020), 261-86 (appendix 1).

Francia's *Christ on the Cross* (**Figure 4.21**), now in the Louvre, Paris, entered Solly's personal collection in May 1824, through the London sale of the collection of Count Cesare Bianchetti (1775-1849), then president of the Bologna Academy (1823-31), along with an authentication given by the Academy.⁷⁶⁸

Professors of the Italian fine art academies were extremely useful contacts for dealers like Solly, because of their advantageous networks and local art knowledge but also as individuals who played the initial role in sanctioning the export of works of art. The research undertaken for this thesis has newly uncovered that Solly – and, as a result, Bowes – were drawn into these transnational networks with the Bolognese Academy as late as the 1840s. Solly was corresponding directly with the professor of engraving there, Francesco Rosaspina (1762-1841), until the latter's death in 1841.⁷⁶⁹ Rosaspina himself was involved in complex ways with the export of art from Bologna, a city which was then under the jurisdiction of the Papal States. As Guido Guerzoni has emphasised in his work on the export of works of art from Italy, from an overarching state perspective, decisions to grant export licences were not taken lightly and needed to balance crucial income for state finances following the Napoleonic period with the potential loss of significant cultural heritage.⁷⁷⁰ Prompted by the losses of art and antiquities suffered under Napoleonic invasion, a papal chirograph was issued in 1802 – an edict which provided the basis for legislation surrounding the protection of cultural heritage in the period. After the 1802 chirograph, the Academy of Bologna became the region's main body involved in the overseeing of cultural heritage. Subsequently, following 'Pacca's Edict' of 1820, which developed more systematic mechanisms for the organisation, protection, and exportation of

⁷⁶⁸ This painting is: Francesco Francia, *Calvary with Saint Job Lying at the Foot of the Cross*, 1513, MI679, Louvre, Paris. Christie's, London, 29 May 1824, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-2582, lot 25 [accessed 22 February 2022].

⁷⁶⁹ DRO, D/St/C5/38/23, Letters from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 18 January 1842 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 3**); D/St/C5/46/12, 21 January 1843 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 5**).

⁷⁷⁰ Guerzoni, 'The Export of Works of Art', p. 72.

cultural heritage in the Papal States, the *Commissione Ausiliaria di Antichità e Belle Arti* (the Auxiliary Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts) was inaugurated in Bologna.⁷⁷¹ Rosaspina was appointed as part of this commission as an expert adviser and among his main duties was the evaluation of works of art prior to their approval for exportation.⁷⁷² Yet, as the damning retrospective conclusions of local writer Giuseppe Guidicini (1763-1837) on the subject of the Commission show, Rosaspina's hybrid role as an Academy professor and valuator of exports presented a conflict of interests and on numerous occasions Rosaspina acted in a self-interested way for his own personal profit as an art dealer and agent. As Guidicini wrote:

Demaria [Giacomo De Maria] and Rosaspina profited and gained in a singular way through failing to correctly appraise the paintings entrusted to their judgement, deceived the Principality and betrayed the homeland, which through them irremissibly lost art treasures [...] and the expert professors pocketed significant sums through which they were able to leave a rich legacy to their respective families.⁷⁷³

According to Guidicini, Rosaspina helped to facilitate exports by estimating lower values than paintings were thought to be worth.⁷⁷⁴

As the Solly-Bowes correspondence shows, Rosaspina was also working for English dealers such as Solly. On 18 January 1842 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 3**), Solly wrote to Bowes regarding a large painting by Il Bagnacavallo. It had been purchased for him by Rosaspina:

⁷⁷¹ Cammarota, II, pp. 365-72.

⁷⁷² Ibid, pp. 365-66, 378-79.

⁷⁷³ Translation author's own. Original text: '*il Demaria [Giacomo De Maria] e il Rosaspina profitarono e guadagnarono in singular modo nello stimare i quadri affidati al loro giudizio per cui mancarono verso se stessi, ingannarono il Principato e tradirono la Patria, che mercé loro perdeva irremissibilmente tesori d'arte [...] ed i periti professori intascando somme rilevanti poterono lasciare alle rispettive famiglie un ricco patrimonio*' in Giuseppe Guidicini, *Cose Notabili della Città di Bologna, Ossia Storia Cronologica de' suoi Stabili, Pubblici e Privati*, ed. by Ferdinando Guidicini, 5 vols (Bologna: Società Tipografica dei Compositori, 1872), IV, p. 32. Quoted in Cammarota, II, pp. 378-79.

⁷⁷⁴ Cammarota, II, pp. 378-79; Guidicini, IV, p. 32.

Last Spring [...] I was tempted to make an addition to my small collection of the Raffaele School by authorising the celebrated Engraver Rosaspina of Bologna to purchase for me a picture of that class of which he sent me the enclosed miniature sketch of the subject.⁷⁷⁵

This painting can now be newly identified as the one today attributed to Niccolò Pisano (1470-c. 1536) in the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires (**Figure 4.22**). In the same letter, Solly detailed that he had paid just over £88 for the painting, along with around £12 for freight, duty, and warehouse storage at the London docks. He offered it to Bowes for £100, with an additional cost of between £5 and £10 for the cleaning and varnishing, work which was carried out by Peel. Finding himself in a difficult financial situation at that moment as a result of some unsatisfied insurance claims, Solly offered the painting at first refusal to Bowes – with the added coda that it might later be sold back to Solly at ‘a more convenient time’.⁷⁷⁶ He ultimately envisaged it for his own personal collection and viewed Bowes as an enabler of this plan. The painting was not taken up by Bowes; instead it remained in Solly’s personal collection, later purchased by Lord Northwick.

Solly wrote to Bowes a year later (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 5**), in January 1843, with a similar proposition for a painting attributed to Ercole de’ Roberti which had purportedly come from the Tanara Palace at Bologna and which, having been bought around a year previously, was then currently in storage at St Katharine Docks, London.⁷⁷⁷ He offered it to Bowes at £220, explaining ‘if it should suit you at present to lay out that amount either to keep the picture yourself or to assist me in retaining it [...] you can either have it transferred to you [...] or have

⁷⁷⁵ DRO, D/St/C5/38/23, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 18 January 1842 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 3**). The whereabouts of the ‘sketch’ is as yet unknown.

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁷ DRO, D/St/C5/46/12, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 21 January 1843 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 5**).

it anywhere else'.⁷⁷⁸ Later catalogues of Solly's collection show that the picture being offered to Bowes was in fact one of three large (now known to be) early copies on canvas of Ercole's frescoes in the Garganelli Chapel in San Petronio, Bologna. The paintings in question depicted *Soldiers Drawing Lots for the Saviour's Garments* (location as yet unknown); *The Three Marys at the Foot of the Cross* (likely the work once in Bernard Berenson's collection, and now in the sacristy of San Pietro, Bologna) (**Figure 4.23**); and *The Dormition of the Virgin* (Ringling Museum, Sarasota, FL) (**Figure 4.24**).⁷⁷⁹ Again, Bowes did not end up purchasing any of these paintings offered by Solly, and they remained in the dealer's personal collection until his death. This stands to reason as, in England, Ercole was relatively unfamiliar, known largely through just a few written sources. *The Conversion of Saint Paul* (NG73; **Figure 4.25**) which entered London's National Gallery with the bequest of William Holwell Carr (1758-1830) in 1830 was then attributed to this 'rare painter'.⁷⁸⁰ The picture was berated by Anna Jameson in 1842 for its 'crowded arrangement, tasteless mixture of gilding and colour, and general poverty of style', though it was deemed 'curious' as a work of the early Ferrarese school.⁷⁸¹

As an interrogation of the sources demonstrates, Solly had purchased his three copies of the frescoes from Rosaspina during a period of confusion, upheaval, and indecision among the commission in Bologna about the fate of Ercole's rapidly degrading original frescoes from the Garganelli Chapel.⁷⁸² In fact, Solly's purchase perhaps even contributed to a revival of interest in them. The now lost Garganelli frescoes were painted by Ercole between 1481 and 1486, a

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁹ Paintings 39-41 in [Solly senior], *A Descriptive Catalogue of Some Paintings of the Rafaelle Period*; paintings 7, 12, and 27 in ZA, I/GG/166, *Catalogue of Italian Pictures of the Late Edward Solly, Esq.* [annotated: *at Mr Peel's 16 Golden Square*], [1847], fols 309-15.

⁷⁸⁰ This painting is: Giacomo Panizzati, *The Conversion of Saint Paul*, c. 1535-40, NG73, National Gallery. Quotation from Anna Jameson, *Handbook to the Public Galleries of Art in and Near London: With Critical, Historical, and Biographical Notices of the Painters and Pictures* (London: John Murray, 1845), p. 96.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid.

⁷⁸² For an overview of the sources see Cammarota, II, pp. 373-78.

continuation of work begun in that chapel by his teacher, Francesco del Cossa (c. 1435/6-c. 1477/8). Some remnants of the frescos – and the copies of them – were moved to the Tanara family palace in that city when a new church began to be built in 1605; today, only one small fragment of the original frescoes survives (**Figure 4.26**).⁷⁸³ According to research by Luisa Ciammitti in 1985, the remnants of the Garganelli frescoes were gifted to Bologna’s Academy in 1820 by the Tanara family.⁷⁸⁴ However they did not appear in the archival record until 1832, from which time the detached frescoes were hidden ‘*sottoscala*’ (under the stairs) until interest in them was raised once more from 1843.⁷⁸⁵ By 1845, they had perished as the result partly of a lack of concerted action by the Academy, and ultimately following the failed attempt to transfer the frescoes onto canvas.⁷⁸⁶

The local archivist, historian, and agent Michelangelo Gualandi (1793-1887) had been a major voice in the polemic against the neglect of the frescoes and their copies.⁷⁸⁷ In 1844, he bemoaned the fact that ‘antique copies’ of the Garganelli frescoes executed in oil on canvas had ‘passed, a few years ago, to foreign districts in a sale made by the deceased Francesco Rosaspina, professor of the engraving school of this Academy’.⁷⁸⁸ In 1920, Albano Sorbelli published three letters from August 1832 between Rosaspina; the president of the Accademia di Belle Arti in Venice, Leopoldo Cicognara (1767-1834); and the collector, Count Giovanni

⁷⁸³ For a good summary of events see Joseph Manca, ‘Ercole de’Roberti’s Garganelli Chapel Frescoes: A Reconstruction and Analysis’, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 49.2 (1986), 147-64 (p. 148, n. 5); Charles Holmes, ‘A Lost Picture by Ercole de’ Roberti’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 50.289 (1927), 171-72.

⁷⁸⁴ Girolamo Bianconi, *Guida del Forestiere per la Città di Bologna e suoi Sobborghi* (Bologna: Annesio Nobili, 1820), pp. 11, 30; Luisa Ciammitti, ‘Ercole Roberti: La Capella Garganelli in San Pietro’, in *Tre Artisti nella Bologna dei Bentivoglio* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1985), pp. 117-224 (p. 153).

⁷⁸⁵ Ciammitti, pp. 153-57.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁷⁸⁷ Cammarota, II, pp. 373-74.

⁷⁸⁸ Translation author’s own. Original text: ‘*passate, pochi anni sono, in estrane contrade per vendita fattane dal defunto Francesco Rosaspina, professore della scuola d’incisione di quest’Accademia*’ in *Memorie Originali Italiane Risguardanti le Belle Arti*, ed. by [Michelangelo Gualandi], 6 vols (Bologna: Sassi nelle Spaderie, 1844), v, p. 204. Quoted in Cammarota, II, p. 376.

Costabili (1756-1841) of Ferrara, to whom Rosaspina had endeavoured in vain to sell the copies.⁷⁸⁹ It was from Costabili's collection, in fact through the agency of Gualandi, that the National Gallery later acquired a number of works – some in 1858, and others from Eastlake's posthumous personal collection in 1867.⁷⁹⁰ It was in Rosaspina's reply to Costabili that he mentioned that he would write to '*un negoziante di Londra molto amante di Pitture antiche*' ('a London dealer very fond of ancient paintings') to whom he would attempt to sell them; presumably Solly.⁷⁹¹ By the time of his death in September 1841, Rosaspina had sold the Garganelli copies to Solly, who, in turn, offered one of them to Bowes in January 1843.⁷⁹² This pivotal transaction has been overlooked in the provenance of these paintings to date. In the provenance for the *Dormition of the Virgin* (**Figure 4.24**), today in the Ringling Museum, Sarasota, it is stated that the painting was sold 'to an unknown English dealer'; as we now know, this was Solly.⁷⁹³

In both cases, Bowes did not take up – or did not need to take up – Solly's proposed purchases from Rosaspina. 'I have succeeded in making arrangements for the present to enable me to keep it' wrote Solly of the Ercole copy he had been offered (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 6**).⁷⁹⁴ Nonetheless, it is clear that Solly directly involved Bowes within transnational art market networks centred around the Bolognese Academy. With this in mind, it should be noted that

⁷⁸⁹ Letters from Francesco Rosaspina to Leopoldo Cicognara, 4 August 1832; Rosaspina to Count Giovanni Costabili, 10 August 1832; Rosaspina to Costabili, 14 August 1832, in Albano Sorbelli, 'Intorno alle Pitture di Ercole Ferrarese in San Pietro di Bologna. Dono Pregevole del Senator L. Beltrami', *L'Archiginnasio*, 15 (1920), 210-12. See also Ciammitti, p. 159.

⁷⁹⁰ Avery-Quash and Mazzaferro, appendix 1. For the 1838 inventory of the Costabili collection held in the Biblioteca Ariosteana, Ferrara, see GPI, Archival Inventory I-236 [accessed 24 October 2022].

⁷⁹¹ Letter from Francesco Rosaspina to Count Giovanni Costabili, 14 August 1832 in Sorbelli, p. 212.

⁷⁹² DRO, D/St/C5/46/12, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 21 January 1843

(**Appendix 3.2, Letter 5**).

⁷⁹³ See the provenance given in the online catalogue entry for this painting. 'Copy after Roberti's

Dormition of the Virgin', *Ringling Museum Website*

<<https://emuseum.ringling.org/emuseum/objects/27485/copy-after-robertis-dormition-of-the-virgin>> [accessed 9 March 2023].

⁷⁹⁴ DRO, D/St/C5/46/13, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 27 January [1843]

(**Appendix 3.2, Letter 6**).

there are other pictures in Bowes's 'old list' which are catalogued with a provenance from Bologna and which, although not explicitly stated, suggest a connection to Solly's Bolognese networks.⁷⁹⁵ The 'Francia' *Madonna and Child* (B.M.50; **Figure 4.6**) was described in the 'old list' as 'from Bologna' and was acquired in 1841 – the same year that Solly was purchasing works from Rosaspina in Bologna before the latter's death. Again in the same year, six further pictures were noted as having been bought at Christie's 'from the collection of one of the Poniatowski family at Bologna', including the 'Francia' *Saint Catherine* (B.M.44; **Figure 4.5**). Interestingly, in that connection, there are no clear matches to be made between Bowes's pictures and those in the posthumous auctions of Prince Stanislas Poniatowski (1754-1833) of 6 and 8 February 1839 and 30 May and 17 June 1840 at Christie's, which were, in any case, advertised in the respective catalogues as 'recently received from his Palace at Florence', not Bologna.⁷⁹⁶ Notwithstanding, it is reasonable to conclude, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that other pictures in Bowes's collection may well have been enabled through Solly's connections to commission agents connected with the Bolognese Academy.

In addition to Rosaspina, Solly served as Bowes's link to other transnational and itinerant agents. It must have been through an agent that Solly obtained the 'Raphael' *Holy Family* (B.M.820; **Figure 4.27**) from 'a private chapel in Tuscany' which was sold to Bowes in 1844.⁷⁹⁷ Solly considered this painting 'quite a catch' and had first considered it for his own

⁷⁹⁵ TBM, TBM/8/4/1/2, List of Paintings, 1830-44.

⁷⁹⁶ The collection of Prince Poniatowski 'from his Palace at Florence' was sold at four sales at Christie's, London, between 1839 and 1840. 6-7 February 1839, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-4972; 8-9 February 1839, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-4973; 30 May 1840, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-5156; 17-18 June 1840, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-5172 [accessed 15 September 2022]. There are no lots which clearly match to Bowes's purchases, and – besides – Bowes's paintings were noted as coming from Bologna not Florence. For the connections between the Poniatowski family and Dulwich Picture Gallery see Giles Waterfield, *Collection for a King: Old Master Paintings at Dulwich Picture Gallery* (London: Governors of Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1985), pp. 13-17.

⁷⁹⁷ This painting is: After Raphael, *The Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John the Baptist (after 'La Perla')*, c. 1575-99, B.M.820, Bowes Museum.

collection.⁷⁹⁸ This painting held particular importance in Bowes's collection. At £105, it was the most expensive picture on the 'old list'. In 1855, Hutt took a print of Bowes's 'Raphael' to be cleaned at Colnaghi's, one of the leading London-based dealerships. In doing so, he was able to glean information from 'Mr Scott, Colnaghi's partner' – the dealer John Anthony Scott (d. 1864) – notably with regards to the painting's relationship to Raphael's so-called *La Perla* (Museo del Prado, Madrid) in Madrid.⁷⁹⁹ Due to the differences between the paintings, it was decided by Scott that Bowes's version must be 'another original' – though today it is thought to be an early copy.⁸⁰⁰

Solly's art trade networks in northern Italy, illuminated through his correspondence with Bowes, are particularly notable because they prefigure the networks forged by those such as Charles Eastlake and the National Gallery's travelling agent Otto Mündler in that area from the mid-1850s when looking to acquire works for the nation's collection.⁸⁰¹ This included northern Italian networks comprised of cultural figures and agents in Bologna such as Michelangelo Gualandi – mentioned above – and which, between 1855 and 1865, resulted in the acquisition, from Bolognese and Ferrarese collections, of six pictures for the National Gallery, seven for Eastlake's private collection, and (failed) negotiations for twenty others.⁸⁰² As Susanna Avery-Quash observes, Milan became another important north Italian location for Eastlake; between

⁷⁹⁸ DRO, D/St/C5/54/69, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 16 July 1844 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 7**).

⁷⁹⁹ Raphael, *La Perla*, c. 1518, oil on panel, 147.4 x 116 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid. DRO, D/St/C5/114/37, Letter from William Hutt to John Bowes, 23 July 1855.

⁸⁰⁰ Mercedes Cerón, 'The Holy Family', *VADS*,

<<https://vads.ac.uk/digital/collection/NIRP/id/27583/rec/1>> [accessed 27 October 2023].

⁸⁰¹ Eastlake, 'The Travel Notebooks', I, p. 33; Avery-Quash and Mazzaferro; Jaynie Anderson, 'Otto Mündler and his Travel Diaries', in *The Travel Diaries of Otto Mündler*, ed. by Togneri Dowd, pp. 7–59 (pp. 17, 25, 48).

⁸⁰² Avery-Quash and Mazzaferro, appendix 1.

1854 and 1864 he made twenty-four separate trips to that city and it thus became the most-visited city during his decade as director from 1855.⁸⁰³

Carlo Galvani and the Lucca Collection

Solly also brought itinerant Italian dealers into Bowes's orbit such as Carlo Galvani (active 1830-1888), a Venetian engraver and dealer-agent who seems to have later emigrated to New Orleans, USA.⁸⁰⁴ Galvani conducted the exhibition and private contract sale of the Duke of Lucca's collection in London in July 1840 at the premises of the Society of Painters in Watercolours, Pall Mall, which he leased; 50 lots from the original 94 were then auctioned at Christie's on 25 July 1840.⁸⁰⁵ Galvani may have been 'in concert' with William Buchanan, the latter having purchased four of the Lucca paintings before their export to England.⁸⁰⁶ It is notable that Solly's purchases for Bowes at the 1840 auction have been neglected in the relatively sparse literature on the Lucca collection's dispersal. Alessandra Nannini – in her otherwise exhaustive account of the Lucca collection – listed the current location of the four

⁸⁰³ Avery-Quash, 'Sir Charles Eastlake, the National Gallery and Milanese Contacts'.

⁸⁰⁴ For Carlo Galvani's early career as a lithographer in Venice, see Melchior Missirini, 'Entreprise Lithographique a Venise', in *Revue Universelle: Bibliothèque de l'Homme du Monde et de l'Homme Politique* (Brussels: Louis Hauman, 1832), pp. 128-30. Galvani seems to have anglicised his name to 'Charles' when he emigrated to America around 1848, if this is indeed the correct Galvani. For a potted biography of 'Charles' Galvani, who attempted to set up a public art gallery and school of design in New Orleans, see Peter E. Palmquist and Thomas R. Kailbourn, *Pioneer Photographers from the Mississippi to the Continental Divide: A Biographical Dictionary 1839-1865* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), p. 272; Regina Soria, *American Artists of Italian Heritage, 1776-1945* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1994), p. 89. On Galvani's dealing in New Orleans see the scrapbook entitled *Galvani's Record of Paintings in Louisiana, 1855-90*, held in the Archives of American Art, Washington DC (which could not be viewed by the present author).

⁸⁰⁵ [Carlo Galvani], *Catalogue of the Gallery of His Royal Highness the Duke of Lucca: Now Exhibiting at the Gallery of the Society of Painters in Water Colours* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1840); *Catalogue of a Portion of the Gallery of His Royal Highness the Duke of Lucca*, 1840. For an introduction to the Lucca collection and sale see Penny and Mancini, pp. 473-78; Alessandra Nannini, *La Quadreria di Carlo Lodovico di Borbone di Lucca* (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi, 2005), pp. 81-85.

⁸⁰⁶ Buchanan says he purchased them 'before their arrival in this country' in NGA, NG5/41/4, Letter from William Buchanan to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 30 July 1840. See also Penny and Mancini, p. 475. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the paintings were: Gerrit van Honthorst, *Christ Before the High Priest*, c. 1617, NG3679, National Gallery; Domenico Fiasella, *Christ Healing the Blind* and *Christ Raising the Son of the Widow of Nain*, c. 1615, SN113 and SN112, Ringling Museum, Sarasota, FL (then attributed to Ludovico Carracci); and one then thought to be by Annibale Carracci depicting *Christ as the Canaanite Woman*, which is as yet unconfirmed.

Bowes paintings as ‘unknown’, while Nicholas Penny likewise concluded that ‘a number of ‘Old German paintings’ and a Fra Angelico have not been traced’.⁸⁰⁷ Clearly, Solly’s purchases for Bowes – and the networks that enabled them – require rehabilitation, something the current thesis is helping to achieve.

At the 1840 Christie’s sale of the Lucca collection, as mentioned, Solly purchased the ‘Old German School’ triptych (B.M.168; **Figure 4.2**), the ‘Fra Angelico’ *Miracle of the Sacrament* (B.M.52; **Figure 4.3**), and the ‘Early German’ *Saint Jerome and the Lion* (B.M.596; **Figure 4.1**) for Bowes – along with, rather differently, a later *St Margaret* attributed to ‘Cignaroli’ (**Appendix 3.1**).⁸⁰⁸ Solly’s purchase of the ‘Fra Angelico’ for Bowes came on the eve of a revival of interest in this artist in Britain.⁸⁰⁹ Initial admiration for Fra Angelico in Britain had derived from literary sources, drawing on Giorgio Vasari’s imagining of the artist as a monkish and devotedly-labouring friar whose perceptibly pure style was innately linked to his pious ways.⁸¹⁰ These ideas had flourished in the Romantic writings of eminent foreign writers such as Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder (1773-1798), Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829), and Alexis-Francois Rio (1797-1874) and, from the 1830s onwards, in the works of British writers such as George Darley (1795-1846) in the *Athenaeum*.⁸¹¹ By 1844, Fra Angelico’s star had risen to the extent that Jameson expressed her relief that the passion for the artist’s work had initially been slow to catch on, fearing that otherwise his frescos would have already been ‘torn

⁸⁰⁷ Penny and Mancini, pp. 476-77; Nannini, pp. 162-65.

⁸⁰⁸ The latter painting is: Giambettino Cignaroli, *Saint Martha*, mid-eighteenth century, B.M.64, Bowes Museum.

⁸⁰⁹ Clarke, ‘The Rediscovery of Fra Angelico’.

⁸¹⁰ Giorgio Vasari, *The Life of Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole*, trans. by Giovanni Aubrey Bezzi (London: The Chiswick Press for the Arundel Society, 1850).

⁸¹¹ Tieck and Wackenroder; Rio; Friedrich von Schlegel, *The Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works of Friedrich von Schlegel*, trans. by E. J. Millington (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849). For Darley see Cooper, ‘The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting’, pp. 206-07, 209, 211-12.

down and sold by the square foot in Pall Mall'.⁸¹² The gathering interest in the artist was confirmed by his being chosen as the first artist to have one of their paintings reproduced by the newly founded Arundel Society in 1848, whose aim was to promote knowledge of and interest in early (and endangered) art through high-quality yet affordable reproductions. The Society even published an individual '*Vite*' (life) for this artist, translated from Vasari, in 1850.⁸¹³

It was also by no means coincidental that Solly acquired important works attributed to the 'Ancient' and 'Early' German School for Bowes from the Lucca sale – the *Saint Jerome and the Lion* (B.M.596; **Figure 4.1**) and *Crucifixion* triptych (B.M.168; **Figure 4.2**). These paintings are today both attributed to early Netherlandish masters. Yet, during the early nineteenth century, early Netherlandish masters such as Hans Memling and the Van Eyck brothers were co-opted by a spirit of German patriotism and could often be associated with the genealogy of German painting. In Britain, early Netherlandish pictures – such as an old copy of Van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece* – featured in the collection of the German ex-patriot merchant Carl Aders at 11 Euston Square, London and were lauded by the British poet Charles Lamb as being by 'the Old German Masters'.⁸¹⁴ Solly had in fact purchased the *Portrait of Himself*, thought to be of and by Memling (NG943; **Figure 4.28**), from the sale of Aders's collection at Foster's auction house on 1 August 1835.⁸¹⁵

⁸¹² Anna Jameson, *Companion to the Most Celebrated Private Galleries of Art in London* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1844), p. xxxi.

⁸¹³ Vasari, *The Life of Giovanni Angelico Da Fiesole*.

⁸¹⁴ First published in *Hone's Year Book*, 19 March 1831. Lamb's writings were copiously reproduced in the nineteenth century; see, for example, Lamb, pp. 520-21. See also Jenny Graham, pp. 66-69. For an overview of the fate of the Aders collection see Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings*, pp. 12-13.

⁸¹⁵ This painting is: Dieric Bouts, *Portrait of a Man (Jan van Winckele?)*, 1462, NG943, National Gallery. Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings*, p. 46.

It was not unprecedented for Solly to buy large ‘German’ altarpieces – like the one he purchased for Bowes from the Lucca sale – on the British market. In the same years that he was working for Bowes, Solly purchased the so-called *Salamanca Triptych* (**Figures 4.29-30**) by Jan Gossaert.⁸¹⁶ Having been purchased by the dealer Lambert-Jean Nieuwenhuys in Bruges in 1810, the altarpiece had passed through the hands of the French dealer Alexis Delahante (1767-1837), who, in turn, had put it up for auction in 1811 and 1814 during the time that he was living in London and was importing pictures. Following Solly’s sale of the altarpiece in 1837 at Foster’s auction house, it passed – via a Mr Fuller – back to Lambert-Jean and Chrétien-Jean Nieuwenhuys, who then extracted the central *Deposition* panel and sold it to King Willem II of Orange.⁸¹⁷ Evidently, Solly was operating in triangular networks forged by dealers of early pictures such as the Nieuwenhuys family.⁸¹⁸

Following Solly’s purchases for Bowes at the Lucca sale, he wrote to Bowes on 2 September 1840, to inform him that ‘the Director of the Lucca Gallery [Galvani] leaves his remaining pictures here & returns to Florence on Friday from whence he means to bring a fresh supply of Raffaele etc. in [November]’ (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 2**).⁸¹⁹ From Solly’s letter it appears that he had spoken directly to Galvani to garner this information. Galvani – like Solly – was well-integrated into the Anglo-Italian art trade, and the English coterie in Lucca.⁸²⁰ Unpublished letters and bills consulted in the Sutherland Papers for this thesis shed further light on these

⁸¹⁶ These paintings are: Jan Gossaert, *Two Wings from the ‘Salamanca Triptych’*, 1521, 1952.85A-B, Toledo Museum, Spain; *Descent from the Cross*, c. 1520, 413, Hermitage Collection, St Petersburg.

⁸¹⁷ For this provenance see Lorne Campbell and Maryan W. Ainsworth, ‘Paintings’, in *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossart’s Renaissance*, ed. by Maryan W. Ainsworth (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010), pp. 113-306 (pp. 195-204); Hinterding and Horsch, p. 66.

Foster’s, London, 31 May 1837, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-4757, lot 86 [accessed 21 February 2022].

⁸¹⁸ For the Nieuwenhuys family see Hinterding and Horsch, p. 9, n. 17; Herrmann, ‘Peel and Solly’, pp. 91-92; Baetens and Lyna, ‘The Education of the Art Market’, pp. 42-43.

⁸¹⁹ DRO, D/St/C5/29/101, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 2 September 1840

(**Appendix 3.2, Letter 2**).

⁸²⁰ Penny and Mancini, pp. 473-78, in particular pp. 474-75; Fleming, ‘Art Dealing in the Risorgimento II’, p. 497, n. 29.

fruitful connections. Galvani's introduction to the Duke of Lucca's collection had arisen in the course of his services as an agent between 1839 and 1841 for George Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, 2nd Duke of Sutherland (1786-1861) and his wife, Lady Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana Howard (1806-1868), as well as further clients recommended to him by Henry Edward Fox, 4th Lord Holland (1802-1859), the British Minister to Tuscany.⁸²¹ In his work for the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, Galvani had acted as an agent in their commission to the artist Clemente Papi (1802-1875) to make a cast of Benvenuto Cellini's (1500-1571) *Perseus and Medusa* for the Italian Gardens on their Trentham Estate, Staffordshire, as well as collating information about, and conducting the purchases of, various paintings for sale across Venice, Bologna, Florence, and – importantly – Lucca.⁸²² It is worth noting that the Duke of Sutherland was also chairman of the trustees of the National Gallery and, in that connection, it remains difficult to know whether the Lucca Gallery was exported to England with a view to it possibly being purchased by the National Gallery *en bloc*.⁸²³ If this was the original aim then it was, of course, not achieved. The Duke of Sutherland himself purchased Gerrit van Honthorst's *Christ before the High Priest* (NG3679) from the Lucca Gallery, through William Buchanan, by 1844 – further testimony to the complexity of the Duke's involvement with the Lucchese collection.⁸²⁴

⁸²¹ For Carlo Galvani's defence against the Duke of Sutherland's complaints regarding his carrying out work for other people see SRO, D593/Q/1/3/200, Letter from Carlo Galvani to [Thomas Jackson?], January 1840.

⁸²² For correspondence and bills relating to Galvani's work see, in general, SRO, D593/Q/1/3, Correspondence Carried on by Thomas Jackson about the Purchase and Transport of Works of Art from Abroad, c. 1816-51. See the sub-section D593/Q/1/3/152-201, Letters of 1839-41 in Italian from the Art Agent Carlo Galvani at Florence and the Sculptor Clemente Papi Relating to the Acquisition of Works of Art. For Papi's own commission see the paper given by Giuseppe Rizzo, 'The Formation of Renaissance Taste in Early Victorian Britain: The Second Duke and Duchess of Sutherland as Collectors of Florentine Copies' (Wallace Collection, London, 29 April 2019).

⁸²³ For Penny and Mancini's thoughts on this see Penny and Mancini, p. 475. However, they appear not to have consulted the Sutherland Papers at this time. For the Duke of Sutherland as chairman of trustees see *ibid*, p. 183. Carlo Galvani's correspondence with the National Gallery is transcribed and published in *ibid*, p. 183.

⁸²⁴ See the 'Provenance' field for NG3679 on The Museum Service Database, National Gallery.

Galvani had succeeded sometime after Spring 1839 in exporting the ninety-four lots from the Duke of Lucca's gallery to England, including those later purchased for Bowes by Solly. Galvani's letter of 30 April 1839 to the Duke of Sutherland confirmed that the Duke of Lucca had agreed the transport to London of paintings from his Royal Gallery, which would be loaded in crates onto three ships, exported to London and sold there.⁸²⁵ This letter has been missed in previous scholarship on the Lucca sale, and the date for the exportation of the Lucca collection has been confused with archival documents pertaining to a later failed export of pictures by Guido Reni in 1840.⁸²⁶ While there are no surviving papers in the Lucca archives concerning the sale, the Lucca paintings must have been approved for export through official channels because, on the backs of those in the Bowes Museum's collection, there appears – along with the Duke of Lucca's seal, crest, and initials 'C. L.' – the red wax seal of the *Commissione Conservatrice di Belle Arti di Lucca* (the Commission for the Conservation of Lucca's Fine Arts) (**Figures 4.31-33**).⁸²⁷ This Commission would have operated as a similar mechanism to that in Bologna, already discussed.

Interestingly, Galvani explained to Sutherland how he, and fellow Italian citizens, had felt saddened by the loss of this tranche of Lucca's artistic patrimony. He wrote that he:

⁸²⁵ SRO, D593/Q/1/3/166, Letter from Carlo Galvani to 2nd Duke of Sutherland, 30 April 1839.

⁸²⁶ Ibid. See, for example, the sources erroneously interpreted in Fleming, 'Art Dealing in the Risorgimento II', p. 497, n. 29. The episode with the Reni paintings is summarised in SRO, D593/P/22/1/30, A Rough Note in Duke's Handwriting. See also Penny and Mancini, pp. 475, 478, n. 40.

⁸²⁷ The observations on the state of the archives are taken from Fleming, 'Art Dealing in the Risorgimento II', p. 497, n. 29. The present author was unable to visit the archives in Lucca due to Covid-19 travel restrictions.

regretted the loss to Italy of this selected Collection; many artists and amateurs came from Florence to bid a last farewell to the Gallery during the last few days and all were surprised by the beauty of the pieces of work that compose it.⁸²⁸

After all, it is worth remembering that many of the most significant paintings would have hung in the *Salone degli Staffieri* (the Hall of the Grooms) in Lucca's Palazzo Ducale, including Bowes's 'Ancient German School' triptych (B.M.168; **Figure 4.2**) which had featured in earlier guidebooks of the city.⁸²⁹ Letters in the Sutherland Papers show that Galvani had actively encouraged the Duke of Sutherland to purchase the Lucca collection *en bloc* – but whether this was in connection with his role as chairman of the National Gallery's trustees is hard to know.⁸³⁰ Galvani regretted that the Duke had not acted to acquire the collection, citing the advantage of buying 'in bulk' rather than purchasing works later on more expensively (partly due to the addition of high transport costs) once in England.⁸³¹ This was certainly not the only time that Galvani would seek the Duke's financial backing and endorsement. Propelled by securing the Lucca export, Galvani would later ask him in June 1839 for a loan to open a speculative '*Gabinetto*' (a cabinet or small gallery) in Florence through which to buy, sell, and display art.⁸³² It is as yet unclear if this went ahead.

The exhibition and sale of the Duke of Lucca's collection in England was generally regarded at the time, and shortly afterwards, as a failure. By 1844, Jameson could reflect that Galvani's

⁸²⁸ SRO, D593/Q/1/3/166, Letter from Carlo Galvani to 2nd Duke of Sutherland, 30 April 1839. For British art dealers and attitudes towards Italian patrimony see Donata Levi, "'Let Agents Be Sent to All the Cities of Italy': British Public Museums and the Italian Art Market in the Mid-Nineteenth Century", in *Victorian and Edwardian Responses to the Italian Renaissance*, ed. by John E. Law and Lene Østermark-Johansen (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 33-53.

⁸²⁹ Tommaso Felice Trenta, *Guida del Forestiere per la Città e il Contado di Lucca* (Lucca: Francesco Baroni, 1820), p. 49.

⁸³⁰ SRO, D593/Q/1/3/166, Letter from Carlo Galvani to 2nd Duke of Sutherland, 30 April 1839. For anecdotal interest shown by National Gallery see Penny and Mancini, p. 475.

⁸³¹ SRO, D593/Q/1/3/166, Letter from Carlo Galvani to 2nd Duke of Sutherland, 30 April 1839.

⁸³² SRO, D593/Q/1/3/173, Letter from Carlo Galvani to 2nd Duke of Sutherland, 24 June 1839.

enterprise had ‘turned out a rather unfortunate speculation; the pictures did not realise half the sum expected for them’.⁸³³ Yet, for Solly and Bowes, the Lucca exhibition and sales opened up profitable channels and networks through which early pictures could be viewed and acquired. Those early pictures purchased for Bowes had been exhibited and sold alongside others from the Lucca collection including Van Eyck’s *Lucca Madonna* (Städel Museum, Frankfurt; **Figure 4.34**), then attributed to Memling; Albrecht Dürer’s *Saint Jerome in the Desert* (NG6563; **Figure 4.35**); and Fra Angelico’s *Cosmas and Damian Heal the Deacon Justinian* (Kunsthhaus, Zurich; **Figure 4.36**). The early paintings were in fact acknowledged by the contemporary periodical press as the best part of the exhibition and subsequent sales. *The Literary Gazette* named as ‘splendid specimens’ the early pictures which though ‘may not be esteemed great from their intrinsic merits, are, nevertheless, interesting as examples of masters little known in England’.⁸³⁴ Even the otherwise critical *Spectator* conceded that:

the only really valuable portion of the collection consists of some curious specimens of the Gothic style of the early Italian and German painters; such as *St Jerome*, by Albert Durer, (20,) *Virgins and Saints*, by Lucas de Leyden, (73,) by Hemmeling, (19,) by Perugino, (19,) and Fra Bartolomeo, (25,) and two forming one altarpiece by Francia, (8 and 9).⁸³⁵

Worth noting is that Solly was buying early pictures for Bowes alongside dealers and agents who were purchasing pictures from the Lucca exhibition and sales and selling them on to royal collectors and public museums across Continental Europe, thus engaging in arbitrage

⁸³³ Jameson, *Companion*, p. xxxii.

⁸³⁴ ‘Duke of Lucca’s Pictures’, in *The Literary Gazette, and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c. For the Year 1840* (London: Moves and Barclay, 1840), pp. 468-69 (p. 469).

⁸³⁵ ‘The Lucca Gallery: A Mock Raffaele’, in *The Spectator: A Weekly Journal of News, Politics, Literature and Science* (London: Joseph Clayton, 1840), p. 739.

networks.⁸³⁶ The dealer Chrétien-Jean Nieuwenhuys purchased the ‘Memling’ – known today as Van Eyck’s *Lucca Madonna* (**Figure 4.34**) – to sell to King Willem II of Orange in 1842.⁸³⁷

Bowes may well have been flattered that Solly was bidding in such company on his behalf.

