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A close-up detail of a painting showing a young man's face and hands. He has dark hair and is looking slightly to the right with a neutral expression. He is wearing a dark, ruffled collar. In his left hand, he holds a lute with a light-colored soundboard and dark neck. His right hand rests on the neck of the instrument. The background is dark and textured, with some handwritten script visible on the right side.

OLD MASTERS

EVENING SALE

LONDON | 3 JULY 2019



FRONT COVER
LOT 24 (DETAIL)

BACK COVER
LOT 14

THIS PAGE
LOT 22 (DETAIL)





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LOT 20

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LOT 8



1 Third Master of Anagni, mid-1230s
(Active second quarter of the 13th century)

The Madonna and Child, two angels in the spandrels above tempera on panel, gold ground, with four inset cabochon rock crystals
58 x 46.5 cm; 22⅞ x 18¼ in.

£ 200,000-300,000
€ 233,000-349,000 US\$ 260,000-390,000

PROVENANCE

Prof. Silla Rosa, Tivoli, by 1916;
Adolphe and Suzanne Stoclet, Brussels, by 1925;
Thence by descent.

LITERATURE

J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg 1916, vol. II, pp. 1138–39, reproduced in colour vol. IV, pl. 298 (as datable to about the first half of the 13th century);
R. van Marle, 'Italian Paintings of the Thirteenth Century in the collection of Monsieur Adolph Stoclet in Brussels', *Pantheon*, vol. IV, July–December 1929, p. 318, reproduced p. 319, fig. 3 (as Roman School, first half of the 13th century);
E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *Iconografia della Madonna col Bambino nella Pittura Italiana del Duecento*, Siena 1934, p. 53, no 157, reproduced pl. XXIII C;
E. Sandberg-Vavalà, 'Alberto Sotio and his Group', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. II, 1939, pp. 15–17, reproduced p. 14, fig. 6 and as details p. 12, fig. 4 and p. 16, figs 8 and 10 (as attributed to Alberto Sozio and datable to the end of the 12th century);
E.B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting. An Illustrated Index*, Florence 1949, pp. 28 and 229, no. 631, reproduced (as 'S. Gregorio Master', Roman, second and third quarters of the thirteenth century; described as having been cut along the top edge);
R. Offner, 'Note on an unknown St Francis in the Louvre', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXIX, 1952, p. 133, as a postscript (as sharing the style of the *Louvre St Francis*, which he dates to the early or middle 1230s, after the Subiaco frescoes of 1228);

Probably created in the mid-1230s – at least a decade before the birth of Cimabue (doc. 1272; d. 1302) – this remarkably early painting, executed in a deft graphic style, depicts the Virgin with the Christ Child within an inset arch. In the spandrels are two roundels, each containing a diminutive angel, hands raised in adoration. The Virgin supports the Child's outstretched legs, while, in a surprisingly naturalistic detail, she holds the folds of his tunic between her fingers. The Christ Child is represented with his right hand raised in the act of blessing and with his left he holds a scroll that embodies the wisdom of God.

Joseph Wilpert, the first to publish this *Madonna and Child* in 1916, dated it to the first half of the thirteenth century, regarding it as close in style and date to the mosaics in the apse of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome.¹ Raimond van Marle gave it a generic attribution and similar dating. In 1939 Evelyn Sandberg-Valvalà proposed as its author Alberto Sotio, the Umbrian master active in the last quarter of the twelfth century in Spoleto (doc. 1187), and, accordingly, gave it an earlier dating to the end of the twelfth century. Richard Offner was the first to recognize the Stoclet *Madonna and Child* as being by the same hand as the frescoes of 1228 in the chapel of San Gregorio in the Sacro Speco at Subiaco, from which the anonymous painter, the San Gregorio Master, derives his name. Edward Garrison, crediting Offner with the attribution, listed the Stoclet panel in his important study on Romanesque panel painting as by the San Gregorio Master, dating it to the second quarter of the thirteenth century. He concurred with Pietro Toesca's attribution of some frescoes in the former Capuchin convent at Anagni (destroyed in the Second World War) to the same hand and agreed with his dating of 1237–55.² However in 1979, Miklós Boskovits, taking up the subject of Roman thirteenth-century painting in his study of the murals at the Cathedral at Anagni by the Third Master of Anagni, judged him to be the author of the San Gregorio murals at Subiaco as well (thereby ruling out the San Gregorio Master as a separate hand) and identified the Stoclet panel as also being by him.





Fig. 1. Palais Stoclet, Brussels

LITERATURE CONT.

M. Boskovits, 'Gli affreschi del duomo di Anagni: un capitolo di pittura romana', *Paragone*, vol. XXX, no. 357, November 1979, pp. 7–8, pp. 27–28 nn. 11–13, reproduced pl. 11 (as the Third Master of Anagni, probably towards the mid-1230s or later);

L. Marques, *La peinture du Duecento en Italie centrale*, Paris 1987, pp. 32, 35–36, 238 n. 51, 286, reproduced p. 33, fig. 30 (as an early work by the San Gregorio Master, as datable to c. 1215–25);

A. Tartuferi, 'Un libro e alcune considerazioni sulla pittura del Duecento in Italia centrale', in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXVI, 729, November–December 1988, pp. 431–32 (as the Third Master of Anagni, mid-1230s);

M. Boskovits, 'Gli affreschi del duomo di Anagni: un capitolo di pittura romana', in *Immagini da meditare: ricerche su dipinti di tema religioso nei secoli XII–XV*, Milan 1994 (reprint of Boskovits 1979), pp. 17–21, reproduced fig. 18 (as the Third Master of Anagni).

Characterising this work as having swift, elegant lines, delicate figures of elongated proportions and intensely expressive faces, Boskovits dates it towards the mid-1230s or slightly later, in any case after the murals. Furthermore, he regards an important panel of *Saint Francis* at the Musée du Louvre, Paris, to be of similar date and attributable to the same painter as the Stoclet panel.³ Offner published the latter as Roman, early or mid-1230s, and placed it stylistically close to the frescoes at Subiaco. More recently, in 1987, Luis Marques reverted to the attribution of the Stoclet *Madonna and Child* to the San Gregorio Master, making a distinction between him and the Third Master of Anagni. This thesis is rejected by Angelo Tartuferi, who credits the Third Master of Anagni (and not a putative Master of San Gregorio) with the creation of the San Gregorio frescoes and the Stoclet panel. He concludes therefore, that the Stoclet *Madonna and Child*, a work of towering importance for Roman painting, is by the Third Master of Anagni and is datable to about the mid-1230s, after the Anagni and Subiaco frescoes and very close to the Louvre *Saint Francis*.

Given its great age, the panel is fairly well preserved, particularly in the faces of the angels.⁴ The cross on Christ's nimbus is embellished with three large cabochon rock crystals and another, larger one forms the Virgin's brooch; those on the Virgin's headdress have been lost. As noted by Garrison, some sort of projection from the upper part has long since been removed. Boskovits thought it likely that the panel was originally gabled. Stylistically the Stoclet painting is notably different to Byzantine models. Its importance lies in its close ties to Umbrian and Roman painting in the first decades of the Duecento, while signalling a new phase in the development of painting in central Italy.

THE STOCLET COLLECTION

Adolphe Stoclet started collecting Italian Old Masters while working as an engineer for the North Milan Tram Service from 1896 to 1902. He was encouraged by his wife Suzanne, who had spent much of her youth at the Paris house of her uncle, the painter Alfred Stevens, whose friends included Victor Hugo, Edmond de Goncourt and Debussy. Suzanne Stoclet introduced her husband to a society in which aesthetic values predominated, and in Milan the couple spent their days in museums, galleries and private collections, and their evenings at La Scala, hearing Toscanini, and Caruso. Their six-year stay in Italy was followed by a shorter one in Vienna, where Adolphe Stoclet worked for a bank. The years 1902–03 in Vienna were febrile ones for the arts, and for the Stoclets, who came into close contact with the aesthetic movement, and in particular the architect Josef Hoffmann and his Wiener Werkstätte. In consequence Stoclet commissioned a house from Hoffmann when he returned to Brussels in 1904. The result, the Palais Stoclet on the Avenue de Tervuren, opened in 1911, filled with Wiener Werkstätte furniture and décor, including picture frames (fig. 1). It rapidly became, and remains today, Brussels' most famous building, and is a landmark of the aesthetic movement in Europe. The Stoclets, for whom collecting was a vocation, filled it with art: from Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt, Mexico, Peru, China, Japan, Cambodia, India, Indonesia and Africa, as well as the Middle Ages in France and Italy, so that the fame of the Stoclet collection matched that of the Palais Stoclet that housed it.

¹ According to Wilpert, the painting probably came from a derelict or destroyed church in the Roman Campagna, and then belonged to Silla Rosa, who purchased it from a peasant; see Wilpert 1916, vol. II, p. 1138.

² P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana: Il Medioevo*, Turin 1927, p. 1033, under n. 37; the only point on which Garrison disagreed was Toesca naming the master Frater Romanus.

³ 96 x 39 cm.; Offner 1952, pp. 129–33, reproduced pp. 131–32, figs 2 (detail) and 3.

⁴ Boskovits 1979, p. 7.



2 Ansano di Pietro di Mencio, called Sano di Pietro

(Siena 1406 - 1481)

Saint Donatus chastising the dragon

tempera on poplar panel

21.8 x 36 cm.; 8⁵/₈ x 14¹/₈ in.

£ 500,000-700,000

€ 585,000-815,000 US\$ 650,000-910,000

PROVENANCE

Emil Weinberger, Vienna;

His posthumous sale, Vienna, Wawra and Glückselig, 22-24 October 1929, lot 455 (as Saint Syrus of Pavia);

Julius Henckel-Haas (1869-1931), Detroit, Michigan;

By inheritance to his wife Lilian Henckel-Haas (1879-1960), Detroit, Michigan;

Thomas Sheridan Hyland (1917-91), Greenwich, Connecticut;

By whom sold, London, Christie's, 23 June 1967, lot 69, for £13,500 to 'Robson';

With Agnew's, London;

From whom acquired and thence by family descent.

EXHIBITED

Detroit, Michigan, Institute of Arts, *Loan Exhibition of Italian Paintings from the XIVth to XVIth Centuries*, 1933, no. 54;

Waltham, Mass., Brandeis University, *Major Masters of the Renaissance*, 1963, no. 1;

Kings Lynn, Fermoy Art Gallery, *A Collection of the Nineteen-Sixties*, 22 July - 5 August 1972, no. 1.

LITERATURE

B. Berenson, *Pitture Italiane del Rinascimento*, Milan 1936, p. 429 (as Saint Sirus and the dragon);

B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. Central Italian and North Italian Schools*, London 1968, vol. I, p. 375;

G. Agnew and E. Joll, *A Collection of the Nineteen-Sixties*, exh. cat., Fermoy Art Gallery, Kings Lynn, 1972, p. 5, reproduced.

The most popular and prolific artist in Siena in the fifteenth century, Sano di Pietro was the master of a large workshop producing altarpieces, polyptychs and devotional works for churches and patrons in the city and surrounding towns. Although he worked on a large scale, Sano was best known for his many small devotional panels, and in these – and in particular in predella panels such as this – his work reveals a remarkable gift for narrative fantasy and richness of colouring. Here we see Saint Donatus, bishop (and later patron saint) of Arezzo, head down astride his mule, fearlessly take on a local dragon, armed only with a whip and his faith. The disarming simplicity of the composition and its beautiful subtle colouring reflect Sano's lifelong adherence to the beauty and traditions of Sienese Trecento gold-ground painting. The deliberately simple but deeply-felt devotional nature of Sano's work undoubtedly reflected doctrinal thinking then current in Siena, greatly influenced by the intense spirituality preached by San Bernardino (1380-1444) and the Franciscan observance movement, whose confraternities and convents provided him with considerable patronage.

The episode depicted here by Sano is described most fully in the life of Saint Donatus included by Jacobus da Voragine in his *Golden Legend*, written around 1260:

'Near Arezzo there was a poisoned spring, and anyone who drank thereof died immediately. And when Saint Donatus rode upon his donkey to the spring in order to purify the waters by his prayers, a terrible dragon rushed forth, twisted his tail about the donkey's legs, and reared up against Donatus. But the saint struck him with a whip, or, as others have it, spat in his face, and killed him in a trice. Then he besought the Lord, and the waters of the spring were purified forthwith.'¹

According to the *Passio* of his life written by the later Bishop Severinus of Arezzo, Donatus was a Roman nobleman by birth who converted to Christianity, but during the persecution of the Christians under the Emperor Julian 'the Apostate', his parents were put to death and he was forced to flee to Arezzo, where he became Bishop and wrought many miracles. According to tradition, together with the monk Saint Hilary, his defiance of the prefect Quadracianus led to his execution on 7 August 362 AD.

An illuminator of manuscripts as well as a painter, Sano enrolled in the Siena painters' Guild in 1428. His earliest signed work, the great Gesuati polyptych in the Pinacoteca at Siena, is dated as late as 1444, and any earlier phase of his career remains conjectural. It is likely that he was trained in the workshop of Stefano di Giovanni called Sassetta (1392-1450/1), and some scholars have identified the youthful phase of his work with that of the so-called Master of Osservanza, a painter working in a style very similar, responsible for an altarpiece of 1436 in the church of the Osservanza in Siena. It is possible that the two painters represent a single artistic personality, but more likely that their works were the product of a collaborative workshop to which they both belonged. Sano's style remained to the end embedded in the habits and tastes of the early Renaissance in Siena. His increasing reliance on members of his workshop diluted much of his later work to conventional formulae, but his work as an illuminator remained consistently of the highest quality right up to his death. His obituary in the church of San Domenico, where he was buried, records him as 'pictor famosius et homo totus deditus Deo' (a famous painter and completely dedicated to God).





Fig. 1. Sano di Pietro, *The Martyrdom of Saint Donatus*.
Tempera on panel, 21.6 x 39.4 cm. Yale University Art Collection, New Haven

Neither the predella to which the present panel belonged, nor the larger altarpiece of which that formed part, has yet been identified. Only one other panel, which depicts the martyrdom of what is evidently the same bishop saint, formerly in the collection of James Jackson Jarves in Florence and now in the Yale University collection, New Haven (fig. 1), can so far be linked to the present work. Both panels are of similar size (that at Yale measures 21.6 x 39.4 cm.) and share the same distinctive punched border along both their upper and lower edges. Formerly attributed to Giovanni di Paolo, the Yale panel was first tentatively associated with Sano and his workshop by Oswald Sirén in 1916, an attribution which has remained to this day.² Berenson, who knew both paintings, did not notice their connection, and retained the traditional attribution of the Yale panel and the identification of the saint as Syrus of Pavia.³ Both panels presumably formed part of the predella to an altarpiece dedicated to Saint Donatus, perhaps commissioned by a patron from Sano's own parish of San Donatus in Siena, or else for a patron or church in the nearby city of Arezzo, where Donatus was once bishop and now patron saint. Sano returned to the subject of Donatus and the dragon in the predella of his polyptych of 1471 formerly at the Abbazia di San Salvatore in Badia e Isola, and now at the Museo Civico e d'Arte Sacra, Colle di Val d'Elsa.⁴ Here the design of the panel follows the same lines as the present picture, but with the addition of two standing figures to the right of the saint. Owing to the homogeneity of much of his later output it is difficult to suggest a chronology for Sano's work, but on the basis of photographs Keith Christiansen has kindly suggested a possible dating to around 1460 for the present panel. He believes it to be a companion to the Yale panel, also typical of the painter. Dr Laurence Kanter has also kindly fully endorsed the attribution to Sano on the basis of photographs.

¹ *The Golden Legend*, translated by W.G. Ryan, Princeton 1993, p. 60.

² Inv. no. 1871.62. O. Sirén, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the pictures in the Jarves Collection, belonging to Yale University*, New Haven, London, Oxford 1916, pp. 159–60, no. 62.

³ See C. Seymour, *Early Italian Paintings in the Yale University Art Gallery*, New Haven and London 1970, pp. 204–05, cat. no. 154, reproduced (as workshop of Sano) and Berenson 1968, vol. I, p. 178. Saint Syrus of Pavia is often shown trampling on a basilisk or dragon, symbolic of his defeat of Arianism.

⁴ Berenson 1968, vol. II, reproduced pl. 588.







3 Giannicola di Paolo

(Active in Perugia 1481-1544)

The Entombment of Christ, with the Virgin, Mary Magdalene, Nicodemus, Saint John the Evangelist, and other saints

oil on panel, in an elaborately carved and gilded
frame

100 x 100 cm.; 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

W £ 200,000-300,000
€ 233,000-349,000 US\$ 260,000-390,000

PROVENANCE

The Conti Robilant, Venice, by 1933;
By descent at Palazzo Mocenigo, Venice, to Conte
Andrea Robilant;
By whom sold, London, Christie's, 29 June 1962,
lot 68, for 1,900 guineas to Chance (as Perugino);
Anonymous sale ('The Property of a Lady'),
London, Christie's, 10 July 1987, lot 103 (as Giovan
Battista Caporali).

LITERATURE

C. Castellaneta and E. Camesasca, *L'opera
completa del Perugino*, Milan 1969, p. 123, cat. no.
282, reproduced (as attributed to Perugino);
F. Todini, *La Pittura Umbra: dal duecento al primo
cinquecento*, Milan 1989, vol. I, p. 79 (as Giannicola
di Paolo).

Long considered to be by the great Perugino, this panel is in fact a mature work, datable to *circa* 1520, by Giannicola di Paolo, one of the foremost painters in Perugia in the early *Cinquecento*. The artist was employed in Perugino's workshop and is known to have collaborated on numerous works, including the *Last Supper* in the church of Sant'Onofrio, Florence. Later, as an independent painter, he set up a workshop in Piazza del Sopramura, in the same square as his former master, and his style remained heavily influenced by the latter throughout his career.¹

Evidence of pouncing in the execution of some paintings, such as the *Annunciation* attributed to Giannicola in the National Gallery, London (inv. no. NG1104), suggest that Perugino's cartoons were freely accessible to him.² However, rather than directly copying Perugino's paintings, the artist likely made his own drawings from his master's *modelli* while working in his studio. For example, the design of Giannicola's impressive *Ognissanti* altarpiece of 1506, now in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia (inv. no. 323), derives from Perugino's *San Pietro Ascension* composition, though the figures are different, suggesting they are of his own invention.

We are grateful to Professor Filippo Todini for re-endorsing the attribution on the basis of digital images.

¹ C. Higgitt, M. Spring, A. Reeve and L. Syson, 'Working with Perugino: The Technique of an Annunciation attributed to Giannicola di Paolo,' in *National Gallery Technical Bulletin, Renaissance Siena and Perugia 1490-1510*, vol. 27, 2006, p. 99.

² Higgitt, Spring, Reeve and Syson 2006, p. 99.



The present painting framed



4 Alessandro di Mariano Filipepi, called Sandro Botticelli and Studio

(Florence 1445 - 1510)

Madonna and Child, seated before a classical window

oil on panel

76.9 x 49.1 cm.; 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 19 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

£ 1,500,000-2,000,000

€ 1,750,000-2,330,000 US\$ 1,950,000-2,600,000

PROVENANCE

James Mann, Castle Craig, Perthshire, by 1907;

With Dowdeswell, London;

Acquired from the above by Eduard Simon, Berlin, by 1914;

His sale, Berlin, Cassirer and Helbing, 10 and 11 October 1929, lot 5;

Purchased at the above by Martin Schwersenz;

Bruno Spiro (d. 1936), Hamburg;

By inheritance to his wife Ellen Spiro (d. 1977), later Ellen Austin, Hamburg and London;

Acquired from the above by P. & D. Colnaghi, London, 1955;

Acquired from the above by Sir Thomas Barlow CBE, 1955;

With Simon Dickinson, London;

With Moretti Gallery;

Acquired from the above by the present owner in 2007.

By the late 1480s Botticelli was running something of a commercial enterprise from his studio on Via Nuova (now Via Ognissanti), producing works 'on spec' for sale directly from the *bottega*. Paintings of the Madonna and Child made up the majority of these, painted on a scale suited to middle class abodes for the purpose of private devotion. The designs for the majority of these Madonnas were usually taken directly from existing cartoons done for earlier illustrious altarpieces. While Botticelli would have overseen everything that left the *bottega* for sale, there were clearly, in each work done for this purpose, differing levels of involvement from the master and assistant. The execution of some appears largely to be by a studio assistant, whilst in others the principal parts were painted by Botticelli himself and the background and drapery, for example, filled in by an assistant. As Cook noted over a hundred years ago this particular depiction of the Madonna and Child before a classical, arched window appears to be one such collaborative effort, with Botticelli being responsible for the principal parts of the Madonna, especially her head, veil and right hand, and possibly, as Waterhouse later hypothesised, the head of the Christ Child, with an assistant executing the rest. It is one of the more accomplished works of this type.

The design follows that of the Madonna and Child in the centre of Botticelli's Bardi altarpiece, a major commission depicting the Madonna and Child enthroned between the two Saint Johns, painted by the artist in 1485 for the Bardi chapel in the church of Santo Spirito, Florence, and since 1829 at the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (fig. 1). It may have been the presence of the altarpiece in Berlin that led the Berliner Eduard Simon, one of the richest men in the world at the time, to acquire the present painting in 1914. At the sale of his estate in 1929, and possibly before, it was seen by the great Willem von Bode, the man who, having been the custodian of the Bardi altarpiece for the past several decades as general director of the Gemäldegalerie, perhaps knew it best, and he unequivocally accepted this painting as a Botticelli.

Botticelli's workshop practice has only quite recently been re-examined. Throughout much of the 20th century an exclusive view of attribution was taken, with respected scholars such as Ronald Lightbown accepting only the finest, mostly public, works as *bona fide* Botticellis, and all related works relegated to the studio. Thus, a large number of paintings that today are accepted as works by Botticelli himself, or by Botticelli with assistance from his workshop, were for a long time considered and published as purely workshop replicas and derivations. Today Dr Laurence Kanter likens the Botticelli *bottega* during the late 1480s and '90s to something of an assembly line with 'nearly all [works] having a certain amount of mechanical intervention and a surprising number having greater or lesser degrees of personal involvement plainly visible'. The old paradigm, favoured by Lightbown and others, of one prime version and lots of workshop copies, he says, does not match Botticelli's working procedure.¹ Thus today the recycling of successful compositions into smaller works is deemed common practice in Botticelli's studio. A similar operation may be seen in the multiple autograph reductions of the Saint Barnabas altarpiece, painted for the church of the doctors' and apothecaries' guild in Florence (now Uffizi, Florence);² one is at the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge;³ another at the Galleria Sabauda, Turin; and a third sold (as Botticelli and studio) New York, Sotheby's, 28 January 2016, lot 10.



Fig. 1. Sandro Botticelli, *The Bardi Altarpiece*, 1484–85.

Oil on panel, 185 x 180 cm. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

Bridgeman Images



EXHIBITED

- London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Winter Exhibition, Catalogue of a Collection of Pictures, decorative furniture...*, 1907, no. 1;
- Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums Verein, 1914, no. 11;
- Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, *Italian Art from the 13th Century to the 17th Century*, 1955, no. 21 (as Botticelli).

LITERATURE

- H. Cook, 'Notizie d'Inghilterra', in *L'Arte*, XI, 1908, p. 58 (the Virgin as Botticelli, and the child to a weaker hand);
- H.P. Horne, *Alessandro Filipepi. Commonly Called Sandro Botticelli, Painter of Florence*, London 1908, p. 140, Italian ed., Florence 1986, pp. 209 and 460 (as an admirable studio copy);
- Langton Douglas, 1911, p. 270
- Possibly J.A. Crowe and G.B. Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy*, vol. IV, London 1911, p. 269 (as 'A Madonna and Child' by Botticelli in the Eduard Simon collection);
- Y. Yashiro, *Sandro Botticelli*, London and Boston 1925, vol. I, p. 236 (as studio of Botticelli);
- A. Venturi, *Botticelli*, Rome, 1925, pp. 58–59, pl. XCII (as Botticelli?);
- R. Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, vol. XII, The Hague 1931, pp. 232–33 and 236 (as workshop of Botticelli);
- C. Gamba, *Botticelli*, Milan 1936, pp. 149–50 (as a good studio replica);
- R. Salvini, *Tutta la pittura del Botticelli*, Milan 1958, vol. II, p. 73, reproduced plate 133a (as studio of Botticelli).
- Italian Art from the 13th Century to the 17th Century*, exh. cat., Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham and London 1955, p. 14, no. 21 (as Botticelli);
- E.K. Waterhouse, 'The Italian Exhibition at Birmingham', in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVII, 630, 1955, p. 295, reproduced p. 294, fig. 33 (the heads of the Virgin and child as Botticelli, the child's legs to an assistant);
- R. Lightbown, *Sandro Botticelli*, London 1978, vol. II, p. 120, no. C9 (under workshop and school pieces);
- G. Mandel, *Botticelli. L'opera completa del Botticelli*, Milan 1978, p. 99, no. 88, reproduced p. 98 (as studio of Botticelli);
- H.P. Horne, *Alessandro Filipepi detto Sandro Botticelli pittore in Firenze*, Florence 1987, p. 179, n. 466;
- N. Pons, *Botticelli. Catalogo completo*, Milan 1989, p. 73, no. 67;
- N. Pons, *Dagli eredi di Giotto al primo Cinquecento*, Florence 2007, pp. 138–47 (as Botticelli and studio).

The advent of infra-red reflectography, that allows today's scholars to study the preparatory underdrawing of a painting, has in some instances been revelatory in the assessment of attribution. However, Botticelli seems to have used more than one system of underdrawing such that studying infra-red imaging of works by or associated with him and his studio is often not as helpful in determining attribution as it is with many other painters: in some cases the most mechanical underdrawing gives rise to a thrilling paint surface and vice versa, a dull, pedestrian paint surface can cover surprisingly inventive or experimental underdrawing. In the present case we see what appears to be a careful tracing of a cartoon, very likely the actual cartoon used for the Bardi altarpiece, with a very steady and firm hand, heightened here and there with freehand accents.⁴ Tellingly, the more awkward parts, such as poorly-defined right knee of the Christ Child are common to both, further arguing in favour of the same cartoon having been used for both. Notwithstanding the above, it is worth pointing out several *pentimenti* where the artist has changed his mind: in the lower left corner on the ledge there is some freehand drawing that may have denoted the original profile of the drapery, subsequently ignored; and the Child's left thumb was conceived bent further back but subsequently brought back into line with the Bardi thumb, to name but two instances.

The transition of a composition from large altarpiece to a smaller work for the purpose of private devotion necessitated an element of reinvention in the background which had to be adapted or completely reinvented to work within the confines of the new smaller, rectangular or circular picture plane. Indeed, it is here in the present painting, in the newly conceived architecture, that we note the most creative aspect of the process. In several areas the original line differs from the subsequent painting, most obviously in the position of the arch above the Madonna's head which was originally conceived to be much lower and flatter. With the naked eye it is easy to pick out a technique common to many Botticellis of this date whereby the architectural elements are carefully drawn in using a stylus in wet gesso. Beyond the architecture one further notable difference with the Bardi altarpiece is in the delicately painted veil and headdress, which here covers more of the Madonna's forehead than in the Bardi altarpiece in a more complex and stratified arrangement. In the Bardi altarpiece we see the parting of her hair which here is covered by the headdress.

The particularly fine condition of the paint surface of this panel was noted by the great connoisseur Herbert Percy Horne (1864–1916) who saw it in the collection of James Mann in Glasgow in 1908. Horne stressed that the Madonna and Child were undoubtedly executed using the same cartoon as the corresponding figures in the Bardi altarpiece. He stopped short however, like some other twentieth-century scholars, of attributing the figures to Botticelli himself, recognising them instead as an outstanding example of Botticelli's *bottega*. As mentioned above, modern scholarship has assessed the workings of the *bottega* rather differently and Nicoletta Pons, to whom we are grateful, has recognised the particularly high quality of, especially, the head of the Madonna, considering it very likely executed by the master himself. Certainly, both the head and raised hand, together with the delicately painted veil and red drapery, are on a different level of quality compared with the execution of the Child and blue drapery, strongly suggesting two different artists at work: master and assistant. Often the patron would explicitly request that some or all of the most important parts be painted exclusively by the master, and this panel would seem quite clearly a case in point. The delicacy of the female head, the exquisiteness of its modelling, and its qualitative closeness to the head of the Virgin in the Bardi altarpiece are, Pons has said, 'sufficient grounds for assuming that Sandro may have directly used his brush to paint the head of the Madonna'.

This lot is sold to benefit Operazione Mato Grosso, a voluntary missionary educational movement that carries out a series of activities in Latin America, educating and helping those most in need.

¹ Private communication.

² Lightbown 1978, vol. II, pp. 66–69, cat. no. B49, reproduced vol. I, plate 31.

³ B.B. Fredericksen and F. Zeri, *Census of Pre-Nineteenth-Century Italian Paintings in North American Public Collections*, Cambridge, MA, 1972, p. 33.

⁴ Though an exact scale comparison has not been undertaken, they do appear to be on the same scale.



5 Benozzo Gozzoli

(Florence circa 1420/22 - 1497 Pistoia)

The Nativity

oil on panel

78 x 56 cm.; 30^{7/8} x 22 in.

PROVENANCE

With Galleria Lorenzelli, Bergamo, by 1964;
Private collection, Geneva, by 1976;
Thence by descent to the present collector.

£ 150,000-200,000

€ 175,000-233,000 US\$ 195,000-260,000

Benozzo Gozzoli was among the protagonists of the Florentine Renaissance and is known to have collaborated with Fra Angelico on the famous frescoes in the convent of San Marco in Florence, as well as the chapel of San Brizio in Orvieto Cathedral. He also specialised in altarpieces and smaller panel paintings such as the present work, painted during his maturity. His most celebrated project is undoubtedly the *Journey of the Magi*, painted in fresco between 1459-61, which covers three walls of the private chapel of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi in Florence. This signed work includes a self-portrait of Benozzo, alongside likenesses of several Medici family members, and is marked by a striking use of bold and vibrant colours.

We are grateful to Professor Filippo Todini for endorsing the attribution and for proposing a date of execution of 1480-90, when the artist was working between Pisa and Pistoia. During this mature phase in his career Benozzo often relied in part on the assistance of his sons. Indeed, Todini proposes that the figures of Joseph and the Christ Child were painted by Benozzo's most gifted son, Alessio di Benozzo, also known as Maestro Esiguo and Alunno di Benozzo.



6 ⚠ Sebastiano Luciani, called Sebastiano del Piombo

(Venice circa 1485 – 1547 Rome)

Portrait of a man in armour,
said to be Ippolito de' Medici

oil on slate

47.5 x 36 cm.; 18^{7/8} x 14^{1/8} in.

£ 1,000,000-1,500,000

€ 1,170,000-1,750,000 US\$ 1,300,000-1,950,000

PROVENANCE

Count Giuseppe Canera di Salasco, Villa
Franceschini Pasini Canera di Salasco di
Arcugnano, Vicenza, Italy;

His deceased sale, Milan, Finarte, 25 February
1986, lot 103 (as Venetian School, 17th century,
Portrait of a Warrior);

Where acquired by the present owner.

LITERATURE

A. Ballarin, 'Un nuovo ritratto su lavagna di
Sebastiano del Piombo', in *Nuovi Studi, Rivista di
arte antica e moderna*, vol. 21, 2015, pp. 71–80,
reproduced in colour pls XV, XVI, and XVII and
figs 108–09, 114, 121, 124, 130 and 132–33 (as
depicting Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici);

A. Cerasuolo, 'Osservazioni sulla tecnica di
Sebastiano del Piombo', in *Nuovi Studi*, 21, 2015,
pp. 81–86;

P. Baker-Bates, "Uno nuovo modo di colorire in
pietra": Technical Experimentation in the Art of
Sebastiano del Piombo', in P. Baker-Bates and
E. M. Calvillo (eds), *Almost Eternal: Painting on
Stone and Material Innovation in Early Modern
Europe, Art and Material Culture in Medieval
and Renaissance Europe*, vol. 10, April 2018,
pp. 53, and 64, reproduced p. 54, fig. 1.4
(incorrectly listed by the publisher as attributed to
Sebastiano);

P. Baker-Bates, 'Technical Experimentation in the
Art of Sebastiano del Piombo: Further Thoughts',
forthcoming (as by Sebastiano del Piombo).

Painted on slate in the first half of the 1530s, this portrait by Sebastiano del Piombo is an extremely rare addition to his corpus of works. Sebastiano was one of the foremost figures of the Italian High Renaissance: he was a pupil of Giorgione, an ally of Michelangelo, and a rival to Raphael. The picture is also one of the very first paintings on slate, since Sebastiano was the pioneer in the use of this novel and unusual support. The artist's Venetian formation in the ambit of Giovanni Bellini and Giorgione imbued him with a sense of colour which he was to blend seamlessly with more classical elements that he later encountered in Rome. He had moved there in 1511 in the retinue of the Sienese banker Agostino Chigi and it was in the *Città Eterna* that he came into contact with Raphael and Michelangelo, forming a very close friendship with the latter and on numerous occasions making use of his drawings and cartoons for his own painted works. After Raphael's death in 1520, Sebastiano was the most celebrated painter in Rome, employed by both the aristocracy and successive popes. He excelled in particular in portraiture, a field in which Giorgio Vasari specifically described him as having no equal.





Fig. 1. Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of a warrior*, 1510–12.
Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford



Fig. 2. Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of Baccio Valori*.
Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Bridgeman images

The portrait reworks Sebastiano's earlier masterpiece (fig. 1) from 1510–12 at the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.¹ Shown half-length, a bearded man in armour gazes directly at the viewer, handsome, confident and powerful. It is one of the best portraits of the Italian High Renaissance and helped establish Sebastiano's reputation. The early history of the Wadsworth picture is not known, so we cannot know whether Sebastiano had direct access to it while working on the subsequent slate or whether, more likely, he made use of an earlier drawing. Painted some twenty years after the Wadsworth portrait, the present work on slate shows how Sebastiano's style had evolved. The design now zooms into the head and shoulders alone and, in keeping with the aesthetic mood of the 1530s, a more mannered approach to the execution is evidenced by the elongated neck and the intensity of expression. Another example of Sebastiano reworking an earlier portrait was recently found in the Doria Pamphilj collection: in the case of the latter, Sebastiano's 1525 three-quarter-length portrait of the Genoese Admiral Andrea Doria, housed in the same collection, was used as the prototype on which the later slate was based and slightly altered in mood, just as in the present work.² A further example of the artist taking a detail of an earlier portrait and reworking it on slate is the unfinished portrait of Clement VII, in Naples, which reproduces just the head of the half-length portrait on canvas of the same sitter at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.³

Sebastiano painted on a wide range of supports during his long career, including canvas and panel and in the medium of fresco. Among his most famous works are the frescoes at San Pietro in Montorio in Rome, as well as those painted for Santa Maria della Pace, Rome, and now at Alnwick Castle.⁴ Arguably his most important contribution to the field, however, was the introduction of stone as a support.⁵ The earliest mention of Sebastiano's use of stone dates to 8 June 1530 in a letter from Vittore Soranzo, the Venetian papal secretary, to Pietro Bembo, the future cardinal:

'You should know that our little Sebastiano the Venetian has found the secret with which to paint in oils on marble in the most beautiful fashion which will make his paintings little less than eternal. As soon as the colours are dry these unite with the marble as if they were turned to stone; every test has been tried and it has proved durable.'

Sebastiano took to his new support with gusto: an inventory of the contents of the artist's studio after his death lists no fewer than 37 paintings on various types of stone. The *Nativity*, from *circa* 1530, in Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome, is painted on *peperino*, a local Roman stone, while the Ubedà *Pietà*, from 1534–39, is painted on slate, which would have come from further afield in Liguria.⁶ Several other religious works from the 1530s are painted on slate, including various treatments of *Christ carrying the Cross* and the *Madonna del Velo* in Naples.⁷ Other examples of portraits on slate survive, including one of the Florentine politician Baccio Valori at the Palazzo Pitti (fig. 2), two of Pope Clement VII, as well as the unfinished double portrait of *Pope Paul III and a nephew*, in Parma.⁸ The portrait of Valori in Florence shows a similar economy of detail to the present work. The directness of the expression and the personality of the sitter are the focus, with the clothing – or in the case of the present work, the armour – just elements to contextualise the wealth or status of the sitter. The flashes of detail seen in the fold of Valori's sleeve are in the present work echoed in the light reflected in the armour.

The sitter is undoubtedly the same man as the one seen in the portrait formerly in the Piasecka Johnson collection in Philadelphia.⁹ Professor Alessandro Ballarin has recently proposed that he should be identified as Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, the nephew of Pope Leo X and cousin of Pope Clement VII. He was to become papal legate as well as Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Curia, perhaps the most lucrative post in all the curia. Between 1524–27 he ruled Florence on behalf of his cousin Giulio, when in 1523 the latter was elected Pope Clement VII. Ballarin specifically compares the likeness of the sitter with Titian's *Portrait of Ippolito de' Medici in Hungarian costume* from 1532 at the Pitti, Florence, as well as the double portrait of *Monsignor Mario Bracci and Ippolito de' Medici* by Girolamo da Carpi, at the National Gallery, London.¹⁰ The present sitter certainly shares similarities with the depictions of Ippolito, though perhaps the hair, the cheek bones and the jawlines do not entirely match.

The attribution has also been endorsed by Keith Christiansen and David Ekserdjian.

¹ C. Strinati (ed.), *Sebastiano del Piombo, 1485–1547*, exh. cat., Rome 2008, pp. 148–49, cat. no. 23, reproduced in colour.

² A.G. De Marchi, *Collezione Doria Pamphilj*, Catalogo generale dei dipinti, Cinisello Balsamo 2016, pp. 341–42, cat. nos FC671 and FC791, both reproduced in colour.

³ For the slate head, see Ballarin 2015, plate 117.

⁴ Strinati in Rome 2008, pp. 248–52, cat. no. 65, reproduced.

⁵ For a fuller discussion of Sebastiano's pioneering work on stone, see P. Baker-Bates in M. Wivel (ed.), *Michelangelo & Sebastiano*, exh. cat., London 2017, pp. 80–85.

⁶ Strinati in Rome 2008, pp. 226–29, cat. no. 55, reproduced in colour, and pp. 240–41, cat. no. 61, reproduced in colour.

⁷ For the three versions of *Christ carrying the Cross* see Strinati in Rome 2008, pp. 236–37, cat. no. 59, reproduced; pp. 238–39, cat. no. 60, reproduced; and pp. 244–45, cat. no. 63, reproduced.

⁸ Ballarin 2015, plate 111.

⁹ Strinati in Rome 2008, pp. 198–99, cat. no. 42, reproduced in colour, and Ballarin 2015, pl. 125.

¹⁰ Ballarin 2015, plates 119 and 120.

7 Altobello Melone

(Cremona circa 1490 - before May 1543)

The Adoration with Saints Francis of Assisi, Catherine of Alexandria, Jerome and Bernardino of Siena, the shepherds and the journey of the Magi beyond

oil on panel

78.4 x 71.2 cm.; 30 x 28 in.

£ 200,000-300,000

€ 233,000-349,000 US\$ 260,000-390,000

PROVENANCE

The Conti Lechi, Brescia;

John Rushout, 2nd Lord Northwick (1770–1859),
Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham;

His posthumous sale, Phillips, on the premises, 3
August 1859, lot 542, for 23 guineas (as Vincenzo
Civerchio) to Colnaghi, possibly on behalf of Drax;

(Presumably) John Samuel Wanley Sawbridge-
Erle-Drax (1800–1887), M.P.;

By descent to his great-nephew, J.C.W.
Sawbridge-Erle-Drax, Olantigh Towers, Wye, Kent;

By whom sold, London, Christie's, 28 June 1929,
lot 88, for 320 guineas to Coureau (as Civerchio);

With Julius Böhler, Munich;

Alfred Hausammann, Zurich;

By whom posthumously sold, London, Christie's,
10 July 2002, lot 113, where acquired by the
present owner for £130,000 (as Altobello Melone).

EXHIBITED

London, New Gallery, *Exhibition of Early Italian Art*,
1893–94, no. 221 (as Civerchio).

LITERATURE

G.F. Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain*, London 1838, vol. III, p. 200 (as Vincenzio Civerchio);

M. Tanzi, 'Novità e revisioni per Altobello Melone e Gianfrancesco Bembo', in *Ricerche di Storia d'Arte*, 1982, 17, pp. 51–52, reproduced fig. 3 (as Melone);

F. Frangi in M. Gregori (ed.), *Pittura a Cremona dal Romanico al Settecento*, Milan 1990, pp. 251–52,
reproduced pl. 49 (as Melone).

Altobello Melone, one of the exponents of the north Italian Renaissance, remained in his native Cremona for the majority of his career. His style leaned heavily towards the Brescian painter Romanino, with whom he is thought to have trained, though strong Venetian influences, particularly the work of Titian and Cima da Conegliano, are evident in his work.

As Tanzi notes, the present work, executed early in the artist's career around 1510, is closely linked to Altobello's *Madonna and Child* in Bergamo, in which the influence of Giorgione is unmistakable. Frangi specifically points to Cima's influence in the present work, linking it to the latter's *Saint Jerome* at the National Gallery, London, particularly in the landscape setting and in the figure of the present kneeling Saint Jerome, who derives from Giovanni Bellini (for both see Literature). Frangi further notes similarities with the young Garofalo, who was active in Ferrara.

In the nineteenth century the picture formed part of the celebrated Northwick collection, which was sold in 1859 and 1860. The collection included countless masterpieces, including an impressive group now in the National Gallery, London: Raphael's *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*; Moretto's *Madonna and Child with Saints*; Francia's *Portrait of Bartolomeo Bianchini*; Beccafumi's *Tanaquil and Marcia*; Carracci's *Domine, Quo Vadis?*; and Lorenzo di Credi's *Madonna and Child*. Nine other pictures from Northwick's collection, including the present work, then passed into another excellent collection, that housed at Olantigh Towers in Kent.



8 Johann Liss

(Oldenburg circa 1595/1600 - 1631 Verona)

The Temptation of Saint Mary Magdalene

oil on canvas

98.8 x 125.8 cm.; 38⅔ x 49½ in.

£ 4,000,000-6,000,000

€ 4,650,000-6,970,000 US\$ 5,200,000-7,800,000

PROVENANCE

Possibly Richard Chauncey (d. 1760), Edgcote, Northamptonshire, and there framed as the overmantel in the former Billiard Room during the re-modelling of the house between 1747–52;

Possibly his son, William Henry Chauncey (d. 1788);

By inheritance with Edgcote to his brother-in-law, Thomas Carter;

Possibly by descent to his granddaughter Julia Aubrey, who married William Ralph Cartwright (1771–1847) of Aynhoe Park, Oxfordshire;

Possibly inherited with Edgcote by his son by his second wife Richard Aubrey Cartwright (1811–1891);

Thence by descent to his grandson Ralph Cartwright (1880–1936);

Anonymous sale ('The Property of a Family Trust'), London, Christie's, 9 December 1994, lot 96;

Acquired in 1995 for the present collection.

LITERATURE

H.A. Tipping, 'Edgcote, Northamptonshire', in *Country Life*, XLVII, 1201, January 1920, reproduced p. 51;

H.A. Tipping, *English Homes. Period V*, vol. I, 1921, p. 296, reproduced pl. 256;

R. Klessmann in *Johann Liss*, exh. cat., Rathaus, Augsburg, 2 August – 2 November 1975, and Cleveland Museum of Art, 17 December 1975 – 7 March 1976, p. 86, under cat. no. A17;

R. Klessmann, 'Johann Liss's *Temptation of the Magdalene*', in *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXVIII, no. 138, March 1996, pp. 187-9, reproduced;

R. Klessmann, *Johann Liss. A monograph and catalogue raisonné*, Doornspijk 1999, p. 143, cat. no. 14, reproduced pls 11 and 12;

A. Bader, *Chemistry and Art. Further adventures of a Chemist Collector*, London 2008, pp. 99–104.

When Johann Liss died in Verona in the winter of 1631, his early death before even his mid-thirties robbed the Baroque of one of its most extraordinary talents. His short life was spent far from his German homeland, in the Netherlands – first Amsterdam, Haarlem and then Antwerp – and then in Italy, in both Rome and Venice. His resulting exposure to the works of Rubens and Jordaens in the north and Caravaggio and the Venetians in the south resulted in an explosive fusion of stylistic trends into a style that mixed drama and brilliant colour with an extraordinary painterly facility. Here Liss typically imparts a very personal twist to the traditional iconography of the penitent Magdalene, portraying her turning away from worldly temptation towards an angel in a design that recalls traditional Netherlandish renderings of the Choice between Vice and Virtue. The exceptional freedom of handling of the paint and the contrasted lighting add a striking element of intense emotional drama to the scene. Though relatively few in number – and extremely rare on the market today – Liss's works had a considerable influence upon the subsequent development of painting as far afield as the Netherlands, France, Italy and Germany well into the eighteenth century. This is one of the finest examples of his work to remain in private hands.

Liss's remarkable style was born from his ability, almost unique among Dutch painters of his generation, to absorb artistic influences from a variety of sources and cultures and fuse them into a distinct and personal vision. According to his biographer, Joachim Sandrart (1606–1688), who knew him personally, Liss came from the extreme north of Germany, the Oldenburg region around Lübeck. His parents Johann and Anna are recorded as painters at the Schleswig court of the Dukes of Holstein, and it is there that he must have obtained his earliest training, before setting out around 1615 on the journey to the Netherlands customary for young German artists. According to Sandrart, between 1615 and 1616 Liss visited Amsterdam, where he aspired to the style of the artist Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) in nearby Haarlem.¹ From there Liss must have travelled to Antwerp around 1617–18, for it was here that he was exposed to the work of Rubens, Jordaens and Abraham Janssens, which was to have a profound impact upon his art. The work of his Flemish contemporaries imparted to Liss a sense of dynamic movement and rhythm that can be felt throughout his subsequent work, especially upon a large scale.

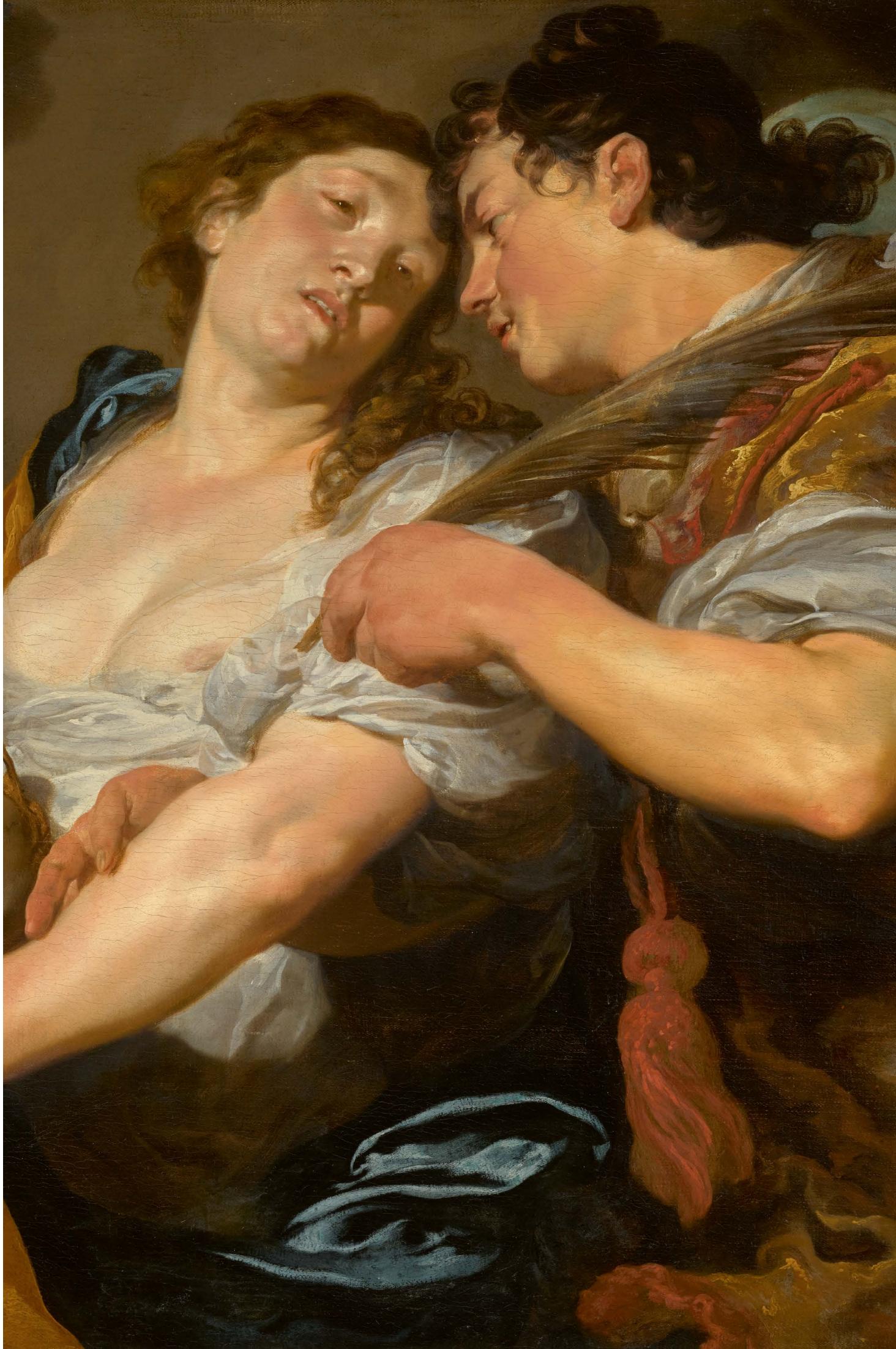








Fig. 1. Johann Liss, *The choice between young and old*, c. 1615.
Pen and bistre wash, 19.5 x 28 cm. Prentenkabinet, Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden.

Liss soon left the Low Countries for Italy, and his inscription on a drawing in Hamburg tells us that he had arrived in Venice by 1621.² Here he would encounter the works of the Roman painter Domenico Fetti (1589–1623), who was then working in the city, whose expressive and painterly brushwork, composition and colour would have a significant influence on his work. Again, his sojourn was a short one, as he continued after a year or so to Rome where, according to Sandrart, he adopted a ‘a completely different manner’. Liss became a member of the *Schilderbent*, the confraternity of Dutch painters working in the city, and here he acquired the nickname ‘Pan’, perhaps as a result of the frank sexuality of his *Prodigal son feasting with harlots* (Germanische Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg), which must date from this period, as the strong influence of Caravaggio and his followers such as Bartolomeo Manfredi is very evident.³ The dramatic realism of Caravaggio is again to the fore in Liss’s astonishing *Judith* in the National Gallery in London (fig. 4), which is generally acknowledged as his masterpiece from his Roman years, although the art of that city would scarcely have prepared the viewer for the onslaught of colour and bravura brushwork it possesses. By the mid-1620s however, Liss seems to have returned to Venice. In this final phase of his short career he was evidently regarded as the heir to Domenico Fetti, who had recently died. His most famous work of this period, the *Dream of Saint Paul* (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie), generally dated to around 1627, surely warrants Sandrart’s observation that Liss had closely looked at the style of Titian, Tintoretto and Veronese as well as that of Fetti.

In this painting, the repentant Mary Magdalene is shown with bare breasts and clasped hands, holding a skull to her body. On the left an Oriental old woman in a turban bows and offers her vessels made of gold, symbols of temptation. The saint’s rich clothing additionally hints at her sinful past. The skull similarly



Fig. 2. Jacob Jordaens, *The Temptation of the Magdalene*, 1616–17.
Oil on panel, 126.2 x 96.8 cm. Art Institute of Chicago.

offers a *vanitas* reminder of the futility of such worldly pleasures. However, the Magdalene averts herself and turns to her left towards an angel, who gently takes her by the arm, at the same time offering a palm frond, which symbolises the heavenly reward that awaits the repentant sinner. Liss's representation of the Magdalene between a temptress and an angel is unusual, and in Klessmann's words 'suggests a wilful fusing of diverse iconographic sources on the artist's part'.⁴ Liss has clearly drawn upon the tradition of genre scenes of matchmaking, which had been popular in the Netherlands since the sixteenth century and which he must have seen in the work of Hendrik Goltzius, such as his *Choice between Young and Old* of around 1587 (Hollstein: Matham 330). An early drawing by Liss of around 1615 in the Prentenkabinet, Rijksuniversiteit in Leiden, follows just this theme (fig. 1).⁵ Two paintings of *The Choice of the Magdalene between Good and Evil*, painted by Jacob Jordaens around 1616, and known in versions at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lille and the Art Institute of Chicago (fig. 2) clearly point to the Flemish origins of the theme.