Samuel Woodburn

In addition to transnational networks with Rosaspina and Galvani, Solly also inserted Bowes within important domestic art trade networks in Britain which also directly affected the direction of his collecting habits. Solly seems to have managed Bowes’s relationship with the Woodburn dealership, for example.⁸³⁸ No correspondence survives in the Bowes Museum archive or Strathmore papers relating to the Woodburns, but their name is mentioned by Solly in his correspondence with Bowes and it also featured seven times in the ‘old list’.⁸³⁹ It was from the Woodburns that Bowes purchased in 1841 an early example of the Lombard School: a ‘Cesare da Sesto’ *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness*, catalogued today as by Andrea Solario (c. 1465-1524) (B.M.42; **Figure 4.7**). The ‘Da Sesto’, as well as other works bought at the same time from the Woodburns, such as the ‘Salviati’ *Rape of the Sabines* (B.M.208) and the ‘Domenichino’ *Saint George* (B.M.62), appear to be those which John Woodburn (c. 1750-1853) – the father of the firm – had failed to sell at auction in 1821 (**Appendix 3.1**).⁸⁴⁰ All three works were sold to Bowes for less than half of what John Woodburn had originally hoped to sell them for. It is also worth noting that Bowes acquired the ‘Da Sesto’ from the Woodburns in the same decade as Samuel Woodburn was amassing his large collection of eighty-three

⁸³⁶ For the practice of arbitrage in the period see Miegroet, Cronheim, and Miyamoto.

⁸³⁷ Hinterding and Horsch, p. 56.

⁸³⁸ For the Woodburn dealership see Chapter Four.

⁸³⁹ DRO, D/St/C5/29/101, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 2 September 1840 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 2**); TBM, TBM/8/4/1/2, List of Paintings, 1830-44.

⁸⁴⁰ The latter paintings are: Giuseppe Porta, *The Rape of the Sabine Women*, probably c. 1545-55, B.M.208; Attributed to Circle of Domenichino, *Saint George*, possibly c. 1550-1650, B.M.62, Bowes Museum. For the sale of John Woodburn’s stock see Christie’s, London, 12 May 1821, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-2123 [accessed 12 April 2023].

early Italian paintings, which he would later offer for sale to the National Gallery – as examined in the next chapter.

Picture Cleaners and Liners: Brown, Reinagle, and Peel

Some of Solly's most important domestic networks were with picture cleaners, restorers, and liners, who worked on paintings in Bowes's collection. Following the Duke of Lucca's sale, for example, Solly could report that the 'Early German' *Saint Jerome* (B.M.596; **Figure 4.1**) which he had purchased for Bowes was 'beautifully cleaned and is as pure as the day it was painted. It has no varnish as yet.' (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 2**).⁸⁴¹ Solly had seen it at 'Mr Brown's', whose identity is not yet certain.⁸⁴² In October 1840, Hutt went to see the newly-cleaned pictures from the Lucca sale: 'I have seen Solly – he wishes me to go with him to see the pikchers of which he seems to be proud now that they are cleaned'.⁸⁴³ Another artist and picture restorer in the network of Solly, Bowes, and Hutt was Ramsay Richard Reinagle (1775-1862), who – as Hutt wrote to Bowes – 'knows Old Solly'.⁸⁴⁴ In 1842, Reinagle was occupied with painting a full-length portrait of Hutt for the North England Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts, to be paid for by subscription, at the same time that he was endeavouring to sell pictures to the National Gallery and also offer his services to the Gallery as a picture restorer.⁸⁴⁵ Reinagle's contact with Hutt, Bowes, and Solly in 1842, preceded his later disgrace when in

⁸⁴¹ DRO, D/St/C5/29/101, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 2 September 1840 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 2**).

⁸⁴² 'Mr Brown' could perhaps be Emil Braun (1809-56), for whom see Marsden, pp. 1-13. Thomas Boden Brown (c. 1790-1875) could also be a candidate, for whom see Jacob Simon, 'Thomas Boden Brown', *British Picture Restorers, 1600-1950 – B* <<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/british-picture-restorers-1600-1950-b/>> [accessed 9 March 2023].

⁸⁴³ DRO, D/St/C5/29/117, Letter from William Hutt to John Bowes, 15 October 1840.

⁸⁴⁴ DRO, D/St/C5/42/25, Letter from William Hutt to John Bowes, 13 December 1842.

⁸⁴⁵ *Local Collections*, p. 201. See, for example, NGA, NG5/63/8, Letter from Ramsay Richard Reinagle offering to clean pictures, 9 December 1846. There are further letters dating between 1845 and 1858 from Reinagle to the Gallery regarding pictures for sale.

1848 it was discovered that he had submitted to the Royal Academy another artist's work as his own.⁸⁴⁶

The most significant relationship which Solly cultivated within the domestic picture trade was with John Peel, the esteemed picture liner of Golden Square, London – who was also listed in the period as a restorer, artist, frame-maker, and dealer.⁸⁴⁷ Many of the paintings which Solly purchased for Bowes appear to have made their way through Peel's premises to be cleaned, restored, varnished, and freshly lined, the cost of such work adding between about five and ten percent to the original price of a picture.⁸⁴⁸ To some degree, the working relationship between Solly and Peel came about out of necessity because a considerable number of the pictures which Solly purchased were from 'old collections, as black as they might be'.⁸⁴⁹ Being a hybrid type of collector-dealer, as observed in this chapter's opening discussion, and without the artistic training or practical craftsmanship that other contemporary dealers sometimes possessed, Solly lacked the practical skills and the premises required to carry out this kind of work himself and thus relied on outsourcing cleaning and lining to trusted expert colleagues such as Peel.

Twentieth-century conservation treatments carried out on the early pictures in Bowes's first collection have revealed the extent to which nineteenth-century restorers worked on them. The treatment of Santacroce's *Presentation at the Temple* (B.M.48; **Figure 2.28**) was discussed in Chapter One. Many of the other early pictures on Bowes's 'old list' exhibit evidence of nineteenth-century interventions ranging from surface cleaning to re-touching and

⁸⁴⁶ T. A. B. Corley, 'Reinagle, Ramsay Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2007) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23353>>.

⁸⁴⁷ For an introduction to John Peel see Jacob Simon, 'John Peel', *British Picture Restorers, 1600-1950 – P* <<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/british-picture-restorers-1600-1950-p>> [accessed 24 October 2022]. Simon does not mention Peel's links with Edward Solly and John Bowes.

⁸⁴⁸ For an idea of these charges see DRO, D/St/C5/38/23, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 18 January 1842 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 3**).

⁸⁴⁹ Skwirblies, 'Edward Solly's 'Stock of Paintings'', p. 18.

overpainting. Extant correspondence regarding the ‘Early German’ *Saint Jerome* (B.M.596; **Figure 4.1**) from the Lucca collection records that ‘Mr Brown’ cleaned and restored it; recent conservation treatment has revealed the work was indeed retouched with blue overpaint in the nineteenth century to disguise damage to its top corners.⁸⁵⁰ The ‘Old German School’ *Crucifixion* (B.M.168; **Figure 4.2**) altarpiece, similarly acquired from the Lucca collection, also exhibited passages which had been altered and overpainted in the nineteenth century.⁸⁵¹ As the photos taken during its conservation and restoration of the 1970s-80s show, there was a major section of overpainting in the figure of the archer in the right of the central panel, who had originally been depicted on horseback (**Figure 4.37**).⁸⁵² This overpainting could have been carried out in Italy, perhaps by the *Commissione Conservatrice di Belle Arti di Lucca*, the body who were responsible for overseeing the region’s cultural heritage, or by Galvani.⁸⁵³ Alternatively, the work could have been undertaken by another dealer or restorer in Britain before the picture’s exhibition and sale in 1840. Equally plausibly, the restoration may have been carried out after its purchase for Bowes, under the supervision of Solly, perhaps by a picture restorer in Solly’s art trade networks like ‘Mr Brown’ or Peel, before the pictures entered Bowes’s collection. There did often seem to be a delay between the purchase of pictures in London and their arrival in County Durham when this type of work may well have taken place.⁸⁵⁴

⁸⁵⁰ DRO, D/St/C5/29/101, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 2 September 1840 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 2**). See the conservation report by R. Hobson and others, seemingly from analysis and treatment in the 1970s. It is held in the conservation file for B.M.596 kept in the Conservation Studio at the Bowes Museum.

⁸⁵¹ See the conservation report by William Hood, R. Hobson, and others, seemingly from analysis and treatment in the 1970s. It is held in the conservation file for B.M.168 kept in the Conservation Studio at the Bowes Museum.

⁸⁵² *Ibid.*

⁸⁵³ On the *Commissione* see Penny and Mancini, p. 474.

⁸⁵⁴ For Solly and Peel sending pictures see, for example, DRO, D/St/C5/54/89, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 9 November 1844 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 8**); D/St/C5/61/193, Letter from John Peel to John Bowes, 4 November 1845.

In addition to his picture lining and restoration work, Peel also served as somewhat of a middleman himself. He was in touch with Bowes and Hutt directly. After Solly's death in 1844, sixteen of the dealer's paintings were housed in Peel's premises at 16 Golden Square. Nine years after Solly's death, Hutt was still visiting Peel there and would report his findings back to Bowes. Writing from Gibside in August 1853 to Bowes in Paris, Hutt documented a recent trip to Golden Square:

I spent a couple of hours with Peel examining his pictures. The Giorgione is a very large piece 14 feet by 12 on panel. It was evidently painted for a church & for an elevated position. Did only see it in a very small room with bad light & on a level. I suppose it must be an original, but it is fit only for a great gallery. The figure of the Virgin is very fine – other parts I did not take so well, but I saw the picture to great disadvantage. Peel told me that several of Solly's pictures remained unsold in the hands of his executor Mr Domville of Beaumont Street. They are for sale.⁸⁵⁵

The 'Giorgione', today ascribed to Giovanni Bellini and in the collection of the Kelvingrove, Glasgow (**Figure 4.38**), had been in Peel's studio since the 1847 auction of Solly's collection at Christie's at which point at least fourteen pictures, which had been bought-in, passed into his care.⁸⁵⁶ A letter and an accompanying descriptive catalogue in the Zentralarchiv, Berlin, dating to 4 September 1847, show Peel offering the 'Giorgione' and thirteen other paintings to

⁸⁵⁵ DRO, D/St/C5/102/30, Letter from William Hutt to John Bowes, 18 August 1853. Solly's executor was his brother-in-law, Sir William Domville, 2nd Baronet (1774-1860). His sister Maria (1779-1853) had married Domville in 1807. Genealogical information is held in WFA. Domville also purchased, from the posthumous auction of Solly's collection in 1847, *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas with a Donor*, then attributed to Perugino, today to Giovanni Battista Bertucci the Elder (NG1051, National Gallery).

⁸⁵⁶ For another example of the historic conflation of attributions to Bellini and Giorgione see Elena Greer and Nicholas Penny, 'Giorgione and the National Gallery', *The Burlington Magazine*, 152.1287 (2010), 364-75 (p. 368).

Berlin's Royal Museum through the then director Baron Ignaz von Olfers (1793-1871). Peel wrote:

I beg to inform you that the large Alter Piece by Giorgione formerly in Mr Solly's Collection here in London has since passed into my hands. Having been informed that this Picture has been thought desirable for the Berlin Gallery I beg to say that I am willing to part with it at the price of One Thousand Pounds Sterling.⁸⁵⁷

At nearly twice the price that the painting had been offered at auction in the same year, the Giorgione was declined. The 'Bagnacavallo' (**Figure 4.22**) that had been offered to Bowes in January 1842, as outlined earlier, was also proposed to Berlin in the same letter.⁸⁵⁸ Still in 1857, Peel had Solly's pictures on his premises. In that year, Peel was approached by George Scharf, secretary of the Manchester 'Art Treasures' exhibition, to organise the lending of Ludovico Mazzolino's (active 1504-d. 1528) *The Crossing of the Red Sea* (**Figure 4.39**), formerly belonging to Solly, to the Ancient Masters room of the exhibition.⁸⁵⁹ It was indeed lent, as being from Solly's collection though, not from Peel.⁸⁶⁰

Particularly striking about Peel is that he formulated a role for himself that was increasingly specialised. Though he was variously recorded as an artist, restorer, picture liner, and frame-maker in directories of the period, he became renowned and celebrated in particular as a picture liner. Peel signals the birth of a new kind of art market professional who had rendered themselves distinct from the perceptibly spurious commercial and artisanal picture trade by

⁸⁵⁷ ZA, I/GG/166, Letter from John Peel to Baron Von Olfers, 14 September 1847, fol. 308; *Catalogue of Italian Pictures of the Late Edward Solly, Esq.*, fols. 309-15.

⁸⁵⁸ This painting is: Niccolò Pisano, *Sacra Conversazione*, c. 1525-30, 2523, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires.

⁸⁵⁹ Ludovico Mazzolino, *The Crossing of the Red Sea*, 1521, NGI.666, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. Manchester, Manchester Central Library (MCL), M6/2/6/2, Letter from George Scharf to John Peel, 24 March [1857?], fol. 166.

⁸⁶⁰ *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom: Collected at Manchester in 1857* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1857), p. 25.

harbouring desirable technical knowledge.⁸⁶¹ In the 1845 translation of the physician and naturalist Francois-Xavier de Burtin's (1743-1818) *Treatise on the Knowledge Necessary to Amateurs in Pictures*, it was footnoted within a highly technical section on the picture lining process that 'no person can surpass the London liners, one of whom, Mr John Peel, of Golden Square, is too well known for the excellence of his work to need any encomium here'.⁸⁶² Peel had honed his technical craft, was celebrated for this fact, and was actively and systematically sought out by collectors and dealers like Solly to carry out work for them: his name remains still clearly stamped on the back of many pictures (**Figure 4.40**).

Making Attributions

Solly's influence in Bowes's collection did not end when a painting had been purchased through his networks. The research carried out for this thesis has shown that Solly was entrusted with attributing works in Bowes's collection and he could draw from his 'information networks' to do so.⁸⁶³ Pomian observed that by the end of the eighteenth century, a key aspect of a dealer's expertise was the ability to make attributions – the ultimate coalescing of *théorie* and *pratique*.⁸⁶⁴ A core aspect of this, he suggested, was the dealers' encyclopaedic visual repertoire, and 'why only daily contact with paintings over several years could provide the competence needed to make attributions'.⁸⁶⁵

A striking instance of Solly's influence in this domain is with the *Saint Jerome and the Lion* (B.M.596; **Figure 4.1**), purchased for Bowes from the Lucca sale in 1840. Exhibited at the Society of Painters in Watercolour at Pall Mall in 1840 as by the German artist Johann

⁸⁶¹ Hayes, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁶² François-Xavier de Burtin, *Treatise on the Knowledge Necessary to Amateurs in Pictures*, trans. by Robert White (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1845), p. 287.

⁸⁶³ For 'information networks' see Baetens and Lyna, 'Introduction: Towards an International History', p. 11.

⁸⁶⁴ Pomian, pp. 138-68.

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 156.

Rottenhammer (1564-1625), it was, however, listed in the Christie's catalogue of the same year as 'Early German' and first inventoried as such in Bowes's collection (it was called 'Old German School' there). However, by 1848, the painting was hanging at Gibside, where it was noted as a work of Jan van Eyck.⁸⁶⁶ Van Eyck's reception had gained traction in Britain by this time; for instance, the National Gallery had purchased the *Arnolfini Portrait* (NG186; **Figure 1.2**) in 1842 (displayed from 1843), and it had had much publicity before this due to its having been exhibited at the British Institution in 1841.⁸⁶⁷ 1848 – the date of Bowes's Gibside inventory – further constituted an important year for revivals surrounding early European art in Britain. The year saw the foundation of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, the Arundel Society, and the British Institution's Old Master exhibition showing 'a series of pictures from the times of Giotto to Van Eyck', as well as Europe-wide revolutions which increased the circulation of this branch of art.⁸⁶⁸

It must not be forgotten that, famously, Solly had acquired for his Berlin collection the wings of the Van Eycks' *Ghent Altarpiece* (**Figure 4.41**) from the dealer Lambert-Jean Nieuwenhuys in 1819, along with many other items.⁸⁶⁹ Nieuwenhuys had himself purchased the wings from the Cathedral of Saint Bavo, Ghent, to where the central panels soon afterwards returned from the Louvre, Paris, following their earlier looting by Napoleonic troops in 1794.⁸⁷⁰ It was at the Louvre that the altarpiece had been lauded famously by Romantic scholars such as Schlegel in 1802, and later the wings received much praise from Johanna Schopenhauer (née Trosiener;

⁸⁶⁶ For the different attributions see respectively: [Galvani], lot 71; *Catalogue of a Portion of the Gallery of His Royal Highness the Duke of Lucca*, 1840, lot 31; TBM, TBM/8/4/1/2, List of Paintings, 1830-44; DRO, D/St/E5/2/20, List of Paintings at Gibside to be Insured from 25 December 1848.

⁸⁶⁷ [British Institution], *Catalogue of Pictures by Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch, French and English Masters* (London: William Nichol, 1841), p. 8. For commentary see Jenny Graham, pp. 95-102.

⁸⁶⁸ [British Institution], *Catalogue*, 1848, p. 6.

⁸⁶⁹ Skwirblies and others, 'Catalogue', pp. 94-95.

⁸⁷⁰ Jenny Graham, p. 61.

1766-1838) when she saw them in Solly's collection.⁸⁷¹ Solly's contemporaries and friends were also highly influential in the critical reception of Van Eyck. Waagen – who later stayed with Solly in London – published his pamphlet *Ueber Hubrecht und Johann Van Eyck* in 1822, the first catalogue raisonné of the brothers which, along with Schopenhauer's contemporaneous work, contributed to recalibrating the standing of northern European art, albeit in the German language – in which Solly was fluent.⁸⁷²

Solly appears to have assisted with the attribution of Bowes's purported 'Van Eyck'. In a letter from Hutt to Bowes in October 1840, nearly three months after the Lucca purchases were made by Solly, Hutt wrote that: 'Old Solly & I are to devote a part of Monday to the fine arts. I gave him your book of *Vie des Peintres* & he will then report on them.'⁸⁷³ Jean-Baptiste Descamps's *La Vie des Peintres Flammands, Allemands et Hollandois*, published between 1753 and 1764, to which Hutt refers, collated biographies of artists, beginning with Van Eyck.⁸⁷⁴ Indeed, in another early inventory of paintings hanging at Streatlam Castle, dated 1834, the opening description of '1 Large Piece by Rubens of his second wife at a fruit shop' was quoted directly from *La Vie des Peintres*.⁸⁷⁵ It was certainly a well-read publication in England and pivotal in popularising artists such as Van Eyck and Memling among British audiences through the evocative anecdotes taken from Karel van Mander (1548-1606) and original, personal observations on artistic style.⁸⁷⁶ Knowing that Solly reported on Bowes's pictures in 1840 – armed with Bowes's copy of Descamps, his additional knowledge of Waagen's monograph on the artist, and experience of having bought and sold Van Eyck's work in the past – it appears

⁸⁷¹ For Schlegel's responses in 1802 see Borchert, p. 180. See also Johanna Schopenhauer, *Johann van Eyck und seine Nachfolger*, 2 vols (Frankfurt a.M.: Heinrich Wilmans, 1822), I, pp. 58-59.

⁸⁷² Waagen, *Ueber Hubert und Johann van Eyck*.

⁸⁷³ DRO, D/Dt/C5/029/118, Letter from William Hutt to John Bowes, 16 October 1840.

⁸⁷⁴ Descamps.

⁸⁷⁵ DRO, D/St/E1/3/26, List of Paintings at Streatlam, (watermark 1834).

⁸⁷⁶ Jenny Graham, pp. 26-37.

likely that Solly was responsible, at least in part, for the change in attribution to the then fashionable Van Eyck in a moment of shifting critical fortune. As Ivan Gaskell underlines, certain artists' names held particular commercial weight, and dealers (like Solly) have historically worked in dialogue with scholars and museum professionals (like Waagen) through which to assign works to particular artists as part of mutually beneficial systems.⁸⁷⁷ In the absence of further evidence, we can also speculate whether Solly had anything to do with the purchase and attribution of an altarpiece in three compartments (B.M.175; **Figure 4.4**) in 1840 which was attributed in Bowes's 'old list' to Memling and said to have belonged to 'Don Miguel', perhaps the then exiled former king of Portugal.⁸⁷⁸

Further, the networks that Solly enjoyed with restorers and liners like Peel and Brown also may have contributed to matters of attribution. As Chapter One observed, attitudes towards cleaning and restoration were shifting, in tandem with ideas about the authenticity and integrity of works of art. While cleaning was likely a necessity due to the types of 'old' and 'dirty' pictures which Solly was known to buy, as Matthew Hayes has observed, 'long a standard means of removing dirt and discoloured varnishes, [towards the mid-century] cleaning assumed the art-historical function of revealing a painting's true creator'.⁸⁷⁹ Certainly, following its cleaning by 'Mr Brown' in August 1840, Bowes's 'Early German' *Saint Jerome* purchased by Solly had graduated to a 'Van Eyck' by 1848 – complementing the increasingly widely-held idea that cleaning had allowed its 'true creator' to be revealed.⁸⁸⁰

⁸⁷⁷ Gaskell, 'Tradesmen as Scholars', pp. 146-62.

⁸⁷⁸ This painting is: Attributed to Circle of Ambrosius Benson, *Pietà and the Two Maries*, c. 1519-50, B.M.175, Bowes Museum. TBM, TBM/8/4/1/2, List of Paintings, 1830-44. For Memling's nineteenth-century critical fortune see Chapter One.

⁸⁷⁹ For the condition of Solly's pictures see Skwirblies, 'Edward Solly's 'Stock of Paintings'', p. 18. For quote see Hayes, p. 6.

⁸⁸⁰ DRO, D/St/E5/2/20, List of Paintings at Gibside to be Insured from 25 December 1848; DRO, D/St/C5/29/101, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 2 September 1840 (**Appendix 3.2, Letter 2**).

Finally, though acquired as part of his first collection, certain paintings remained particularly significant for Bowes as his sights turned towards collecting for the Bowes Museum. By 1860, Bowes was conducting further research into the Capriolo portrait (B.M.55; **Figure 4.18**), one of his earliest north Italian acquisitions. Hutt wrote in reply to Bowes:

your falling upon the traces of poor old Solly was odd & interesting. I was much pleased too with the explanation of the mysterious Capriole – it must be a picture of value now that one knows it & can show it to be by Domenichino.⁸⁸¹

This retrospective reference to Solly and the portrait by Domenico Capriolo demonstrates that Solly likely had an involvement in its purchase and attribution in 1840, despite the absence of his name against the picture's entry on Bowes's 'old list'.⁸⁸² The mistake with the artist's name – the erroneous conflation with Domenichino (rather than Domenico) – further demonstrates the enduring obscurity of Capriolo, and is indicative of the unfamiliarity, even by that time, of the north Italian works that Solly first helped Bowes to acquire and attribute. As a note in Bowes's handwriting in the Strathmore papers evidences (**Figure 4.42**), even by 1871 – the year of the publication of Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle's catalogue raisonné of painting in northern Italy – Bowes was still grappling with clarifying this obscure artist's identity.⁸⁸³ This example sheds light on how the art market was a crucial mechanism for the introduction, classification, and critical appraisal of early European pictures and artist names, before systematising mechanisms such as the art-historical catalogue raisonné.

Thus, having originally been brought together at the 1835-36 Select Committee of Art and Manufactures, Solly, Peel, Bowes, and Hutt ended up operating as part of dynamic art trade

⁸⁸¹ DRO, D/St/C5/137/62, Letter from William Hutt to John Bowes, 14 July 1860.

⁸⁸² TBM, TBM/8/4/1/2, List of Paintings, 1830-44.

⁸⁸³ DRO, D/St/E1/3/34, Particular of a Painting at Streatlam, c. 1871. See Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in North Italy: Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Ferrara, Milan, Friuli, Brescia, from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1871).

networks. These networks, of which Solly was largely the architect, encompassed institutions such as the Bologna Academy of Fine Art and the Berlin museums, as well as London's domestic picture trade, and connected Bowes with multifaceted art market actors such as Rosaspina, Galvani, Buchanan, Woodburn, Peel, Reinagle, and 'Mr Brown'. Through these interrelated networks, Bowes was presented with interesting opportunities to buy early European and obscure northern Italian paintings which were contemporaneously being offered to public museums across Europe keen to grow their holdings in these areas. Once accessioned into Bowes's collection, Solly also appears to have held some influence over the attributions of certain paintings – notable instances being the Van Eyck *Saint Jerome* and the Capriolo portrait. Having moved away from relying heavily on a mono-focus biography of the collector, the advantages of plotting the collector within multifaceted dealer-agent networks has demonstrated more clearly than ever before how the shape of Bowes's first picture collection was ultimately derived from the expediencies, strategies, contingencies, collaboration, and competition of a number of intersecting and transnational picture trade networks. Most notably, Bowes's previously unexplained turn towards earlier and obscure pictures around 1840 can now be accounted for by the dynamics and locations of particular picture trade networks orchestrated by Solly. The chapter can be used by other scholars as a synthetic model on which to base their own future investigations into other dealers, agents, and collectors.

Chapter Four

Alternative ‘Curators’: Dealers Exhibiting Early European Paintings, c. 1836-53

Having examined art market networks in Chapter Three, the present chapter interrogates another complementary and key area in which the role of the dealer was emerging more fully by the 1840s and one which had important consequences for the display and reception of early European paintings. This chapter examines the role of the dealer as a ‘curator’ of early paintings, during a period when the Old Master temporary exhibition was being cemented as an important cultural phenomenon in the British art world.⁸⁸⁴

This chapter demonstrates that dealers played an important role in exhibition-making outside of government- and privately-funded art institutions which were beginning to exhibit early European paintings in Britain by the 1840s. As the Introduction to this thesis showed, the exhibition of Jan van Eyck’s so-called *Arnolfini Portrait* at the National Gallery from 1843, the 1848 exhibition of ‘a series of Pictures from the time of Giotto and Van Eyck’ at the British Institution, and the exhibition in 1851 of the collection of William Humble Ward, 1st Earl of Dudley at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, are representative of the more ‘mainstream’ locations that feature in the conventional literature on the subject of exhibiting early pictures in Britain. Yet, from the 1840s, dealers such as Samuel Woodburn, who presided over their own galleries and shops, were also acting as alternative ‘curators’ of early European pictures, conceiving of

⁸⁸⁴ Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum*; Haskell, ‘Old Master Exhibitions’, pp. 552-64; Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, pp. 96-103. Curator is used in inverted commas when describing art dealers. Although the term was in use to describe ‘the official in charge of a museum, art gallery, library, or other such collection; a keeper, custodian’ from the seventeenth-century, terms such as ‘keeper’ were more common. Art dealers in the first half of the nineteenth century would not have referred to themselves as curators. The use of ‘curator’ to describe ‘a person who selects the items for an exhibition or festival programme, typically one using professional knowledge or expertise; one who carefully selects and organises a collection of items, especially for exhibition, display, or publication’ began to be used only from the mid-twentieth century. See ‘Curator’, *Oxford English Dictionary* <<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/45960?redirectedFrom=curator#eid>> [accessed 30 October 2022].

their display in new and innovative ways due to the creativity and autonomy that they could exercise in spaces for which they were solely responsible. Giles Waterfield's broad observations on London's commercial galleries in the long nineteenth-century are useful here, in his study of which he spans across eighteenth-century print shops, dealer-run galleries, auction house viewing rooms, and what he calls the 'spectacular' commercial galleries of the later nineteenth century.⁸⁸⁵ As he suggests,

in the design of galleries and matters of display, such galleries have often been innovators, having enjoyed the advantage of free enterprise and having frequently depended on their ability to attract public attention for success and survival.⁸⁸⁶

This fits into a broader contemporary context of dealer exhibitions in the first half of the nineteenth century which has been examined by Mark Westgarth in relation to curiosity dealers, and by Julia Armstrong-Totten in relation to the format of the private contract sale exhibition, as outlined in the Introduction to this thesis.⁸⁸⁷ As such, through their display and exhibition practices, dealers directly contributed to the new cultures of visibility in which early European pictures were beginning to be placed concertedly from the 1840s.⁸⁸⁸

Dealers have been largely neglected in scholarship on the exhibition histories of early paintings in the first part of the nineteenth century in Britain. Yet, investigating the dealer in the role of 'curator' at that moment is highly appropriate because, as Waterfield has observed regarding the emergence of the curator in the nineteenth century,

⁸⁸⁵ Fronk, Wright, and Waterfield, pp. 159-70.

⁸⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 159.

⁸⁸⁷ Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, pp. 141-52; Armstrong-Totten, 'Expand the Audience', pp. 45-56. See also the phenomenon of the bazaar in Klonk, pp. 334-35.

⁸⁸⁸ For context around these 'new cultures of visibility' see, for example, Clarke, 'The Rediscovery of Fra Angelico', pp. 13-26; Cooper, 'The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting', pp. 201-20; Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, pp. 96-103.

the history [of curatorship] did not emerge from the contributions of a trained body of museum professionals. The hazy boundaries between professional, amateur, commercial and academic, applied to [...] curatorship.⁸⁸⁹

It is of course worth remembering that the superintendent of the British Institution (from 1805), the ‘Surveyor, Cleaner and Repairer of the King’s Pictures’ (from 1820), and the first keeper of the National Gallery (from 1824) was in fact a dealer: William Segulier. Segulier was, and often remains, critiqued for his branch of ‘keepership’, which was seen to have been founded on a poor and superficial education in the arts.⁸⁹⁰ Indeed, for Elizabeth Heath, the rise of the ‘pioneering scholar-curator’ following Segulier’s early ‘efforts’ – note the pejorative tone of ‘efforts’ – was enmeshed with contemporary developments in art-historical scholarship.⁸⁹¹ While figures such as Charles Eastlake and George Scharf – artists turned curators – are regularly cited as representing this type of new museum professional, dealers are overlooked (or in the case of Segulier, chastised) in this arena, likely due in part to continuing attitudes of distrust in relation to dealers.⁸⁹² As this chapter will demonstrate, dealers such as Samuel Woodburn and Ludwig Grüner (1801-1882) were also thinking about and executing ambitious and scholarly exhibitions of early European paintings, rooted in contemporary art-historical discourse, even before their museum counterparts at sites including the National Gallery.

⁸⁸⁹ Waterfield, *The People’s Galleries*, p. 17.

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid. See also James Hamilton, *A Strange Business: Making Art and Money in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Atlantic Books, 2014), pp. 255-85.

⁸⁹¹ Elizabeth Heath, ‘Introduction’, in *The Emergence of the Museum Professional*, ed. by Heath, pp. 1-7 (p. 2) <<https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2018/05/heath-introduction.pdf>> [12 December 2022].

⁸⁹² In addition to Avery-Quash’s expansive scholarship on Eastlake see Hartley, “‘How to Observe’”, pp. 1-20; Heath, ‘A Man of “Unflagging Zeal and Industry”’, pp. 1-38; Jacob Simon, ‘George Scharf and Improving Collection Care’, pp. 1-21; Klonk, pp. 331-47. For the appointment of artists to museum positions such as keeper and director see Susanna Avery-Quash and James Carleton Paget, ‘The Artist as Director at the National Gallery, London: Intention or Happenstance?’, in *Artists Work in Museums: Histories, Interventions, Subjectivities*, ed. by Matilda Pye and Linda Sandino (Bath: Wunderkammer Press, 2013), pp. 34-47.

As this chapter observes, the role of art dealers within exhibition culture was by no means straightforward. The activities of these alternative ‘curators’ in the art world were woven into the complex intersection of notions of private gain and public benefit – concepts which were discussed in Chapter Two in relation to William Buchanan. As dealers made early pictures visible through temporary exhibitions, sometimes even structuring them within sophisticated didactic exhibitionary frameworks drawn from nascent museum practices in Europe, they concurrently harboured, and were accused of harbouring, commercial interestedness. As historian Richard Altick has observed more broadly, temporary art exhibitions in early nineteenth-century Britain were firmly intertwined with developing ideas of commerce, luxury, and leisured consumption.⁸⁹³ As Altick articulates, notions of ‘museum’, ‘collection’, and ‘gallery’ had long been conflated with the connotation of ‘goods for sale’ in Britain since the eighteenth century.⁸⁹⁴ The physical spaces in which dealers’ exhibitions of early European paintings took place mapped directly onto these discursive ideas of public benefit and private gain. Dealers often occupied hybrid or overlapping spaces which spanned the functions of ‘gallery’ and ‘shop’, or placed their exhibitions in close proximity – both physically and more discursively – to the culturally-sanctioned space of the art museum. Both of these aspects are true of the dealer Samuel Woodburn’s practices during the 1840s and 1850s, as this chapter will demonstrate.

One important discovery in the National Gallery’s archive during the research for this chapter was a drawing by Samuel Woodburn of the floorplan of his family’s premises at 112 St Martin’s Lane, London (**Figure 5.1**).⁸⁹⁵ It visualises the distinct spaces of ‘shop’ and ‘gallery’

⁸⁹³ Altick. See also Greg Smith, ‘The Watercolour as a Commodity: The Exhibitions of the Society of Painters in Water Colours, 1805-1812’, in *Art in Bourgeois Society, 1790-1850*, ed. by Andrew Hemingway and William Vaughan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 45-61.

⁸⁹⁴ Altick, pp. 427-28.

⁸⁹⁵ NGA, NG5/72/6(ii), Floorplan of the Woodburn Premises at 112 St Martin’s Lane, 1848. The only, albeit cursory, reference the present author has found to this floorplan is in a footnote in the recent article by Penny, ‘The Fate of the ‘Lawrence Gallery’’, p. 1238, n. 43.

in which his collection of early Italian paintings – and other items in his stock – were exhibited and sold. Taking the drawing alongside Woodburn’s proposed sale of the lease of his premises to the nearby National Gallery in 1848, through which he sought to provide a neighbouring annexe for the nation’s pictures, the chapter observes how dealers such as Woodburn perceived themselves and their premises as sharing physical and discursive space with other exhibitionary sites including the public art museum.⁸⁹⁶ As we shall see, this dealer’s conception of his relationship with the National Gallery directly affected the ways in which he conceived of the display of his early pictures at his own premises.

Finally, this chapter will map the development and stratification of particular display strategies used by dealers who were exhibiting early pictures. When compared with the experimental and trial-and-error methods that the dealer Buchanan used to exhibit his early ‘Raphael’s’ in the space of his Haymarket shop in the 1800s, as discussed in Chapter Two, this chapter finds that the ways in which dealers displayed – and thought about the display of – early European pictures would become increasingly systematic and didactic by the 1840s.

The Woodburn Dealership

This chapter takes the activities of the British dealer Samuel Woodburn as a central case study. Surprisingly little has been written on Woodburn in his capacity as a picture dealer, and even less on his role as a dealer of early European paintings; what has been written usually forms a fragmentary part of a broader chapter or article, rather than a standalone study.⁸⁹⁷ It is also striking that the period during which Woodburn was acquiring his early Italian paintings has been associated with a decline in his mental health, which appears to have precluded any rich discussion in scholarship of the innovative practices – particularly with regard to display

⁸⁹⁶ NGA, NG5/72/5, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Lord John Russell, 20 Feb 1848.

⁸⁹⁷ Penny, ‘The Fate of the ‘Lawrence Gallery’’, pp. 1247-51; Avery-Quash, ‘The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting’, p. xxvii; Avery-Quash, ‘A Network of Agents’, pp. 84-87.

strategies for early paintings – that he was exploring at that time.⁸⁹⁸ By contrast, much more has been published on Woodburn’s work as a dealer of prints, drawings, and engravings – as Nicholas Penny’s article (2022) on the fate of the ‘Lawrence Gallery’ confirms.⁸⁹⁹ Certainly, the stately image that we have of Woodburn in the portrait in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, (**Figure 5.2**) by National Gallery trustee and president of the Royal Academy, Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830), presents him as a gentlemanly purveyor of works on paper; he holds a large sheet in his right hand. Woodburn played a central role in the assembly and dispersal of Lawrence’s collection of Old Master drawings.

In contrast, the present chapter draws from material in the archive of the National Gallery pertaining to Woodburn’s collection of over seventy early Italian paintings (**Appendix 4**), which were unsuccessfully offered by him to the Gallery to purchase on numerous occasions between 1847 and his death in 1853.⁹⁰⁰ The collection of, by then, eighty-three paintings was ultimately posthumously put up for sale at Christie’s in 1860.⁹⁰¹ This aspect of Woodburn’s holdings is often side-lined as a failure due to the fact that it was consistently refused by the National Gallery, for reasons including the trustees’ by no means insignificant concerns about the pictures’ quality.⁹⁰² Yet, regarding the collection in this way precludes the mining of its important implications for exhibitionary histories of early European paintings in Britain, not least in relation to dealers’ premises.

⁸⁹⁸ Penny, ‘The Fate of the ‘Lawrence Gallery’’, p. 1251

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid, pp. 1234-47; Simon Turner, ‘Samuel Woodburn’, *Print Quarterly*, 20.2 (2003), 131-44; Griffiths, pp. 90–112.

⁹⁰⁰ This material is held in the NGA predominantly under the following subsections: NG5, Letters to the National Gallery, 1821-77; NG6, National Gallery Letter Books, 1826-1921; NG22, Charles Eastlake Notebooks, c. 1830-64; NG72, Items transferred from the National Gallery Library, c. 1850s-1980s.

⁹⁰¹ *Catalogue of the Very Celebrated & Valuable Series of Capital Pictures by the Greatest Early Italian Masters, Formed under Singular Advantage, by That Distinguished Connoisseur, the Late Samuel Woodburn, Esq.*, 9-11 June 1860, Christie’s, London. There is an annotated copy, with buyers, in the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum.

⁹⁰² Avery-Quash, ‘The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting’, p. xxvii.

At this point, it is useful briefly to introduce Samuel Woodburn within the context of the Woodburn dealership. The Woodburn family were at their premises at 112 St Martin's Lane, London, from 1797, the business having been established by the family's patriarch John Woodburn and continued – following his retirement 'to the country' in 1821 – by his sons, Samuel, William (1778-1860), Henry, and Allen Woodburn (1786-1851).⁹⁰³ Samuel Woodburn was engaged in buying, selling, and publishing prints by the 1810s.⁹⁰⁴ His name is first found in documentation in the National Gallery's archive dating to 25 February 1834, where his opinion was sought on two paintings by Correggio which the Gallery had been offered.⁹⁰⁵ Just afterwards, Samuel played a central role in the assembly and dispersal of Lawrence's collection of Old Master drawings, which were displayed in ten selling exhibitions, first at the Cosmorama on Regent Street, and latterly at 112 St Martin's Lane between 1835 and 1836.⁹⁰⁶ A portion of the Michelangelo and Raphael drawings were eventually paid for by public subscription and acquired by the University Galleries of Oxford, now the Ashmolean, by 1846.⁹⁰⁷ As mentioned, most significant for this thesis is the fact that Samuel amassed a

⁹⁰³ For biographical information see Turner, 'Samuel Woodburn', p. 131, n. 1; Harley Preston, 'Woodburn, Samuel', *Grove Art Online* <<https://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000092161>> [accessed 5 March 2020]; Jacob Simon, 'Woodburn', *British Picture Framemakers, 1600-1950 – W* <<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/w>> [accessed 5 March 2020]. For William Woodburn see Barbara Pezzini, 'Art Sales and Attributions': The 1852 National Gallery Acquisition of The Tribute Money by Titian', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 17.2 (2017), 1-23 (pp. 3-5) <<https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2017/11/pezzini.pdf>> [accessed 25 September 2022].

⁹⁰⁴ Turner, 'Samuel Woodburn', pp. 131-32.

⁹⁰⁵ Penny, 'The Fate of the 'Lawrence Gallery'', p. 1240.

⁹⁰⁶ For the most recent summary see *ibid.*, pp. 1234-51; for the often overlooked detail of the Cosmorama see pp. 1241, 1243.

⁹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 1234-51. See also Paul Joannides, 'The Dispersal and Formation of Sir Thomas Lawrence's Collection of Drawings by Michelangelo', in *The Drawings of Michelangelo and his Followers in the Ashmolean Museum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 1-44. An overview of Woodburn's accumulation and dispersal of the Lawrence Drawings was given in the apparently as yet lost thesis by Denys Sutton, 'Studies in the History of the Collecting of Drawings in England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1938). This thesis is referenced in K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), II, pp. xi-xx. See also J. C. Robinson, *A Critical Account of the Drawings by*

collection of over seventy early Italian paintings, largely on the Continent, from the late 1830s until his death. They were offered to the National Gallery to no avail from 1847, to be finally sold via posthumous auction at Christie's in 1860. In the same moment, Samuel's brother William was officially employed by the National Gallery to act as an agent at the Cardinal Fesch sale in Rome between 1844 and 1845, in addition to inspecting the Manfrin and Soult sales in 1851 – the first such dealer to be employed in this 'freelance' capacity by the gallery.⁹⁰⁸ While there is little archival record of Henry Woodburn's activities – he sold two frames to the artist John Linnell (1792-1882) in 1819, for example – it appears that Allen Woodburn carried out more day-to-day activities within the dealership. These responsibilities included letter writing, packing and sending out works, executing framing requirements, distributing sales catalogues, and providing a presence at St Martin's Lane when Samuel and William were away travelling.⁹⁰⁹ Collectively, the dealership constituted a well-oiled machine, engaged across both the primary and secondary art trade, and with strong ties to the National Gallery and public arts administration. As seen, Samuel Woodburn was called upon as a witness on the subject of the National Gallery at the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures in 1835-36, alongside Edward Solly. In summary, in addition to the trade of art, the dealership acted as art advisors,

Michel Angelo and Raffaello in the University Galleries, Oxford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1870), pp. ix–xxiv.

⁹⁰⁸ Pezzini, 'Art Sales and Attributions', pp. 3-5; Avery-Quash, 'A Network of Agents', pp. 84-87. See, for the Fesch commission, letters from William Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, NGA, NG5/55/12, 31 March 1844; NG5/56/4, 27 April 1844; NG5/56/12, 11 May 1844; NG5/59/6, 18 March 1845; NG5/59/7, 24 March 1845; NG5/60/5, 15 May 1845. For the Manfrin and Soult commission see NG5/86/9, Letter from George Saunders Thwaites to Thomas Uwins and William Woodburn, 5 May 1851; NG5/87/2, Uwins to Thwaites, 14 June 1851; NG6/2/4, Thwaites to Woodburn, 5 May 1851; NG6/2/54, Thwaites to the Treasury, 6 April 1852. For Samuel Woodburn's proposed instructions on William's employment as an agent for the National Gallery see , NG5/61/10, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 4 November 1845.

⁹⁰⁹ Jacob Simon, 'Woodburn', *British Picture Framemakers, 1600-1950 – W*

<<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/w>> [accessed 5 March 2020]. See also NGA, NG5/34/1, Letter from Allen Woodburn to the Chancellor, 23 Jan 1838; NG5/59/2, Allen Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 17 February 1845; NG5/59/3, Allen Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 28 February 1845. See also postscript regarding catalogue distribution in NG5/55/8, Letter from William Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 24 Feb 1844.

restorers and framers, as suppliers of art and display materials, as distributors of sale catalogues from the Continent, and as print sellers and publishers.⁹¹⁰

Samuel Woodburn's Early Italian Pictures

Before turning to examine the ways in which Samuel Woodburn conceived of the display of his early Italian paintings at 112 St Martin's Lane, it is necessary first to introduce the formation and attempted sale of this collection – as revealed through the archives of the National Gallery. The Woodburns had probably begun to collect early Italian paintings as early as 1802, when on 10 April of that year one of them purchased an 'antique picture' of 'the Virgin crowned, [with] a very high raised gilt ground' at Christie's for six guineas.⁹¹¹ Further purchases continued sporadically at English auctions throughout the first half of the century. We have already seen in Chapter One that, in the 1820s, Samuel Woodburn was discussing early Italian portraits of Dante and Beatrice with antiquarians such as Francis Douce, and even brought early pictures directly to his client's home.⁹¹² By 1826, Samuel Woodburn had acquired on the Continent two *tondi*, one attributed to Fra Angelico (**Figure 5.3**) and the other to Botticelli (NG1033; **Figure 5.4**), both once in the Florentine Guicciardini collection.⁹¹³ They were placed as the opening lots of his exhibition and private contract sale at St Martin's Lane that year, as

⁹¹⁰ Jacob Simon, 'Woodburn', *British Picture Framemakers, 1600-1950 – W* <<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/w>> [accessed 5 March 2020].

⁹¹¹ Lygon and Russell, p. 114.

⁹¹² BOD, MS Douce d. 24, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Francis Douce, 1 January 1822, fol. 6; BOD, MS Douce e. 88, Coincidences II, fol. 16.

⁹¹³ These paintings are: Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi, *The Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1440-60, 1952.2.2, National Gallery of Art, Washington; Sandro Botticelli, *The Adoration of the Kings*, c. 1470-75, NG1033, National Gallery. For the Woodburn provenance see letter from Burton Fredericksen to David Alan Brown, 11 July 2000, in the curatorial file for 1952.2.2 in the National Gallery of Art, Washington. This letter is referenced in the entry for: 'The Adoration of the Magi', *National Gallery of Art, Washington Website* <<https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.41581.html#provenance>> [accessed 1 April 2023]. Samuel Woodburn is not mentioned in Martin Davies's provenance for NG1033, though the link between NG1033 and the Washington picture is made in Martin Davies, *The Earlier Italian Schools*, 2nd edn (London: National Gallery Publications, 1961), p. 102, n. 7.

seen.⁹¹⁴ By 1836, Johann David Passavant had seen some early paintings at St Martin's Lane, and had been impressed. He dedicated laudatory pages in his *Tour of a German Artist in England* (1836) to 'the gallery of the Messrs Woodburn, which exceeds all others in value', comments which also record the existence of other dealer galleries in London.⁹¹⁵ Passavant wrote how he was 'obliged to omit' mentioning 'several interesting and older pictures by [Fra Angelico da] Fiesole, Sandro Botticelli, and others' and that he had space 'only [to] mention a small picture by F. Francia'.⁹¹⁶ The works Passavant had in mind may have included the *tondi* that appeared in the 1826 exhibition at St Martin's Lane, noted above. In 1843, the collector and author of *Sketches of the History of Christian Art* (1847), Alexander Lindsay, 25th Earl of Crawford (1812-1880), could refer in correspondence to (presumably the same) Fra Angelico *tondo* which had 'lain without a purchaser in [the Woodburn] warehouse for at least five years'.⁹¹⁷ This painting was soon after with the collector of early Italian art and Brighton MP William Coningham (1815-1884), with whom Samuel Woodburn travelled round Florence in 1845.

In 1844, Samuel Woodburn's brother, William, was then – as mentioned – acting as a salaried agent for the National Gallery at the Cardinal Fesch sale in Rome where he was also coming into contact with early paintings. He had written from Rome to Charles Eastlake, then the National Gallery's keeper, to alert him to a picture that he and trustee Alexander Baring, 1st Lord Ashburton (1774-1848) had been to see: a *Last Judgement* of 'extreme rarity and merit' by Fra Angelico.⁹¹⁸ Offered to them for the National Gallery for 5000 scudi, it was noted as providing them with an alternative to another celebrated version of the subject in the Fesch

⁹¹⁴ Messrs Woodburn, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 7.

⁹¹⁵ Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist*, I, p. 250.

⁹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹¹⁷ Quoted in Brigstocke, 'Lord Lindsay as a Collector', p. 289.

⁹¹⁸ NGA, NG5/56/4, Letter from William Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 27 April 1844.

collection (**Figure 5.5**) which, at that moment, was thought unable to be exported from Rome due its quality and rarity.⁹¹⁹ The former painting was not purchased for the National Gallery, while the latter painting from the Fesch collection in fact later entered Lord Ward's collection and was displayed at the Egyptian Hall in 1851.⁹²⁰ As noted above, Lord Ward's pioneering exhibition featured works by early artists including Fra Angelico, Giotto, Ghirlandaio, Mantegna, Van Eyck, and Dürer, and achieved a chronological and didactic presentation of paintings of the type then missing in the National Gallery.⁹²¹

By January 1845, Samuel Woodburn himself was in Italy travelling around Florence, Siena, and neighbouring Tuscan towns, acquiring works by 'masters little known in England such as Luca Signorelli, Angelico Fiesole and Ghirlandaia that are equal to anything I have seen'.⁹²² He was in Florence later that year with collector William Coningham in order to inspect the Lombardi-Baldi collection, to which Woodburn alerted Eastlake.⁹²³ While Woodburn bought pictures on this trip, such as 'a few magnificent things' from the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, he was unable to purchase from the Lombardi-Baldi collection due to the desire of the dealers Francesco Lombardi and Ugo Baldi to keep the collection of what were then fifty-eight (according to Woodburn) early masters intact.⁹²⁴ The collection numbered 102 pictures in the 1845 printed catalogue.⁹²⁵ Woodburn suggested that he could enter into negotiations on behalf of the National Gallery to purchase the collection, but his approach to this effect to Eastlake

⁹¹⁹ This painting is: Fra Angelico, *The Last Judgement*, c. 1435-40, 60A, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. See **Appendix 4, n. 14** for the Fra Angelico – perhaps the 'alternative' one mentioned here – that ended up in Samuel Woodburn's collection of early Italian paintings.

⁹²⁰ Camporeale, p. 237.

⁹²¹ 'Lord Ward's Collection of Pictures'; Camporeale, p. 237; Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, p. 97.

⁹²² NGA, NG5/59/1, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 12 January 1845.

⁹²³ For William Coningham's collection see Haskell, 'William Coningham', pp. 676-81.

⁹²⁴ NGA, NG5/61/11, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 7 December 1845.

⁹²⁵ Printed catalogues of the collection were issued in 1844 and 1845. See [Francesco Lombardi and Ugo Baldi], *Collection de Tableaux Anciens de M.rs François Lombardi et Hugues Baldi* (Florence: [n. pub.], 1845).

was unsuccessful.⁹²⁶ Only in 1857 did the National Gallery acquire twenty-two works, and their separate frames, of the 102 pictures, having by that time persuaded Lombardi and Baldi to break up the collection, and having been assisted by the artist and dealer William Blundell Spence who had reported on the pictures and their relative merits.⁹²⁷

A change of pace in the formation of Samuel Woodburn's collection of early Italian paintings occurred in tandem with the increasing visibility of early pictures in art museums and public galleries, which the dealer had seen and experienced before and during his foreign buying trip in 1845. In this vein, Woodburn wrote to Eastlake: 'I have carefully examined the collections at Munich, at Florence, and other public Galleries and I see no reason why we should not have a collection in our [National] Gallery'.⁹²⁸ Woodburn seemed to harbour anxieties over the lack of early pictures on display at the National Gallery, a perception which ignited in his own mind the possibility that the Gallery might one day buy his growing collection of early Italian paintings. Eastlake and the trustees appeared, in Woodburn's opinion, to be missing opportunities to make purchases on the Continent, while increasing numbers of what he saw to be the best pictures were removed from circulation on the market by proactive foreign museum agents. As he observed, 'they could not be collected if once purchased for a Gallery'.⁹²⁹ After all, as Anne Helmreich and Pamela Fletcher have observed, 'within the art market, the museum emerged as a new player that markedly altered circulatory possibilities'.⁹³⁰ Woodburn was further confident of his own abilities to act as a competent agent in this increasingly competitive arena, explaining to Eastlake that he had:

⁹²⁶ NGA, NG5/61/11, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 7 December 1845.

⁹²⁷ For useful summaries of the Lombardi-Baldi acquisition by the National Gallery see Davies, *The Early Italian Schools*, pp. 119-21; Avery-Quash, 'The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting', p. xxx; Fleming, 'Art Dealing in the Risorgimento II', pp. 498-99.

⁹²⁸ NGA, NG5/59/1, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 12 January 1845.

⁹²⁹ NGA, NG5/61/11, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 7 December 1845.

⁹³⁰ Fletcher and Helmreich, 'Epilogue', p. 332.

visited all the towns round Florence and I find the Germans and French are very active in collecting but I do not find that they employ good agents. I saw several Pictures at Siena purchased for Paris [the Louvre] at prices that far exceeded their value.⁹³¹

Samuel's brother William likewise spoke of the competition between European museums in the art market of the time. At the Fesch sale in Rome, he was outbid by Passavant, director of the Frankfurt-based Städel Museum, who secured an altarpiece of the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* (**Figure 5.6**) attributed to Moretto of Brescia (c. 1498-1554) 'by the most intelligent here', which had also been identified beforehand as potentially eligible for the National Gallery.⁹³²

From 1847 until his death in 1853, Samuel Woodburn endeavoured to interest the National Gallery in his collection of early Italian paintings. Prime minister (1846-52) and ex-officio National Gallery trustee, Lord John Russell (1792-1878), visited Woodburn's early Italian pictures at 112 St Martin's Lane in December 1846, and Woodburn then first formally mentioned the collection to the National Gallery in January 1847.⁹³³ This was followed up in March of that year with an as yet lost catalogue of then seventy works which were advertised to the trustees at the price of £12,600.⁹³⁴ However, the pictures were met with resistance following a viewing, with particular dislike directed towards two large paintings; one attributed

⁹³¹ NGA, NG5/59/1, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 12 January 1845.

⁹³² This painting is: Moretto da Brescia, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with the Four Fathers of the Latin Church*, c. 1540-50, 916, Städel Museum, Frankfurt. NGA, NG5/60/3, Letter from William Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 5 May 1845.

⁹³³ Avery-Quash, 'The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting', p. xxvii. See also NGA, NG5/65/2, Samuel Woodburn to [Charles Eastlake?], 25 January 1847.

⁹³⁴ It is worth noting that Charles Eastlake, as National Gallery director from 1855, was formally given an annual purchase grant of £10,000 – which puts Woodburn's earlier proposal of £12,600 into perspective. See also NGA, NG5/65/6, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to [George Saunders Thwaites?], 8 March 1847; NG5/65/8, Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 12 April 1847. The surviving handwritten proof catalogue (NGA, NG72/37), transcribed in **Appendix 4**, is likely the later 'concise list of pictures' sent by Christie's to the trustees following Woodburn's death. See NGA, NG5/103/4, Letter from Christie's & Manson to Thomas Uwins, 21 March 1854.

to Botticelli, today catalogued as by Francesco Botticini (c. 1446-1497) (NG1126; **Figure 5.7**), and the other given to Piero della Francesca (c. 1415/20-1492) (**Appendix 4, n. 57**), probably the altarpiece today attributed to Zanobi Strozzi (1412-1468) (NG1406; **Figure 5.8**).⁹³⁵ Although reluctant to break up the collection, Woodburn was willing to remove these two perceivably problematic works and sell the residue for £10,500.⁹³⁶ Woodburn did re-insert however ‘a small head I possess by S. Botticelli’ (**Appendix 4, n. 36**) in order to include ‘a specimen of his hand’; to remove the presence of Botticelli entirely was, in his opinion, to disrupt negatively the taxonomic nature of the collection.⁹³⁷ This supports the sense that Woodburn visualised his collection as a didactic one. Simultaneously, Woodburn also offered the trustees the chance to purchase only half of the collection at first refusal, at an elevated price of £7500.⁹³⁸ By April 1847, Eastlake had chosen seven paintings – works attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli (1420/2?-1497), Domenico Ghirlandaio (**Figure 5.9**), Gentile da Fabriano (c. 1385-1427), Pinturicchio (active 1481-d. 1513) (**Figure 5.10-11**), Antonella da Messina, and ‘Lippo’ – which were offered to the trustees for the sum of £6000.⁹³⁹ Woodburn then proposed

⁹³⁵ NGA, NG5/65/7, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to [George Saunders Thwaites or Charles Eastlake?], 16 March 1847. The former painting was probably NG1126, which Samuel Woodburn sold to Alexander Douglas-Hamilton, 10th Duke of Hamilton (1767-1852) – Francesco Botticini, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1475-76, NG1126, National Gallery. The latter was Zanobi Strozzi, *The Annunciation*, c. 1440-45, NG1406, National Gallery. Woodburn did have another large painting attributed to Piero della Francesca in his stock which today is known to be Joos van Wassenhove, *Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino (1442-1482), his Son Guidobaldo (1472-1508), and Others Listening to a Discourse*, c. 1480, RCIN406085, Royal Collection Trust. This was purchased by Queen Victoria after Samuel Woodburn’s death in 1853. See Penny, ‘The Fate of the ‘Lawrence Gallery’’, p. 249; Davies, *The Earlier Italian Schools*, pp. 122-27; Campbell, *The Early Flemish Pictures*, pp. 60-65; Avery-Quash, ‘Incessant Personal Exertions’, p. 5.

⁹³⁶ NGA, NG5/65/7, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to [George Saunders Thwaites or Charles Eastlake?], 16 March 1847.

⁹³⁷ Ibid. See also **Appendix 4, n. 36**.

⁹³⁸ NGA, NG5/65/7, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to [George Saunders Thwaites or Charles Eastlake?], 16 March 1847.

⁹³⁹ Ibid. The ‘Ghirlandaio’ is: Workshop of Francesco Granacci, *Saint John the Baptist Bearing Witness*, c. 1506-07, 1970.134.2, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (**Appendix 4, n. 24**). The two panels by ‘Pinturicchio’ are: Biagio d’Antonio da Firenze, *The Siege of Troy – The Wooden Horse*, c. 1490-95, M.45, and *The Siege of Troy – The Death of Hector*, c. 1490-95, M.44, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (**Appendix 4, n. 56, n. 64**).

that the residue of the collection would be kept for a fortnight during which time the trustees would be able to decide on any further purchases, with the help of an as yet unknown marked catalogue. However, the trustees – via Lord Russell – only made an offer for the two panels attributed to Pinturricchio at £1000, an offer which Woodburn declined in May 1847 due to the impossibility of breaking up the collection for what he perceived to be too small a sum of money.⁹⁴⁰ Renewing negotiations once more with the National Gallery in February 1848, Woodburn removed four pictures from the collection, purportedly worth £4200, and offered the portion this time for £8400.⁹⁴¹ His offer was again rejected.

In the same letter, Woodburn also pivoted and proposed to the trustees that the entire lease to 112 St Martin's Lane could be purchased. This would incorporate a sum pre-emptive of the pending valuation from the Surveyors of Woods and Forests, in addition to £12,600 for the sale of one of the three collections of objects that he had on his premises at that moment. These three collections were the seventy plus 'Old Italian pictures'; one thousand of the Lawrence drawings to be framed and glazed (when exhibited); and a selection of pictures 'being by Masters yet wanting in the National Gallery', all three of which collections were valued at £12,600 each. He conceded however that the National Gallery was not obliged to purchase all three collections, but certainly hoped that they would be interested in at least two and that 'out of respect [...] they would not again decline the Ancient Masters'.⁹⁴² That Woodburn's early Italian collection should find a place in the National Gallery was clearly of vital importance to him, to the extent that the dealer was willing to sell off the lease of his family's entire premises for that cause to be achieved. He was even happy to receive a first deposit followed by payments over a series of years at a maximum of four percent interest, dependent on the scale

⁹⁴⁰ NGA, NG5/65/11, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to [George Saunders Thwaites?], 10 May 1847.

⁹⁴¹ NGA, NG5/72/5, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Lord John Russell, 20 February 1848.

⁹⁴² Ibid.

of the trustees' purchase.⁹⁴³ Woodburn's offers were emphatically declined by the National Gallery's trustees and correspondence was curtailed.⁹⁴⁴ These circumstances led to Woodburn threatening to take his 'ancient art' instead to Oxford (i.e. the University Gallery), where it could be of benefit to 'the students and amateur', and to his attempt to claim compensation of £6000 from the Treasury for what he saw as time and money wasted, an episode that led to a further break down of relations with the Gallery.⁹⁴⁵ After Woodburn's death in 1853, the collection was once more offered to the Gallery by Christie's in 1854, in whose hands the collection had been placed – 'visible to the Trustees and to any Gentleman they may please to send at Mr Woodburn's Gallery' – but it was not put up for sale until 1860, presumably to give the Gallery's director and trustees time to change their minds.⁹⁴⁶

It is worth noting that Woodburn appears to have also employed agents through which to buy and sell his early Italian paintings during this same period. A court case between the Italian marquis, artist, and dealer Domenico Campanari (1808-1876) and Woodburn's sister and executor Mary Frances Woodburn (d. 1865) in 1854 serves as evidence of this.⁹⁴⁷ According to the court proceedings, before his death in 1853, Woodburn had promised £100 to Campanari if he were able to sell an unspecified painting.⁹⁴⁸ It is notable that Campanari later purchased

⁹⁴³ NGA, NG5/72/6(i), Letter from Samuel Woodburn to [Thomas Uwins?], 5 March 1848.

⁹⁴⁴ NGA, NG5/73/4, Draft letter from George Saunders Thwaites, Lord Monteaule, and Lord Ashburton to Samuel Woodburn, 13 March 1848.

⁹⁴⁵ Quoting from NGA, NG5/60/2, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Lord Lansdowne, 7 April 1845. For his desire to place his collection at Oxford see NGA, NG5/73/5, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Lord John Russell, 27 March 1848. For Woodburn's proposed claim of £6000 to the Treasury see NG5/82/2, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Lord John Russell, 1 August 1850; NG5/82/3, Samuel Woodburn to Lord John Russell, 3 August 1850; NG5/82/4, Samuel Woodburn to Lord John Russell, 7 August 1850; NG5/82/5, The Treasury to George Saunders Thwaites, 16 August 1850.

⁹⁴⁶ NGA, NG5/103/4, Letter from Christie's to Thomas Uwins, 21 March 1854; *Catalogue of the Very Celebrated & Valuable Series of Capital Pictures by the Greatest Early Italian Masters*, 1860.

⁹⁴⁷ 'Campanari v. Woodburn', in *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the English Courts of Common Law*, ed. by George Sharswood (Philadelphia: T. & J. W. Johnson, 1867), pp. 400-09. Campanari was known in England for his publication of Domenico Campanari, *Ritratto di Vittoria Colonna Marchesana di Pescara Dipinto da Michel'Angelo Buonarroti Illustrato e Posseduto da Domenico Campanari*, trans. by Henrietta Bowles (London: P. Rolandi, 1850).

⁹⁴⁸ 'Campanari v. Woodburn', p. 400.

paintings at Woodburn's posthumous 1860 auction, including Paolo Uccello's (c. 1397-1475) *Saint George Slaying the Dragon* (**Figure 5.12**), then attributed to 'Orcagna' and noted as being 'of the highest rarity and interest', and the pair of Francesco Pesellino's *Triumphs* (**Figures 5.13-14**), then attributed to Piero di Cosimo (1462-1522).⁹⁴⁹ Perhaps one of these was the painting over which Campanari had been quarrelling in 1854. Campanari's more general responsibilities as an agent for Woodburn are made more evident in the second part of the court proceedings. Campanari attempted to claim further compensation 'for work and labour, journeys, services, business, and attendances done, performed, and bestowed, and materials provided by the plaintiff for the said Samuel Woodburn'.⁹⁵⁰ While the case was decided in favour of the Woodburns, more broadly, this vignette sheds light on other agents that interacted with Woodburn's early Italian collection beyond the National Gallery.

Museum; Gallery; Shop

Woodburn's early Italian purchases were amassed by him at the same moment as the National Gallery was beginning to expand its collecting remit towards the earlier Italian schools. Albeit misguidedly, Woodburn saw the public art museum as the ultimate buyer for this branch of his collection. Yet, further to this, Woodburn also saw himself as sharing physical and discursive space with the National Gallery, which then shared its building with the Royal Academy of Art, just a stone's throw from St Martin's Lane at Trafalgar Square. As was made clear in a letter of 1848, Woodburn also sought to offer up 112 St Martin's Lane itself as a physical extension to the nearby National Gallery for the display of its paintings; it was well-known that

⁹⁴⁹ The former is: Paolo Uccello, *Saint George Slaying the Dragon*, c. 1430, 2124-4, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (**Appendix 4, n. 5**). The latter are: Francesco Pesellino, *The Triumphs of Love, Chastity and Death*, c. 1450, P15e5.1; *The Triumphs of Fame, Time and Eternity*, c. 1450, P15e5.2, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston (**Appendix 4, n. 51 & n. 59**). See also *Catalogue of the Very Celebrated & Valuable Series of Capital Pictures by the Greatest Early Italian Masters*, 1860, lots 17, 18, and 59. Campanari is listed as the buyer of all three pictures in the copy of the catalogue in the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum.

⁹⁵⁰ 'Campanari v. Woodburn', p. 400.

lack of space was a problem for the Gallery.⁹⁵¹ Clearly then, the nascent public art museum was a key structuring force in the way in which Woodburn conceived of his premises, and the formation and display of his holdings within. This further prompts the question: how was 112 St Martin's Lane conceived of as both a commercial and a didactic space, and how were the different areas within it divided up, used, and balanced? How did these dynamics affect the display and reception of the early Italian pictures among the holdings of the Woodburns?

Firstly, it is worth examining 112 St Martin's Lane in the context of the other properties that the Woodburns used as part of their domestic and commercial lives. This stands to reason as there was a diversity of premises being employed by art dealers through which to house, display, and sell art in the period. This fact was reflected in the mission of the Dealers in the Fine Arts' Provident Institution, established in 1842. As outlined earlier, this institution provided assistance for dealers and their families who had 'kept shop, showroom or gallery'; their list of terms for dealers' premises here being appropriately wide-ranging.⁹⁵² Samuel Woodburn referred to the leased St Martin's Lane property as 'our House' in his correspondence.⁹⁵³ The 'house' contained within it a 'shop', 'print room', and 'galleries' – as Woodburn's drawing of the building's footprint in the National Gallery archive shows (**Figure 5.1**).⁹⁵⁴ The Woodburn brothers all worked there, also utilising the upper floors of the house. As Simon Turner observed, Samuel Woodburn also lived at a number of other properties, including 1 Park Lane (1840-46) and 134 Piccadilly (1846-53).⁹⁵⁵ The family also had a private family home at Brent House, Hendon, then in the countryside, where their mother lived until

⁹⁵¹ NGA, NG5/72/5, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Lord John Russell, 20 Feb 1848.

⁹⁵² Westgarth, *The Emergence of the Antique and Curiosity Dealer*, pp. 101-02.

⁹⁵³ See, for example, NGA, NG5/56/8, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 3 May 1844; NG5/60/1, 3 April 1845.

⁹⁵⁴ NGA, NG5/72/6(ii), Floorplan of the Woodburn Premises at 112 St Martin's Lane, 1848.

⁹⁵⁵ Turner, 'Samuel Woodburn', p. 131, n. 1.

her death in 1841.⁹⁵⁶ This was also presumably to where John Woodburn had moved in 1821; the catalogue of his sale that year testified that he was ‘retiring to the country’.⁹⁵⁷ ‘A great part’ of the celebrated collection of drawings amassed by Lawrence which were purchased by Woodburn were seen there by Gustav Waagen, and paintings such as Meindert Hobbema’s (1638-1709) *The Ferry Boat* (NGI.832, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin) were kept there in the 1830s.⁹⁵⁸ Guests, including Waagen and also the artist J. M. W. Turner, were taken there to visit, and it was on the latter’s journey to Hendon that he allegedly painted *Sunset* (N01876, Tate).⁹⁵⁹

There were key differences between the functions of these sites, namely between St Martin’s Lane and the Hendon house. In the heart of London, 112 St Martin’s Lane provided a shop, a print room, and a gallery space. In contrast, Hendon was a private, family home in the country where esteemed guests and important potential buyers were taken. In terms of the display strategies within each of these spaces, it is fitting to turn to Anna Jameson’s advice on the differences between the display of art in public and private settings. While ‘variety’ was a suitable mode of arrangement in a private collection, a public gallery should be, in her opinion:

⁹⁵⁶ For specific reference to Brent House see William Woodburn as a subscriber to Anne Blanchard, *Midnight Reflections; and Other Poems*, 2nd edn (London: John Arliss, 1823), p. xiv. See also John Cary, *Cary’s New Itinerary: Or, An Accurate Delineation of the Great Roads, Both Direct and Cross Throughout England and Wales: With Many of the Principal Roads in Scotland*, 11th edn (London: G. & J. Cary, 1828), col. 270. For the death of the mother of the Woodburns see letter from David Wilkie to Miss Wilkie, 30 January 1841 in Allan Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie with his Journals, Tours and Critical Remarks on Works of Art and a Selection from his Correspondence*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1843), III, pp. 377-78.

⁹⁵⁷ Christie’s, London, 12 May 1821, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-2123 [accessed 12 April 2023].

⁹⁵⁸ Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists*, II, pp. 166-79. For specific reference to Hendon see Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists*, II, p. 170. For *The Ferry Boat* at Hendon see Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné*, VI, pp. 124-25.

⁹⁵⁹ ‘As Turner was once driving down with Mr. Woodburn to the latter gentleman’s house at Hendon, a beautiful sunset burst forth [...] some weeks afterwards, Mr. Woodburn called at the Queen Anne Street Gallery and saw the identical sky fixed on canvas’ in Walter Thornbury, *The Life of J. M. W. Turner, R. A.*, 2 vols (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1862), II, p. 185.

arranged with a view to instruction; a certain system of classification and chronological progression should be aimed at [... while] in a private collection, which is usually part of our *domesticité*, such a formal system would be chilling and pedantic. Schools and artists of every style may be intermingled with good effect.⁹⁶⁰

As we will see, Samuel Woodburn's rigorous and didactic display plans for the St Martin's Lane galleries appear to reflect the distinction outlined by Jameson.

Further demarcations could be found inside 112 St Martin's Lane itself. The hand-drawn floorplan (**Figure 5.1**) by Samuel Woodburn shows how the ground floor was divided into the shop area, a print room, an ante-room, and a suite of two linked galleries, joined by a passage.⁹⁶¹ This layout was suited to the needs of a dealer, with dedicated space for directly engaging with clients and further rooms for display of stock which were revealed on progressing back through the house. Thus within the premises as a whole, rooms were strategically divided up and positioned according to different modes of display and exchange. From Woodburn's drawing, it appears that the exhibition galleries may also have been accessible via a side alley which passed through St Peter's Court and led directly to the 'First Gallery'. If this was the case, this would have meant that exhibition-goers did not necessarily need to pass through the potentially off-putting commercial parts of the shop which fronted the building facing the street. Along the building's vertical axis, the galleries were also positioned two rooms away from the shop, meaning that visitors would have had to walk from the 'Shop' through the 'Print Room' and the 'Small Ante Room' to get to the 'First Gallery'. An even greater separation was seen with the Lombardi-Baldi collection which Woodburn experienced for himself in 1845. Lombardi and Baldi's didactic and chronological display of early Italian paintings was on view at their

⁹⁶⁰ Jameson, *Companion*, p. 384.

⁹⁶¹ NGA, NG5/72/6(ii), Floorplan of the Woodburn Premises at 112 St Martin's Lane, 1848.

gallery in Piazza dei Pitti, Florence, while Baldi's shop and studio was a few minutes' walk away from this space on the Lung-Arno.⁹⁶² On the other hand, such clear separation was not always achieved in the premises of other contemporary dealers. In 1818, when the director of the Venetian Academy Leopoldo Cicognara visited the dealer Edward Solly's house at 67 Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin, he referred to the space as both a '*galleria*' and a splendid '*magazzino*', thereby suggesting that Solly's premises conflated the realms of a domestic house, a gallery, a shop, and a warehouse.⁹⁶³ The paintings Cicognara saw there, as discussed in Chapter Three, were ultimately destined for Berlin's Royal Museum which opened in 1830. Ultimately, the discrete separation of areas within St Martin's Lane was intended to quell anxieties such as those expressed in the *Saturday Review* in 1867:

we will take no notice of Dealer's Exhibitions unless the shop character is kept so entirely in the background that members of the ordinary public may be quite sure of studying the pictures at their leisure, without fear of interruption on the part of the dealers and their customers.⁹⁶⁴

These comments were made a decade or so after Woodburn's activities at 112 St Martin's Lane had ceased, when the commercial art gallery as a format was becoming a more prevalent type of exhibitionary mechanism in West End areas of London such as Bond Street. However, the date of these comments also proves that Woodburn was part of an earlier generation of dealers who were already using their shops and galleries as prime locations through which to exhibit art in innovative ways.

⁹⁶² William Blundell Spence, *The 'Lions' of Florence and its Environs: Or the Stranger Conducted through its Principal Studios, Churches, Palaces and Galleries by an Artist*, 2nd edn (Florence: Felix le Monnier, 1852), p. 76; William Blundell Spence, *The Lions of Florence and its Environs; or the Stranger Conducted through its Principal Studios, Churches, Palaces and Galleries by an Artist with a Copious Appendix, Hints for Picture Buyers Etc.* (Florence: Felix le Monnier, 1847), p. 37.

⁹⁶³ Quoted in Robert Skwirblies, 'Edward Solly's 'Stock of Paintings'', p. 28.

⁹⁶⁴ Quoted in Fletcher, 'Shopping for Art', p. 49.

Nevertheless, the role of the dealer as a didactic figure within the exhibition landscape in Britain was by no means uncontroversial. As Waterfield suggests,

in spite of its closeness to the marketplace, part of the [temporary] exhibition's aim is to persuade the viewer that it is an authoritative event, in which the status [...] of the objects and of the narrative they embody, can be trusted. Such an ambition applies both when the exhibition is held within an institution such as a museum [...] and more dubiously when it is present in a commercial forum [...] the relationship between didacticism and the quest for pure knowledge on the one hand, and on the other commercial imperatives [...] forms a constant sub-current.⁹⁶⁵

Waterfield identifies the complex relationship between museum and marketplace, and didacticism and commercialism, and indirectly underscores the difficulties that dealers such as Woodburn could face when orchestrating exhibitions which could in fact be 'didactic' and which contributed to art-historical knowledge. At the 1835-36 Select Committee, at which Woodburn was present, the architect and sculptor Charles Harriott Smith (1792-1864) – speaking as an invited witness – was of the opinion that art dealers were manipulating the public in relation to older art:

the public as a body, are not yet sufficiently educated in the arts to discriminate between pure classical elegance and meretricious finery [...] the dealers' study is not so much to improve the taste of the public, as to discover what goods will sell most readily and produce them the largest profit.⁹⁶⁶

The dealer was a figure who could incite much suspicion and who was commonly perceived as someone who would rather manipulate the public for their own financial gain than educate

⁹⁶⁵ Waterfield, 'The People's Galleries', p. 176.

⁹⁶⁶ *Select Committee*, 1836, I, p. 46.

them. The separation between the different spaces of Woodburn's shop helps to visualise how this anxiety-ridden dualism was managed in the day-to-day life of an astute dealer. The hybrid spaces of this dealer's premises also chimes with the hybrid nature of 'the dealer' as a professional category, mapping onto the 'overlapping' and 'nebulous' nature seen by Helmreich ultimately to underscore and characterise the profession.⁹⁶⁷

Exhibitions at 112 St Martin's Lane

The successive rejections of Samuel Woodburn's early Italian paintings by the National Gallery's trustees led this dealer to think about new and creative ways through which he could try and capture their interest in them from 1848. Woodburn's change of approach in relation to his collection of early Italian paintings can be mined by the contemporary researcher for what it reveals about how dealers were exhibiting early European pictures by the 1840s. In the formation and exhibition of his collection of early Italian paintings, Woodburn seems to have been particularly influenced by the Lombardi-Baldi collection; his visit in 1845 has already been mentioned.⁹⁶⁸ Significantly, Lombardi and Baldi displayed their early Italian paintings in chronological order, as part of a didactic scheme. Guidebooks to Florence such as *The Lions of Florence* by artist and dealer William Blundell Spence listed dealers' premises, including the Lombardi-Baldi gallery, alongside museums, churches, and palaces as important didactic sites in which to see early paintings in that city.⁹⁶⁹ Between stops at the Uffizi gallery, the Ponte Vecchio, and the Palazzo Pitti, Spence encouraged readers, as part of their Florentine itinerary, to visit the Piazza dei Pitti to see:

⁹⁶⁷ Helmreich, 'David Croal Thomson', p. 90.

⁹⁶⁸ NGA, NG5/61/11, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 7 December 1845.