Liss's depiction of the subject of the *Temptation of the Magdalene* is known in one other version, a replica of slightly larger size today in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden (fig. 3).⁶ Until the appearance of the present canvas at auction in 1994, it was known only from old photographs, and was assumed by Klessmann and other scholars to be a copy of the Dresden canvas. Doubts about the authenticity of the Dresden painting had however surfaced at the time of the 1975 exhibition, and it is now clear the Edgcote painting is the prime original version of the composition.⁷ As Liss's short career lasted for a mere fifteen years, any attempt to establish a real sense of dating for his works is hindered by the fact that few are signed and only one painting – an *Agony in the Garden* formerly in a Swiss private collection – is dated, and that indistinctly to 1628[?].⁸ Michael Jaffé argued



Fig. 3. After Johann Liss, *The Temptation of the Magdalene*.
Oil on canvas, 114 x 134.5 cm. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.

for a very early dating for the present composition to Liss's stay in the Low Countries, correctly pointing out the strong relationship between Liss's design and Jordaeus's treatments of the same subject, as well as the pose of Rubens's *Penitent Magdalene*, today in Vienna, all of which he could well have seen during his putative stay in Antwerp.⁹ However, most scholars concur in assigning a date for this composition to Liss's Roman period, just prior to his departure for Venice in the mid-1620s. Moreover Klessmann points out that no known works by Liss can be securely connected with his putative stay in Antwerp. This argument seems to be well supported on stylistic grounds. The present painting can be most closely compared to other works which are thought to date from this period around 1622 to 1625. These include the famous *Judith* at the National Gallery in London (fig. 4), and notably the closely related *Death of Cleopatra* in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen in Munich (fig. 5).¹⁰ In both paintings we find again the dramatic lighting taken from Caravaggio, but also the painterly delight in rendering the creamy shining satins and folds of the draperies, which would be unthinkable without exposure to Fetti and the Venetians. The influence of Liss' compatriot Johann Carl Loth (1632–1698), then working in Venice, is also noticeable in the Munich canvas. In this and the *Temptation of the Magdalene* the elegance of the composition, the psychological and physical treatment of the subject, and the rich liquid colour have taken Liss's art to a new level altogether, and it is tempting to think that such richness is, in fact, an indication that these particular works might have been painted in Venice rather than Rome. As Neil MacGregor wrote in 1995, 'This is indeed a work of the very highest quality, superbly illustrating Liss's fluid brushwork, his inventive approach to composition and iconography, and his skillful treatment of facial expression... Liss's chromatic juxtaposition of the golden orange of the central figure's drape with the flashes of blue lining recalls similar passages in the later works of Veronese, and adds weight to the assumption that this painting was made in Venice.'¹¹

Despite his short career, Liss's final style, re-invigorated by this second contact with Venice between 1625 and his death, would ensure that the influence



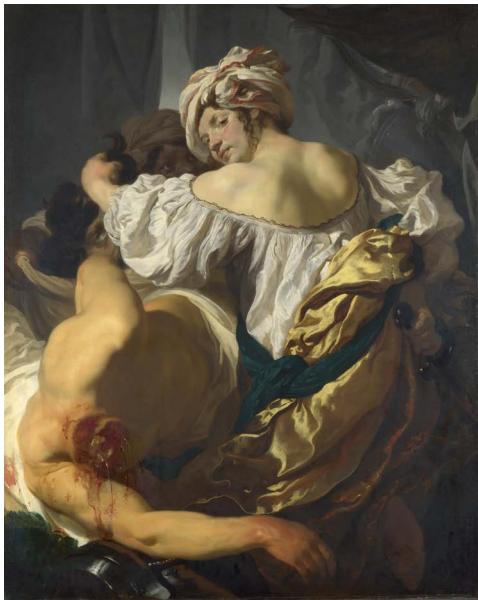


Fig. 4. Johann Liss, *Judith and Holofernes*, 1622–25.
Oil on canvas, 128.5 x 99 cm. National Gallery, London.



Fig. 5. Johann Liss, *The Death of Cleopatra*, 1622–25.
Oil on canvas, 97.5 x 85.5 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.

of his work would extend far beyond his lifetime into the eighteenth century. It is not hard to detect his influence, for example, in the work of Giambattista Piazzetta, to name but one artist. Sandrart, who was with him in Venice at this time, gives us an unusually frank glimpse of the lifestyle and working method of the young painter:

'He was in the habit of thinking a long time before he started on his work but once a problem was resolved nothing could make him sway. When we lived together in Venice he would stay away from the house for two or three days and then come back into the room by night, quickly preparing his palette, mixing the colours the way he wanted them and spend the whole night working. In the daytime he would rest a little and then continue with his work for another two or three days or nights. He hardly rested and hardly ate. No matter how many times I told him he would ruin his health that way and shorten his life, it was no good. He continued that way, staying out several days and several nights – where I do not know – until his purse was empty. Then he continued making the night into day and the day into night.'

The early history of this painting still remains unknown. In 1660 Marco Boschini in his *Carta del navegar pitoresco*, mentions a painting by Liss with the subject of the repentance of Mary Magdalene in the Palazzo Bonfadina in Venice: 'De Gian Lis Madalena dolorosa Che l'Anzolo socore; e in tun canton Ghè quela maledata tentation Che studia in darno a farla ambiciosa' (by Johann Liss the sorrowful Magdalene rescued by the angel; and in a corner behold that cursed temptation seeking perniciously to make her ambitious).¹²

Boschini's description clearly matches the present painting perfectly, but in view of the strong relationship between the Venetian art critic and collector Count Francesco Algarotti (1712–1764) and Augustus III ('The Strong') King of Poland and Elector of Saxony (1670–1733), it has always been assumed by scholars that the canvas he refers to is most likely to be that in Dresden, where Augustus III's collection is now preserved. The picture is first recorded in the collections there in a catalogue of 1765, where it is described as a Magdalene.¹³ The reference

¹ J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675*, A.R. Peltzer (ed.), Munich 1925, p. 187: '...and to take the manner of Heinrich Golzii [Goltzius] himself very seriously'.

² The drawing is inscribed: *Johann Liss Holsacia, A. 1621 a VEN*. Reproduced in K. Steinbart, *Johann Lis. Der Maler aus Holstein*, Berlin 1940, pl. 4.

³ A second version is in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Kassel. For both works see Klessmann 1975–76, pp. 79–84, cat. nos A15 and A16, both reproduced.

⁴ Klessmann 1975–76, p. 84.

⁵ See A. Welcker, 'Bijdrage tot Lissiana I', *Oud Holland*, LXII, 1947, pp. 135–37, reproduced Klessmann 1996, p. 190, fig. 50.

⁶ Canvas, 114 x 131.5 cm. Klessmann 1975–76 pp. 84–85, cat. no. A17, reproduced fig. 17. Although this would indicate that the Dresden painting may have been of larger size, inspection of the present canvas shows that it has been folded over the stretcher and perhaps reduced along both its upper and lower edges. How much, if any, has been lost is impossible to determine.

⁷ See, for example, Richard Spear's review of the Augsburg–Cleveland exhibition in 'Johann Liss reconsidered', *Art Bulletin*, LVIII, 1976, pp. 582–93. Although many of Liss's compositions are known in more than one version – the London *Judith*, for example, is known in multiple versions – the juxtaposition of these during the 1975–76 exhibition demonstrated that in each case only one autograph original was involved. As Liss is not known to have had a studio it seems that these replicas were made without the painter's collaboration.

⁸ Sold London, Christie's, 7 July 1995, lot 106. Another, the *Vision of Saint Jerome*, painted for San Niccolò dei Tolentini in Venice, is documented by Sandrart – who accompanied Liss to Venice – to 1628–29.

⁹ M. Jaffé, in *Jordaens*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1968–69, p. 93, under cat. no. 7.

¹⁰ Klessmann 1975–76, p. 85, cat. A18, reproduced fig. 18 and colour plate III.

¹¹ Quoted in Bader 2008, p. 102.

¹² M. Boschini, *La Carta del Navegar pitoresco*, Venice 1660, p. 567.



Fig. 6. Johann Liss, *The Penitent Magdalene*, 1628–29.
Oil on canvas, 90 x 80 cm. Museum ve Slavkove, Slavkov u Brna.



Fig. 7. Edgcote, Northamptonshire, The Billiard Room,
circa 1920, with the marble chimney piece circa 1750,
showing the *Temptation of the Magdalene*.

¹³ J.A. Riedel and C.F. Wenzel, *Catalogue des tableaux de la Galerie électoral de Dresden*, Dresden 1765, p. 147, no. 745.

¹⁴ Herrn Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach *Merkwürdige reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engelland*, part III, Ulm 1754, pp. 646–47. See also A. Houbraken, *De Grote Schouburgh der nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, Amsterdam 1718–21, P.T.A. Swillens (ed.), Maastricht 1943–53, vol. I, pp. 163–64.

¹⁵ Canvas, 90 x 80 cm. R. Klessmann, 'Addenda to Johann Liss', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXVIII, no. 996, March 1986, p. 192, reproduced fig. 21, and Klessmann 1996, p. 188, reproduced fig. 46.

¹⁶ The chimney piece itself was apparently dismantled around 1925. The apparent folding or trimming of the canvas (see note 6 above) might therefore have been done in order to fit the canvas into its new location.

might equally apply, however, to the present painting, which would suggest that Liss might have painted it in Venice rather than Rome, or at the very least brought the picture with him when he came there. There is only one other possible early reference to a *Magdalene* by Liss. A life-sized *Magdalene* by Liss ('Eine Magdalena, in lebens Grösse von Joh. Liss') is recorded by the German traveller and writer Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (1683–1734) as in the collection of Siewert van der Schelling in Amsterdam in 1711. Houbraken also refers to a work by Liss in the same collection, but is not specific as to its subject.¹⁴ However, this description could equally well apply to another painting of the *Penitent Magdalene* by Liss today in the Slavkov Museum in the Czech Republic (fig. 6).¹⁵ Considered by Klessmann to be a work from Liss's last years in Venice, the *Magdalene* is here depicted alone at half-length, clasping a crucifix with a skull before her. For his design Liss has clearly returned to the central figure of the saint in the present painting. That Liss has employed the same head for this in both pictures suggests, as Klessmann observes, that he may have used the same preparatory drawing for both canvases. No such drawing has, however, survived. In the absence of any further evidence it is not really possible to establish which painting Houbraken may have been referring to. No early provenance is known for the Edgcote picture, but it may very well have come to England during the eighteenth century. Old photographs of the interior at Edgcote show the painting in a fine George II marble chimney piece by (fig. 7), which had formed part of the extensive improvements carried out by Richard Chauncy (d. 1760) in the house between 1747 and 1752.¹⁶ Chauncy was an enormously wealthy cloth merchant and three times Chairman of the East India Company. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the painting might have been part of the original decorative scheme of the 1740s, but there is no certain record of it having been there from that date. A possible clue, however, is provided by the chalk inscription on the stretcher giving the name 'Mr. Carter', which may very well refer to Thomas Carter, a wealthy lawyer from the Inner Temple, the husband of William Henry Chauncy's sister Anna Maria, who had inherited Edgcote from him after his death.

9 **Sebastiano Ricci**

(Belluno 1659 - 1734 Venice)

Arcas and Callisto

oil on canvas

65.2 x 54 cm.; 25 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

£ 200,000-300,000

€ 233,000-349,000 US\$ 260,000-390,000

PROVENANCE

Probably Anonymous sale (The posthumous sale of the collections of Dr Charlton, Bath, and The Countess of Charleville, London), London, Christie's, 5–6 March 1790, second day's sale, lot 17 (as S. Ricci, 'A bear hunting');

H. Burton-Jones;

Richard Buckle, London;

His sale, London, Sotheby's, 31 January 1951, lot 144, for £150, to J. Weyman;

P. Stroud;

By whom sold, London, Sotheby's, 27 November 1963, lot 54, for £700, to

Dr Hans A. Wetzlar, Amsterdam (d. 1970);

Thence by descent to the present owner.

EXHIBITED

London, The Arcade Gallery, *Baroque Paintings*, 3 March – 25 March 1948, no. 26, reproduced (as 'Bear Hunt', lent by Richard Buckle Esq., with two other works by Ricci).

LITERATURE

C. Donzelli and G.M. Pilo, *I Pittori del seicento Veneto*, Florence 1967, p. 350 (here and in all subsequent literature as 'A bear hunt');

J. Daniels, *Sebastiano Ricci*, Hove 1976, p. 64, cat. no. 198;

J. Daniels, *L'opera completa di Sebastiano Ricci*, Milan 1976, p. 133, cat. no. 489, reproduced p. 132;

P. Bagni, *I Gandolfi: affreschi, dipinti, bozzetti, disegni*, Bologna 1992, pp. 338–39, under nos 318–19 and p. 340, cat. no. 320, reproduced;

A. Scarpa, *Sebastiano Ricci*, Milan 2006, p. 166, cat. no. 64, reproduced p. 568, fig. 456.

With its brilliant colour, airy quality and sense of vitality, this bravura piece of painting, dated by Jeffery Daniels to about 1725–30, depicts a unique subject in Sebastiano Ricci's œuvre. First published as a work by Ricci when it was exhibited in London in 1948 and titled 'A bear hunt', it is identified here for the first time as Arcas and Callisto. Near a rocky coastline, a horseman wearing a cuirass with pauldrons – recalling the attire of heroes of classical antiquity – aims his spear at a bear, while steadying his rearing steed. The work's theatricality and shimmering tonality evokes the best qualities of this Venetian painter, who absorbed the spirit of Veronese, transforming it into a new style for an exuberant new age.

In her monograph Annalisa Scarpa suggested that the subject – unusual for Sebastiano – may have been chosen in response to images of bears by his nephew Marco Ricci (1676–1730). A similar bear appears in a tempera painting by Marco in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle,¹ and in an etching by him;² and the motif recurs in another work in tempera, also at the Royal Collection, as well as in an oil painting recorded in the Morandotti collection, Rome.³ In Sebastiano's production, on the other hand, this bear constitutes an isolated instance.⁴ Sebastiano may have painted his subject in a spirit of friendly rivalry with his nephew, as Scarpa suggests but in conception and energy they are poles apart. Marco's bears are shown chasing peasants in wooded settings and serve as a pretext for painting landscapes, whereas Sebastiano's invention is altogether more heroic.





Fig. 1. Johann Wilhelm Baur, *Calisto changed into a bear and brought to heaven*, pl. 19 from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 1641. Etching

The scene differs markedly from the bloody violence of hunting imagery. Here man and beast do not engage in gruesome combat; on the contrary, the focus of the picture is on the arrested moment when the hero takes aim at his prey and although it resonates as an image of strength and daring, the picture's lively characterisation of the bear – the best clue to its true subject – arouses the suspicion that it draws on a literary source rather than a genre subject or historical episode. Indeed, Sebastiano's painting is inspired by an episode from the many sensuous and witty tales of love and lust recounted by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*, specifically the aftermath of the nymph Callisto's seduction (Book II, 409–530). Callisto, one of the goddess Diana's favourites, was transformed into a bear as punishment for falling prey to Jupiter's sexual exploits. Arcas, the son they conceived, now grown up and unaware of his mother's plight, is out hunting one day when he chances upon her. On seeing him, the she-bear stops in her tracks, and, recognizing him, fixes him with her gaze (Sebastiano paints her eyes with deliberate emphasis). The poem goes on to describe how, as she lumbers closer, Arcas is frozen by her stare and is about to kill her with his javelin, were it not for the timely intervention of Jupiter, who transports them both into the heavens, transforming them into constellations: Ursa Major and Ursa Minor.

Sebastiano's relish for painting Ovidian themes is well attested and best demonstrated by his splendid decorative scheme executed sometime between 1712 and 1716 for Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl Burlington, at Burlington House, now the home of the Royal Academy. Diana and her nymphs bathing is the subject of one of the magnificent canvases there and Ricci was to revisit the theme of Diana's discovery of Callisto's pregnancy in one of his most beautiful mythological paintings at the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, also datable to his English period.⁵ Callisto's seduction and her banishment are frequently depicted in art but there are very few treatments of Callisto and her son Arcas and those that are more readily found are prints. One notable example, which Sebastiano may well have known, is the elegant engraving of Arcas preparing to shoot Callisto, after a



Fig. 2. Jacques-Louis David, *Napoleon crossing the Alps*, 1800–01. Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et de Bois-Préau, Rueil-Malmaison

design by Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617); and another is Johann Wilhelm Baur’s etching of 1641, which may have served as the prototype for Sebastiano’s beast; plate 19 of his illustrations to Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* shows Calisto changed into a remarkably similar bear (fig. 1). If this unusual painting once had a counterpart – perhaps Callisto’s seduction by Jupiter in the guise of Diana, a far more common subject – it has yet to come to light.

Ricci’s rider has many glorious antecedents and his legacy is no less formidable. It is impossible to admire this spirited invention without calling to mind the rearing horses of Rubens’s magnificent hunting scenes, powerful images disseminated in prints and celebrated throughout Europe. This painting also evokes the imagery of monumental equestrian statuary. Prisco Bagni, in his monograph on the Gandolfi – the influential Bolognese family of outstanding draughtsmen, painters and teachers – has pointed out the debt to Ricci for two equestrian compositions by Gaetano Gandolfi (1734–1802) that rely on this design by the Venetian master. In one the rider fires a gun at a sculpture and in the other he throws a lance at a statue (both are in private collections).⁶ And nowhere does Ricci’s chosen idiom, that of the rider on a rearing horse, resonate more forcibly than in the grandiose composition by Jacques-Louis David of *Napoleon crossing the Alps*, 1800–01 (fig. 2). That memorable pose encapsulates the young man’s power; and so, as here, the rider on a rearing horse becomes the ultimate action hero.

¹ Inv. no. 3107; M. Levey, *The later Italian pictures in the collection of Her Majesty The Queen*, 2nd ed. London 1991, p. 130, cat. no. 591, pl. 244.

² B. Passamani in *Marco Ricci e gli incisori bellunesi del '700 e '800*, exh. cat., Belluno 1968, pp. 18–19, cat. no. 19, reproduced.

³ Levey 1991, p. 134, cat. no. 610, pl. 264; and *Marco Ricci*, exh. cat., Bassano 1963, no. 27, reproduced.

⁴ According to Daniels, an inferior copy of the lower part of the composition (oil on canvas, 57.8 x 61.9 cm.) was sold in these Rooms, 27 June 1962, lot 77; Daniels 1976, p. 64. A third version, also inferior, is recorded in the Huppert collection, Wiesbaden, December 1983.

⁵ 51 x 72 cm.; Daniels 1976, p. 29, no. 93, reproduced; for colour reproduction see *Sebastiano Ricci*, G. Bergamini (ed.), exh. cat., Udine 1989, pp. 118–19, no. 33.

⁶ Bagni 1992, pp. 338–39, nos 318 and 319, reproduced.

10 Francesco Guardi

(Venice 1712 - 1793)

Venice, a view of the Grand Canal with San Simeone Piccolo

signed centre left: *Frano./ Guardi*

oil on canvas

65.3 x 79.5 cm.; 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 31 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.

£ 1,000,000-1,500,000

€ 1,170,000-1,750,000 US\$ 1,300,000-1,950,000

PROVENANCE

Private collection, Europe;

Thence by descent for over a century until sold,
('The Property of a European Family')London,
Christie's, 9 July 2015, lot 46;

Acquired at the above sale by the present owner.

Only very recently brought to light for the first time, this beautiful depiction of the Grand Canal is a mature work by Francesco Guardi, most probably painted in the 1770s. The far north-western stretch of the Grand Canal, dominated by the neoclassical church of San Simeone Piccolo and its great dome, though not the most famous of Venetian views, was often chosen by Guardi as a subject for his paintings. This canvas is one of a small group of closely related *vedute*, probably also painted in the same decade and taken from the same viewpoint; it is moreover the only signed example known, and certainly the finest to remain in private hands. Its subtle colour harmonies of creams, pinks, blues and greys, and its wonderful capture of the atmospheric qualities of Venetian light, attest to Guardi's mastery of his subject, but equally noteworthy are his closely observed details of everyday life upon the canal. In the right foreground, for example, floats a *traghetto* or longboat, with its passengers standing patiently as they are ferried across the famous waterway from the nearby crossing point beside the church of the Scalzi.

Guardi's view here looks south-west towards the entrance to the Grand Canal itself, which lies just around the bend. The time of day is presumably morning, for the light is falling across the buildings from the east. The composition is dominated by the great church of San Simeone Piccolo, whose huge dome looms over its monumental steps and vestibule. The way in which Guardi has captured the effects of the sunlight striking the church is one of the most sublime passages in the painting. Rebuilt between 1718 and 1738 by Giovanni Antonio Scalfarotto and still standing today, San Simeone was the last great church to be built in Venice and stood in what was then one of the city's poorer quarters. We can follow the left bank of the canal as it stretches along the Fondamenta di San Simeone Piccolo, passing beyond the church to the bridge over the Rio dei Tolentini and then leading to the church and monastery of Santa Croce, which were both destroyed around 1810. The opposite right bank shows the Church of Santa Lucia, which, together with the surrounding buildings, was also later demolished to make way for the railway station that bears its name. Guardi's viewpoint must have been from the Grand Canal itself, very close to the church of the Scalzi (which would be just out of sight on the right-hand side of the view) and near the junction of the canal and the Rio dell'Isola. In his choice of viewpoint Guardi may have been influenced by Canaletto's painting of the same prospect, today in the Royal Collection at Windsor, and which he would have known from Visentini's popular engraving, published in 1735. This view is however taken from a more distant standpoint, and includes the church of the Scalzi on the right, which Guardi has omitted.









Fig. 1, Francesco Guardi, *Canal Grande con S. Simeone Piccolo e gli Scalzi*, pen and ink wash, 375 x 625 mm. Private collection, Zurich



Fig. 2, Francesco Guardi, *Venice, the Grand Canal with San Simeone Piccolo*. 1770s. Oil on canvas, 67.3 x 91.5 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection.*

Guardi's awareness of Canaletto's design is also suggested by what appears to be his first exploration of this subject, a large signed drawing, today in a private collection in Zurich (fig. 1).¹ This is likewise taken from a standpoint further back similar to that chosen by Canaletto and includes the church of the Scalzi. Morassi suggests that the drawing may also have served originally as a preliminary study for an engraving. Whether this is true or not, it certainly seems to have served as the prototype for all Guardi's painted versions of this subject. Aside from the present work, the most important of these include a slightly larger canvas (67.3 x 91.5 cm.) in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (fig. 2); a slightly shorter version at the Akademie in Vienna (63 x 90 cm.); and a smaller version in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in Madrid (48 x 78 cm.).² All the pictures share the same slightly elevated viewpoint but the design of the present painting brings the spectator forward and much closer to the church of San Simeone, consequently giving the composition a slightly more vertical emphasis than the others in the group. In each of the other canvases Guardi extended the composition to the right to include the buildings alongside the church of Santa Lucia; in those in Philadelphia and Vienna these take the form of a small chapel[?] and in Madrid a group of old houses. Several of the gondolas which appear in the foreground of each of these pictures can be sourced in the drawing, and it seems likely that Guardi referred to the latter for these elements in each painting, rather than using it as a preparatory study for one in particular. In the present canvas, for example, we can find the *traghetto*, which we see in the lower right-hand corner, as well as the two gondolas with their figures that lie in its path. Another drawing by Guardi of this prospect of the canal in pen and brown ink was sold New York, Christie's, 13 January 1993, lot 57, but again this does not seem to be specifically preparatory for any of the pictures in the group.

The general consensus among scholars is that all the pictures in this group are likely to be mature works by Guardi, painted in the 1770s. Two of the paintings in this group, those in the Thyssen Collection and the Akademie in Vienna, still retain their original pendants. In each case these are views of the opposite side of the Grand Canal, looking across to the church of Santa Lucia and then up to the convent and church of the Scalzi (*Santa Maria di Nazareth*).³ Guardi must have taken his view of San Simeone Piccolo from this last point, just at the juncture of the Grand Canal with the small Rio dell'Isola e Sabbioni. This last landmark was filled in during the nineteenth century but the church of the Scalzi survived. Whether either the present painting or that in Philadelphia also originally had a companion is not known.

¹ A. Morassi, *Guardi. I Disegni*, Venice 1973, p. 147, no. 385.

² A. Morassi, *Guardi I Dipinti*, Venice 1993, vol. I, pp. 418–19, nos 578, 579, and 580, reproduced vol. II, figs 552, 553, 554 and 556. Three further variants in reduced format are also recorded by Morassi with Tooth in London and in private collections in New York and Paris (Morassi 1993, nos 581–83).

³ Morassi 1993, vol. I, p. 419, nos 584 and 585, reproduced vol. II, figs 555 and 557.



11 Joseph Mallord William Turner, R.A.
(London 1775 - 1851)

Landscape with Walton
Bridges

oil on canvas

87.5 x 118 cm.; 34 1/2 x 46 1/2 in.

£ 4,000,000-6,000,000
€ 4,650,000-6,970,000 US\$ 5,200,000-7,800,000

PROVENANCE

Sophia Caroline Booth (1798–1875), the artist's landlady and companion in later life;

By whom given to her son, Daniel John Pound (d. 1894);

His sale, London, Christie's, 25 March 1865, lot 195, to Agnew;

With Thomas Agnew & Sons, London;

By whom sold to John Mountjoy Smith (1805–1869);

Bought back from his executors by Agnew in 1870;

With Thomas Agnew & Sons, London;

By whom sold, in 1871, to John Graham (1797–1886), Skelmorlie Castle, Ayrshire;

His sale, London, Christie's, 30 April 1887, lot 90, for 1,100 guineas to Agnew;

With Thomas Agnew & Sons, London;

By whom sold, in May 1887, to Junius Spencer Morgan (1813–1890);

By descent to his son, John Pierpont Morgan Sr. (1837–1913);

By descent to his son, John Pierpont Morgan Jr. (1867–1943);

By descent to his son, Henry Sturgis Morgan (1900–1982);

His sale ('Property from the Estate of Henry S. Morgan'), Sotheby's Parke-Bernet, New York, 28 October 1982, lot 1.

Landscape with Walton Bridges is one of a highly important, late group of roughly ten paintings by J.M.W. Turner, painted in the last ten years of the artist's life. Loosely handled and light-filled, they are inspired by compositions found in the *Liber Studiorum*, the unfinished series of engraved views that had occupied much of Turner's creative imagination between *circa* 1807 and 1819 and which are considered one of his most significant artistic achievements. This is the only one to remain in private hands. Based on the composition of plate thirteen of the original *Liber* designs, published by the artist in 1808 under the title *The Bridge in the Middle Distance*, the central motif of this painting was correctly identified by Martin Butlin as the distinctive double span of Walton Bridges, a subject that the artist had previously treated twice before in oils, in 1806 and 1807, and was clearly of significant meaning to Turner.

This painting is one of only a very small handful of late works to have left Turner's studio, given to his partner and landlady Sophia Booth, with whom Turner lived in Margate and London during the last years of his life. In 1887 it was bought by the great American financier and collector Junius Spencer Morgan, acquired in the last years of his life together with his son, John Pierpont Morgan – probably the greatest art collector in American history – and spent the next hundred years as one of the jewels in the crown of the celebrated Morgan Collection in New York.







EXHIBITED

- London, Thomas Agnew & Sons, *An Exhibition on Behalf of the Artists' General Benevolent Institution*, November–December 1913, no. 15;
- New York, M. Knoedler & Co., *Gainsborough and Turner*, 14–31 January 1914, no. 38;
- New York, M. Knoedler & Co., *Exhibition of paintings: collection of J.P. Morgan, for the benefit of the Citizens Committee for the Army and Navy*, 23 November – 11 December 1943, no. 39;
- London, Thomas Agnew & Sons, *The Heroic Age*, June–August 1984, no. 58.

LITERATURE

- G. Rawlinson, *Turner's 'Liber Studiorum'*, London 1878, pp. 32–33, no. 13 (for the etching 'the Bridge in the Middle Distance or The Sun Between Trees');
- Sir W. Armstrong, *Turner*, London 1902, p. 223 (as *Italy*, c. 1840–45), reproduced opp. p. 174;
- H. Ward and W. Roberts, *Pictures in the Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan at Prince's Gate and Dover House*, London 1907, n.p., reproduced (as *Italy: Bridge in the Middle Distance*);
- B. Falk, *Turner the Painter: His Hidden Life*, London 1938, p. 237;
- M. Kitson, 'Un nouveau Turner au Musée du Louvre', in *La Revue du Louvre*, no. 4–5, Paris 1969, pp. 254–55;
- M. Butlin and A. Wilton (eds), *Turner: 1775–1851*, exh. cat., London 1974, p. 67;
- M. Butlin and E. Joll, *The Paintings of J. M. W. Turner*, 2 vols, London 1977, text vol., p. 269, no. 511; plates vol., reproduced in colour pl. 497;
- H. Preston, *London and the Thames: Paintings of Three Centuries*, exh. cat., London 1977, discussed under catalogue entry no. 45;
- A. Wilton, *J.M.W. Turner: His Art and Life*, New York 1979, p. 294, no. P511;
- E. Shanes, 'Recent Books', in *Turner Studies*, vol. I, no. 1, 1981, p. 46;
- M. Butlin, 'Turner's late unfinished oils: Some new evidence for their late date', in *Turner Studies*, vol. I, no. 2, 1981, pp. 43–45;
- A. Butlin and E. Joll, *The Paintings of J.M.W. Turner, Revised Edition*, 2 vols, London 1984, text vol., pp. 299 and 301, no. 511; plates vol., reproduced in colour pl. 513;
- E. Shanes, 'The true subject of a major late painting by J.M.W. Turner identified', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. CXXVI, no. 974, May 1984, p. 287 n. 12;
- E. Shanes, 'Liber Studiorum, oils based on', in E. Joll, M. Butlin and L. Hermann, *The Oxford Companion to J.M.W. Turner*, Oxford 2001, p. 170.



Fig. 1. J.M.W. Turner, *Norham Castle, Sunrise*. Tate Gallery, London

Seemingly inspired by a sense of sheer delight in the working of paint, these visionary, experimental late works are essentially explorations of the effects of light and were retained by the artist for the development of his art. As Butlin, Shanes and Blayney Brown have all discussed, today this group of late works are among the most widely appreciated of Turner's late paintings and include what has become one of his best loved works, *Norham Castle, Sunrise* (Tate Britain, London, N01981, fig. 1). Whether this group of late *Liber* oils can really be considered 'pictures' by Turner's definition – i.e. a finished, exhibitable painting – or whether they test a redefinition is ultimately unanswerable. Equally difficult to answer is the question of what inspired these works. Was it memory, either art-historical, cultural or his own experiences as a traveller, that inspired such electrifying excursions in paint; or was it simply a profound enjoyment in the handling of his materials that drove him to revisit and reinvent some of his fondest works? Turner sold remarkably few of his exhibited paintings produced towards the mid-1840s, with several sales falling through as new collectors reneged on their purchases, and it would seem that he turned increasingly to painting essentially for himself.¹ Nevertheless, handled with a formal sophistication, a remarkable tonal subtlety and a striking intensity of colouring, this group of late *Liber* compositions arguably forms 'the most impressive of the late groups of related images by Turner' and are 'perhaps the supreme expression of the artist's idealism'.²

In addition to this picture, the other eight paintings that are unanimously agreed to belong to this group include: *Inveraray Pier. Loch Fyne: Morning* (Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven), derived from plate 35 of the *Liber Studiorum* views; *Norham Castle, Sunrise* (previously mentioned), from *Liber* plate 57; *The Falls of the Clyde* (Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, Liverpool), from *Liber* plate 18; *Landscape: Woman with Tambourine* (Tochigi Prefectural Museum, Japan, fig. 5), from *Liber* plate 3; *Sunrise, a Castle on a Bay: 'Solitude'* (Tate Gallery, London), from plate 53 of the *Liber Studiorum*; *The Ponte delle Torri, Spoleto* (Tate Gallery, London, fig. 2), from *Liber Studiorum* plate 43, where it is given the title *Bridge and Goats; Europa and the Bull* (Taft Museum, Cincinnati), from the frontispiece of the *Liber Studiorum*; and *Landscape with a River and a Bay in the distance* (Musée du Louvre,



Fig. 2. J.M.W. Turner, *Bridge with Goats: The Ponte delle Torri, Spoleto*. Tate Gallery, London

Paris), also referred to by its *Liber* title *Junction of the Severn and Wye*, though the oil composition is much simplified, which is based on plate 28.³

In addition to this group of large-scale oil paintings based on *Liber* subjects, Turner painted a further thirteen similarly ground-breaking oils, apparently for his own enjoyment and experimentation, that were never exhibited, at least three of them Alpine views.⁴ Together with the *Liber* group, they constitute a body of twenty-three of the artist's most significant late works. Most of these pictures were bequeathed to the British nation under the terms of the artist's will, and today fourteen of them are housed at the Tate Gallery as part of the Turner Bequest. Another eight are in major museums around the world; including two in Liverpool (one at the Walker Art Gallery and one, previously mentioned, at the Lady Lever Art Gallery); one at the Louvre in Paris; and three in public galleries in the United States of America. This painting is the only one to remain in a private collection.

Walton Bridge crosses the Thames between Sunbury and Shepperton Locks, under twenty miles south-west of London, connecting Walton-on-Thames on the south bank with Shepperton, Halliford and Sunbury on the north. The bridge depicted by Turner was the second bridge to cross the Thames at Walton. Designed by John Payne with the advice of John Smeaton, it was built in 1788 to replace an earlier wooden bridge which had been made famous in a series of paintings by Canaletto in the mid-1750s.⁵ The elegant stone arches of the second bridge were a favourite subject among artists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and much admired for their picturesque qualities. Famously, it appeared in Boydell's *History of the Thames*, illustrated through a series of hand-coloured aquatints published between 1774 and 1776 by Turner's friend and fellow artist, the celebrated diarist Joseph Farington (1747–1821); and was described by James Thorne in *Rambles by Rivers: The Thames*, published in 1849, as a 'long straggling combination of arches called Walton Bridge. It is in fact a sort of double bridge, a second set of arches being carried over a low tract of ground, south of the principal bridge, which crosses the river. According to popular tradition this marshy tract was the original bed of the Thames'.

In 1804 or early 1805 Turner had moved out of the London to Isleworth, seeking solace from political infighting at the Academy (to which he had recently



Fig. 3. J.M.W. Turner, *Walton Bridges*. Private Collection © Sotheby's

been elected a full member of the council) and attempting to distance himself from the professional rivalries of his contemporaries, taking the lease on Sion Ferry House, right on the banks of the Thames. He had known these picturesque reaches of the Thames as a boy growing up nearby at Brentford and the river at Isleworth was to him what the Stour at Dedham was to Constable. During his time at Sion Ferry House, Turner had spent a productive series of summers sketching along the course of the Thames, using a small boat to navigate the river, and numerous drawings of Walton Bridge appear in his sketchbooks around 1806–07. It was also here that he first experimented with painting oil sketches *en plein air*, as the Impressionists were to do over half a century later, and Turner produced two large-scale exhibition oil paintings of Walton Bridges at this time: one that he sold to the Earl of Essex (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne); and the other which was bought by Sir John Fleming Leicester (sold in these rooms, 4 July 2018, lot 21, fig. 3).

Here, however, revisiting the subject forty years later, Turner sets the bridge in an idealised, Italianate landscape of his own imagining. Indeed, for many years this painting was wrongly believed to be an Italian view and went unrecognised as relating to the series of late *Liber* compositions. Armstrong catalogued it simply under the title *Italy*, and Kitson also pointed out that the composition is remarkably Italianate in its topography. The subject is one for which Turner held a special affection, exploring as it does that staple of classical landscape, a bridge in the middle distance, in a suitably arcadian landscape. Consequently, we see Turner, right at the very end of his career, returning once again to Claude – the artistic gift that kept on giving – and a genre that he classified as the epic or elevated pastoral. It has been suggested that this return to such idyllic subject matter, particularly when so many of Turner's late landscapes seem to demonstrate an obsession with scenes of natural disaster – such as fire, avalanche or storm – shows Turner reaffirming his faith in Nature in her more tranquil moods and showing to the world that there was still a place for a softer form of romanticism in the landscape painter's repertoire.



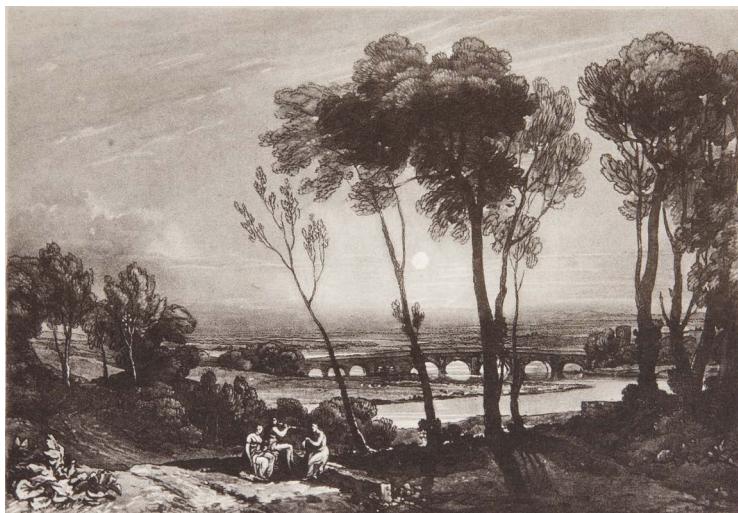


Fig. 4. C. Turner after J.M.W. Turner, *The Bridge in the Middle Distance*, 1808.
Plate 13 of the *Liber Studiorum*

THE LIBER STUDIORUM

Considered for half a century after his death to be one of the most significant achievements of Turner's career, the *Liber Studiorum*, or 'Book of Studies', was an unfinished series of engravings after his designs, supervised and published by the artist himself. Inspired by Claude Lorrain's collection of drawings known as the *Liber Veritatis*, it consumed a great deal of his energies for nearly twenty years and became a lifelong preoccupation. Turner probably had the idea for such a project, as a vehicle for disseminating his work to a wider public, for some time, having produced designs for engraving from the very start of his career, however he did not start work on the series until 1807/8. Publication of the plates ceased in 1819, however, the year of Turner's departure for Italy on the first of his grand continental sketching tours, which would dominate much of his time over the next twenty years.

As Sir Nicholas Serota has commented, during his own lifetime Turner's primary means of communication with the public at large was through engravings.⁶ While his paintings were seen by those who visited the exhibitions of the British Institution and the Royal Academy – royalty, the aristocracy, connoisseurs and wealthy collectors – and the private gallery he set up in Marylebone was frequented by a close knit group of patrons and friends, by means of the illustrated topographical tour or souvenir Annual he could reach everyone with access to a library. As such Turner's works (and his celebrated status as Europe's greatest landscape painter that was founded upon them) were best known to the contemporary public through engraved reproductions, rather than the works themselves. From very early on in his career he had been well aware of the role engravings could play in popularising his work. Indeed, with the level of skill among English engravers of the period and the pioneering techniques that were being perfected in London at the time, Turner recognised printmaking as one of the greatest channels of communication available to the British artist – both as a way of increasing his celebrity and as a vehicle for communicating his ideas about landscape painting.

In 1845, twenty-six years after he had abandoned the original project, John Ruskin, Turner's long-standing patron and champion, ordered a complete set of *Liber* prints, inspiring the artist to have his London printer, McQueen's, run off fifteen new sets of the published plates in May and June of that year, even

though the copper plates were by then very badly worn. The artist must have overseen the printing himself, for, as Shanes has argued, the original mezzotint would have degraded considerably and unless the artist was on the spot to dictate how the new overlaying mezzotint was carried out, very little in the way of coherent imagery could have been obtained from the plates at all. It was perhaps this episode that rekindled Turner's interest in the *Liber* project and might naturally have provided him with the required inspirational stimulus to embark on a group of paintings based upon *Liber* subjects. The spare lines and empty white spaces of the preliminary etchings could well have suggested to Turner images that he might take further, particularly with a tendency towards bright light. Indeed, one of the most discernible characteristics of Turner's work throughout his career was a continuous 'desire to re-invigorate his art by reworking the layout and design of earlier pictures, bringing to the new versions the latest benefits of his continuing development'.⁷

In 1981 Martin Butlin demonstrated beyond doubt that *Norham Castle* dated from after 1844,⁸ and in their revised edition of the catalogue raisonne of Turner's work, both Butlin and Joll accepted that the whole late *Liber* group probably dates to sometime in the mid- to late 1840s.⁹ In 1984 Shanes went further to suggest an order in which they were painted, based on the apparent differences in their handling, between 1845 and 1848. He considered *Landscape with Walton Bridges*, which he preferred to call by the title assigned to the composition of plate thirteen in the original *Liber* engravings – *The Bridge in the Middle Distance* (fig. 4) – to be the sixth in the series of nine works certainly derived from *Liber* compositions, therefore suggesting a date of *circa* 1846–47. Upon further consideration, however, Shanes moderated this view, deciding that it was dangerous to posit such a creative progression upon the immensely subtle painterly differences between the works, all of which employ extremely soft glazes applied over fairly non-absorbent grounds. Instead he considered it likely that they were all painted at around the same time and suggested that they should probably be viewed as a cohesive series, given that the entire set is painted on Turner's favoured three-foot by four-foot format. Very possibly worked on simultaneously, 'in the late *Liber* series we can certainly witness the inception of a group of pictures that triumphantly sum up [Turner's] life's achievement by renewing images from a set of works in which he had earlier consciously set out to survey the entire range of his art'.¹⁰

TURNER'S LATE PAINTINGS

Turner is one of those preeminent figures that mark the pages of history – like da Vinci, Darwin, Picasso or Einstein – who changed the way we see and think about the world. An artist rooted in the aesthetic philosophy and culture of his time, perpetually engaged with the art of both his predecessors and contemporaries, he was at the same time possibly the first 'modern' painter; he directly inspired the impressionism of the nineteenth century and presaged the abstract expressionism of the twentieth. The development of his art, particularly in the last fifteen years of his life, with its bold application of colour, its treatment of light and the deconstruction of form, revolutionised the way we perceive the painted image, and the way we think about what a painting is, or should be. By applying the techniques he perfected in watercolour to the use of oil, with successive layering of translucent colour thinly applied to the surface, which imbue his canvases with a rich, hazy light, he gave his works a potency and power that had never been achieved before, and has seldom since. Every artist who has held a brush in the last 160 years owes a debt to Turner. His influence is immeasurable. Turner's late works – the pictures he produced from the 1830s until his death in 1851 – are considered to be the artist's supreme achievement. It is upon these pictures that his artistic significance ultimately rests.





Fig. 5. J.M.W. Turner, *Landscape: Woman with a tambourine*.
Tochigi Prefectural Museum of Fine Arts, Japan. Bridgeman Images

As Professor Sam Smiles has commented, Turner's 'setting free of paint' should be seen not as some rash reaction to the decrepitude of old age, or the sudden vagaries of an increasingly eccentric visionary, but as a 'continued development of ideas about painting that he had refined over the course of his career'.¹¹ The significance of Turner's achievement was in 'elaborating a convincing way of representing natural phenomena in all their complexity'. What his critics 'attacked as incomprehensible or fantastic should properly be understood as a further development of a credo he had adopted throughout his career when attempting to engage with the diversity of material substance and visual perception. Turner's pictures are multifaceted and their meanings sometimes elusive primarily because he did not use painting to illustrate a subject (as was true of so many of his contemporaries), but instead made the best use of what painting can do as a means of distilling experience and conveying ideas'.¹² The titles of his work and the iconography within them are merely there to prompt chains of thought and associations within the viewer's mind, however they 'do not exhaust a picture's meaning; it is in the texture of the painting, the disposition of forms, the articulation of space, the orchestration of colour and the structures of the painted surface that the meaning is embodied and from which it will emerge when the viewer is fully engaged with the work'. What is apparent in all of Turner's works is 'the sense of a highly creative mind grappling with the problem of finding a more adequate way of representing what he knew, drawing on all his technical resources to develop an image rich enough to accommodate what he had discerned'.¹³

The world which Turner's late works inhabit is above all dynamic. They present us with an environment that is mutable, ever changing, 'where solid forms become tremulous in light, water turns into vapour, diurnal and seasonal rhythms of light transmogrify the landscape they illuminate. This ever-shifting world is the stage on which humanity plays out its destiny'. There is no sense in Turner's final works that his brush was 'free to be autonomous, such that subject matter was merely the excuse for a dazzling display of painterly invention'. Far from it, indeed it was his very 'understanding of what unrestricted practise would permit' which gave him scope to 'tackle subjects whose complexity could not have been revealed in any other medium'. If there is a modernist lineage in these last works, it is based not just on the virtuosity of his brushwork, but on the fact that subsequent generations have recognised in his work an unshakable commitment to the image 'as an important contributor to the development of knowledge, articulating truths that were inexpressible in any other way'.¹⁴

NOTE ON PROVENANCE

Exactly how, and why, the group of late oils that were not included in the artist's bequest to the nation made it out of Turner's Chelsea studio remains unclear. It has always been assumed that most, if not all of them must have been given to, or were taken by, Sophia Caroline Booth, the artist's landlady and companion in later years. In his will of 1846 Turner appointed Sophia co-custodian of his gallery, together with Hannah Danby, his long-time housekeeper at Queen Anne Street, and artists who called on her after Turner's death found the walls of her house in Chelsea at 6 Davis Place (now Cheyne Walk), covered with pictures. Both the Louvre *Landscape with a River and a Bay in the distance* (B&J 509) and the Walker Art Gallery *Landscape with River and Distant Mountains* (B&J 517) have been rolled up at some stage and Butlin and Joll suggested they may have formed part of a bundle removed in this way from Turner's studio, probably by either Sophia or John Pound, her son from her first marriage to Henry Pound, a mariner who drowned at sea.¹⁵

Certainly, this painting was one of at least eleven late oils by Turner, and numerous watercolours, that Sophia and John sold at Christie's in March 1865, where it was bought by the leading London art dealers Thomas Agnew & Sons. Agnew's sold it to John Mountjoy Smith (1805–1869), together with *Landscape: Woman with a Tambourine* (fig. 5) – another of the late *Liber* oils in the Booth/Pound sale which has often been considered a pendant to *Landscape with Walton Bridges* on account of their similar composition and corresponding yellowy evening light. Smith was part of a dynasty of London dealers and collectors, and already owned Turner's *Approach to Venice* (National Gallery of Art, Washington), which he had bought from Agnew's two years earlier in 1863. Agnew's bought all three paintings back from his executors in 1870 and the following year sold *Landscape with Walton Bridges* to John Graham (1797–1886) of Skelmorlie Castle in Ayrshire. Graham was a successful Glasgow textile and port wine merchant, co-founder of the celebrated port house W & J Graham's of Oporto. A great patron of the Arts, with an outstanding collection of paintings mostly by modern masters, many of the British School, Graham had taken the lease of Skelmorlie Castle, on the eastern shore of the Firth of Clyde, from the Montgomery family in 1852 and commissioned the architect William Railton to carry out extensive refurbishments, including the building of the main mansion house seen today. His collection included a number of other major oil paintings by Turner, including the celebrated early seascape known as *Van Goyen, looking out for a subject* (now at the Frick Collection, New York); the great Italian landscape entitled *Mercury and Argus* (now in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa); and *The Wreck Buoy* (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool). Other artists represented in his collection included David Roberts, Gainsborough, Reynolds, Landseer, J.S. Cotman, Millais, Rossetti and Burne-Jones.

Following his death, the painting again came up for sale at Christie's, in April 1887, and was once more bought by Thomas Agnew & Sons. The following month they sold it swiftly on to Junius Spencer Morgan, the great American financier and founder of the Morgan banking dynasty. Junius was, by this stage, in his mid-seventies and it seems likely that, as with many of his art purchases in the last years of his life, the picture was bought in conjunction with his more famous son, John Pierpont Morgan – the dominant figure in Anglo-American corporate finance and industrial consolidation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and founder of the bank that still bears his name. J.P. Morgan's collecting tastes can only be described as encyclopaedic, encompassing virtually the entire range of artistic and human achievement in Western civilization, from antiquity to his own day – and he collected on a vast scale. Many of his books, paintings, clocks and other works of art he loaned or gave to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, of which he was both President and a major force in establishing, while others he



Fig. 6. A famous 1911 cartoon showing John Pierpont Morgan, one of the wealthiest men in the world, with a large magnet in the shape of a dollar sign drawing paintings and works of art from Europe over the Atlantic to America. Bridgeman Images

hung in his houses in both New York and London. The majority of his collection of autograph manuscripts and drawings today forms the nucleus of the Pierpont Morgan Library, set up by his son, J.P. Morgan Jr., as a memorial to his father. Together with his contemporary, Andrew William Mellon (1855–1937), J. P. Morgan was probably one of the greatest art collectors in American history. The painting remained in the Morgan family's private collection for very nearly one hundred years, until it was offered for sale in New York at Sotheby's in 1982.

¹ For a full discussion of this group of late works by Turner see David Blayney Brown's essay 'Reflection and Retrospect', in *Late Turner. Painting Set Free*, the catalogue to the 2014 Tate Britain exhibition of the same name.

² Shanes 2001, p. 169.

³ A putative eleventh, *Landscape with river and distant mountains* (B&J 517, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool), may comprise the rudimentary beginnings of a reworking of plate 8 in the *Liber Studiorum*, entitled *The Castle above the Meadows*, published in 1808, but this is not a universally accepted view.

⁴ See Butlin and Joll 1984, nos 520–32.

⁵ The most famous version of which now hangs at the Dulwich Picture Gallery, London.

⁶ See Nicholas Serota's forward to *Colour into Line: Turner and the Art of Engraving*, A. Lyles and D. Perkins (eds), exh. cat., Tate, London 1989.

⁷ Shanes 1984, p. 288.

⁸ Butlin 1981, pp. 43–45.

⁹ Butlin and Joll, 1984, p. 299.

¹⁰ Shanes 1984, p. 288.

¹¹ S. Smiles, 'Turner in and out of time', in *Late Turner – Painting Set Free*, exh. cat., London 2014, pp. 21–22.

¹² Smiles in London 2014, p. 21.

¹³ Smiles in London 2014, p. 23.

¹⁴ Smiles in London 2014, p. 22–23.

¹⁵ See Butlin and Joll, nos 509 and 517.

12 South German School, probably Ulm, early 16th century

Portrait of the architect Moritz Ensinger (c. 1430–1482/3)

bears date: 1482 and charged with the sitter's coat of arms

oil on limewood [?] panel

37.5 x 25 cm.; 14¾ x 9½ in.

£ 60,000-80,000

€ 70,000-93,000 US\$ 78,000-104,000

PROVENANCE

Probably Heinrich Hermann Eusebius Graf von Kageneck (1738–1790), Schloss Munzingen, near Freiburg;

Heinrich Graf von Kageneck (1774–1829), Schloss Munzingen, near Freiburg, by 1794 (as by Lucas Cranach);

Thence by descent to Heinrich Graf von Kageneck (1835–1887), Schloss Munzingen, near Freiburg;

Probably his son Heinrich Graf von Kageneck (1870–1937), Schloss Munzingen, near Freiburg;

With Galerie Steinmeyer, Cologne, 1906;

Berlin art market, 1907;

Dr Hans Conrad Ferdinand Bodmer (1891–1956), Zürich, who acquired the work *circa* 1916–18 (as by Michael Wolgemut);

Thence by inheritance to his daughter Charlotte Schürch Bodmer;

By inheritance to her son Hans Cäsar Schürch, the husband of the present owner

LITERATURE

Verzeichnis von Gemälden der berühmtesten niederländischen, französischen und deutschen Meister welche aus der gräflich heinrich von Kageneckischen Verlassenschaft in Freyburg gegen bare bezahlung zu verlaufen sind,
Freiburg 1794, p. 22, no. 194: '- ein Portrait eines Mathematikers mit dem Zirkel in der Hand von Lucas Kranac';

Probably H. Thode, *Die Malerschule von Nürnberg im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1891, p. 208 (as dated 1483);

F. Dörnhoffer, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der älteren Nürnberger Malerei', in *Repertorium für Kunsthissenschaft*, 29, 1906, p. 465;

This is a rare and unusually accomplished example of the type of architect portraits that seems to have enjoyed a certain vogue in Germany in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and which reflected the fame of the builders of the great Gothic cathedrals. It depicts the celebrated Swabian architect and stonemason Moritz Ensinger (c. 1430–1482/3), who worked as the *Dombaumeister* (Cathedral Master Builder) on the great Minster at Ulm between 1465 and 1471. The portrait type is based upon an anonymous original of 1482 (the probable year of Ensinger's death) in the Landesmuseum in Mainz. The particularly fine quality and rounded naturalism of this portrait suggest that its author had been in contact with recent developments in Netherlandish painting, and that it was most probably painted in response to a posthumous commission made after the architect's death.

Moritz Ensinger was born in Berne in Switzerland around 1430, the third son of Matthäus Ensinger, himself the *Dombaumeister* in the free imperial city of Ulm. In 1465 he succeeded his father in Ulm, firstly on a ten-year contract, and then after 1470 for life as Master Builder in his turn. In the Minster he was responsible for the arched vault of the central nave and the continued construction of the main tower. His best-known surviving work at Ulm is probably the Sacrament House, which he designed and which was constructed between 1462 and 1471. At twenty-six metres in height and carved entirely in limestone and sandstone it is the highest Sacrament House in Germany. Here he worked with the sculptors Hans Multscher (1400–1467) and Jörg Syrlin (1425–1491), who carved figures for the Sacrament House and elsewhere. In 1469 his sister married the woodcarver Michael Erhart, who had also worked on the choir stalls in the Minster between 1470 and 1474. Ensinger worked in Ulm until 1477, when he seems to have completed his work and retired to Lake Constanze where he bought a house the following year. He later moved to Lenzburg in Aarau, where he died in late 1482 or early 1483.