⁹⁶⁹ Spence, 1852; Spence, 1847. The 1852 version of *The 'Lions' of Florence* generally placed greater focus on paintings of the earlier Italian schools.

a large and highly interesting collection of works of the early Italian school, in capital preservation and chronologically arranged from the year 1000 to 1500. They belong to signor Lombardi and signor Ugobaldi, the latter is considered the first restorer in Florence of paintings in distemper, and has his shop and Studio on the Lung-Arno.⁹⁷⁰

As Blundell Spence describes, the Lombardi-Baldi collection was presented as an art-historically oriented gallery positioned away from the more overtly commercial space of Baldi's shop, a short walk away. Woodburn was certainly very taken by his experience of the collection, as intimated by his letters.⁹⁷¹

Woodburn was no stranger to organising didactic exhibitions at 112 St Martin's Lane. In 1826, as already noted, he had orchestrated the exhibition and private contract sale of the *Leading Masters of the Italian, German, Flemish, Dutch and French Schools*, which included the Botticelli and Fra Angelico *tondi* as the opening lots.⁹⁷² In the long preface to the catalogue of that sale, which Woodburn penned, he gave thought to the didactic potential that the pictures possessed, advertising them not as 'comforts or luxuries' but for the 'private individuals [who] are forming cabinets, as much for the general improvement in taste of their respective cities and neighbourhood, as for their own gratification'.⁹⁷³ Woodburn was no doubt alluding here to exemplary figures such as William Roscoe, whose didactic collection of early European paintings was put on public display from 1819 at the Liverpool Royal Institution, which Roscoe had helped to found.⁹⁷⁴ Woodburn's own exhibition in 1826 was structured according to artistic schools and then, within each school, was laid out chronologically, beginning with Fra Angelico and Botticelli in the section devoted to the Florentine School.⁹⁷⁵ Thus, well before

⁹⁷⁰ Spence, 1852, p. 76; Spence, 1847, p. 37.

⁹⁷¹ NGA, NG5/61/11, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 7 December 1845.

⁹⁷² Messrs Woodburn, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 1826, p. 7.

⁹⁷³ *Ibid*, p. v.

⁹⁷⁴ Morris, pp. 87-98; Brooke, pp. 65-96; *Catalogue of a Series of Pictures, Illustrating the Rise and Early Progress of the Art of Painting*, 1819.

⁹⁷⁵ Messrs Woodburn, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 1826, p. 7.

the 1840s, Woodburn was already experimenting with didactic display schemes for the then much fewer early Italian paintings among his stock.

Better known, thanks in large measure to Nicholas Penny's comprehensive article published in 2022, is Samuel Woodburn's purchase in 1834 of Sir Thomas Lawrence's Old Master drawing collection, which the dealer had helped to assemble.⁹⁷⁶ He purchased it for £16,000, following its refusal by both the British Museum and by King William IV (1765-1837). Woodburn exhibited the drawings in ten selling exhibitions, accompanied by a catalogue, first at the Cosmorama Gallery on Regent Street and latterly in the galleries of 112 St Martin's Lane between 1835 and 1836.⁹⁷⁷ Entry was one shilling in advance, and five shillings during the run of the exhibition, while the catalogue was a sixpence.⁹⁷⁸ Adhering to the popular tradition of artists' biographies and akin to the layout of Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists*, the catalogues for each of Woodburn's exhibitions were prefaced with a portrait of the artist(s) who was the subject of the exhibition and accompanied by an account of their lives.⁹⁷⁹ The prefaces of Woodburn's catalogues also advertised the exhibitions for their accessibility, didacticism, and public benefit. They each reproduced a congratulatory letter penned by the king's secretary, which had been sent on to Woodburn on 10 June 1835:

His Majesty has ordered me to assure you of the satisfaction with which he notices the steps you have taken to render by this Exhibition, accessible to the Public, and available to Artists for the purpose of Study, the valuable and important Collection of Drawings

⁹⁷⁶ For a contemporary account of the drawings see Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists*, II, pp. 166-79. For the most recent overview see Penny, 'The Fate of the 'Lawrence Gallery'', pp. 1234-51.

⁹⁷⁷ The exhibitions were dedicated to the following artists: Rubens (May 1835); Van Dyck and Rembrandt (July 1835); Claude and Poussin (August 1835); Parmigianino and Correggio (January 1836); Giulio Romano, Primaticcio, Leonardo, Perino del Vaga (February 1836); the Carracci (March 1836); Zuccheri, Andrea del Sarto, Polidoro da Caravaggio, Fra Bartolommeo (April 1836); Dürer and Titian (May 1836); Raphael (June 1836); and Michelangelo (July 1836).

⁹⁷⁸ See the fine-print on the frontispiece of each individual exhibition catalogue for this information.

⁹⁷⁹ See above at n. 266.

by the Ancient Masters [...] with a view to promote one of its most essential objects, His Majesty has been pleased to order me to send you Fifty Guineas, to be applied to the gratuitous Admission of such Students of the Royal Academy as may be desirous of availing themselves of this facility to the Ten Exhibitions.⁹⁸⁰

While ultimately underpinned by commercial endeavour and the hope that the historical drawings would be purchased, the ten exhibitions were presented and promoted by Woodburn as didactic exercises orchestrated for public benefit. It is worth noting that at the same time as the series of exhibitions of drawings formerly owned by Lawrence, Woodburn was serving as a witness at the Government Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures (1835-36) alongside other dealers.⁹⁸¹ He used that platform to re-assert his commitment to the didactic potential that the public exhibition of art could foster, not least in his support for the ‘fine national gallery in this country’.⁹⁸²

Keeping these earlier exhibitions in mind, the persistent rejections by the National Gallery of Woodburn’s early Italian pictures led to him conceiving of the paintings in other creative ways, particularly with regard to their exhibitionary potential at St Martin’s Lane. As seen, by February 1848, Woodburn was offering the sale of the lease of his entire premises to the National Gallery, including within it the ‘[early] Italian pictures as they now hang’ – which shows that they were indeed hung.⁹⁸³ He had also begun to think about how St Martin’s Lane could be altered in order to best exhibit his by now expansive and eclectic holdings which comprised the early Italian paintings, the remaining Lawrence drawings from his purchase in

⁹⁸⁰ See, for example, Messrs Woodburn, *The Lawrence Gallery. Tenth Exhibition. July 1836. A Catalogue of One Hundred Original Drawings by Michael Angelo Collected by Sir Thomas Lawrence, Late President of the Royal Academy* (London: Richards, 1836), p. 5.

⁹⁸¹ *Select Committee*, 1836, II, pp. 136-41.

⁹⁸² *Ibid*, p. 138.

⁹⁸³ NGA, NG5/72/5, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Lord Russell, 20 Feb 1848.

1834, and a group of further Old Master paintings ‘yet wanting in the National Gallery’, as well as, rather presumptuously, certain pictures in the National Gallery’s own collection, such as some from the Vernon bequest.⁹⁸⁴ According to Woodburn, the ground floor rooms in 112 St Martin’s Lane could easily be rendered suitable for the display of a portion of the nation’s collection. He advised:

with a little outlay it is easy to make a nobler room with three entrees to it [...] I have not seen Old Vernon’s pictures but I am told that many of them are small and could be hung in my first gallery and passage. If so the enlargement of the Gallery would be proceeded with without meddling with my premises for some time as I could place the Drawings I propose and also the lot of Pictures in the first floor of the house.⁹⁸⁵

In the surviving ground-floor plan of the house (**Figure 5.1**), Woodburn identified a dilapidated workshop, stables, and gardens around the perimeter of the building which he thought could likely be acquired to extend the ground-floor space to three times its size.⁹⁸⁶

These proposals make greater sense when it is considered that 112 St Martin’s Lane was positioned directly to the east of the National Gallery (and also, then, the Royal Academy), just the other side of Charing Cross Road which separated the two. Certainly, the Woodburns must have been gratified when the National Gallery moved into the new building designed by architect William Wilkins (1778-1839) on Trafalgar Square in 1838 and became their neighbour. Woodburn’s idea of giving over 112 St Martin’s Lane to the National Gallery, while undoubtedly given extra impetus by his desire to retire, had originated through conversations with the collector William Thomas Horner Fox-Strangways in 1845. Fox-Strangways had by then donated the first portion of his own collection of early Italian pictures amassed on the

⁹⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁵ NGA, NG5/72/6(i), Letter from Samuel Woodburn to [Thomas Uwins?], 5 March 1848.

⁹⁸⁶ NGA, NG5/72/6(ii), Floorplan of the Woodburn Premises at 112 St Martin’s Lane, 1848.

Continent to his alma mater, Christ Church, University of Oxford, in two tranches in 1828 and 1834.⁹⁸⁷ This collector was another early promoter of chronological display schemes through which to exhibit early Italian paintings. In 1827, he had written from Italy to his relative, the photographer William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877), of his wish to ‘lay out 5000 £ sterl. in pictures & make a perfect historical collection from Cimabue to Mengs & sell it for double to the National Gallery’.⁹⁸⁸ In April 1845, Woodburn could recount that during a visit from Fox-Strangways he was asked whether he would consider selling the lease of St Martin’s Lane to the Government in order to,

make our House a sort of studio and to confine it to Drawings, terracottas, bronzes etc. appropriating a room to each School thus bringing together [...] a complete history of the art beginning with the Greek masters who brought the art first to Italy including authentic works of Cimaibue, Giotto & Lippi etc etc. [...] I propose to show the progress of every school.⁹⁸⁹

Of the remaining Lawrence drawings still in his possession by 1848, Woodburn could further write how ‘there are so many rooms in the House that by classing the drawings into schools it could illustrate a complete history of art’.⁹⁹⁰ Woodburn perceived his plan to be ‘of the first importance to the arts of this country’.⁹⁹¹ He was thus proposing an art-historically motivated display model for the items in his stock that was in fact very much in line with what was being contemporaneously experimented with in certain important and pioneering public and private collections in Britain and abroad, whereby works were exhibited according to national or

⁹⁸⁷ Fox-Strangways would later bequeath a further forty-one pictures to the University Galleries, Oxford, in 1850. For Fox-Strangways see Baker, ‘Framing Fox-Strangways’, pp. 73-84; Lloyd, ‘Picture Hunting in Italy’, pp. 42-68.

⁹⁸⁸ Letter from William Thomas Horner Fox-Strangways to William Henry Fox-Talbot, 5 February [1827?] in Lloyd, ‘Picture Hunting in Italy’, p. 56.

⁹⁸⁹ NGA, NG5/60/1, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 3 April 1845.

⁹⁹⁰ NGA, NG5/72/6(i), Letter from Samuel Woodburn to [Thomas Uwins?], 5 March 1848.

⁹⁹¹ NGA, NG5/60/1, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 3 April 1845.

regional school and then ordered chronologically within that demarcation. Interestingly, as Penny noted, Woodburn was also proposing a mixed-media model whereby drawings would be exhibited alongside paintings and other objects – something that the National Gallery had only tentatively considered.⁹⁹²

Dealers and Didactic Display Schemes

Dealers could be well-versed in the latest developments in the display of early paintings throughout Britain and Europe. As Krzysztof Pomian has observed, dealers required practical as well as theoretical skills which involved ‘having viewed assiduously a great quantity of paintings from every school and all the principal masters belonging to them [...] galleries therefore had to be visited’, and travel abroad was frequent.⁹⁹³ By 1845, well-travelled Woodburn had, as noted, ‘examined the collection at Munich, at Florence, and other public Galleries’.⁹⁹⁴ It was for this reason that art dealers like Woodburn were consulted as advisors to public exhibitions and as witnesses at Select Committees on matters pertaining to the provision of art for the public.⁹⁹⁵ At the Select Committee of 1835-36, to which Woodburn was invited to act as a witness, for instance, he recommended the Louvre as the best regulated gallery he had seen, while the pictures belonging to the Spanish Crown in Madrid were deemed to be the finest, closely followed by collections in Florence and Rome. In terms of the disposition of pictures however, Woodburn supposed that the didactic arrangement at Munich would be the most effective – advice based, in this earlier instance, on second-hand knowledge that he had obtained from his brother, William.⁹⁹⁶

⁹⁹² Penny, ‘The Fate of the ‘Lawrence Gallery’’, p. 1251.

⁹⁹³ Pomian, p. 155.

⁹⁹⁴ NGA, NG5/59/1, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 12 January 1845.

⁹⁹⁵ For a list of witnesses present at Select Committees on the subject of the National Gallery see Robertson, appendix C, pp. 288-92. However, he does not include the 1835-36 Committee.

⁹⁹⁶ *Select Committee*, 1836, II, pp. 136-37. See also Penny, ‘The Fate of the ‘Lawrence Gallery’’, p. 1240.

Closer to home, in 1835 – the same moment that he served as a Select Committee witness – Samuel Woodburn had also been called on in an advisory capacity by the Liverpool-based dealer Thomas Winstanley, who had assisted in the purchase, maintenance, and display of William Roscoe’s collection of early Italian, German, and Netherlandish paintings by Liverpool’s Royal Institution.⁹⁹⁷ In the National Gallery’s library, a copy of the inaugural 1819 catalogue of the Institution’s pictures ‘from the commencement of Art to the close of the fifteenth century’ was annotated by Winstanley during an in-person visit from Woodburn.⁹⁹⁸ As is recorded in Winstanley’s handwriting in the opening pages:

On Wednesday 12 Nov. 1835: I availd myself of the judgement of Mr Sam^l Woodburn of London to decide upon the originality of these pictures as I often doubted of their being the work of the Masters which the late Mr Roscoe had attributed them to. They are now corrected as Mr Woodburn thinks them and on which opinion I agree.⁹⁹⁹

Winstanley’s note fits with the idea, as suggested by Pomian and discussed earlier, that dealers had taken over from collectors in matters of attribution.¹⁰⁰⁰ It is clear from the annotations made directly into the catalogue that Winstanley and Woodburn walked around the collection together, sometimes revising attributions and artist dates for the early paintings, correcting dimensions, and also providing valuations. For example, a generic attribution to the ‘Greek School’ was updated to ‘Margaritone of Arezzo [...] born 1198 died 1275’ – an attribution

⁹⁹⁷ See NGL, NC30 LIVERPOOL Roy. 1819. A copy of a handwritten note in the front of this catalogue describes Winstanley as having provided ‘valuable services’ to the Institution and that he should be admitted ‘in the same manner as a proprietor’. On Winstanley’s advisory role see also Jacob Simon, ‘Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool’, *British Picture Restorers, 1600-1950 – W* <<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/british-picture-restorers-1600-1950-w>> [accessed 26 May 2023].

⁹⁹⁸ *Catalogue of a Series of Pictures, Illustrating the Rise and Early Progress of the Art of Painting*, 1819. See NGL, NC30 LIVERPOOL Roy. 1819. This quotation is from the first page (unpaginated) of the catalogue.

⁹⁹⁹ NGL, NC30 LIVERPOOL Roy. 1819, [unpaginated; overleaf from p. 1].

¹⁰⁰⁰ Pomian, p. 154.

which was accepted and attached to the work in question in subsequent catalogues.¹⁰⁰¹ Other works formerly attributed to the early Italian school shifted to the early Northern schools.¹⁰⁰² For example, a painting attributed to Alesso Baldovinetti (1427-1499) was instead thought to be by Cornelis Engebrechtsz (c. 1462-1527), while a Giovanni Bellini was updated as being from the early Flemish or German school.¹⁰⁰³ Importantly, it is not unreasonable to speculate that Woodburn would have been struck by the display of the pictures, in which Winstanley had, in turn, played an advisory role. As can be gleaned from the numbered diagrams of the hang at the back of the 1819 catalogue, the early pictures were displayed in the Reading Room of the Royal Institution. Hung according to national school, three walls were dedicated to Italian painting and one to the Northern schools. The Reading Room was not a purpose-built gallery and thus charming details can be found such as a ‘Hans Hemmelinck’ triptych – the *Descent from the Cross* today thought to be after Robert Campin (1378/9-1444) in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool – hung above the fireplace (**Figures 5.15-16**).¹⁰⁰⁴ Like Woodburn hanging his early Italian paintings in the ‘house’ at 112 St Martin’s Lane, Winstanley had also had to grapple with the intermingling of domestic architecture with the requirements of public display and a didactic hang.¹⁰⁰⁵

Certainly, Woodburn was not operating in a vacuum but should be viewed as part of a much broader cultural field in which systematic display approaches towards early paintings were being developed by art dealers. The influence of the chronological display of the Lombardi-Baldi collection on Woodburn in Florence has already been noted. In Britain, certain dealers were organising exhibitions with comparable systematic approaches towards early European

¹⁰⁰¹ For a concise attribution history see Joseph Sharples, ‘Coronation of the Virgin’, *VADS* <<https://vads.ac.uk/digital/collection/NIRP/id/30586/rec/1>> [accessed 26 May 2023].

¹⁰⁰² NGL, NC30 LIVERPOOL Roy. 1819, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 12.

¹⁰⁰⁴ This painting is: After Robert Campin, *The Descent from the Cross*, c. 1440-1500, WAG 1178, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Jameson, *Companion*, p. 384.

pictures. In 1848 – the same year as the British Institution exhibited the ‘novelty’ group of ‘Van Eycks’ and ‘Giotto’s’, and the same moment in which Woodburn was offering his early Italian pictures to the National Gallery – the largest group of early European pictures yet to be exhibited in Britain was mounted in a today little-known exhibition by Ludwig Grüner, a German artist, dealer, and art advisor to Prince Albert (1819-1861).¹⁰⁰⁶ 101 paintings of the ‘Byzantine, early Italian – German – and Flemish’ schools from the Bavarian Oettingen-Wallerstein collection were publicly exhibited for sale in two principal apartments of Kensington Palace, London, in the hope that they might be purchased for the nation.¹⁰⁰⁷ The pictures had arrived in Britain in 1847 after Prince Albert had insured a loan taken out by his Bavarian relation, Prince Ludwig von Oettingen-Wallerstein (1791-1870), and the paintings were delivered to him as a surety; later in 1852 they became his property following the default on the loan.¹⁰⁰⁸ The 1848 exhibition catalogue was penned by Grüner, and the collection was later re-catalogued by Waagen in 1854.¹⁰⁰⁹ In 1863, after protracted negotiations, twenty-five of these early paintings were presented to the National Gallery by Queen Victoria ‘at the Prince Consort’s wish’; the entire group of 101 works had originally been offered but Eastlake and the trustees preferred to accept just a selection.¹⁰¹⁰

¹⁰⁰⁶ [British Institution], *Catalogue*, 1848. For Ludwig Grüner see Marsden, ‘Mr Green and Mr Brown’, pp. 1-13; Avery-Quash, “‘Incessant Personal Exertions’”, pp. 1-22; Whitaker, “‘Preparing a Handsome Picture Frame’”, pp. 1-37.

¹⁰⁰⁷ [Ludwig Grüner], *Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Byzantine, Early Italian, German and Flemish Pictures: Belonging to His Serene Highness Prince Louis d’Öttingen Wallerstein*. (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1848). The digitised annotated copy in the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, contains prices for each painting.

¹⁰⁰⁸ For the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection see Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings*, p. 14; Campbell, *The Early Flemish Pictures*, pp. xlviii-xlix.

¹⁰⁰⁹ [Grüner]; Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Byzantine, Early Italian, German, and Flemish Pictures: Belonging to His Royal Highness Prince Albert, K.G.* (London: Woodfall and Kinder, 1854). It should be noted that Campbell references the 1848 catalogue as being by Grüner although his name is not on the catalogue. Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings*, p. 17, n. 39.

¹⁰¹⁰ Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings*, p. 14. These paintings are catalogued in the National Gallery’s collection as: NG701-23, NG622 and NG1864.

Grüner's preface to the 1848 catalogue introduced the collection as being of 'the highest importance as regards the History and Illustration of Ancient Art'.¹⁰¹¹ Drawing from the structure and attributions of the 'old German catalogue'¹⁰¹² of the collection, the exhibition was divided into four 'classes': 'paintings of the Byzantine School', 'Early Italian Paintings', 'early German Art', and 'the ancient Rhenish, Flemish and Dutch Schools'.¹⁰¹³ Each national school was separated into region, within which each painting was listed in chronological order. This format was sometimes divided up further into masters and artistic followers, evident for example in the section dedicated to 'Master Wilhelm of Cologne, the Van Eycks, and their immediate followers'.¹⁰¹⁴ Each often detailed entry listed the painting's title, a description of its subject matter, its size and medium, and a note on its provenance when known. This information, in turn, related directly to the pictures as they were displayed: 'the Pictures are numbered according to the antiquity of the Schools, and the numbers correspond with those placed on the pictures'.¹⁰¹⁵ The catalogue further encouraged comparative study between the regionally- and chronologically-ordered paintings within the space of the gallery. For example, the 'Early Italian Masters' were listed as being placed so as to '[enable] us to compare the Rhenish and Flemish Schools of that period, with the contemporary Schools beyond the Alps'.¹⁰¹⁶ This is striking because Elizabeth Pergam has previously suggested that the Manchester 'Art Treasures' exhibition of 1857, taking place a decade after the Oettingen-Wallerstein paintings first arrived in London, was unprecedented in its chronological and comparative display approaches towards early paintings in Britain.¹⁰¹⁷ In fact, Grüner's 1848

¹⁰¹¹ [Grüner], p. 1.

¹⁰¹² NGL, (P.) NC 340 OETTINGEN-WALLERSTEIN =2 1826, *Catalogue of the Oettingen-Wallerstein Collection* (photostats), c. 1826. The original is in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

¹⁰¹³ [Grüner], pp. 3-4.

¹⁰¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 22.

¹⁰¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 5.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 9.

¹⁰¹⁷ Pergam, pp. 61-67, 137-99, in particular pp. 139-50.

private contract sale and Woodburn's proposals for St Martin's Lane evidence that precedents can certainly be found in exhibitions mounted by art dealers working in London.

As observed in the Introduction, the Manchester 'Art Treasures' exhibition of 1857 united a great number of early European paintings drawn from British collections. Hung chronologically and comparatively, with northern European art facing examples from South of the Alps, under the aegis of curator, and the first secretary of the National Portrait Gallery, George Scharf, the earlier paintings garnered a wide-ranging critical response and encouraged art-historical connoisseurship to be practiced in real time.¹⁰¹⁸ Concerning the particular role of dealers and agents in this exhibition, Pergam has interrogated their roles as lenders, advisors, and agents in the logistical side of the organisation of this exhibition. Pergam observes how in fact the exhibition's Executive Committee endeavoured to separate itself from 'the stain of the impure world of business and moneymaking' with which they felt the host industrial city was connected.¹⁰¹⁹ Accordingly, she has shown how dealers including William Agnew (1825-1910), Mr Nattali of Christie's (possibly the bookseller, Henry Combe Nattali (c. 1832-1917)), Dominic Colnaghi (1790-1879), and Henry Farrer had to be approached rather secretly; they were employed in the sourcing, lending, packing, framing, and reproduction of the loans.¹⁰²⁰ Interestingly, when dealers lent paintings – such as Farrer's loan of eight paintings – he was positioned as a 'collector' rather than as a 'dealer'.¹⁰²¹

Yet, Pergam did not examine especially the role of dealers as exhibition-makers or 'curators' themselves, a skillset which they possessed and which rendered them able to make recommendations to Scharf for the display of the pictures at Manchester. It was not unusual for

¹⁰¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ibid, p. 5.

¹⁰²⁰ Ibid, pp. 31-33. For dealers assisting other contemporaneous exhibitions see Westgarth, pp. 149-50.

¹⁰²¹ Pergam, p. 33.

dealers to act as advisors in this capacity. For example, at the Select Committee of 1835-36, Woodburn had described the Louvre's advisory system which incorporated 'professional people that deal in pictures':

They have what they call a custode [...] a certain number of subordinate officers [...] four or five of what they call experts, who are judges of pictures, who have to recommend [...] They are generally professional people that deal in pictures, and of a certain reputation of character.¹⁰²²

It was in an advisory capacity, though perhaps unsolicited, that the dealer William Buchanan wrote to Scharf on 9 January 1857 with the following advice for Manchester 'Art Treasures':

I am well aware you will have some difficulties to encounter in the course of your arrangements, which however will be heightened by a proper attention to the classification of the different Schools of Painting – in which I have in some Foreign Galleries, remarked errors that may be easily avoided, and to which I will call your attention in a future letter as they may have escaped your own observation, as that of many others, especially in the Gallery of the Louvre, which was arranged de novo, after the Revolution of 1848, at the time I was last in Paris.¹⁰²³

Buchanan shows a concern with systematic display methods drawn from experience of galleries abroad which – like the displays of Woodburn and Grüner – placed precedence on arranging works through, if not a chronological system, then a schools-based one. Strikingly,

¹⁰²² *Select Committee*, 1836, II, p. 137.

¹⁰²³ MCL, M6/2/11, Letter from William Buchanan to George Scharf, 9 January 1857, fol. 1100. This letter is also quoted in Pergam, pp. 63-64.

Buchanan's approach here had changed significantly from his earlier concern for display strategies which privileged the 'general effect' of pictures as noted in Chapter Two.¹⁰²⁴

Buchanan's reproach of the 'errors' of the Louvre followed the refurbishments and re-display which had taken place there in 1848 under Frédéric Villot (1809-1875), curator of paintings between 1848 and 1861, and Philippe-Auguste Jeanron (1809-1877), then head of the National Museums and director of the Louvre. The paintings were redistributed between the galleries of masterpieces in the *Salon Carré* and *Salon des Sept-Cheminées* and, contrastingly, the *Grande Galerie* and *Galleries du Bord de l'Eau* which saw a chronological presentation of national schools.¹⁰²⁵ Buchanan's reproach was likely directed at the galleries of the *Salon Carré* and *Salon des Sept-Cheminées*, which brought together treasured masterpieces based on the model of the Uffizi's Tribuna in Florence, and were probably perceived by Buchanan to interrupt the more systematic approach elsewhere. Buchanan was not the only well-known dealer to criticise the Louvre's rationale following its refurbishment and re-display. Otto Müндler, the National Gallery's travelling agent from 1855 to 1858, had published in 1850 his eloquent *Essai d'une Analyse Critique de la Notice des Tableaux Italiens du Musée National du Louvre*, which argued that the paintings were being carelessly managed, had been erroneously catalogued, and that many were in need of conservation.¹⁰²⁶

Dealers such as Woodburn, Grüner, and Buchanan were viewing, proposing, and employing chronological, schools-based, and comparative modes of display for early paintings before Manchester 'Art Treasures' and before public institutions in Britain such as the National Gallery had begun acquiring and exhibiting works in this type of systematic manner. These

¹⁰²⁴ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 6 June 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, p. 86.

¹⁰²⁵ James Kearns, *Théophile Gautier, Orator to the Artists: Art Journalism in the Second Republic* (London: Legenda, 2007), pp. 123-29.

¹⁰²⁶ Otto Müндler, *Essai d'une Analyse Critique*.

dealers were proposing and utilising didactic display models in the same moment in which the best manner in which to display paintings was being debated on the public stage in Britain. As noted, Woodburn and other invited members of ‘the trade’ had been participants in the discussions held at the Government Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures in 1835-36.¹⁰²⁷ There, the merits of an historically-oriented arrangement for the National Gallery had first been presented by witnesses linked to the German art museums at Berlin and Munich, namely Solly, Waagen, and the architect of the Munich museum, Baron Leo von Klenze, respectively. As Waagen advised, ‘to arrange a public collection, it should be so formed as to combine taste with instruction; both are attained by historical arrangement’ in order that the visitor to the gallery could ‘see the historical development of the art’.¹⁰²⁸ A chronological arrangement divided into national and regional schools was mooted as an effective exhibitionary approach. Key evidence in this regard was provided by Von Klenze, who had devised a system in Munich’s Alte Pinakothek for the display of pictures by schools.¹⁰²⁹ This revolved around a central corridor from which separate rooms allocated to different schools permitted the possibility of the visitor arriving at a particular school without going through any others.¹⁰³⁰ In contrast with this method, Wilkins, the architect of the new National Gallery building at Trafalgar Square, revealed that he had not planned separate rooms for each artistic school. He advocated instead that ‘by the arrangement of my galleries, you can have two schools in the same room, sufficiently separated the one from the other’ in order to allow for the ‘excellencies’ of both schools to be compared, though surely also a pragmatic way of conserving much-needed space.¹⁰³¹ This comparative model, which allowed comparison

¹⁰²⁷ *Select Committee*, 1836, II, pp. 126-150.

¹⁰²⁸ *Ibid*, I, p. 11.

¹⁰²⁹ *Ibid*, II, pp. 193-97.

¹⁰³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 196.

¹⁰³¹ *Ibid*, pp. 125-26.

between paintings, was the approach to be taken by Grüner at Kensington Palace and later by Scharf at Manchester ‘Art Treasures’.¹⁰³²

Waagen’s hang at Berlin’s Royal Museum (where he was director) following the acquisition of the Solly collection in 1830, Von Klenze’s rationale for Munich presented at the 1835-36 Select Committee, and the re-display of the Louvre in 1848 provided some influential reference points for the didactic curation of historic paintings for the public.¹⁰³³ As seen, Woodburn had visited these key European galleries in the course of his travels. The display approaches he would have seen there provided a significant counterpoint to the ‘Tribuna’ approach of the eighteenth century, which saw masterpieces of different epochs and countries crowded into one jewel-like room, as found in the Tribuna of the Uffizi, Florence, or the *Salon Carré* and *Salon des Sept-Cheminées* of the Louvre, Paris.

Waagen commented on what he saw as these ‘confused arrangements’ in a polemical article for the *Art Journal* in 1853 – the year of Woodburn’s death – which he published in order to add his thoughts to the debate ahead of a later and all-important Select Committee on the subject of the National Gallery which sat in 1853-54 and published its lengthy report in 1855.¹⁰³⁴ Of the Florentine Tribuna he argued that earlier altarpieces by Andrea Mantegna and Albrecht Dürer – ‘works of high intrinsic interest and meriting attentive study’ – were ‘thrown into the shade’ by works dating to later periods.¹⁰³⁵ Similarly, in the Louvre’s *Salon Carré*, he posited that:

¹⁰³² Pergam, pp. 61-67.

¹⁰³³ An excellent, recent commentary on museum display strategies for early paintings in the period can be found in Tedbury, pp. 25-26, n. 8.

¹⁰³⁴ Gustav Waagen, ‘Thoughts on the New Building to be Erected for the National Gallery of England and on the Arrangement, Preservation and Enlargement of the Collection’, *Art-Journal*, 1 April 1853, 101-03; Gustav Waagen, ‘Thoughts on the New Building to be Erected for the National Gallery of England and on the Arrangement, Preservation and Enlargement of the Collection’, *Art-Journal*, 1 May 1853, 121-25. More generally see Waterfield and Illies, pp. 47-59.

¹⁰³⁵ Waagen, 1 April 1853, p. 102.

Such admirable works as the ‘Coronation of the Virgin’, by Angelico da Fiesole, a large altar-piece by Fra Filippo Lippi, the beautiful round picture by Pietro Perugino, from the collection of the King of the Netherlands [...] appear in comparison with the other pictures [...] hard and gaudy.¹⁰³⁶

Ultimately, for Waagen, these display methods represented ‘tasteless and capricious confusion’ and showed each school to ‘a great disadvantage’.¹⁰³⁷ Instead, in his opinion, the early Italian and the Flemish-German schools should be exhibited separately as ‘representatives of the ideal and realistic tendencies’, though – he conceded – they could meet through the work of Jan van Eyck and Antonello da Messina due to these artists’ perceived links to the invention and dissemination of the medium of oil painting.¹⁰³⁸ Within this demarcation, each school could then be arranged chronologically ‘in an uninterrupted series’ or according to a second mode in which pictures from the same period were displayed together. As Waagen summarised, ‘in the first system of arrangement the Schools form the connecting principle; and in the second mode, the Epochs’.¹⁰³⁹ The ultimate key was the rational, ‘connecting principle’.

Yet, the National Gallery was slow to put didactic display approaches into practice. As Susanna Avery-Quash has shown, since his time as keeper of the National Gallery (between 1843-47), Eastlake consistently advocated for more systematic ways of displaying and lighting the paintings, suggesting that walls should not just be filled for the ‘sake of clothing the walls’.¹⁰⁴⁰ He was, however, constantly challenged by a lack of space; even when the Gallery moved to

¹⁰³⁶ Ibid. The paintings mentioned here by Waagen are in the collection of the Louvre, Paris: Fra Angelico, *Coronation of the Virgin*, c. 1434-35, INV 314; Fra Filippo Lippi, *The Virgin and Child with Angels and Saints Frediano and Augustine*, ‘*The Barbadori Altarpiece*’, 1438, INV 399; Pietro Perugino, *Madonna Enthroned with Saints Rose and Catherine*, c. 1490-95, INV 719.

¹⁰³⁷ Waagen, 1 April 1853, pp. 102-03.

¹⁰³⁸ Ibid, p. 103.

¹⁰³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁰ For quotation see Klonk, p. 336, n. 29. See also Avery-Quash, ‘John Ruskin and the National Gallery’, p. 5. For Eastlake’s own observations see, for example, Charles Eastlake, *The National Gallery: Observations on the Unfitness of the Present Building for its Purpose in a Letter to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart.* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1845).

the Wilkins building in 1838, it had to share the site with the Royal Academy for three decades, until the latter institution moved down the road to Burlington House in 1868. The headmaster of Glasgow's School of Design (between 1849 and 1864), Charles Heath Wilson (1809-1882), could still write in 1851 that:

It is a singular system which arranges pictures by the size, upholsterer-fashion, without the slightest reference to school, sentiment or subject, and crowds them together in shabby rooms of a monotonous dingy tint [...] Naturalisti, Tenebristi, and all the other *isti* jumbled together, the saints of Italy and the nudities of the Flemish school in strange juxtaposition.¹⁰⁴¹

Here, Heath Wilson was writing generally of Britain's art galleries, but likely had the National Gallery in mind.¹⁰⁴²

Woodburn's early Italian paintings are often side-lined as a failure due to the fact that they were consistently refused by the National Gallery.¹⁰⁴³ Yet, regarding the collection in this way precludes the mining of its important implications for exhibitionary histories of early European paintings in Britain, not least in the space of the dealer's premises. In the public art museum, space constraints, the opinions of the trustees, and the bounds of the Treasury purse could be highly restrictive when it came to the acquisition and display of works. The more amorphous, agile, and unregulated sites occupied by dealers – such as Woodburn at 112 St Martin's Lane or Grüner's selling exhibition of the Oettingen-Wallerstein paintings at Kensington Palace – offered far more freedom to think about and experiment with new approaches towards the display of early European paintings then emanating from the Continent than somewhere like

¹⁰⁴¹ Quoted in Avery-Quash, 'John Ruskin and the National Gallery', p. 20. See Charles Heath Wilson, 'Some Remarks Upon Lighting Picture and Sculpture Galleries', *Art Journal*, 1 August 1851, 205-07 (p. 207).

¹⁰⁴² Avery-Quash, 'John Ruskin and the National Gallery', p. 20.

¹⁰⁴³ Avery-Quash, 'The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting', p. xxvii.

the National Gallery could exercise. As seen, key reference points for Woodburn were the dealers Lombardi and Baldi's chronological display of early Italian paintings in Florence, as well as approaches emanating most systematically from the German museums, which he likewise had experienced in person through his travels as a dealer. Based at 112 St Martin's Lane, Woodburn was thinking about, planning, and mounting didactic exhibitions just across the road from the National Gallery years before the National Gallery was able to carry out such systematic methods itself.

While Woodburn's proposal to open up his premises as an arm of the nearby National Gallery failed when it was rejected by the trustees in 1848, it is important to acknowledge that had his mission succeeded, among its holdings, Woodburn's gallery would have exhibited to the public the largest display of early Italian paintings then in Britain – complemented by a comparative and didactic collection of drawings beginning with works by Cimabue and Giotto. It would have comprised upwards of seventy early Italian paintings, a colossal amount, bearing in mind that Fox-Strangways's significant early Italian gifts to Christ Church in 1828 and 1834 numbered a mere thirty-seven works while Roscoe's collection on display at the Liverpool Institution from 1819 numbered a comparable thirty-five specimens.¹⁰⁴⁴ It also would have marked the first occasion in Britain when a dealer's shop was turned over to an exhibitionary purpose of state-funded, national importance for the arts. As seen, when we recall the widely-held anxieties surrounding the role of the dealer in the political economy of art – anxieties that were in fact inscribed into the very layout of the Woodburn premises at 112 St Martin's Lane – it is perhaps not surprising that this plan was not realised. However, alongside other works which passed through Woodburn's hands, it should be remembered that two important works from Woodburn's final early Italian collection were acquired later by the National Gallery and

¹⁰⁴⁴ For Roscoe see Brooke, pp. 65-66, n. 3. For Fox-Strangways see Baker, 'Framing Fox-Strangways', pp. 73-84; Lloyd, 'Picture Hunting in Italy', pp. 42-68.

now form representative examples among its early Italian holdings. These are Masaccio's *The Virgin and Child* (NG3046; **Figure 5.17**), catalogued in Woodburn's early Italian collection as by Gentile da Fabriano (c. 1385-1427) (**Appendix 4, n. 34**), and Zanobi Strozzi's *The Annunciation* (NG1406; **Figure 5.8**), once thought to be by Piero della Francesca (**Appendix 4, n. 57**).¹⁰⁴⁵

¹⁰⁴⁵ These paintings are: Masaccio, *The Virgin and Child*, 1426, NG3046; Zanobi Strozzi, *The Annunciation*, c. 1440-45, NG1406, National Gallery, London.

Conclusion

Concentrating on the period between c. 1800 and c. 1853, this thesis has investigated art dealers and agents as a multifaceted group of key cultural actors in the early stages of what would later be termed ‘the rediscovery of the primitives’ in Britain.¹⁰⁴⁶ As suggested in the Introduction to this thesis, the existing discourse on the shift of taste towards earlier European paintings in Britain is one which tends to privilege the consumer and the institutional actor: that is to say, the collector, the artist, the scholar, the museum professional. It is also a discourse which tends to locate the shift in taste towards earlier European paintings in Britain as commencing in the 1840s – as such, concentrating on the mid-century and on into the second half of the century.¹⁰⁴⁷ This thesis has re-evaluated these conventional assumptions through its art market focus to draw, instead, what can be presented here as two key conclusions. The first – and central – conclusion is that, far from being perceived as ‘spurious conspirators’, art dealers and agents should be acknowledged as vital cultural actors, enablers, and orchestrators in the shift in taste towards early European paintings in Britain.¹⁰⁴⁸ From shopkeepers to scholars, agents to advisors, network creators to exhibition makers, this thesis has highlighted the breadth of the roles and practices that dealers and agents embodied in relation to early pictures, during a moment in which possible professions within the art market were stratifying and developing in Britain. The second key conclusion is that the early decades of the nineteenth century should not be discounted in scholarship in relation to the taste for early paintings in Britain. As this specific investigation of the roles and practices of dealers and agents has shown, early European paintings were in fact passing through the British secondary market in complex and influential

¹⁰⁴⁶ See, for example, Borenus.

¹⁰⁴⁷ See, for example, Plampin; Cooper, ‘The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting’.

¹⁰⁴⁸ For dealers and conspiracy theories see Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, p. 5.

ways at that moment, enmeshed with broader early developments in art history and the public art museum which were also occurring.