Fig.1. School of Ulm, *Portrait of Moritz Ensinger*, 1482.
Oil and tempera on panel, 30.9 x 22.9 cm. Landesmuseum, Mainz.

LITERATURE CONT.

- J. Baum, 'Über zwei sogennante Ensinger Bildnisse', in *Württembergische Vierteljahrsshefte für Landesgeschichte*, 16, 1907, pp. 369–76, reproduced (as of better quality than the Mainz version);
- E. Buchner, *Das Deutsche Bildnis der Spätgotik und der frühen Dürerzeit*, 1953, pp. 75–76, figs 17 and 69;
- A. Stange, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der deutschen Tafelbilder vor Dürer*, Munich 1970, vol. II, p. 129, no. 590 (as a copy);
- I. Severin, *Baumeister und Architekten*, Berlin 1992, pp. 39, 187, under cat. no. 99 (as a copy);
- S. Kern, *Deutsche Malerei des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts im Landesmuseum Mainz. Ausgewählte Werke*, Mainz 1999, pp. 175–77, under no. 18a.

The author of this remarkable portrait was undoubtedly aware of the other likeness of Ensinger, painted in 1482, and now in Mainz (fig. 1), for it must have served as his model.¹ Both portraits are set at bust-length, with the architect's black tunic and cap set against a brilliant red background, upon which his coat of arms of two architects' compasses is shown. The present painting differs in that it shows Ensinger holding his compass in his right hand, which suggests that the Mainz version may well have been cut down along its bottom edge. With the exception of Baum, who thought this to be much the better of the two pictures, most scholars have considered the present painting to be a copy or replica of the Mainz portrait. However, it is clear that, as Baum observed, the author of the present painting, although indebted to the Mainz example, does not slavishly follow it, but imparts a far greater degree of realism to the architect's features as well as an entirely different sense of three-dimensionality to his appearance. The portrayal of Ensinger thus seems much more sympathetic and convincing than in the Mainz panel, and this more confident and life-like style, far removed from the flatter and more linear types of most German fifteenth-century portraiture, suggests that the painter may well have seen or been in contact with Netherlandish portraits of this period, such as those painted by Hans Memling (1430–1494). For these reasons it seems likely that the present work was painted at a slightly later date, probably after 1500. It is most probable that both its author



Fig. 2. Hans Schüchlin(?), *Double portrait of a man and his wife*, 1479.
Tempera on panel, 33 x 44 cm. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich.

and his patron were based in Ulm, where Ensinger's fame was greatest, and was no doubt commissioned after his death. This portrait is also a particularly good example of an ongoing demand for a type of early portraits of architects for which there seems to have been a strong demand in Germany in the second half of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Good examples, for example, are the *Portrait of Jörg von Halsbach*, the Baumeister at the Frauenkirche in Munich, painted by an unknown Bavarian painter around 1465–70 and today in the Art Museum in Basel,¹ and the *Portrait of an architect* attributed to the Master of the Marienlebens of around 1480 at the Alte Pinakothek in Munich.² Although the present painting was associated with Lucas Cranach the Elder back in the eighteenth century, and much later with Dürer's teacher Michael Wolgemut (1434–1519), no firm attribution for either this or the Mainz portrait has ever been successfully advanced. As Alfred Stange was first to observe, the handling of the features of Ensinger in Mainz show certain similarities with a double *Portrait of a man and his wife* of 1479, today in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich (fig. 2), which has in the past been associated with the work of the Ulm painter Hans Schüchlin (1440–1505).³

¹ Severin 1992, no. 97, reproduced p. 37.

² M. Schawe, *Alte Pinakothek: Altdeutsche und altniederländische Malerei*, Munich 2006, p. 214, reproduced.

³ A. Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, Liechtenstein 1969, vol. 8, *Schwaben in der Zeit von 1450 bis 1500*, p. 16, figs 24 and 25 (Mainz and Munich portraits). The attribution has not found support among modern scholars.

13 Peeter Baltens, called Custodis

(Antwerp 1527 - 1584)

Landscape with Satan sowing Tares

signed lower left on the face of a rock:

PEETER/ BALTENS

inscribed in Latin on a stone block in the lower right corner: ZYZANIAM PRVVS SEMINAT DES TEMPORE MESSIS VEDEBUNT STYGIUM CRIMINA FACTA CANEM, LVCIDA QVV[M] COELI DVCECTVR AD ATRIA IVSTVS IMPIVS ETERNI PREDA CHARONTIS ERIT

oil on oak panel

116.9 x 163.5 cm.; 46 x 64 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.

W £ 1,000,000-1,500,000

€ 1,170,000-1,750,000 US\$ 1,300,000-1,950,000

PROVENANCE

Paul Delaroff, St Petersburg, by 1907 (according to Hulin de Loo); bears his inked stamp on the reverse of the panel;

His deceased sale, Paris, Petit, 23–24 April 1914, lot 16, for 3,900 Francs;

Madam D.;

Her sale, Paris, 3 June 1920, lot 2;

Perhaps Carminati collection, Milan (according to Hoogewerff);

Achillito Chiesa, Milan, before 1925;

His sale, New York, American Art Association, 27 November 1925, lot 45;

Professor N. Castellino, Rome, where seen by Hoogewerff in 1926;

Thence by descent in Rome and Switzerland until after 1954;

With Galerie Sanct Lucas, Vienna, 1990–91;

From whom acquired for the present collection.

EXHIBITED

Kassel, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. No. 1153 (on loan *circa* 1991–92);

Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, *Von Bruegel bis Rubens*, 4 September – 22 November 1992, no. 21.1;

Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, *De Bruegel à Rubens*, 12 December 1992 – 8 March 1993, no. 107;

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Von Brueghel bis Rubens*, 2 April – 20 June 1993, no. 21.1;

This exceptionally large panel is one of less than fifteen autograph surviving paintings by Peeter Baltens, and unquestionably the finest left in private hands, and is in remarkably good original condition for a work that is almost exactly 450 years old. Baltens was the almost exact contemporary of his townsman Pieter Bruegel the Elder, whom he certainly knew well, although he outlived him by some fifteen years. In some of Baltens' paintings, and especially those depicting kermesses, Bruegel's inevitable influence is palpable, but considerably less so in this work, in which the artist adopts a different approach both to narrative and the envisioning of landscape.

Baltens and Bruegel's careers were somewhat intertwined. Both collaborated in 1551 on an altarpiece, no longer surviving, commissioned by the Mechelen (Malines) Glovemakers guild, and in the following century Pieter Brueghel the Younger used motifs from Baltens' paintings, for example an *Ecce Homo*, in his own work. The present painting however, dated by Kostyshyn *circa* 1570, the year after Bruegel's death and shortly after Baltens became Dean of the Guild of St Luke in Antwerp, emphatically demonstrates his complete artistic independence from Bruegel, as Hulin de Loo observed when he catalogued the then seven known works by Baltens, and as Kostyshyn confirmed.¹ One reason for this is that it is essentially a relatively sparsely inhabited landscape painting, in which the great diversity of terrain, from the agricultural to the mountainous and estuarine distances, dominates the composition, and thus it is at some remove from Baltens' more Bruegelian multi-figured kermesses and other subjects, some of which were no doubt produced in response to popular demand following Bruegel's premature death. This is in accord with Karel van Mander's description of Baltens as 'a very good painter of landscapes' (although he was under the impression he had entered the Antwerp Guild in 1579). In a phrase not known in Van Mander's day, the present painting is the epitome of the 'World Landscape', in which the viewer has the impression that within a vast illimitable panorama all the known world is encompassed. Baltens has here made a key development of the World Landscapes pioneered by Joachim Patinir and taken up by Cornelis Massys, Lucas Gassel, Herri Met de Bles and others, with their lofty viewpoints and soaring atmospheric perspective, and has introduced an almost intimate domestic scale to the foreground, with a low viewpoint, and the key participants brought up close to the picture plane – so much so in the present work that one might imagine that if the closest recumbent peasant were to roll over in his sleep he would literally fall out of the picture.



YANIAI PRAVS SEMINAT SED TEMPORE
VIDEBUNT STYGNAM CRIMINA FACTA CA
LUCIDA QVIV COELI DVCE TUR AD ATTRA
IMPIIS ETERNI PREDA CHARONTIS ERIT





Syrianus fravis SEMINAT SED TEMPORE NESSIS
VIDEBANT STYGII CRIMINA FACTA CANEM
LUCIDA QV³ COELI DUCETUR AD ALIA INSTVS
IMPVS ETERNI PEDA CHARONIS ERIT

EXHIBITED CONT.

Essen, Kulturstiftung Ruhr Essen, Villa Hügel, *Die Flämische Landschaft 1520–1700*, 23 August – 30 November 2003, no. 37; and subsequently in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 23 December 2003 – 12 April 2004, and Antwerp, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 8 May – 1 August 2004.

LITERATURE

G. Hulin de Loo, in R. van Bastelaer and G. Hulin de Loo, *Peter Brugel l'ancien, son œuvre et son temps...*, Brussels 1907, pp. 373–74, no. 4;

J. Héjjas, 'Ein neues Bild von jüngeren P. Bruegel im Budapest Museum der bildenden Künste', in *Az Országos Magyar Szépmüveszeti Múzeum evkönyvei*, vol. IX, 1937–39, p. 202;

G.J. Hoogewerff, *Het landschaap van Bosch tot Rubens*, Antwerp 1954, pp. 54–55, reproduced fig. 36;

L. van Puyvelde, *La peinture flamande au siècle de Bosch et Breughel*, Brussels 1964, p. 149;

G. Marlier, 'Peeter Baltens, copiste ou créateur?', in *Musées des Beaux-Arts de Belgique (Brussels). Bulletin*, vol. XIV, 1965, pp. 129, 132;

S.J. Kostyshyn, *An Important Landscape by Peeter Baltens*, Galerie Sanct Lucas, Vienna 1990, pp. 1–9, reproduced;

A. W[ied], in E. Mai and H. Vlieghe (eds), *Van Bruegel tot Rubens*, exh. cat., Antwerp 1992, pp. 234–35, no. 107, reproduced;

A. W[ied], in E. Mai and H. Vlieghe (eds), *Von Bruegel bis Rubens*, exh. cat., Vienna and Cologne 1993, pp. 293–94, no. 21.2, reproduced;

J. R[ees], in E. Mai (ed.), *Das Kabinett des Sammlers*, Cologne 1993, pp. 5–7, no. 3, reproduced;

A. W[ied], in *Von Brueghel bis Rubens*, exh. cat., Vienna 1993, pp. 293–94, no. 21.1, reproduced;

S.J. Kostyshyn, "Door tsoeken men vindt": a reintroduction to the life and work of Peeter Baltens alias Custodis of Antwerp (1527–1584), doctoral diss., Case Western Reserve University 1994, vol. I, pp. 225, 232, 246, 248, 251–52, 327, vol. II, pp. 558–72, cat. no. 26, reproduced vol. III, figs 12–14;

A. Wied, in A. Wied, K. Ertz and K. Schütz, *Die Flämische Landschaft 1520–1700*, exh. cat., Lingen 2003, pp. 114–15, no. 37, reproduced.

The subject is one of the Parables, and is taken from the Gospel of St Matthew, Chapter 13, verses 36–39:

36. Then Jesus sent the multitude away, and went into the house: and his disciples came unto him, saying, Declare unto us the parable of the tares of the field.

37. He answered and said unto them, He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man;

38. The field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked one;

39. The enemy that sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels.

Not surprisingly, given that it provided artists with an excuse to depict landscape on a lavish scale, the subject enjoyed modest popularity in the latter part of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries. Jan Mandijn may have been one of the earliest to do so after Baltens, in a panel in the Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, followed by Hans Bol and Frans Hogenberg in prints, both Jacob and Abel Grimmer in paintings, and Jacob Savery, whose design was engraved by Simon Frisius. The Master of the Prodigal Son painted the subject in four similar versions. Jacques de Gheyn made a beautiful pen drawing of the subject in 1603, with a devil rather similar to that of Baltens.² Some artists who treated the subject may well have been aware of the present picture: panels by Jacob Grimmer, in a private collection, and Kerstiaen de Keuninck, formerly in Berlin, follow a similar compositional scheme to it, with a central clump of trees, farm buildings to the left, a ploughed field in the centre foreground and a panoramic landscape extending beyond a village to the right; while Abraham Bloemaert's design for an engraving by Jacob Matham may reflect knowledge of the present picture, since the centre ground is occupied by a clump of two principal and several secondary trees, with sleeping peasants in the immediate foreground.³

The subject specifically prefigures the Last Judgement, as subsequent verses in the Gospel of Matthew explain. Baltens was aware of this too, since his four-line Latin inscription on a rectangular stone block in the lower-right corner can be translated: 'the evil one sows the tares, but at the time of the harvest, the skilful crimes of the hellish dog would be seen. When the righteous man will be led to the shining court of the heavens, the impious man will be the prey of eternal Charon'. However, Kostyshyn and others have speculated that this subject might have been interpreted as a symbol of religious tolerance and a plea for freedom from persecution – relevant in Antwerp, which was in the grip of the Counter-Reformation. This is because according to the parable, the tares (weeds) and the good wheat are left to grow up together and the crop destroyed after the harvest.

The sleeping peasants in the foreground are influenced by Pieter Bruegel, who included them, for example, in his harvest subjects, but in other respects the painting is a summation of earlier trends in Flemish painting: most obviously that of the World Landscape. Here Baltens is drawing on earlier landscape traditions as Bruegel also did himself. In one other sense the painting is however Bruegelian, in that the constituent parts of the landscape blend perfectly into each other, and are superbly integrated with the narrative. The means by which Baltens achieves this are his own, however, and he exploits to the full the possibilities given by this rare subject. In the Parable of the Tares, the Devil or Satan is sowing weeds in the recently sown cornfield, while the peasants – farmers – sleep, their ploughs and carts with sacks of seed resting with them. Baltens presents us with a wide ploughed field spanning the picture plane in a grand curve. Thus the entire foreground forms part of the narrative, in a way that other popular subjects of the time in landscape settings, such as The Flight into Egypt, cannot do. The foreground field blends seamlessly and realistically into the middle ground where other pastoral activities take place – to the left birds are being fed and beyond there is a bleaching field with linen drying. Between these a road leads away from the viewer to the right towards a village seen through the clump of trees in the centre of the picture, then winds left again towards blue distant hills. To the right of the trees the ploughed field runs all the way to the village with two monks making their way across, while to the right the field ends on a bluff which descends unseen to the river that meanders away towards the far estuary. Marking off the right of the composition is a rough cross, reminding us that while the pious peasants may sleep, thus allowing the devil to do his evil work, the Almighty is watching. Of course, when we look at the painting, we do not need to understand its structure to appreciate its genius. It just feels right, unlike so many Mannerist landscapes. As Baltens was no doubt aware, the naturalism of his treatment of the subject is perfectly suited to the subject of a Parable, in which Christ relates a story that is set in the present, not the Biblical past.

Although Baltens' compositional scheme can be related in some respects to some of those of Bruegel – the topography with agricultural land falling away to the right and towards the distance is reminiscent of the structure of Bruegel's *Fall of Icarus*, for example – Baltens' solution to the integration of narrative and landscape is entirely his own, and probably because it does not rely at all on prototypes, it is entirely successful. Nothing whatsoever jars in this most natural of landscapes, except, rather shockingly the presence of the Devil in person.

Bruegel's paintings enjoyed a loud resonance in subsequent Flemish painting, perpetuated of course by followers such as Marten van Cleve, but more especially by his sons and grandsons and their workshops. In its own way however, this painting, a paradigm of Baltens' œuvre, has strongly influenced subsequent Flemish paintings of landscape settings. The rural scenes of Jacob and Abel Grimmer and Cornelis Molenaer, for example, are imaginable without Bruegel's precedent, but are clearly modelled on this landscape, and the solution to integration of narrative and landscape that is the precept it creates.

¹ See Hulin de Loo 1907, Kostyshyn 1990 and Kostyshyn 1994, vol. I, pp. 558–72, no. 26.

² Monogrammed and dated 1603, pen and brown ink on paper, 265 x 417 mm.; Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin; see I.Q. van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn, Three Generations*, 3 vols, The Hague 1983, vol. II, p. 28, no. 50, reproduced vol. III, p. 125, pl. 236.

³ For one treatment of the subject by Jacob Grimmer, see R. de Bertier de Sauvigny, *Jacob et Abel Grimmer*, Belgium 1991, p. 124, no. 3, reproduced fig. 66. For the Kerstaen de Keuninck, which was destroyed in 1945, see H. Devisscher, *Kerstaen de Keuninck 1560–1633*, Freren 1987, pp. 184–86, no. B 40, reproduced, as circa 1610.







SYANIANI PRAVVS SEMINAT SED TEMPORE MESSI
VIDEBUNT STYGM CRIMINA FACTA CANEM
LVCIDA QVY COELI DUCETUR AD ATRIA INSTVS
IMPVIS ETERNI PEDA CHARONTIS ERIT

14 ⚠ Joachim Anthonisz. Wtewael

(Utrecht 1566 - 1638)

Diana and Actaeon

signed and dated lower right:

Joachim./ wten.wael fecit/ 1608

oil on copper

15.9 x 21.3 cm.; 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

£ 4,000,000-6,000,000

€ 4,650,000-6,970,000 US\$ 5,200,000-7,800,000

PROVENANCE

Possibly Jan Tak, Leiden;

His posthumous sale, Soeterwoude near Leiden, Delfos, 5 September 1781, lot 64 (together with a companion panel of the *Battle between the Gods and Titans*), 91 Dfl. to Delfos;

Probably Menno Baron van Coehoorn, The Hague;

His posthumous sale, Amsterdam, Van der Schley, 19 October 1801, lot 82;

HRH Prince Hendrik of the Netherlands, Prince of Orange-Nassau (1820-1879), Holland (whose coat-of-arms was formerly on the frame, according to the sale catalogue of 1895 below);

Henry Doetsch (1839-1894), New Burlington Street, London;

His posthumous sale, London, Christie's, 22-25 June 1895, lot 345, 17 guineas to H. Quilter;

Jean-Claude Barrié, Bois-Colombes, Paris (his collector's mark on the reverse of the panel);

Lucien-Michel Chevalier, Paris;

By whom sold ('The Property of a French Private Collector') New York, Sotheby's, 30 January 1997, lot 24;

There acquired for the present collection.

EXHIBITED

Phoenix Art Museum, Phoenix, *Copper as Canvas. Two centuries of Masterpiece paintings on copper 1575-1775*, 12 December 1998 - 28 February 1999; Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum, 28 March - 13 June 1999; The Hague, Mauritshuis, late June - 22 August 1999, no. 65.

Joachim Wtewael was the most important exponent in the Netherlands of mythological cabinet pieces painted on copper. The subject he chose for this exquisite little panel is the most dramatic moment in the famous story of Diana and Actaeon recounted by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* (III, 181-304). The mortal Actaeon is hunting in the Boethian woods when he stumbles across the goddess Diana and her nymphs bathing. In punishment for witnessing their nudity the chaste goddess (marked out by the symbol of a crescent moon in her hair) splashes him with water and transforms him into a stag. Here we see the stag's antlers just beginning to form on Actaeon's head, while at his feet his faithful hounds sniff the air and become alert to the change that is taking place. Actaeon stands upon a small bridge, silhouetted against the distant landscape and encircled by the naked bodies of Diana and her attendants. In a few moments the transformation will be complete and Actaeon will be torn to pieces by his own hounds. The colour and movement in this beautiful copper completely transcend its tiny dimensions, and mark its author as the supreme exponent of the last great phase of mannerist painting in northern Europe. The intimate scale of the panel, combined with the meticulous detail and smooth finish afforded by the copper's surface, mark it as a work intended for personal enjoyment by the spectator, who can appreciate the excitement of the extraordinary myth in tandem with the erotic elegance of its forms.

The origins of Wtewael's mannerist style are probably to be found in his four-year trip to Italy and France with his first patron, Charles de Bourgneuf de Cucé, Bishop of St Malo between 1588 and 1592, for his earliest works suggest a familiarity with the art of Parmigianino and the Fontainbleau School. But undoubtedly his greatest sources of inspiration were to be found after his return to Utrecht in 1592, in the work of the generation of northern Netherlandish painters and engravers in Haarlem and Utrecht such as Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617), Cornelis van Haarlem (1562-1638) and Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651), and above all in the art of Bartolomeus Spranger (1546-1611), a native of Antwerp who worked for the Emperor Rudolph II in Prague. Wtewael's enthusiastic response to their designs from the 1580s and the following decade would exercise a vital and enduring influence over his own style for the whole of his career. To their contrived spatiality and elegant artificiality of pose, he added – especially in his small panels such as this – a highly colourful palette and meticulous polished finish, both of which were no doubt a legacy from his very earliest training in his father's glassworks in Utrecht.



Actual size



Fig. 1. Joachim Wtewael, *The Death of Actaeon*, 1607.
Oil on panel, 57.5 x 78 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

LITERATURE

- J.P. Richter, *The Doetsch Collection*, (Illustrated Catalogue of the Highly Important Collection of Pictures by Old Masters of Henry Doetsch, Esq., deceased, late of 7 New Burlington Street, which [by Order of the Executers] will be sold by Auction by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods. 8 King Street, St James Square), London 1895, p. 97;
- C.M.A.A. Lindeman, *Joachim Anthonisz, Wtewael*, 1929, pp. 56 (datable to 1607–12), 82–83, 252, no. 28, reproduced pl. 5;
- F. Antal, 'Zum Problem des niederländischen Manierismus', *Kritische Berichte zur kunstgeschichtlichen Literatur*, 1–2, 1927–29, p. 232, n. 1; translated and reprinted in F. Antal (ed.), *Classicism and Romanticism*, London 1966, pp. 47–106;
- C.M.A.A. Lindeman 'Wtewael', in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, U. Thieme and E. Becker (eds), vol. XXXVI, 1947, p. 286;
- A.W. Lowenthal, *Joachim Wtewael and Dutch Mannerism*, 1986, pp. 124–25, no. A-51, 132, 160, reproduced pl. 72;
- R. Ward and M.K. Komanecky, in *Copper as Canvas*, exh. cat., Phoenix, Kansas and The Hague, New York and Oxford 1999, p. 322, reproduced.

Although he did work on a larger scale and in other media such as canvas, Wtewael's most successful and sought-after works were undoubtedly small cabinet paintings of this type, especially on copper panels, whose smooth surface allowed him to show off a highly refined miniaturist technique to best advantage. His pictures on this tiny scale such as the present work were highly finished, detailed and brightly coloured, and undoubtedly meant to be physically handled, the better to appreciate their highly wrought and enamelled surfaces. Wtewael's skill in this field earned him international renown. His contemporary biographer Karel van Mander, writing in his *Het Schilder-Boeck* in 1604 considered him '... very excellent and subtle in all aspects of art' and ranked him 'among our best Netherlandish painters'. He further remarked that 'it would be difficult to say at which he is the more outstanding: whether on a large or a small scale... One comes across many small pieces of excellent precision and neatness by him'.¹ Wtewael's predilection for copper as a support was exceptional, even in the context of his Netherlandish contemporaries. Between 1592 and 1612 more than thirty of Wtewael's fifty-eight known work were painted on copper, more than half of which were mythological subjects, an enthusiasm matched only by his celebrated Flemish contemporary Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625).^{2v} The popularity of these coppers is suggested by the fact that he frequently painted some subjects in more than one version. His treatment of the subject of *Mars and Venus*, for example, was painted by him on at least four occasions, including two exceptional copper plates of 1610 (Mauritshuis, The Hague) and 1605–10 (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).³ Similarly he painted the *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* four times, with examples now divided between the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nancy (1606–10), the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig (1602), a private collection (c. 1606–10), and the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute in Williamstown (1612), the last having the joint distinction of being the largest and latest copper plate by Wtewael to have survived.



Fig. 2. Jacob Matham, *The Death of Actaeon*, 1606. Line engraving

For the present panel, Wtewael returned to a design he had first explored in a larger panel painted the year before in 1607, today at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (fig. 1).⁴ This was on a larger scale (57.5 x 78 cm.) but employed a broadly similar composition. In the present panel the figure of Actaeon is given greater prominence by being brought much closer to the viewer and placed upon a bridge rather than seen through a rocky arch, and further enhanced by being seen in silhouette. The basic disposition of the bodies of Diana and her nymphs is followed, but the distant landscape in the Vienna panel in which Actaeon meets his grisly fate is here discarded. As Anne Lowenthal has observed, likely sources of inspiration for Wtewael's design probably included two engravings after Paulus Moreelse, one by Jacob Matham (fig. 2) and the other by Jan Saenredam, both dating to 1606.⁵ A drawing in the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt may be related to the Vienna panel, but its autograph status is doubted by Lowenthal.⁶ The *contre jour* effect of viewing Actaeon's body against the light had also been explored by Wtewael in an earlier copper depicting another episode from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the story of the Apulian shepherd, probably painted around 1604–05 and now in a private collection.⁷ Wtewael's reprise of the Vienna painting on a smaller scale seems to have been a conscious attempt to produce a more refined and cabinet-sized variation on the theme, in which his sheer technical facility and virtuosity would stand out. As Arthur Wheelock has recently observed, it may be that he was also influenced by contemporary goldsmith's work (fig. 3) and sought to emulate the opulence of luxurious *kunstkammer* objects in the fashionable auricular style.⁸ The elegant mannerist *contrapposto* of the reclining nymphs and their contrasting skin tones feels reminiscent of the gilt and silver gilt surfaces of such refined objects. Wtewael returned to the subject of Diana and Actaeon for the last time a few years later in a much larger octagonal panel of 1612, today at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.⁹



Fig. 3. Paulus van Vianen, *Diana and Actaeon*, 1612.
Gilded silver plaque. Centraal Museum, Utrecht.

To judge from the comments of both Karel van Mander and Joachim van Sandrart, pictures such as this were evidently in as much demand in Wtewael's time as they are today. It is not difficult to understand the attraction of such pictures for contemporary collectors. The jewel-like colour and meticulous execution of these panels meant that they were meant to be seen close to and physically handled, and their durability ensured their enduring popularity. The combination of sensual and aesthetic delight was complemented by the intellectual enjoyment derived from the subject's classical pedigree – Ovid's tale was widely available to the Dutch public through translations such as that of Johannes Florianus, first published in 1552 and reprinted several times through the seventeenth century. Although it is perhaps too simplistic to seek for underlying moral messages in all such works, Wtewael's contemporaries might very well have interpreted the story of Diana and Actaeon as an admonishment against the weakness of the flesh.

Most of Wtewael's paintings were probably sold to local collectors in his home city of Utrecht. By contrast, relatively few pictures by him entered, for example, collections in Amsterdam. This was no doubt due to the fact that, as his fellow painter Joachim von Sandrart pointed out after visiting him, Wtewael's profitable business interests – he was a successful flax merchant – meant that he did not need to paint for a living.¹⁰ It may also reflect the relatively conservative aristocratic taste of his patrons in Utrecht, in whose social and political circles he moved. As an artist, Wtewael remained largely unaffected by the new naturalism of Caravaggio and his followers then being introduced to the north by painters such as Hendrick ter Brugghen. His was the last great flourish of the great northern mannerist tradition, exemplified by Goltzius and Bloemaert in the Netherlands and Spranger in Prague, all of whose designs had inspired him. Unlike them, however, he only rarely produced designs for prints which would have spread his reputation even further afield. Nor did he require the assistance of a large workshop, although he must have employed some assistants, foremost among them his eldest son Pieter (1596–1660). Wtewael's last known painting dates from 1628, and after this it seems that he stopped painting for good. Of the hundred or so paintings by him to have come down to us, the refined and brilliant copper panels such as the present work remain his finest achievements, and indeed must be counted among the greatest of all Mannerist paintings in the north.

¹ K. Van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck: The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, 1603–04, H. Midema (ed.), Doornspijk 1994, vol. I (text), fol. 296v–297r, pp. 445–46.

² See A.W. Lowenthal in the catalogue of the exhibition, *Masters of Light, Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age*, New Haven and London 1997, especially p. 277.

³ Lowenthal 1986, pp. 97 and 117, nos A-18 and A-44.

⁴ Inv. 1052. Panel 58 x 79 cm. Lowenthal 1986, p. 121, no. A-46, reproduced pl. 64. The painting may have been sold directly to the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria, in whose inventory of 1659 it appears.

⁵ Lowenthal 1986, under no. A-46, reproduced figs 37 and 38.

⁶ Inv. no. AE 371. Lowenthal 1986, p. 121, reproduced pl. 65.

⁷ Exhibited Washington, National Gallery of Art, Utrecht, Centraal Museum and Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, *Pleasure and Piety. The Art of Joachim Wtewael*, 2015, no. 14.

⁸ See A. Wheelock, 'Wtewael's historical reputation', in *Pleasure and Piety. The Art of Joachim Wtewael*, exh. cat., Washington, Utrecht and Houston, 2015, pp. 42–43.

⁹ Inv. No 57.119. Lowenthal 1986, p. 131, no. A-60, reproduced plate 86. The author also lists pictures at Upton House (Bearsted Collection), Warwickshire, and Musée de la Chartreuse in Douai, the former of doubtful authenticity and the latter possibly a copy after a lost original.

¹⁰ J. Von Sandrart, *Academie der Bau-, Bild-, und Mahlerey-Künste*, Nuremberg 1675, part ii, book 3, p. 289. See also Wheelock 2015, pp. 38–47. Many of Wtewael's pictures clearly remained in his possession, for his family inherited over thirty paintings at his death. Whether this is because he had failed to sell them or for other more personal reasons is not known.



15 Pieter Brueghel the Younger

(Brussels 1564 - 1637/8 Antwerp)

Winter landscape with a bird trap

signed and indistinctly dated lower right:
P.BREVGHEL 1622

oil on oak panel, the reverse incised with the panel maker's mark of a clover leaf for Michiel Claessens, the year stamp A for 1621–22, and branded with the coat-of-arms of the city of Antwerp (fig. 1)¹

38.6 x 56 cm.; 15½ x 22 in.

£ 1,500,000-2,000,000
€ 1,750,000-2,330,000 US\$ 1,950,000-2,600,000

PROVENANCE

Anonymous sale ('The Property of a Nobleman'), London, Christie's, 4 July 1997, lot 32, where acquired.

LITERATURE

K. Ertz, *Pieter Brueghel der Jüngere, Die Gemälde mit kritischem Œuvrekatolog*, vol. II, Lingen 1988/2000, pp. 578, 581, 605, cat. no. E685, reproduced fig. 483;

C. Currie and D. Allart, *The Brueg(h)el Phenomenon*, Brussels 2012, vol. II, pp. 511, 522, nn. 53–54.

There can be little doubt that the *Winter landscape with a bird trap* is not only one of the best loved of all the inventions of the Brueghel dynasty, but in its beautiful evocation of a winter's day also one of the most enduring images in Western art. Although no fewer than 127 versions of the composition have survived, only forty-five are now thought of as autograph works by Pieter Brueghel the Younger himself, with the remainder being largely workshop copies of varying degrees of quality.² The Smith painting is one of only six unmistakably autograph panels which have the distinction of being both signed and dated, with dates ranging from 1601 to 1626. Klaus Ertz in his recent catalogue of Brueghel's paintings describes it as '...eine sehr gute Exemplar'. The earliest of the other versions is that now at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and the last that formerly in the Coppée collection in Brussels, sold at Sotheby's, London, 9 July 2014, lot 10 (fig. 2). The others are listed by Ertz as in a Swiss private collection, the National Museum of Arts in Bucharest, and the last sold in Berlin in 1925 and since untraced.³ Eleven further versions are signed but not dated, with four using the signature form *P. BRVEGHEL* used by Pieter Brueghel the Younger up to 1616, and three others using the form adopted here of *P. BREVGHEL*, indicating works executed in or after this date when his signature form changed.

The prototype for this famous composition has generally been thought to be the painting by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, signed and dated 1564, formerly in the Delporte collection and today in the Musées des Beaux-Arts in Brussels.⁴ The near-identical scale and the close correspondence of motifs between the painted copies and the original indicate very strongly that the former must have been based upon Bruegel the Elder's final painted composition, a master cartoon or at least very accurate tracings. The recent appearance of a drawing of the composition, sold at Sotheby's London in 2009 and recently attributed to Jan Brueghel the Elder by Klaus Ertz, would seem to indicate that he too had access to an original painting.⁵ The origins of the prototype itself undoubtedly lay in Pieter Bruegel the Elder's seminal cycle of paintings of the *Months*, and in particular his celebrated *Hunters in the snow (January)* of 1565, today in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.⁶









Fig 1. Reverse of the present painting



Fig 2. Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Winter Landscape with a Bird Trap*, 1626.
Oil on panel. 40.4 x 57.2 cm. Formerly collection of Baron Coppe. Brussels

The *Winter landscape with a bird trap* owes its fame to its extraordinary rendering of the atmosphere of a cold winter's day. In contrast to the clear and biting cold of the *Hunters in the snow*, here the atmosphere is more misty and welcoming. A blanket of deep snow lies upon a riverside village and the surrounding countryside. On the frozen river the villagers are seen playing at spinning tops, hockey and curling on the ice. The muted palette of greys, blues and pale greens is offset by the red costumes worn by many of the participants, a painterly device which harks back directly to Pieter Brueghel the Elder. But perhaps the most distinctive feature of the painting is the graphic and patterned quality of the overlapping branches of the trees and bushes, which serve to create a wonderful decorative effect. Although the scene is largely imaginary, Marlier suggested a possible identification of the village as Pede-Saint-Anne in Brabant.⁷ The city seen in silhouette on the horizon in the centre is almost certainly intended for Antwerp. As Marlier was the first to observe, one feature of the Smith panel is, however, rare among the many versions of the *Bird Trap*. This is the inclusion of the figures of man leading a woman upon a donkey on the far bank of the river on the left-hand side of the composition, presumably intended to represent the figures of Joseph and Mary on their way to Bethlehem (see detail fig. 3). Again, the inclusion of such a small but iconographically significant detail within the larger composition is very much a device employed by the elder Bruegel. Only four other certainly autograph versions include this detail: that in the Museum Mayer van den Bergh in Antwerp; another last recorded in the Hartmann collection in Rome in 1954, that sold London, Christie's, 9 December 1995, lot 9; and lastly that formerly in the Coppée collection in Brussels, sold London, Sotheby's, 9 July 2014, lot 10.⁸ It is not to be found, however, in Pieter Bruegel the Elder's own painting of 1565 in Brussels, nor any of the many purely workshop copies, and seems to have been an invention of Pieter Brueghel the Younger's. This very small group also includes the additional motif of a man leading a mule across the bridge in the distance (see detail, fig. 4).



Fig. 3. Detail of the present painting



Fig. 4. Detail of the present painting

That these figures were included in the design from the outset is proven by their appearance in the impressive underdrawing on the panel revealed by infra-red reflectography (fig. 5).

It has often been suggested that the *Winter landscape with a bird trap*, for all its realism, also contains an underlying message alluding to the precariousness of life. In one of his engravings of *Winter – Ice skating before St George's Gate, Antwerp*, Pieter Bruegel the Elder added the inscription: 'Lubricitas Vitæ Humanæ. La lubricité de la vie humaine. De slibberachtigeyt van's Menschen Leven' ('The precariousness of Human Life') referring to the ways in which people find themselves 'slipping and sliding through a life whose existence is more slippery and fragile than ice itself'. The eponymous bird trap itself has also, for example, been interpreted as symbolic of the brevity of life, but is much more likely to be a straightforward detail alluding to the need to lay in food for the winter months. Nevertheless, the hole in the ice, or the figures of the two children running heedlessly towards their parents across the ice despite the latter's warning cries, all clearly point to the dangers inherent even in this idyllic winter scene, and thereby the fickleness and basic uncertainty of life itself.

¹ Michiel Claessens was the alderman of the Antwerp panel makers' Guild from 1617–18, and was active between 1590 and 1637. The letter 'A' was probably added by the city assay-master when he stamped the panel with the Antwerp brand. The dating of 1621–22 can be further paralleled in panels made by his colleague Michiel Vriendt for documented works of the same date by Rubens. See J. Wadum, 'The Antwerp Brand on Paintings on Panels', in 'Looking through paintings: The study of Painting techniques and materials in support of art historical research', E. Hermans (ed.), in *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XI, 1998, p. 198. Currie and Allart simply identify the maker's mark as an 'A' and speculate that the present panel and that in Antwerp may have been painted at much the same date. The Smith panel was discussed by Jorgen Wadum in a paper entitled 'From A to T in mass production. The Rosenberg Master, an early 17th century Antwerp artist', delivered at the *Brueghel Enterprises Symposium* in Brussels in 2002.

² Ertz 2000, vol. II, pp. 605–30, nos E682 to A805a, many reproduced.

³ Ertz 2000, nos E682–687.

⁴ F. Grossmann, *Brueghel. The Paintings*, London 1956, p. 119, no. 114. For a good summary of this debate see Ertz 2000, vol. II, pp. 575–87.

⁵ London, Sotheby's, 8 July 2009, lot 32, reproduced (as circle of Pieter Bruegel the Elder).

⁶ Grossmann 1956, pp. 196–98, figs 87–90.

⁷ Marlier, in the catalogue of the exhibition, *Le Siècle de Brueghel*, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, 1963, p. 69.

⁸ Listed in Currie and Allart 2012, vol. II, pp. 511, 522, n. 53; Ertz 2000, pp. 605–17, nos A687, A691–2, A704.





Fig. 5. Infrared reflectogram of the present painting

16 Gaspar de Crayer

(Antwerp 1584 - 1669 Ghent)

Ferdinand, Cardinal-Infante of Spain (1610–1641), on horseback

oil on canvas

271 x 211 cm.; 106 5/8 x 83 in.

W £ 80,000-120,000

€ 93,000-140,000 US\$ 104,000-156,000

PROVENANCE

In the family of the present owners for at least two generations.

LITERATURE

M. Díaz Padrón, 'Varios pintores flamencos, Hemessen, Scorel, Pietro di Lignis, G. Crayer y B. Beschey', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, vol. 52, no. 206, 1979, pp. 116–118, reproduced p. 117, figs 7 and 8.



Fig. 1. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, *Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Austria at the Battle of Nördlingen*. Oil on canvas, 337.5 x 261 cm. Prado Museum



Fig. 2. Diego Velázquez, *Philip IV on Horseback*. Oil on canvas, 303 x 317 cm. Prado Museum

Designed to convey the authority of the Cardinal-Infante, Don Ferdinand of Austria (1610–1641), this impressive equestrian portrait, datable to the mid-to late 1630s, draws on a tradition so successfully developed by Peter Paul Rubens and Diego Velázquez.

Ferdinand was the third son of King Philip III of Spain (1578–1621) and Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1584–1611), and thus the brother of King Philip IV (1605–1665). In 1619 he was appointed Cardinal and between 1634 until his death in 1641 he was Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, a role in which he succeeded his aunt, the Archduchess Isabel Clara Eugenia (1566–1633). Known to have been an able military commander, Don Ferdinand scored one of the most decisive victories for the Catholics in the Thirty Years' War, the 1634 battle of Nördlingen, defeating the Swedish army.

Contemporary sources indicate that De Crayer had close ties with the Cardinal-Infante and was trusted with important works not only at his courts in Brussels and Ghent, but also in continuing the work of Rubens in the decoration of the Alcázar in Madrid. It is thought possible that De Crayer knew Rubens personally, certainly his works of the 1620s strongly reflect the influence of the older Fleming, and De Crayer is known to have painted copies after his works that could only have been seen in the master's studio. Rubens' own equestrian portrait of the Cardinal-Infante at the Prado, Madrid (fig. 1) was painted shortly before the execution of the present work, and no doubt served as an inspiration for De Crayer. However, as Matías Díaz Padrón notes, the execution and feeling of De Crayer's painting is more akin to Velázquez's portrayal of Ferdinand's brother Philip IV, also at the Prado (fig. 2).

De Crayer captures Ferdinand as his horse performs a *levade*, a most demanding equestrian manoeuvre, in which the horse raises its forelegs tucking them in, while bending on its hindquarters, in a demonstration of great skill. Padrón notes that in Rubens' equestrian portraits the forelegs of the horse are raised in such a manner that breaks the stability and solidity of the figures so convincingly achieved by both Velázquez and De Crayer, and that the latter two artists share a solidity in the way their respective works are conceived. Neither this mounted figure of the Cardinal-Infante, nor Velázquez's *Philip IV on horseback* has the sense of progressive movement that Rubens prioritised.¹ The focus of this painting is on triumph, authority and stability in a time of war: messages the Cardinal-Infante will have been keen to press upon the people over whom he governed.

There are several known variants of this composition, and several copies. The closest in quality is an autograph version of this composition by De Crayer in the collection of the Duke of Alba.² We are grateful to Dr Hans Vlieghe for endorsing the attribution to De Crayer upon inspection of images, and for dating the picture to about 1635, or slightly later.

¹ Díaz Padrón 1979, p. 118.

² H. Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer, Sa vie et ses œuvres*, Brussels 1972, vol. I, pp. 266 – 67, cat. no. A269, reproduced vol. II, fig. 244. In the Alba version the Cardinal-Infante faces to the right, sits atop a darker horse, and there are minor differences in the details of the sitters' clothing. A small copy after the present work (oil on canvas, 57 x 51 cm.) was offered Vienna, Dorotheum, 30 April 2019, lot 562.



17 ⚠ Sir Peter Paul Rubens

(Siegen 1577 - 1640 Antwerp)

Head of a young man wearing armour

oil on oak panel

50.8 x 41.5 cm.; 20 x 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

£ 2,500,000-3,500,000
€ 2,910,000-4,064,000 US\$ 3,250,000-4,546,000

PROVENANCE

Probably Jean Nicolas Ribard, Rouen (1694–1758);

Thence by descent to Jean Philippe Nicolas Ribard, Rouen (1724–1798);

Thence by descent until acquired by Heinz Kisters, Kreuzlingen, until 1958;

From whom acquired by Dr Günter and Anne Liese Henle, Duisberg;

From whose Estate sold (The Henle Collection), London, Sotheby's, 3–4 December 1997, lot 40;

When acquired by the present collector.

EXHIBITED

Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, *Die Sammlung Henle: aus dem grossen Jahrhundert der niederländischen Malerei*, 1964, no. 30;

Greenwich, Bruce Museum; Berkeley, Berkeley Art Museum; Cincinnati, Cincinnati Museum of Art, *Drawn by the Brush: Oil Sketches by Peter Paul Rubens*, October 2004 – May 2005, no. 4.

No painter before the nineteenth century used oil sketches as such an essential part of his working method, nor painted so many of them, as Rubens. He did not invent the oil sketch, but he is the artist with whom they are most closely associated. They perfectly suited his energetic creative process, although it should not be forgotten that he also made many drawings, and these were as integral a part of his working practice as his oil sketches. On the whole Rubens did not make drawings of heads when working up ideas for paintings and other projects, but relied on oil studies of heads, such as this one. Many of these were painted *ad vivum*, often of the same model seen from different angles, and kept for future use, while others, also based no doubt on models, were created with a particular figure in a painting or tapestry in mind, and it is not always easy to be sure which was which.

Rubens used this characteristically vivacious study for the head of the third warrior from the left in his massive painting of *Saint Ambrosius of Milan barring Emperor Theodosius from entering the Cathedral in Milan*, painted *circa* 1615–17, and now at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (see fig. 1 and detail, fig. 2).¹ The Vienna painting, probably in the collection of Frans von Imstenraet in 1678, and first recorded in the Imperial collections in the Stallburg in 1733 during the reign of Kaiser Karl VI, was until the 1960s thought by some scholars to be by Van Dyck, on account of the younger artist's sketch-like free copy in the National Gallery, London, generally dated *circa* 1617–18.² While Van Dyck may well have worked on it during his tutelage with Rubens, Rubens' authorship of it is no longer challenged.

A dating of *circa* 1614 or 1615 for the present study, slightly earlier than the Vienna painting, has been suggested on the basis of comparison with drawings probably by Willem Panneels in the so-called *Cantoor*, a large assembly of drawings after Rubens and other artists in his circle, now kept in the Print Room in Copenhagen, many of which record oil sketches of figures and of heads.³ These studies are likely to have remained in the studio as props throughout Rubens' career, and the making of the *Cantoor* copies after them underscores their importance for Rubens, and reminds us that they were integral to his studio working practice.⁴ One of these sheets represents the same head as seen in the present sketch, along with a second view of the same model, in *profil perdu*, presumably taken from lost oil sketch (fig. 3). This secondary profile head was used by Rubens for a subsidiary figure at the extreme left of his full-scale *Christ and the Adulterous Woman*, datable *circa* 1614–1615, probably once kept in Rubens' house, and now in Brussels.⁵ The Brussels painting is significant for the model that served for the present sketch, since he is recognisable in the heads of other figures in the painting: the two youths near the column, above and behind all the other participants, looking forward, and in a head that appears in between the adulterous woman and one of her accusers, turned to his left. Oil sketches of the same model seen from different angles probably existed, but they have not survived, and are not recorded in *Cantoor* drawings.





Fig. 1. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Emperor Theodosius is forbidden by Saint Ambrose to Enter Milan Cathedral*, c.1616.
Oil on canvas. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



Fig. 2. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Emperor Theodosius is forbidden by Saint Ambrose to Enter Milan Cathedral*, (detail).
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

LITERATURE

- J.B. Descamps, *Catalogue et Estimation des Tableaux Appartenants au Feu Monsieur Jean Philippe Nicolas Ribard*, 1798, MS, no. 17: 'Deux Têtes d'apôtres par Rubens';
- H. Vey, *Die Sammlung Henle: aus dem grossen Jahrhundert der niederländischen Malerei*, exh. cat., 1964, no. 30, reproduced;
- J.S. Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens. A Critical Catalogue*, 1980, vol. I, pp. 609–10, no. 443, vol. II, reproduced fig. 429;
- M. Jaffé, *Catalogo Completo. Rubens*, 1989, p. 224, no. 406, reproduced;
- E. McGrath, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, part XIII: I. Subjects from History*, 1997, vol. II, pp. 303, 307, note 47, reproduced vol. I, fig. 207;
- M.E. W[ieseman], in P. Sutton & M.E. Wieseman, *Drawn by the Brush: Oil Sketches by Peter Paul Rubens*, exhib. cat., New Haven and London 2004, pp. 98–101 (reproduced in reverse);
- T.M[eganck] with H. D[uBois], in J. van der Auwera & S. van Sprang, *Rubens. a Genius at Work*, exhib. cat., Brussels 2007, pp. 75–6, under no. 1, reproduced p. 76, fig. 4 (reproduced in reverse).

If we are to believe, as Julius Held and Justus Müller Hofstede did, that these sketches of head studies of the same youthful model were all painted at the same time, the present work must also have been created similarly a couple of years before its use in the Vienna painting. The difficulty in a precise dating is due to the varying views on the dating of related paintings: the Brussels *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery* for example has been dated as widely as circa 1610–15, although the most recent consensus puts it to the end of that period. In any event it is likely to be at least a year or two earlier than the Vienna painting, and rather close in date to the Brussels one.

Apart from the present painting, other oil sketches by Rubens connected with the finished painting are known. His study of the *Head of an Old Man* in Edinburgh was probably made in preparation for the figure of Saint Ambrose in the painting, and was not a sketch made earlier brought into use, because it shows the bearded Saint wearing a bishop's cope, albeit of different design to the one in the finished painting (see fig. 4), although Liz McGrath thought the cope was added later.⁶ Given that this is one of the two principal figures however, it is not surprising that Rubens would have made a specific sketch for it, and not drawn on an existing repertoire.

Another oil sketch related to the Vienna picture, for the head of the warrior to the extreme left of the painting, was sold at Sotheby's London in the same sale as the present sketch in 1997, though not from the Henle collection (fig. 5).⁷ In it, Rubens has concentrated on the curly hair of the older warrior, and has blocked in the face with a few peremptory strokes of the brush. As with other of Rubens' figural sketches, that head was also used in another Rubens composition, also earlier than the Vienna painting: for the soldier in armour to the upper left of Rubens' *Death of Seneca* in Munich, which Elizabeth McGrath dates to circa 1615, and thus in line with the present sketch, but which others have placed earlier, to 1612–13.⁸



Fig 3. Anthony Van Dyck, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Emperor Theodosius is forbidden by Saint Ambrose to Enter Milan Cathedral*, c. 1617-1618. The National Gallery, London

The present sketch was not used in any other work that we know of. While that might suggest that it, like the Edinburgh sketch for Saint Ambrose, was made in preparation for the Vienna painting, its energetic and free modelling and warmer tones, which differ from the Edinburgh sketch, indicate that it belongs to a slightly earlier period in Rubens' career, *circa* 1612-15, and probably, as Betsy Wieseman and others have suggested, *circa* 1614-15.⁹ In adapting the fresh-faced youth for an armoured Roman soldier in the Vienna painting, Rubens has given him extended mutton-chop side whiskers, presumably to make him appear more martial: the two older soldiers nearer the viewer have full beards, one greying. It therefore seems likely that this sketch and the one for the nearer and older soldier were made at about the same time, and brought out together for the Vienna picture, a complex work requiring a wide repertoire of figures; so much so that as Arnout Balis pointed out, paintings like the St Ambrose 'seem not just to make use of the available heads, but to be altogether conceived on the basis of them'.¹⁰ Both sketches are on panels of similar size (excluding a small strip added to the left edge of the present work), and both panels are of similar composition (see diagram, fig. 6).

The argument that Van Dyck may have painted parts of the Vienna picture, perhaps subsidiary figures or their heads, and that in consequence this and the other head sketch sold in 1997 might conceivably be from his hand, needs to be addressed. Until late in his career, Rubens painted oil sketches exclusively on panels, often, like the present one, formed of different pieces of oak, whereas Van Dyck, even when in Rubens's workshop (and like Jacob Jordaens at the same time), almost always painted sketches on canvas or paper that were subsequently glued to panels, probably for sale. Furthermore, the present sketch shows none of the hallmarks of Van Dyck's style or technique, either around 1615-17, or at any other time, and is entirely characteristic of Rubens at a slightly earlier date, for example in the crimson lake used in the tear ducts

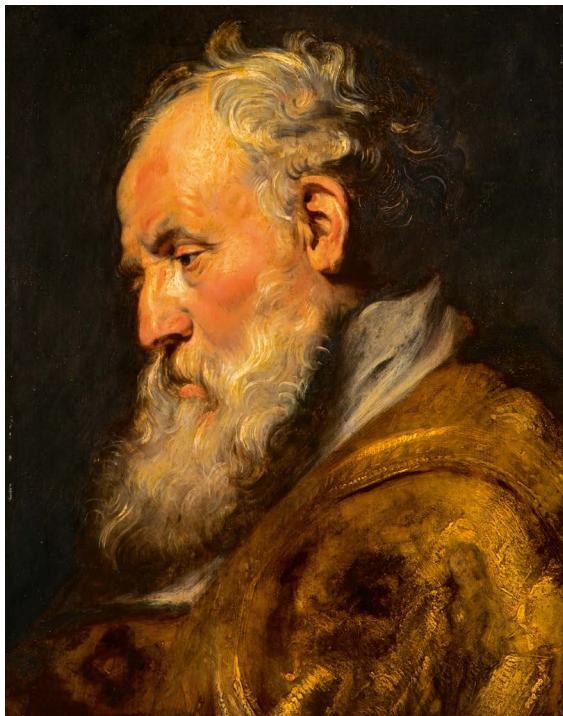


Fig. 4. Peter Paul Rubens, *A study of a head (Saint Ambrose)*, c. 1616.
Oil on panel. National Gallery of Scotland

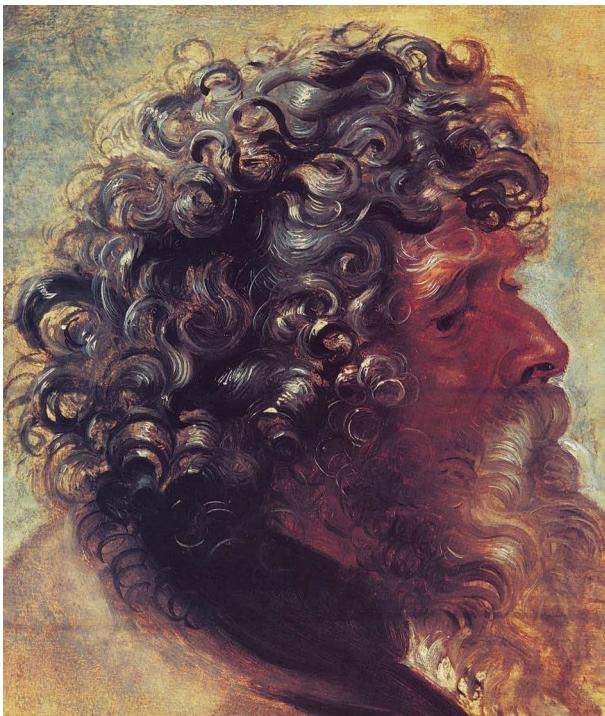


Fig 5. Peter Paul Rubens, *A study of the head of a man*, c. 1612-16.
Oil on panel. Sold Sotheby's, 3-4 December 1997, lot 81

and to build up the modelling of the cheeks (see Catherine Hassall's report summarised below). It is of course perfectly possible that Van Dyck was asked to contribute heads to the Vienna painting using Rubens's head sketches, but there is little internal stylistic evidence to suggest this, and it would run rather counter to Van Dyck's character, independent from an early age, even while working under Rubens' direction.