Out of the case study – or ‘test case’ – approach taken by this thesis, it is possible to identify key themes which emerge and connect through its four chapters.¹⁰⁴⁹ These themes, to be discussed, shed light not only on the timbre of the reception of early paintings in Britain but also on the status of the ‘dealer’ and ‘agent’ as stratifying and professionalising categories. Indeed, their professional identities were evolving during the same moment that these art market actors began to grapple with a new branch of early painting entering Britain in the wake of Napoleonic upheavals on the Continent and which, aesthetically, appeared rather challenging and discrete from the more mainstream Old Master market.

Running throughout the thesis is the notion of stratification, professionalisation, and specialisation among dealers of early European paintings in the British marketplace. In Chapter One, light was shed on the striking diversity of the local marketplace for early pictures in London in the opening decades of the century. Found there were a roster of book and print sellers (such as the Rodd and Molteno dealerships); art, antique, and curiosity dealers (such as Samuel Woodburn and Dean William Tuck); artist-collector-dealers (such as William Young Ottley); and itinerant artist-agents (such as François Francia), who were all beginning to introduce early paintings to a primarily antiquarian audience. This built on the observations made by Mark Westgarth who had concluded that, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the picture trade in Britain was still very much part of the antique and curiosity trade.¹⁰⁵⁰ The chapter found that these dealers’ relationships with antiquarian buyers of early pictures could be tailored and highly personalised, which allowed dealers to capitalise on and even direct the nature of antiquaries’ research. The examples given included the antiquary Francis Douce

¹⁰⁴⁹ For the ‘test case’ see Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, p. 8.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Westgarth, “‘Florid-Looking Speculators’”, pp. 29-32.

assisting the Rodd brothers with researching a painting attributed to Hans Holbein in their shop, François Francia personally inviting Douce to view an altarpiece attributed to Hans Memling in his Leicester Square hotel room, and Samuel Woodburn bringing early German portraits in person to Douce's home.¹⁰⁵¹ As such, these dealers and agents inserted themselves into the particular workings of an antiquarian 'meta-economy', replete with its own rhythms and idiosyncrasies.

It is important to note that British curiosity dealers continued trading early European paintings well into the nineteenth century, and that the diversity in the marketplace for early paintings in Britain carried on. Yet, a concurrent trend that can be perceived among sellers of early paintings in Britain is the stratification of the category of the 'picture dealer'. Accordingly, in Chapter Two, we saw William Buchanan develop and hone his picture dealing practices which – as Julia Armstrong-Totten has highlighted – in many ways revolved around the establishment of a premises and a picture gallery.¹⁰⁵² The chapter demonstrated that early paintings – such as Buchanan's panels attributed to Raphael, and later, to Masaccio – proved challenging to sell because they were seen to be antithetical to contemporary tastes which then favoured more familiar, later Old Masters. In the face of this adversity, Buchanan was forced to focus and streamline his practices and, as such, devised new ways of dealing with his seemingly immovable early paintings. He cut one painting down into smaller pieces according to individual narrative episodes within it, transforming the fragments into more palatable cabinet pictures. The practices of fragmentation and dispersal honed by Buchanan in the first decade of the nineteenth century add an early, British precedent to what we know of comparable dealer

¹⁰⁵¹ For the Rodds see BOD, MS Douce d. 57, Rodd's Picture of Bonner etc., fol. 42; MS Douce d. 57, Letter from Horatio Rodd to Francis Douce, 26 December 1824, fol. 44. For Francia see BOD, MS Douce d. 24, Letter from François Francia to Francis Douce, 24 January 1822, fol. 3. For Woodburn see BOD, MS Douce e. 88, Coincidences II, fol. 16.

¹⁰⁵² Armstrong-Totten, 'From Jack-of-All-Trades to Professional', pp. 194-204.

practices with regards to early paintings in the second half of the century on the Continent.¹⁰⁵³ While Buchanan ended up trying to rid himself of his problematic ‘Raphael’s’ in various ways, by the end of the thesis we find British dealers actively beginning to incorporate early pictures as a discrete area of their practice by around the mid-century. Having amassed a collection of eighty-three early Italian paintings at the time of his death in 1853, influenced by the one-hundred-strong collection of the Florentine dealers Francesco Lombardi and Ugo Baldi, Samuel Woodburn represents the first – and, at that time, only – British dealer to show a concerted tendency to specialise in this branch of early art in the first half of the century. Woodburn thus becomes an important precedent for those such as the artist-dealer William Blundell Spence and the later more specialised ‘scholar-dealers’ of early Italian painting, such as Charles Fairfax Murray (1849-1919), Frederick Mason Perkins (1874-1955), and Robert Langton Douglas (1864-1951) in Britain – each of whom Imogen Tedbury has recently examined in relation to early Sieneese painting.¹⁰⁵⁴ Alongside these developments though, Edward Solly – in Chapter Three – served as an important reminder that art dealing could also constitute just one element in the matrix of a person’s complex cultural identity. Picture dealing could thus also be a flexible rather than a full-time pursuit which did not necessarily follow a standardised path through the cultural field, or rely on maintaining a shop or gallery.

Underpinning the stratification of dealer practices discussed here were significant shifts in the wider nineteenth-century art world in Britain. As already seen, Anne Helmreich has observed that art dealers adapted their ‘positions and practices’ within the cultural field in response to the growth of art history and the emergence of the public art museum.¹⁰⁵⁵ Certainly, this thesis has shown that dealers and agents responded to, and served as a catalyst for, developments in the practice of art history and in the circulation of knowledge about earlier European painters

¹⁰⁵³ Moench and Costamagna, pp. 193-258.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Tedbury. Woodburn is just mentioned once in Tedbury’s thesis, p. 25.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Helmreich, ‘David Croal Thomson’, p. 89.

in Britain. Chapter One traced how dealers and agents helped to crystallise the scholarly role of early paintings as empirical sources in tandem with antiquaries' research into particular areas of empirical enquiry, such as into the early history of oil painting. At a time when there were very limited opportunities to see early European paintings in Britain, dealers and agents provided important moments for early art to be experienced in the flesh – investigating an object in person then being a vital tenet of antiquarian practice, as the correspondence of Thomas Kerrich and Douce examined in that chapter revealed.

As this thesis has demonstrated, developments in art-historical knowledge became increasingly useful to dealers, not least as the gamut of available artist names to which to assign early paintings grew. As Krzysztof Pomian has suggested, the ability of the well-travelled dealer to attribute works of art saw the power balance in the art market shift away from the collector from the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁵⁶ As Ivan Gaskell observed, 'in the dealer's hands, the artwork became a route principally to knowledge of its maker, rather than to information about what is depicted' which Gaskell posits to be the hallmark of a change from antiquarianism to connoisseurship.¹⁰⁵⁷ Chapters Two and Three evidence important instances of the dealers William Buchanan and Edward Solly utilising developing art-historical knowledge to form new attributions for early paintings. When newly attributing the *Creation and Fall of Man* to Masaccio (from Raphael) in 1844, Buchanan had familiarised himself with the gamut of knowledge about the artist which had grown since the final quarter of the eighteenth century through Thomas Patch and Joshua Reynolds, and later through the English translation (1828) of Luigi Lanzi's *The History of Painting in Italy*.¹⁰⁵⁸ As seen, Buchanan summarised this research in the form of a 'Note' accompanying the 'new' Masaccio when it

¹⁰⁵⁶ Pomian, pp. 147-159.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Gaskell, p. 149.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Patch; Reynolds, 'Discourse XII', pp. 50-51; Lanzi, II, p. 61.

was offered to the National Gallery in 1844.¹⁰⁵⁹ Making attributions also appears to have been part of Solly's role as agent and art advisor to the collector John Bowes. Direct references in the archive show that Solly used then popular texts such as Jean-Baptiste Descamps's *La Vie des Peintres* to 'report on' the paintings that he acquired for Bowes.¹⁰⁶⁰ As was examined in Chapter Three, he also drew from more current art-historical trends when making attributions, including the revival of interest in the artist Jan van Eyck in the 1840s, which was occasioned, in part, by the National Gallery's acquisition of the so-called *Arnolfini Portrait* (NG186; **Figure 1.2**). As the inventories show, by 1848, the 'early German' painting of *Saint Jerome and the Lion*, purchased for Bowes by Solly in 1840, was reattributed to Van Eyck.¹⁰⁶¹ As artist names such as 'Masaccio' and 'Van Eyck' became more well known, we also begin to see here the role that dealers played in growing the corpus of works associated with a particular artist's name through the mechanism of attribution. Samuel Woodburn's collection of early Italian paintings brought names into the British lexicon that were virtually unknown – 'Bernardo Fungai', 'Vivarino de Murano', and 'Matteo di Giovanni' to name a few (**Appendix 4**). One painting, for example, by an artist called 'Fra Lorenzo del Agnolo' (whose identity is unclear), was claimed to be 'the only work of the artist in the country' (**Appendix 4, n. 38**). It should be acknowledged that this thesis examines a period before the proliferation of the systematic art-historical catalogue raisonné in Britain and thus the dealer – and the secondary market more broadly as a knowledge-making mechanism – provided an important structuring force in art-historical knowledge and artist names.¹⁰⁶²

¹⁰⁵⁹ NGA, NG5/55/21, 'Note' (enclosed in letter from William Buchanan to the secretary), 4 March 1844.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Descamps.

¹⁰⁶¹ DRO, D/St/E5/2/20, List of Paintings at Gibside to be Insured from 25 December 1848.

¹⁰⁶² See, for example, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Painting in Italy*; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *The Early Flemish Painters*. Prior to this, dealers in Britain played an important role in publishing 'biographical dictionaries' of artists. See, for example, Bryan, *A Biographical and Critical Dictionary*; Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné*. See also, Friedenthal.

Enmeshed with developments in art-historical knowledge surrounding early European painters was – as Helmreich summarised above – the emergence of the public art museum.¹⁰⁶³ In this thesis, the National Gallery – founded in 1824 – has emerged as one important touchpaper for the dealers which it has examined, though it has also acknowledged that the relationship between ‘the market’ and ‘the museum’ was far from straightforward. Up to (and, in fact, beyond) its reconstitution in 1855, the trustees, the keeper, and (from 1855) the director, debated the National Gallery’s mission and collecting remit, debates which took place at trustee meetings and at important Select Committees between 1835-36 and 1853-54, which were reported widely (in formal reports and in the press). As highlighted, dealers and art market professionals such as Solly, Woodburn, and the picture liner John Peel were invited as witnesses to Select Committees, as persons thought to possess the practical specialist knowledge unique to the picture trade which the Gallery’s trustees were perceived to lack.¹⁰⁶⁴ Dealers and agents like Solly and Woodburn in Britain were abreast of the latest developments in the acquisition and display policies at the National Gallery and at public art museums on the Continent, and were well aware of attitudes towards early pictures. As shown in Chapter Two, when Buchanan offered the ‘Masaccio’ to the National Gallery in 1827 and again in 1844, he did so in the hope that in being ‘illustrative of the progress of Art’ it provided a taxonomic example of early painting suitable ‘for any Public Gallery’.¹⁰⁶⁵ His later list of paintings from the ‘Cinque Cento period’, submitted to the trustees in 1851, embodied the same sentiment, and the dealer would have surely been aware that the trustees were sending keeper Thomas Uwins (1782-1857) and the dealer-agent William Woodburn to view similar early pictures in the Manfrin collection in Venice in the same year.¹⁰⁶⁶ Further, it is entirely possible that Samuel

¹⁰⁶³ Helmreich, ‘David Croal Thomson’, p. 89.

¹⁰⁶⁴ See, for example, *Select Committee*, 1836, II, p. 137.

¹⁰⁶⁵ For Buchanan’s description see *Catalogue of an Important Collection of Pictures, from the Distinguished Collection of His Royal Highness the Duke of Lucca*, 1841, lot 49.

¹⁰⁶⁶ NGA, NG5/85/8, ‘List of Capital Pictures Now Offered to the Trustees of the National Gallery’ enclosed within letter from William Buchanan to George Saunders Thwaites, 28 February 1851.

Woodburn would never have amassed his collection of eighty-three early Italian paintings if he had not been convinced that the National Gallery would purchase them as a way of demonstrating visually the progress of early painting. As it was, both dealers were premature in their assessments of the trustees' disposition towards early paintings, since it was not until the commencement of Sir Charles Eastlake's tenure as director in 1855 that such pictures began to be targeted and purchased by the Gallery's board of trustees in earnest.¹⁰⁶⁷

The National Gallery has also served as a useful foil in this thesis through which to elevate the pioneering nature of dealers' exhibitionary practices. As seen in Chapter Two, from the 1800s, Buchanan was experimenting with displaying, lighting, and rotating his early paintings at his premises at 118 Oxendon Street – approaches which would become much more systematic and didactic in the case of Woodburn, as discussed in Chapter Four, by the 1840s. As Giles Waterfield has observed, in contrast to the constraints of the public art museum, the premises of dealers have often permitted innovation.¹⁰⁶⁸ The thesis has shown that dealers played an important role in exhibition-making outside of government- and privately-funded art institutions which were beginning to exhibit early European paintings in Britain more frequently by the 1840s. While the National Gallery was jostling for space with the Royal Academy in the new 'Wilkins Building' from 1838 at Trafalgar Square, Samuel Woodburn was on the eve of amassing his collection of early Italian paintings and planning a didactic, chronological, and schools-based exhibition of paintings supplemented by 'Drawings, terracottas, bronzes etc.' through which to trace 'a complete history of art' throughout his premises at 112 St Martin's Lane.¹⁰⁶⁹ As shown in Chapter Four, the type of approach that Woodburn proposed had synergies with the kinds of didactic display approaches being used in

¹⁰⁶⁷ Avery-Quash, 'The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting', pp. xxix-xxxii.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Fronk, Wright, and Waterfield, p. 159.

¹⁰⁶⁹ NGA, NG5/60/1, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 3 April 1845.

the most perceivably forward-thinking German museums, such as the Alte Pinakothek at Munich which Woodburn himself had visited and praised.¹⁰⁷⁰ Also highlighted was how the expediencies of being based just behind the National Gallery were not lost on Woodburn, who in fact offered the lease of his entire premises to the Gallery as a new exhibition space in 1848. The German dealer Ludwig Grüner's contemporaneous selling exhibition of the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection of early paintings at Kensington Palace also shows how dealers adopted, and expanded, forms of exhibition paraphernalia such as the exhibition catalogue. Grüner's catalogue divided the paintings into schools and regions, within which each painting was listed in chronological order with an often highly-detailed catalogue entry, of a type which was then largely unprecedented in Britain.¹⁰⁷¹ The type of comparative study which was encouraged by both Woodburn and Grüner within their exhibition spaces preceded a similar approach taken with the early paintings in Saloon A at the Manchester 'Art Treasures' exhibition a decade later – though these precedents have never been mentioned in any publication so far which discusses the display strategy adopted at Manchester.¹⁰⁷²

Not to be forgotten within this concluding discussion is the unique branch of skills which dealers and agents brought to bear within the shift in taste towards paintings of the earlier European schools which, as Pomian has suggested, combined '*théorie*' and '*pratique*'.¹⁰⁷³ On one hand, dealers and agents could be learned and well-travelled art experts who pronounced on obscure attributions and valuations, analysed a work's condition, researched and encouraged particular directions in art-historical study, and 'curated' didactic exhibitions of early art. But dealers and agents could also be those who had the practical knowledge and experience to network, source, procure, pack, transport, restore, line, and frame paintings; those who, in

¹⁰⁷⁰ NGA, NG5/59/1, Letter from Samuel Woodburn to Charles Eastlake, 12 January 1845.

¹⁰⁷¹ [Grüner].

¹⁰⁷² Pergam, pp. 61-67, 137-99, in particular pp. 139-50.

¹⁰⁷³ Pomian, pp. 155-56.

highly practical and logistical terms, enabled early European pictures to enter and circulate in Britain. While this practical capacity is present in discussions across all the chapters, it is perhaps most evident in Chapter Three, where an in-depth analysis took place of the rich transnational and domestic network of dealers, itinerant agents, Italian academicians, picture liners, restorers, and framers which was orchestrated under the dealer Edward Solly in the acquisition of early and obscure paintings for the collector John Bowes.

Notions of complexity, contingency, and failure have also come to the fore as necessary aspects of the revival of interest in early European paintings in Britain. This permits ideas of linearity and progress to be questioned, and critiques the idea that shifts in taste are inevitable phenomena which just serenely happen, without any hitch or delay.¹⁰⁷⁴ In fact, often the subjects at the centre of each chapter have been overlooked in the past, either due to the early European paintings in question having been historically perceived as unimportant, or their progression through the art market having been perceived – until now – as a failure, and not worthy of in-depth scholarship. We think for example of Buchanan’s ‘failed’ ‘Raphaels’, or Woodburn’s ‘failure’ to interest the National Gallery in his early Italian paintings. We can also think of the complexity of the transnational and domestic networks mapped in Chapter Three which highlight how one acquisition – for instance, the ‘Ancient German’ triptych (B.M.168; **Figure 4.2**) purchased by Solly for Bowes in 1840 – is in fact the product of a chain of exchanges, movements, and negotiations across time and space. Through redressing these areas of neglect and perceptions of failure and complexity, this thesis has emphasised the notion that shifts in taste, such as the so-called ‘primitive revival’, are highly contingent and complex.

Finally, this thesis has been rooted in archival sources which have, until now, been understudied or, otherwise, completely overlooked. It is hoped that the thesis, and the

¹⁰⁷⁴ Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art*, p. 17.

accompanying appendices, will highlight the presence and importance of these sources for future researchers in the field. In Chapter One, the Douce Papers provided the opportunity to examine both Douce's collection of early European paintings and the relationships which he held with dealers and agents across the British art and antiques market. Surprisingly, Douce's early paintings have never before been properly examined and neither has the role of the British antique and curiosity dealer in the market for early pictures in the period. In Chapter Two, little-known material in the National Gallery's archive was used to re-address Buchanan's *Memoirs of Painting* and published correspondence in new ways.¹⁰⁷⁵ This work simultaneously shed new light on the provenance and material histories of the so-called 'Raphael's' once in Buchanan's stock, one of which was offered on multiple occasions to the National Gallery. In Chapter Three, the unpublished correspondence of Solly and the picture liner John Peel in Durham Record Office was brought into contact with material heralding from archives from Staffordshire to Berlin, which has mitigated the absence of these dealers, agents, and their networks in the Bowes Museum's own archive. Finally, Chapter Four permitted an overdue interrogation of Samuel Woodburn's dealings with the National Gallery in relation to his early Italian paintings. The period in which Woodburn was corresponding with the National Gallery has been associated with a decline in his mental health, a perception which has contributed to a lack of serious discussion around his innovation, particularly with regard to his pioneering didactic display strategies for early Italian paintings.¹⁰⁷⁶ The research highlighted items in the archive that have never been interrogated, such as the annotated floorplan of 112 St Martin's Lane, which was deftly divided up for use as both a commercial and didactic display space.

As this thesis draws to a close, it is striking to recall the dealer William Buchanan's proclamation in his *Memoirs of Painting* (1824) that 'should the National Gallery of this

¹⁰⁷⁵ Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*; Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Penny, 'The Fate of the 'Lawrence Gallery'', p. 1251.

country ever be formed’ then the result of his ‘past exertions’ would not ‘fail to meet the eye of the observer at every glance which [the observer] may cast along its walls’ – insinuating that, in Buchanan’s opinion, he would have played an important role in bringing many of the works to a (then future) National Gallery.¹⁰⁷⁷ Though Buchanan surely would have preferred his own likeness to be on the Gallery’s walls, he would likely be gratified to know that, at the time of writing, the National Gallery has just placed on public display in Room 44 a portrait that demonstrates its most recent commitment to investigating dealer histories within its collection. In 2022, the Gallery, along with the neighbouring National Portrait Gallery, jointly acquired the portrait of the art dealer Algernon Moses Marsden (1847-1920) by Jacques Joseph Tissot (1836-1902) (NG6696; **Figure 6.1**).¹⁰⁷⁸ Yet, this portrait still conforms to the more customary focus – as observed in the Introduction to this thesis – on dealers from the second half of the nineteenth century in studies of the art market, as opposed to the first half of the century.¹⁰⁷⁹ Instead, this thesis has sought to identify and elevate a roster of dealers and agents who, between 1800 and 1853, were buying, selling, attributing, circulating, and displaying early European paintings in Britain – paintings which are usually found a long way from Room 44, in the National Gallery’s Sainsbury Wing and, even further away, in the Bowes Museum’s picture galleries.¹⁰⁸⁰ While early paintings are now firmly found in the holdings of these respective institutions – the collaborative partners in this PhD project – this thesis has demonstrated that art dealers and agents in the first half of the nineteenth century enabled such pictures to be seen, experienced, researched, adapted, and enjoyed often beyond the walls of the public art museum.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, II, p. 377.

¹⁰⁷⁸ See above at n. 403. The painting was bought jointly by the National Gallery and the National Portrait Gallery, with the generous support of Sir Martyn Arbib and his children, 2022.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Of many examples, Helmreich’s work on David Croal Thompson and the work of Lynn Catterson and others on Stefano Bardini are representative of this focus, as already highlighted in this thesis.

¹⁰⁸⁰ At the time of writing, the Sainsbury Wing is currently undergoing remodelling in readiness for the National Gallery’s bicentennial celebrations in 2024.

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‘Reflections: Van Eyck and the Pre-Raphaelites’ (National Gallery, London, 2 October 2017-2 April 2018)

‘Sold! The Great British Antiques Story’ (The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, 26 January-5 May 2019)

‘The Solly Collection, 1821-2021: Founding the Berlin Gemäldegalerie’ (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, 3 November 2021-30 January 2022)

‘Strange Beauty: Masters of the German Renaissance’ (National Gallery, London, 19 February-11 May 2014)

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‘Negotiating Art – Dealers and Museums 1855-2015’ (National Gallery, London, 1-2 April 2015)

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‘A Revolution in Taste: Francis Haskell’s 19th Century’ (St John’s College, University of Oxford, Oxford, 23-24 October 2015)

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Illustrations

Illustrations: Introduction



Figure 1.1, Jan van Eyck (active 1422-d. 1441), *Portrait of a Man (Self Portrait?)*, 1433, oil on oak, 26 x 19 cm. NG222, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1851.



Figure 1.2, Jan van Eyck (active 1422-d. 1441), *Portrait of Giovanni (?) Arnolfini and his Wife*, 1434, oil on oak, 82.2 x 60 cm. NG186, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1842.

Illustrations: Chapter One

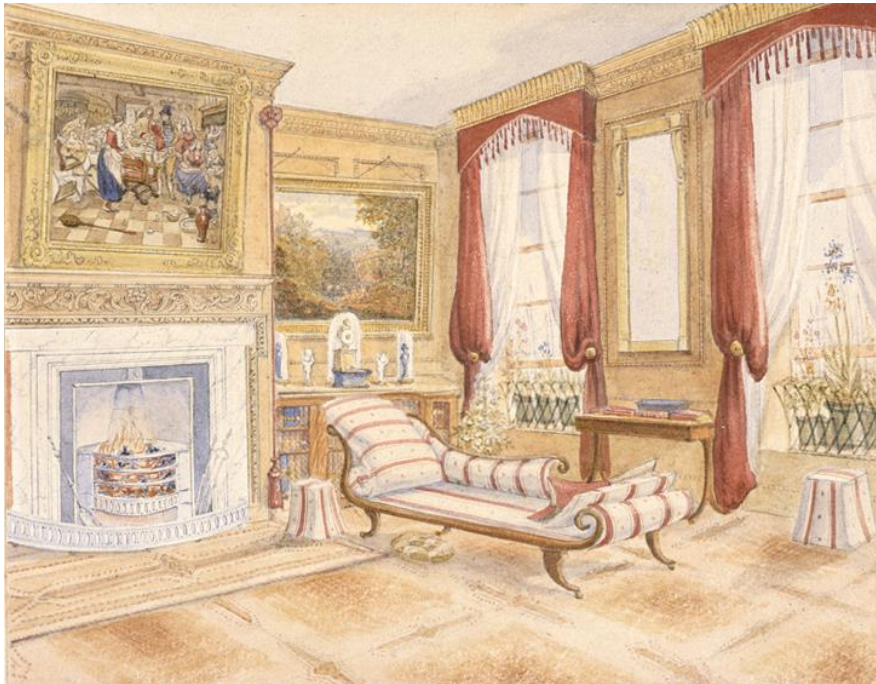


Figure 2.1, Attributed to Elizabeth Turner (1799-1852), *Drawing Room, Bank House, Great Yarmouth, Home of Dawson Turner*, c. 1820-29, watercolour on paper, 13.8 cm. NWHCM: 2003.58.2, Norwich Castle Museum, Norwich © Norfolk Museums Service.



Figure 2.2, Attributed to Elizabeth Turner (1799-1852), *Drawing Room, Bank House, Great Yarmouth, Home of Dawson Turner*, c. 1820-29, watercolour on paper, 13.6 cm. NWHCM: 2003.58.1, Norwich Castle Museum, Norwich © Norfolk Museums Service.



Figure 2.3, Giovanni Bellini (c. 1435-1516), *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* (*'The Cornbury Park Altarpiece'*), 1505, oil on poplar panel, 91.4 x 81.3 cm. 1977P227, Birmingham Museums Trust, Birmingham. Purchased by public subscription, with the assistance of the Denis Mahon Trust, the National Art Collections Fund, The Pilgrim Trust, Birmingham City Council, West Midlands County Council, the Friends of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery and a special Government grant in memory of David, Earl of Crawford and Balcerres, 1977. Photo by Birmingham Museums Trust, licensed under CC0.



Figure 2.4, Thomas Gwenapp Junior (1798-1845), *Trade Card*, 1827, etching, 12.4 x 8.4 cm. Banks, 96.4, The British Museum, London © Trustees of the British Museum [CC BY-NC-SA 4.0].

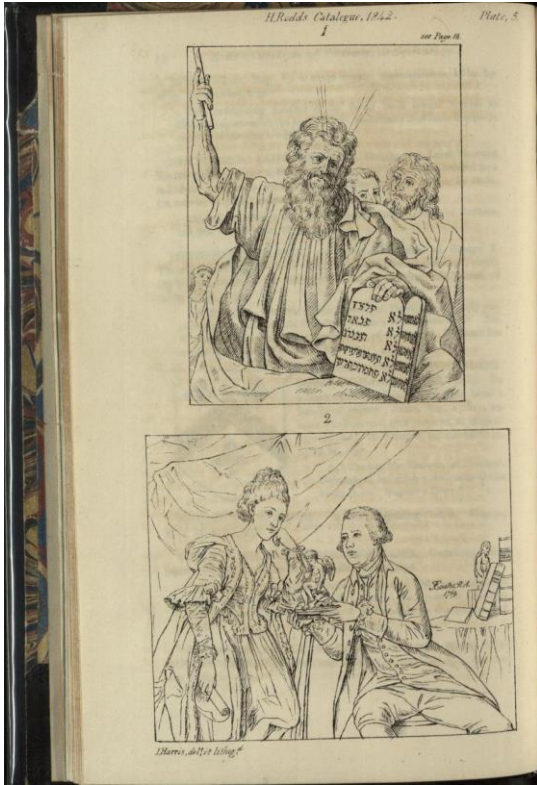


Figure 2.5, John Harris (1791-1873) after Salvator Rosa (1615-1673) and an unknown artist in Horatio Rodd, *Catalogue of Portraits, Pictures, Drawings, Carvings in Oak, Ivory, & Boxwood, Antique Furniture & Plate, Crosses, Chalices, Tabernacles, Shrines, Stained Glass, &c. for Sale* (London: Harris, 1842), p. 12, plate 5.



Figure 2.6, Lorenzo di Credi (c. 1458-1537), *The Virgin Adoring the Child*, 1490-1500, oil on wood, 86.4 x 60.3 cm. NG648, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1860.



Figure 2.7, Follower of Lieven van Lathem (active 1454-d. 1493), *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Donor*, c. 1500, oil with some egg tempera on oak, 27.1 x 20.2 cm. NG1939, National Gallery, London. Bought (Lewis Fund), 1904.



Figure 2.8, Cimabue (documented 1272-d. 1302), *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, c. 1280-85, egg tempera on wood, 25.6 x 20.8 cm. NG6583, National Gallery, London. Accepted by HM Government in lieu of Inheritance Tax and allocated to the National Gallery, 2000.

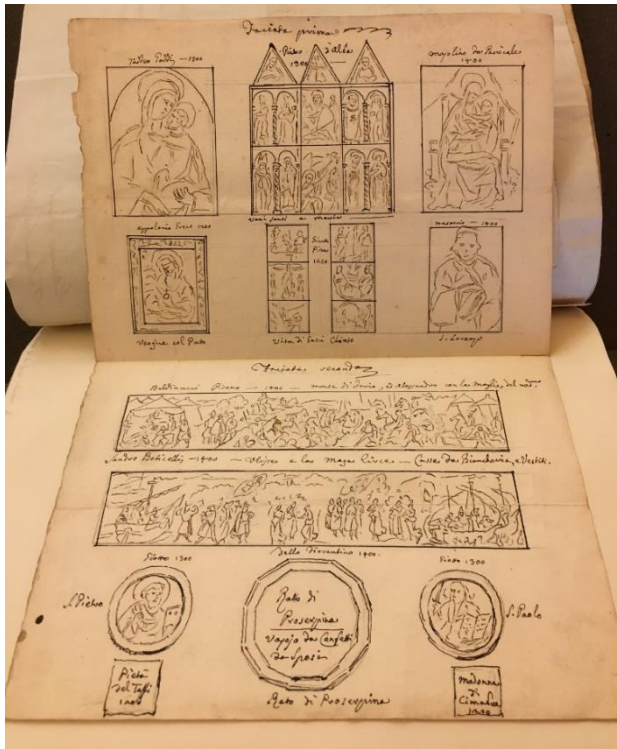


Figure 2.9, 'Lasinio's Pictures' in the Douce Papers, MS Douce d. 57, fol. 84. Bodleian Libraries Special Collections, Oxford. Given by the Trustees of the British Museum, 1933. [CC-BY-NC 4.0]



Figure 2.10, Hans Baldung Grien (1484/5-1545), *The Trinity and Mystic Pietà*, 1512, oil on oak, 112.3 x 89.1 cm. NG1427, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1894.



Figure 2.11, Simon Marmion (1420-1489), *Scenes from the Life of St Bertin – Annunciation with Prophets and Evangelists*, c. 1459, oil on oak, 58.4 x 146.8 cm. 1645, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. Purchased from the collection of the Princess of Wied in Neuwied. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie / Christoph Schmidt [Public Domain Mark 1.0] [<https://recherche.smb.museum/detail/863035>].




Figure 2.12, Simon Marmion (1420-1489), *Scenes from the Life of St Bertin – Annunciation with Prophets and Evangelists*, c. 1459, oil on oak, 58.5 x 146.4 cm. 1645A, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. Purchased from the collection of the Princess of Wied in Neuwied © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie / Christoph Schmidt [Public Domain Mark 1.0] [<https://recherche.smb.museum/detail/863047>].



Figure 2.13, Simon Marmion (1420-1489), *The Soul of St Bertin carried up to God* (from right hand shutter of the 'St Bertin Altarpiece'), c. 1459, oil on oak, 57.7 x 20.5cm. NG1302, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1860.

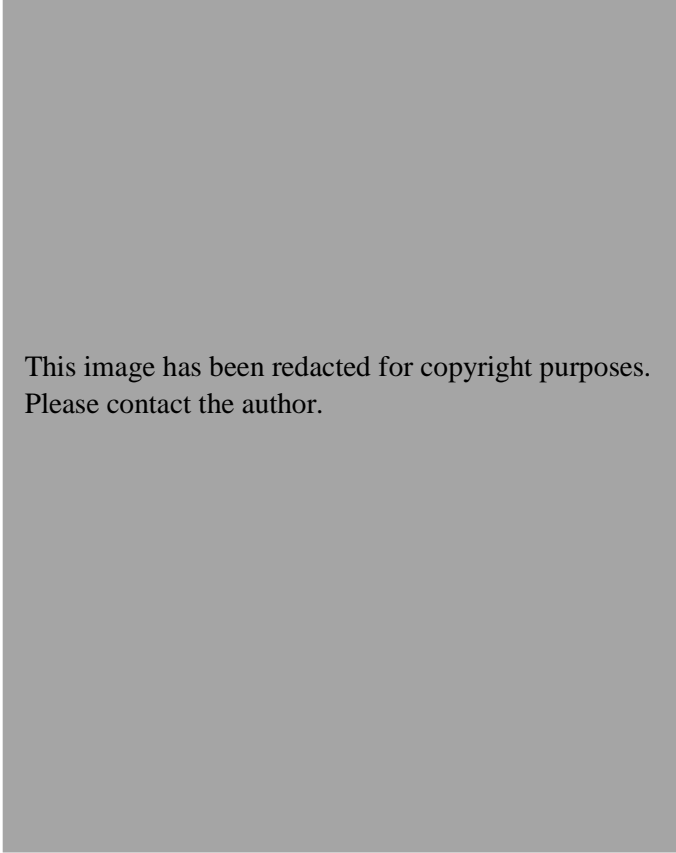


Figure 2.14, Simon Marmion (1420-1489), *A Choir of Angels* (from left hand shutter of the 'St Bertin Altarpiece'), c. 1459, oil on oak, 57.6 x 20.9 cm. NG1303, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1860.



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Figure 2.15, Netherlandish School, *Saint Erasmus*, 1474, oil on oak panel. Society of Antiquaries, London. Kerrich Bequest, 1828.



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Figure 2.16, Guido da Siena (active c. 1250-1300), *Virgin and Christ Enthroned*, c. 1275-80, tempera and gilding on panel, 283 x 194 cm. San Domenico, Siena.



Figure 2.17, William Young Ottley (1771-1836) and William Long (active 1821-d.1855) after Sandro Botticelli (c. 1445-1510), *Plate L: The Nativity of Christ*, 1826, engraving, 56.5 x 40 cm. 38041800462111, National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 2.18, Sandro Botticelli (c. 1445-1510), *Mystic Nativity*, 1500, oil on canvas, 108.6 x 74.9 cm. NG1034, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1878.



Figure 2.19, Fra Angelico (Fra Giovanni da Fiesole) (active 1417-d. 1455), *The Apostle Saint James Freeing the Magician Hermogenes*, c. 1426-29, tempera and gold on panel, 26.8 x 23.8 cm (unframed), 47.3 x 44.3 cm (framed). AP 1986.03, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas.



Figure 2.20, Raphael Morghen (1758-1833), after 'Simon Memmi', *Portrait of Laura*, 1819, engraving, 25.2 x 17.5 cm. 1843,0513.947, British Museum, London. © Trustees of the British Museum. [CC BY-NC-SA 4.0].



Figure 2.21, Attributed to Italian (Florentine) School, *Laura*, c. 1490-c. 1520 (or nineteenth century?), oil on panel, 67.4 x 51.5 cm. FA000194, Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, Brighton. Given by Henry Willet, 1903.



Figure 2.22, Charles Mottram (1807-1878), after John Doyle (1797-1868), *Samuel Rogers at his Breakfast Table*, c. 1823, engraving and mezzotint on paper, 58 x 86.6 cm. T04907, Tate, London. Presented by Dr David Blayney Brown, 1987. Photo © Tate [CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0] [<https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/doyle-mottram-samuel-rogers-at-his-breakfast-table-engraved-by-charles-mottram-t04907>].



Figure 2.23, Spinello Arentino (1345-52-1410), *Two Haloed Mourners: Fragment from the 'Burial of Saint John the Baptist'*, c. 1387-91, fresco, 51.3 x 51.3 cm. NG276, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1856.

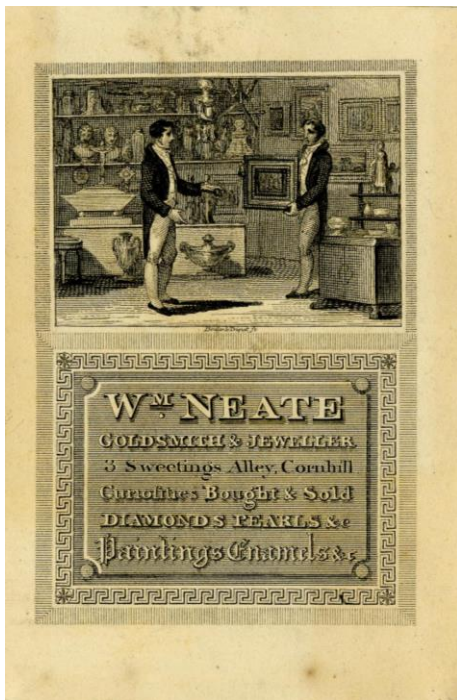


Figure 2.24, *Trade Card of William Neate*, c. 1817, etching, 11.5 x 7.7 cm. Heal,67.288, British Museum, London. Bequeathed by Sir Ambrose Heal, 1960. © Trustees of the British Museum [CC BY-NC-SA 4.0].



Figure 2.25, Richard Parkes Bonington (1803-1828), *Ruins of the Abbey of St Bertin, St Omer, France*, c. 1824, oil on canvas, 59.9 x 48.8 cm. NCM 1907-8, Norwich Castle Museum, Norwich. Purchased from Mr James Orrock, 1907 © Norfolk Museums Service.



Figure 2.26, Hans Memling (active 1465-d. 1494), *The Reliquary of St Ursula*, 1489, tempera and oil on panel, 86.4 x 91.4 x 33 cm. Musea Brugge, Bruges [CC BY-NC-ND 4.0] [<https://artinflanders.be/en/artwork/reliquary-saint-ursula-60>].



Figure 2.27, Detail of Simon Marmion (1420-1489), *Scenes from the Life of St Bertin – Annunciation with Prophets and Evangelists*, c. 1459, oil on oak, 58.5 x 146.4 cm. 1645A, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. Purchased from the collection of the Princess of Wied in Neuwied. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie / Christoph Schmidt [Public Domain Mark 1.0] [<https://recherche.smb.museum/detail/863047>].



Figure 2.28, Attributed to Girolamo da Santacroce (active 1516-d. 1556), *The Presentation in the Temple*, c. 1500-56, oil on canvas, 73.5 x 89 cm, B.M.48, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founders' Bequest, 1885.



Figure 2.29, Carlo Lasinio (1759-1838) after Antonio Veneziano (documented 1369-1419), *The Return and Miracle of Saint Ranieri*, 1808-12, engraving, 47.5 x 81 cm, in Carlo Lasinio, *Pitture a Fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa* (Florence: Molini, Landi e Compagno, 1812).