It is also worth noting that in Van Dyck's free copy in London, the head corresponding to the present sketch, and the one to the extreme left, are very different in style to the Vienna prototype.

Many of Rubens' oil sketches are constructed of several smaller pieces of oak, perhaps off-cuts, glued together to form the requisite rectangle. This is true, for example, of the present panel, as well as the study of the bearded man second from left that Rubens used not just in the Vienna painting but for numerous figures in paintings from about 1612–18. The sketch for the curly haired bearded centurion at the far left is another example (fig. 5), executed on a panel of very similar configuration to the present one; as the diagram of their formation shows (figs 6 and 7), the horizontal join occurs at almost exactly the same place and the two planks in each work are of near identical measurements, a further argument that they were painted at the same time.¹¹

Rubens' sometimes bizarre but intricate panel constructions have long been understood as an idiosyncrasy of his work. Even very large landscapes painted much later in his career conform to this pattern or technique of construction: the famous *Castle of Het Steen* at the National Gallery London, is a confounding arrangement of some twenty separate planks of oak; the *Rainbow Landscape* in the Wallace Collection is constructed from nineteen planks; the *Watering Place* in the National Gallery from eleven; and so on.

¹ Oil on canvas, 362 x 246 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 524; see Jaffé 1989, no. 424; McGrath 1997, vol. II, pp. 297–310, reproduced vol. I, figs 204, 208 and 210; and W. P[rohaska] in J. Kräftner et al. (ed.), *Peter Paul Rubens 1577. The Masterpieces from the Viennese Collections*, Vienna 2004, pp. 114–18, no. 25, reproduced.

² National Gallery, London, Inv. 50; see McGrath 1997, vol. II, pp. 297–98, reproduced vol. I, fig. 205.

³ It was probably, but not certainly, Willem Panneels, pupil, steward and secretary, employed in Rubens' studio up to 1630, who drew copies of many of Rubens' studies, some of them with the inscription 'taken from Rubens' cantoor' (a sort of chest of drawers); the set of drawings have since become known as The Cantoor drawings, of which about two-thirds are attributable to one hand, probably Panneels. The Cantoor includes drawings made after paintings, oil sketches and drawings made by Rubens over a span of decades, including for example many drawn copies after the antique that he drew in Italy, copies after more recent artists such as Raphael, and many studies of ecorché figures, but they cover virtually every aspect of Rubens' activity up to 1630. For a detailed discussion of the Cantoor see P. Huyvenne & I. Koekelbergh (eds.), *Rubens Cantoor*, exhib. cat., Antwerp 1993.

⁴ An inventory at his death records 'Une quantite des visages au vif, sur toile, & fonds de bois, tant de Mons. Rubens, que de Mons. Van Dyck.' Some went straight onto the market and were recorded later the same year in a list compiled by the Antwerp dealer Matthijs Musson of the items he had acquired from Rubens' estate. Others of them were 'finished' after his death, probably for the purpose of selling them on to unknowing buyers as complete Rubenses, turning them from head studies into bust-length portraits.

⁵ Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts Belgique, Brussels, inv. 3461; see Jaffé 1989, p. 197, no. 262, reproduced; Van der Auwera & Sprang 2007, pp. 71–6, no. 1 (the authors were unaware that they had reproduced the present sketch in reverse, and were confused as a result), and K. Bulckens, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Part V (2), The Ministry of Christ*, London and Turnhout 2017, pp. 135–40, no. 30, reproduced fig. 138. A second version, possibly autograph, also including the same figure at the extreme left, is in a private collection in Toledo, Ohio; see Jaffé 1989, p. 197, no. 262, reproduced. A painting of this subject is recorded in the Estate settlement of Rubens' first wife, Helena Fourment (though an odd subject for a virtuous wife to own or to have been given by her husband), and was probably still in Antwerp in the 18th Century.

⁶ Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland; see McGrath, 1997, vol. II, p. 304, reproduced vol. I, fig. 211.

⁷ Private collection; see Jaffé 1989, p. 227, no. 423; McGrath 1997, vol. II, p. 303, reproduced vol. I, fig. 206; and W. P[rohaska] in Vienna 2004, pp. 117–18, reproduced fig. 3.

⁸ Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

⁹ See Wieseman 2004, p. 100.

¹⁰ H. Vlieghe, A. Balis and C. Van de Velde (eds), *Concept, Design, and Execution in Flemish Painting (1550–1700)*, Turnhout 2000, p. 141.

¹¹ It does not include, however, the 3 cm-wide vertical strip at the left of the present panel.

¹² Sold, London, Christie's, 2 July 2013, lot 30.

When sold at Sotheby's in 1997 this picture included a hand resting on a staff in the lower right corner. As the catalogue entry noted then, this was a later addition, and has been removed in the interim. Another example of such an embellishment is the statuette and hand added by Rubens' student Jan Boeckhorst to the *Bearded man in profile* formerly in the Schoenborn collection and sold in 2013.¹²

An examination of the paint layers conducted by Catherine Hassall on 22nd May 2019 confirms that the ground layers of the strip of wood to the left and the main panel are the same, so the panel was not added to subsequent to the painting of the sketch. She could find no separation between the ground and the layers of paint of the armour and the vermilion red used to outline the left shoulder before being covered with black, and certainly no varnish or dirt, which suggests that the armour was part of the original conception of the sketch, or added very shortly afterwards, although the underlying vermilion would be an odd choice for armour, and may indicate that Rubens envisaged a different costume at the outset. the same paint was used for the grey underlay of the armour highlights and the first application of paint for the curved white highlight between the armour and the base of the neck of the boy. Crimson lake was used for the shading around the eyes.

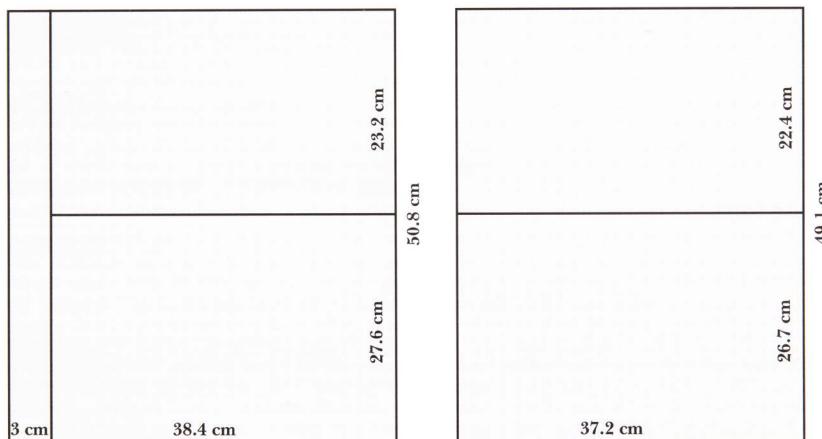


Fig. 6. Diagram showing the make-up of the composite panel



Fig. 7. Willem Panneels (?). Two studies of a youth's head. Black chalk, pen and ink on paper. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen

18

Jacobus Vrel

(Active circa 1654 - circa 1662)

Street scene with a market seen through a brick arch

signed upper centre on a banderole:

JACOBUS VRELL

oil on oak panel

53.1 x 40.4 cm.; 20½ x 15¾ in.

£ 800,000-1,200,000

€ 930,000-1,400,000 US\$ 1,040,000-1,560,000

PROVENANCE

Günther Fasano, Lago di Garda, Italy;

With Bernheimer, Munich;

With Julius Böhler, Munich;

From whom acquired by John D. McIlhenny (1910-1986), Philadelphia, on 21 January 1915;

By inheritance to his widow, by 1935;

With Gebr. Douwes, London, 1979-80 (by whom advertised in *Apollo*, March 1980);

Acquired for the present collection shortly after, and certainly by 1985.

EXHIBITEDAtlanta, High Museum of Art, *Masterpieces of the Dutch Golden Age*, 24 September – 10 November 1985, no. 57.

This is one of Vrel's largest and best-preserved street scenes, and one of very few to be signed with his full name. His name is indeed virtually all that we know about him. Dated works survive from between 1654 and 1662, but we do not know when or where he was born, what or where his training was, where he lived and worked, and when or where he died. Less than forty paintings by him are known, and these are almost evenly divided between street scenes such as this one and interiors, usually with a single female figure. The interiors are sparse, but from their architecture they appear to be in high-ceilinged well-to-do houses, possibly but not necessarily in The Netherlands. They have an enigmatic quality, perhaps best exemplified by the painting in the Fondation Custodia in Paris, in which a woman tilts her chair so she can peer at a child whose face appears at a window: it is not surprising that one of the first serious art-historical studies of Vrel called him an 'intimiste' (fig. 1).¹

His townscapes are equally enigmatic and mysterious. They are nearly all views along streets of brick-built houses, some partly whitewashed, and often including shops, such as the barber or barber-surgeon identified by the golden bowls hanging from a pole in this and several other paintings by him. The roads are usually paved with boulders, some of which are apparently aligned to improve drainage, and others possibly placed to protect the fixtures of buildings from wagon wheels, and vice versa. They are peopled with townsfolk: typically women in red blouses and dark skirts, their heads covered in white cloth; the men in broad-brimmed hats. Vrel gives the viewer the sense that he is in the street, taking part in the life of the town even, but always unobserved. It is perhaps this characteristic, also found in Vermeer's street scenes, that have led some to assume that Vrel was also from Delft.² There is however no evidence for this. Because his street scenes are always so plausible they appear readily identifiable, but they are not. The architecture appears at first glance to be Dutch, but Vrel's towns are probably not from The Netherlands, and are much more likely to be from further east, across the German border, perhaps in Westphalia or Friesland, or as some including Reginier have suggested, further south, near Antwerp, but certainly in the flat lands of north-west Europe where brick predominates as a building material. This impression that we are not in Holland is reinforced by the presence of hooded Capuchin monks in several paintings, including this one. It has often been suggested that they are completely imaginary, and the introduction of a curve in most of them, or a viewpoint from one side that prevents the viewer from seeing all the way down the street, or in this case a massive brick structure pierced by stone arch which closes off the street, gives the impression that the artist does not want the viewer to see further because he does not know himself what lies beyond.³

So far attempts to place streets in Vrel's townscapes in relation to one another have proved fruitless, but it has become apparent when researching the present work that the left side of the street depicted here occurs in mirror image as the right side of the street in a painting sold at Sotheby's from the Van Dedem collection in July 2018 (see fig. 2).⁴ The full implications of this will require further consideration, but we do know that Vrel made chalk drawings – two survive in a private collection – so he might have reversed a street that he drew using a counterproof to serve as a guide. It is not clear in the ex-Van Dedem painting what the purpose is of the structure comprising two limestone or marble tombstone-like uprights with brick behind them, whereas here we see that this is the entrance to a religious building, presumably a monastery.⁵





Fig. 1. Jacobus Vrel, *Woman at a window, waving at a girl*,
The Fritz Lugt Collection



Fig. 2. Jacobus Vrel, *A Cobble Street in a Town with People Conversing*. Sold Sotheby's, London, 4 July 2018, lot 36

LITERATURE

- W.R. Valentiner, 'Dutch genre paintings in the manner of P. de Hooch, II. Jacobus Vrel', *Art in America*, 1929, pp. 91–92;
- C. Brière-Misme, 'Un "intimiste" Hollandais – Jacob Vrel', *Revue de l'Art*, November 1935, pp. 110, n. 2, reproduced p. 107, fig. 5;
- E. Plietzsch, 'Jacobus Vrel und Esaias Boursse', in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 4, 1949, pp. 248 ff.;
- W.R. Valentiner, 'Jacques de Ville or Jacobus Vrel', *Bulletin of the J. Paul Getty Museum of Art*, I, 2, 1959, pp. 23 ff.;
- G. Regnier, 'Jacob Vrel, un Vermeer du Pauvre', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, May–June 1968, reproduced p. 281, fig. 15;
- W. Bernt, *Die Niederländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1980, vol. III, reproduced plate 1432;
- E.A. Honig, *Everything there is to know about... Jacob Vrel*, MS, RKD, The Hague, 25 March 1985, no. B-5;
- F.J. Duparc, *Masterpieces of the Dutch Golden Age*, exh. cat., Atlanta 1985, p. 126, no. 57, reproduced;
- E.A. Honig, 'Looking in (to) Jacob Vrel', in *Yale Journal of Criticism*, III, 1, 1989, pp. 37 ff.;
- E. M[ai], in E. Mai (ed.), *Das Kabinett des Sammlers*, Cologne 1993, pp. 267–68, no. 105, reproduced.

Opposite the monastery entrance two more upright light stone pillars with curved tops announce a steep stone stair to a bridge with a fence and picket-gate over a drainage culvert where a man in a broad-brimmed hat, perhaps a prelate, leans on the fence. Both sides of the street are fully visible in the ex-Van Dedem picture, but not in this one. The projecting sign hanging from a horizontal pole and a tiled open porch are, however, to be found in both paintings.

There is one more thing we can learn from the present painting about the enigmatic and mysterious Jacobus Vrel: he clearly had a sense of humour. He inscribed his signature on a banderole that has just been jettisoned by a figure who leans out of the open window of a box-like windowed structure projecting from the third storey of a house, which looks very much like a privy. You might cast the result of your doings from the privy window into the street below: Vrel appears to have a figure, possibly himself, do the same but with his own name.

Most of Vrel's skies are grey, partly due to clouds, but possibly also due to the use of smalt which can degrade from blue to grey with age. In the present picture the blue has survived, like the rest of the painting, very well. We see a largely blue sky with some slight grey clouds and higher cloud lit creamy-yellow by the sun.

NOTE ON PROVENANCE

The sequence of ownership is different to that usually given but is based on the more detailed account published in 1935 by Brière-Misme, who gives the ownership as Mme John D. Mc Illhenny, and gives an account of the earlier ownership in note 2. Regnier, in 1968, still locates the ownership in the McIlhenny collection, Philadelphia.

¹ See Brière-Misme 1935.

² The first person to write about Vrel was Vermeer's rediscoverer Thoré in 1866, and the association with Vermeer and with Delft endured: as late as 1968, G. Regnier wrote an article entitled 'Jacob Vrel, un Vermeer du pauvre', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6, lxxi, 1968, pp. 269–82.

³ In a painting in the John G. Johnson collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (cat. 542) the street is closed off by the looming bulk of a large church.

⁴ Sotheby's London, 4 July 2018, lot 36.

⁵ These paired stone pillars occur in a number of Vrel street scenes. They are one of several highly distinctive characteristics that should identify the area that inspired Vrel's paintings but so far they have not done so.



19 **Johannes Bosschaert**

(Middelburg 1610/11 - after 1628 Dordrecht?)

Still life with a bouquet of flowers in a globose vase, including iris, briar-rose, a 'Summer beauty' tulip, columbine, lily-of-the-valley and other flowers, together with a porcelain dish with fruit

signed and dated lower left: *I. Bofschaert. 1626*
oil on panel
37.5 x 58 cm.; 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 22 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.

£ 150,000-200,000
€ 175,000-233,000 US\$ 195,000-260,000

PROVENANCE

Dr Hans Wetzlar, Amsterdam;
His deceased sale, Amsterdam, Sotheby's, 9 June 1977, lot 93, for DFL, 160,000 (£37,000);
Carl Schünemann, Bremen, until 1993;
With Peter Tillou, 1993;
Acquired from the above by the present owner.

EXHIBITED

Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts, *La Hollande en fleurs*, 1949, no. 8 (as 'Jeronimus Bosschaert');
Manchester, City Art Gallery, *Early Dutch Flower Paintings*, November–December 1949, no. 6;
Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, *Boom, Bloem en Plant (Tree, flower and Plant)*, 1955, no. 23;
Laren, Singer Museum, *Kunstschatten (Art Treasures)*, 1959, no. 30;
Ghent, Musée des Beaux-Arts, *Fleurs et Jardins dans l'Art Flamand*, 1960, no. 21;
Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, 25 November 1979 – 24 February 1980; and Baden-Baden, Staatliche Kunsthalle, 15 March – 15 June 1980, *Stillleben in Europa*, no. 186;
Amsterdam, Galerie P. de Boer; and Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, *A fruitful past*, 1983, no. 11;
Amsterdam, Kunsthandel K. & V. Waterman, *Masters of Middelburg*, March 1984, no. 22.

During its time in the notable collection of Hans Wetzlar, and subsequently, this painting has been widely exhibited and it is perhaps because of this, as well as its fine execution, rich colouring and nod to the work of Balthasar van der Ast that it seems to so beautifully define the small œuvre of Johannes Bosschaert. An infant prodigy who died tragically early before even out of his teens, Johannes was the second son of Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder (1573–1621), justly regarded as the founder of Dutch still-life painting. Johannes was raised in an artistically stimulating environment; his two brothers – Ambrosius the Younger and Abraham – were also painters and his uncle was the celebrated still-life specialist Balthasar van der Ast (c. 1593/4–1657), to whom he may have been sent to train following the death of his father. Indeed his uncle's influence resonates strongly throughout his small œuvre and the idea here of a combined flower and fruit painting is one that Van der Ast had started to explore a few years before. This painting was at some point cut into two, creating one painting of flowers and one of fruit, with the two pieces subsequently reunited. There are several examples of this in other similar works from this date.



LITERATURE

- M.J. Friedlander, *Collection Dr. H. Wetzlar*, 1952, p. 9, no. 10, reproduced;
- I. Bergstrom, *Dutch Still-Life painting in the Seventeenth Century*, 1956, p. 76, reproduced fig. 68;
- L.J. Bol, 'Een Middelburgse Brueghel-groep, IV. In Bosschaerts spoor (vervolg). 2. Bosschaerts zonen', *Oud Holland*, 71, 1956, pp. 134–36, reproduced fig. 2;
- L.J. Bol, *The Bosschaert Dynasty*, Leigh-on-Sea 1960, pp. 41, 42, 90, no. 15, reproduced plate 50b;
- L.J. Bol, 'Goede Onbekenden, VII. Schilders van het vroege Nederlandse bloemstuk met kleingedierde als bijwerk, vervolg, Balthasar van der Ast en Johannes Bosschaert', *Tableau*, 3, no. 4, 1981, p. 581;
- P. Pieper, 'Das Blumenbukett', in *Stillleben und Europa*, exh. cat., Munster and Baden-Baden, 1979–80, pp. 333–34, reproduced p. 343, fig. 186, and frontispiece;
- L.J. Bol, *Goede Onbekenden. Hedendaagse herkenning en waardering van verscholen, voorbijgezien en onderschat talent*, Utrecht 1982, p. 57;
- N. Bakker et al., *Masters of Middelburg*, exh. cat., Amsterdam 1984, p. 160, no. 22, reproduced p. 161.

Another work from the same year of 1626, which achieved the record price for the artist in 1999 (\$910,000) is of almost identical composition and shares some of the present work's motifs (fig. 1);¹ for example, the dominant, open parrot tulip that crowns the bouquet in this painting is, in the other painting, laid on its side on the ledge. As L.J. Bol pointed out, this particular tulip, or *Zomerschoon* ('Summer beauty') is borrowed from Van der Ast, his uncle.² It is for these references to Van der Ast in the works from 1625 onwards that the assumption of his tutorship to his uncle has been made. References in individual flowers to his father's work are also to be found and these Johannes likely copied directly from the studies and drawings kept by his mother after his father's death in 1621. These two 1626-dated works are at a higher level than anything painted before and it seems likely that he is the 'Bossert' who on 6 November of that year was accepted into the Guild of St Luke at Dordrecht.³

¹ New York, Sotheby's, 28 January 1999, lot 230.

² Bol 1960, p. 41.

³ The difference of the spelling does not necessarily detract from the validity of the identification; in a document in the archives in Dordrecht the name occurs three times in succession, each time with a different spelling: Bosschaert; Bossaert; Bossert.



I. Bosscheret 1626

20 Gerrit Dou

(Leiden 1613 - 1675)

The Penitent Magdalene

signed on the book: GDOV (GD in ligature)

oil on oak panel, with two unidentified collectors' seals on the reverse

25.4 x 17.8 cm.; 10 x 7 in.

£ 700,000-900,000

€ 813,000-1,045,000 US\$ 909,000 – 1,169,000

PROVENANCE

Colonel John Frederick Everett JP (1834–1903),
Greenhill House, Sutton Verney, Warminster;

Augustus Meyers, Forest Lodge, Ashtead, Surrey;

His posthumous sale et al., London, Christie's, 13
May 1949, lot 78, for £546 to Speelman;

With Edward Speelman, London;

By whom sold in 1950 to Sir Robert Bland Bird
(1876–1960) for £1,100;Possibly by inheritance to Pamela Stephanie
Helen Bird, Viscountess de Maudit (1910–2006);Possibly Dr Sydney Wood Bradley (1896–1967),
Ottawa, by 1967;Possibly Helen M. Bradley Langstaff (1912–1986);
Helen Langstaff, Toronto, Canada;Thence by inheritance to the present owner in
1986.

LITERATURE

R. Baer, *The Paintings of Gerrit Dou (1613–1675)*,
Ph.D Thesis, New York University, 1990, Appendix
A (Untraced Works of Undetermined attribution);W. Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*,
Landau/Pfalz 1983, vol. I, pp. 527, 548, no. 251,
reproduced.

This beautiful small panel by Gerrit Dou has only recently been re-discovered, and is offered here at auction for the first time since 1949. Dou was the founder of the Dutch school of *fijnschilderij* ('fine painters'), and this intimate cabinet picture epitomises the meticulous and refined style of painting that he pioneered, and which has since become synonymous with the school of Leiden, the city where he spent his entire career. This is one of only four paintings of Mary Magdalene by Dou that have survived, and the only one to remain in private hands. It is a relatively late work, and was probably painted in the early 1660s, for it reflects Dou's interests at that date in the female nude and feminine beauty, as well as his lifelong interest in the theme of solitary religious figures, such as hermits. By this date Dou's work had acquired a truly international reputation, and his paintings commanded some of the highest prices of their day, frequently higher than even those of his more famous teacher, Rembrandt himself. The Danish scholar Ole Borch, who visited Dou's studio in 1662 described him as 'the excellent painter of Leiden... unequalled in the Netherlands and even in all other countries of the world'.¹

Aside from the present panel, the small extant group of paintings of the Magdalene by Dou include those in the Staatliche Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe; the Hamburg Kunsthalle; and the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (fig. 1).² All four paintings are painted on small oak panels of similar size.³ In each picture the saint is depicted in a rocky grotto beside a dying tree, whose branches curve over and above her in a form of natural arch, while Mary sits or kneels before an open book, presumably a bible. In each painting the saint has one breast exposed – undoubtedly as a reference to her former life as a prostitute – which she modestly covers with her hand in the Karlsruhe version. Her eyes are uniformly cast heavenwards in contemplation, and in the present painting and that in Karlsruhe, the saint additionally holds a crucifix and a scourge respectively. The rocky ledge before which she prays is in each case adorned with various objects symbolic of the theme of *vanitas*, which alludes to the transitoriness of life on earth: here a skull and a snuffed-out candle, in Karlsruhe an hour glass and skull, in Hamburg an extinguished lamp, and lastly a skull in the Stockholm version. All of these, as well as the wonderful old gnarled bark of the dead tree, are rendered by Dou with the utmost care and attention to detail and the play of light. Although in reverse, the present painting is closest in design to that in Stockholm, in which Mary wears a very similar white chemise and prays before a crucifix rather than clasping it. The present work appears to be unique in that it shows the distant night sky through the arch of the grotto.

Although Dou signed a great many of his works, relatively few are also dated, and this makes dating his works problematic. Dou's brushwork and the consistently smooth, and at times almost enamelled finish which concealed it – no doubt a legacy of his earliest training in glass painting,⁴ – shows little sign of development until his latest years, and thus offers few clues. The first compiler of a catalogue of his paintings, Wilhelm Martin, was unaware of this panel, but he dated all three of the other Magdalene paintings to around 1635–40.⁵ More recently, however, Dr Ronni Baer has argued for a much later dating, probably around 1660–65, for both the Hamburg and Karlsruhe Magdalenes, drawing attention to the creamy whites of the chemise as more typical of the second half of Dou's career. Thematically, she also suggests that the subject of the Magdalene is as closely related, if not more so, to the beautiful young girls at windows that Dou had begun to paint in the mid-1650s than to the ascetic hermits in meditation.⁶ Nevertheless, the general composition of this panel can certainly be compared

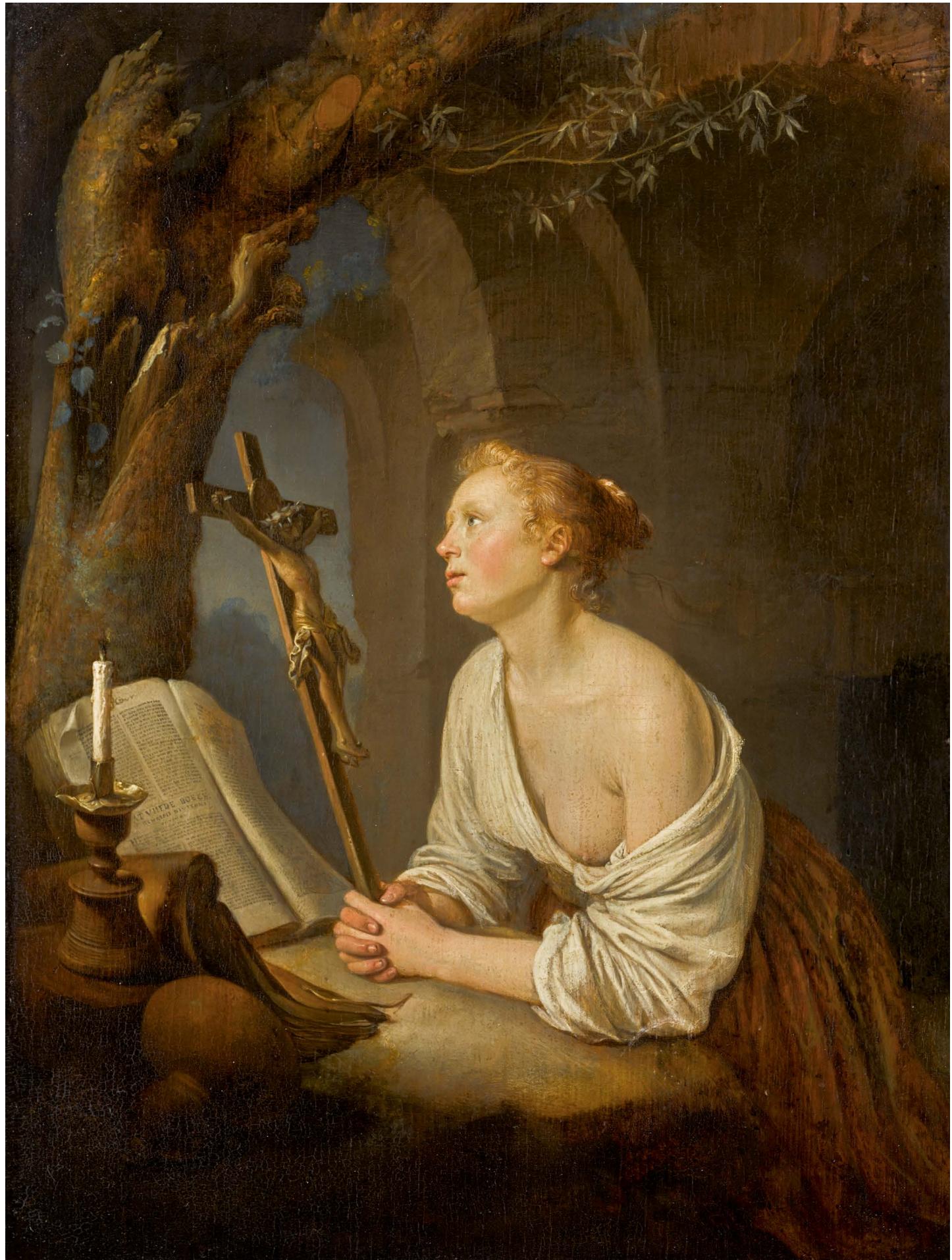




Fig. 1. Gerrit Dou, *The Penitent Magdalene*. Oil on panel, 26 x 19 cm.
National Museum, Stockholm. Bridgeman Images



Fig. 2. Gerrit Dou, *The Bather*. 1660-65. Oil on panel, 25 x 19 cm.
The Hermitage, Saint Petersburg

with his later depictions of hermits from this period, such as the *Hermit* of 1664 at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.⁷ Another possible pointer to a dating would be Dou's use of what seems to be the same model for the nude figure in his *Bather*, today at the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg (fig. 2), and for the figure of Mary Magdalene in the present picture. The physiognomy and even the arrangement of the hair seems extremely close in both paintings (figs 3 and 4). The St Petersburg panel forms part of a remarkable group of three studies of nudes that were owned by Dou's most important patron in the second half of his career, Johan de Bye (c. 1621–before 1672), a prominent citizen of Leiden and a pious Remonstrant. If we are looking at the same model then a possible dating around or before 1665 for our panel is provided by the fact that the *Bather* (and the other two nudes) formed part of an exhibition of no less than twenty-seven of Dou's paintings displayed by de Bye in the house of the painter Johannes Hannot (1635–1685) in Leiden in September 1665.⁸ On stylistic grounds Baer dates all three of these nudes to the same period as the Hamburg and Karlsruhe Magdalenes, and the many parallels between the present panel and these other works would strongly suggest that it too was painted in the same period at the beginning of the 1660s.⁹ Most recently Irena Sokolova has also suggested a dating around 1660–65 for the group.¹⁰

Dou's depictions of both Mary Magdalene and the hermit saints were no doubt intended as paradigms of the contemplative life but whereas the iconography of the hermit pictures stressed the constancy of their devotions and their ultimate triumph over death through prayer, those of the penitent Magdalene present not only a personification of piety, but additionally hold out the hope of redemption through prayer and repentance. As an inscription on the Hamburg panel declaims (to both saint and spectator): *Vive ut vivas* ('Live so that you may live'). In the present panel this redemption is symbolised by the detail of the new branches springing from the withered bark of the old tree, representing the possibility of new life. The contemporary viewer was thus offered a simple moral warning, that of the choice between good and evil, as symbolised by the two trees, one living and one dead. As Baer and others have pointed out, this imagery was based upon an emblem from Roemer Visscher's contemporary *Sinepoppen*, which carried the motto *Keur baert angst* ('Choice brings anxiety').¹¹

Dou's Mary certainly seems to be a suitable model for contemplation. In complete contrast to the often naked and tousle-haired beauties painted by Italian artists such as Titian or Reni, the Magdalene is here portrayed by Dou, not as a fallen wanton, but as a moral exemplar. Her golden tresses are carefully pulled



Fig. 3. Gerrit Dou, *The Bather* (detail). The Hermitage, Saint Petersburg



Fig. 4. Detail of present painting

¹ Cited by Ronni Baer in 'The Life and Art of Gerrit Dou', in *Gerrit Dou 1613–1675. Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington; Dulwich Picture Gallery, London; and Mauritshuis, The Hague 2000–01, p. 32, n. 68.

² Another closely related variant, in which the saint sits by candlelight in her grotto was sold New York, Sotheby's, 29 January 2009, lot 117 (as attributed to Dou).

³ The Karlsruhe panel measures 25.5 x 19 cm., the Hamburg panel 25 x 19 cm., and the Stockholm *Magdalene* 26 x 19 cm.

⁴ Dou trained with his father, a glazier, and the glass painter Pieter Couwenhorn for two years, and was a member of the Glaziers' Guild from 1625–27, before leaving to join Rembrandt's workshop in February 1628.

⁵ W. Martin, *Gerard Dou. Des Meisters Gemälde*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1913, nos 3, 4 and 5, all reproduced.

⁶ Baer 1990, under no. 101.2.

⁷ Baer 1990, no. 91.

⁸ All three paintings are now at the Hermitage in St Petersburg and were jointly exhibited Amsterdam, Hermitage Museum, *Dutch Masters from the Hermitage*, 2018, nos 12–14; see R. Baer, 'Dou's Nudes', in *Aemulatio: Imitation, Emulation and Invention in Netherlandish Art from 1500–1800. Essays in honor of Eric Jan Sluijter*, Zwolle 2011, pp. 371–81. For a discussion of de Bye's exhibition see Baer in Washington–London–The Hague 2000–01, p. 30, n. 43.

⁹ Baer 2011, pp. 371–81.

¹⁰ I. Sokolova, in *Dutch Masters from the Hermitage*, exh. cat., Amsterdam 2018, pp. 96–105.

¹¹ R. Visscher, *Sinepoppen*, Amsterdam 1614, no. 11.

¹² O. Naumann, *Frans van Mieris the Elder*, Doornspijk 1981, vol. I, p. 90.

¹³ Cited in Naumann 1981, vol. I, p. 90.

¹⁴ J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, 1675–79, A.R. Peltzer (ed.), Munich 1925, pp. 195–96.

back into a neat bun, and her steadfast demeanour suggests that she is instead a symbol of redemption and renewal. Her exposed breast hints at her sensual past, but the painting is never overtly erotic, and its redemptive message is never undermined. As Naumann has observed, the popularity of the subject of the penitent Magdalene in Dutch painting of this period must be seen against the background of contemporary Calvinist doctrines of repentance and piety.¹² The poem *Mary Magdalene* dedicated to the saint by the staunch Calvinist preacher Jacobus Revius (1586–1658) gives us an indication of a contemporary viewer's response to such a painting:

‘Woman, thy love has been a passion strong and ardent,
And God forgave thy many sins by act of grace.
By His undeserved love our many faults are pardoned,
That we may serve Him, ay, each in his humble place.’¹³

Dou's home city of Leiden was also the seat of a famous university, and such themes such as the Magdalene and the concomitant *vanitas* elements would have been equally appreciated intellectually by Calvinists and Catholics alike.

Dou's paintings such as this were greatly admired from his own lifetime until late in the nineteenth century. According to his earliest biographer Joachim Sandrart (1606–1688), Dou's small pictures sold for between 600 and 1,000 Dutch guilders, then a substantial price. He further claimed that Dou had needed eyeglasses by the age of thirty, and commented on his very slow working method, apparently taking days to paint the smallest details.¹⁴ While the more colourful details of Sandrart's account may not be entirely trustworthy, there is no doubt of the reputation Dou held among his contemporaries. By 1648, when he is recorded among the founder-members of the Guild of Saint Luke in Leiden, Dou's works already fetched some of the highest prices of their day. Queen Christina of Sweden owned at least eleven of his works, and other royal patrons included the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria and probably the Grand Duke Cosimo III of Tuscany. By 1660 Dou was sufficiently famous for the Dutch States General to acquire three paintings from him as a gift to the newly crowned Charles II of England. Dou's skills so favourably impressed Charles that he singled out his works for praise and invited him to his court. Dou declined the offer and remained in Leiden where he died a wealthy man.

We are grateful to Dr Ronni Baer for endorsing the attribution to Gerrit Dou following first-hand inspection of the painting, and for suggesting a likely date of execution of around 1660–65.

21 Thomas Roberts

(Waterford 1748 - 1777 Lisbon)

A wooded landscape in Powerscourt Demesne, with a brace of fallow bucks and a doe

signed and dated, lower right:
TRoberts / Ireland 1774

oil on canvas

112 x 153 cm.; 44 x 60½ in.

£ 200,000-300,000
€ 233,000-349,000 US\$ 260,000-390,000

PROVENANCE

The Earl of Yarborough, Brocklesby Park, Lincolnshire, by 1877;

Anonymous sale ('From a Private Collection'), New York, Christie's, 15 January 1988, lot 46;

There acquired by the present owner.

EXHIBITED

Possibly London, Society of Artists, 1775, either no. 404 (as 'A View in Lord Powerscourt's Park'), or no. 405 (as 'ditto').

LITERATURE

W. Laffan and B. Rooney, *Thomas Roberts. Landscape and patronage in eighteenth century Ireland*, Tralee 2009, pp. 384-85, no. 56, reproduced in colour.

The Powerscourt estate, at Enniskerry in County Wicklow, situated between the confluence of the Dargle and Glencree rivers to the south and the Glencullen river to the north, in the foothills of the Wicklow Mountains, is one of the great landscape gardens of the world. Home to the Wingfield family, Viscounts Powerscourt, in the eighteenth century the demesne was a favourite subject for artists and much celebrated for its sublime scenery, waterfalls and distant views of the fabled Sugarloaf Mountain.

The leading Irish landscape painter of the eighteenth century and an artist of exceptional talent, Thomas Roberts was born in Waterford. The eldest son of the architect John Roberts, his maternal grandfather was a French army Major who had served under William III in Ireland. Roberts entered the Dublin schools in 1763, where he was taught by James Mannin, before being apprenticed to the landscape painter George Mullins. Mullins also ran a pub in Dublin and it is reported by Pasquin that Roberts earned his keep painting over the black eyes and scars of those proprietors of his master tap-room who had been brawling the evening before. An artist of great talent, he was also a pupil of John Butts, and tempered the style of Vernet with Dutch elements.

A victim of tuberculosis for most of his adult life, between 1766 and 1773 Roberts exhibited fifty-six works at the Society of Artist, gaining a reputation almost immediately as the most brilliant landscape painter of his era in Ireland. His career was tragically cut short, however, when, in 1778, he travelled to Lisbon in an effort to assuage his condition and died there the same year at the age of just twenty-eight.

During his short-lived but prolific career Roberts was patronised by many of the leading figures of the Irish establishment, including the Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Ross, Viscount Cremorne and the Vesleys of Lucan. Possibly his most influential patron, however, was Simon, 1st Earl Harcourt, who served as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland between 1772 and 1777. A leading aesthete, Harcourt had founded the Society of Dilettanti with Sir Francis Dashwood in 1734, and was the first major patron of Paul Sandby, the leading English landscape painter of the same generation. The Earl commissioned at least two landscapes from Roberts, which are among the artists most exceptional works, and it is believed that it may well have been through Harcourt that he was introduced to English patronage.



22 ⚠ Thomas Gainsborough, R.A.

(Sudbury 1727 - 1788 London)

Going to Market, Early Morning

oil on canvas

121.8 x 147.2 cm.; 48 x 58 in.

W £ 7,000,000-9,000,000

€ 8,130,000-10,460,000 US\$ 9,100,000-11,690,000

PROVENANCE

Purchased from the artist by his banker, Henry Hoare (1705–1785), of Stourhead, Wiltshire, for 80 guineas, on 6 July 1773;

By descent to his grandson, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, 2nd Bt (1758–1838);

Thence by descent in the Hoare family at Stourhead until sold;

Stourhead Heirlooms sale, London, Christie's, 2 June 1883, lot 16, to Martin on behalf of Thomas Holloway (1800–1883) for Royal Holloway College, London;

From whom acquired in 1993 for the present collection.

This exceptionally beautiful painting is one of a small group of important landscape paintings by Gainsborough on the theme of travellers and pack horses produced in the 1770s, when the artist was resident in Bath. Gainsborough's major landscapes are extremely rare and this is unquestionably one of his finest masterpieces remaining in private hands. Described by John Hayes, the great scholar of this area of Gainsborough's art, as 'among the most exquisitely painted of all Gainsborough's works' and widely regarded as one of his most ravishing paintings, it is often considered a companion to *Peasants Returning from Market, Evening* (The Iveagh Bequest, English Heritage, Kenwood, fig. 1), on the basis of their shared subject and the treatment of the composition.¹ The third major picture belonging to this group of Bath landscapes on the theme of travellers going to or from market is *The Return from Market* (Cincinnati Art Museum, Ohio, fig. 2). Conceived on a considerably grander format, this painting was acquired directly from the artist by his London banker, Henry Hoare of Stourhead, an important collector and patron of the arts. Known today as *The Holloway Gainsborough* for the fact that it spent over a century as one of the highlights of the celebrated collection at Royal Holloway College, it was acquired in the early 1990s by a distinguished British private collector. Only the second time that it has appeared at auction in nearly two hundred and fifty years, it is undoubtedly one of the finest eighteenth-century British landscapes by any artist ever to come to market.

EXHIBITED

London, British Institution, *Pictures by the late William Hogarth, Richard Wilson, Thomas Gainsborough and J. Zoffani*, 1814, no. 36;

London, Royal Academy, *Works of the Old Masters*, 1870, no. 124;

London, Arts Council, *Thomas Gainsborough*, 1949, no. 12;

Nottingham, University Art Gallery, *Landscapes by Thomas Gainsborough*, 1962, no. 18;

London Royal Academy, *Bicentenary Exhibition*, 1968, no. 143;

Paris, Petit Palais, *La Peinture Romantique Anglaise et les Préraphaélites*, 1972, no. 124;

Milan, Palazzo Reale, British Council, *Pittura Inglese 1660/1840*, 1975, no. 51;

Munich, Haus der Kunst, *Zwei Jahrhunderte Englische Malerei; Britische Kunst und Europa 1680 bis 1880*, 1979–80, no. 35;

Paris, Grand Palais, *Gainsborough*, 1981, no. 45;

London, Tate Gallery, *New Displays at the Tate*, December 1995 – 24 January 1998;

Bath, Victoria Art Gallery, *Gainsborough in Bath*, 26 January – 30 May 1998;

Ferrara, Palazzo dei Diamanti, *Thomas Gainsborough*, 6 June 1998 – 30 August 1998;









Fig. 1. Thomas Gainsborough, R.A., *Evening landscape with peasants returning from market*. The Iveagh Bequest. English Heritage, Kenwood House

EXHIBITED CONT.

Sudbury, Gainsborough's House, *Gainsborough at Sudbury*, 7 September 1998 – 2 September 1999;
 London, Tate Britain, *Gainsborough*, 24 October 2002 – 19 January 2003, no. 115;
 Washington, National Gallery of Art, *Gainsborough*, 9 February – 11 May 2003, no. 115;
 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, *Gainsborough*, 9 June – 14 September 2003, no. 115.

LITERATURE

Indenture, dated 27 January 1784, Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office MS. 383 / 714, listing the present painting hanging in the Picture Gallery at Stourhead;
 W. Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England*, London 1798, p. 119 (listed among the pictures 'admired most' at Stourhead);
 Anonymous, *A Description of the House and Gardens at Stourhead*, Salisbury 1800, p. 14;
 J. Britton, *The Beauties of Wiltshire*, 3 vols, London 1801, vol. II, p. 8, listed as hanging in the Cabinet Room at Stourhead: 'a well finished and masterly performance of this eccentric, but great English artist';
 Rev. R. Warner, *Excursions from Bath*, Bath 1801, p. 97;

The scene depicts a group of mounted figures on a road cresting a rise of ground, silhouetted against the brilliant light of early dawn. At the head of the caravan is a courting pair of rustic lovers – a favourite theme in Gainsborough's art – carrying baskets filled with produce on their way to market. Behind them, emerging from the shimmering early morning mist, are three figures whose identity has been debated, but are most likely be colliers, a common sight on the roads around Bath at this time. In the lower left foreground, a young mother nursing her two young children, presumably a beggar – also a common sight on the roads of England at this time – gazes up at the courting couple from the wayside, close to a sedgy pool. The introduction of mother and child underlines the overtones of romance within the picture, linking them with that of motherly love, and anticipates those larger family groups gathered outside a cottage door, which would become a mainstay of the artist's later landscape paintings. Painted with an assured but wonderfully delicate touch, with subtle effects of cool light seen through translucent foliage, it is an undisputed masterpiece by a great artist at the peak of his abilities.

The subject of riders and pack horses on a road heading to or from market was a popular theme in Gainsborough's art during his time in Bath, appearing in numerous paintings and drawings (fig. 3). The subject was one that provided the artist with the opportunity to depict the silvery light of dawn or the warm glow of evening, which must partly have accounted for its appeal to him. Following the picturesque principles of his day, just as Gainsborough always associates a bridge with a ruined building in his landscapes, so he links travelling peasants with beggars. Precedent for such groupings of motifs can be found in continental painting of the first half of the eighteenth-century, examples of which by artists such as Marco Ricci (1676–1730) would have been known to Gainsborough. Unlike in the paintings of these earlier artists, where the figures' fashionable dress resolutely grounds them in their own time and place, Gainsborough's imagery is rendered timeless by the transformation of the passers by into peasants.



Fig. 2. Thomas Gainsborough, R.A., *Returning from Market*. Cincinnati Art Museum, Ohio

Catalogue of the Pictures, Prints... etc at Stourhead, 3 February 1808, Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office MS 383/ 715, listed as: 'Peasants and Colliers By Gainsborough', hanging in the Cabinet Room at Stourhead;

P. Hoare, *Epochs of the Arts*, London 1813, pp. 76–77, note;

R. Colt Hoare, *A description of the house and gardens at Stourhead*, Bath 1818, p. 14;

J. P. Neale, *Views of seats of noblemen and gentlemen*, 5 vols., London 1822, vol. V, unpaginated;

Inventory of heirlooms at Stourhead, Hoare MS, 1838, Hoare's Bank, Fleet Street, London, listed as: 'Peasants and Colliers riding to Market at dawn of day';

Anonymous, *Catalogue of the Hoare Library at Stourhead*, London 1840, p. 742;

G.F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 3 vols., London 1854, vol. III, p. 173;

G. W. Fulcher, *Life of Thomas Gainsborough, R.A.*, London 1856, p. 199;

W. Armstrong, *Gainsborough & his place in English Art*, London 1898, p. 206;

J. Climenson (ed.), *Passages from the diaries of Mrs Philip Lybbe Powys*, London 1899, p. 173 (recording seeing the painting on her visit to Stourhead in August 1776);

The sophistication of Gainsborough's landscapes from this period is highlighted by the solid modelling of the two principal figures, as in *The Woodcutter's Return* (Duke of Rutland, Belvoir Castle) of a similar date, which Hayes contrasts with the parallel pair of rustic lovers in the artist's *Mounted Peasants and pack-horses returning from market* (Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio), painted five or six years earlier. As with a number of his landscapes from this date, including *The Cottage Door* (Huntington Art Gallery, San Marino), the majority of the figures are raggedly dressed, conforming to the dictates of picturesque theory. The seductively beautiful girl in the centre, around which the whole composition revolves, however, is no ordinary countrywoman. Rosy cheeked and beautiful, with a ladylike demeanour, her auburn hair is fashionably dressed, though the ringlets fall about her shoulders in an informal style that anticipates the fashion of two or three years later (which, indeed, was partly inspired by Gainsborough's imagery). She is the epitome of 'rustic beauty exalted by a gentility of expression',² and it was figures such as this beautiful redhead that Hazlitt had in mind when he wrote that Gainsborough gave 'the air of an Adonis to the driver of a hay-cart, and models the features of a milk-maid on the principles of the antique'. The charm of Gainsborough's mounted peasant girl may not be entirely fanciful, however. A number of contemporary accounts describe the pretty country girls that were employed to sell produce in popular spa towns such as Bath, which prided themselves on their luxury-goods shops and high-quality fresh food markets.

Gainsborough was a lifelong admirer of Dutch Golden Age landscape painters such as Hobbema, Ruisdael and Cuyp, and the theme of peasants going to market appearing over the brow of a hill, with a brilliant dawn behind, finds its precedent in a painting by Aelbert Cuyp at the Mauritshuis, The Hague (fig. 4). Equally the hauntingly lovely effect of shimmering morning light through rising mist, appears in part inspired by works such as Rubens' *The Birdcatcher and the Woodcutter* (Musée du Louvre, Paris). The subject of Gainsborough's



Fig. 3. Thomas Gainsborough, R.A., *Peasants going to Market*, 1770-74.
Gainsborough's House, Sudbury. Bridgeman Images

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- W. Armstrong, *Gainsborough & his place in English Art*, London 1904, p. 287;
- W. T. Whitley, *Thomas Gainsborough*, London 1915, p. 358;
- M. Woodall, *Gainsborough's landscape drawings*, London 1939, pp. 49, 50, 55, 110, reproduced, pl. 50;
- M. Woodall, *Thomas Gainsborough: His life and work*, London 1949, pp. 93-94;
- E. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790*, Harmondsworth 1953, p. 188;
- E. Waterhouse, *Gainsborough*, London 1958, p. 25, no. 911, reproduced pl. 115;
- Landscapes by Thomas Gainsborough*, exh. cat., Nottingham 1962, no. 18, reproduced;
- M. Woodall, 'Gainsborough Landscapes at Nottingham University', in *The Burlington Magazine*, December 1962, p. 562;
- J. Hayes, 'Gainsborough and Rubens', *Apollo*, vol. 78, August 1963, pp. 92-93, reproduced fig. 8;
- J. Hayes, 'Gainsborough', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, April 1965, pp. 321 and 324;
- J. Hayes, *The Drawings of Thomas Gainsborough*, 2 vols, London and New Haven 1970, pp. 17, 68, 225, 300, reproduced pls 301 (detail) and 369;

landscapes, however, and the figures with which he populated them, are entirely of his own creation and find their inspiration in the artist's first-hand encounters with real country folk. Uvedael Price, the great theorist on the Picturesque and a friend of Gainsborough's famously recorded that as a young man, when he and Gainsborough were both living in Bath: 'I made frequent excursions with him into the country; he was a man of an eager irritable mind, though warmly attached to those he loved; of a lively and playful imagination, yet at times severe and sarcastic: but when we came to a cottage or village scene, to groups of children, or to any object of that kind which struck his fancy, I have often remarked in his countenance an expression of particular gentleness and complacency.'¹³ Equally Gainsborough himself declared, when it was suggested to him that he might paint some elevated biblical or historical scene, that though 'there might be exceeding pretty Pictures painted' of that type, he preferred to 'fill up' his pictures with 'dirty little subjects of Coal horses & Jack asses and such figures'.¹⁴ It is quite clear that Gainsborough, who himself was born in the small country town of Sudbury in Suffolk and remained throughout his life a countryman at heart, identified personally with these rural figures, who represented in his mind an idyllic existence and freedom, for which he longed himself, and found in them his true inspiration. It is this strong sense of Rousseauism in his work, in contrast to the more violet emotions found in contemporary pastorals from the circle of Fragonard, that is the hallmark of Gainsborough's mature landscapes.

Both Gainsborough's concept and treatment of these rural subjects are picturesque and sentimental, but in his exaggeration and dramatic isolation of the close knit figural group, back lit by the dazzling silvery dawn light (almost like figures on a stage), as well as the agitated setting of the scene, the artist transcends the mundanity of everyday life and takes his subject somewhere deeper, to feelings that lie beyond their obvious qualities. This strong sense of



Fig. 4. Aelbert Cuyp, *Migrating Peasants in a southern countryside*. Mauritshaus, The Hague

J. Hayes, *Gainsborough as a printmaker*, London 1971, p. 43;

L. Herrmann, *British landscape painting in the eighteenth century*, London 1973, p. 97;

D. Sutton, 'Realms of Enjoyment', in *Apollo*, November 1973, p. 337, reproduced fig. 10;

La Peinture Romantique Anglaise et les Préraphaélites, exh. cat., Petit Palais, Paris 1972, cat. no. 124, reproduced;

J. Hayes, *Gainsborough. Paintings and Drawings*, Oxford 1975, p. 217, no. 80, reproduced pl. 115;

Pittura Inglese 1660/1840, exh. cat., British Council, Milan 1975, no. 51;

T. Clifford, A. Griffiths and M. Royalton-Kisch, *Gainsborough and Reynolds in the British Museum*, exh. cat., London 1978, p. 20;

Zwei Jahrhunderte Englische Malerei; Britische Kunst und Europa 1680 bis 1880, exh. cat., Munich, 1979–80, cat. no. 35, reproduced in colour p. 29;

J. Barrell, *The dark side of the landscape*, Cambridge 1980, pp. 53–54, reproduced;

D. Gordon, *Second Sight: Rubens: The Watering Place / Gainsborough: The Watering Place*, exh. cat., National Gallery, London 1981, p. 17, reproduced fig. 17;

romanticism in his art is not unlike that of Constable (whose deep admiration for Gainsborough's art is well documented), over forty years later. Like Constable, whose work made heroic the scenes of everyday life, Gainsborough's landscapes took the commonplace scenes of contemporary rural life, the ordinary comings and goings of the agrarian poor, and made them extraordinary – the ignoble made noble, a subject fit for the realms of high art – thereby transcending the eighteenth-century tradition of landscape painting, so dependent as it was on classical principles.

The precise reading of the subject of this painting has been debated by scholars over time. For most of the twentieth century the painting was referred to simply as a scene of mounted peasants going to market, passing a beggar on the road. Writing in the 1990s, Michael Rosenthal saw this and other landscapes in the group as examples of social commentary in Gainsborough's art, with the artist engaging in the moral discourse of his age. The late eighteenth century was a period of dramatic population growth and social upheaval in the countryside, with significant mechanisation of farming practices and increasing urbanisation as a result of the Industrial Revolution. The two decades between 1760 and 1780 saw a substantial increase in the enclosure of once common land for specialised agriculture, resulting in a sharp increase in rural poverty and destitution in rural areas. Rosenthal contrasted the scenes of destitution found in this painting and other pastoral landscapes by Gainsborough of this date, with the artist's earlier works which seem to depict apparently contented peasants living off common land. With particular reference to the Kenwood landscape (fig. 1), he suggested a moral reading of this group of works based upon the emergence of different levels of rural poverty and the neglect of charity. Indeed, charity is a theme that runs through many later landscapes by Gainsborough, who was an early supporter of the Foundling Hospital – the leading charitable institution of the period.