Figure 2.30, Thomas Patch (1725-1782) after Giotto (c. 1267 or 1276-d. 1337), plate from *Queste Pitture di Giotto nella Chiesa del Carmine*, 1740-70, print on paper, 47.7 x 36.5 cm. DYCE.2836, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Bequeathed by Rev. Alexander Dyce, 1869 © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 2.31, Workshop of Lorenzo Monaco (active 1399-d.1423/24), *Madonna of Humility*, c. 1375-1423/4, tempera on panel, 87.4 x 52 cm. 1945.30, Museum of Art, Toledo. Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey.

Illustrations: Chapter Two



Figure 3.1, David A. Costantini, *Mr Murray Marks*, 1905, oil on panel, 47.5 x 33.2 cm. FA000122, Brighton and Hove Museums, Brighton. Donated, 1905.



Figure 3.2, Giovanni Bellini (c. 1435-1516), *Doge Leonardo Loredan*, c. 1501-02, oil on poplar, 61.4 x 44.5 cm. NG189, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1844.

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Figure 3.3, *The Library at Highnam Court, Gloucestershire*, in *Country Life*, 107 (19 May 1950), p. 1462. Photograph by A. E. Henson.



Figure 3.4, Lorenzo Monaco (active 1399-d. 1423/4), *Adoring Saints: Right Main Tier Panel*, 1407-09, egg tempera on wood, 197.2 x 101.5 cm. NG216, National Gallery, London. Presented by William Coningham, 1848.



Figure 3.5, Lorenzo Monaco (active 1399-d. 1423/4), *Adoring Saints: Left Main Tier Panel*, 1407-09, egg tempera, 194.5 x 104.8 cm. NG215, National Gallery, London. Presented by William Coningham, 1848.



Figure 3.6, Frederick Mackenzie (1787-1854), *The National Gallery when at Mr J. J. Angerstein's House, Pall Mall*, between 1824 and 1834, watercolour, 69 x 85.5 cm. 40-1887, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 3.7, Detail of: Thomas Rowlandson (1757-1827), *Italian Picture Dealers Humbugging my Lord Anglaise*, 30 May 1812, hand-coloured etching, 34.8 x 24.8 cm. 59.533.1221, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959 [Creative Commons Zero (CC0)].



Figure 3.8, Giovanni Bellini (c. 1435-1516), *The Agony in the Garden*, c. 1458-60, egg tempera on wood, 80.4 x 127 cm. NG726, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1863.

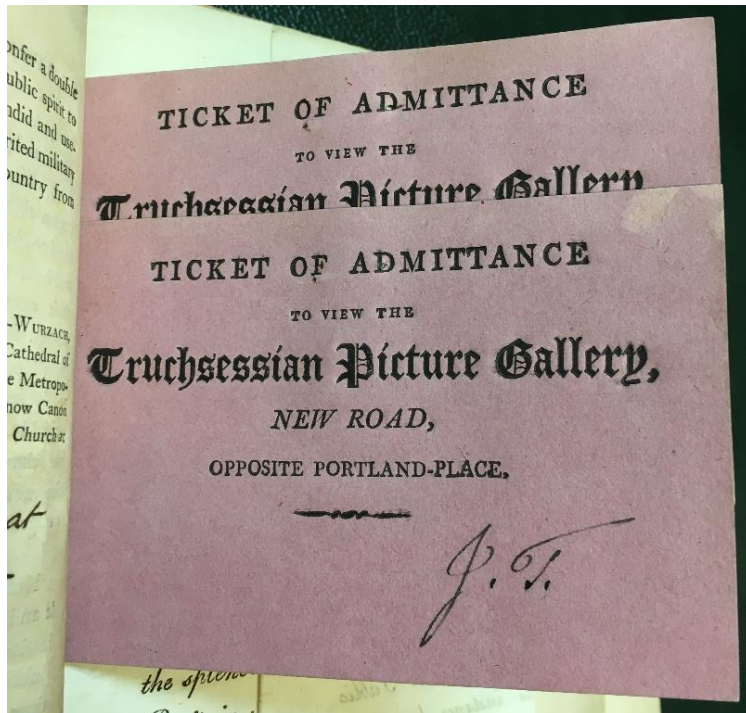


Figure 3.9, Ticket of admittance to view the Truchsessian Picture Gallery, initialled by Count Joseph Truchsess, 1804. In bound volume of *Misc. Pamphlets and Articles*, NG15/21, National Gallery Archive, National Gallery, London.



Figure 3.10, Master of the Virgo Inter Virgines (active c. 1483-98), *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, possibly about 1486, oil paint on panel, 55.2 x 54.1 cm. WAG 1014, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. Presented to the Walker Art Gallery by the Liverpool Royal Institution in 1948.



Figure 3.11, Spanish School, *Pietà*, c. 1546-86, oil on panel, 71.4 x 55.3 cm. WAG 1180, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. Presented to the Walker Art Gallery by the Liverpool Royal Institution in 1948.



Figure 3.12, Francesco Pesellino (1422-1457) and Fra Filippo Lippi and workshop (c. 1406-1469), *The Trinity*, 1455-60, egg tempera, tempera grassa and oil on wood, 185.5 x 91 cm. NG727, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1863.



Figure 3.13, Francesco Pesellino (1422-1457) and Fra Filippo Lippi and workshop (c. 1406-1469), *Angel (right hand)*, 1455-60, egg tempera, tempera grassa and oil on wood, 45 x 61 cm. NG3162, National Gallery, London. Bequeathed by Countess Brownlow, 1917.



Figure 3.14, Francesco Pesellino (1422-1457) and Fra Filippo Lippi and workshop (c. 1406-1469), *Angel (left hand)*, 1455-60, egg tempera, tempera grassa and oil on wood, 43.5 x 61.5 cm. NG3230, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1917.



Figure 3.15, Francesco Pesellino (1422-1457) and Fra Filippo Lippi and workshop (c. 1406-1469), *Saints Zeno and Jerome*, 1455-60, egg tempera, tempera grassa and oil on wood, 84.5 x 56 cm. NG4428, National Gallery, London. Presented by the Art Fund in association with and by the generosity of Sir Joseph Duveen, Bt, 1929.



Figure 3.16, Francesco Pesellino (1422-1457) and Fra Filippo Lippi and workshop (c. 1406-1469), *Saints Mamas and James*, 1455-60, egg tempera, tempera grassa and oil on wood, 142 x 64.5 cm. RCIN 407613, Royal Collection Trust. Acquired by Queen Victoria, 1846.



Figure 3.17, Raphael (1483-1520), *Portrait of Pope Julius II*, 1511, oil on poplar, 108.7 x 81 cm. NG27, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1824.



Figure 3.18, Thomas Rowlandson (1757-1827), Auguste Charles Pugin (1768/69-1832) and John Hill (1770-1850), *Exhibition Room, Somerset House*, 1808, etching and aquatint, hand-coloured, 24.7 x 29cm. 17.3.1167-134, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1917 [Creative Commons Zero (CC0)].



Figure 3.19, Thomas Rowlandson (1757-1827), Auguste Charles Pugin (1768/69-1832) and John Bluck (active c. 1791-c. 1832), *Christie's Auction Room*, a plate from Rudolph Ackermann, *Microcosm of London*, 1808, hand-coloured etching and aquatint, 21.5 x 26.5 cm. 1899,0420.100, British Museum. Acquired 1899 © Trustees of the British Museum [CC BY-NC-SA 4.0].

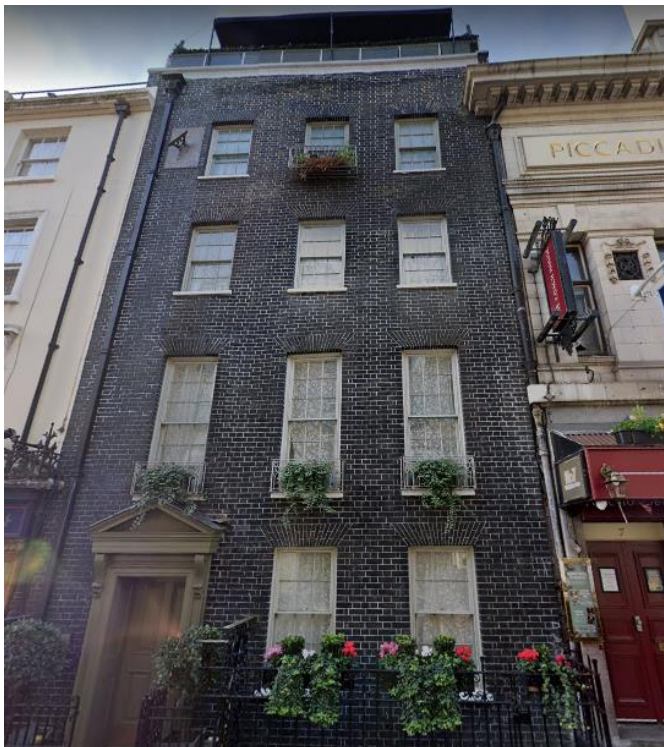


Figure 3.20, 18 Oxendon Street (as it appears today) © Google Street View [accessed 24 February 2023].



Figure 3.21, Alfred Joseph Woolmer (1805-1892), *Interior of the British Institution (Old Master Exhibition, Summer 1832)*, 1833, oil on canvas, 71.8 x 92.1 cm. B1981.25.694, Yale Center for British Art. Paul Mellon Collection, London.



Figure 3.22, Unknown artist, *Ackermann's Room in the Strand*, 1809, etching with aquatint, 13.2 x 22.2 cm. E.3027-1903, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Given by Miss E. Manson © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 3.23, Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775-1851), *A Picture Gallery with Roof Lights, and Related Plans* (part of the *Tabley No. 3 Sketchbook*), c. 1818-22, graphite on paper, 10.8 x 18.5 cm. DO7086, Tate, London. Accepted by the nation as part of the Turner Bequest, 1856. Photo © Tate [CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0 (Unported)] [<https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/turner-a-picture-gallery-with-roof-lights-and-related-plans-d07086>].

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Figure 3.24, John Passmore II (1831-1845), *Benjamin West's Picture Gallery*, c. 1828, oil on canvas, 75 x 62.9 cm. 1956.75, Wadsworth Athenaeum Museum of Art, Hartford, CT. The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Caitlin Sumner Collection Fund.

Illustrations: Chapter Three



Figure 4.1. Circle of St Gudula Master (active later fifteenth century), *Saint Jerome and the Lion*, c. 1475-99, oil on panel, 56.8 x 39.7 cm. B.M.596, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founders' bequest, 1885.

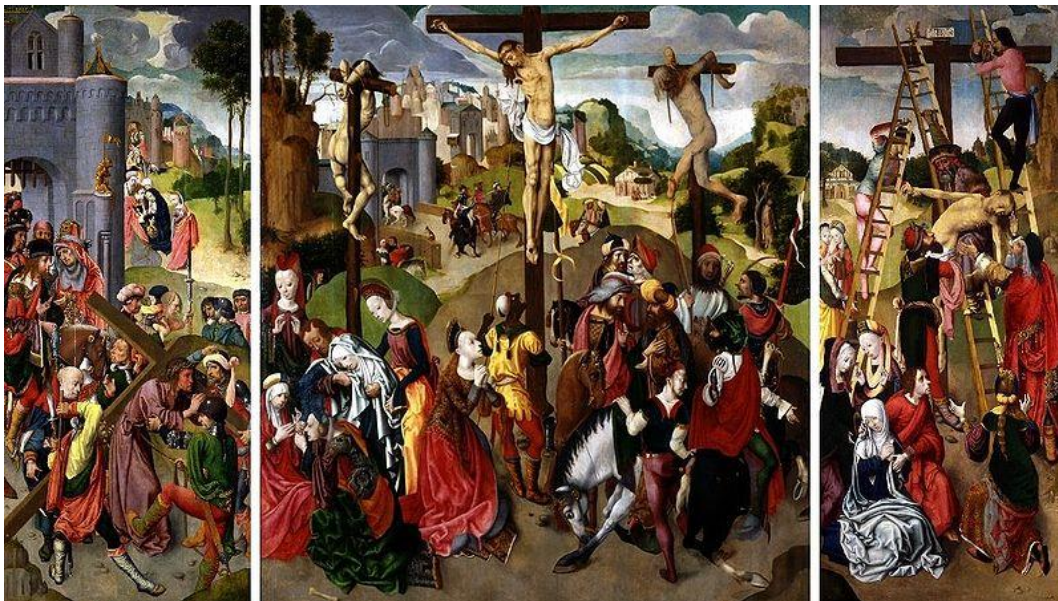


Figure 4.2. Master of the Virgo Inter Virgines (c. 1483-1498), *Crucifixion*, c. 1490s, oil on panel, 219 x 196 cm. B.M.168, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founders' bequest, 1885.



Figure 4.3, Sassetta (c. 1400-1450), *A Miracle of the Eucharist*, c. 1423-26, tempera and gold on panel, 24.1 x 38.2 cm. B.M.52, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founders' bequest, 1885.



Figure 4.4, Attributed to Circle of Ambrosius Benson (active 1519-d. 1550), *Pietà and the Two Marias*, c. 1519-50, oil on panel, 33.7 x 8.1 cm (right-hand and left-hand panels), 31.2 x 22.5 cm (centre panel). B.M.175, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founders' bequest, 1885.



Figure 4.5, Girolamo Marchesi (1471/81-1540/50), *Saint Catherine*, c. 1495-1550, oil on panel, 120 x 68.5 cm. B.M.44, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founders' bequest, 1885.



Figure 4.6, After Francesco Francia (c. 1450-1517), *Madonna and Child*, possibly sixteenth century, oil on panel, 56 x 41.5 cm. B.M.50, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founders' bequest, 1885.



Figure 4.7, Andrea Solario (c. 1465-1524), *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness*, c. 1510-15, oil and tempera on panel, 69.8 x 54.3 cm. B.M.42, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founders' bequest, 1885.



Figure 4.8, Master of St. Gudule (active later fifteenth century), *Altarpiece of the Passion*, c. 1460-80, oil on oak, 243 x 571 cm (when open). W.123 and B.M.1018-23, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founders' bequest, 1885.



Figure 4.9, Attributed to Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449-1494), *Madonna Adoring the Child*, c. 1465-1500, tempera and oil on panel, 55 x 36.5 cm. B.M.40, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founders' bequest, 1885.



Figure 4.10, Attributed to after Dieric Bouts (c. 1400?-1475), *The Head of Saint John the Baptist on a Gold Dish*, c. 1600-50, tempera on panel, 28.5 x 28.5 cm. B.M.959, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founder's Bequest, 1885.



Figure 4.11, Carlo Crivelli (c. 1430/5-1494), *The Annunciation, with Saint Emidius*, 1486, tempera and oil on canvas, 207 x 146.7 cm. NG739, National Gallery, London. Presented by Lord Taunton, 1864.



Figure 4.12, 'The Picture Gallery' in *Companion to the Catalogue Being a Guide to the Principal Objects of Interest in the Various Departments of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Polytechnic Exhibition*, (Gateshead: Printed by William Douglas, 1848).



Figure 4.13, After Guido Reni (1575-1642), *Death of Lucretia*, c. 1650-c. 1750, oil on canvas, 96.5 x 71 cm. B.M.72, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founders' bequest, 1885.

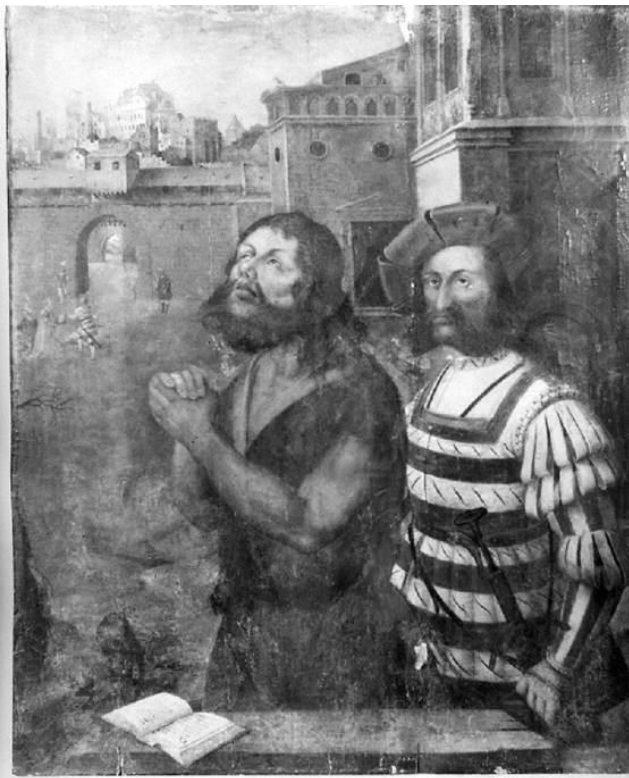


Figure 4.14, Attributed to German School, *Saint John the Baptist before Execution*, c. 1450-1550, oil on panel, 128.5 x 104.5 cm. B.M.71, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founders' bequest, 1885.



Figure 4.15, After Andrea Solario (1465-1524), *The Head of the Baptist on a Tazza*, possibly c. 1550-1650, oil on panel, 41.5 x 47.5 cm. B.M.56, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founders' bequest, 1885.

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Figure 4.16, *View of the Dining Room at Streatlam Castle with its Armorial Ceiling* in *Country Life*, 989 (18 December 1915), p. 836. © Future Publishing Ltd.



Figure 4.17, Francesco Francia (c. 1447-1517), *The Buonvisi Altarpiece*, 1510-12, oil on canvas, transferred from wood, 195 x 180.5 cm (main panel); 94 x 184.5 cm (lunette). NG179, NG180, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1841.



Figure 4.18, Domenico Capriolo (1494-1528), *Portrait of Lelio Torelli, Jurisconsult at Fano*, 1528, oil on canvas, 99.2 x 81.7 cm. B.M.55, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founders' bequest, 1885.



Figure 4.19, Raphael (1483-1520), *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, c. 1507, oil on poplar, 72.2 x 55.7 cm. NG168, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1839.



Figure 4.20, Giovanni Battista Bertucci the Elder (active 1495-d. 1516), *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas with a Donor from the Calderoni Family*, c. 1510-12, oil on wood, 103.5 x 166.4 cm. NG1051, National Gallery, London. Bequeathed by Miss Sarah Solly, 1879.

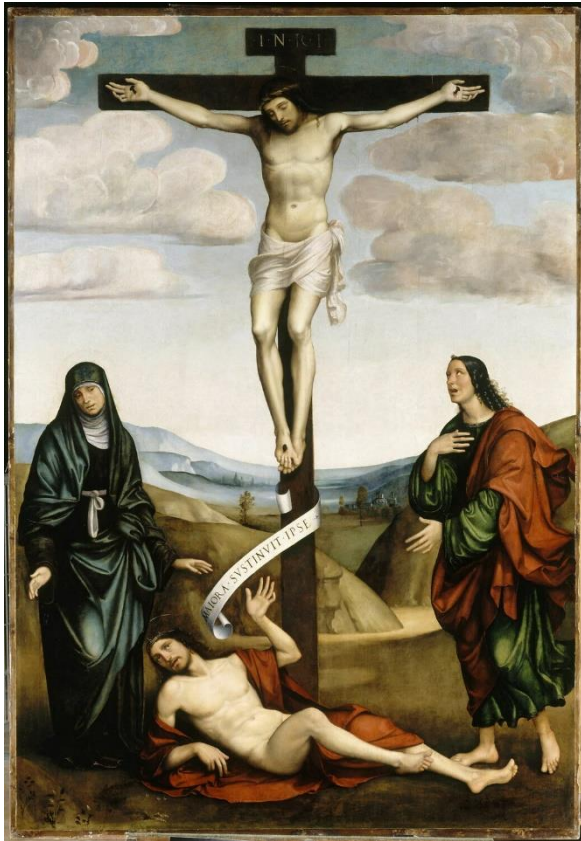


Figure 4.21, Francesco Francia (c. 1447-1517), *Calvary with Saint Job Lying at the Foot of the Cross*, 1513, oil on wood, 255 x 175 cm. MI679, Louvre, Paris. Acquired, 1864. [<https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010064963>].



Figure 4.22, Niccolò Pisano (1470-c. 1536), *Sacra Conversazione*, c. 1525-30, on panel, 257 x 193 cm. 2523, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires. Acquired from the collection of Sara Wilkinson, Marsengo. [<https://www.bellasartes.gob.ar/en/collection/work/2523/>].

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Figure 4.23, After Ercole Roberti (active 1479-d. 1496), *Partial Copy of the Crucifixion*, sixteenth century (?), oil on canvas, 216 x 319 cm. San Pietro, Bologna. Gifted by Bernard Berenson, 1915.



Figure 4.24, Giacinto Gilioli (1594-1665), after Ercole de'Roberti (1455-1496), *Copy after Roberti's Dormition of the Virgin*, c. 1610, oil on canvas, 221.5 x 326.8 x 3.7 cm. SN44, Bequest of John Ringling, 1936, Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, the State Art Museum of Florida, Sarasota, Florida.



Figure 4.25, Giacomo Panizzati (active c. 1524-d. 1540), *The Conversion of Saint Paul*, c. 1535-40, oil on wood, 58.1 x 69.8 cm. NG73, National Gallery, London. Holwell Carr Bequest, 1831.

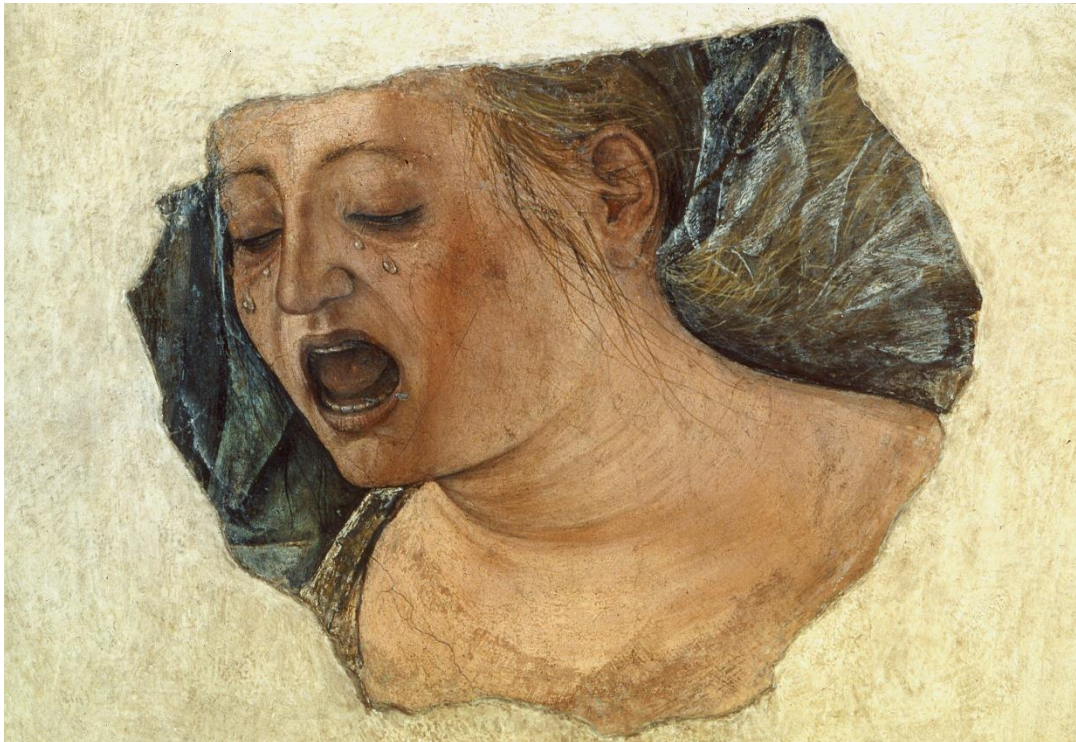


Figure 4.26, Ercole Roberti (active 1479-d. 1496), *Head of the Magdalen (Fragment from the Garganelli Chapel)*, 1481-86, detached fresco, 23 x 28.5 cm. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.



Figure 4.27, After Raphael (1483-1520), *The Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John the Baptist* (after 'La Perla'), c. 1575-99, oil on panel, 162.5 x 95 cm. B.M.820, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle. Founders' bequest, 1885.



Figure 4.28, Dieric Bouts (1400?-1475), *Portrait of a Man (Jan van Winckele?)*, 1462, oil with egg tempera on oak, 31.6 x 20.5 cm. NG943, National Gallery, London. Wynn Ellis Bequest, 1876.



Figure 4.29, Jan Gossaert, called Mabuse (c. 1478-1532), *Two Wings from the 'Salamanca Triptych'*, 1521, oil on wood panel, 120 x 47 cm. 1952.85A-B, Toledo Museum, Spain. Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey.



Figure 4.30, Jan Gossaert, called Mabuse (c. 1478-1532), *Descent from the Cross*, Netherlands c. 1520, oil on canvas, 141 x 106.5 cm. Inv.no.ГЭ-413, The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. Image is used from www.hermitagemuseum.org, courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Russia.



Figure 4.31, Photograph of the reverse of Sassetta, *Miracle of the Sacrament* – before reframing. Conservation File for B.M.52, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.



Figure 4.32, Seal of Charles, the Duke of Lucca (1799-1883), detached from the reverse of Master of the *Virgo inter Virgines*, *Crucifixion*. Conservation File for B.M.168, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.



Figure 4.33, Fragment of seal of *Commissione Conservatrice di Belle Arti di Lucca*, detached from the reverse of Master of the *Virgo inter Virgines*, *Crucifixion*. Conservation File for B.M.168, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.



Figure 4.34, Jan van Eyck (active 1422-d. 1441), *Lucca Madonna*, c. 1437, mixed technique on oak, 65.7 x 49.6 cm. 944, Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main. Acquired in 1850.



Figure 4.35, Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), *Saint Jerome*, c. 1496, oil on pearwood, 23.1 x 17.4 cm. NG6563, National Gallery, London. Bought with the assistance of the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Art Fund and Mr J. Paul Getty Jr through the American Friends of the National Gallery, London, 1996.



Figure 4.36, Fra Angelico (active 1417-d. 1455), *Cosmas and Damian Heal the Deacon Justinian*, c. 1438-40, tempera on panel, 19.5 x 22 cm. KS 41, Kunsthhaus, Zurich. The Betty and David Koester Foundation, 1986.



Figure 4.37, (Left-hand image) infrared photograph showing nineteenth-century restoration of archer's head; (Right-hand image) photograph taken during the removal of overpaint and application of gesso filling, 1970s-80s. D21 and D22 in Conservation File for B.M.168, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.



Figure 4.38, Giovanni Bellini (c. 1435-1516), *The Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Sebastian and Three Music-making Angels*, c. 1520-30, oil on panel, 294.6 x 388.5 cm. 188.1 and 188.2 (two panels), Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow Life, Glasgow. Archibald McLellan Collection, purchased 1856 [CC BY-NC 4.0].



Figure 4.39, Ludovico Mazzolino (c. 1480-c. 1530), *The Crossing of the Red Sea*, 1521, oil on wood panel, 125 x 157 cm. NGL.666, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. Purchased, 1914 [CC BY 4.0].

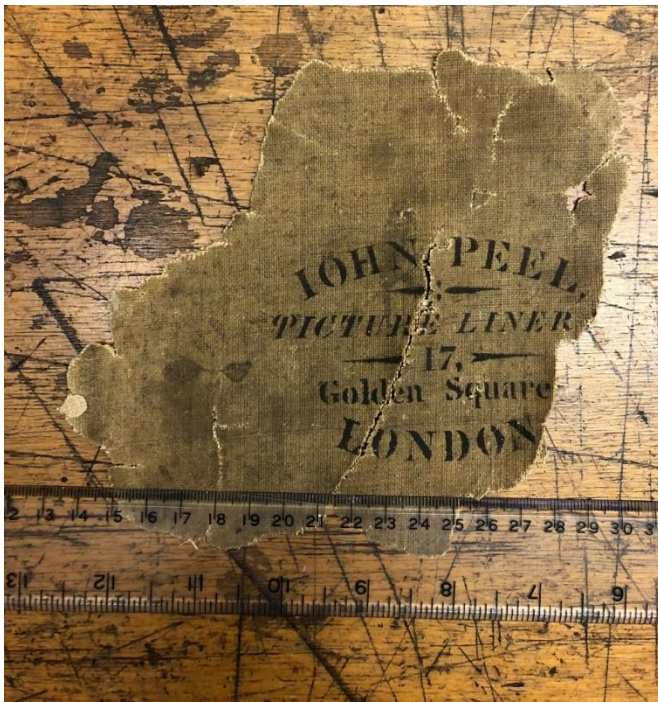


Figure 4.40, Stamp of John Peel, Picture Liner, 17 Golden Square. Fragment of lining canvas. Collection of Trevor Cumine.

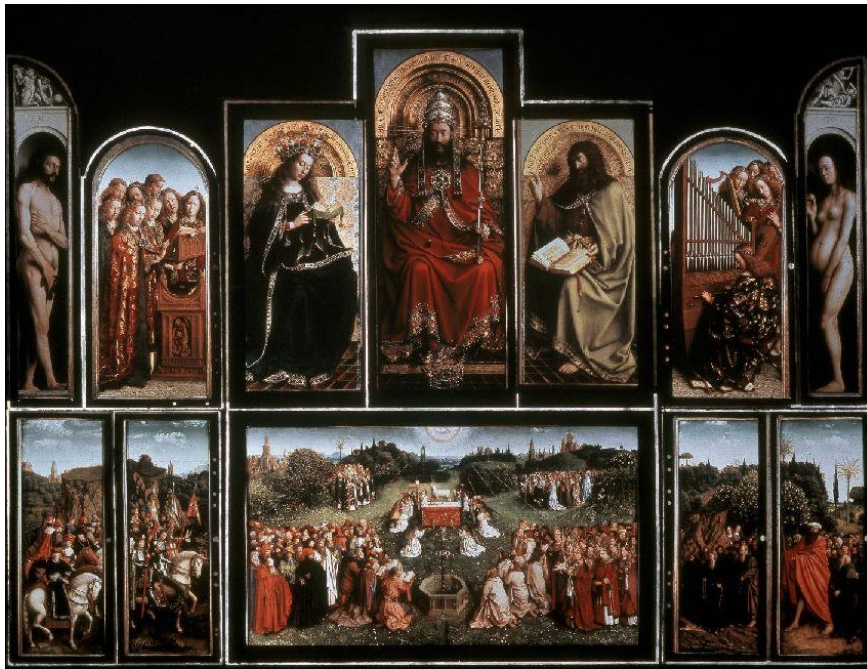


Figure 4.41, Hubert (d. 1426) and Jan van Eyck (c. 1390-1441), *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* (*The Ghent Altarpiece*), completed 1432, oil and tempera on panel, 340 x 460 cm. St Bavo, Ghent. Photo © KIK-IRPA [CC-BY] [<https://balat.kikirpa.be/object/21>].

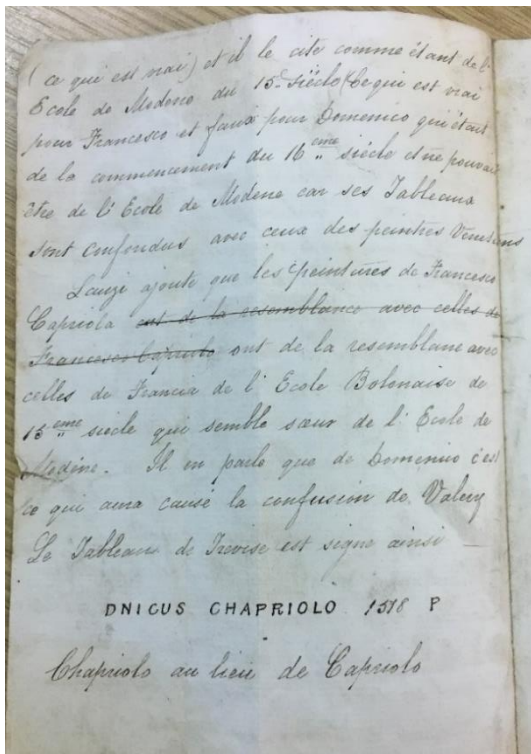


Figure 4.42, 'Particulars of a painting at Streatlam; note on the artist Domenico Capriolo' by John Bowes, c. 1871. D/St/E1/3/34, *The Story*, Durham. Reproduced by permission of the Strathmore Estate and *The Story*, Durham.

Illustrations: Chapter Four

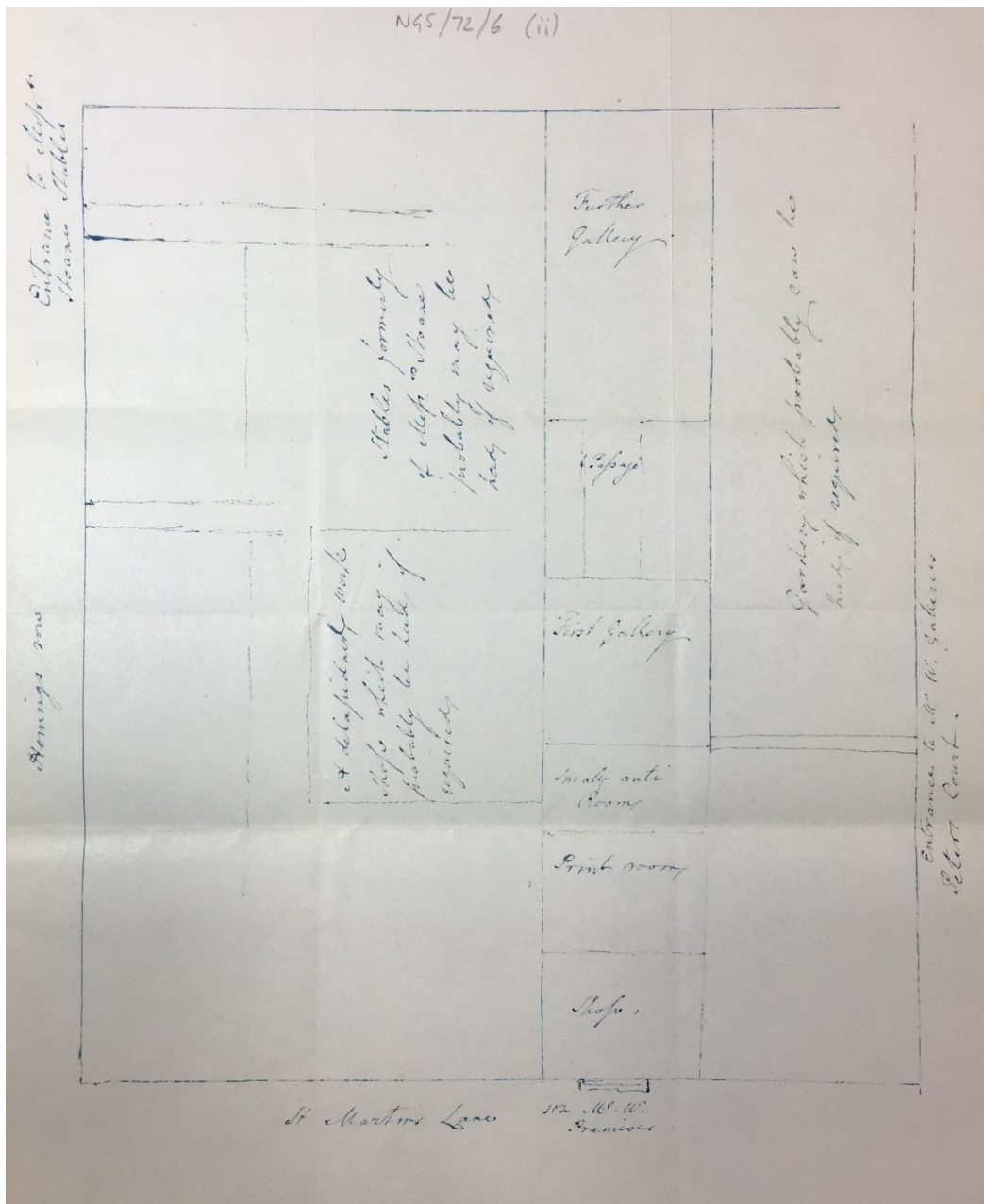


Figure 5.1, Samuel Woodburn's Floorplan of 112 St Martin's Lane, 5 March 1848, NG5/72/6(ii), National Gallery Archive, London.



Figure 5.2, Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830), *Samuel Woodburn*, c. 1820, oil on canvas, 109.2 x 83.5 cm. 27, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Gift from Miss Woodburn, 1865. © Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge [CC BY-NC-ND 4.0].



Figure 5.3, Fra Angelico (active 1417-d. 1455) and Fra Filippo Lippi (c. 1406-1469), *The Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1440-60, tempera on poplar panel, 188 x 171.5 cm. 1952.2.2, National Gallery of Art, Washington. Samuel H. Kress Collection. Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington.



Figure 5.4, Sandro Botticelli (c. 1445-1510), *The Adoration of the Kings*, c. 1470-75, tempera on poplar, 130.8 x 130.8 cm. NG1033, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1878.



Figure 5.5, Fra Angelico (active 1417-d. 1455), *The Last Judgement*, c. 1435-40, tempera and gilding on poplar, 103 x 65.3 cm. 60A, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. Acquired from Lord Ward, 1884/5 © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie / Jörg P. Anders [Public Domain Mark 1.0] [<https://recherche.smb.museum/detail/869139>].



Figure 5.6, Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto da Brescia (c. 1498-1554), *Virgin and Child Enthroned with the Four Fathers of the Latin Church*, c. 1540-50, mixed technique on canvas, 290.4 x 195.8 cm. 916, Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main. Acquired in 1845.



Figure 5.7, Francesco Botticini (c. 1446-1497), *The Assumption of the Virgin*, probably c. 1475-76, tempera on wood, 228.6 x 377.2 cm. NG1126, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1882.



Figure 5.8, Zanobi Strozzi (1412-1468), *The Annunciation*, c. 1440-45, egg tempera on wood, 104.5 x 142 cm. NG1406, National Gallery, London. Bought, 1894.



Figure 5.9, Workshop of Francesco Granacci (1469-1543), *Saint John the Baptist Bearing Witness*, c. 1506-07, oil on gold on wood, 75.6 x 209.6 cm. 1970.134.2, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Purchase: Gwynne Andrews, Harris Brisbane Dick, Dodge, Fletcher, and Rogers Funds, funds from various donors, Ella Morris de Peyster Gift, Mrs. Donald Oenslager Gift, and Gifts in memory of Robert Lehman, 1970 [Creative Commons Zero (CC0)].



Figure 5.10, Biagio d'Antonio da Firenze (1446-1516), *The Siege of Troy – The Wooden Horse*, c. 1490-95, tempera on panel, 47 x 161 cm. M.45, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Bequeathed by Charles Brinsley Marlay, 1912. © Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge [CC BY-NC-ND 4.0].