Fig. 5. Thomas Gainsborough, R.A., *Landscape with peasants returning from market*.
Private Collection © Sotheby's

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- J. Lindsay, *Thomas Gainsborough: His life and art*, London 1981, p. 114;
- Gainsborough*, P. Rosenberg and J. Hayes (eds), exh. cat., Grand Palais, Paris 1981, pp. 138–39, cat. no. 45, reproduced p. 139, and in colour p. 74;
- G. Waterfield, 'Winning Parisian Hearts', in *Country Life*, 16 April 1981, p. 1051, reproduced fig. 4;
- J. Hayes, *The Landscape Paintings of Thomas Gainsborough*, 2 vols, London 1982, vol. I, pp. 110, 112–13, 115–16, 120, 148 and 167, reproduced fig. 182 (detail), vol. II, pp. 451–52, cat. no. 107, reproduced;
- J. Chapel, *Victorian Taste: The complete catalogue of paintings at the Royal Holloway College*, London 1982, pp. 13 and 92–93, reproduced in colour pl. 62;
- M. Levey, 'The Genius of Gainsborough', in *Christie's International Magazine*, October 1990, p. 5, reproduced in colour;
- J. Hayes, *The Holloway Gainsborough*, London 1995, extensively reproduced in colour;
- S. Sloman, 'The Holloway Gainsborough: Its subject re-examined', in *Gainsborough's House Review*, 1997/8, pp. 47–48;
- M. Rosenthal, *The Art of Thomas Gainsborough*, New Haven and London 1999, pp. 204–05, reproduced in colour pl. 203;
- Gainsborough*, M. Rosenthal and M. Myrone (eds), exh. cat., Tate, London 2002, p. 217, cat. no. 115, reproduced in colour;
- S. Sloman, *Gainsborough's landscapes. Themes and variations*, exh. cat., Holburne, Bath 2011, pp. 54, 57 and 59 n. 15.

As Susan Sloman was the first to point out, however, in early inventories of the Stourhead collection the figures in this painting are clearly identified as 'Peasants and Colliers', and in the 1883 Christie's sale catalogue the picture was given the title *Peasants and Colliers going to market: early morning*. Colliers were a common sight on the roads of Wiltshire in the late eighteenth century, frequenting the roads around Bath in equal number to people travelling to and from the town's busy market. A local map dating from 1773, the year Gainsborough's picture was sold to Henry Hoare, shows two coal pits less than three miles from the centre of Bath, just off the Bristol Road. Eighteenth-century English coal seams were usually small and quickly exhausted, with the result that miners regularly had to move from one place to another to find work. Equally, with the many steep hills around the city and in the absence of suitable waterways, coal was largely transported into Bath on horseback, in panniers and sacks; and its cheap availability was one of the reasons Bath became a popular winter resort. When not actually delivering coal, the miners rode their animals, sitting astride the wooden pack saddles, and several contemporary accounts describe colliers on the roads around Bath in this manner. Noted for their somewhat haughty demeanour and clannish behaviour, they were a God-fearing bunch with a marked contempt for the moneyed classes, considered something of a menace by more refined travellers on the roads.

Whilst land enclosure was a recurrent literary theme in the late eighteenth century, if Gainsborough's landscapes from this period to some extent reflect his own experience of the countryside around Bath, it was not an issue uppermost in the local consciousness, since most of the surrounding land had been enclosed since the seventeenth century. As Hayes stated, Gainsborough's landscapes are peopled with figures 'drawn from contemporary country life' rather than Old Master models and both agricultural workers and miners would have been the most readily available rural subjects for him at the time.

GAINSBOROUGH AND LANDSCAPE

During his lifetime Gainsborough made his living painting portraits, or as the artist himself referred to it ‘the curs’d face business’. Painting landscape, however, was his pleasure. In an often quoted letter to his friend, the organist and composer William Jackson, Gainsborough, who was a keen and talented musician himself, wrote from Bath in 1768 complaining: ‘I am sick of portraits and wish very much to take my Viol de Gam[ba] and walk off to some sweet Village where I can paint Landskips and enjoy the fag End of Life in quietness and ease’. As the great art historian Roger Fry, who praised Gainsborough above all other English eighteenth century artists, commented: ‘nothing in all Gainsborough’s art is more fascinating than his beginnings when, as a quite untaught boy at Sudbury, the passion for landscape came upon him. Landscape, indeed, was from beginning to end his true passion’.⁵

Susan Sloman has highlighted the importance of composition in Gainsborough’s landscapes, comparing his structuring of painting to the way a composer writes a piece of music. As Gainsborough played several instruments and spent more time in the company of musicians than he did other painters, the analogy is particularly apt. It is clear from even the most cursory study of the artist’s landscape paintings and drawings that, throughout his career, Gainsborough returned again and again to certain themes within his work, repeating and reinterpreting particular motifs and ideas and reworking them in different keys and variations – much as a musician would reinterpret a piece of music. As such there is a strongly lyrical feel that runs through Gainsborough’s art, connecting individual works to one another which, when studied together, reveal the artist’s creative mind at work or – if we accept his own description of landscape painting – at play. A good example of this is found in a watercolour drawing of 1780–85, which largely repeats the composition of the present work almost a decade later, in another medium (fig. 5).

When Gainsborough was born, landscape painting in England was in its infancy. The genre had flourished on the continent in the seventeenth century, but by the 1730s there was such a dearth of talent that the artist Nicholas Vleughels (1668–1737), director of the French Academy in Rome, was moved to declare: ‘There are no longer any landscape painters... perhaps someone will come, who will take up this part, which is almost extinguished.’⁶ The English aristocracy and landed gentry, the natural source of patronage for an artist at this date, had always collected landscape paintings, but at the beginning of the eighteenth century those that they had acquired had by necessity been old and imported, and they were slow to turn their attention to contemporary British artists. Gainsborough would therefore have grown up in the knowledge that there was a limited market for his preferred form of painting but was nevertheless more naturally inclined toward the pure visual pleasure that was to be found in landscapes than the intellectually rigorous pursuit of history painting. It was therefore of added importance to the artist and the development of his career that this painting went to such a good home.



Fig. 6. William Hoare of Bath, *Portrait of Henry Hoare, 'The Magnificent'*. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles © Sotheby's



Fig. 7. Francis Nicholson (1753-1844), *The Gardens at Stourhead*. Private Collection. Bridgeman Images

NOTE ON PROVENANCE

The provenance of this painting could hardly be more illustrious for an English eighteenth-century landscape. In July 1773 it was bought directly from the artist by Henry Hoare of Stourhead (1705–1785), who was Gainsborough's London banker (fig. 6). Despite this, there is little evidence that the two men actually knew each other, and payment for the picture was made in response to a bill presented by Gainsborough's friend and fellow painter William Hoare of Bath (no relation – though his daughter Mary would later marry Hoare's nephew, another Henry). Hoare had been established as a portrait painter in Bath for twenty years by the time Gainsborough arrived in the town in 1758 and by the 1760s had assumed a patriarchal role within the artistic and cultural community, acting as an agent as well as a painter in his own right. A regular visitor to Stourhead, in 1765 Hoare designed a cascade for the garden together with Coplestone Warre Bampfylde, and it seems that in this case the elder artist used his longstanding friendship with the Hoares of Stourhead to help promote the career of the younger artist. Nevertheless, the sale of one of his major landscapes to a prestigious and much-visited collection like Henry Hoare's at Stourhead was clearly a major coup for Gainsborough, and went a long way in establishing his reputation as one of the most important contemporary artists working in Britain at this time.

Henry Hoare was the grandson of Sir Richard Hoare (1648–1719), the original founder of Hoare's Bank, which remains today the oldest private banking house in the world. His father, also called Henry, had bought the manor of Stourton in Wiltshire in 1717 and employed Colen Campbell to build a new Palladian mansion, Stourhead, but died shortly after its completion in 1724. Described as 'tall, comely in person, elegant in his manners and address and well versed in literature', Hoare travelled abroad on the Grand Tour and following the premature death of this second wife, threw himself in earnest into the improvement of the house and grounds. Remembered by history as 'Henry the Magnificent' (in reference to that other great banker/patron of the arts Lorenzo de' Medici) he collected widely, acquiring major Old Master paintings by Rembrandt, Nicholas Poussin, Carlo Maratta – whose *Marchese Pallavicini guided to the Temple of Virtue by Apollo, with a self portrait of the artist* remains at Stourhead today – Carlo Dolci, Claude Lorraine, Gaspard Dughet, and Claude-Joseph Vernet. He also commissioned living artists, including John Wootton, Samuel Woodforde and the aforementioned William Hoare of Bath, from whom he commissioned a large number of portraits in both oil and pastel (fig. 6); as well as Anton Raphael Mengs, whose *Caesar and Cleopatra* Hoare commissioned as a companion to the Maratta and also remains in the collection today. The great British sculptor John Michael Rysbrick was also associated with Stourhead from 1744 until his death in 1770 and executed two of his most celebrated marbles for the collection, *Hercules* and *Flora*. Hoare's greatest cultural contribution, however, and the one that he is probably best remembered for today, was the creation of the much celebrated landscape gardens at Stourhead. Damming the River Stour to create an ornamental lake and engaging the great architect Henry Flitcroft, he transformed the landscape surrounding his father's house into a Claudian idyll, complete with temples to Apollo, Flora and Hercules, the latter of which was modelled on the Pantheon in Rome (by which name it is known today) and recall's Claude's *Landscape with Aeneas at Delos* (National Gallery, London). If the landscape garden is arguably England's most significant contribution to the arts, that which Henry Hoare created at Stourhead is one of its greatest early masterpieces.

Gainsborough's magnificent *Peasants going to market* originally hung in Henry Hoare's Picture Gallery, or 'Sky Light Room' – so called because of the roof light which allowed for optimal viewing of the paintings – where it was in the company of many of his best pictures; including Poussin's *Rape of the Sabine Women* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; fig. 7); the famous nocturnal *Landscape with the Rest on the Flight into Egypt* by Rembrandt (National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin; fig. 8); and Carlo Dolci's *Salome with the head of John the Baptist* (Glasgow





Fig. 8. Nicholas Poussin, *The Rape of the Sabine Women*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Art Gallery). Following Hoare's death in 1785 the house, grounds and collection passed to his grandson, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, 2nd Bt (1758–1838), the son of his daughter Anne (1737–1759), who had married her first cousin, Sir Richard Hoare, 1st Bt (1735–1787). A noted antiquary and artist himself, Colt Hoare spent many years travelling extensively on the continent and added substantially to the great collection that his grandfather had amassed at Stourhead; similarly acquiring both Old Masters and patronising contemporary British artists. He continued his grandfather's patronage of the portraitist Samuel Woodforde and the watercolourist Francis Nicholson, who recorded the now maturing landscape at Stourhead, but it was an introduction by Sir John Fleming Leicester to the young Turner that heralded his most important foray into modern British art. Turner painted a series of watercolour views of Salisbury Cathedral for Colt Hoare between 1794 and 1806, and even copied one of Hoare's own drawings for the composition of his oil painting of *Lake Avernus with Aeneas and the Cumæan Sybil* in 1815 – which also went to Stourhead.

It was as a bibliophile and antiquarian, however, that Colt Hoare is most remembered today, and the library that he amassed at Stourhead was undoubtedly his most 'significant contribution to culture'. Upon inheriting Stourhead and 'finding in the mansion house, as it was, not sufficient room for either his collection of paintings or library of books he made in the year 1800 a considerable addition... by adding two wings'.⁷ Henry Hoare's original Picture Gallery was remodelled and the subsequent re-hang of the collection saw Gainsborough's magnificent landscape move to the Cabinet Room, where it is recorded in inventories of 1808 and 1840, hanging as an overmantel above the fireplace.

The painting remained at Stourhead, passing by inheritance with the house within the Hoare family, until 1883 when it was put up for sale, together with many of the great art treasures of the house, at Christie's in the Stourhead Heirlooms sale by Sir Henry Hoare, 5th Bt (1824–1894). The 5th Baronet died in 1894, and having no surviving heir, the baronetcy, together with the house and its remaining collection, passed to his cousin, yet another Henry, who bequeathed the estate to the nation in 1947. Today it is one of the jewels in the crown of the National Trust, famous the world over for its magnificent gardens and remaining art collection.

At the 1883 Stourhead Heirlooms sale, despite the presence of a number of great masterpieces from the collection, this spectacular landscape by Gainsborough was the star attraction and sold for by far and away the highest



Fig. 9. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Landscape with the Rest on the Flight into Egypt*.
National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin

price – a staggering 2,700 guineas. By comparison Turner's *Lake Avernus with Aeneas and the Cumæan Sybil*, based on one of Sir Richard Colt Hoare's own drawings, fetched only 475 guineas; whilst the two most important continental Old Masters, Rembrandt's nocturnal *Landscape with the Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin; fig. 8), which achieved the second highest price of the sale, and Nicholas Poussin's *The Rape of the Sabine Women* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; fig. 7), sold for 490 guineas and 340 guineas respectively. Carlo Dolci's *Salome with the head of John the Baptist* (Glasgow Art Gallery), fetched 460 guineas and Claude Lorraine's *Peasants driving cattle* (present location unknown) sold for 250 guineas.

The painting was bought by Thomas Holloway, the great Victorian philanthropist and founder of Royal Holloway College, part of the University of London. Holloway had made a fortune selling patent medicines and was one of the first British businessmen to harness the power of mass advertising, pioneering the use of methods such as newspaper advertising, creating collectibles and erecting billboards near popular tourist sites – two as far away as Niagara Falls and the Pyramids of Giza.

Inspired by the example of Vassar College in New York State, Holloway endowed the college with a magnificent collection of paintings by great British artists, mostly from the nineteenth century – including Millais, Turner and Constable. Beginning in 1881, over a two year period he bought seventy seven paintings, buying primarily at auction from Christie's through his brother-in-law, who he instructed to use pseudonyms for fear that he would be bid up if his true identity was known – his choice for this purchase was 'Martin'. Notable highlights, many of which remain in the collection today, include Sir Edwin Landseer's famous Arctic landscape *Man Proposes, God Disposes*; the grand history painting *Peter the Great at Deptford Dockyard* by Daniel Macleish; John Everett Millais's *The Princes in the Tower; Van Tromp going about to please his masters, ships at sea, getting a good wetting*, J.M.W. Turner's 1844 masterpiece (now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles); and John Constable's full-scale sketch for *View of the Stour near Dedham* (recently sold, Christie's, 30 June 2016, lot 12, for £14 million). This painting was the last purchase he made for the college and one of the most significant, just six months before he died. Having spent the first century of its existence on the walls of Stourhead, for the next hundred years Gainsborough's landscape was one of the greatest highlights of the Holloway collection until, in 1993, it was acquired for the present distinguished collection.

¹ Hayes 1982, p. 115.

² George Darley, 1828, quoted in Hayes 1982, p. 167.

³ Quoted in Hayes 1982, p. 148.

⁴ Quoted in Sloman 2011, p. 54.

⁵ R. Fry, *Reflections on British Painting*, London 1934, p. 64.

⁶ Quoted in Sloman 2011, p. 4.

⁷ A. Hoare, quoted in V. Hutchings, 'Sir (Richard) Colt Hoare, second baronet', article in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 21 May 2009.

23 John Constable, R.A.
(East Bergholt, Suffolk 1776 - 1837 Hampstead)

Study for *The White Horse*

oil on canvas

61 x 50 cm.; 24 x 19¾ in.

£ 2,000,000-3,000,000
€ 2,330,000-3,490,000 US\$ 2,600,000-3,900,000

PROVENANCE

Possibly the painter's son, Lionel Bicknell Constable (1828–1887);
Possibly his sale, London, Christie's, 2 March 1874, lot 167, to 'Reynolds' (as 'The White Horse. A sketch for the picture');
With Arthur Tooth and Sons Ltd., London, by March 1950 (stock number 2386);
By whom sold, 2 May 1950, to a lady;
Private collection, Switzerland;
Anonymous sale, London, Christie's, 30 November 2000, lot 3;
There acquired by the present owner.

LITERATURE

J. Mayne, 'John Constable's sketches and studies', in *Antiques Review*, no. 1, December 1950, pp. 21–23, reproduced pl. 1;
L. Parris and I. Fleming-Williams, *Constable. Paintings, Drawings and Watercolours*, Tate exh. cat., London 1976, p. 108, under no. 165;
R. Hoozee, *L'opera completa di Constable*, Milan 1979, p. 111, no. 253, reproduced;
G. Reynolds, *The Later Paintings and Drawings of John Constable*, 2 vols, New Haven and London 1984, text vol., pp. 28 and 30, no. 19.3, plates vol., reproduced pl. 70;
L. Parris and I. Fleming-Williams, 'Book Review of The Later Paintings and Drawings of John Constable', in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. CXXVII, no. 984, March 1985, p. 167;
C. Rhyne, 'Constable's first two six-foot landscapes', in *Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 24, 1990, p. 124, reproduced fig. 17;
J. Hayes, *The Collections of the National Gallery of Art. Systematic Catalogues: British Paintings of the Sixteenth through Nineteenth Centuries*, Washington 1992, p. 33, reproduced fig. 5 (as 'Willy Lott's House and Thatched boat Shelter and Barn');
A. Lyles (ed.), *Constable. The Great Landscapes*, exh. cat., Tate, London 2006, p. 134 (as a sketch for the painting at the Frick).

Painted in 1817, this highly important sketch is an early preparatory study for *The White Horse* (The Frick Collection, New York, fig. 1), the first of Constable's famous 'Six-Footers', which he exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1819. One of the artist's most celebrated works, *The White Horse* is a seminal painting in the history of British art and only a very small number of preparatory studies were made for it, including the full-scale sketch now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (fig. 2). This is the finest and most important of only two known small-scale compositional oil sketches that relate to *The White Horse*. Possibly painted on the spot in the summer of 1817, with the artist responding directly to the landscape, the composition echoes that of a small pencil drawing of the scene made in a sketchbook Constable used in Suffolk in 1814 (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, fig. 3) and represents a crucial development in the particularly complex evolution of this celebrated composition.

The finished painting depicts a view from the right bank of the River Stour, at Dedham Vale, near East Bergholt, showing a small reach of the river just below Flatford Lock looking towards Willy Lott's Cottage. This sketch concentrates on the central part of the composition, with Willy Lott's Cottage – one of the key images in Constable's art – seen through the trees and a thatched boat shed on the far bank of the river, both of which appear in the finished painting. A smaller, horizontal but related oil sketch (Private collection, fig. 4) and a small study in oils of the barge and horse itself (Private collection, fig. 5), together with a pencil drawing of the boathouse (Private collection), represent the only other known preparatory works by the artist for this pivotal and iconic composition.¹ John Constable is one of the most celebrated and influential of all English romantic artists, and his most famous paintings are among the best-loved images in British Art.

THE WHITE HORSE

Accurately described by the artist's friend and biographer, C.R. Leslie as 'on many accounts the most important picture Constable ever painted',² *The White Horse* represents a vital turning point in Constable's career. It was the first in a series of six monumental Stour Valley compositions, known as the artist's celebrated 'six footers', which were exhibited at the Royal Academy between 1819 and 1825. These epic canvases represent the culmination of a process which he had begun as early as 1812, with a smaller view of *Flatford Lock and Mill*, and all share a common theme – each depicting a scene within a three-mile radius of Constable's family home in East Bergholt. All six have a very particular narrative, illustrating familiar scenes of everyday life on the river under a bright summer sky. They are, for many, Constable's defining works, and include *The White Horse*, 1819 (The Frick Collection, New York); *The Young Waltonians*, 1820 (The National Gallery, London); *The Hay Wain*, 1821 (The National Gallery, London); *View of the Stour near Dedham*, 1822 (Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino); *The Lock*, 1824 (Private collection); and *The Leaping Horse*, 1825 (Royal Academy of Arts, London). These six pictures largely cemented the artist's contemporary reputation and have served as the basis for his fame ever since. For many they define the pinnacle of the artist's career.

The White Horse was critically well received at the Academy exhibition of 1819 – the correspondent for the *Examiner* praising it for being more like nature than any existing landscape painting and compared Constable's art favourably to that of Turner; whilst the *Literary Chronicle* wrote: 'What a grasp of everything beautiful in rural scenery' and predicted that Constable would soon be the leading landscape painter in the nation.³ The only painting that Constable exhibited in 1819, it was therefore off the back of the success of *The White Horse* that Constable was finally





Fig. 1. John Constable, *The White Horse*, 1819.
The Frick Collection, New York

elected to the long-awaited position of Associate Member of the Royal Academy (A.R.A), by a substantial majority of his peers, that same year – ultimate validation that the transformation of his artistic practise, which he had been working steadily towards for the last seven years, had paid off. Importantly, it also sold – and sold quickly – for the substantial price of 100 guineas (without the frame), thus giving Constable a measure of commercial success and independent financial security that he had not previously known in his career. The painting was bought by his close friend Archdeacon Fisher, and it is a measure of the significance that the artist placed upon *The White Horse* that in 1829, when Fisher was heavily in debt, Constable bought the painting back at its original price of 100 guineas and retained it for the rest of his life.

The gestation of *The White Horse* was a particularly complicated and protracted one for the artist, however, and the painting was ultimately the fruit of a seed of ambition that had begun much earlier and required many years of labour to fulfil. It is in this complex gestation and development that the present sketch plays such an important role.

THE SKETCH AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF 1817

This seminally important sketch has been almost unanimously dated by scholars to 1817 – a pivotal but particularly complex period in Constable's art. The previous year two seismic events had taken place in the artist's life. In May his father, Golding Constable, had died and the ensuing division of family property left him with an income sufficient to finally marry his long-time love, Maria Bicknell, despite her family's opposition. This he duly did on 2 October that year. His life, which had hitherto been a peripatetic existence, partly based in Suffolk and partly in London, now became more settled in the capital, and in December the newly married couple moved into their first home at 63 Charlotte Street in Bloomsbury. He would in future spend little time in his native Suffolk, focusing instead on his life and career in London, and his determination to paint larger, more ambitious landscapes.

The White Horse was painted entirely in his London studio, the first time he had made a painting on a large scale of a Suffolk subject without direct reference to the



Fig. 2. John Constable, *Full Scale Sketch for The White Horse*.
National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

motif. It was probably for this reason that he adopted, again for the first time, the device of painting a full-scale sketch (also painted in the studio in London), in order to map out the composition on a one-to-one scale, prior to starting work on what would be the finished canvas. Hitherto Constable's practice, up to 1816, had been to paint landscapes out of doors, on the spot, with direct reference to the landscape itself – often referred to as *en plein air*. As Rosenthal has documented, the size of canvas Constable usually preferred for open air paintings was either 13 x 20 in., 20 x 24 in. (the size of the present canvas), or 20 x 30 in.⁴ It has long been established, however, that by at least 1814 he was not only sketching out of doors, but painting, or at least mostly painting, fully finished exhibition paintings on the spot, directly in front of the motif itself. One such is *Wivenhoe Park* (National Gallery of Art, Washington), painted largely in the summer of 1816 and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1817, which is almost forty inches wide. By 1816, however, with his ambition growing, it became clear that he had taken on-the-spot painting as far as he could and was beginning to realise the limitations of this method. As we have seen, if he was to compete with the likes of Turner, John Martin, James Ward and Augustus Wall Callcott, all of whom were exhibiting monumental landscapes at the Academy, he would need to paint on a far more ambitious scale. A scale that was simply not logically possible out in the open fields.

In painting both the full-scale sketch and the finished painting, however, entirely in the studio he would have needed to refer to abundant source material brought back with him from Suffolk. Between mid-July and October 1817, Constable and his wife had made one last long trip to East Bergholt for an extended summer holiday – what has been described as Constable's 'valedictory' visit to the place of his birth.⁵ The place, in his own words, that had 'made him a painter'. Possibly anticipating, as Reynolds suggested, that this might be his last chance to record his native landscape in detail, before the cares of a family caught up with him, Constable avidly made a large number of drawings and oil sketches on this trip. Back in London in November of that year he showed these sketches to his close friend Joseph Farington, and there are several references to them in the latter's diary. On 11 November 1817 Farington wrote: 'Constable called & told me he had



Fig. 3. John Constable, R.A., *Willy Lott's Cottage and the thatched boatshed*, 1814. Pencil on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Fig. 4. John Constable, R.A., Sketch for *The White Horse*. Private Collection © Sotheby's

passed 10 weeks at Bergholt in Suffolk with his friends, & painted many studies'; and on 24 November he noted that Constable's fellow artist, W. R. Biggs, R.A., had spoken 'favourably of Constable's oil sketches done in the summer.' On 31 January 1818, Farington further noted 'Constable I called on and saw him and his wife & sat with him some time... I saw a number of his painted sketches & drawings done last summer, but he had not any principal work in hand'.

Despite the wealth of evidence for the existence of many oil sketches produced in the summer of 1817, only one recorded work is securely dated to this period, and that has been untraced since it appeared in C.R. Leslie's sale at Foster's in 1860 (Reynolds, no. 17.24). As Reynolds suggested, however, there are strong reasons for regarding a sketch of *East Bergholt Church* in the Durban Museum and Art Gallery (Reynolds, no. 17.30, fig. 6) as belonging to this group as well, based on its handling and the fact that it closely relates to a pencil drawing of the same composition found in a sketch book that is known to have been used by Constable in Bergholt in 1817. The Durban work, which is of a comparable size to the present sketch, is similarly unfinished in many details, especially the foreground trees, which, in Reynolds' view, supports the idea that they are both open-air studies on a scale which would previously have been unusual in Constable's work but which would better serve him as *aides-mémoire* back in his studio in London and notably impress those friends to whom he may have shown them. Like the present sketch, the Durban picture also relates to a smaller pencil sketch of the same view (Private collection, New York), and on one level the two sketches both form part of a typical progression in the development of Constable's compositions – from initial topographical pencil sketch, through various stages of oil studies, to final exhibited painting. Evidence of the progress from the initial drawing, and Constable's desire to record as much topographical information as possible for reference back in his studio, can be seen in the inclusion of the roof line of two barns behind the thatched boat shed, which do not appear in the small pencil sketch of 1814. These form part of a cluster of buildings known as Gibbonsgate Farm and do appear in the finished painting that Constable exhibited in 1819. Other noticeable differences between this sketch and the earlier pencil drawing include the reflections on the water and the attention that the artist has paid to the sky and the balance of light.

The exact nature and function of this sketch within this particularly complicated evolution of Suffolk motifs towards the first of the great 'Six-Foot' canvases, as is true of many of Constable's sketches, has been much debated, however. In 1950 the art historian and Constable biographer Jonathan Mayne was the first to identify the inherent difficulty in deciding how to categorise the present work. Recognising two distinct types of preparatory work by Constable – what he termed oil-sketches (i.e. works painted from nature) and oil-studies (i.e. intermediary works painted in the studio, which 'fuse the raw elements of the sketch or sketches into a coherent whole') – which had distinct functions in the process of his art, he acknowledged that 'there are some paintings which seem to partake of both characters at once; a good example is the sketch-study for *The White Horse*' (the present work).⁶ Mayne concluded, however, that it seemed likely that the picture was worked up in the studio from the 4 1/4 x 3 inch pencil sketch of 1814 now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Reynolds 14.32, p.66).

Graham Reynolds, in his 1984 catalogue raisonné of the artist's late works, was the first to suggest that it may be one of the sketches of 1817 referred to by Farington and thought it likely to be a *plein air* sketch. This he based in part on the handling of the rushes on the right, which is very similar to the treatment of foreground foliage in other known on the spot sketches from this year, and the introduction of the barn roof above the boat shed, which is not seen in the V&A drawing of 1814.⁷ Charles Rhyne supported this view and described this, and another smaller horizontal sketch of the view, as appearing to have been 'taken from nature probably in 1817'.⁸

In the catalogue to their landmark monographic exhibition at the Tate Gallery in 1990, Leslie Parris and Ian Fleming-Williams identified several works which



Fig. 5. John Constable, R.A., *Sketch for The White Horse*.
Private Collection © Sotheby's

they believed belong to this group of sketches made in the summer and autumn of 1817; including *Fen Lane, East Bergholt* (Tate Gallery, London, Reynolds 16.107), a large oil on canvas (68.5 x 91.5 cm.) almost certainly painted entirely out of doors; and *Dedham Lock and Mill* (Tate Gallery, London, Reynolds 20.15, fig. 7) – for which, in both cases, there are related pencil studies of the composition. Michael Rosenthal, writing in *Apollo*, also in 1990, independently came to the same conclusion about the date and nature of *Fen Lane, East Bergholt*, and endorsed Parris and Fleming-Williams' view (previously published in 1985) concerning the date of *Dedham Lock and Mill*.⁹ This is significant for the fact that both pictures share considerable similarities with the present work, particularly in the handling of foreground foliage and in the way that some areas of the composition have been worked up to a greater degree than others. The latter painting, especially, shares a remarkably similar level of 'unfinished-ness', with the central part detailed out but elsewhere, particularly in the peripheral areas, only the essential hues have been laid in. As Parris and Fleming-Williams suggested, if Constable suspected that this 1817 holiday would be his last chance to gather a quantity of pictorial material in Suffolk, it would have been natural to work in this way, saving time by taking his paintings just far enough to capture the essential topography and atmospheric mood and leaving those bits that he could paint from memory, or without reference to the actual scene, until back in the studio.¹⁰ As in those sketches, so here, the least finished parts of the picture are particularly the foreground detail which he would probably have counted on being able to finish indoors, back in the studio. If indeed he needed to take accurate reference of such details in a sketch that was primarily intended to capture the atmospheric impression of the landscape, focusing on the balance of light in the sky and its reflection on the water, or even intended to work it up further. This view is strengthened by the fact that many of the elements of foreground detail that Constable incorporated in the finished painting of *The White Horse* can be found in a sketchbook he used in 1813, including the reeds, the waterlilies and the wooden posts in the left foreground. The boat moored by the thatched boat house, seen in the finished picture but in none of the preparatory sketches, is based upon a drawing in the Courtauld Institute of Art, London, which was also used for *The Hay Wain* and *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows*.¹¹

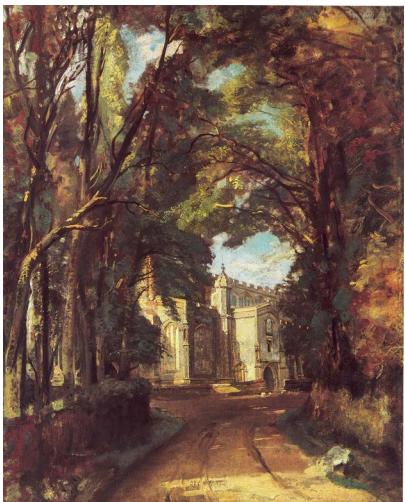


Fig. 6. John Constable, R.A., *East Bergholt Church*.
Durban Museum and Art Gallery, South Africa



Fig. 7. John Constable, R.A., *Dedham Lock and Mill*. Tate Gallery, London

Following recent inspection of the present work, Anne Lyles believes that the theory, first suggested by Reynolds, that this painting belongs to the group of sketches Constable painted in Suffolk during the summer and autumn of 1817, is correct. Whether or not it is a *plein air* sketch, painted on the spot in front of the view itself, or a compositional sketch worked on in the studio, remains, she believes, a matter of debate, however. Whilst it is very possible, perhaps even likely given the similarity in handling to other known *plein air* sketches from the period, it is equally possible that the function of the present work was as an 'intermediary' sketch, part of the artist's process of transforming his imagery from the faithful naturalism that characterised his work pre-1816, to a more conceptual form of representation as his ambitions grew in the years around his move to London. Lyles has written extensively on this aspect of Constable's art, and specifically the role Constable's intermediary sketches played in the development of his art – what she refers to as the artist's 'transformation of nature into art'.¹²

As Lyles has shown, a profound understanding of both the period and context in which they were made is essential to understanding the function of Constable's sketches. For he was an artist for whom the very process of painting was a vital tool in the continuous endeavour to produce a more naturalistic art. Whilst he undoubtedly drew, sketched in oil and painted finished pictures on the spot in the open air, particularly in the period up to 1817, he was also busy creating compositional studies in his studio, expanding and elaborating on compositions he had first worked out in the fields and lanes around East Bergholt and along the banks of the Stour, and developing them towards the monumental works of art that he would exhibit at the Academy throughout the rest of his life. These compositional studio studies were a key component in the shift from what had previously been an essentially mimetic artform to a more synthetic form of representation; the transition from an experimental, but essentially self-taught young painter attempting to stay true to a literal conception of naturalism, to one of the greatest and most ground-breaking artists of the nineteenth century; an artist who, whilst remaining true to a deeply held belief in naturalistic art, would come to produce some of the most lyrically beautiful landscapes ever produced in British art.

Other such intermediary cabinet sized paintings of his native Suffolk landscape, worked to a varying degree of 'finish', from around this period include another view of Willy Lott's cottage from across the Stour, known as *The Valley Farm* (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), which has been variously dated to *circa* 1815–18, and was considered by Reynolds as representing an intermediary stage in Constable's





Fig. 1. John Constable, *The White Horse*, 1819, (detail)
The Frick Collection, New York

progress towards his final conception for a painting of the same name which he finally exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1835; and a view of *Dedham Vale* (Tochigi Prefectural Museum of Fine Arts, Japan), which scientific analysis by Sarah Cove in the 1990s demonstrated was painted in two different periods and forms an intermediate stage between an open air sketch of 1802 (Reynolds 02.7) and *Dedham Vale* in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, that Constable finally exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1828 (Reynolds 28.1).

Recent infrared reflectography of this picture reveals that it was painted spontaneously, with no recourse to under drawing, save for a single ruled horizon line typical of Constable's practise, with the artist working directly in oil paint upon the canvas. Further, x-radiography conducted by the Courtauld Institute shows that the clouds, the roof of the boat house on the right and the wall of Willy Lott's cottage were painted with pigments containing a proportion of lead white; whilst a large white shape visible in the left centre of the picture, roughly corresponding to the area covered by the trees and reed bed, but which does not appear to correspond to elements in the visible composition, suggests that the sketch was painted re-using a canvas that had already been painted on. This is also typical of Constable's sketches, particularly at this period when he was yet to achieve a measure of financial success from his art. Recent scientific analysis has shown that a number of his sketches were painted over earlier portraits that he had clearly abandoned and remained hanging around in his studio. Whilst this new evidence does not resolve either way the question of whether this sketch was painted on the spot or in the studio, it does suggest that the picture was always intended as a sketch or study and demonstrates an artist working freely and spontaneously, mapping out his composition as he goes.

CONSTABLE'S LANDSCAPE: THE STOUR VALLEY AND THE SIX FOOT SERIES

'I should paint my own places best – Painting is but another word for feeling. I associate my 'careless boyhood' to all that lies on the banks of the Stour. They made me a painter...'

John Constable

Constable Country, as it has come to be known today – that area of the Stour Valley around Dedham Vale, on the border between Suffolk and Essex, bounded on the west by the village of Nayland, and on the east by the sea – has become synonymous with the great painter who immortalised its bucolic river meadows and shaded waterways. A fertile and workmanlike landscape centred on the village and parish of Dedham, in Constable's day the area was principally an agricultural centre, the main industry being founded on the production of wheat, barley and oats. The artist's parents, Golding and Ann Constable, lived at East Bergholt, where the young painter was born and brought up. A prosperous miller and successful businessman, his father owned watermills at Flatford and Dedham, and a windmill on East Bergholt Heath. Constable's love for the essentially flat and un-emphatic landscape of his native Suffolk, with its 'gentle declivities, its woods and rivers...',¹³ so devoid of the sort of obvious pictorial potential that attracted artists and tourists alike to other regions of the country, such as the Lake District or Wales, was a notable deviation from the usual habits of contemporary landscape painters. Until at least 1821, Constable almost exclusively painted places that he knew, and with which he was completely familiar, in marked contrast, for instance, to Turner's more typical practice and his voracious appetite for touring. This had obvious consequences for his art, for Constable *knew* his landscape, both over time and from numerous angles. He would have both seen it change over time and have been conscious of the degree to which a limited area of terrain could be differentiated topographically, with this local intimacy and memory both informing his paintings. This was a very different order of knowledge to that which most contemporary landscape painters possessed of their subjects, and applies equally to the local industry and figural activity within his pictures as it does to topographical familiarity. These are the scenes of Constable's childhood and he knew them with an intimacy that could be surpassed by no other artist. As he said himself, '... the sound of water escaping Mill dams... Willows, Old rotten Banks, slimy posts, & brickwork, I love such things... As Long as I do paint I shall never cease to paint such places. They have always been my delight.'

Constable's own description of his work as an 'admirable instance of the picturesque',¹⁴ closeting his work in the language of the academy, belies the revolutionary nature of this unique choice of subject matter. Indeed it was his very subject, as much as his loose impressionistic handling of paint and ground-breaking treatment of light, that so transformed landscape painting in Europe, and so inspired a younger generation of artists. View painting had, until this point, been exclusively dominated by the classical tradition of academic landscape, in the manner of Claude Lorraine and Gaspard Poussin, and had been propagated in England during the eighteenth century by artists such as George Lambert, Richard Wilson, even Gainsborough and the early works of Turner. Constable's monumental Stour Valley paintings, however, challenged convention by depicting un-idealised everyday landscapes on a grand scale traditionally reserved for religious and historical subjects, thus elevating the seemingly mundane to the heroic through scale. In this he pre-empted the work of artists such as Gustave Courbet and the French realists of the Barbizon School, including Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot and Jean-François Millet, by twenty years.

Eugène Boudin too, the man who taught Monet to paint landscape, was heavily influenced by Constable's work. Indeed it was the exhibition of this very subject – *The White Horse* – at the 1833 *Exposition National des Beaux Arts* in Brussels, together with *The Hay Wain* (fig. 8) at the Paris *Salon* in 1824 (where Constable won a gold medal), which introduced his work to the French school of landscape painters and set in train a revolution in European art that would find its fullest expression half a century later in the work of the French Impressionists. During the 1870s both Monet and Picasso studied Constable's work in London, and in 1873 Van Gogh acknowledged his debt to the English artist in a letter to his brother Theo, written from London. Whilst all these artists were influenced by the freedom of Constable's brushwork, it was as much his subject matter as his treatment of paint that they found so radical, and so inspirational. The everyday, the ordinary and the commonplace made extraordinary. The ignoble made noble, a subject fit for the realms of high art. Look, for example, at Monet's famous hay stacks, or the landscapes of Alfred Sisley and Vincent van Gogh, and find their inspiration in Constable's Stour Valley paintings. Even today Constable's art continues to inspire and influence, as was acknowledged by the late Lucien Freud who was both directly inspired by Constable's work and saw his influence on the work of earlier nineteenth- and twentieth-century painters: 'I may be quite wrong', he said, 'but I can't see Van Gogh's Boots without Constable behind them'.¹⁵

NOTE ON PROVENANCE

This painting was with the London art dealer Arthur Tooth & Sons in 1950, as is confirmed by the presence of their gallery label on the back of the frame, who sold it to an unknown female collector in Switzerland on 2 May that year.¹⁶ A note in the files at the Witt Library gives the provenance of the picture, as known to Tooth, as having belonged to a John Miller in 1858, and later in the collection of the Lancashire Mill owner and Conservative Member of Parliament William Henry Houldsworth (1834–1917), who lent it to the Glasgow *Fine Art Loan Exhibition* at the Corporation Galleries in 1878, no. 118. If this is true, then it cannot be the sketch that was sold in Lionel Constable's sale at Christies in 1874, lot 167, having been owned by Miller as early as 1858. However, the entry in the catalogue for the painting exhibited at Glasgow in 1878 describes it as 'A River Scene. Sky with rolling grey clouds, edged with white. Wooded distant landscape, through which a wide river comes. Bank with a tree on the left foreground'. This description does not particularly fit with the composition of the present work, which can hardly be described as a 'distant' landscape, and omits to mention such prominent features



Fig. 8. John Constable, R.A., *The Hay Wain*. National Gallery, London

¹ See Reynolds 1984, text vol., pp. 30–31, nos 19.3, 19.4 and 19.5, and plates vol., pls 70–72; and Sotheby's, London, Early British Paintings, 9 July 2009, lot 26.

² C. R. Leslie, *Memoirs of the Life of John Constable*, 1843, J. Mayne (ed.), London 1951, p. 76;

³ Quoted in Reynolds 1984, p. 28.

⁴ M. Rosenthal, 'A Constable re-appearance. Fen Lane and the road to Damascus', *Apollo*, vol. CXXXII, no. 346, December 1990, p. 403.

⁵ Reynolds 1984, p. 28.

⁶ Mayne 1950, p. 22.

⁷ Reynolds 1984, reproduced fig. 1164.

⁸ Rhyne 1990, p. 124.

⁹ Rosenthal 1990, pp. 402–06.

¹⁰ London 1990, p. 185.

¹¹ Reynolds 1984, p. 28.

¹² See particularly A. Lyles, 'Nature or Art? Constables sketches and studies', in *Landscape, Innovation and Nostalgia. The Manton Collection of British Art*, J.A. Clarke (ed.), New Haven and London 2002, pp. 146–67.

¹³ John Constable's Discourses, R.B. Beckett (ed.), Ipswich 1978, pp. 12–13.

¹⁴ From a letter from Constable to Archdeacon Fisher, in *John Constable's Correspondence, VI, The Fishers*, R.B. Beckett (ed.), Ipswich 1970, p. 155.

¹⁵ Lucian Freud, quoted at the time of the exhibition 'Constable: Le Choix de Lucian Freud', held at the Grand Palais, Paris, 2002–03.

¹⁶ We are grateful to the staff in the Reading Room at Tate Britain for their assistance in providing information on the provenance of the painting from the Tooth Archive. Beckett (ed.) 1978, pp. 12–13.

as Willy Lott's cottage and the boat house, both of which are key features that clearly relate to the famous and much celebrated composition of *The White Horse*. By contrast, the painting included in Lionel Constable's 1874 sale is specifically described in Christie's catalogue for the auction as 'The White Horse. A sketch for the picture', which exactly fits the composition of this painting. The financial records of Arthur Tooth & Sons Ltd., held at Tate Britain, are currently closed under the Data Protection Act, making it impossible to discover exactly where they acquired this painting. However, given the passage of over thirty years between the death of William Henry Houldsworth in 1917 and Arthur Tooth's acquisition of the painting in 1950, it seems likely that Tooth, or whoever owned the picture in the interim, simply made a mistake and confused the painting they had acquired with that exhibited at Glasgow in 1878. Moreover, Graham Reynolds, who must have been aware of this alternative provenance when he published his 1984 catalogue raisonné of *The Later Paintings and Drawings of John Constable*, appears to have dismissed it, suggesting instead that it is the painting that was included in Lionel Constable's sale.

We are grateful to Anne Lyles, former Curator of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Art at Tate Britain and lead curator of *Constable: The Great Landscapes*, for her assistance with the cataloguing of this lot and for endorsing the attribution following first-hand inspection. We are also grateful to Mark Evans, Head of Paintings at the Victoria and Albert Museum for endorsing the attribution following first-hand inspection.

24 Jusepe de Ribera, called lo Spagnoletto

(Játiva, Valencia 1591 - 1652 Naples)

A Girl with a tambourine (The Sense of Hearing)

signed and dated centre right: *Jusepe de Ribera/espñol F. 1637*

oil on canvas, in a Spanish 18th-century frame
59.5 x 45.5 cm.; 23⅓ x 17½ in.

£ 5,000,000-7,000,000
€ 5,810,000-8,130,000 US\$ 6,500,000-9,100,000

PROVENANCE

Private collection, Paris, until 1930;
With Spanish Art Gallery, London (Tomas Harris Ltd.);
Where acquired by Mr and Mrs F.A. Drey, London, on 23 March 1937;
Thence by descent to their granddaughter;
By whom sold ('The Property of a Lady'), London, Sotheby's, 3 December 1997, lot 54;
Acquired in 1998 for the present collection.

EXHIBITED

London, Spanish Art Gallery (Tomas Harris Ltd.), *From Greco to Goya*, 1938, no. 9, reproduced;
The Arts Council of Great Britain, *Exhibition of Spanish Paintings*, Southampton, Derby, Leicester, Cardiff, Aberdeen, 1945–46, no. 16, reproduced;
London, National Gallery, *Spanish Paintings*, 11 February – 23 March 1947, no. 24, reproduced, pl. XXI;
Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, *Spanish Paintings: From El Greco to Goya*, 19 August – 8 September 1951, no. 33;
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, *Stora spanska mästare*, 12 December 1959 – 13 March 1960, no. 82;
Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum, *Neapolitan, Baroque and Rococo Painting*, 1 June – 12 August 1962, no. 7, reproduced;
Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum, *Four Centuries of Spanish Painting*, 17 June – 17 September 1967, no. 35;
London, Hayward Gallery, *Salvator Rosa*, 17 October – 23 December 1973, no. 113;

One of Ribera's most celebrated paintings, this arresting depiction of a girl singing a tune while tapping her fingers on a tambourine embodies his powers of expressive characterisation. Painted from life, the girl's likeness pulsates with character and vitality. By transforming an unprepossessing everyday subject into a personification of hearing, Ribera, like no artist before him, adopts a direct, naturalistic approach to create an ingenious representation of sound. Signed by the artist 'Ribera español', with characteristic loyalty to his Spanish roots, and dated 1637, *Girl with a tambourine* encapsulates Ribera's inimitable contribution to the imagery of music-making by merging allegory and genre, as well as portraiture, into one remarkable image.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century musicians feature increasingly as subjects in painting. Although Ribera's starting point was the naturalism of Caravaggio through first-hand knowledge of the artist's works, as well as his contacts with the northern Caravaggesque artists who were working in Rome while Ribera was there, his painterly vision evolved in significant ways from the single-figure genre paintings of Caravaggio (fig. 1). In *Girl with a tambourine* a sense of great vivacity prevails. Ribera's evocation of sound is highly compelling and his ability to capture a smile – one of the most difficult expressions to catch – results in a sympathetic portrayal rather than an idealised or caricatured stereotype. Ribera's model appears to have stepped in from Naples' bustling streets. He conjures the lively presence of a girl singing by rendering her full-face in an utterly convincing way and with remarkable economy of means. The drawn outline of her open mouth is defined by brushwork of the utmost confidence, while the richly textured brushwork around her eyes gives further expression to her face. From the frilled collar and cuff to the tip of her white feather, Ribera balances white accents against prevailing darker tones enriched with vivid reds. Strong shadows offset carefully observed details designed to catch the light: the flashing edges of the tambourine's metal plates, the sheen of the girl's unscrubbed fingernails, the wet shine of her lips, which, together with the stray strands of hair, give a live quality to the performance.

The counterpart to *Girl with a tambourine* is the *Laughing drinker with a bottle*, a work also known as *The Drunkard*, which was once in the Spanish royal collection and is now in a private collection in Spain.¹ It depicts a man singing while holding a bottle of wine and is thus a personification of the *Sense of Taste*. Of similar dimensions to *Girl with a tambourine*, it too is signed and dated 1637. Martin Soria was the first to observe a connection between the two, relating them both to a now incomplete set of the *Five Senses*.² Four of the five contenders have since been identified: a third painting, unsigned but of similar dimensions, *Boy with a Pot of Tulips* (Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo), which could represent the *Sense of Smell*, has been associated with the group, although doubt has been cast on this;³ and a fourth composition, known only through copies, depicts an old woman with a spindle to personify the *Sense of Touch*.⁴ The *Sense of Sight* has not been identified.

Continued p. 134





Fig. 1. Caravaggio, *The Lute Player*, c.1595-96. Oil on canvas, 94 x 119 cm.
The Hermitage, St. Petersburg

Girl with a tambourine – Ribera's only autograph allegory of *Hearing* known today – is not the first occasion that he tackles the subject of the *Five Senses*. During his early years in Rome he made his reputation with a first set of *Five Allegories of the Senses* for a Spanish patron, probably Pedro Cosida from Zaragoza. Of these, four are extant, while the fifth, the *Sense of Hearing*, is known only through copies (though recently a candidate for the missing original was proposed).⁵ The paintings of *Sight*, *Smell*, *Taste* and *Touch*, now dispersed between the Franz Mayer Museum, Mexico City; the Abelló Collection, Madrid; the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford; and the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, all depict male sitters, each one behind a table displaying objects that relate to the sense portrayed. Praised by Giulio Mancini for their beauty, these meditations on the senses were of ground-breaking importance and serve as a key reference point for reconstructing Ribera's early production prior to his move to Naples in 1616. Highly influential, his allegories differed from those of his contemporaries in their innovative treatment of subject matter. His simple, direct approach to the theme, popularized in the Netherlands during the late sixteenth century, was revolutionary when viewed against treatments by northern artists of classicizing figures in courtly settings. Ribera's *Sense of Smell*, for example, which would conventionally have been alluded to with flowers, is evoked instead by a beggar dressed in rags, an onion in his hands, his eyes streaming. Shortly after painting this first series, Ribera moved to Naples, a Spanish territory, where he established himself as the city's leading painter. There he enjoyed the patronage of successive viceroys and officials, who sent many of his works to Spain. Successful and critically acclaimed, he painted *Girl with a tambourine* at the height of his career.

¹ Oil on canvas, 59 x 46 cm. It was exhibited in 1854 with the collection of the Infante Don Sebastián Gabriel de Borbón y Braganza; Spinosa 2003, p. 305, no. A181, reproduced in colour as a detail on p. 130.

² The painting is dated 1637, not 1638, as stated by Soria.

³ The attribution of the Oslo painting was seriously questioned by both Nicola Spinosa and Alfonso Pérez-Sánchez, and by Craig Felton before them, when it was exhibited alongside the other paintings in Naples in 1992; see Naples 1992, p. 223, no. 168. Pérez-Sánchez suggested the Oslo painting may be by Aniello Falcone (1607–56) and no longer considered it to be part of the series; New York 1992, p. 128, no. 47. In 1997 Milicua revisited the matter; although recognizing that the lighting and handling are indeed different from the other two, he argues that in terms of its invention and strong naturalism the Oslo picture is worthy of Ribera and was originally part of the set. He notes that the Oslo painting, like the present work, was also in the Drey family collection at an earlier point in its history (Madrid 1997, p. 178).



Fig. 2. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *A peasant boy leaning on a sill*, c. 1670s.
Oil on canvas, 52 x 38.5 cm. National Gallery, London



The present painting

⁴ Of the two versions known, the one recorded in the van Berg collection, New York, is in damaged state and is not judged to be autograph; and the other, known since it came to light in a sale in 1973 at Leblanc-Duvernoy, Auxerre, is deemed by Nicola Spínosa to be a modest replica; see Spínosa 2003, p. 363, no. C34; both are reproduced in Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, p. 136, nos 371 and 372. A picture of *Cleopatra bitten by an asp*, also signed and dated 1637 (formerly in the collection of Lionel Harris, London, and now in a private collection in Spain) has been proposed as an alternative candidate for the *Sense of Touch*; J. Milicua in Cremona 1996–97, p. 150, and then more tentatively in Madrid 1997, p. 178; reproduced in Spínosa 2003, p. 302, no. A169.

⁵ Spínosa 2003, pp. 258–59, nos A30–33; for one of the better copies of the *Sense of Hearing*, see Spínosa 2003, p. 345, no. B2, reproduced in colour on p. 49. Gianni Papi identified a *Sense of Hearing* in the Koelliker collection, Milan, as the one missing from the set, although this is not universally accepted; see G. Papi in *Caravaggio e l'Europa*, exh. cat., Milan and Vienna 2005–06, p. 278, reproduced p. 279.

⁶ Soria 1959, p. 241.

⁷ Gaya Nuño 1961, pp. 53–61.

Hailed as one of Ribera's greatest achievements in the art of characterization, *Girl with a tambourine* has been described as 'rude, robust, and rugged, ... intensely High Baroque, vehemently proclaiming enjoyment of life'.⁶ Ribera's natural, accessible style was first discussed in the context of the picaresque tradition in Spanish painting by Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño as an important manifestation of the developments that resonated through art, social history and literature, most tellingly in the writings of Cervantes (1547–1616).⁷ Ribera's vivid images of low-life subjects are central to the evolution of genre painting in European art; and already within his own lifetime, his depictions of ordinary people subject to his compassionate scrutiny, paved the way for the masterpieces of observation of Velázquez (1599–1660) and Murillo (1617–1682). Indeed, *Girl with a tambourine* anticipates the paintings of children produced by Murillo a few decades later, such as *Spring as a flower girl*, c. 1660–65 (Dulwich Picture Gallery, London) and the *Smiling boy leaning on a sill*, 1670s (National Gallery, London; fig. 2). Although both were adept at capturing a passing moment with their probing gaze, Ribera's genius lies in his unrivalled skill in bringing emotional intensity, painterly theatricality and expressive handling to his subjects. Nowhere is this more apparent than in *Girl with a tambourine*, which stands out as the archetypal image of his creative power.

EXHIBITED CONT.

London, National Gallery, *El Greco to Goya: The Taste for Spanish Paintings in Britain and Ireland*, 16 September – 29 November 1981, no. 19, reproduced;

Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum, *Jusepe de Ribera, lo Spagnoletto, 1591–1652*, 4 December 1982 – 6 February 1983, no. 20, reproduced in colour;

London, National Gallery, on loan 1991–1997 (L.583);

Naples, Castel Sant'Elmo, *Jusepe de Ribera 1591–1652*, 27 February – 17 May 1992, no. 1.67, reproduced in colour;

Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, *Ribera 1591–1652*, 2 June – 16 August 1992, no. 82, reproduced in colour;

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Jusepe de Ribera: 1591–1652*, 18 September – 29 November 1992, no. 46, reproduced in colour;

Cremona, Centro Culturale Santa Maria della Pietà, *I cinque sensi nell'arte. Immagini del sentire*, 21 September 1996 – 12 January 1997, no. VI.4, reproduced in colour;

Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, *Los Cinco sentidos y el arte*, 27 February – 4 May 1997, no. VI.4, reproduced in colour;

Newcastle, Laing Art Gallery, on loan 27 July 1998 – 27 July 1999 (No. 1998.666);

London, Dulwich Picture Gallery, *Murillo: Scenes of Childhood*, 14 February – 13 May 2001, no. 3, reproduced in colour.

LITERATURE

Advertisement in *The Illustrated London News*, 3 December 1938, p. 1035, reproduced;

Exhibition of Spanish Paintings, N. MacLaren (ed.), exh. cat., National Gallery, London 1947, no. 24, reproduced plate XXI;

Spanish Paintings: From El Greco to Goya, E.K. Waterhouse (ed.), exh. cat., National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1951, no. 33;

E. Harris, 'Spanish Painting from Morales to Goya in the National Gallery of Scotland', *The Burlington Magazine*, October 1951, vol. 93, p. 314 (as 'an unusually pleasant subject for this artist');

J.A. Gaya Nuño, *La pintura española fuera de España (historia y catálogo)*, Madrid 1958, p. 279, no. 2318;

G. Kubler and M. Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American dominions, 1500–1800*, Pelican History of Art, 1959, p. 241, reproduced plate 123 (detail);

Stora spanska mästare, C. Nordenfalk (ed.), exh.

cat., Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1959, no. 82; J.A. Gaya Nuño, 'Peinture picaresque', *L'Œil*, no. 84, December 1961, p. 54;

Neapolitan, Baroque and Rococo Painting, T. Ellis (ed.), exh. cat., Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, 1962, no. 7, reproduced;

T. Crombie, 'Naples in the North', *Apollo*, July 1962, LXXVI, p. 396, reproduced fig. 2;

E. Harris, 'Exposición de pinturas y dibujos napolitanos en el Museo Bowes de Barnard Castle', in *Archivio español de arte*, vol. 36, 1963, pp. 131–33, reproduced;

E. Young in *Four Centuries of Spanish Painting*, exh. cat., Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, 1967, no. 35;

C. Felton, *Jusepe de Ribera: A Catalogue Raisonné*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1971, vol. I, pp. 243–44, cat. no. A-54;

R. Causa, 'La pittura del Seicento a Napoli dal naturalismo al barocco', in *Storia di Napoli*, vol. V, part 2, 1972, reproduced fig. 279;

M. Kitson in *Salvator Rosa*, exh. cat., Hayward Gallery, London, 1973, pp. 68–69, no. 113;

T. Mullaly, 'Painting in Focus', in *The Daily Telegraph*, 6 March 1976, p. 11;

N. Spinosa in *L'opera completa del Ribera*, A.E. Pérez Sánchez and N. Spinosa (eds), Milan 1978, p. 111, no. 114, reproduced in colour, plate XXXIII;

F. Bologna, *Gaspare Traversi, nell'illuminismo europeo*, Naples 1980, pp. 52–53, reproduced fig. 32;

A. Braham in *El Greco to Goya. The Taste for Spanish Paintings in Britain and Ireland*, exh. cat., National Gallery, London 1981, p. 63, no. 19, reproduced fig. 71;

C. Felton in *Jusepe de Ribera, lo Spagnoletto (1591–1652)*, C. Felton and W.B. Jordan (eds), exh. cat., Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, 1982, pp. 160–61, no. 20, reproduced in black and white and in colour on p. 17;

M. Haraszti-Takács, *Spanish genre painting in the seventeenth century*, Budapest 1983, pp. 27, 209, no. 171, reproduced plate 69;

F. Benito Doménech, *Ribera 1591–1652*, Madrid 1991, p. 120, reproduced in colour on p. 122;

N. Spinosa in *Jusepe de Ribera 1591–1652*, A.E. Pérez Sánchez and N. Spinosa (eds), exh. cat., Castel Sant'Elmo, Naples 1992, p. 223, no. 1.67, reproduced in colour on p. 225;

N. Spinosa in *Ribera 1591–1652*, A.E. Pérez Sánchez and N. Spinosa (eds), exh. cat., Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 1992, p. 49, p. 314, no. 82, reproduced in colour on p. 316;

N. Spinosa in *Jusepe de Ribera 1591–1652*, A.E. Pérez Sánchez and N. Spinosa (eds), exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1992, p. 127, no. 46, reproduced in colour; and pp. 126–28 under nos 45 and 47;

C. Baker and T. Henry, *The National Gallery Complete Illustrated Catalogue*, 1995, p. 578, no. L.583, reproduced in colour;

I cinque sensi nell'arte. Immagini del sentire, S. Ferino-Pagden (ed.), exh. cat., Centro culturale Santa Maria della Pietà, Cremona, 1996, p. 150, no. VI.4, reproduced in colour on p. 151;

Los Cinco Sentidos y el Arte, S. Ferino-Pagden (ed.), exh. cat., Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 1997, p. 178, no. VI.4, reproduced in colour on p. 179;

M. de Cervantes, *Exemplary Stories*, transl. L. Lipson, Oxford 1998, reproduced in colour on the cover;

M. Scholz-Hänsel, *Jusepe de Ribera 1591–1652*, Cologne 2000, p. 122, reproduced in colour fig. 108;

N. Spinosa, *Ribera, L'opera completa*, Naples 2003, pp. 174, 243 n. 129 and 305, no. A182, reproduced in black and white and in colour as a detail on p. 131 and on the cover;

N. Spinosa, 'La pittura napoletana con scene di genere', in *Gaspare Traversi, napoletani del '700 tra miseria e nobiltà*, N. Spinosa (ed.), exh. cat., Castel Sant'Elmo, Naples 2003, p. 14, reproduced on p. 15;

Murillo: Scenes of Childhood, X. Brooke and P. Cherry (eds), exh. cat., Dulwich Picture Gallery, London 2001, p. 27 and p. 84, no. 3, reproduced in colour p. 85;

Murillo, Kinderleben in Sevilla, X. Brooke and P. Cherry (eds), exh. cat., German ed., Alte Pinakothek, Munich 2001, p. 45;

N. Spinosa, *Ribera. L'opera completa*, Naples 2006, 2nd ed., pp. 174, 243 n. 129 and 334, no. A 204, reproduced in black and white and in colour as a detail on p. 131;

N. Spinosa, *Ribera. La obra completa*, Madrid 2008, pp. 207, 295, n. 125 and 420, no. A 225, reproduced in black and white and in colour as a detail on p. 152;

J. Milicua, 'Los Cinco sentidos', in *El joven Ribera*, exh. cat., Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 2011, p. 146, reproduced in colour p. 147, fig. 64;

J. Portús, *Ribera*, Barcelona 2011, p. 95, reproduced in colour fig. 71.



Jusepe de
Jaspard

25

Matthias Stomer

(Amersfoort near Utrecht circa 1600 - after 1652 (?) Sicily or Northern Italy)

Sarah brings Hagar to Abraham

oil on canvas

113 x 169 cm.; 44½ x 66½ in.

W £ 500,000-700,000

€ 585,000-815,000 US\$ 650,000-910,000

PROVENANCE

Heinrich Ueberall (1869–1939), Berlin;

Given by the above as collateral for loans to the Dresdner Bank, Danzig (their label affixed to the reverse);

Sold to Prussia by purchase agreement between Dresdner Bank and Prussia and transferred to the Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, cat. no. 2146 in 1935;

Restituted by the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz to the heirs of Heinrich Ueberall in 2019.

LITERATURE

H. Pauwels, 'De Schilder Matthias Stomer', in *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XIV, 1953, p. 164, reproduced p. 163, fig. 8;

B. Nicolson, 'Stomer Brought Up-to-Date', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 119, no. 889, 1977, p. 242, no. 101;

B. Nicolson, *The International Caravaggesque Movement*, Oxford 1979, p. 93;

B. Nicolson, *Caravaggism in Europe*, Oxford 1990, vol. I, p. 180;

C. Eisler, *Masterworks in Berlin, a City's Paintings Reunited*, New York 1996, p. 283, reproduced in colour p. 284;

H. Bock, I. Geismeier, R. Grosshans, J. Kelch, W. Köhler, R. Michaelis, H. Nützmann and E. Schleier, *Gemäldegalerie Berlin, Gesamtverzeichnis*, Berlin 1996, pp. 115, and 615 cat. no. 2146, reproduced fig. 1623;

R. Verdi, *Matthias Stom: Isaac blessing Jacob: the Barber Institute of Fine Arts*, exh. cat., Birmingham 1999, p. 38, reproduced p. 37, fig. 15.

The simplicity of the composition, the quality of the execution, and the unusually rich colour palette make this one of Stomer's very best paintings. With his characteristic chiaroscuro to add tension to the candlelight scene, Stomer makes use of his stock figure types to unravel the drama. Hagar, confused and surprised, her arm limp, is led by her mistress Sarah, the only participant who looks at all sure of her actions, toward Abraham. He leans back, a little puzzled that his wife should offer him her servant, and in so doing usefully creates the right side of the upward diagonal that completes, along with Hagar's extended arm, the central V-shape around which this design, as with so many of Stomer's works, is based.

Stomer's paintings are notoriously difficult to date, in part because of the scarce anographical details known about him, but also because his style did not change significantly during his career. He is known to have been in Rome in 1603–32, before moving to Naples and then Sicily, where his only signed and dated work can be found, the 1641 altarpiece of *Isidore the Labourer*, painted for the church of San Agostino, in Caccamo. Stomer treated the present subject on at least two other occasions: a larger work was formerly on the New York art market, while a second, which shows the figures full-length, is at the Konstmuseum, Gothenburg.¹

The book of Genesis relates that Abraham was told by an angel that his elderly wife Sarah would bear a child. There was, however, little reasonable hope that this would happen since Sarah was infertile. Taking matters into her own hands, as this painting illustrates, Sarah offered Hagar, her Egyptian handmaiden, to her husband so that his line might continue. Hagar's son was given the name Ishmael and he and his mother continued to live with Abraham until Sarah did indeed give birth to a child, Isaac, who was later to come so close to being sacrificed. At both God's and Sarah's insistence, Hagar and Ishmael were banished to the desert, where an angel came to their rescue. Ishmael was to be the father of a great nation in his own right, but it was Isaac alone who was to fulfil Abraham's destiny. To this day many Arabs consider Ishmael their ancestor and he is a key prophet for Muslims.

HEINRICH UEBERALL (1869–1939)

Heinrich Ueberall, the pre-war owner of this painting by Matthias Stomer, was born in Yaroslavl, Galicia in December 1869. He lived with his wife Rebecka (née Bercovitz, 1878–1942) in Bucharest until the turn of the twentieth century, before moving to Berlin. In Berlin he built up a successful art dealership, selling Old Master paintings and sculptures, and by 1909 his success had allowed him to relocate his gallery to a prestigious address at 98 Wilhelmstrasse, not far from the Potsdamer Platz in Berlin's Mitte.



<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Der Sammler</i> kauft bei den KUNSTHÄNDLERN in der WILHELMSTRASSE</p>	
GERARD VAN AAKEN Antiquitäten BERLIN W68, Wilhelmstraße 99 Telephon: A1 Jäger 3900	HUGO BRINKMANN Wilhelmstraße 94, Telephon: A2 Flora 3386 Möbel, Uhren, Kleinkunst, Porzellan Fayencen, Zinngegenstände
FRITZ BROO Antiquitäten Reiches Lager Kunstgewerbe BERLIN W8, Wilhelmstraße 51 Telephon: A1 Jäger 0287	ERNST FRITZSCHE Hollieferant Alt-Japan und China-Kunst Herrliche Sammeloobjekte BERLIN W8, Wilhelmstraße 49
RASMUSSEN & BIELENBERG Antiquitäten BERLIN SW68, Wilhelmstraße 105 Telephon: A2 Flora 5178	HEINRICH UEBERALL Antiquitäten - Alte Gemälde BERLIN SW68, Wilhelmstraße 98 Telephon: A1 Jäger 2108

Fig. 1. An advertisement for Wilhemstrasse's art dealers, featuring Heinrich Ueberall, in the January 1934 edition of *Weltkunst*

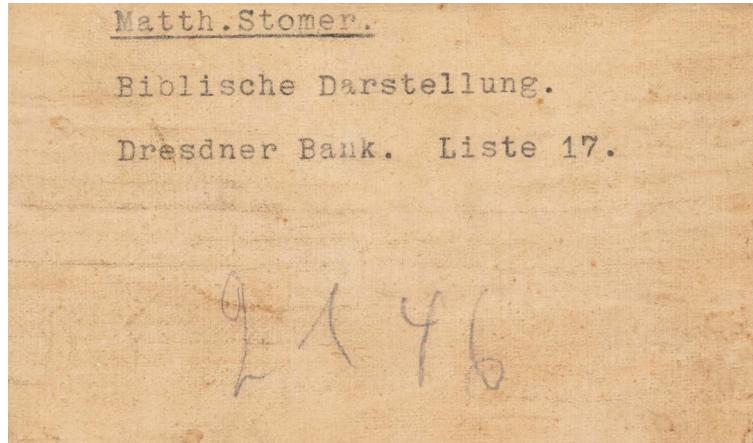


Fig. 2. The Dresdner Bank label affixed to the stretcher of the present painting

A major Berlin thoroughfare, Wilhelmstrasse would, after 1933, become home to Hermann Göring's Ministry of Aviation, Josef Goebbels' Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda and the Gestapo headquarters. Ueberall was long in the sights of the Nazi elite, as many of them had been his gallery clients, and he was forced to give up his business in 1934, not least because of its position between the ministries at the epicentre of National Socialist power on Wilhelmstrasse (a thoroughfare playing host to increasingly disturbing parades and other events) and because, as a Jew, he could not gain access to the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts), to which all German art dealers had to belong after 1933 if they wanted to continue dealing.

Because of the dire economic situation in Germany from the late 1920s onwards, Ueberall had been forced to use some of his private art collection as collateral to raise loans from the Dresdner Bank in Danzig to keep himself and his family afloat. Losing his gallery on Wilhelmstrasse in 1934 brought him to the brink of financial and existential ruin and he was not able to reclaim his works from the Dresdner Bank because, as a Jew *in extremis*, he was in no position to repay his debts to the bank.

In 1935 the Dresdner Bank sold a group of some 4,400 works of art that had served as loan collateral and largely came from Jewish collections to Prussia. Sixteen works that had once belonged to Ueberall thus went into the collections of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin as part of the 1935 Dresdner Bank transaction with Prussia, the result of a 1934 Nazi ministerial resolution that aimed to increase the holdings of the Prussian state museums. The Stomer painting was on public view at the Gemäldegalerie Berlin until January 2019. Together with two other paintings and two sculptures formerly in Ueberall's possession, it was returned by the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation) to the principal heir, Ueberall's 93-year-old grandson, a Holocaust survivor living far away from Europe, and his other heirs.

Heinrich Ueberall was deported to the concentration camp of Sachsenhausen in September 1939, where he was murdered at the age of seventy. Rebecka Ueberall, at the time destitute and without a permanent address, took her own life in 1942, having just received her deportation order. The Ueberalls' adult son, George, had emigrated to England in June 1939, and their daughter, Lilly Ella, her husband Wilhelm and their two young sons had fled from Danzig to New York at the outbreak of World War II.

We are very grateful to Dr Irena Strelow, M.A., in Berlin for her kind research input on this text.

¹ Nicolson 1977, p. 242, no. 100.



(Rome (?) circa 1599 - 1661 Rome)

An Allegory of Rome

stamped on the reverse with a monogram and with the inventory number: 183
oil on canvas
245 x 193.5 cm.; 96½ x 76⅓ in.

W £ 200,000-300,000
€ 233,000-349,000 US\$ 260,000-390,000

PROVENANCE

Commissioned in the first half of the 1620s by Cardinal Francesco Maria Bourbon Del Monte, Rome (1549–1626);

By descent to his heirs;

Private collection, France.

LITERATURE

Cardinal Del Monte's posthumous inventory drawn up in 1627, folio 576, verso, in which the present work is the only painting by Sacchi mentioned: *Un quadro di una Roma di mano di Andrea Sacchi con cornice negre con un filetto d'oro di Palmi dodici in circa*;

Listed in the inventory drawn up on 3 June 1628 for Cardinal del Monte's second heir, Alessandro: *Roma, figura intera con il Tevere Romolo Remolo [sic] putti con la lupa quadro grande con cornice un poco indorate, et negra di Andreuccio sacchi*;

C.L. Frommel, 'Caravaggios Frühwerk und der Karinal Francesco Maria del Monte', in *Storia dell'Arte*, 9/10, 1971, p. 31, folio 576v;

A. Sutherland Harris, *Andrea Sacchi*, Oxford 1977, p. 38, under n. 7;

R. Barbiellini Amidei in *Andrea Sacchi, 1599–1661*, exh. cat., Rome 1999, p. 35.

This recently rediscovered work by Andrea Sacchi was commissioned by Cardinal Del Monte (fig. 1) in the early 1620s. It is a hugely important addition to the small corpus of works by the foremost exponent of the classical strand of the Roman Baroque. Until its rediscovery its existence was known only through mention in the Del Monte inventories, though the composition was known through the delightful red chalk drawing in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle, and previously owned by Sacchi's student Carlo Maratti.¹

Sacchi trained in Rome with Francesco Albani and was much influenced by Raphael. Indeed, one of his earliest known works is a copy after Raphael's *Galatea*. He developed a highly individual style which has, arguably, not always been sufficiently celebrated. While he was certainly not opposed to the use of rich colours, particularly early in his career, his art betrays a clear rejection of the more exuberant aspects of the Roman High Baroque, as exemplified by figures such as Pietro da Cortona and Gianlorenzo Bernini. Sacchi and Cortona are, in fact, said to have debated furiously in the Accademia di San Luca in 1636 about the relative merit of the number of figures included in their compositions and the value of a more restrained aesthetic. His vision was much more measured, finding parallels in the classicism of Nicholas Poussin, and was perhaps to find its apex in the work of his close pupil, Maratti.

The painting includes many of the typical attributes of the *Città Eterna*: the river god of the Tiber, his back turned towards the viewer, leans against his urn, the waters of the river spilling out and forming a stream that fills the lower right foreground; the two infants, lower right, represent the twins Romulus and Remus, the mythical founders of Rome, as they rest against and suckle from the she-wolf. The female warrior who dominates the scene, her magnificent red cloak billowing in the wind, is a personification of Rome itself and her martial tendencies – the classical god of war, Mars, was the father of Romulus and Remus, and it is thanks to his bellicose bloodline that Rome's military success was achieved. Rome holds in her right hand a golden statue of a winged female figure who represents Victory. She can be seen leaning forward towards Rome to proffer her palm and to bestow a crown, her two attributes. Piled in the lower left foreground is the armour of a vanquished foe: both figuratively and literally, Rome is the victor.

Sacchi's drawing at Windsor provides a very clear point of departure for the present painting, but some key changes were made during the evolution of the design. The Tiber retains its position as a fulcrum between the figure of Rome and the twins but Rome itself now dominates the painting in a way which does not happen in the drawing. Romulus and Remus have acquired much greater prominence, almost covering the she-wolf, while in the drawing they were discretely nestled into her warm body. The armour, lower left, is now tidily piled up, in contrast with how it litters the foreground of the drawing, and the tree, centre left, which provides a useful counter-balance to the background, centre right, in which soldiers can be seen, is absent from the drawing.

Sacchi's painting must have been well known, and certainly admired, by his contemporaries. Valentin de Boulogne, for example, was to borrow heavily from the present design in his 1628–29 *Allegory of Italy* (fig. 2), painted for the papal nephew Cardinal Francesco Barberini. After Del Monte's death, Sacchi had gained employment with the Barberini family and may have kept the drawing with him to show Valentin. The compositions share evident similarities: the victorious female figure is seen once more with a similar red wind-filled cloak. She becomes





Fig 1. Ottavio Mario Leoni, *Cardinal Francesco del Monte*.
Black chalk heightened with white on blue paper.
Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, The State Art
Museum of Florida, Sarasota



Fig. 2. Valentin de Boulogne, *Allegory of Italy*, 1628–29.
Institutum Romanum Finlandiae

even more dominant in Valentin's composition, as she towers over both the Tiber, flanked by the twin infants, and Florence's River Arno, seen beside a lion.

Cardinal del Monte's patronage had a profound effect on the course of European art history. He was patron of the Accademia di San Luca and was a pioneering collector of the new wave of artists at the turn of the seventeenth century, including Sacchi, Adam Elsheimer, Simon Vouet, and, of course, Caravaggio. From his home in Palazzo Madama in Rome, today the home of the Italian Senate, Del Monte gave hospitality to numerous artists and built up an extraordinary collection of some 700 paintings, including no less than six works by Caravaggio but also collected works by other major figures, such as the Carracci, Guido Reni, Ribera and Guercino. In 1608 he presented Caravaggio's *Medusa* (today at the Uffizi) to Grand Duke Ferdinand of Florence and in 1599 had obtained for Caravaggio his first public commission, the *Calling of Saint Matthew* and the *Martyrdom of Saint Mathew*, both in the church of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome. His intellectual interests also included music, alchemy, science and poetry, and he patronised both Galileo Galilei and Torquato Tasso. By 1620 Sacchi was under the Cardinal's protection and he painted for him a cycle representing the seasons in the loggia of the now-destroyed Ripetta garden, as well as several other untraced works and the present *Allegory*. It was thanks to Del Monte's influence that Sacchi won the commission in 1622 for the high altar of Saint Isidoro in Rome (*in situ*), as well as the altarpiece of *Saint Gregory and the Miracle of the Corporal* in 1625 for the Basilica of Saint Peter's (now in the chapter house of Saint Peter's).³

The attribution has been independently endorsed by Arnaud Brejon de Lavergnée and Ann Sutherland Harris, to whom we are grateful.

¹ Sutherland Harris 1977, p. 38. At the time of her monograph, the scholar was undecided between attributing the drawing to Camassei or Sacchi, to whom the drawing had been attributed by Blunt by 1960. She subsequently opted for the Sacchi attribution, an opinion she still maintains.

² Sutherland Harris 1977, pp. 50–51, no. 6, reproduced pl. 4, p. 52, no. 9, reproduced pl. 8.

³ We are grateful to Dr Brejon de Lavergnée for proposing that after the painting left the Del Monte collection it may have found its way to Paris, into the collection of Michel Particelli d'Hémery (1596–1650), a leading patron of the arts whose collection included works by such masters as Poussin and Valentin de Boulogne. He suggests that the present work could be identifiable as the 'Rome avec Remus et Romulus' listed in the 1653–56 inventory, though since the artist is not specifically mentioned, at this stage this identification cannot yet be securely confirmed; see M. Szanto, 'Venise, Reni et la romanité, la collection de tableaux de Michel Particelli d'Hémery (1650)', in *Venise et Paris 1500–1700, Actes du colloque*, Genève 2011, p. 272, No. 1, P.I, 6.



27 **Simon Vouet**

(Paris 1590 - 1649)

Study of a young woman as
the Virgin

oil on canvas

60.7 x 49.5 cm.; 23 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

PROVENANCE

Private collection, Austria, by the 1970s;

Thence by descent.

£ 80,000-120,000

€ 93,000-140,000 US\$ 104,000-156,000

Traditionally attributed to Philippe de Champaigne, this enigmatic painting of a young woman – a hint of a smile playing on her lips – is a newly discovered work by Simon Vouet. The prototype for a painting now with the Galleria Apolloni, Rome, it relates to a drawing by Marie Metézeau at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes (fig. 1).¹ It is now evident that the present work is the prime version of the composition.

Of similar dimensions to the present work, the Apolloni version was sold at Bonhams in 2001 as by a follower of Simon Vouet and has recently been published as a self-portrait by Virginia Vezzi (1596–1638).² Virginia, daughter of the painter Pompeo Vezzi and active in Rome as a painter in her own right, married Simon Vouet in 1626 and the following year moved with him to Paris.³

On the question of whether the Apolloni painting – and by extension the present painting – is or is not a portrait of Virginia, opinions have differed. Both Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée and Barbara Brejon rule out the model as being Virginia, whose features are known from an engraving by Mellan of 1626, even taking into account a gap of several years.⁴ In their view, the veil, the colours of the garments – blue and red – are strong indications that the subject depicts the Virgin and is neither a portrait of Virginia, nor a self-portrait. Nor is the young woman wearing contemporary dress.⁵

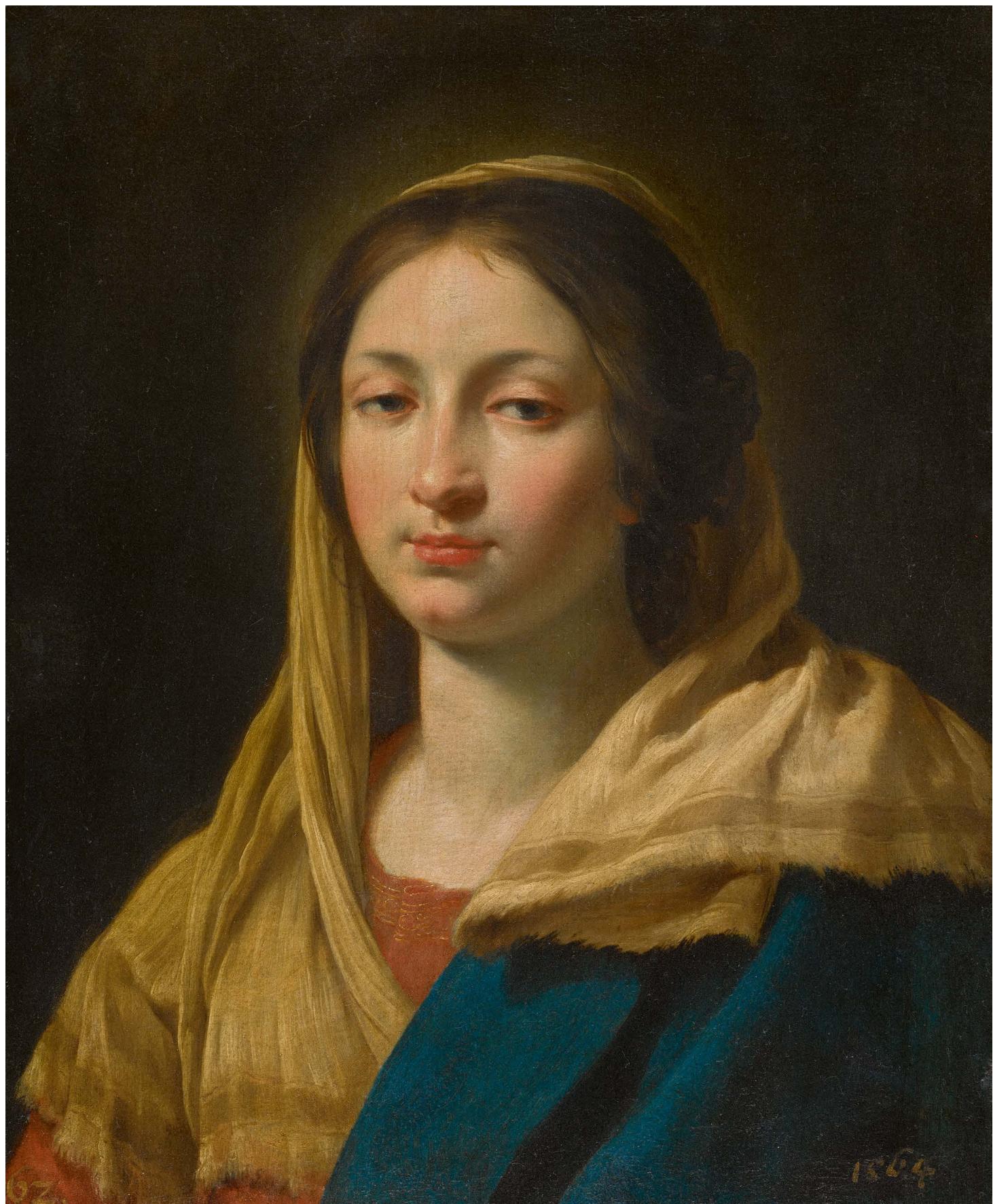




Fig. 1. Marie Métezeau, after Virginia Vezzi, *Study for a female figure*, 1636.
Black and white chalk on paper, 31.5 x 20.5 cm.
Photo Jean-Manuel Salingue, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes



Fig. 2. Virginia Vezzi, *Judith with the head of Holofernes*, c. 1626.
Oil on canvas, 98 x 74 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes

The question of the attribution has been complicated by the presence of a long inscription on the Rennes drawing, dated 1636, which reads: 'Virginia de Vezzo Sim. Voüet Regis Christianissimj/ Pictoris conjux charissima clarissima Inuentrix & Pinxit/ Maria Meteseau Parisiensis Puella rarissima delineavi[t]/ Parisijs A.D. 1636. Et Renato Nobilj dono dedit.'⁶ Marie Métezeau (c. 1625[?]-1670), daughter of the architect Clément Métezeau, learnt to draw with Virginia Vezzi, as stated by André Félibien in his *Entretiens*: Virginia 'montra à desseigner à quelques Demoiselles; entre autres, à une des filles du sieur Metheseau, Architecte du Roy'.⁷ The inscription prompted scholars to identify the Apolloni version as the prototype by Virginia, then copied by Marie. However Jacques Thuillier's suggestion that the drawing might in fact be done after a drawn model by Virginia needs further consideration, for the Rennes drawing could in fact be based on a drawing or pastel, rather than on a painting.⁸

The appearance of this painting, which is of higher quality than the Apolloni version, has reopened the question of these works' attributions, their subject and their interrelation. The only certain autograph and datable painting by Virginia Vezzi is her *Judith with the head of Holofernes* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes; fig. 2),⁹ engraved by Claude Mellan in 1626.¹⁰ Comparison with the present painting shows that the two differ significantly in handling, even taking into account the gap in date between Virginia's work in Rome in the mid-1620s and her putative production in Paris in the mid-1630s. It should also be noted that there is a lack of evidence for her activity as a painter during her years in the French capital between 1627 and 1638, the year she dies; and an absence of any record of paintings by her in the inventory taken of the contents of Vouet's home after her death.¹¹

Here, the subtle modelling of the veil and hair differs from Virginia's more dense application of paint. Vouet's handling has a lightness evident, for instance,

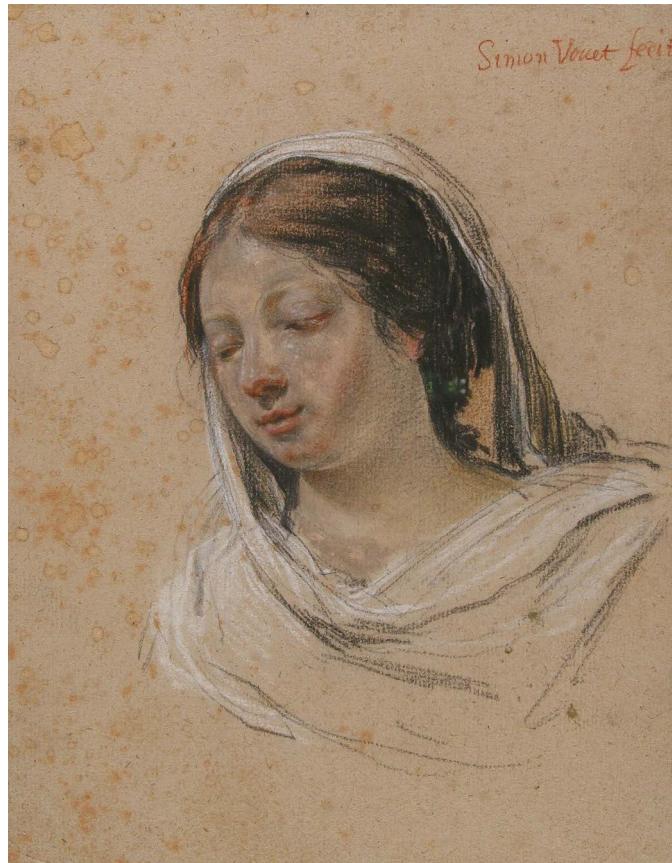


Fig. 3. Simon Vouet, *Woman wearing a white veil*, 1630s.
Pastel on beige paper, 26.7 x 20.6 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris

¹ Inv. 794.1.2691; black chalk and white heightening, 31.5 x 20.5 cm.; reproduced (before conservation) in *Vouet*, J. Thuillier (ed.), exh. cat., Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 6 November 1990 – 11 February 1991, p. 38; and (after conservation) in *Dessiner pour créer*, G. Kazerouni (ed.), exh. cat., Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, Ghent 2014, no. 51, p. 127.

² London, Bonham's, 11 July 2001, lot 122; oil on canvas, 60.3 x 50.2 cm.; there identified as a Portrait of Virginia da Vezzo wearing a red dress with a blue cloak and a cream shawl. Adeline Collange published the Apolloni painting as a presumed self-portrait of Virginia da Vezzo; A. Collange in *Simon Vouet, les années italiennes 1613/1627*, exh. cat., Nantes and Besançon, 2008–09, p. 25, fig. 5; Guillaume Kazerouni also attributes it to Virginia but hesitates between identifying it as a portrait of a woman or a self-portrait; G. Kazerouni in Rennes 2014, reproduced p. 126, fig. 1, as *Portrait de femme (Autoportrait?)*.

³ On Virginia's biography, see O. Michel, 'Virginia Vezzi et l'entourage de Simon Vouet à Rome', in S. Loire (ed.), *Simon Vouet: Actes du colloque international*, Grand Palais, 5–7 February 1991, pp. 123–33.

⁴ Inventaire du Fonds Français (IFF), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Mellan, no. 205.

⁵ Compare her, for instance, with the attire of the young woman with similar facial features in a fragmentary painting by Vouet datable to about 1624–26 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, Inv. 896A).

⁶ 'Virginia de Vezzo, very dear and very distinguished wife of Simon Vouet, painter to our most Christian King, invented and depicted it. Marie Meteseau, very rare Parisian girl, drew it in Paris in 1636 and gave it to René le Noble [or the noble René?].'

⁷ A. Félibien, *Entretiens...*, 1666–72, Paris 1972 (ed.), vol. IV, p. 88.

⁸ J. Thuillier in *Vouet*, J. Thiller (ed.), exh. cat., Paris 1990–91, pp. 35, 39, drawing reproduced on p. 38.

⁹ 09.1.1.P.; oil on canvas, 98 x 74 cm.

¹⁰ IFF, Mellan, no. 6.

¹¹ We are grateful to Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée for this observation.

¹² Inv. RF 54526, recto; pastel on beige paper, 26.7 x 20.6 cm.

in the rendering of the facial features in the present work. The stylization of the almond-shaped eyes, the outlined contours, the sinuous mouth, the round cheek and the dimpled chin are all features found on the face of the Nantes *Judith* and in the Rennes drawing but not to such a marked degree in this painting. This work is, on the other hand, closely comparable to a preparatory pastel study for a saint or veiled figure of the Virgin by Vouet, *Woman wearing a white veil*, at the Musée du Louvre, Paris. Datable to the 1630s – close in date to this painting – it highlights the similarities between the two (fig. 3).¹²

In the opinion of Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée and Barbara Brejon, authors of the forthcoming catalogue raisonné of the paintings and drawings of Simon Vouet, the careful rendering of the modelling of the face, with numerous highlights on the bridge of the nose and on the forehead; the idealization of the face; and the softness of the colours, are closer to Simon Vouet than to Virginia Vezzi, even if one takes into account that a dozen years probably separates Virginia's *Judith* and this bust-length study for the *Virgin*. They stop short of a full attribution to Vouet due to the way the eyes are painted, which in their view do not have the subtlety that is generally found in other works by the master. This leads them to draw two possible conclusions: either Vouet painted this devotional image – a field in which he was both prolific and successful – inspired by a work by Virginia; or Virginia, in her work, revisited a painted composition of his, translating it either into a painting or a pastel, later copied by Métezeau.

Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée and Barbara Brejon will include the painting in their forthcoming catalogue raisonné of the work of Simon Vouet, as 'attributed to Simon Vouet'. We are most grateful to all those consulted about this painting for their opinions.

28 Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez

(Seville 1599 - 1660 Madrid)

Portrait of Olimpia Maidalchini Pamphilj (1591–1657), half length, wearing black

the reverse bears the cipher of the Marqués del Carpio and inventory number: DGH/429

oil on original canvas (strip-lined), in a rare Spanish reverse cassetta, gilded and faux-marble frame

77.4 x 61 cm.; 30 1/2 x 24 in.

£ 2,000,000-3,000,000

€ 2,330,000-3,490,000 US\$ 2,600,000-3,900,000

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by or for the sitter, Donna Olimpia Maidalchini Pamphilj (1591-1657), on 11th July 1650;

Thence by descent to her grandson Cardinal Camillo Massimi (1620–1677), listed in his posthumous inventory, dated Rome 11 October 1677, as hanging on the left-hand wall of his gallery, under no. 106: 'Diego Velasco';

Don Gaspar Méndez de Haro, 7th Marqués del Carpio, Duque de Montoro, Conde-Duque de Olivares, Marqués de Eliche (1629 – 1687), Rome and Naples, by whom purchased in 1678 from the estate of the above for '20 y 20 escudos'; and listed in his inventory dated Rome 7 September 1682 – 1 January 1683, under no. 429, as 'Ritratto di Donna Olimpia Panfilia con velo nero in testa' as by 'Diego Velasco' with a value of 50 scudi; and in his posthumous inventory dated Naples 1687, also under no. 429;

Don Eugenio de los Rios, Caballero de Santiago and Mayordomo Mayor to the late Marqués del Carpio, in 1688, together with Velázquez's portrait of Camillo Massimi (as 'dos retratos de Velazquez de 3 x 2½ palmos'), perhaps in lieu of debt from the late Marqués;

Sig. Cesare Barbaro, Naples, to whom passed on 8 June 1692 from Don Eugenio de los Rios, together with the portrait of Cardinal Massimi (as 'dos retratos de Velazquez de 3 x 2½ palmos');

Cardinal Pompeo Aldrovandi (1668–1752), Bologna and Rome, by 1724 (as 'Diego Valaschi, Ritratto di D.a Olimpia Pamphili' and 'Ritratto di Mons.r Massimi');

Anonymous sale, The Hague, Venduhuis der Notarissen, 22 April 1986, lot 205 (as Dutch school, c. 1650 ['Hollandse School, ca. 1650']);

This highly important painting is the hitherto missing portrait of Olimpia Maidalchini Pamphilj (1591 - 1657), sister-in-law and reputedly lover to Pope Innocent X, painted by Diego Velázquez during the artist's second trip to Rome in 1649-50. The painting belongs to a moment of extraordinary artistic genius, during which perhaps the greatest portrait painter of all time produced some of his most celebrated masterpieces, including the *Portrait of Pope Innocent X* (fig.1), hailed by Sir Joshua Reynolds as 'the finest picture in Rome', as well as the outstanding portrait of his assistant Juan de Pareja, today in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Only recently rediscovered, the portrait of Donna Olimpia depicts one of the most powerful, formidable and ambitious women of her day who was intimately connected with the leading figures at the papal court and became known as the 'Papessa' (lady pope) on account of the enormous influence and control she exerted over Innocent X. Although the painting has not survived in the same pristine condition as many of the other great portraits by Velázquez from his second trip to Rome, it nevertheless exudes the artist's unique ability to capture and convey the personality of a sitter and to create the illusion that we are in their very presence. This remarkable portrait of one of the most fascinating and domineering women of her time, who has been described as among Rome's earliest feminists, can be counted among only a handful of works by the great Spanish master remaining in private hands.

In 1649 Velázquez undertook a second trip to Italy to acquire paintings and statuary for his patron Philip IV. He sailed from Malaga to Genoa and journeyed through Milan, Venice and Modena before eventually reaching Rome in May 1649, where he would remain until his departure in November 1650 (interrupted only by visits to Naples and Gaeta in June/July 1649 and March 1650). Whereas during the artist's first trip to Rome in 1629-30 he was relatively unknown outside of Spain, by the time of his second trip some twenty years later he enjoyed an international reputation. In Rome he was official painter to the papal court and appears to have had no rival in the medium of paint, for the greatest masters in portraiture in Rome at the time were the sculptors Gianlorenzo Bernini and Alessandro Algardi.





Fig. 1. Diego Velázquez, *Portrait of Pope Innocent X*, 1650. Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome, Italy / Bridgeman Image

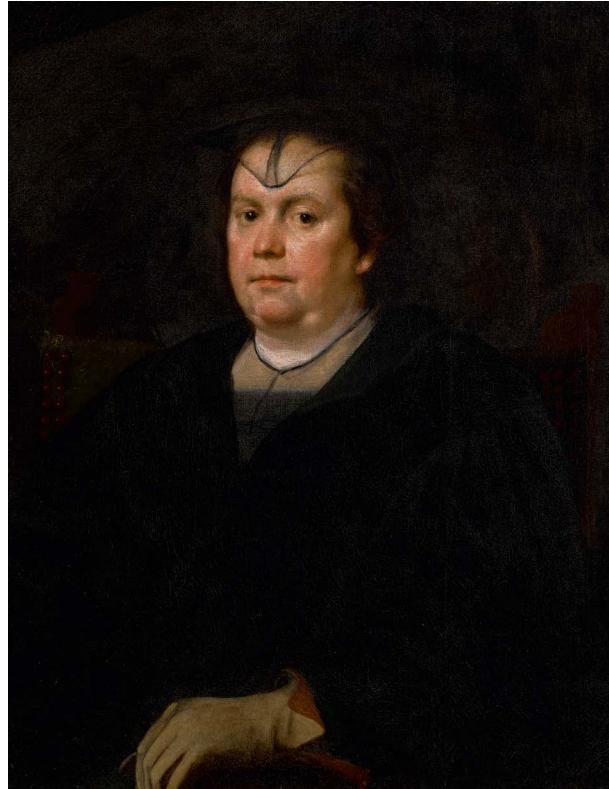


Fig. 2. The present painting

PROVENANCE CONT.

Where purchased by a private collector;
By whom bequeathed to the present owner.

LITERATURE

Recorded in a letter by Francesco Gualenghi, a resident of Modena living in Rome, to Francesco I d'Este, Duke of Modena (1610 - 1658), dated 13th July 1650:

Inventario dei beni ereditarij della chiar. mem. dell'Em.mo Sig.re Card. Massimi, 11 October 1677, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codice Capponiano 280, in 'La collezione del cardinal Massimo e l'inventario del 1677', AAVV, *Camillo Massimo collezionista di antichità. Fonti e materiali*, Rome 1996, pp. 91–153 and p. 100, no. 136 (as 'Diego Velasco', hanging on the left-hand wall in Massimi's gallery);

Listed in the inventory dated 7 September 1682 – 1 January 1683 of works belonging to Don Gaspar Méndez de Haro, 7th Marqués del Carpio (1629–1687), drawn up in Rome, under no. 429, as 'Ritratto di Donna Olimpia Panfilia con velo nero in testa' as by 'Diego Velasco' with a value of 50 scudi, for which see M.B. Burke, *Private Collections of Italian Art in Seventeenth-Century Spain*, 1984, vol. I, p. 293, no. 429;

Listed in the inventory drawn up on the death of the Marqués del Carpio in 1687, under no. 429, for which see Burke 1984, vol. I, p. 343 ff.;

Some half a dozen portraits by Velázquez survive from his second Roman period, namely the celebrated *Portrait of Innocent X*, today in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome (fig. 1), a half-length version of which is in the collection of the Duke of Wellington, Apsley House, London; the *Portrait of Juan de Pareja*, the artist's assistant, who travelled with him to Rome, today at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; the *Portrait of Ferdinando Brandini*, at the Museo del Prado, Madrid; the *Portrait of Camillo Massimi* in the ownership of the National Trust, The Bankes Collection, Kingston Lacy (fig. 3); the *Portrait of Cardinal Camillo Astalli*, at the The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 4); the *Portrait of a Gentleman*, at the Musei Capitolini, Rome; the *Portrait of a Young Girl with a Headscarf*, in a private collection, New York; and the *Portrait of Monsignor Segni*, Maggiordomo to Pope Innocent X, painted in collaboration with the Cremonese Master Pietro Martire Neri, today in a private collection, England.

The precise date for the execution of Velázquez's portrait of Donna Olimpia is recorded in a letter by Francesco Gualenghi, a resident of Modena living in Rome, to Francesco I d'Este, Duke of Modena (1610–1658):

'Lunedì la Sra. Donna Olimpia si trattenni tutto il giorno con diverse Donne...; anzi intendo che lunedì doppo il pranzo si compiacque di lasciarsi ritrare da un pittore spagnnolo assai valente, che dicono esser valletto di Camera del Re di Spagna.'¹

Given the letter is dated 13th July 1650, which was a Wednesday, we can deduce that Donna Olimpia sat to Velázquez on Monday 11th July 1650, after lunch. This would place the date of the picture to shortly after the *Portrait of Pope Innocent X*, which dates to around the start of the Pontiff's Jubilee on 25 December 1649 and is believed to have brought about Velázquez's admission to the Academy of Saint Luke in January 1650.

The painting passed by descent, perhaps after Donna Olimpia's death in 1657, to her grandson Cardinal Camillo Massimi (1620–1677), in whose gallery it is recorded as hanging alongside his own celebrated portrait by Velázquez (fig. 3). Massimi was a famous connoisseur, art patron and collector, future *Nuncio* at the



Fig. 3. Diego Velázquez, *Portrait of Camillo Massimi*, 1649–50.
The National Trust, Kingston Lacey



Fig. 4. Diego Velázquez, *Portrait of Cardinal Camillo Astalli*, 1650.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

A. Palomino, *Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors Inventory*, 1724, Cambridge 1987 (ed.), p. 159, listed as 'Velázquez portrayed Cardinal Pamphili, the illustrious Donna Olimpia, Monsignor Camillo Massimi...':

E. Harris, *Velázquez*, Oxford 1982, p. 146, as a lost work;

A. Delfino, 'Alcuni documenti sui pittori del '600 tratti dall'Archivio dei Stato di Napoli', in *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano*, 1998, pp. 17–22;

Corpus velazqueño, Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura, 2000, II, p. 554, no. 520;

J.L. Colomer, in F.C. Cremades et al., *Cortes del Barroco: de Bernini y Velázquez a Luca Giordano*, exh. cat., Madrid 2003, p. 38;

E. Harris, *Estudios completos sobre Velázquez*, Madrid 2006, pp. 27–31, 185–194;

Velázquez, exh. cat., National Gallery, London, 2006–2007, p. 224, under no. 40 (as probably painted in July 1650 but now lost);

F. Checa, *Velázquez, The Complete Paintings*, 2008, p. 186, under no. 73 (as a lost work);

L. de Frutos, *El Templo de la Fama. Alegoría del Marqués del Carpio*, Fundación Arte Hispánico, Madrid 2009, pp. 467–68, no. 647.

Spanish court and Cardinal. He was *Camariere d'honore*, or private chamberlain, to Pope Innocent X and in Velázquez's portrait is seen wearing the peacock coloured robes associated with that office. In October 1650 he was made Canon of Saint Peter's, very likely the appointment which lead to the commissioning of his portrait by Velázquez, and as attested by the only two surviving letters by the artist's hand, the two men clearly enjoyed a close friendship.

Following the death of Cardinal Massimi in 1677 the portrait of Donna Olimpia was acquired, together with many works of art, antiquities and paintings, directly from his estate by Don Gaspar Méndez de Haro y Guzmán, 7th Marqués del Carpio, (1629–1687), whose original inventory number and cipher can still be seen on the reverse of the painting's original canvas to this day and is critical in identifying the present work as Velázquez's hitherto lost original (fig. 9). Don Gaspar had arrived in Rome in March 1677 as Spanish Ambassador for Charles II, King of Spain, where he became a great patron and protector of the arts, acquiring no fewer than six paintings by Velázquez (including the present work), the largest number ever belonging to one single private collector. In 1682/83 he relocated to Naples to take up his appointment as Spanish Viceroy and during the course of his lifetime would become the most celebrated art collector of the day within Italy, amassing a collection of over 1,800 paintings by the time of his death.

The portrait of Donna Olimpia is recorded in two key inventories of possessions belonging to the Marqués del Carpio in 1682 and 1687. The inventory number still clearly visible on the back of the painting today (fig. 9) corresponds directly to the first of these, drawn up in Rome and dated 7 September 1682 – 1 January 1683. The portrait is listed under no. 429, as 'Ritratto di Donna Olimpia Panfilia con velo nero in testa', as by 'Diego Velasco'. In addition to the identification of the artist and sitter (described as wearing a black veil on her head), the inventory also lists the painting's dimensions as 3 by 2 ½ Roman *palmi* (a *palmo* being approximately 0.21 m.) and records that it was formerly in the collection of the sitter's grandson, Monsignor Camillo Massimi, under inventory number 106.



Fig. 5. Allesandro Algardi, *Bust of Donna Olimpia Maidalchini Pamphilj*, 1646-47.
Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome



Fig. 6. The present painting

The subsequent entry in the 1682/83 inventory, no. 430, relates to Velázquez's *Portrait of Camillo Massimi* (oil on canvas, 75.9 x 61 cm. - fig. 3). Of particular significance is that the painting is recorded as the same size as the portrait of Donna Olimpia (3 by 2½ palmi) and is assigned an equal value of 50 scudi. The identical measurements of the two portraits is important as it indicates that in 1682/83, a little over 30 years after they were painted by Velázquez, both canvases were broadly of the same dimensions and format that they are today.

The portrait of Donna Olimpia is subsequently recorded in the inventory of possessions drawn up on the death of the Marqués del Carpio in Naples in 1687, where it is still listed together with the portrait of Camillo Massimi. Yet while many of the late Marqués' possessions were sent back to Spain after his death, these two portraits by Velázquez are not listed among them. Instead they appear to have been sold in Italy to help pay off the Viceroy's considerable debts. In 1688 the two works, described as 'dos retratos de Velázquez de 3 x 2½ palmos', passed into the possession of Don Eugenio de los Ríos, Caballero de Santiago and Mayordomo Mayor to the late Marqués, who seems to have received them in lieu of debt. They subsequently passed into the collection of Sig. Cesare Barbaro of Naples on 8th June 1692. By 1724 both paintings are recorded in the collection of Cardinal Pompeo Aldrovandi (1668–1752) of Bologna and Rome, listed as 'Diego Valaschi, Ritratto di D.a Olimpia Pamphilj' and 'Ritratto di Mons.r Massimi'.

The *Portrait of Camillo Massimi* ended up in the collection of Count Ferdinando Marescalchi (1754–1816) in Bologna and it was from that collection that it was acquired by William John Bankes in around 1819–20 and brought to Kingston Lacy, Dorset, where it remains to this day. The fate of the portrait of Donna Olimpia is less certain. According to old customs stamps on the reverse of the former stretcher, the painting appears to have left Italy in 1911, but it was not until recently that it emerged from obscurity and was correctly identified as Velázquez's missing portrait.

ENGRAVED

Pierre Daret (1604 - 1678), in *Tableaux historiques, où sont graves les illustres Francois et Etrangers de l'un et l'autre sexe*, Paris, 1653;

Guillaume Vallet (1632 - 1704), Rome, 1657;

Giovanni Battista Cecchi (c. 1748 – 1815), in *Vita di Donna Olimpia Maidalchini*, 1781.



Fig. 7. Guillaume Vallet, *Portrait of Olimpia Pamphilj*, 1657. Engraving



Fig. 8. Giovanni Battista Salvi, called Il Sassoferato, *Portrait of Olimpia Pamphilj*. Drawing. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

Velázquez's portrait of Donna Olimpia clearly enjoyed a considerable degree of fame following its creation in 1650. The painting was engraved on at least three occasions, the earliest being by the French engraver Pierre Daret, which was printed in Paris in 1653, just three years after the painting's execution. In 1659 it was engraved by the Frenchman Guillaume Vallet (fig. 7), who was based between Rome and Paris, and the portrait was also copied in a squared drawing by the Roman artist Giovanni Battista Salvi, called Il Sassoferato, which is today in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (fig. 8). Each of the aforementioned images depict the sitter without the hand as seen in the portrait today, raising the question as to whether this may have been added at a later date. Opinion is divided among scholars as to whether Velázquez painted all of Donna Olimpia's body or whether he sketched an outline more in keeping with the study for Pope Innocent X today in the Collection of the Duke of Wellington at Apsley House, but it seems plausible that there may have been some intervention at an early date.