Figure 5.11, Biagio d'Antonio da Firenze (1446-1516), *The Siege of Troy – The Death of Hector*, c. 1490-95, tempera on panel, 47 x 161 cm. M.44, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Bequeathed by Charles Brinsley Marlay, 1912. © Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge [CC BY-NC-ND 4.0].



Figure 5.12, Paolo Uccello (c. 1397-1475), *Saint George Slaying the Dragon*, c. 1430, oil, tempera and silver leaf on wood panel, 62.2 x 38.8 cm. 2124-4, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. Felton Bequest, 1949. Photo: National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.



Figure 5.13, Francesco Pesellino (c. 1422-1457), *The Triumphs of Love, Chastity and Death*, c. 1450, tempera and gold on panel, 45.4 x 157.4 cm. P15e5.1, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. Purchased from Colnaghi & Co. through Bernard Berenson, 1897. Photo: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston [www.gardnermuseum.org] [CC BY-NC-ND 4.0].



Figure 5.14, Francesco Pesellino (c. 1422-1457), *The Triumphs of Fame, Time and Eternity*, c. 1450, tempera and gold on panel, 45.4 x 157.4 cm. P15e5.2, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. Purchased from Colnaghi & Co. through Bernard Berenson, 1897. Photo: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston [www.gardnermuseum.org] [CC BY-NC-ND 4.0].



Figure 5.15, After Robert Campin (c. 1375/9-1444), *The Descent from the Cross*, c. 1440-1500, oil on panel, 59.9 x 26.5 cm (left panel), 59 x 60.2 cm (centre panel) and 59.6 x 26.3 cm (right panel). WAG 1178, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. Given by the Liverpool Royal Institution, 1948.

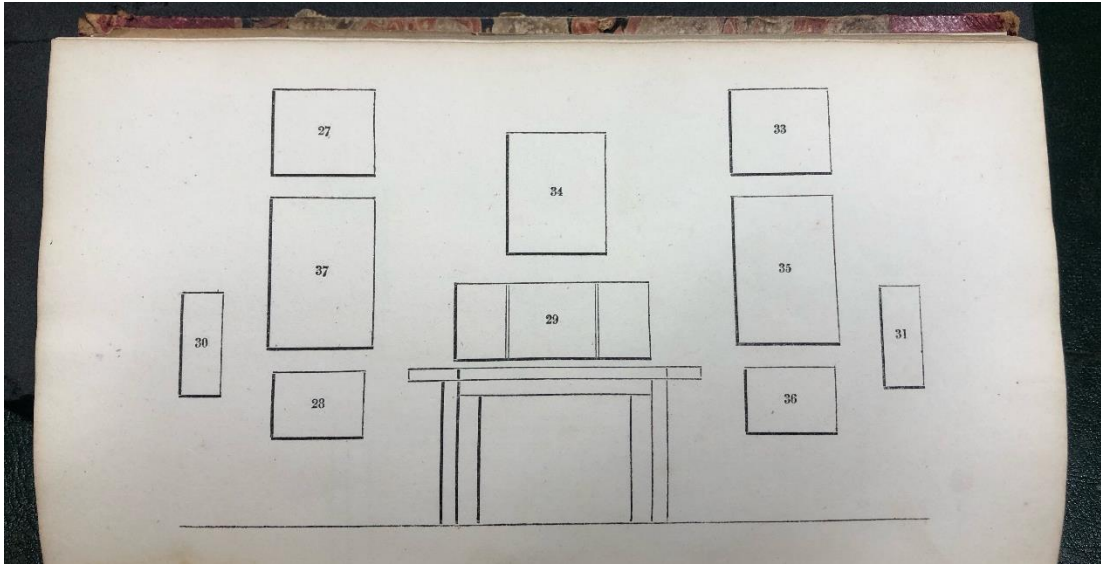


Figure 5.16, Numbered diagram of the Reading Room hang at the Liverpool Royal Institution, taken from *Catalogue of a Series of Pictures, Illustrating the Rise and Early Progress of the Art of Painting, in Italy, Germany, &c. Collected by William Roscoe, Esq. and Now Deposited in the Liverpool Royal Institution* (Liverpool: printed by James and Jonathan Smith, 1819). NC30 LIVERPOOL Roy. 1819, National Gallery Library, London.



Figure 5.17, Masaccio (1401-1428/9), *The Virgin and Child*, 1426, egg tempera on wood, 134.8 x 73.5 cm. NG3046, National Gallery, London. Bought with a contribution from the Art Fund, 1916.

Illustrations: Conclusion



Figure 6.1, Jacques Joseph (James) Tissot (1836-1902), *Portrait of Algernon Moses Marsden*, 1877, oil on canvas, 48 x 72.5 cm. NG6696, National Gallery, London. Bought jointly by the National Gallery and the National Portrait Gallery, with the generous support of Sir Martyn Arbib and his children, 2022.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Francis Douce's Painting Collection

Appendix 1 complements the research of Chapter One of this thesis. Information about the collection of the antiquary Francis Douce (1757-1834) is organised below in a tabular system according to Samuel Meyrick's (1783-1848) catalogue of 'Paintings in the Doucean Museum' at Goodrich Court, Herefordshire, one of five instalments published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1836.¹ This appendix is not exhaustive, and should not be taken as such. It is used simply as a means of collating the information that has been amassed during the course of research and it is hoped that it will be a useful reference point for future scholars in the field. By identifying the current whereabouts of certain paintings in Douce's collection, which have been hitherto unknown, this appendix also adds new information to Donata Levi's appendix (1993) of paintings belonging to Douce which passed through the hands of the Pisan dealer, Carlo Lasinio (1759-1838).²

Using the List

The list below is organised according to Meyrick's catalogue of 'Paintings in the Doucean Museum' at Goodrich Court, published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1836. Any subsequent references to each painting in the Douce Papers in the Bodleian Library Special Collections, Oxford, will also be listed, according to the abbreviations provided below. If the current location of the painting is known by the present author, it will also be given.

Abbreviations:

1836 – Samuel Meyrick, 'Paintings in the Doucean Museum', 1836.

DAP [date] – Francis Douce, *Diaries of Antiquarian Purchases*, 1803-34.³

LP c. 1828 – 'Lasinio's Pictures': the drawing of prospective pictures sent to Francis Douce from Carlo Lasinio around 1828.⁴

¹ Meyrick published a catalogue of the Doucean Museum in five instalments in *The Gentleman's Magazine* between August and December 1836. Samuel Rush Meyrick, 'The Doucean Museum', in *The Gentleman's Magazine for the Year 1836*, ed. by Sylvanus Urban (London: William Pickering; John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1836), V, 245-53.

² Donata Levi, 'Carlo Lasinio, Curator, Collector and Dealer', *The Burlington Magazine*, 135.1079 (1993), 133-48 (147-8).

³ Oxford, Bodleian Library Special Collections (BOD), MSS Douce, e. 66-68, 'Collecta', *Diaries of Antiquarian Purchases*, 1803-10, 1811-23, 1824-34.



⁴ BOD, MS Douce d. 57, 'Lasinio's Pictures', fol. 84.

1836 cat. number	Painting Details
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1836: A small richly-painted altar piece, in three parts [...]. • DAP 1827: [Possibly?] one of the '2 old Greek paintings' purchased from Thane.⁵
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1836: A Madonna and Child, early Greek, on a gold ground, - 9th century. • DAP 1827: [Possibly?] one of the '2 old Greek paintings' purchased from Thane.⁶ <p>Or, following the hypothesis of Dillian Gordon, this painting could be:⁷</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LP c. 1828: <div data-bbox="360 775 679 992" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="365 1010 759 1496" data-label="Image"> </div> <p>Cimabue, <i>The Virgin and Child with Two Angels</i>, c. 1280-85, egg tempera on wood, 25.6 x 20.8 cm. NG6583, National Gallery, London.</p>
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1836: Three Saints, on a gold ground, by Giunta Pisano, - 1200.

⁵ BOD, MS Douce, d. 63, Diary of Antiquarian Purchases, Book 3 (starting 1824), folio 105. Possibly William Thane (1784?-1850) for whom see Jacob Simon, 'William Thane', *British Picture Restorers, 1600-1950 – T*, <<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/british-picture-restorers-1600-1950-t>> [accessed 27 January 2023].

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Dillian Gordon, 'The Virgin and Child by Cimabue at the National Gallery', *Apollo*, 157.496 (2003), 32-36; Dillian Gordon, *The Italian Paintings Before 1400* (London: National Gallery Company, 2011), pp. 32-39.

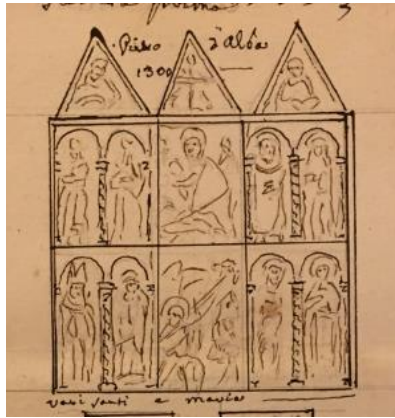
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1836: Three Saints, by Cimabue, painted with asphaltum, on a gold ground, 1250. <p>Further notes: this painting was added to the Doucean Museum from Meyrick’s own collection.</p>
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1836: Two subjects in the same frame – Christ in the Garden and Pilate washing his hands – by Ambrose Giotto di Bondone, 1300 <p>Further notes: the seals and labels of Lasinio are noted on the reverse by Meyrick.</p> <p>These paintings are likely:</p>  <p>School of Florence, <i>The Agony in the Garden</i>, 1320, tempera on wood panel, 16.7 x 15.1 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts, City of Detroit Purchase, 44.219.</p>  <p>School of Florence, <i>Pilate Washing his Hands</i>, 1320, tempera on wood panel, 17.2 x 15.1 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts, City of Detroit Purchase, 44.220.</p>
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1836: A head of a man two-thirds the size of life, with a nimbus. Giotto. 1330. <p>Further notes: the seals and labels of Lasinio are noted on the reverse by Meyrick.</p>
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1836: A female saint and a canonised Bishop, by Taddeo Bartoli, 1330. <p>Further notes: the seals and labels of Lasinio are noted on the reverse by Meyrick.</p>
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1836: The Virgin and Child with Saints, 1330. • DAP 1830: ‘A picture of the Giotto School’ from Emanuel.⁸

⁸ BOD, MS Douce, d. 63, Diary of Antiquarian Purchases, Book 3 (starting 1824), folio 113. For possible dealers see entries for ‘Emanuel’ in Mark Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of*

Further notes: the seals and labels of Lasinio are noted on the reverse by Meyrick. From the provenance information provided by Meyrick, it does not appear that the painting came to Douce directly from Lasinio but via the dealer Emanuel in London. Douce's Diary corroborates that he purchased 'a picture of the Giotto School' from Emanuel, as seen above.

9

- **1836:** A large Altar-piece, without hinges, though with three pointed tops, containing nine figures in as many divisions; being the Virgin and Child with eight saints, and, by the painter's own hand, the words 'Pietro di Alba pinxit, 1335'.
- **LP c. 1828:**




Further notes: the Lasinio provenance is not mentioned by Meyrick, which is striking as he notes the seals and labels of Lasinio on the backs of other paintings in the collection.




This painting is:





Pietro da Alba, *Trittico*, fifteenth century, tempera on panel, 78.5 x 68.5 cm. 0774/D, Turin, Palazzo Madama – Museo Civico d'Arte Antica. Courtesy of Fondazione Torino Musei.

10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1836: A half-length, almost the size of life, of the Virgin and Child, well painted, 1335. • LP c. 1828:  <p>Further notes: the seal of Lasinio is noted on the reverse by Meyrick.</p>
11	<p>1836: The Stigmata of St Francis, by Taddeo Gaddi, 1335.</p> <p>Further notes: the seals of Lasinio are noted on the reverse by Meyrick.</p>
12	<p>1836: St Laurence's Martyrdom, by Agnolo Gaddi, 1345.</p> <p>Further notes: the seals of Lasinio are noted on the reverse by Meyrick.</p>
13	<p>1836: Several figures, fourteen in number, kneeling to the Cross, with the Virgin on one side and Christ in the tomb on the other, and called the Piety of the Apostles, by Stefano Fiorentino, 1345.</p> <p>Further notes: the seals of Lasinio are noted on the reverse by Meyrick.</p> <div data-bbox="357 1413 815 1742" style="background-color: #cccccc; padding: 10px; margin: 10px 0;"> <p>This image has been redacted for copyright purposes. Please contact the author.</p> </div> <p>This painting is:</p> <p>Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani (before 1366-after 1398), <i>The Cross Flanked by the Virgin and Christ in the Tomb, with Saints</i>, gold ground and tempera on panel. Private collection.⁹</p>

⁹ Sold at Christie's, London, 7 July 2009, lot 12.

14	<p>1836: Saint Gerolamo kneeling before a crucifix at the mouth of his cave, by Pietro Lauvati Sanese, 1360.</p> <p>Further notes: lent by Augustus Meyrick (1826-1902), Goodrich Court, to Manchester Art Treasures, 1857.</p>
15	<p>1836: A long-shaped picture of a tournament by Balducci Pisano, 1410.</p> <p>LP c. 1828:</p>  <p><i>Trattato scendo Balducci Pisano — 1400 — mostra di Gioia, e Alejandro con la moglie del re Luovo Boticelli — 1400 — Olivero e las magas Lincea — Casa dei Bianchavio, e Vestiti.</i></p> <p>Comments: Meyrick does not mention the Lasinio provenance.</p> <p>This painting is:</p>  <p>Apollonio di Giovanni, <i>Two Episodes from the Life of Alexander the Great</i>, early fifteenth century, paint on wood, 156 x 43.5 cm. 1878,1101.195, British Museum, London © The Trustees of the British Museum [CC BY-NC-SA 4.0].</p>
16	<p>1836: Portrait of a lady with what may be termed the Cauchoise head-dress. Painted about the year 1450.</p> <p>DAP 1831: the bibliographer Thomas Frognall Dibdin presented Douce with ‘a portrait by Van Eyck dated 1425’ – it could perhaps be this one or number 18 below.</p> <p>This painting is:</p> 

	<p>Netherlandish School, possibly in the circle of Jean Beugier, <i>Portrait of Margaret of York (1446-1503)</i>, fifteenth century, oil on panel, 24 x 155 cm. RF 1938, Louvre, Paris [https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010061606].</p> <p>Further notes: lent by Augustus Meyrick (1826-1902), Goodrich Court, to Manchester Art Treasures, 1857.</p>
17	<p>1836: Altar-piece in two parts, with hinges; on one the Virgin and Child, with curtains supported by angels; on the other a lady aged 60, her son aged 30, and her daughter aged 23, and above the date 1486.</p> <p>DAP 1832: ‘an ancient altarpiece with fine portraits 148[6]’ purchased from the print dealer Molteno.</p> <p>This painting is:</p>  <p>Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, <i>Madonna with Three Donors</i>, 1486, oil on panel, 42 x 28 cm. 5004-5004bis, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. Photo © artinflanders.be</p>
18	<p>1836: Portrait of a lady in a costume certainly not older than the last; and therefore the earliest date that can be assigned to it is 1490 [...] at the back are the words ‘Johannes Van Eyck, iiiie, XXV.’</p> <p>DAP 1831: the bibliographer Thomas Frognall Dibdin presented Douce with ‘a portrait by Van Eyck dated 1425’ – it could perhaps be this one or number 16 above.</p>
19	<p>1836: Two folding doors of an altarpiece; outside of one, Christ bearing his cross, much in the position of that at Magdalen College, Oxford; on the other the Virgin Mary on her knees [...] a very fine specimen of the German school.</p>
20	<p>1836: The Virgin and Child, 1500 [...] also by a German artist.</p>
21	<p>1836: St Ursula, a German portrait, three quarters length, and half the size of life, 1510.</p>

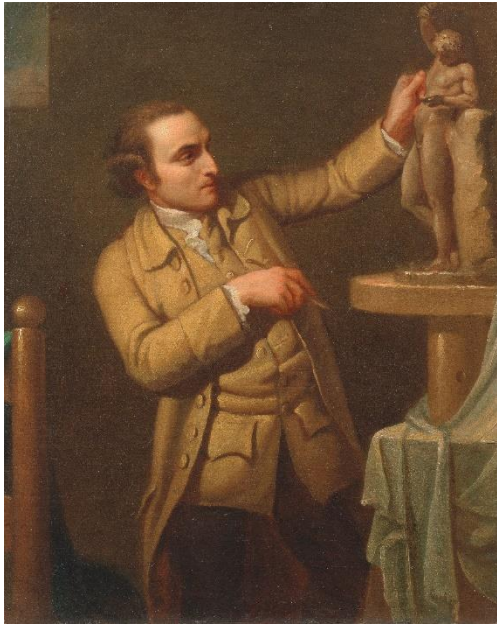
22	<p>1836: Two circular portraits in one frame, each on a green ground, and by the same artist, whose mark is on each and the date 1525.</p> <p>DAP 1830: the dealer Samuel Woodburn ‘called (with the portrait of Luther & his wife) and with the volume that he had already lent to Sir T. Lawrence & myself & for which he asked £100’.</p> <p>Several versions of these circular portraits exist (in the collections of the Kunstsammlung, Basel; Stadtmuseum, Nördlingen; Lutherhaus, Wittenberg; St. Annen-Museum, Lübeck). The version in Douce’s collection may have been the following painting, which was with the dealer Henry Farrer by 1853.¹⁰</p>  <p>Lucas Cranach, <i>Portraits of Martin Luther and his Wife, Katharina von Bora</i>, 1525, oil on panel, 10.3 cm (left portrait), 10.1 cm (right portrait). AZ038, The Morgan Library and Museum, New York [https://www.themorgan.org/objects/item/156776].</p>
23	<p>1836: Marguerite de Navarre, an original portrait, as proved by the inscription, which has, besides her name as above, the words “Soeur du roi Francois”, and not “du roi Francois 1er”, 1528.</p>
24	<p>1836: Old man, Folly, female and Death [...] imagined by Mr Douce to have been painted by Holbein.</p>
25, 26	<p>1836: [two miniatures by Holbein]</p>
27	<p>1836: A head of Folly probably, 1545.</p>
28	<p>1836: A copy of the above of smaller size.</p>
29	<p>1836: The portrait of a female, with the inscription “Marie, reine d’Ecosse” 1558.</p> <p>This painting is:</p>

¹⁰ For the provenance see ‘Portraits of Martin Luther and his Wife, Katharina von Bora’, *Morgan Library & Museum Website* <<https://www.themorgan.org/objects/item/156776>> [accessed 29 April 2023].




François Clouet, *Portrait of Mary Queen of Scots*, seventeenth century, oil on oak panel, 31.7 x 23.5 cm. 625-1882, Victoria and Albert Museum, London © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

30	1836: The Incantation, by – Bassano, 1580.
31	1836: The Incantation, supposed by Peter Paul Brueghel, jun. 1615.
32	1836: Interior of a Barber’s Shop, 1620.
33	1836: Interior of a Surgery: by no means well painted though curious, 1623.
34	1836: Christ’s Descent into Hell, 1625.
35	1836: Rich Man and Death, by Otto Van Veen, 1625.
36	1836: The same subject by another artist, of about the same date, judging from the costume in the background, 1626.
37	1836: Christ’s Descent into Hell; a much larger picture than that before described, and of an oblong shape, by Michael Cross, 1630.
38	1836: Portrait of the Fool of Lewis Count of Egmond and Prince of Gavre, 1635.
39	1836: A grotesque musical assemblage of the skeletons of Birds and Animals, by David Teniers, jun 1650.
40	1836: A miniature portrait in oil, 1660.

41	1836: A pair of small pictures on copper, representing two epochs in the legend of an Asiatic Saint, with the Church in the background which had been dedicated to him, 1665.
42	1836: A large painting of an Incantation 1696.
43	1836: Another picture of the Incantation, very clever, said to be by Egbert Hemskirk, Jun., in which his own portrait is introduced.
44	<p>1836: Portrait of Joseph Nollekens, the celebrated sculptor; painted by his friend James Barry just after his marriage; small, but three-quarters length, 1771.</p> <p>This painting is:</p>  <p>Mary Moser, <i>Joseph Nollekens</i>, 1770-71, oil on canvas, 63.5 x 48.3 cm. B1981.25.468FR, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.</p>
45	1836: An oval picture by Angelica Kauffman the Swiss artist, painted in England, 1775.
46	1836: A miniature of the Hon. Horace Walpole, by D. Humphrey.

Pictures that did not enter the Doucean Museum, but that were in Douce's collection

<p>1</p>	 <p>Joos van Cleve (c. 1485-1540/1), <i>The Annunciation</i>, c. 1525, oil on wood, 86.4 x 80 cm. 32.100.60, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 [Creative Commons Zero (CC0)].</p> <p>Further notes: This painting was purchased by Douce at the sale of the collection of Vincente Osorio de Moscoso, 12th Conde de Altamira (1777-1837), 1 June 1827, Stanley's, London, lot 36.¹¹ This 'beautiful picture of the Annunciation of the Virgin' was bequeathed by Douce to his friend Henry Petrie (1768-1842) in his will.¹²</p>
	<p>The following pictures were exchanged by Douce with the antiquary Francis Palgrave (1788-1861) and entered the Liverpool Royal Institution between 1836 and 1843, probably via the dealer, Thomas Winstanley (1768-1845). They were deposited in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, in 1893.¹³</p>
<p>2</p>	<p>LP c. 1828:</p>

¹¹ Getty Provenance Index (GPI), Sale Catalog Br-2983 [accessed 29 April 2023].

¹² London, National Archives (NA), PROB 11/1830/19, Will of Francis Douce of Upper Gower Street Bedford Square, Bedfordshire, 11 April 1834.

¹³ See the entries for these pictures on *The Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)* <<https://vads.ac.uk/>>. For the exchange with Palgrave see Bod, MS Douce, d. 63, Diary of Antiquarian Purchases, Book 3 (starting 1824), fol. 115.



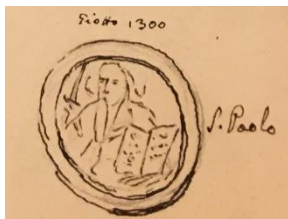
This painting is:



Cosimo Rosselli, *A Martyr Saint, probably Saint Lawrence*, c. 1471-73, oil and tempera on panel, 98 x 71 cm. WAG 2803, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

3

LP c. 1828:



This painting is:



Studio of Bicci di Lorenzo, *Saint Paul*, c. 1430-40, tempera on poplar, 61.5 x 93.2 cm.
WAG 2760, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

4

LP c. 1828:



This painting is:



Studio of Bicci di Lorenzo, *Saint Peter*, c. 1430-40, tempera on poplar, 61.5 x 93.2 cm.
WAG 2759, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

5

LP c. 1828:



This painting is:



Master of the Pomegranate, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, c. 1450-75, tempera and oil on panel, 87.8 x 67 cm. WAG 2796, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

6

LP c. 1828:



This painting is:



Italian (Florentine) School, *Adventures of Odysseus*, c. 1480s, tempera on panel, 42.8 x 153 cm. WAG 2809, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

Appendix 2: Towards a Provenance for William Buchanan's 'Raphael's'

Appendix 2 enhances information provided in Chapter Two of this thesis. The provenances outlined below build on what was formerly known about the whereabouts of these paintings, as noted in the select bibliography below. Further sources, and new additions of the present author, are footnoted accordingly.

Select Bibliography

Borgo, Ludovico, *The Works of Mariotto Albertinelli* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976), pp. 315-17, 348-57.

Dulibić, Ljerka and Iva Pasini Tržec, 'New Information on the 19th Century Provenance of Albertinelli's Old Testament Cycle', *RIHA Journal*, 35 (2012)

Passavant, Johann David, *Raphael d'Urbino et son Père, Giovanni Santi*, 2 vols (Paris: J. Renouard, 1860), II, pp. 314-15

———, *Tour of a German Artist in England: With Notices of Private Galleries, and Remarks on the State of Art*, trans. by Elizabeth Eastlake, 2 vols (London: Saunders and Otley, 1836), II, pp. 257-58

The Paintings

1



Mariotto Albertinelli (1474-1515), *The Creation and Fall of Man*, 1513-14, oil on panel. 56.2 x 165.5 cm. P.1966.GP.6, Courtauld Institute of Art, London. Bequeathed by Mark Gambier Parry, 1966. © The Courtauld [CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 (Unported)].

Provenance:

Buonacorsi-Perini (?) family, Florence;

Late 1802-early 1803, acquired in Florence by James Irvine, from Knight of Malta, Cavaliere Giovanni Battista Caruana, on behalf of William Buchanan;¹

By October 1803, returned by Buchanan to James Irvine in Rome, Italy;²

¹ Hugh Brigstocke, 'James Irvine: A Scottish Artist in Italy. Picture Buying in Italy for William Buchanan and Arthur Champenowne', *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, 74 (2012), 245-479 (pp. 310-11).

² See, for example, letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, [annotated 17 October 1803] in William Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade: 100 Letters to His Agents in London and Italy*, ed. by Hugh Brigstocke (London: The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1982), p. 107.

1827-28, offered as part of a group of paintings to the National Gallery, London, and other museums (rejected);³

Phillips, London, 5 June 1841, lot 49, as by Raphael and Fra Bartolommeo (bought in);⁴

William Buchanan, *Prospectus of a Plan for Disposing of Certain Pictures of High Importance by a Sale of Shares*, 1843, lot 28, as by Raphael (unsold);⁵

Christie's, London, 6 June 1849, lot 44, as by Albertinelli;

Acquired 1849 by Thomas Gambier Parry;

Courtauld Institute, London, bequeathed by Mark Gambier Parry, 1966.

2



Mariotto Albertinelli (1474-1515), *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve*, c. 1514, oil on panel, 56.8 x 55 cm. SG-95, Strossmayer Gallery, Zagreb, Croatia. Bequest of Josip Juraj Strossmayer, 1884 [<https://sgallery.hazu.hr/slike-katalog/sg-95/>].

Provenance:

Buonacorsi-Perini (?) family, Florence;

Late 1802-early 1803, acquired in Florence by James Irvine, from Knight of Malta, Cavaliere Giovanni Battista Caruana, on behalf of William Buchanan;⁶

Cut from larger panel by Buchanan by August 1803;⁷

1803, probably returned by Buchanan to James Irvine in Rome, Italy;⁸

1835, recorded by Johann David Passavant (1860) as having been purchased in Rome by the dealer Baseggio from Buchanan;

1881, first offered for sale by Baseggio to Imbro Ignjatiević Tkalac (1824-1912) on behalf of Bishop J. J. Strossmayer (1815-1905);

By 1884, in the collection of Conte Giulio Sterbini, Rome (as collateral from Baseggio);

1884, purchased by Bishop J. J. Strossmayer.

³ It is not clear whether it was under the ownership of William Buchanan in the following letters: London, National Gallery Library (NGL), NC 505 BUCHANAN, letter from William Buchanan to Johann Georg von Dillis, 30 August 1827, letter 9, p. 6.

⁴ Getty Provenance Index (GPI), Sale Catalog Br-5297 [accessed 22 March 2023].

⁵ Berlin, Zentralarchiv (ZA), I/GG/166, *Prospectus of a Plan for Disposing of Certain Pictures of High Importance by a Sale of Shares*, fols 170-1, lot 28.

⁶ Brigstocke, 'James Irvine: A Scottish Artist in Italy', pp. 310-11.

⁷ For the cutting of the panels see letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 6 August 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 102-03.

⁸ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, [annotated 17 October 1803] in *ibid*, p. 107.

3

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Mariotto Albertinelli (1474-1515), *Cain Slaying Abel*, c. 1514, oil on panel, 56.2 x 68.2 cm. Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Italy. Giovanni Morelli bequest, 1891.

Provenance:

Buonacorsi-Perini (?) family, Florence;
Late 1802-early 1803, acquired in Florence by James Irvine, from Knight of Malta, Cavaliere Giovanni Battista Caruana, on behalf of William Buchanan;⁹
Cut from larger panel by Buchanan by August 1803;¹⁰
1803, probably returned by Buchanan to James Irvine in Rome, Italy;¹¹
By 1891, collection of Giovanni Morelli, by whom bequeathed to the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.

4



Mariotto Albertinelli (1474-1515), *The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel*, c. 1514, oil on panel, 21.6 x 35.4 cm. 1906.5, Harvard Art Museums / Fogg Museum, USA. Gift of Edward Forbes © Harvard Art Museums [<https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/232328>].

Provenance:

Buonacorsi-Perini (?) family, Florence;
Late 1802-early 1803, acquired in Florence by James Irvine, from Knight of Malta, Cavaliere Giovanni Battista Caruana, on behalf of William Buchanan;¹²

⁹ Brigstocke, 'James Irvine: A Scottish Artist in Italy', pp. 310-11.

¹⁰ For the cutting of the panels see letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 6 August 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 102-03.

¹¹ Letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, [annotated 17 October 1803] in *ibid.*, p. 107.

¹² Brigstocke, 'James Irvine: A Scottish Artist in Italy', pp. 310-11.

Cut by Buchanan from larger panel by August 1803;¹³
 Likely one of the paintings put up for sale by Buchanan at Christie's, London, 12 May 1804, likely lot 7 purchased by Sir Robert Laurie, 6th Bart (1764-1848);¹⁴
 (?) Put up for sale by Sir Robert Laurie at Christie's, London, 1-2 Feb 1805, lot 71, as by Raphael (bought in);¹⁵
 (?) Put up for sale by Sir Robert Laurie at Christie's, London, 4-6 Feb 1809, lot 120, as by Raphael;¹⁶
 (?) Purchased at this sale by Woodburn (likely, Samuel Woodburn);
 (?) Phillips, London, 30 Jan-1 Feb 1810, lot 186, as by Raphael (sale status unknown);¹⁷
 Put up for sale by Buchanan at Phillips, London, 30 April 1813, lot 23, as by Raphael (bought in);¹⁸
 (?) By 1824, in the collection of Gregory Osborne Page Turner, 4th Bart (1785-1843); from whose collection sold at Phillips, London, 7-9 June 1824, lot 84, as by Raphael;¹⁹
 (?) Purchased from that sale by 'Pinney', likely the picture dealer Bernard Pinney, Stafford Place, Pimlico;²⁰
 By 1833, seen by Johann David Passavant in the premises of a London picture dealer;
 By 1860, said by Passavant to be with the English dealer Emmerson (perhaps Thomas Emmerson, 20 Stratford Place, London);²¹
 By 1906 in the collection of Edward W. Forbes, by whom bequeathed to Harvard Art Museum / Fogg Museum.

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The identity and location of this painting are as yet unknown.

Eve and the Children

Provenance:

Buonacorsi-Perini (?) family, Florence;
 Late 1802-early 1803, acquired in Florence by James Irvine, from Knight of Malta, Cavaliere Giovanni Battista Caruana, on behalf of William Buchanan;²²

¹³ For the cutting of the panels see letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 6 August 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 102-03.

¹⁴ GPI, Sale Catalog Br-263 [accessed 22 March 2023]. In the GPI it is recorded as being purchased by 'Sir Robert Lawley, 1st Baron Wenlock (1768-1834), however there seems to have been a mix up between 'Lawley' and 'Laurie'.

¹⁵ GPI, Sale Catalog Br-303 [accessed 22 March 2023].

¹⁶ GPI, Sale Catalog Br-635 [accessed 22 March 2023].

¹⁷ GPI, Sale Catalog, Br-717 [accessed 22 March 2023].

¹⁸ GPI, Sale Catalog, Br-1102 [accessed 22 March 2023].

¹⁹ GPI, Sale Catalog, Br-2585 [accessed 22 March 2023].

²⁰ Pinney was declared bankrupt in 1832, for which see George Elwick, *The Bankrupt Directory* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1843), p. 325.

²¹ Mark Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers*, (= *Regional Furniture*, XXIII (2009)), pp. 1-205 (pp. 94-5). Emmerson died in 1855. Passavant may have seen the painting in Emmerson's shop before his death and only later published the information in 1860.

²² Brigstocke, 'James Irvine: A Scottish Artist in Italy', pp. 310-11.

Cut by Buchanan from larger panel by August 1803;²³

Likely one of the paintings put up for sale by Buchanan at Christie's, London, 12 May 1804, likely lot 6, as by Raphael. Lot 6 purchased by 'Vernon', likely the agent for Francis Wemyss Charteris, Lord Elcho (1749-1808);²⁴

Christie's, London, 18 June 1805, lot 46, as by Raphael (bought in).²⁵

²³ For the cutting of the panels see letter from William Buchanan to James Irvine, 6 August 1803 in Buchanan, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade*, pp. 102-03.

²⁴ GPI, Sale Catalog Br-263 [accessed 22 March 2023]. Vernon is mentioned many times in Buchanan's letters.

²⁵ GPI, Sale Catalog Br-348 [accessed 22 March 2023]. Erroneously linked on the GPI to Francesco Bacchiacca's (1494-1557) *Eve with Cain and Abel* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (38.178).

Appendix 3.1: The ‘Old List’

Appendix 3 complements the research of Chapter Three. The first part – **Appendix 3.1** – is a transcription of the ‘old list’ held in the Bowes Museum’s archive (TBM). The ‘old list’ is a copy of an original list which documented John Bowes’s (1811-1885) first picture collection, between 1830 and 1844. In the following tabular system, each painting is identified within the Bowes Museum’s collection in the grey row beneath each entry; these grey rows are thus not part of the ‘old list’. Information that the present author has garnered around the provenance of the paintings, while not exhaustive, is given in the footnotes. The ‘old list’ also bears some pencil/biro annotations by a later hand (possibly that of curator Owen Scott) which have not been transcribed here; they detail possible accession numbers and other notes. Original spellings have been retained.

TBM/8/4/1/1, Letter from Messrs Western to Owen Scott, 11 July 1887

11 July 1887,

Dear Sir,

I enclose a copy of an old list which Mr Dent has found of pictures purchased by Mr Bowes prior to 1846, the original is in Mr Bowes’ handwriting.


Will you kindly at your convenience mark which of these pictures are in the museum and then return the enclosed list.

Yours Faithfully,

Messrs Western.




O.S. Scott.



TBM/8/4/1/2, Facsimile List of Paintings Acquired by John Bowes, 1830-44

No. ¹	Year	Painter	Subject etc.	Price		
361	1830	Teniers	Temptation of St Anthony ²	£20		
						



¹ Early accession numbers, written in red pen.

² Purchased during Bowes’s trip to Northern Europe in between 1829 and 1830. Charles E. Hardy, *John Bowes and the Bowes Museum*, 2nd edn (Barnard Castle: Friends of the Bowes Museum, 1989), pp. 34-35.

			Cornelis Saftleven (1607-1681), <i>The Temptation of Saint Anthony</i> , c. 1625-81, oil on panel, 42.5 x 51.5 cm. B.M.197			
238	1837	Snyders	Boar Hunt	60		
			 <p>Frans Snyders (1579-1657), <i>A Boar Hunt</i>, c. 1630-40, oil on canvas, 211 x 333 cm. B.M.88.</p>			
360	“	E. Heemskirk	Interior of a Wine Shop	25		
			 <p>Attributed to Egbert van Keemskerck, the Elder (c. 1635-1704), <i>Boors Carousing and Playing Cards</i>, possibly c. 1655-74, oil on canvas, 37 x 42 cm. B.M.192.</p>			
371	“	Murillo	Beggar Boy (Miserrimus)	10		
						

			Spanish School, <i>Portrait of a Boy</i> , possibly nineteenth century, oil on canvas, 48 x 36.7 cm. B.M.33.			
? 151	“	C. Maratti	Holy Family	31	10	
			It is not clear which <i>Holy Family</i> in the Bowes Museum’s collection this picture refers to.			
74	“	Brecklenkamp	Vegetable Stall	5		
			 <p>Quiring van Brekelenkam (1622-1668), <i>An Old Vegetable Dealer</i>, possibly c. 1650-70, oil on canvas, 22.5 x 20 cm. B.M.221.</p>			
	“	Cignani	David meeting Abigail	31	10	
			Unclear			
409	“	Herring	Cows – Study ³			
			 <p>John Frederick Herring I (1795-1865), <i>Cows</i>, 1837, oil on panel, 20.3 x 25.4 cm. B.M.124.</p>			




³ For John Frederick Herring’s commissions from John Bowes see TBM, Letters from John Bowes to Ralph Dent, JB/2/1/5/8, 12 April 1836; JB/2/1/6/46, 23 September 1837; JB/2/1/6/53, 1 November 1837.

410	“	“	Sheep – d[itto] ⁴			
			 <p>John Frederick Herring I (1795-1865), <i>Sheep</i>, 1837, oil on panel, 20.3 x 25.4 cm. B.M.141.</p>			
345	1840	Caravaggio	Execution of St. John	3	10	
			 <p>Neapolitan School, <i>Martyrdom of Saint John the Baptist</i>, eighteenth century (?), 110 x 88.7 cm, oil on canvas. B.M.46.</p>			
378	“	Glover	Bull (Sir Simon Clarke’s sale) ⁵	3	10	

⁴ Ibid.



⁵ See the sale of the collection of Sir Simon Haughton Clarke, 9th Bart. (1764-1832), Christie’s, London, 8-9 May 1840, lot 6; Getty Provenance Index (GPI), Sale Catalog Br-5138 [accessed 10 February 2023]. Purchased by ‘Malins’, whose identity is as yet unknown, but who may have been operating as an agent for Bowes.

			 <p>John Glover (1767-1849), <i>Bull</i>, c. 1805-31, oil on canvas, 255.5 x 365.5 cm. B.M.127.</p>			
349	“	Hogarth	Portrait – Moll Davies	4	15	
			 <p>French School, <i>Portrait of a Lady in a Red Dress</i>, c. 1680-90, oil on canvas, 40.5 x 32.5 cm. B.M.267.</p> <p>or</p>  <p>English School, <i>Portrait of a Lady in Red with a Lace Cap</i>, c. 1715-20, oil on canvas, 75.6 x 63.1 cm. B.M.134.</p>			
337	“	Vernet	View in Bay of Genoa	53	16	



			Belonged to Rt. Hon. P. Thompson ⁶			
			 <p>Claude Joseph Vernet (1714-1789), <i>Nymphs Bathing</i>, eighteenth century, oil on canvas, 65.1 x 98.8 cm, B.M.280.</p>			
373	“	Zachtleven	View on the Rhine B ^d to E. Solly Esq. ⁷	28	7	
			 <p>Herman Saffleven II (1609-1685), <i>View on the Rhine</i>, 1672, oil on panel, 44.5 x 59.5 cm. B.M.183.</p>			
367	“	De Koning	Frost Scene	13	2	
						



⁶ See the sale of ‘A Baronet’ (Mrs Powelwtt Thompson), Christie’s, London, 27 April 1839, lot 125; GPI, Sale Catalog Br-5018 [accessed 10 February 2023]. The painting was recorded as ‘bought in’ so Bowes must have acquired it after the sale.