That Donna Olimpia should have been chosen as one of the select few (and the only lady) to have been painted by Velázquez during the artist's busy second trip to Rome should come as no surprise. She was one of the most influential figures at the papal court during the tenure of her brother-in-law Pope Innocent X and had striven tirelessly throughout her life to obtain a position of such power and influence. Born in 1591 in Viterbo, one of the Papal States, to Sforza Maidalchini and Vittoria Gualterio, a noble of Viterbo whose grandfather had been Papal Nuncio to France and the Council of Trent, she was married in 1608 to Paolo Nini, one of the wealthiest men in Viterbo, who died three years later. She married a second time to Pamphilio Pamphilj, elder brother of Cardinal Giambattista Pamphilj, who in 1644 was elected Pope Innocent X. Her second husband Pamphilio died in 1639 and soon after his election, Innocent elevated his late brother's son Camillo to the office of Cardinal-nephew although he subsequently renounced the cardinalate to marry Olimpia Aldobrandini, the

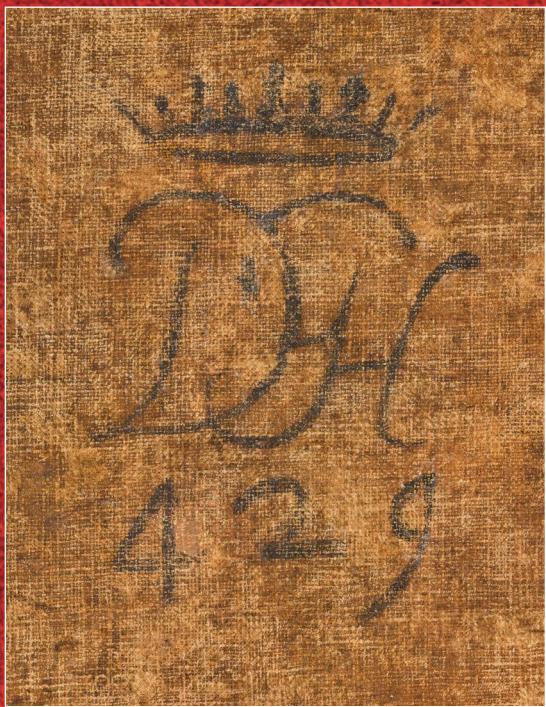


Fig. 9. Cipher and inventory number of the Marqués del Carpio shown on the reverse of the present painting

grand-niece of Pope Clement VIII. Donna Olimpia's nephew Francesco was then elevated to Cardinal-nephew, however due to his ineptitude in the role he was replaced by Cardinal Astalli, whose portrait by Velázquez (also painted in Rome in around 1649–50) is today at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 4), resulting in an ongoing feud between Donna Olimpia and Astalli.

Donna Olimpia's influence with her brother-in-law Pope Innocent X was well known. In 1645 the Venetian ambassador reported:

'She is a lady of great prudence and worth; she understands the position she holds as sister-in-law to the pope; she enjoys the esteem of his holiness; and has great influence with him.'

She effectively controlled appointments at the papal court, with candidates for vacant episcopal roles applying directly to her, the office typically going to the highest bidder. In 1645 she received from her brother-in-law the title Princess of San Martino and she used her position at court to bring considerable wealth to the house of Pamphilj. Her influence subsided somewhat following the recalling by Innocent X of Fabrio Chigi from Germany, who subsequently became Pope Alexander VII, however during the last year of Innocent's life, she guarded access to him and used her position for her own financial gain. Her influence over Innocent was such that she was sometimes referred to in sources as the 'Papessa' (lady pope) and she is even reputed to have been his lover. Her domineering personality is captured in a portrait marble bust by Alessandro Algardi, today in the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj, for which she sat to prior to Velázquez's arrival in Rome in 1649 (fig. 5).

Donna Olimpia has also been identified as one of Italy's earliest feminists. Her concern for the plight of women during her lifetime is attested to by contemporary accounts of money that she is said to have given to young girls threatened with being locked up in convents by their fathers to avoid the need to pay for expensive dowries, something that had repeatedly haunted her as a young woman. She is also reputed to have allowed prostitutes in Rome to ride in carriages bearing her coats of arms, further demonstrating her empathy for the condition of her own sex in what was a heavily male dominated society. She was a truly remarkable individual, whose ambition, determination and sheer strength of character propelled her vertiginous rise to the highest level at the papal court, for a period of time ruling in all but name as the *de facto* Pope. The story of her remarkable life has been recounted in many articles and biographies, including Eleanor Herman's 2008 'Mistress of the Vatican: The Secret Female Pope'. The re-discovery of Velázquez's portrait of Donna Olimpia, until now lost for nearly two centuries, is an incredibly exciting event and a unique opportunity to be confronted with the likeness and unbridled character of one of the most remarkable women that ever lived.

Following first hand inspection, the identification of the present work as Velázquez's hitherto lost original has been unanimously confirmed by leading scholars on the artist, including the late Dr William B. Jordan (written communication, 12 June 2016), Dr. Benito Navarrete Prieto and Guillaume Kientz, to whom we are grateful. The painting will be included in *The Spanish Golden Age* due for publication in October 2019 and written by Guillaume Kientz. We are also grateful to Dr. Fernando Marias for his kind help in elucidating the provenance.

¹ 'On Monday Sra Donna Olimpia was occupied all day with various ladies...in fact I mean that after lunch on Monday she allowed for her portrait to be painted by a very talented Spanish painter, who is said to be chamberlain to the King of Spain.' Modena, State Archive, Cancelleria Ducale, Ambasciate in Italia, Roma, busta 252, a66, dated 13 July 1650, Rome, for which see S. Salort, *Velázquez in Italia*, Madrid 2002, p. 452.



29 Giovanni Battista Pittoni
(Venice 1687-1767)

The Continence of Scipio

oil on canvas

111 x 145.5 cm.; 43 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 57 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

£ 120,000-180,000

€ 140,000-210,000 US\$ 156,000-234,000

PROVENANCE

Dr Voss(?) (his collector's label affixed to the stretcher);

Prof. Dr Herman Wedewer (1852-1922), Wiesbaden;

His sale, Berlin, Rudolf Lepke, 2 December 1913, lot 87 (as Sebastiano Ricci) with pendant;

There acquired by Prof. Dr R. Wassermann, Berlin;

His sale, Berlin, Internationales Kunst und Auktionshaus, 21 April 1934, lot 189 (as Sebastiano Ricci);

Where bought back and thence by descent to the present owner.

This painting is the prime original of one of Pittoni's most successful designs, which was repeated in numerous versions and copies, and this is its first appearance on the open market for eighty-five years. The story is taken from Livy's *Ab urbe condita* (XXVI: 50). After capturing the Spanish city of Carthage during the second Punic War, the Roman general Scipio Africanus received a beautiful young woman as a prize of war, but upon hearing of her engagement, he freed her and then summoning her fiancé Prince Allucius, magnanimously gave him her ransom money as a wedding gift. This and similar subjects of female virtue in danger were painted many times by Pittoni, who was one of the most successful painters of such histories in the Venetian rococo. He seems to have first developed these themes alongside his religious works during the 1720s. Together with its pendant (see following lot), the present canvas can be dated to around or just before 1730, by which time Pittoni had achieved considerable fame both north and south of the Alps. As these works show he had by this date evolved a highly distinctive personal rococo style: simultaneously theatrical and dynamic, ornamental yet supremely elegant, and above all notable for its broad, expressive brushwork and bold use of colour.¹

LITERATURE

H. Voss, 'Giovanni Battista Pittoni', in *Thieme-Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig 1933, vol. XXVII, p. 120;

L. Coggiola Pittoni, 'Pseudo influenza francese nell'arte di Giambattista Pittoni', *Rivista della città di Venezia*, XI, August 1933, p. 410;

W. Arslan, 'Studi sulla pittura del primo Settecento veneziano II', *La Critica d'Arte*, I June 1936, p. 241, n. 82;

A. Pigler, *Barokthemen*, Budapest-Berlin 1956, vol. I, p. 264;

F. Zava Boccazzì, 'Nota sulla grafica di Antonio Kern', *Arte Veneta*, xxix, 1975, pp. 246-47, 251, reproduced fig. 2;

F. Zava Boccazzì, *Pittoni: L'Opera Completa*, Venice 1979, pp. 144, 151, 188-89, 215-16, no. 286 (as location unknown);

A. Binion, *I Disegni di Giambattista Pittoni*, Corpus Graphicum vol. IV, Florence 1983, pp. 25, 33, 41, 43.



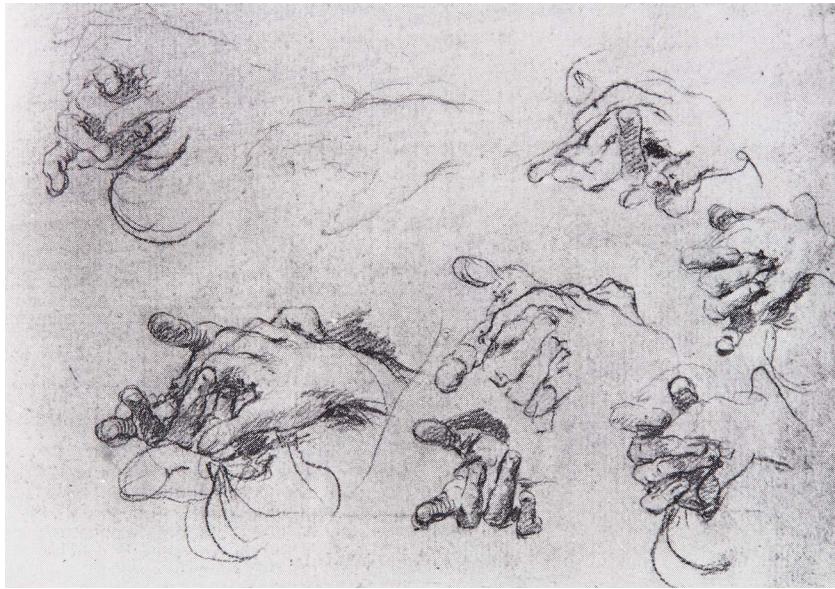


Fig. 1. Giambattista Pittoni, *Study of hands*. Red chalk on paper, 151 x 292 mm.
Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice



Fig. 2. Anton Kern after Giambattista Pittoni, *Study of figures from the Continence of Scipio*. Red chalk on paper, 394 x 265 mm. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

Pittoni was a very capable technician, and each of his paintings was preceded by elaborate and careful preparation on paper. For the present canvas, for example, his preliminary study of the hands of the young woman and her father survives in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice (fig. 1).² Another study, for the heads of the young woman and the attendants on the left of the painting, is in Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Gabinetto dei disegni.³ In addition we also have the fascinating testimony of two highly finished drawings, perhaps intended as *ricordi*, made by his pupil and assistant the Bohemian painter Anton Kern (1710–1747) preserved today in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Poitiers and the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest (fig. 2).⁴ The drawings follow the left and right-hand sections of the composition separately, and they can be dated to Kern's stay in Pittoni's studio between 1723 and 1730, which allows us to date the present painting to the same time. This dating is further supported by the fact that the figure of the young girl can be found amongst the figures contributed by Pittoni to the painting of the *Tomb of Isaac Newton* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum) painted between 1727–30 for the Irish impresario Owen McSwiny as part of a series of allegorical tombs commemorating heroes from recent British history.⁵

The success of Pittoni's design is witnessed by the large number of repetitions and copies that were immediately made of it. Most notable among these are two variants by Pittoni himself, one in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, and the other in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, both of which were painted as pendants to canvases depicting another scene of female virtue imperilled, *The Sacrifice of Polyxena*.⁶ Zava Boccazzì suggests that the Munich canvases were probably painted around 1735, and those in Paris slightly earlier, between 1733 and 1735. A high-quality replica, now in a Venetian private collection, is published by Zava Boccazzì as by Pittoni himself, but this attribution is rejected by Binion, who suggests instead that it may be a copy by Anton Kern.⁷

¹ Although the work of his Venetian contemporaries, Ricci, Tiepolo, Piazzetta and Pellegrini, were the most obvious sources of this style, scholars have also remarked upon the marked affinity of some of Pittoni's work with contemporary rococo art in France. Binion suggests that this may have been the result of a visit to France in 1720 with Rosalba Carriera, Pellegrini and Anton Maria Zanetti.

² Binion 1983, p. 43, no. 30.102, reproduced fig. 252.

³ Binion 1983, p. 33, no. B-2087, reproduced fig. 250.

⁴ Zava Boccazzì 1979, pp. 215–16, nos D56 and D62. The drawing in Budapest is signed and inscribed: *Ant. Kern del: aus einem Bilde seines Meisters*.

⁵ Zava Boccazzì 1979, pp. 123–24, no. 4, reproduced fig. 202.

⁶ Zava Boccazzì 1979, pp. 144, 150, nos 119, 120 and 144, reproduced figs 275, 312 and 313.

⁷ Zava Boccazzì 1979, p. 176, no. 228, reproduced fig. 164, and Binion 1983, p. 33, under no. B-2087, reproduced fig. 253.



30 Giovanni Battista Pittoni

(Venice 1687-1767)

Achilles among the daughters
of Lycomedes

oil on canvas

111 x 145.5 cm.; 43 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 57 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

W £ 120,000-180,000

€ 140,000-210,000 US\$ 156,000-234,000

PROVENANCE

Dr Voss (his collector's label affixed to the
stretcher);

Prof. Dr Herman Wedewer (1852-1922),
Wiesbaden;

His sale, Berlin, Rudolf Lepke, 2 December 1913,
lot 87 (as Sebastiano Ricci) with pendant;

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Auktionshaus, 21 April 1934, lot 190 (as
Sebastiano Ricci);

Where bought back and thence by descent to the
present owner.

LITERATURE

H. Voss, 'Giovanni Battista Pittoni', in *Thieme-Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig 1933, vol. XXVII, p. 120;

L. Coggiola Pittoni, 'Pseudo influenza francese nell'arte di Giambattista Pittoni', *Rivista della città di Venezia*, XII, August 1933, p. 410;

A. Pigler, *Barokthemen*, Budapest-Berlin 1956,
vol. I, p.264;

F. Zava Boccazzì, 'Nota sulla grafica di Antonio Kern', *Arte Veneta*, XXIX, 1975, pp. 247, 251, n. 10;

F. Zava Boccazzì, *Pittoni: L'Opera Completa*,
Venice 1979, pp. 188-89, no. 287 (as location
unknown);

A. Binion, *I Disegni di Giambattista Pittoni*, Corpus
Graphicum vol. IV, Florence 1983, pp. 9, 31.

This beautiful canvas was painted by Pittoni in Venice around or just before 1730 as the pendant to his *Continence of Scipio* (see preceding lot). The episode depicted here is recounted by Gaius Julius Hyginus in his *Fabulae* and by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* (XIII: 162ff). The Greek hero Achilles was hidden by his mother Thetis at the court of Lycomedes of Scyros, as she had foreseen his death in the Trojan War to come. Here he was discovered in disguise among the King's daughters by Ulysses, who had been sent by the Greeks to find him, and who tricked him into revealing his true identity by hiding a sword among gifts of jewellery. In the centre of the painting we see Achilles, clad in female attire, delightedly drawing the sword from its scabbard. No doubt on account of its twin themes of disguise and cross-dressing, this scene had been one of the most popular of all episodes from the life of Achilles for painters from the seventeenth century onwards, and its semi-theatrical subject was well suited to Pittoni's gift for decorative multi-figure compositions.

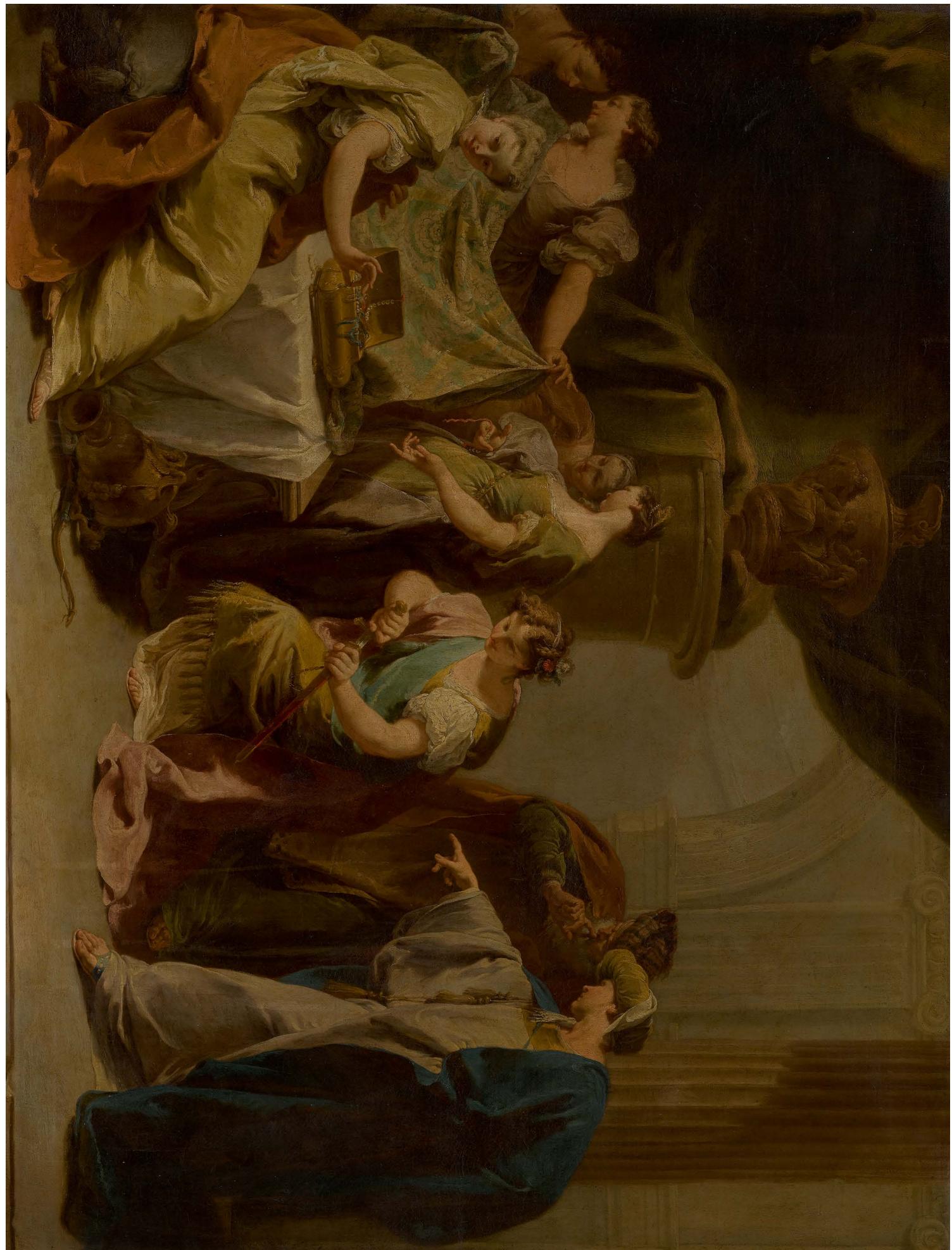




Fig. 1. Giambattista Pittoni, *Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes*.
Pen and brown ink and wash, 327 x 512 mm. Formerly Geiger Collection, Venice



Fig. 2. Giambattista Pittoni, *Two studies of heads in profile*.
Red chalk on paper, 120 x 178 mm. Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice

Remarkably, although the companion *Scipio* was painted again by Pittoni on more than one occasion, and is equally well-known through numerous copies, the present canvas remains the only known painted version of this composition to have survived. The only other version of any kind is a large highly finished drawing in pen and brown ink and wash by Pittoni himself, last recorded in the Geiger collection in Venice (fig. 1).¹ In this the general composition has been narrowed, and the figures of the daughters of Lycomedes and that of Achilles himself in the centre are disposed in quite different poses around their dressing table.² Because of its relatively large size (327 x 512 mm) and because Pittoni does not seem to have made drawings as independent works of art, both Zava Boccazzì and Binion agree that this drawing most probably served as a detailed preparatory study for the present canvas. Such finished drawings may also have served later as the basis for the replicas made in Pittoni's workshop, but if that had been the case here none have survived. In addition to this sheet, two further drawings, studies for the turbaned head and outstretched hand of the figure on the right of the composition, are preserved alongside the preparatory drawings for the *Continenza di Scipio* at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice (fig. 2).³

At the time both this canvas and its pendant were painted, Pittoni's career was probably at its highest point. In 1729, he was elected Prior of the *Collegio dei Pittori*, the association of Venetian painters, and in the same year he was one of the forty-six founding members of the Venetian *Accademia*. Inside Italy Pittoni's reputation was considerable, especially in the Veneto and Lombardy. It is remarkable, however, that more requests for major altarpieces came to him from other Italian cities such as Padua, Verona, Milan and Bergamo than from Venice itself. Outside of Italy he was held in great esteem, notably in Germany and Austria and in Dresden and Cologne in particular, but also in Poland, Bohemia and Spain. His patrons included Bishop Clemens August, Elector of Cologne, the Empress Amalia Wilhelmina of Austria, Field-Marshall Mathias von der Schulenberg, Frederick Augustus I, Elector of Saxony (King Augustus II of Poland) and his son Frederick Augustus II (King Augustus III of Poland), and King Philip V of Spain. It is a curious fact that no foreign travels by Pittoni in connection with any of his foreign commissions are recorded.

¹ L. Planiczig and H. Voss, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister aus der Sammlung Dr. Benno Geiger*, Vienna 1920, no. 86. Geiger acquired the drawing from the Gottschewsky collection in Hamburg.

² Zava Boccazzì 1979, p. 215, no. D.55, reproduced fig. 165; see also Binion 1983, p. 31, reproduced fig. 254.

³ Zava Boccazzì 1979, p. 211, no. D.25, reproduced fig. 163; see also Binion 1983, pp. 41, 45 nos 30.051 and 30.164, reproduced figs 113 and 115, though she does not connect either drawing to the present picture.



31 **Giovanni Battista Piazzetta**
(Venice 1682 - 1754)

Saint Theresa in ecstasy

oil on canvas

46 x 38 cm.; 18¹/₈ x 15 in.

£ 120,000-180,000

€ 140,000-210,000 US\$ 156,000-234,000

PROVENANCE

Heimann Collection, Milan;

With Adolph Loewi, Venice;

Colonna Collection, Turin;

Anonymous sale, New York, Sotheby's, 30 January 2014, lot 50 for \$257,000;

There acquired by the present collector.

EXHIBITED

Lausanne, Musée Cantonal des Beaux-Arts, *Les Trésors de l'art Vénitien*, 1 April – 4 September 1947, no. 86.

LITERATURE

W. Arslan, 'Studi sulla pittura veneziana del primo Settecento', in *La Critica d'Arte*, 1936, p. 197, reproduced fig. 9;

R. Pallucchini, 'Opere inedite di Giambattista Piazzetta', *L'Arte*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1936, pp. 187, 188, reproduced p. 189, fig. 1;

R. Pallucchini (ed.), *Les Trésors de l'art vénitien*, exh. cat., Lausanne 1947, no. 86;

R. Pallucchini, *Piazzetta*, Milan 1956, pp. 32 and 49, reproduced in colour plate XIII;

R. Pallucchini and A. Mariuz, *L'opera completa del Piazzetta*, Milan 1982, p. 93, no. 77, reproduced.

This striking and dramatic bust-length depiction of *Saint Theresa in Ecstasy* is characteristic of Piazzetta's images of single saints. He executed two additional versions of this composition, though Pallucchini argued that the present version should be considered the prime example.¹ One version is in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, and differs very slightly in the background and arrangement of the rosary beads. The third version (location unknown) is known from an engraving by Marco Pitteri.² That version includes a crucifix (in lieu of rosary beads) and a skull in the lower left corner, which has previously led to the belief that the present canvas is a fragment, though comparison with the Stockholm picture confirms otherwise. Piazzetta did indeed engage with this general figural type, with the female saint leaning back, eyes closed, in quiet contemplative ecstasy, on other occasions, for instance his *Saint Margaret in Ecstasy*, for which he executed at least two examples (Tommasi collection, Cortona, and private collection, Padua).

Born in Venice, Piazzetta received his training there, before moving to Bologna at the age of twenty. He was already a skilled draughtsman when he entered the studio of Giuseppe Maria Crespi. Piazzetta stayed in Bologna for two years, at which time he returned permanently to Venice. The marked tenebrism of his style, which increased over time, must reflect not only the Bolognese works to which he would have been exposed, such as those by the Carracci and Guercino, but probably also reveal the influence of the latter's Roman-period works.

¹ Pallucchini and Mariuz, 1982, p. 93.

² Pallucchini and Mariuz 1982, no. 76.



32 Jean-Honoré Fragonard

(Grasse 1732 - 1806 Paris)

The Fountain of Love

oil on canvas

47 x 37.5 cm.; 18½ x 14¾ in.

£ 600,000-800,000

€ 700,000-930,000 US\$ 780,000-1,040,000

PROVENANCE

Monsieur Bérend, Paris;

His sale, Paris, Chevalier, 2 December 1889, lot 4, for 4050 francs;

There acquired by Marcel Bernstein (1840–1896), Paris;

Thence by descent to Henry Bernstein (1876–1953), Paris;

Bartholoni Collection (according to the 1959 sale catalogue below);

With Wildenstein, New York;

Irwin B. Laughlin (1871–1941), Washington, D.C.;

Thence by descent to his daughter, Mrs Hubert Chanler (1914–1999), New York;

By whom sold, London, Sotheby's, 10 June 1959, lot 22, for £3500;

With Wildenstein, New York;

From whom acquired by the late collector in 1988.

EXHIBITED

Paris, Champs de Mars, *Exposition des arts au début du siècle*, 1891, no. 367;

Tokyo, The National Museum of Western Art, and Kyoto, Municipal Museum, *Fragonard*, 18 March – 11 May 1980 and 24 May – 29 June 1980, no. 81;

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Fragonard*, February–May 1988, no. 283A;

New York, Colnaghi, *1789 French Art During the Revolution*, October–November 1989, no. 23;

Williamstown, The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, and Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, *Consuming Passion: Fragonard's Allegories of Love*, 28 October 2007 – 21 January 2008 and 12 February – 4 May 2008.

LITERATURE

G. Bourcard, *Catalogue de dessins, gouaches, estampes, tableaux du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1893, p. 190 (as a sketch);

Described by Pierre Rosenberg as an 'étude merveilleusement vaporeuse, peinte avec une grande légèreté' ('a marvellously airy study, painted with a great lightness of touch')¹, this enchanting picture is the preliminary oil study for one of the most celebrated of all Fragonard's paintings. Executed in about 1784 as part of a series of four allegorical portrayals of love, the *Fountain of Love* is one of the most famous creations of his mature career. In it Fragonard skilfully blends the fountain, a traditional motif from courtly medieval culture, with newly fashionable classical motifs, all in a supremely painterly rococo vein. The famous French art critics the de Goncourt brothers, capture the spirit of the scene perfectly; in a wooded garden, surrounded by putti, two lovers, crowned with roses and driven on by their passion, ardently seek the waters of the fountain of love:

'... affamés tous deux, l'œil brûlant, ils tendent la soif et le désir de leurs lèvres à la coupe enchantée...'

(... both with burning eyes and famished mouths, lean forward to quench the thirst and desire of their lips at the magic cup...)²





Fig. 1. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Fountain of Love*.
Oil on canvas, 63.5 x 50.7 cm. Wallace Collection, London



Fig. 2. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Fountain of Love*.
Oil on canvas, 64.1 x 52.7 cm. J.Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

- P. de Nolhac, J.-H. Fragonard, Paris 1906, p. 116 (as a sketch);
 G. Wildenstein, *The Paintings of Fragonard*, London 1960, pp. 28, 308, no. 487, reproduced fig. 200 (as a sketch);
Wallace Collection Catalogues: Pictures and Drawings, London 1968, p. 117;
 D. Wildenstein and G. Mandel, *L'opera completa di Fragonard*, Milan 1972, p. 109, no. 518, reproduced fig. 518;
 J. Ingamells, *The Wallace Collection, Catalogue of Pictures, III: French before 1815*, London 1985, p. 155 (as a sketch for the Wallace Collection painting);
 J.-P. Cuzin, *Jean-Honoré Fragonard, vie et œuvre-catalogue complet des peintures*, Fribourg and Paris 1987, p. 332, no. 374, and p. 332, under no. 373, reproduced p. 212, fig. 263;
 D. Sutton, 'Selected Prefaces: Jean-Honoré Fragonard: The World as Illusion', *Apollo*, CXXV, February 1987, 300, pp. 112–113, reproduced p. 111, fig. 10;
 P. Rosenberg, *Tout l'œuvre peint de Fragonard*, Paris 1989, p. 118, no. 409;
 C. Bailey in 1789: *French Art During the Revolution*, exh. cat., New York 1989, pp. 190–94, no. 190, reproduced;
 A. Molotiu in *Fragonard's Allegories of Love*, exh. cat., Los Angeles 2007, pp. 37, 40–41, reproduced p. 40, fig. 30 (as a sketch).

At least two autograph finished versions of *The Fountain of Love* are known: the signed and best known example is in the Wallace Collection, London, and another more recent rediscovery, formerly in the collection of Lady Holland, is in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (figs 1 and 2).³ Scholars have long recognized the present version of *The Fountain of Love*, with its fluid and impressionistic brushstrokes, as likely to be Fragonard's earliest realization of the composition, from which the two more finished versions derive. The present oil study is smaller and differs from them in a number of details; the general tonality of pale blues and greens, for example, is very different from the autumnal colouring and more developed chiaroscuro of the Wallace and Getty versions. Cuzin, who described the present work as 'une merveilleuse esquisse' ('a marvellous sketch'), noted how its 'mother-of-pearl tones' as yet lack the distinctive dramatic lighting of the London painting. There are also minor differences, for example in the insertion of an additional putto on the extreme right of the picture and another in the trees above, and the way in which the male lover's hand seems to restrain the arm of his companion. The composition was a huge success, and was made famous by Nicolas François Regnault's popular engraving published in late 1785 (fig. 3). In 1786 Marguerite Gérard, Fragonard's sister-in-law and an accomplished artist in her own right, included it in her self-portrait, *L'élève intéressante*, now in a private collection. At Fragonard's death *The Fountain of Love* remained one of the most famous of all his works. In his 1806 obituary, the *Journal de Paris* singled it out as one of only three works that linked his name with 'l'idée même des Grâces', ('the very embodiment of the graces').⁴

The *Fountain of Love* was one of a group of four subjects painted by Fragonard in the 1780s, in which he developed a new approach to the portrayal of the theme of love. The others are *Le Serment d'amour* or *The Oath to Love* (c. 1780; Rothschild Collection, Waddesdon Manor, with a version at the Musée d'art et d'Histoire de la Provence, Grasse); *L'Invocation à l'amour* or *The Invocation to Love* (1780; private collection, New York, with a version at the Musée du Louvre, Paris), and the most erotically charged of the group, the *Sacrifice de la Rose* or *The Sacrifice of the Rose* (late 1780s; the Resnick Collection, Beverly Hills; with



Fig. 3. Nicolas François Regnault, after Jean-Honoré Fragonard,
The Fountain of Love. Engraving.
Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles

versions in a private collection, Paris, and the Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo, Buenos Aires). Typical of this allegorical group was Fragonard's response to a shift among the wider public towards a more classical taste. He now tempered his characteristic *fête galantes* in the rococo tradition of Antoine Watteau and François Boucher, with a more classical flavour. As observed by Colin Bailey, the resulting design of *The Fountain of Love* is 'distinctive: pagan, celebratory, unremittingly carnal but thoroughly imbued with references from the Classical Past'.⁵ As examples of the latter he compares the profiles of the two lovers with classical cameo portraits and in particular with the heads in Peter Paul Rubens' *Tiberius and Agrippa* (National Gallery of Art, Washington), a painting Fragonard may have seen when he visited the Prince of Liechtenstein's collection in Vienna in 1774. The results here anticipate romanticism, for as John Ingamells noted: '...the profile heads, sculptural figures and melting chiaroscuro, beside the classicising imagery' all look forward to the work of the great romantic painter Pierre-Paul Prud'hon (1758–1823).⁶ Ironically, it was to be just this emergence of neo-classicism that would effectively signal the end of Fragonard's success as a painter. Perhaps Fragonard himself had already sensed this. As Denys Sutton wrote, there is in this group of works '...a curious *fin de siècle* quality and a sense of regret, as if the certainty of love and pleasure are being questioned... They also look ahead to the dark, mysterious world of the symbolists'.⁷

¹ Rosenberg 1989, p. 118.

² E. and J. De Goncourt, 'Fragonard', in *L'art du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1883, p. 329. De Goncourt was referring to the version in the Wallace Collection.

³ Molotin in Los Angeles 2007, pp. 37–41, reproduced figs 1 and 29 and front cover. A third version, also in oils on canvas (53 x 46 cm.) formerly in the Walferdin and Paillard collections is listed by Cuzin (Cuzin 1987, no. 375) but with reservations as to the attribution. Interestingly Portalis (*Honoré Fragonard. Sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris 1889, p. 277), did not link this with a version sold from the Saint collection in 1846, which he described as 'Esquisse d'une charmante couleur', which might otherwise seem to refer to the present work. Another larger version (62 x 51 cm.) was sold London, Christie's, 11 April 1913, lot 50 and later in the Willys collection in Toledo, Ohio, and a grisaille copy was in the More sale, Brussels, 12 April 1929, lot 100.

⁴ *Journal de Paris*, no. 237, December 1806, p. 1742. The *Fountain of Love* was commemorated alongside another work from the series, *The Sacrifice of the Rose*, as well as *Coresus and Callirhoe* (1765, Louvre, Paris), the latter of which was exhibited to prolific acclaim at the Salon of 1765 and quickly acquired by the King.

⁵ Bailey in New York 1989, p. 193.

⁶ Ingamells 1985, p. 154.

⁷ Sutton 1987, pp. 112–13.

33 ▷ Jean-Etienne Liotard

(Geneva 1702 - 1789)

A Woman in Turkish costume
in a *Hamam* instructing a
servant

pastel on paper, laid down on canvas

703 x 563 mm.

£ 2,000,000-3,000,000

€ 2,330,000-3,490,000 US\$ 2,600,000-3,900,000

PROVENANCE

Probably John Hawkins (1761-1841);

By inheritance to his son John Heywood Hawkins (1802-1877), Bignor Park, Pulborough, Sussex;

By inheritance to his nephew John Heywood Johnstone (1850-1904);

By inheritance to his widow, Mrs. John Heywood Johnstone (d. 1924);

Her estate sale, London, Christie's, 20 February 1925, lot 44;

Where acquired by Mrs Heywood Johnstone's son-in-law, Robert Beart Lucas, Shillington Manor, Hitchin, Herts;

With Rodolphe Dunki, Geneva;

From whom acquired in 1937 by Bernard Naef, Geneva;

By inheritance to his son;

From whose estate sold, London, Christie's, 4 July 1995, lot 148;

There acquired for the present collection.

Though his ties with his native Switzerland never wavered, there was perhaps no 18th-century artist who was more truly cosmopolitan than Jean-Etienne Liotard. Over a career that spanned six decades, he worked in almost all the main cultural centres of Europe, and also immersed himself more profoundly than any of his artistic contemporaries in the exotic – and very fashionable – world of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire. Rejected at an early stage by the Paris academy, he honed his craft outside the artistic mainstream, and his works in his preferred medium of pastel are often of startling technical and compositional originality. This exceptional pastel, one of the most famous images that he ever made, encapsulates all of the technical brilliance and timeless mystery that underpin Liotard's genius and enduring appeal.

Having attempted, with only limited success, to establish himself in Paris, Liotard travelled in 1736 to Rome. There, according to the autobiography that he published in 1774, he happened to meet, in a coffee house, the English aristocrat William, Lord Ponsonby, later 2nd Earl of Bessborough (1704-1793), who apparently admired a miniature copy that Liotard had made of the *Venus de' Medici*. Ponsonby was about to embark on an expedition to Constantinople, together with John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich (1718-1792), and they invited Liotard to accompany them ‘to draw the dresses of every country they should go into; to take prospects of all the remarkable places which had made a figure in history; and to preserve in their memories, by help of painting, those noble remains of antiquity which they went in quest of.¹ Sandwich wrote an account of the journey, and although this was only published, with minimal illustrations, some years after his death, he may have had in mind from the start a project to publish his diary, with illustrations based on drawings by Liotard.²





Fig. 1. Jean-Etienne Liotard, *Self-portrait in Turkish Costume*. Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden, Germany. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Bridgeman Images

The party sailed from Naples on 3 April 1738, and having passed by the islands of Paros, Samos, Chios and Smyrna, they arrived in Constantinople. Along the way, Liotard made various drawings of the people and costumes of these locations, in his typical media of red and black chalk, which would serve him well as sources for the rest of his career. Once in Constantinople, the status of the artist's travelling companions, and the resultant support of the British Ambassador, Sir Everard Fawkener, meant that doors immediately opened, and Liotard received many commissions for portraits, not only from the community of expatriate merchants, diplomats and travellers, but even from the Grand Vizier himself. Constantinople was at this time a remarkable cultural crossroads, with the European merchants and diplomats living on the slopes of Galata and Pera on the Golden Horn pressed close by vibrant communities of Muslims, Jews, Armenians and Greeks – a magnet for traders from all corners of the Ottoman Empire, and beyond.

The faces, costumes, textiles and habits of all these people were to provide Liotard with a repertoire of motifs and images that he would use for the rest of his life. Indeed, during and after his four-year stay in Constantinople, and then in the Moldavian city of Jassy (in modern-day Romania), Liotard himself adopted the costume of the region and grew a luxuriant beard, as we see in a number of self-portraits, including the fine pastel now in Dresden (fig. 1).³ On one such self-portrait of 1744, executed for inclusion in the famous collection of artists' self-portraits in the Uffizi, Florence, he even wrote, in large letters: 'J.E. Liotard de Geneve Surnommé le Peintre Turc, peint par lui même...'⁴, and when he came to London in 1753, he was not ashamed to be known as 'the Turkish painter', thereby profiting from the great fashion for all things Ottoman and Levantine that had developed in England, following the publication in 1717 of the travel diaries of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Sir Joshua Reynolds, it should be noted, considered Liotard's cultivation of this image as nothing short of fraudulent quackery, though that view may well have been coloured as much by professional jealousy as genuine moral outrage. But Liotard's knowledge

EXHIBITED

Zurich, Kunsthaus, *Jean-Etienne Liotard. Sammlung des Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Genf* 1978, ex-catalogue (according to a label on the back of the frame); Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire, and Paris, Musée du Louvre, *Dessins de Liotard*, 1992, no. 29.

LITERATURE

R. Loche, *Jean-Etienne Liotard*, Geneva 1976, under no. 3; R. Loche and M. Roethlisberger, *L'opera completa di Liotard*, Milan 1978, no. 53; F. Zegler, *Stiftung Oskar Reinhart Winterthur*, Zürich 1981, under no. 105; A. Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au XVIIIe siècle*, Courbevoie 1989, p. 285; R. Loche, *J.-E. Liotard dans les collections genevoises*, Milan 1990, no. 1, reproduced in colour; M. Roethlisberger and R. Loche, *Liotard*, 2 vols, Doornspijk 2008, vol. I, p. 464, no. 297, reproduced vol. II, pl. 433.



Fig. 2. Jean-Etienne Liotard, *Dame de Constantinople chaussée de socques de bain, à la entrée d'un hammam*.
Paris, RMN, Musée du Louvre

of Turkish customs and interiors, together with the crates of clothes that he brought back with him from Constantinople, proved irresistible to his elegant clientele in London, Paris, Vienna and elsewhere, and the resultant series of portraits '*a la turque*' constitute one of the most significant and original elements of the artist's surviving work.

Whereas many of Liotard's Turkish-inspired compositions are specific portraits of European patrons dressed in exotic costumes, a small number seem to have been conceived as genre scenes, capturing in a more generalised way the details and customs of life in Constantinople. This pastel is one of the most ambitious of the artist's works of this latter type, and the fact that it exists in no fewer than five autograph versions is testimony to its great popularity with Liotard's patrons. Of the five versions (four of which are in the artist's preferred medium of pastel), Roethlisberger and Loche consider this one and the example in the Geneva Museum to be the best in terms of quality.⁵ The Geneva pastel, which differs slightly from the others in the spatial relationship between the two figures, and other compositional details such as the treatment of the floor, was probably the first to be executed, most likely around 1742, either towards the end of the artist's stay in Constantinople and Jassy, or shortly after his return to Paris. In addition to the present pastel, three more versions are known, all very close to this work in composition, and possibly executed with the aid of some kind of tracing from it that Liotard would have made so that he could produce additional faithful replicas after the original pastel was sold.⁶ One of these other versions, in the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, is in oil, the other two are pastels, now in the Stiftung Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur, and the Orientalist Museum, Doha.⁷

The subject is a lady and her servant, standing beside the *kuma*, the stone washbasin that is found at the *calidarium*, where visitors to the baths would begin the process of washing, before entering the baths themselves. They are both extremely elaborately dressed, the tips of their fingers coloured with the traditional henna that the servant carries in the pot on her tray, alongside a double-sided ivory comb, but the lady must in fact have been a European – possibly Greek, Jewish, Armenian or 'Frankish' (a term generally applied at the time to people originating from Northern European countries such as France, England or Holland); Liotard would not have had access to Muslim women. The lady's heavy costume consists of no fewer than five distinct layers, and would surely have been far too hot to be worn inside the baths, though the tall wooden slippers with blue embroidered bands (*takunya*) are indeed what she and her servant would have worn into this part of the baths, to avoid burning their feet on the heated stones.

The costume is, however, consistent with how a Turkish woman would have been dressed in preparation for a traditional pre-marriage visit to the baths. Only on that occasion would she go to the baths dressed in garments such as the white fur waistcoat embroidered with gold threads that we see here, with a string of gold coins around her neck (one side bearing the first line of the Koran, the other the official monogram of the Sultan), and other lavish gold and silk adornments. The virtuosic depiction of this extremely elaborate costume therefore takes on something of an ethnographic function, as a faithful record of an important aspect of Turkish culture and customs – a very different function from the more contrived portraits in exotic costume that made up so much of Liotard's output during his time in Constantinople. Even the colour scheme, with the intense opulence of the costumes set against a rather misty, greyish-brown background with only the faintest of shadows, somehow mimics the visual effect of seeing these sumptuously dressed figures through the steamy atmosphere of the baths, further emphasising that this is a snapshot not so much of the individual people as of the location and the specific event.

The pastel must have been based on chalk drawings, made from life, but no corresponding studies are known; one can, though, get a good impression of how they might have looked from a red and black chalk drawing in the Louvre, which shows another woman in a similar Turkish costume, also wearing the same wooden slippers (fig. 2).⁸ Yet despite the compositional links that can sometimes be established between Liotard's drawings of this type and his more elaborate, large-scale pastels, the respective moods of these works could not be more different: the drawing a delightful, but essentially factual, record, the pastel a work that transports the viewer to a different world. Liotard's originality as an artist also manifested itself in his works in other media, notably miniature painting and enamel work, as well as in his much rarer oil paintings; in all these very different media, he broke new ground, and made works that were somehow unlike anything produced by any of his contemporaries.

The present pastel was probably owned by John Hawkins, who traded in the Levant in the years around 1800, and who also owned another pastel by Liotard of a Turkish subject, his *Woman in Turkish Costume Playing a Tambourine*.⁹ It remained in the same family until 1937, when it was acquired by the great Swiss collector of Liotard, Bernard Naef. In 1995, the pastel was sold by Naef's descendants, and acquired by the present owner. A prime version of one of the compositions that best defines Liotard's unique link with the Ottoman world, and a superb example of his unparalleled technical brilliance as a pastellist, hardly any other works by Liotard of comparable importance and visual appeal still remain in private hands.

¹ Jean-Etienne Liotard 1702–1789, exh. cat., Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh, and Royal Academy of Arts, London, 2015–16, p. 65.

² John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, *A voyage performed by the late Earl of Sandwich, round the Mediterranean in the years 1738 and 1739*, London 1799.

³ Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. P159; Roethlisberger and Loche 2008, no. 158.

⁴ Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 1890/1937; Roethlisberger and Loche 2008, no. 128.

⁵ Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire, inv. 1936-17; Roethlisberger and Loche 2008, no. 67.

⁶ Roethlisberger and Loche 2008, p. 275.

⁷ Roethlisberger and Loche 2008, nos. 68, 69 and 298, respectively.

⁸ Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. RF 1378;

⁹ Roethlisberger and Loche 2008, no. 65.



ITALIAN VEDUTE FROM A EUROPEAN PRIVATE COLLECTION

LOTS 34-39

The following six lots, as well as lot 7 in this sale, and lots 146 and 193 in the Day Sale, come from an important private collection formed by the current owner over the last thirty years. The excellent group of views presented here, so varied both in the artists represented as well as in the cities depicted, is a testament to the enduring success of Italian view painting.

Vedute, or topographically accurate views of cities, became established as a genre at the turn of the eighteenth century in Italy. Cities and townscapes had been painted before this date, but these tended to be infrequent and usually as mere backdrops or incidental to the action of the figures which populated the scenes. The first specialist view painter was the Dutchman Gaspar

Van Wittel, whose name was Italianised to Vanvitelli. He settled in Rome in the 1670s and began painting views of that city in the 1680s, thereafter moving around Italy and producing spectacular views of Venice and Naples, among other cities.

This fascinating group shows how quickly view painting spread through Italy. Vanvitelli's visit to Venice in the 1690s seems to have inspired the first great Venetian view painter, Luca Carlevarijs, represented in this group by his view of the *Piazzetta* (lot 34). Michele Marieschi, whose life was cut short prematurely, also specialised in traditional view paintings but often turned his hand to *capricci* (lot 36), or imaginary views which were not topographically accurate. By the 1730s the great





Antonio Canal, called Canaletto, dominated the scene in Venice, but it was his heir, Bernardo Bellotto, who was to step quickly away from his uncle's shadow, developing his own crisp style of painting, spreading the genre through the continent after he left Italy for the courts of Northern Europe. While in the employ of the Elector of Saxony he produced several views of Dresden, as well as the nearby town of Pirna (lot 39).

View painting also flourished outside of Venice, of course. The Florentine Giuseppe Zocchi met Canaletto in Venice and may well have worked alongside Bellotto during the latter's stay in Florence, and was certainly influenced by them both. As his two masterpieces show (lot 37) he captured the Tuscan capital with anecdotal

details of daily life and with a warm light rarely matched by his contemporaries.

Undoubtedly the best travelled of all the Italian view painters was Antonio Joli. He painted most of the main cities in Italy (lots 35 and 38), as well as working in Spain, France, modern-day Croatia and England. Like Vanvitelli before him, Joli seems to have made extensive use of drawings, often producing views of cities long after he had left them. It was in England, in particular, that he painted a great number of his depictions of Italy, most likely including the two works presented in this catalogue, doubtless to satisfy the great demand for Italian cityscapes which had been so fuelled by the returning Grand Tourists.

34 Luca Carlevarijs

(Udine 1663 - 1730 Venice)

Venice, a view of the Piazzetta looking towards the Punta della Dogana

oil on canvas, unlined

47.8 x 68 cm.; 18 7/8 x 26 7/8 in.

£ 200,000-300,000

€ 233,000-349,000 US\$ 260,000-390,000

PROVENANCE

Anonymous sale, London, Bonham's, 5 December 2012, lot 94, for £240,000, where acquired by the present collector.

EXHIBITED

Padua, Palazzo della Ragione, *Luca Carlevarijs e la veduta veneziana del Settecento*, 25 September – 26 December 1994, no. 41.

LITERATURE

I. Reale and D. Succi (eds), *Luca Carlevarijs e la veduta veneziana del Settecento*, exh. cat., Milan 1994, p. 210, no. 41, reproduced in colour p. 209;

D. Succi, *Carlevarijs*, Gorizia 2015, p. 190, no. 51, reproduced in colour p. 191.

Carlevarijs was the first of the great Venetian view painters. He had settled in Venice from his native Udine by 1679 and painted *capricci* and landscapes until 1703, when he published a series of 104 engravings of Venetian views. His earliest known view painting dates from that same year, and from that moment *vedutismo* became his focus, particularly as it coincided with the exponential increase in demand for the genre thanks to the large number of Grand Tourists, many of them British. Until the emergence of Canaletto in the 1720s, Carlevarijs was the finest and most successful *vedutista* in Venice, concentrating predominantly on the main stretch of the city around the Bacino di San Marco, the Piazzetta, as seen in the present work, and the Piazza San Marco.

Datable to the mid-1710s, this painting shows the Piazzetta looking towards the Libreria, with the corner of the Palazzo Ducale closing the composition to the right. The success of the design is testified by the five known treatments of the view. The closest version to the present work, at least in terms of the disposition of the some of the foreground figures, is the painting formerly in a Milanese private collection.¹

The figure far right is based on a figure study in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The figure far left, as well as the man with his back turned toward us wearing a brown over-mantle in the centre of the composition, are based on drawings by Carlevarijs formerly in the Salomon collection, Milan (figs 1 and 2).²

We are grateful to Matteo Salamon for providing us with images of the two drawings.

¹ Succi 2015, p. 190, no. 52, reproduced.

² Milan 1994, p. 293, nos 103 and 106, both reproduced p. 292.



Fig. 1. Luca Carlevarijs, Boatmen at rest.
Formerly Salomon Collection, Milan



Fig. 2. Luca Carlevarijs, Boatmen wearing rain coats.
Formerly Salomon Collection, Milan



35 Antonio Joli

(Modena 1700 - 1777 Naples)

Venice, the Bacino di San Marco looking east with the Punta della Dogana and San Giorgio Maggiore

signed lower left, on the casket: *iollii*

oil on canvas

96.5 x 144 cm.; 40 x 56½ in.

£ 250,000-350,000

€ 291,000-407,000 US\$ 325,000-455,000

PROVENANCE

Anonymous sale ('The Property of a Gentleman'), London, Christie's, 2 December 1983, lot 111;

With Galerie Gismondi, Paris (according to Toledano, under *Literature*);

Anonymous sale, ('The Property of a Gentleman'), London, Sotheby's, 10 July 2002, lot 78, where acquired by the present collector for £260,000.

LITERATURE

R. Middione, *Antonio Joli*, Bergamo 1995, p. 68, under no. 12 (with incorrect dimensions);

R. Toledano, *Antonio Joli*, Turin 2006, p. 193, no. V.I.6, reproduced.

Joli was extremely well-travelled and is known to have worked in a number of Italian cities (Modena, Perugia, Venice, Rome and Naples), as well as in Dresden, London (1744-48) and Madrid (1750-54). He is first recorded in Venice in the spring of 1732 and remained in the city for ten years. He made a name for himself there as a *scenografo* designing sets for theatrical and musical performances as well as for festivals in Venice, Modena and Padua. His success in this vein no doubt brought in its train a demand from clients for easel paintings, particularly views of the city, and in this he was to draw heavily upon the work of his contemporary Canaletto, whom he may have met in Venice in 1735. After departing from the city in 1742 Joli only returned to Venice in 1754 and remained for one year, during which he was elected a founder-member of the Accademia, before leaving for Madrid.

The large number of extant versions of this design implies it was probably Joli's most popular view of Venice. This is one of only three signed versions, and is probably the most successful due to its extremely high quality and the way the light is beautifully rendered. The artist is known to have repeated the composition, with alterations in the format and size, on at least seven other occasions: these include one of four large views painted for Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, and sold in these Rooms, 22 February 1956, lot 160 (118 x 124.5 cm.) and later sold as one of a pair, London, Christie's, 3 July 2012, lot 33; a more panoramic view sold in these Rooms, 7 December 2005, lot 58 (55.3 x 167.7 cm.); a signed canvas sold in these Rooms, 6 July 1988, lot 54 (43 x 69.5 cm.); another signed canvas sold in these Rooms 17 April 1996, lot 628 (59.3 x 101 cm.); a canvas last recorded with Agnew's (75 x 81.3 cm.); a canvas sold New York, Christie's, 24 January 2003, lot 161 (67.3 x 101.5 cm.); and a canvas of almost square format sold London, Christie's, 5 December 2012, lot 254 (130 x 145 cm.).

The lack of dated examples makes a clear chronology difficult but the aforementioned Stanhope picture was almost certainly painted in London in the 1740s. Toledano proposes a similar date of execution for the present work.



36 Michele Marieschi

(Venice 1710 - 1743)

An architectural *capriccio* with
a river and a gothic temple

oil on canvas, unlined

49.8 x 74.5 cm.; 19^{5/8} x 29^{3/8} in.