⁷ Purchased by Edward Solly for £28 7s. at the sale of Sir William Bolland (1772-1840), Christie’s, London, 4 July 1840, lot 44; GPI, Sale Catalog Br-5171 [accessed 10 February 2023].

			Koningh de Leendert (1777-1849), <i>Winter Scene, Frozen River with Skaters</i> , 1840, oil on panel, 68 x 97 cm. B.M.155.			
339	“	D. Caprioli	Portrait B ^d to Mr Dawes ⁸	24		
			 <p>Domenico Capriolo (1494-1528), <i>Portrait of Lelio Torelli, Jurisconsult at Fano</i>, 1528, oil on canvas, 99.2 x 81.7 cm. B.M.55.</p>			
335	“	Sch. Of Titian	Portrait B ^d to Mr Dawes	1		
			 <p>Attributed to the Manner of Titian (c. 1488-1576), <i>Portrait of a Man with a Beard</i>, possibly</p>			



⁸ The identity of ‘Mr Dawes’ is as yet unclear. Sophie Dawes, Baroness de Feucheres (1790-1840), died in 1840 – the year of acquisition – and was born on the Isle of Wight. Bowes had connections to the Isle of Wight; his stepfather William Hutt had gone to school in Ryde, and later purchased Appley Towers on the island around 1870. Other candidates could be Dawes of Bucklersbury who sold paintings at auction in the 1780s and 1790s, and in 1817. Also to be considered is the collector William Henry Dawes (1804-1878) of Moseley Hall, Birmingham, for whom see Jeannie Chapel, ‘The Papers of Joseph Gillott (1799-1872)’, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 20.1 (2008), 37-84 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/jhc/fhm018>>.

			nineteenth century, oil on canvas, 46 x 57.5 cm. B.M.558.			
336	“	Tintoretto	The Deposition of our Lord B ^d to Mr Dawes	15	15	
			 <p>Attributed to after Jacopo Palma (c. 1480-1528), <i>The Entombment</i>, possibly c. 1600-50, oil on canvas, 137 x 100.5 cm. B.M.59.</p>			
340	“	Guido (Sch. of)	Death of Lucrece	14	14	
			 <p>After Guido Reni (1575-1642), <i>Death of Lucretia</i>, c. 1650-1750, oil on canvas, 96.5 x 71 cm. B.M.72.</p>			
353	“	Hughtenberg	Battle Piece	6	6	

			B ^d to Mr Dawes			
			 <p>Jan van Huchtenburgh (1647-1733), <i>A Battle between Christian and Moors</i>, c. 1675, oil on canvas, 70 x 102 cm. B.M.149.</p>			
351	“	Santa Croce	<p>Circumcision</p> <p>B^d to Mr Dawes⁹</p>	8	18	6
			 <p>Attributed to Girolamo da Santacroce (active 1516-d. 1556?), <i>The Presentation in the Temple</i>, c. 1500-56, oil on canvas, 73.5 x 89 cm. B.M.48.</p>			
362	“	Netscher	Portrait	3	10	

⁹ Possibly previously in the collection of the antiquary and diplomat John Strange (1732-1799). A portion of Strange’s collection was exhibited and sold posthumously at the European Museum, London, from 27 May 1799. For the Santacroce see lot 270 in GPI, Sale Catalog Br-A2428 [accessed 22 February 2022]. See Chapter One for the material history of this painting.

			 <p>Constantin Netscher (1668-1723), <i>Portrait of a Young Girl Holding a Rose</i>, seventeenth century, oil on canvas, 33.1 x 28.1 cm. B.M.390.</p>			
350	“	Orient & Platzer	<p>Judgement of Paris</p> <p>B^d to Mr Dawes</p>	15	15	
			 <p>Johann George Platzer (1704-1761) and Josef Orient (1677-1747), <i>The Judgement of Paris</i>, eighteenth century, oil on canvas, 44.1 x 65 cm. B.M.198.</p>			
350	“	Van der Meulen	<p>Landscape with Figures</p> <p>B^d to Mr Dawes</p>	6	6	
			<p>Possibly:</p>  <p>Style of Joseph Parrocel (1646-1704), <i>Landscape with Horsemen</i>, c. 1675-99, oil on canvas, 56.8 x 78.7 cm. B.M.140.</p>			



389	1840	De Heem	Fruit Piece B ^d to Mr Dawes	5		
			 <p>Cornelis de Heem (1631-1695), <i>A Garland of Fruit</i>, seventeenth century, oil on panel, 34.6 x 27.3 cm. B.M.217.</p>			
354	“	Sir J. Reynolds	Portrait of Mrs Thrale (Engraved)	36	15	
			 <p>Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), <i>Portrait of a Lady</i>, 1760, oil on canvas, 57.4 x 46.3 cm, B.M.130.</p>			
381	“	Old German School	Altar Piece [<i>with an annotation in the same hand for this and the subsequent three entries reading:</i>] Duke of Lucca's sale. ¹⁰	38	17	

¹⁰ For the sale of the Duke of Lucca's collection see Chapter Three. Gallery of the Society of Painters in Water-Colours, Pall Mall East, London, July 1840, lots 88-90, GPI, Sales Catalog Br-5182; Christie's, London, 25 July 1840, lot 37-9, GPI, Sales Catalog-Br5196 (sold to Solly for £38 17s.) [accessed 22 February 2023].

			 <p>Master of the Virgo Inter Virgines (c. 1483-1498), <i>Crucifixion</i>, c. 1490s, oil on panel, 219 x 196 cm. B.M.186.</p>			
28	“	“(1500)	St Jerome in the Desert ¹¹	17	17	
			 <p>Circle of St Gudula Master (active later fifteenth century), <i>Saint Jerome and the Lion</i>, c. 1475-99, oil on panel, 56.8 x 39.7 cm. B.M.596.</p>			
356	“	Beato Angelico	Miracle of the Sacrament ¹²	6	15	
						



¹¹ Gallery of the Society of Painters in Water-Colours, Pall Mall East, London, July 1840, lot 71, GPI, Sales Catalog Br-5182; Christie's, London, 25 July 1840, lot 31, GPI, Sales Catalog Br-5196 (sold to Solly for £17 17s.) [accessed 22 February 2023].

¹² Gallery of the Society of Painters in Water-Colours, Pall Mall East, London, July 1840, lot 50, GPI, Sales Catalog Br-5182; Christie's, London, 25 July 1840, lot 2, GPI, Sales Catalog-Br5196 (sold to Solly for £6 15s.) [accessed 22 February 2023].

			Sassetta (c. 1400-50), <i>A Miracle of the Eucharist</i> , c. 1423-26, tempera and gold on panel, 24.1 x 38.2 cm. B.M.52.			
348	“	Cignaroli	St Margaret ¹³	14	3	6
			 <p>Giambettino Cignaroli (1706-1770), <i>St Martha</i>, mid-eighteenth century, oil on canvas, 97.5 x 77.5 cm. B.M.64.</p>			
359	“	Hemmelinck	Deposition of our Saviour (B ^d to Don Miguel ¹⁴)	100		
			 <p>Attributed to circle of Ambrosius Benson (active 1519-died 1550), <i>Pietà and the Two Maries</i>, c. 1519-50, oil on panel, 33.7 x 8.1cm (right-hand and left-hand panels), 31.2 x 22.5 cm (centre panel). B.M.175.</p>			




¹³ Gallery of the Society of Painters in Water-Colours, Pall Mall East, London, July 1840, lot 78, GPI, Sales Catalog Br-5182; Christie's, London, 25 July 1840, lot 8, GPI, Sales Catalog-Br5196 (sold to Solly for £14 3s.) [accessed 22 February 2023].

¹⁴ This may refer to Dom Miguel I of Portugal (1802-1866). He was King of Portugal between 1828 and 1834, when he was forced to abdicate. 1840, when this painting was acquired, coincides with the end of the first Carlist Wars (1833-40).



364	“	Van Asch	Landscape with Figures Bt. at Messrs Woodburn’s ¹⁵	30		
			 <p>Pieter Jansz Asch (1603-1678), <i>Scene at the Edge of a Wood</i>, seventeenth century, oil on canvas, 60.6 x 84.4 cm. B.M.145.</p>			
366	“	Esselin	Landscape with Figures Bt. at Messrs Woodburn’s	15		
			 <p>Jacob van Esselens (1626-1687), <i>Wooded Landscape with Figures</i>, seventeenth century, oil on panel, 47.5 x 62.2 cm. B.M.151.</p>			
346	1841	Primaticcio ?	Graces & Cupid [<i>with an annotation in the same hand for this and the subsequent five entries reading:</i>] from the collection of one of the Poniatowski Family at Bologna. Bought at Christy’s. ¹⁶			

¹⁵ Durham Record Office (DRO), D/St/C5/29/101, Letter from Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 2 September 1840. See **Appendix 3.2, Letter 2**.



¹⁶ The collection of Prince Poniatowski ‘from his Palace at Florence’ was sold at four sales at Christie’s, London, between 1839 and 1840: 6-7 February 1839, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-4972; 8-9 February 1839, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-4973; 30 May 1840, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-5156; 17-18 June 1840, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-5172 [accessed 22 February 2023]. There are no lots which clearly match to Bowes’s purchases, and – besides – Bowes’s paintings were noted as coming from Bologna rather than Florence. For the connections with the Poniatowski family and Dulwich Picture Gallery see Giles

			 <p>After Giulio Romano (probably 1499-1546), <i>The Three Graces with Cupid</i>, possibly c. 1700-1800, oil on canvas, 126.5 x 98.2 cm. B.M.939.</p>			
374		Carracci (Sch. of)	Landscape	11	11	
			 <p>Giovanni Battista Viola (1576-1622), <i>Landscape with Figures</i>, c. 1620s, oil on panel, 49 x 77.5 cm. B.M.81.</p>			
[page is ripped and next numbers are partially missing]		d[itt]o	d[itt]o	10	10	
[3]75			 <p>Giovanni Battista Viola (1576-1622), <i>A Seashore with a Castle</i>, c. 1620s, oil on panel, 49.5 x 78.5 cm. B.M.87.</p>			
		Venetian	A Senator	1	8	

Waterfield, *Collection for a King: Old Master Paintings at Dulwich Picture Gallery* (London: Governors of Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1985), pp. 13-17. For Edward Solly's art market networks in Bologna see Chapter Three.



			<p>Possibly:</p>  <p>Attributed to North Italian School, <i>Portrait of a Gentleman in Black</i>, possibly nineteenth century, oil on canvas, 121.5 x 95.5 cm. B.M.94.</p>			
[...4]		Francia	St Catherine	3	13	6
			 <p>Girolamo Marchesi (1471/81 - 1540/50), <i>Saint Catherine</i>, c. 1495-1550, oil on panel, 120 x 68.5 cm. B.M.44.</p>			
[...41]		Correggio (Sch. of)	Holy Family	19	8	16
			Unclear			
[...47]		Maes	Portrait. B ¹ at Christy's (Adm ¹ Donnelly's) ¹⁷	3	5	

¹⁷ See lot 76 at the sale of Admiral Sir Ross Donnelly (1764-1840) in *Catalogue of the Important and Well-Known Gallery of Pictures [...] of Admiral Sir Ross Donnelly*, 24 April 1841, Christie's, London. The copy held in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, is annotated with the buyer as 'Solly' for £3 5s.

			 <p>Nicolas Maes (1632-1693), <i>Portrait of a Venerable-looking Old Man</i>, 1666, oil on canvas, 87.6 x 69.2 cm. B.M.142.</p>			
		-	Triumph of David (Christy's)			
		-	_ d[itt]o			
			Both of the above are unclear.			
[...72]		Van der Meer	View on the Rhine (B ^t by Edward Solly) ¹⁸	6	6	
			 <p>Attributed to Johann van der Meer (c. 1640-1692), <i>Landscape with River</i>, possibly c. 1671-92, oil on canvas, 31 x 38 cm. B.M.789.</p>			
[...63]		F. Francia	Madonna + Child (from Bologna) ¹⁹	13	13	



¹⁸ Solly purchased from the collection of Samuel M. Mawson a landscape by 'Vander Meer de Jong' at Foster's, London, 2 February 1831, lot 54, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-3626 [accessed 22 February 2023]. It is as yet unclear if this is the correct painting.

¹⁹ For Solly's links to Bologna see Chapter Three.




			 <p>After Francesco Francia (c. 1450-1517), <i>Madonna and Child</i>, possibly sixteenth century, oil on panel, 56 x 41.5cm. B.M.50.</p>			
[...77]		M. Venusti	<p>Time and the four Seasons</p> <p>B^d to Mr Woodburn²⁰</p>	9	9	
			 <p>Marcello Venusti (1512-1579), <i>Time with Four Putti Representing the Seasons</i>, possibly c. 1530-79, oil on stone slate, 78 x 66.5 cm. B.M.938.</p>			
342		C. da Cesto	<p>St Jerome on his Knees (Woodburn)²¹</p>	9	19	4

²⁰ Possibly the 'Domenichino', *Allegorical Picture of Time with Children* purchased by 'Woodburn' at the sale of John Blagrove (junior) at Stewart's, London, 1-2 May 1812, lot 54, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-982 [accessed 22 February 2023]. It is as yet unclear if this was the painting acquired by Bowes.



²¹ Possibly the 'Luini', 'St. Jerome – a beautiful Cabinet Picture, highly finished' which Woodburn failed to sell at Christie's, London, 12 May 1821, lot 65 (bought in for 17 ½ guineas), GPI, Sale Catalog Br-2123 [accessed 22 February 2023]. This was the same sale at which John Woodburn (1751-1823) failed to sell the Salviati, *Rape of the Sabine Women* and the Domenichino *Saint George* which also entered Bowes's collection in 1841. The latter paintings were acquired by Bowes at the same time as the 'Da Sesto', *Saint Jerome*, which would support the hypothesis that the Woodburns were selling to Bowes old stock amassed by their father who had died in 1823.

			 <p>Andrea Solario (c. 1465-1524), <i>Saint Jerome in the Wilderness</i>, c. 1510-15, oil and tempera on panel, 69.8 x 54.3cm. B.M.42.</p>			
379		Salviati	Rape of the Sabines. Woodburn, and from the Orleans Gallery. ²²	25	4	
			 <p>Giuseppe Porta (c. 1520-1575), <i>The Rape of the Sabine Women</i>, probably c. 1545-55, oil on canvas, 163.6 x 211.8 cm. B.M.208.</p>			
343		Stella	Susanna and the Elders. Woodburn.	2	5	



²² This painting was in the Orleans collection by 1727, when it was inventoried. It moved through the British auction market from the time of the Orleans sale in 1798 – as lot 221 in the portion of the collection which was exhibited for sale by the dealer Michael Bryan at the Lyceum, the Strand. It was bought in and remained unsold at Bryan’s subsequent sales of 1800 and 1804. The painting later entered the collection of William Young Ottley, at whose sale in 1811 it was purchased by the Pimlico-based dealer, Bernard Pinney. The painting was in the hands of the dealer John Woodburn by 1821, at whose sale it was bought in for £73 11s. – over double what Bowes later paid for it from the Woodburn dealership in 1841. See the following: GPI, Archival Inventory F-12, Item 267; Sale Catalog Br-A2366, lot 221; Sale Catalog Br-A2488, lot 50; Sale Catalog Br-260, lot 74; Sale Catalog Br-889, lot 83; Sale Catalog Br-2123, lot 72 [accessed 22 February 2023].

			 <p>Circle of Jacques Stella (1596-1657), <i>Susanna and the Elders</i>, c. 1655-60, oil on canvas, 71 x 96 cm. B.M.541.</p>			
352			<p>St George. Woodburn.²³</p>	7	7	
			 <p>Attributed to circle of Domenichino (1581-1641), <i>Saint George</i>, possibly c. 1550-1650, oil on canvas, 134.5 x 98 cm. B.M.62.</p>			
376		L. da Vinci (Sch. of)	<p>Beheadal of St John the Baptist Formerly in the Barberini Palace.</p>	11	11	
			 <p>Attributed to German School, <i>Saint John the Baptist before Execution</i>, c. 1450-1550, oil on panel, 128.5 x 104.5 cm. B.M.71.</p>			




²³ See above at n. 21. GPI, Sale Catalog Br-2123, lot 61. It was bought in at £19 8s., over double what Bowes later paid.


380	1841	Primaticcio	The Rape of Helen B ¹ by Mr Solly	25		
			 <p>Attributed to the circle of Francesco Primaticcio (1504-1570), <i>The Rape of Helen</i>, possibly c. 1533-35, tempera and oil on canvas, 155.5 x 188.5 cm. B.M.76.</p>			
355	1843	Bonifazio	St John's Head on a Salver B ¹ by Mr Solly at Christy's	2	6	
			 <p>After Andrea Solario (1465-1524), <i>The Head of the Baptist on a Tazza</i>, possibly c. 1550-1650, oil on panel, 41.5 x 47.5 cm. B.M.56.</p>			
359	1842	Van der Helst	Portrait male [with an annotation in the same hand for this and subsequent entry: B ¹ by Mr Solly] ²⁴			

²⁴ 'Pair of fine Portraits, Lady and Gentleman' purchased by Solly for £1 10s. at Foster's, London, 3 May 1836, lot 40, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-4600 [accessed 22 February 2023].

			 <p>Attributed to circle of Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613-1670), <i>Portrait of a Man in Black</i>, possibly c. 1628-70, oil on canvas, 56 x 45.5 cm. B.M.103.</p>			
358	-	-	d[itt]o Female ²⁵	1	10	
			Unclear			
379	-	Parmegiano (Style)	Rape of Helen the Sabines			
			<p>Possibly:</p>  <p>Attributed to after Guido Reni (1575-1642), <i>The Abduction of Helen</i>, possibly c. 1630-1700, oil on canvas, 72 x 75.5 cm. O.76.</p>			
-	1844		<p>Landscape with Figures</p> <p>Formerly in the Winchule Collⁿ at Antwerp. B^t by Mr Solly</p>	7	7	
			Unclear.			
370		Raffaelle	<p>Holy Family</p> <p>Came from a private Chapel in Tuscany. The same picture, with slight variation in the dress of the Virgin, is in the Madrid Collⁿ called "The Pearl" by Giulio Romano. B^t by Mr Solly.</p>	105		

²⁵ Ibid.

			 <p>After Raphael (1483-1520), <i>The Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John the Baptist (after 'La Perla')</i>, c. 1575-1599, oil on panel, 162.5 x 95cm. B.M.820.</p>			
368		Domenichino	Martyrdom of St Agnes	15		
			 <p>Attributed to Italian School, <i>The Martyrdom of Saint Agnes</i>, possibly c. 1650-1750, oil on panel, 29.5 x 47 cm. B.M.43.</p>			
369		Schellinks	Landscape B ¹ by Mr Solly.			
			 <p>Unknown artist, <i>Landscape with a Town or Hill</i>, possibly c. 1675-1725, oil on canvas, 107.5 x 126.9 cm. B.M.185.</p>			

338		Sch. of Titian	Lot and his Daughters ²⁶ B ^d to Mr Solly.			
			 <p>Neapolitan School, <i>Lot and his Daughters</i>, possibly c. 1600-1750, oil on canvas, 137 x 144.5 cm. B.M.211.</p>			
			[In red ink:] Copied from a list supplied by Messrs Western & Sons. July 13 th 1887. OS			

²⁶ Possibly Guido 'Lot and his daughters' put up for sale by Solly at Christie's, London, 18-19 February 1820, lot 99 (bought in at £8), GPI, Sale Catalog Br-1893 [accessed 22 February 2023].

Appendix 3.2: The Solly-Bowes Correspondence

The following are transcriptions of the eight letters from Edward Solly senior (1776-1844) to John Bowes dating between 1840 and 1844, held in the Durham Record Office (DRO). These letters have never before been published and provide key information pertaining to Solly's role in the formation of Bowes's first picture collection.

It is worth noting that nine letters dating between 1840 and 1841 are also preserved between Edward Solly junior (1819-1886) and Bowes, linked to the former's assistance in investigating the commercial potential of the ironstone found on Bowes's extensive coal mining holdings, notably in the pit named Milkwell Burn. These letters have not been included here as they do not contain discussion on matters of art.

Letter 1: D/St/C5/029/094, Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 26 August 1840

38 Bedford Row

August 26

Dear Sir,

I received with great pleasure the work on an interesting portion of our history as I take a great interest in our antiquities and early history.²⁷

I had expected to have written sooner but I waited first for the view of Louis Bonaparte's pictures which only took place a day before the sale owing to the interference of the Police, and I then thought it likely I might buy one or two of them for you.²⁸ The one a holy family called Correggio was knocked down to me for 31 g[uineas] but claimed by Mr Easthope.²⁹ I doubt the correctness of the proceeding but let him have it for 32. The other a Portrait called Raphael.³⁰ I bid 30 g[uineas] I let it go for 32 also.

Your picture the oval Guido I tried and found that the flesh colour would be much improved by the proposed lining & cleaning – it is therefore in hand.³¹

With best compliments,

I am,

Dear Sir,

²⁷ This may refer to a copy of the then recently published Cuthbert Sharp, *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569* (London: J. B. Nichols and son, 1840). Bowes was a regular correspondent of the antiquarian, Cuthbert Sharp (1781-1849) and had permitted him access to historic family documents for this publication.

²⁸ Solly refers here to the sale of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte's (1808-1873) collection which took place at Christie's, London, 20-21 August 1840, GPI, Sale Catalog Br-5204 [accessed 22 February 2023].

²⁹ Ibid. The Correggio, referred to by Solly, was lot 142 and titled *The Virgin and Child, with Saint Jerome and another Saint*.

³⁰ See above at n. 28. The Raphael, referred to by Solly, was lot 143 and titled *Portrait of Joan of Aragon*. It was purchased by 'Russell'.

³¹ This painting is: After Guido Reni, *Death of Lucretia*, B.M.72, Bowes Museum.

Yours,

Edw Solly

Letter 2: D/St/C5/29/101, Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 2 September 1840

38 Bedford Row

Sept. 2

Dear Sir,

Since I wrote to you last I have been at Mr Brown's where I saw the St Jerome picture which has been beautifully cleaned and is as pure as the day it was painted.³² It has no varnish as yet. Mr Woodburn having found the frame of the Van Asch.³³ I have asked it to be sent to Peels from whom I heard that the picture was nearly finished lining.

Mr Buchanan is [hawking?] the Carraccis & g della notte for the purpose of exhibiting them at Birmingham.³⁴ The Director of the Lucca gallery leaves his remaining pictures here and returns to Florence on Friday from whence he means to bring a fresh supply of Rafaele etc. in Nov.³⁵

My son set out for Manchester yesterday intending to be at Leeds on Saturday from there on Monday to go by coach to Newcastle, Queens Head.³⁶

I am

Dear Sir

Yours

Edwr Solly

³² 'Mr Brown' could be Emil Braun (1809-1856) for whom see Jonathan Marsden, 'Mr Green and Mr Brown: Ludwig Grüner and Emil Braun in the Service of Prince Albert', *Victoria and Albert: Art and Love Symposium*, ed. by Susanna Avery-Quash, 1.1 (2012), 1-13

<<https://www.rct.uk/sites/default/files/V%20and%20A%20Art%20and%20Love%20%28Marsden%209.pdf>> [accessed 7 April 2023]; Thomas Boden Brown (c. 1790-1875) could also be a candidate, for whom see Jacob Simon, 'Thomas Boden Brown', *British Picture Restorers, 1600-1950 – B* <<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers/british-picture-restorers-1600-1950-b/>> [accessed 9 March 2023]. The painting referred to is: Circle of Master of Saint Gudule, *St Jerome and the Lion*, B.M.596, Bowes Museum. For the later reattribution of this painting to Jan van Eyck, see Chapter Three.

³³ This painting is: Attributed to Pieter Jansz van Asch (1603-1678), *Scene at the Edge of a Wood*, B.M.145, Bowes Museum.

³⁴ The paintings that Buchanan was exhibiting were: Gerrit van Honthorst, *Christ before the High Priest*, NG3679; Domenico Fiasella, *Christ Healing the Blind* and *Christ Raising the Son of the Widow of Nain*, SN112-13, Ringling Museum, Sarasota (then attributed to Ludovico Carracci); and one thought to be by Annibale Carracci depicting *Christ as the Canaanite Woman*, as yet unknown.

³⁵ He refers here to the Venetian engraver and agent, Carlo Galvani (active 1830-1888), for whom see Chapter Three.

³⁶ This refers to Edward Solly junior visiting John Bowes at Gibside to discuss the ironstone. See DRO, D/St/C5/29/118, Letter from William Hutt to John Bowes, 16 October 1840.

J. Bowes Esq. MP

Letter 3: D/St/C5/38/23, Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 18 January 1842

38 Bedford Row Jan 18

Dear Sir,

Last Spring when I was sanguine enough to expect that the Danish claims would be realised in the course of the year, I was tempted to make an addition to my small collection of the Raffaele School by authorizing the celebrated Engraver Rosaspina of Bologna to purchase for me a picture of that class of which he sent me the enclosed miniature sketch of the subject.³⁷ It is about 6 feet by 5 feet figures nearly life size and I had to pay his Bill on Mr [Bain?] for the cost of £88.3.10 with [Bain]'s charges £90. The freight duty and charges at the custom house were about £10.

I have however now made up my mind to part with the picture which I have not shown to anybody and it had been at Peels since its arrival for him to clean and varnish. I therefore make the offer of it to you in the first instance at the first case of £100 – to which will be added Peel's charges I suppose between £5 and £10.

I part with it with regret and should if you keep it be ready at a more convenient time to take it back should you wish it. The painters name is Bagnocavallo of Bologna. I have not seen the picture for some time but Peel told me last week it was almost ready.

As Peel sent me 4 of my other larger pictures which are now in my Hall, I took the opportunity of sending your Parmigianino – it will want varnishing.³⁸

My son gave his first lectures at the Royal Institution on Saturday [illegible]. I have been gratified to learn from some of his audience that he gave satisfaction. We are expecting there will be some little [illegible] after the Christening when the King of Prussia etc. come to town as he is a great admirer of Victoria.³⁹

Begging to be remembered to Mr Hutt, I am

Dear Sir

Yours

Edward Solly

The measure on the drawing is Bolognese which is equivalent to the English measure stated in the letter.

³⁷ He is referring to Francesco Rosaspina (1762-1841), for whom see Chapter Three. The painting in question is: Niccolò Pisano, *Sacra Conversazione*, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires.

³⁸ This picture is in the 'old list' under the year 1842, but it remains unclear which painting this is in the Bowes Museum's collection.

³⁹ 'Victoria' is Queen Victoria and he refers to the christening of Albert Edward, future King Edward VII (1841-1910). Solly had sold his first picture collection to the King of Prussia and thus was in these networks.

Letter 4: D/St/C5/38/80, Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 4 April 1842

38 Bedford Row

April 4

Dear Sir

Since I last had the pleasure of seeing you an attack of aguish fever has mostly kept me to the house but I hope you received safely the seeds for Mr Witham and also chose for yourself. In the Gardner's Chronicle of Saturday it is announced that Mr Edward Solly Junior is to give his lectures on Chemistry applied to cultivation at the Horticultural Society Room in Regent Street. I do not know whether you as a member care to attend them, but Dr Lindley was of opinion that they should be given on a Saturday afternoon as being the more convenient day, instead of Friday which day Dr. Henderson the Secretary has fixed. There may be some members of parliament who might prefer the Saturday and if they were to offer up an opinion to Mr Lindley in favour of the Saturday the day may still be changed at the meeting of the Society tomorrow afternoon at 2 o'clock. What do you say to it. Will Mr Pusey⁴⁰, Mr Hansfield, care about these lectures as they will naturally apply to all matters of land whether agriculture [illegible] in the forest. Can you ascertain whether they take sufficient interest in the subject to care about the day.

I am

Dear Sir

Yours,

Edward Solly

Letter 5: D/St/C5/46/12, Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 21 January 1843

38 Bedford Row Jan^y 21

Dear Sir

I have often been wishing to mention to you that last year I was induced to purchase another Picture in addition to the one you have seen in my dining room because it was of the kind of art in accordance with my small collection and I did it at a time when I did not doubt of the Danish claims.⁴¹ It is a very large gallery picture contained by measurement 380 square yards painted by a Ferrarese artist at 1500 of course in the antique style [illegible] by Ercole Grande and was in the Tanara Palace at Bologna⁴². It is still at the London Docks under the

⁴⁰ The M.P. Philip Pusey (1799-1855) had sat with John Bowes's stepfather William Hutt on the Select Committee for Arts and Manufactures (1835-36), where Solly was also a witness.

⁴¹ The 'Danish claims' likely refers to the fallout from the confiscation of twenty of the Solly family's ships by Copenhagen during the Napoleonic blockade. Frank Herrmann, *The English as Collectors: A Documentary Sourcebook*, 2nd edn (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1999), p. 206.

⁴² These were what we now know to be copies of the frescoes in the Garganelli Chapel, San Petronio, Bologna. Solly owned three copies and it is not clear which one he offered to Bowes. See Chapter Three for discussion of this.

care of Mr Bain to whom it was addressed and I have not seen it, but I am very anxious to retain the picture which I have endeavoured hitherto to do. The price paid for it by Mr Bain for my account was £220 – which I am now called upon to provide, but as I cannot do this, I make for to propose it to you if it should suit you at present to lay out that amount either to keep the pictures yourself or to assist me in retaining it, in which latter case you can either have it transferred to you under Mr Bain's agency or have it anywhere else. I am perhaps taking a liberty in this proposal which I ought not to do but I am completely taken aback by presuming that the Treasury would not repudiate what the Crown promises to do and speculating thereon.

I am Dear Sir,

Yours,

Edward Solly.

Letter 6: D/St/C5/46/13, Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 27 January [1843]

38 Bedford Row

J. 27

Dear Sir,

Time I took the liberty of writing to you on the subject of the large picture at the Docks. I have succeeded in making arrangements for the present to enable me to keep it.

I heard that you were on your way to town and shall take an early opportunity of calling in at Conduit Street.

I am

D^r Sir

Yours [...]

Edw^r Solly

Letter 7: D/St/C5/54/69, Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 16 July 1844

38 Bedford Row

16 July

Dear Sir,

I called this morning to thank you for your kind assistance in obtaining the victory of the 9th for such I consider it.

I saw Mr Hutt this morning and mentioned to him a discovery I had made of a holy family by Rafaele which I consider quite a catch and as I must not think of it for myself since the 9th as

the victory will [seem?] a barren one, I inquired whether it was likely that it might lay within your plans to make such an addition to your collection.⁴³

Much to possessing it myself I shall be best pleased to knowing it with you.

Mr Hutt may perhaps give you some particulars and when I see you I can give you many more but if you are decided against any further purchases I will thank you to let me know as ever as I have only that painting in my house for a day or two.

I am Dear Sir

Yours,

Edward Solly.

To J. Bowes Esq MP.

Letter 8: D/St/C5/54/89, Edward Solly senior to John Bowes, 9 Nov 1844

38 Bedford Row

Nov. 9

Dear Sir,

The proprietor of the two pictures did not much like to separate them and considered the smaller one the most valuable though he fancies the larger of more importance, so I at last agreed for the S' Agnes by Domenichino at £15 – subject to your confirmation.⁴⁴ If agreeable to you I can send it up to your house or you can send for it here.

I am Dear Sir Yours

Edward Solly.

To John Bowes Esq MP

⁴³ This painting is: After Raphael, *The Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, B.M.820, Bowes Museum.

⁴⁴ This painting is: Attributed to Italian School, *The Martyrdom of Saint Agnes*, B.M.43, Bowes Museum.

Appendix 4: Samuel Woodburn's Early Italian Pictures

Appendix 4 complements the research of Chapter Four. This appendix provides a transcription of the 'List of Mr Woodburn's Collection of Early Italian Pictures' contained within a slim notebook with a marbled cover in the archive of the National Gallery, London (NGA). This list has never been published. The eighty-three pictures are the same as those found at the sale of Woodburn's 'capital pictures by the greatest early Italian masters' at Christie's, London, between 9 and 11 June 1860, though in a different order. This handwritten list is likely the 'concise list of pictures' sent by Christie's in 1854 to the National Gallery trustees following Woodburn's death the previous year.¹ Original spellings have been retained.

NGA, NG72/37, List of Mr Woodburn's Collection of Early Italian Pictures

Berto Linajuolo

No 1. An imaginary Portrait of the founder of the Medici family.

Vivarino de Murano

2. St Mark & another Saint in a Landscape, a Cardinal kneeling.

Cosimo Roselli

3. The Resurrection of Christ.

Domenichino Ghirlandaio

4. The Holy Family an early work.

Andrea Orgagna

5. St George & the Dragon with St Catherine.

Matteo de Giovanni

6. The Virgin and Child with three other figures.

7. St Peter in Prison.

8. A Pilgrim.

Raffaellino del Garbo

9. St Gregory. Pope celebrating mass. This picture is signed with the true name of the master which has been hitherto unknown, it is cited by Vasari & comes from the Church of Santo Spirito in Florence.

Fra Giovanni da Fiesole

10. The Annunciation. This picture is cited by Vasari, it comes from the Church of San Francesco and of the gates of Miniato.

Paolo Ucelli

¹ NGA, NG5/103/4, Letter from Christie's & Manson to Thomas Uwins, 21 March 1854.

11. Tobit the Angel, it bears the monogram of the artist & is painted in terracotta with a tinge of colour.

Jacopo di Casentino

12. Christ betrayed by Judas.

Bastiano Mainardi

13. The dead Christ with the Virgin and Disciples.

Fra Giovanni da Fiesole

14. An altar piece with the Virgin and Child in the centre, the saved & condemned on either side, one of the finest known works of the master.

Angelo Gaddi & Cennino Cennini

15. The Virgin & Child with St John & three other figures with inscriptions around the ancient frame.

Andrea Luigi d'Assisi – L'Ingegno

16. The education of Achilles by the Centaur Chiron.

17. St Sebastian.

Luca Signorelli da Cortona

18. The Reposo, a circle, there is only one other work of this master in Gt. Britain which is in the Hamilton Palace.

Giottino

19. A small altarpiece, the Virgin and Child in the centre small circles of saints round the frame.

Pietro Laurati

20. St Francis receiving the stigmata very rare.

Byzantine

21. A temple with two angels on each side, inscribed with the name of the artist.

Pietro Laurati

22. The Companion to N. 20 another model for the same subject.

Ugolino Senese

23. A small altar with the Virgin and Child.

Domenico Ghirlandaio

24. The History of St John, one of the series so fully described by Vasari.

Bernardo Fungai

25. The Virgin praying before an angel who holds the infant. landscape background.

Luigi d'Assisi – L'Ingegno

26. Achilles discovered among the daughters of Licomedes, companion of No.10.

Masaccio de San Giovanni

27. The Crucifixion.

28 & 29. Joannes de Santis

The Annunciation, & the Visitation painted by the father of Raffaelle.

Joannes de Santis

30. A rich composition of the Wise men's offering similar in composition to the Pictures now at the Berlin Gallery cited by Passavant, some part of the interesting picture is probably executed by the great Raffaelle, before he went into the school of P. Perugino. It is richly coloured & formed an altarpiece with two other pictures. Nos 28 & 29 in this Collection.

31 & 32. Masaccio de San Giovanni

A Dominican priest passing through flames and a priest driving away an evil spirit, one of them contains a portrait of the artist.

Masca²

33. The Virgin and Child with angels, marked with the monogram of the artist, a fly, very rare.

Gentile da Fabriano

34. The Virgin & Child with angels playing musical instruments.

35. Masolino da Panicale

A long frieze representing the Wars of the Florentines, in brown and white, heightened with gold.

Sandro Botticelli

36. A small head crowned with a wreath.

Sandro Botticelli

37. Herodias & St John. two compartments.

Fra Lorenzo del Agnolo

38. The Virgin & Child enthroned with Saints believed to be the only work of the artist in this country.

Masolino de Panicale

39. The Companion to No. 35.

40. The Virgin and Child with St John and Angels. circle.

² The name of this artist is not clear.

Buon amico Buffalmacco

41. The Virgin & Child with St Anthony and another Saint.

Alesso Baldovinetti

42. The Virgin & Child.

Pesello Pesello

43. The Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon. a long frieze.

44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 78, 79.

Lorenzo de Credi

A predella – seven small pictures the largest is a reposito the others are circles representing different saints.

Gentile da Fabriano

49. Portrait of the Artist inscribed with his name.

50 & 58. A pair of Cassoni representing the Pisan wars.

51 & 59. Pietro di Cosimo

A pair representing the return of the Medici family, very rare.

52 & 60. Lorenzo di Credi

A pair representing the heathen divinities visiting the earth.

53, 54, 55. Giotto di Bondone

Three small pictures being the Predella of an Altar viz. Our Lord after the Crucifixion & two martyrdoms, purchased by Mr Woodburn from a Church near Bugallo where Cimabue met Giotto tending his sheep.

56 & 64. Bernardino Pinturicchio

The Death of Hector, with a view of Pisa in the background & the entrance of the Trojan Horse, with a view of Florence in the background.

57. Piero della Francesca da Borgo S. Sepolcro

An Altar piece in the original frame with a vase of flowers together with the Predella are painted by Ghirlandaio the arms of the Strozzi family are on the frame, no other work of the master exists in England.

61, 62 & 63. Gherardo Starnina

The Predella from the Altar Piece from the Chapel of Saint Jerome nel Carmine at Florence, three subjects in one picture, two subjects in the others.

65. Andrea Verocchio

St Rocque with a dog.

66. Antonello da Messina

A Man's portrait. NB. At the back is the picture of two children.

67. Lorenzo di Credi

The Virgin, Child & St John.

68. Masaccio di S. Giovanni

Portrait of the artist painted on a tile cited by Cinelli.

69. A Pollajuolo

The dead Christ.

70. Lippo Fiorentino

The Coronation of the Virgin. very rare.

71. Pietro Perugino

St Sebastian.

72 & 73. Allegorical figures.

74. A Triumph.

75. An Angel.

76. The Virgin.

77. Early Greek

The Virgin & Child on a throne.

78 & 79. Lorenzo di Credi

The Riposo & a female Saint.

80. Early Greek

The presentation in the temple.

81. Early Greek

The Crucifixion.

82. Giotto di Bondone

The Salutation.

83. Giotto di Bondone

Baptism, the companion.

Finis.