£ 100,000-150,000

€ 117,000-175,000 US\$ 130,000-195,000

The presence of a high-arched building in the left foreground which dominates the rest of the design is a recurring feature in Marieschi's *capricci*, as is the timelessness of the buildings, which contrast with the animated figures spread throughout the scene. The arched cloud formation is also found in a *capriccio* sold in these Rooms, 7 July 2010, lot 46, for £150,000 (fig. 1). The small gothic temple in the centre appears in another *capriccio* formerly with Galerie Ribolzi.¹

At the time of the 2003 sale, Succi dated the present work to 1736–37.

¹ Succi 2016, pp. 372–73, cat. no. 189, reproduced in colour.

PROVENANCE

Anonymous sale, Christie's, New York, 24 January 2003, lot 168, where acquired by the present collector for \$210,000.

LITERATURE

D. Succi, *Marieschi, opera completa*, Pordenone 2016, p. 348, no. 158, reproduced in colour p. 347, fig. 158.



Fig. 1. Michele Marieschi, *A capriccio river landscape*. Sotheby's, London, 7 July 2010, lot 46



37 Giuseppe Zocchi

(Florence 1716/17 - 1767)

Florence, a view of the Arno towards the Ponte Vecchio; Florence, a view of the Arno and the Ponte alla Carraia

a pair, both oil on canvas, unlined
each: 60 x 84 cm.; 23 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 33 in.

(2)

£ 1,000,000-1,500,000
€ 1,170,000-1,750,000 US\$ 1,300,000-1,950,000

PROVENANCE

Baron Rodolphe Hottinguer (1902–1985), Hôtel Hottinguer, rue de la Baume, Paris;
His posthumous sale, Paris, Christie's, 3 December 2003, lot 718, for €880,000, where acquired by the present collector.

Giuseppe Zocchi was undoubtedly the pre-eminent *vedutista* in Florence during the eighteenth century. His views, usually painted in a warm, blond palette, tend to be topographically precise, unlike many of his Venetian counterparts, and the figures play more than an accidental role in the scenes, often injecting a note of humour in their depiction of quotidian life. Under the employ of Marchese Andrea Gerini, Giuseppe Zocchi travelled to study in Rome, Bologna, Milan and Venice and it was in the *Serenissima* that he would have come into contact with the work of Canaletto and Michele Marieschi, as well as that of Francesco Zuccarelli, who was to particularly influence him. His most famous works are two series of engravings of Florence and the surrounding countryside, commissioned by the very same Marchese Gerini and published in 1744. The preparatory drawings are today at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; the twenty-two engravers employed included such luminaries as Marieschi and Giovanni Battista Piranesi.¹

In the first painting we are looking north-west, downstream, along the axis of the River Arno from the Ponte alle Grazie, the Ponte Vecchio closing off the vista, with the tower of the Palazzo della Podestà rising to the right and beyond it the dome of the Duomo, the upper part of the Giotto campanile and the Palazzo Vecchio. In the second we are looking south-east, upstream, across the River Arno on a diagonal with the Ponte alla Carraia to the left, and on the Oltrarno running right to left along the Lungarno Soderini: the tower of Santa Maria del Carmine; the church of San Frediano in Cestello; the bell tower and dome of Santo Spirito; and rising behind it the Fortezza del Belvedere and to the left, San Miniato al Monte.







Two very similar works by Bernardo Bellotto are in the Beit Foundation, Russborough, Ireland.² The difference between the artists' respective treatments of the views is mainly confined to certain details in the staffage and the cloud formations, and the overall contrast between the warmth of Zocchi's light and the cooler crispness of Bellotto's approach. Bellotto is known to have been in Florence in the early 1740s but it remains to be clarified which artist painted their pictures first. While Zocchi would likely have met Bellotto when he frequented Canaletto's studio in Venice, and seems to have been much influenced by Bellotto, particularly in his drawings, in this particular case it seems more probable that Zocchi's pair may have preceded that of the younger Venetian painter. By 1742, when Bellotto visited Florence, Zocchi would already have been working on his aforementioned set of drawings for the engravings, and was the dominant artistic figure there. Among Bellotto's possessions at his death was a drawing of Florence, now in Darmstadt, which either copied or served as the point of departure for Bellotto's drawing of the same view, today in the Uffizi, which in turn is preparatory for the *View of the Arno with the Ponte alla Carraia*, at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.³ Perhaps, as Chiarini proposed, Zocchi and Bellotto worked side-by-side and produced the drawings, and by extension some paintings, at the same time.⁴

Other excellent examples of Zocchi's paintings of Florence include two paintings sold in these Rooms, 11 December 2003, lot 44, depicting the Piazza della Signoria (£1,150,000) and lot 45, depicting the Arno from Porta San Niccolò (£450,000).

Baron Rudolphe Hottinguer, scion of the French banking family and later president of the Hottinguer bank, was an avid collector of many different art forms, particularly those from the eighteenth century, including drawings, furniture, sculpture, Chinese porcelain, silver and paintings. He was the fifth baron Hottinguer and held key posts in the world of international banking, including Vice-Chairman of the Paris Chamber of Commerce, Chairman of the International Chamber of Commerce, Chairman of the European Banking Federation and, between 1943 and 1979, Chairman of the French Banking Association.

¹ E. Evans Dee, *Views of Florence and Tuscany by Giuseppe Zocchi from the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, New York 1971.

² S. Kozakiewicz, *Bernardo Bellotto*, London 1972, vol. II. pp. 38 and 42, nos 52 and 56 respectively, both reproduced.

³ Kozakiewicz 1972, pp. 41–42, no. 55, reproduced. For Zocchi's Darmstadt drawing, see *Firenze e la sua immagine: Cinque secoli di vedutismo*, M. Chiarini (ed.), exh. cat., Florence 1994, p. 160, under no. 94; for Bellotto's drawing see pp. 159–60, no. 94, reproduced.

⁴ Kozakiewicz 1972, p. 158, under cat. no. 92.



38 Antonio Joli

(Modena circa 1700 - 1777 Naples)

Rome, looking towards the
Castel Sant' Angelo, with Saint
Peter's Basilica beyond

oil on canvas

88.1 x 124.4 cm.; 34 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 50 in.

£ 400,000-600,000

€ 465,000-700,000 US\$ 520,000-780,000

PROVENANCE

With Agnew's, London, by about 1962;

Anonymous sale, New York, Sotheby's, 21 January
1982, lot 45;

Private collection;

Anonymous sale ('Property of a Private
Collector'), New York, Christie's, 24 January 2003,
lot 166, where acquired by the present collector
for \$920,000.

LITERATURE

L. Salerno, *Pittori di Vedute in Italia (1580–1830)*,
Rome 1991, p. 248, fig. 75.15;

R. Middione, *Antonio Joli*, Soncino 1995, p. 27,
reproduced fig. 13;

M. Manzelli, *Antonio Joli*, Venice 1999, p. 93, no.
R.21;

C. Beddington, 'Book Review: *Antonio Joli: opera
pittorica* by Mario Manzelli', in *The Burlington
Magazine*, October 2000, CXLII, 1171, p. 640;

R. Toledano, *Antonio Joli*, Turin 2006, p. 165, no.
R.VIII.19, reproduced, and in colour plate XIV.

Two of Rome's most famous and remarkable structures tower over the rest of the Eternal City, as figures gently go about their day, both on the gently flowing river and along the bridge. Decorated with Bernini's marble statues, the beautifully rendered stone structure bisects the composition. Wrapped in the warm glow of Rome's light, the painting would have appealed as much to eighteenth-century grand tourists as it does to a contemporary viewer.

Toledano dates this view of Rome to 1744–49, during the artist's English sojourn. He lists five versions of the present design, which differs from other treatments of the same view by including the pine tree at the left. The present painting appears to be the finest of the known versions (some of which show some studio participation), thanks to its chromatic brilliance and luminosity. Joli paid particular attention to the gentle reflection of the bridge in the rippling water, which in the other versions is not nearly as successful.







39 **Bernardo Bellotto**

(Venice 1722 - 1780 Warsaw)

Pirna, a view of the Market Square

oil on canvas

46.7 x 78.4 cm.; 18³/₈ x 30⁷/₈ in.

£ 400,000-600,000

€ 465,000-700,000 US\$ 520,000-780,000

PROVENANCE

Emile Pereire (1800–1875);

Probably anonymous sale, Paris, Galerie Charpentier, 24–25 May 1935, lot 47;

With Knoedler;

From whom acquired by Dorothy Willard in 1938;

With Knoedler by 1950;

From whom acquired by Hirsch & Adler in 1956;

With Arturo Grassi, New York;

Private collection;

Anonymous sale ('Property of a Family'), New York, Christie's, 24 January 2003, lot 163, where acquired by the present collector for \$880,000.

EXHIBITEDNew York, New York World's Art Fair, *Masterpieces of Art*, May–October 1940, no. 36.**LITERATURE**W. Pach, *Catalogue of European & American Paintings, 1500–1900*, exh. cat., Masterpieces of Art, New York 1940, p. 28, no. 36, reproduced;

The Samuel H. Kress Collection, exh. cat., Houston 1953, pp. 68–69, reproduced plate 31;

S. Kozakiewicz, *Bernardo Bellotto*, London 1972, vol. II, p. 173, no. 214, reproduced p. 170, and p. 513, under no. Z503;E. Camesasca, *L'opera completa di Bernardo Bellotto*, Milan, 1974, p. 100, no. 107A (as an entirely or mostly autograph replica).

Bernardo Bellotto was the nephew of Canaletto, and it was in his uncle's studio that he received his unparalleled training. Remarkably, by the age of sixteen, he was already registered as an independent master in the Venetian painters' guild. To Canaletto's style, Bellotto added a cooler light, which was to prove ideally suited to his depictions of the major cities of the north of Europe, including Dresden, Vienna, Munich and Warsaw, where he worked after leaving Italy at the age of twenty-five.

This is one of three small autograph versions of the large prototype in Dresden (138 x 240 cm.).¹ Of the other two small versions, one is in the Kress Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; and the other, signed, was formerly in Berlin but lost in 1945.² A large version (136 x 249 cm.) is in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, though this differs very slightly in some of the figures.³ Kozakiewicz dated the present picture to the end of Bellotto's first stay in Dresden (1747–58). During that time the artist was employed by the Elector of Saxony, Frederick Augustus II and received a very handsome salary of 1,750 *talers* a year, the highest sum ever paid to a court painter in that city. During these years he painted a series of twenty-nine large views of Dresden, the nearby city of Pirna and the fortress of Königstein; eleven of these views depict Pirna.

The large drawing in the Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, is considered by Kozakiewicz to be preparatory for all the versions (fig. 1).⁴

Pirna is located in Saxony, in the Elbe Valley, between Dresden and the Elbe Sandstone Mountains. The medieval town centre retains its magical charm since it was largely spared from damage during the wars of the last century. Sonnenstein Castle dominates the city and was painted by Bellotto on at least ten occasions.

¹ Kozakiewicz 1972, pp. 166 and 173, no. 211, reproduced p. 170.² Kozakiewicz 1972, p. 173, nos 213 and 215, reproduced pp. 170–71.³ Kozakiewicz 1972, p. 173, no. 212, reproduced p. 171.⁴ Kozakiewicz 1972, pp. 173–74, no. 216, reproduced p. 171.

Fig.1. Bernardo Bellotto, *Pirna, A View of the Market Square*.
Photo Piotr Ligier. National Museum, Warsaw



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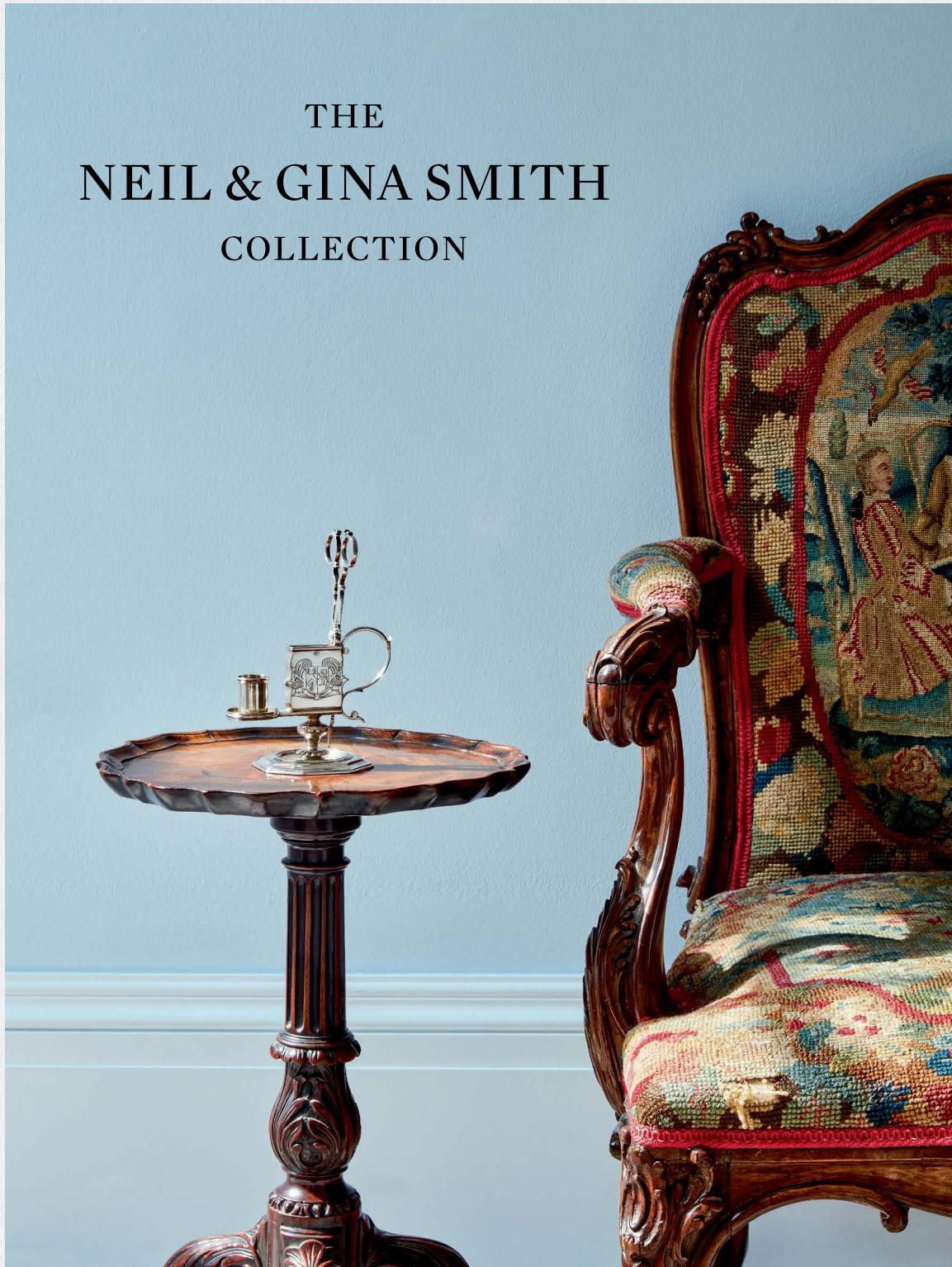
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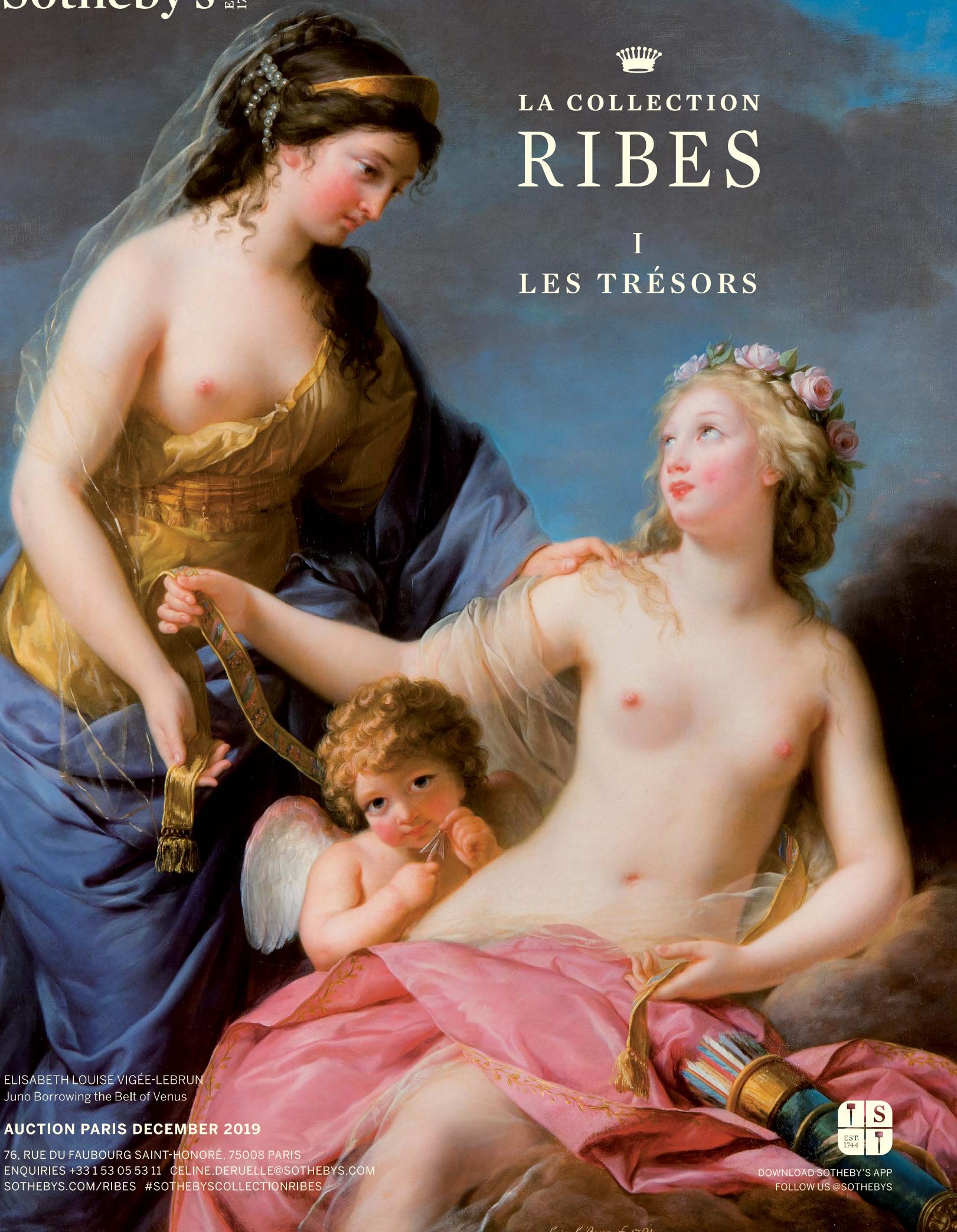


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GIOVANNI PAOLO PANINI
*A panoramic view of
Saint Peter's Square, Rome (detail)*



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UK LICENCE THRESHOLD: £10,000

Sotheby's recommends that you retain all import and export papers, including licences, as in certain countries you may be required to produce them to governmental authorities.

Endangered Species Items made of or incorporating plant or animal material, such as coral, crocodile, ivory, whalebone, tortoiseshell, etc., irrespective of age or value, may require a licence or certificate prior to exportation and require additional licences or certificates upon importation to any country outside the EU. Please note that the ability to obtain an export licence or certificate does not ensure the ability to obtain an import licence or certificate in another country, and vice versa. For example, it is illegal to import African elephant ivory into the United States and there are other restrictions on the importation of ivory into the US under certain US regulations which are designed to protect wildlife conservation. Sotheby's suggests that buyers check with their own government regarding wildlife import requirements prior to placing a bid. It is the buyer's responsibility to obtain any export or import licences and/or certificates as well as any other required documentation (please refer to Condition 11 of the Conditions of Business for Buyers printed in this catalogue). Please note that Sotheby's is not able to assist buyers with the shipment of any lots containing ivory and/or other restricted materials into the US. A buyer's inability to export or import these lots cannot justify a delay in payment or a sale's cancellation.

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS

The following key explains the symbols you may see inside this catalogue.

Guaranteed Property

The seller of lots with this symbol has been guaranteed a minimum price from one auction or a series of auctions. This guarantee may be provided by Sotheby's or jointly by Sotheby's and a third party. Sotheby's and any third parties providing a guarantee jointly with Sotheby's benefit financially if a guaranteed lot is sold

successfully and may incur a loss if the sale is not successful. If the Guaranteed Property symbol for a lot is not included in the printing of the auction catalogue, a pre-sale or pre-lot announcement will be made indicating that there is a guarantee on the lot. If every lot in a catalogue is guaranteed, the Important Notices in the sale catalogue will so state and this symbol will not be used for each lot.

Property in which Sotheby's has an Ownership Interest

Lots with this symbol indicate that Sotheby's owns the lot in whole or in part or has an economic interest in the lot equivalent to an ownership interest.

Irrevocable Bids

Lots with this symbol indicate that a party has provided Sotheby's with an irrevocable bid on the lot that will be executed during the sale at a value that ensures that the lot will sell. The irrevocable bidder, who may bid in excess of the irrevocable bid, may be compensated for providing the irrevocable bid by receiving a contingent fee, a fixed fee or both. If the irrevocable bidder is the successful bidder, any contingent fee, fixed fee or both (as applicable) for providing the irrevocable bid may be netted against the irrevocable bidder's obligation to pay the full purchase price for the lot and the purchase price reported for the lot shall be net of any such fees. From time to time, Sotheby's may enter into irrevocable bid agreements that cover multiple lots. In such instances, the compensation Sotheby's will pay the irrevocable bidder is allocated to the lots for which the irrevocable bidder is not the successful purchaser. Under such circumstances, the total compensation to the irrevocable bidder will not exceed the total buyer's premium and other amounts paid to Sotheby's in respect of any lots for which the irrevocable bidder is not the successful bidder. If the irrevocable bid is not secured until after the printing of the auction catalogue, Sotheby's will notify bidders that there is an irrevocable bid on the lot by one or more of the following means: a pre-sale or pre-lot announcement, by written notice at the auction or by including an irrevocable bid symbol in the e-catalogue for the sale prior to the auction. From time to time, Sotheby's or any affiliated company may provide the irrevocable bidder with financing related to the irrevocable bid. If the irrevocable bidder is advising anyone with respect to the lot, Sotheby's requires the irrevocable bidder to disclose his or her financial interest in the lot. If an agent is advising you or bidding on your behalf with respect to a lot identified as being subject to an irrevocable bid, you should request that the agent disclose whether or not he or she has a financial interest in the lot.

Interested Parties

Lots with this symbol indicate that parties with a direct or indirect interest in the lot may be bidding on the lot, including (i) the beneficiary of an estate selling the lot, or (ii) the joint owner of a lot. If the interested party is the successful bidder, they will be required to pay the full Buyer's Premium. In certain instances, interested parties may have knowledge of the reserve. In the event the interested party's possible participation in the sale is not known until

after the printing of the auction catalogue, a pre-lot announcement will be made indicating that interested parties may be bidding on the lot.

No Reserve

Unless indicated by a box () all lots in this catalogue are offered subject to a reserve. A reserve is the confidential hammer price established between Sotheby's and the seller and below which a lot will not be sold. The reserve is generally set at a percentage of the low estimate and will not exceed the low estimate for the lot. If any lots in the catalogue are offered without a reserve, these lots are indicated by a box (). If all lots in the catalogue are offered without a reserve, a Special Notice will be included to this effect and the box symbol will not be used for each lot.

Property Subject to the Artist's Resale Right

Purchase of lots marked with this symbol () will be subject to payment of the Artist's Resale Right, at a percentage of the hammer price calculated as follows:

Portion of the hammer price (in €)

Royalty Rate

From 0 to 50,000	4%
From 50,000.01 to 200,000	3%
From 200,000.01 to 350,000	1%
From 350,000.01 to 500,000	0.5%
Exceeding 500,000	0.25%

The Artist's Resale Right payable will be the aggregate of the amounts payable under the above rate bands, subject to a maximum royalty payable of 12,500 euros for any single work each time it is sold. The maximum royalty payable of 12,500 euros applies to works sold for 2 million euros and above. Calculation of the artist's resale right will be based on the pound sterling / Euro reference exchange rate quoted on the date of the sale by the European Central Bank.

Restricted Materials

Lots with this symbol have been identified at the time of cataloguing as containing organic material which may be subject to restrictions regarding import or export. The information is made available for the convenience of Buyers and the absence of the symbol is not a warranty that there are no restrictions regarding import or export of the lot. Bidders should refer to Condition 11 of the Conditions of Business for Buyers. Please also refer to the section on Endangered Species in the Buying at Auction Guide. As indicated in the Endangered Species section, Sotheby's is not able to assist buyers with the shipment of any lots with this symbol into the US. A buyer's inability to export or import any lots with this symbol cannot justify a delay in payment or a sale's cancellation.

Monumental

Lots with this symbol may, in our opinion, require special handling or shipping services due to size or other physical considerations. Buyers are advised to inspect the lot and to contact Sotheby's prior to the sale to discuss any specific shipping requirements.

Please refer to VAT information for Buyers for VAT symbols used in this catalogue. Value Added Tax (VAT) may be payable on the hammer price and/or the buyer's premium. Buyer's premium may attract a

charge in lieu of VAT. Please read carefully the "VAT INFORMATION FOR BUYERS" printed in this catalogue.

VAT AND OTHER TAX INFORMATION FOR BUYERS

The following paragraphs are intended to give general guidance to buyers on the VAT and certain other potential tax implications of purchasing property at Sotheby's. The information concerns the most usual circumstances and is not intended to be complete. In all cases the relevant tax legislation takes precedence and the VAT rates in effect on the day of the auction will be the rates charged except for lots sold subject to Temporary Admission for which the applicable rate will be that in force at the time of collection. It should be noted that, for VAT purposes only, Sotheby's is not usually treated as an agent and most property is sold as if it is the property of Sotheby's.

In the following paragraphs, reference to VAT symbols shall mean those symbols located beside the lot number or the pre-sale estimates in the catalogue (or amending sale room notice).

1. PROPERTY WITH NO VAT SYMBOL

Where there is no VAT symbol, Sotheby's is able to use the Auctioneer's Margin Scheme and VAT will not normally be charged on the hammer price.

Sotheby's must bear VAT on the buyer's premium and hence will charge an amount in lieu of VAT at the standard rate on this premium. This amount will form part of the buyer's premium on our invoice and will not be separately identified. A limited range of goods, including most books, are not liable to VAT and therefore no amount in lieu of VAT will be added to the premium.

Please see 'Exports from the European Union' for the conditions to be fulfilled before the amount in lieu of VAT on the buyer's premium may be cancelled or refunded.

(VAT-registered buyers from within the European Union (EU) should note that the amount in lieu of VAT contained within the buyer's premium cannot be cancelled or refunded by Sotheby's or HM Revenue and Customs.)

Buyers requiring an invoice under the normal VAT rules, instead of a margin scheme invoice, should notify the Post Sale Service Group or the Client Accounts Department on the day of the auction and an invoice with VAT on the hammer price will be raised. Buyers requiring re-invoicing under the normal VAT rules subsequent to a margin scheme invoice having been raised should contact the Client Accounts Department for assistance.

2. PROPERTY WITH A † SYMBOL

These items will be sold under the normal UK VAT rules and VAT will be charged at the standard rate on both the hammer price and buyer's premium.

Please see 'Exports from the European Union' for the conditions to be fulfilled before the VAT charged on the hammer price may be cancelled or refunded.

(VAT-registered buyers from other EU countries may have the VAT cancelled or refunded if they provide Sotheby's with their VAT registration number and evidence that the property has been removed from the UK within three months of the date of sale. The evidence of removal required is a certificate of shipment or, if the lots were carried by hand, proof of travel and completion of a form available from the Post Sale Service Group.

3. PROPERTY WITH A ⠼ SYMBOL

Items sold to buyers whose address is in the EU will be assumed to be remaining in the EU. The property will be invoiced as if it had no VAT symbol (see 'Property with no VAT symbol' above). However, if the property is to be exported from the EU, Sotheby's will re-invoice the property under the normal VAT rules (see 'Property sold with a † symbol' above) as requested by the seller.

Items sold to buyers whose address is outside the EU will be assumed to be exported from the EU. The property will be invoiced under the normal VAT rules (see 'Property sold with a † symbol' above). Although the hammer price will be subject to VAT this will be cancelled or refunded upon export - see 'Exports from the European Union'. However, buyers who are not intending to export their property from the EU should notify our Client Accounts Department on the day of the sale and the property will be re-invoiced showing no VAT on the hammer price (see 'Property sold with no VAT symbol' above).

4. PROPERTY SOLD WITH A ⠼ OR ⠼ SYMBOL

These items have been imported from outside the EU to be sold at auction under Temporary Admission. When Sotheby's releases such property to buyers in the UK, the buyer will become the importer and must pay Sotheby's import VAT at the following rates on the hammer price:

- † - the reduced rate
- ⠼ - the standard rate

You should also note that the appropriate rate will be that in force on the date of collection of the property from Sotheby's and not that in force at the date of the sale.

These lots will be invoiced under the margin scheme. Sotheby's must bear VAT on the buyer's premium and hence will charge an amount in lieu of VAT at the standard rate on this premium. This amount will form part of the buyer's premium on our invoice and will not be separately identified.

(VAT-registered buyers from the EU should note that the import VAT charged on property released in the UK cannot be cancelled or refunded by Sotheby's, however you may be able to seek repayment by applying to HM Revenue and Customs - see 'VAT Refunds from HM Revenue and Customs')

(VAT-registered buyers from the UK should note that the invoice issued by Sotheby's for these items is not suitable evidence in respect of import VAT.)

On request, immediately after sale, the

Temporary Admission Department can either ask HM Revenue and Customs to generate a C79 certificate (for UK buyers), or obtain a copy of the import C88 (for other EU VAT registered buyers), which may be used to claim recovery of the VAT. Otherwise Sotheby's may re-invoice the lot as if it had been sold with a † symbol and charge VAT at the standard rate on both the hammer price and premium and provide a tax invoice to the buyer. This may enable a buyer who is VAT registered elsewhere in the EU to avoid payment of VAT in the United Kingdom. Re-invoicing in this way may make the lot ineligible to be re-sold using the margin scheme.

Sotheby's will transfer all lots sold subject to Temporary Admission to its Customs warehouse immediately after sale.

5. EXPORTS FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION

The following amounts of VAT may be cancelled or refunded provided Sotheby's receive the appropriate export documents within the time limits stated:

Property with no VAT symbol (see paragraph 1)

The amount in lieu of VAT charged on Buyer's Premium may be refunded provided the purchaser resides outside of the United Kingdom and the property is exported from the EU within 3 months of the sale. Sotheby's must be provided with the appropriate proof of export immediately after export of the goods.

Property with a † symbol

The VAT charged upon the hammer price may be refunded provided the purchaser resides outside of the United Kingdom and the property is exported from the EU within 3 months of the sale. Sotheby's must be provided with the appropriate proof of export immediately after export of the goods.

Property with a ⠼ or ⠼ symbol

The Temporary Admission VAT charged on the hammer price may be refunded under the following circumstances:-

- Sotheby's is instructed to ship the property to a place outside the EU
- The property is hand carried from the UK directly outside the EU and Sotheby's pre-lodge the export entry with HMRC
- The VAT liability is transferred to your shipper's own Temporary Admission or Customs Warehouse arrangement prior to collection from Sotheby's

Under all other circumstances Sotheby's is required to complete the importation and pay the VAT due to HM Revenue and Customs prior to the property leaving its premises and so a VAT refund will not be possible.

Proof of export required

- for lots sold under the margin scheme (no VAT symbol) or the normal VAT rules († symbol). Sotheby's is provided with appropriate documentary proof of export from the EU. Buyers carrying their own property should obtain hand-carry papers from the Shipping department to facilitate this process.
- for lots sold under Temporary Admission

(⠼ or ⠼ symbols), and subsequently transferred to Sotheby's Customs Warehouse (into Bond). The property must be shipped as described above in the paragraph headed Property with a † or a ⠼ symbol.

- buyers carrying their own property must obtain hand-carry papers from the Shipping Department for which a small administrative charge will be made. The VAT refund will be processed once the appropriate paperwork has been returned to Sotheby's.

- Sotheby's is not able to cancel or refund any VAT charged on sales made to UK or EU private residents unless the lot is subject to Temporary Admission and the property is exported from the EU and the requisite export papers provided to Sotheby's within one month of collection of the property.

- Sotheby's is not able to cancel or refund any VAT charged on sales to UK or EU private residents unless the lot is subject to Temporary Admission and is shipped as described above.

Buyers intending to export, repair, restore or alter lots sold under Temporary Admission (⠼ or ⠼ symbols) and therefore transferred to Customs Warehouse after sale should notify the Shipping Department before collection. Failure to do so may result in the import VAT becoming payable immediately and Sotheby's being unable to refund the VAT charged on deposit.

6. VAT REFUNDS FROM HM REVENUE AND CUSTOMS

Where VAT charged cannot be cancelled or refunded by Sotheby's, it may be possible to seek repayment from HM Revenue and Customs. Repayments in this manner are limited to businesses located outside the UK.

Claim forms are available from:

HM Revenue and Customs
VAT Overseas Repayments Unit
PO Box 34, Foyle House
Duncrue Road, Londonderry
Northern Ireland, BT48 7AE
Tel: +44 (0)2871 305100
Fax: +44 (0)2871 305101
enq.oru.ni@hmrc.gov.uk

7. SALES AND USE TAXES

Buyers should note that local sales taxes or use taxes may become payable upon import of items following purchase (for example, use tax may be due when purchased items are imported into certain states in the US). Buyers should obtain their own advice in this regard.

In the event that Sotheby's ships items for a purchaser in this sale to a destination within a US state in which Sotheby's is registered to collect sales tax, Sotheby's is obliged to collect and remit the respective state's sales / use tax in effect on the total purchase price (including hammer price, buyer's premium, shipping costs and insurance) of such items, regardless of the country in which the purchaser resides or is a citizen. Where the purchaser has provided Sotheby's with a valid Resale Exemption Certificate prior to the release of the property, sales / use tax will not

be charged. Clients who wish to provide resale or exemption documentation for their purchases should contact Post Sale Services.

Clients who wish to have their purchased lots shipped to the US by Sotheby's are advised to contact the Post Sale Manager listed in the front of this catalogue before arranging shipping.

CONDITIONS OF BUSINESS FOR BUYERS

The nature of the relationship between Sotheby's, Sellers and Bidders and the terms on which Sotheby's (as auctioneer) and Sellers contract with Bidders are set out below.

Bidders' attention is specifically drawn to Conditions 3 and 4 below, which require them to investigate lots prior to bidding and which contain specific limitations and exclusions of the legal liability of Sotheby's and Sellers. The limitations and exclusions relating to Sotheby's are consistent with its role as auctioneer of large quantities of goods of a wide variety and Bidders should pay particular attention to these Conditions.

1. INTRODUCTION

(a) Sotheby's and Sellers' contractual relationship with prospective Buyers is governed by:

(i) these Conditions of Business;
(ii) the Conditions of Business for Sellers displayed in the saleroom and which are available upon request from Sotheby's UK salerooms or by telephoning +44 (0)20 7293 6482;

(iii) Sotheby's Authenticity Guarantee as printed in the sale catalogue;

(iv) any additional notices and terms printed in the sale catalogue, including the guide to Buying at Auction; and

(v) in respect of online bidding via the internet, the Conditions of Business for Live Online Bidding on the Sotheby's website, in each case as amended by any saleroom notice or auctioneer's announcement at the auction.

(b) As auctioneer, Sotheby's acts as agent for the Seller. A sale contract is made directly between the Seller and the Buyer. However, Sotheby's may own a lot (and in such circumstances acts in a principal capacity as Seller) and/or may have a legal, beneficial or financial interest in a lot as a secured creditor or otherwise.

2. COMMON TERMS

In these Conditions of Business:

"Bidder" is any person considering, making or attempting to make a bid, by whatever means, and includes Buyers;

"Buyer" is the person who makes the highest bid or offer accepted by the auctioneer, and includes such person's principal when bidding as agent;

"Buyer's Expenses" are any costs or expenses due to Sotheby's from the Buyer and any Artist's Resale Right levy payable in respect of the sale of the Property, including an amount in respect of any

applicable VAT thereon;

"Buyer's Premium" is the commission payable by the Buyer on the Hammer Price at the rates set out in the guide to Buying at Auction plus any applicable VAT or an amount in lieu of VAT;

"Counterfeit" is as defined in Sotheby's Authenticity Guarantee;

"Hammer Price" is the highest bid accepted by the auctioneer by the fall of the hammer, (in the case of wine, as apportioned pro-rata by reference to the number of separately identified items in that lot), or in the case of a post-auction sale, the agreed sale price;

"Purchase Price" is the Hammer Price and applicable Buyer's Premium and VAT;

"Reserve" is the (confidential) minimum Hammer Price at which the Seller has agreed to sell a lot;

"Seller" is the person offering a lot for sale (including their agent (other than Sotheby's), executors or personal representatives);

"Sotheby's" means Sotheby's, the unlimited company which has its registered office at 34-35 New Bond Street, London W1A 2AA;

"Sotheby's Company" means both Sotheby's in the USA and any of its subsidiaries (including Sotheby's in London) and Sotheby's Diamonds SA and its subsidiaries (in each case "subsidiary" having the meaning of Section 1159 of the Companies Act 2006);

"VAT" is Value Added Tax at the prevailing rate. Further information is contained in the guide to Buying at Auction.

3. DUTIES OF BIDDERS AND OF SOTHEBY'S IN RESPECT OF ITEMS FOR SALE

(a) Sotheby's knowledge in relation to each lot is partially dependent on information provided to it by the Seller, and Sotheby's is not able to and does not carry out exhaustive due diligence on each lot. Bidders acknowledge this fact and accept responsibility for carrying out inspections and investigations to satisfy themselves as to the lots in which they may be interested.

(b) Each lot offered for sale at Sotheby's is available for inspection by Bidders prior to the sale. Sotheby's accepts bids on lots solely on the basis that Bidders (and independent experts on their behalf, to the extent appropriate given the nature and value of the lot and the Bidder's own expertise) have fully inspected the lot prior to bidding and have satisfied themselves as to both the condition of the lot and the accuracy of its description.

(c) Bidders acknowledge that many lots are of an age and type which means that they are not in perfect condition. All lots are offered for sale in the condition they are in at the time of the auction (whether or not Bidders are in attendance at the auction). Condition reports may be available to assist when inspecting lots. Catalogue descriptions and condition reports may on occasions make reference to particular imperfections of a lot, but Bidders should note that lots may have

other faults not expressly referred to in the catalogue or condition report. Illustrations are for identification purposes only and will not convey full information as to the actual condition of lots.

(d) Information provided to Bidders in respect of any lot, including any estimate, whether written or oral and including information in any catalogue, condition or other report, commentary or valuation, is not a representation of fact but rather is a statement of opinion genuinely held by Sotheby's. Any estimate may not be relied on as a prediction of the selling price or value of the lot and may be revised from time to time in Sotheby's absolute discretion.

(e) No representations or warranties are made by Sotheby's or the Seller as to whether any lot is subject to copyright or whether the Buyer acquires copyright in any lot.

(f) Subject to the matters referred to at 3(a) to 3(e) above and to the specific exclusions contained at Condition 4 below, Sotheby's shall exercise such reasonable care when making express statements in catalogue descriptions or condition reports as is consistent with its role as auctioneer of lots in the sale to which these Conditions relate, and in the light of:

(i) the information provided to it by the Seller;

(ii) scholarship and technical knowledge; and

(iii) the generally accepted opinions of relevant experts, in each case at the time any such express statement is made.

4. EXCLUSIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF LIABILITY TO BUYERS

(a) Sotheby's shall refund the Purchase Price to the Buyer in circumstances where it deems that the lot is a Counterfeit and each of the conditions of the Authenticity Guarantee has been satisfied.

(b) In the light of the matters in Condition 3 above and subject to Conditions 4(a) and 4(e), neither any Sotheby's Company nor the Seller:

(i) is liable for any errors or omissions in information provided to Bidders by Sotheby's (or any Sotheby's Company), whether orally or in writing, whether negligent or otherwise, except as set out in Condition 3(f) above;

(ii) gives any guarantee or warranty to Bidders and any implied warranties and conditions are excluded (save in so far as such obligations cannot be excluded by law other than the express warranties given by the Seller to the Buyer in Condition 2 of the Sellers' Conditions of Business);

(iii) accepts responsibility to any Bidders in respect of acts or omissions (whether negligent or otherwise) by Sotheby's in connection with the conduct of auctions or for any matter relating to the sale of any lot.

(c) Unless Sotheby's owns a lot offered for sale, it is not responsible for any breach of these conditions by the Seller.

(d) Without prejudice to Condition 4(b), any claim against Sotheby's or the Seller

by a Bidder is limited to the Purchase Price with regard to that lot. Neither Sotheby's nor the Seller shall under any circumstances be liable for any consequential losses.

(e) None of this Condition 4 shall exclude or limit Sotheby's liability in respect of any fraudulent misrepresentation made by Sotheby's or the Seller, or in respect of death or personal injury caused by the negligent acts or omissions of Sotheby's or the Seller.

5. BIDDING AT AUCTION

(a) Sotheby's has absolute discretion to refuse admission to the auction. Bidders must complete a Paddle Registration Form and supply such information and references as required by Sotheby's. Bidders act as principal unless they have Sotheby's prior written consent to bid as agent for another party. Bidders are personally liable for their bid and are jointly and severally liable with their principal if bidding as agent.

(b) Sotheby's advises Bidders to attend the auction but will seek to carry out absentee written bids which are in pounds sterling and, in Sotheby's opinion, clear and received sufficiently in advance of the sale of the lot, endeavouring to ensure that the first received of identical written bids has priority.

(c) Where available, written, telephone and online bids are offered as an additional service for no extra charge, at the Bidder's risk and shall be undertaken with reasonable care subject to Sotheby's other commitments at the time of the auction; Sotheby's therefore cannot accept liability for failure to place such bids save where such failure is unreasonable. Telephone and online bids may be recorded. Online bids are made subject to the Conditions of Business for Live Online Bidding available on the Sotheby's website or upon request. The Conditions of Business for Live Online Bidding apply in relation to online bids, in addition to these Conditions of Business.

6. CONDUCT OF THE AUCTION

(a) Unless otherwise specified, all lots are offered subject to a Reserve, which shall be no higher than the low presale estimate at the time of the auction.

(b) The auctioneer has discretion at any time to refuse any bid, withdraw any lot, re-offer a lot for sale (including after the fall of the hammer) if he believes there may be error or dispute, and take such other action as he reasonably thinks fit.

(c) The auctioneer will commence and advance the bidding at levels and in increments he considers appropriate and is entitled to place a bid or series of bids on behalf of the Seller up to the Reserve on the lot, without indicating he is doing so and whether or not other bids are placed.

(d) Subject to Condition 6(b), the contract between the Buyer and the Seller is concluded on the striking of the auctioneer's hammer, whereupon the Buyer becomes liable to pay the Purchase Price.

(e) Any post-auction sale of lots offered at auction shall incorporate these Conditions as if sold in the auction.

7. PAYMENT AND COLLECTION

(a) Unless otherwise agreed, payment of the Purchase Price for a lot and any Buyer's Expenses are due by the Buyer in pounds sterling immediately on conclusion of the auction (the "Due Date"), notwithstanding any requirements for export, import or other permits for such lot.

(b) Title in a purchased lot will not pass until Sotheby's has received the Purchase Price and Buyer's Expenses for that lot in cleared funds. Sotheby's is not obliged to release a lot to the Buyer until title in the lot has passed and appropriate identification has been provided, and any earlier release does not affect the passing of title or the Buyer's unconditional obligation to pay the Purchase Price and Buyer's Expenses.

(c) The Buyer is obliged to arrange collection of purchased lots no later than thirty (30) calendar days after the date of the auction. Purchased lots are at the Buyer's risk (and therefore their sole responsibility for insurance) from the earliest of i) collection or ii) the thirty-first calendar day after the auction. Until risk passes, Sotheby's will compensate the Buyer for any loss or damage to the lot up to a maximum of the Purchase Price paid. Buyers should note that Sotheby's assumption of liability for loss or damage is subject to the exclusions set out in Condition 6 of the Conditions of Business for Sellers.

(d) For all items stored by a third party and not available for collection from Sotheby's premises, the supply of authority to release to the Buyer shall constitute collection by the Buyer.

(e) All packing and handling is at the Buyer's risk. Sotheby's will not be liable for any acts or omissions of third party packers or shippers.

(f) The Buyer of any firearm is solely responsible for obtaining all valid firearm or shotgun certificates or certificates of registration as a firearms dealer, as may be required by the regulations in force in England and Wales or Scotland (as applicable) relating to firearms or other weapons at the time of the sale, and for complying with all such regulations, whether or not notice of such is published in the Sale Catalogue. Sotheby's will not deliver a firearm to a Buyer unless the Buyer has first supplied evidence to Sotheby's satisfaction of compliance with this Condition.

8. REMEDIES FOR NON-PAYMENT

Without prejudice to any rights the Seller may have, if the Buyer without prior agreement fails to make payment for the lot within five days of the auction, Sotheby's may in its sole discretion (having informed the Seller) exercise one or more of the following remedies:

- (a) store the lot at its premises or elsewhere at the Buyer's sole risk and expense;
- (b) cancel the sale of the lot;
- (c) set off any amounts owed to the Buyer by a Sotheby's Company against any amounts owed to Sotheby's by the Buyer in respect of the lot;

(d) apply any payments made to Sotheby's by the buyer as part of the Purchase Price and Buyer's Expenses towards that or any other lot purchased by the Buyer, or to any shortfall on the resale of any lot pursuant to paragraph (h) below, or to any damages suffered by Sotheby's as a result of breach of contract by the Buyer;

(e) reject future bids from the Buyer or render such bids subject to payment of a deposit;

(f) charge interest at 6% per annum above HSBC Bank plc Base Rate from the Due Date to the date the Purchase Price and relevant Buyer's Expenses are received in cleared funds (both before and after judgement);

(g) exercise a lien over any of the Buyer's property which is in the possession of a Sotheby's Company. Sotheby's shall inform the Buyer of the exercise of any such lien and within 14 days of such notice may arrange the sale of such property and apply the proceeds to the amount owed to Sotheby's;

(h) resell the lot by auction or private sale, with estimates and reserves at Sotheby's discretion. In the event such resale is for less than the Purchase Price and Buyer's Expenses for that lot, the Buyer will remain liable for the shortfall together with all costs incurred in such resale;

(i) commence legal proceedings to recover the Purchase Price and Buyer's Expenses for that lot, together with interest and the costs of such proceedings on a full indemnity basis; or

(j) release the name and address of the Buyer to the Seller to enable the Seller to commence legal proceedings to recover the amounts due and legal costs. Sotheby's will take reasonable steps to notify the Buyer prior to releasing such details to the Seller.

9. BIDDER'S / BUYER'S WARRANTIES

(a) The Bidder and/or Buyer is not subject to trade sanctions, embargoes or any other restriction on trade in the jurisdiction in which it does business as well as under the laws of the European Union, the laws of England and Wales, or the laws and regulations of the United States, and is not owned (nor partly owned) or controlled by such sanctioned person(s) (collectively, "Sanctioned Person(s)").

(b) Where acting as agent, the principal is not a Sanctioned Person(s) nor owned (or partly owned) or controlled by Sanctioned Person(s).

(c) The Bidder and/or Buyer undertakes that none of the Purchase Price will be funded by any Sanctioned Person(s), nor will any party involved in the transaction including financial institutions, freight forwarders or other forwarding agents or any other party be a Sanctioned Person(s) nor owned (or partly owned) or controlled by a Sanctioned Person(s), unless such activity is authorized in writing by the government authority having jurisdiction over the transaction or in applicable law or regulation.

10. FAILURE TO COLLECT PURCHASES

(a) If the Buyer pays the Purchase Price and Buyer's Expenses but fails to collect a purchased lot within thirty calendar days of the auction, the lot will be stored at the Buyer's expense (and risk) at Sotheby's or with a third party.

(b) If a purchased lot is paid for but not collected within six months of the auction, the Buyer authorises Sotheby's, having given notice to the Buyer, to arrange a resale of the item by auction or private sale, with estimates and reserves at Sotheby's discretion. The proceeds of such sale, less all costs incurred by Sotheby's, will be forfeited unless collected by the Buyer within two years of the original auction.

11. EXPORT AND PERMITS

It is the Buyer's sole responsibility to identify and obtain any necessary export, import, firearm, endangered species or other permit for the lot. Any symbols or notices in the sale catalogue reflect Sotheby's reasonable opinion at the time of cataloguing and offer Bidders general guidance only. Without prejudice to Conditions 3 and 4 above, Sotheby's and the Seller make no representations or warranties as to whether any lot is or is not subject to export or import restrictions or any embargoes. The denial of any permit or licence shall not justify cancellation or rescission of the sale contract or any delay in payment.

12. GENERAL

(a) All images and other materials produced for the auction are the copyright of Sotheby's, for use at Sotheby's discretion.

(b) Notices to Sotheby's should be in writing and addressed to the department in charge of the sale, quoting the reference number specified at the beginning of the sale catalogue. Notices to Sotheby's clients shall be addressed to the last address formally notified by them to Sotheby's.

(c) Should any provision of these Conditions of Business be held unenforceable for any reason, the remaining provisions shall remain in full force and effect.

(d) These Conditions of Business are not assignable by any Buyer without Sotheby's prior written consent, but are binding on Buyers' successors, assigns and representatives. No act, omission or delay by Sotheby's shall be deemed a waiver or release of any of its rights.

(e) The Contracts (Rights of Third Parties) Act 1999 is excluded by these Conditions of Business and shall not apply to any contract made pursuant to them.

(f) The materials listed in Condition 1(a) above set out the entire agreement and understanding between the parties with respect to the subject matter hereof. It is agreed that, save in respect of liability for fraudulent misrepresentation, no party has entered into any contract pursuant to these terms in reliance on any representation, warranty or undertaking which is not expressly referred to in such materials.

13. DATA PROTECTION

Sotheby's will hold and process the Buyer's personal information and may share it with another Sotheby's Group company for use as described in, and in line with, Sotheby's Privacy Policy published on Sotheby's website at www.sothbys.com or available on request by email to enquiries@sothebys.com.

14. LAW AND JURISDICTION

Governing Law These Conditions of Business and all aspects of all matters, transactions or disputes to which they relate or apply (including any online bids in the sale to which these Conditions apply) shall be governed by and interpreted in accordance with English law.

Jurisdiction For the benefit of Sotheby's, all Bidders and Sellers agree that the Courts of England are to have exclusive jurisdiction to settle all disputes arising in connection with all aspects of all matters or transactions to which these Conditions of Business relate or apply. All parties agree that Sotheby's shall retain the right to bring proceedings in any court other than the Courts of England.

Service of Process All Bidders and Sellers irrevocably consent to service of process or any other documents in connection with proceedings in any court by facsimile transmission, personal service, delivery by mail or in any other manner permitted by English law, the law of the place of service or the law of the jurisdiction where proceedings are instituted, at the last address of the Buyer or Seller known to Sotheby's or any other usual address.

ADDITIONAL TERMS AND CONDITIONS FOR LIVE ONLINE BIDDING

The following terms and conditions (the "Online Terms") provide important information related to live online bidding via BidNow, eBay, Invaluable, and any other Online Platform through which bidding is made available ("Online Platforms").

These Online Terms are in addition to and subject to the same law and our standard Conditions of Business for Sellers, Conditions of Business for Buyers, the authenticity guarantee and any other terms that are applicable to the relevant sale (together "Conditions of Business"), and are not intended in any way to replace them. By participating in this sale via any Online Platform, you acknowledge that you are bound by the Conditions of Business applicable in the relevant sale and by these additional Conditions.

1. The procedure for placing bids via any Online Platform is a one-step process; as soon as the "Bid Now" button is clicked, a bid is submitted. By placing a bid via any Online Platform, you accept and agree that bids submitted in this way are final and that you will not under any circumstances be permitted to amend or retract your bid. If a successful bid is sent to Sotheby's from your computer, phone, tablet, or any other device, you irrevocably agree to pay the full purchase price, including buyer's premium and all applicable taxes and other applicable charges.

2. If you have the leading bid, it will be indicated on the screen with the statement "Bid with you" (on BIDnow) or "You're the highest bidder" (on eBay) or "Bid with you" (on Invaluable). If a bid is placed online simultaneously with a bid placed by a bidder in the room or on the telephone (a "floor" bid), the "floor" bid generally will take precedence; the auctioneer will have the final discretion to determine the successful bidder or to reopen bidding. The auctioneer's decision is final.

3. The next bidding increment is shown on the screen for your convenience. The auctioneer has discretion to vary bidding increments for bidders in the auction room and on the telephones, but bidders using Online Platforms may not be able to place a bid in an amount other than a whole bidding increment. All bidding for this sale will be in the domestic currency of the sale location, and online bidders will not be able to see the currency conversion board that may be displayed in the auction room.

4. The record of sale kept by Sotheby's will be taken as absolute and final in all disputes. In the event of a discrepancy between any online records or messages provided to you and the record of sale kept by Sotheby's, the record of sale will govern.

5. Online bidders are responsible for making themselves aware of all sale room notices and announcements. All sale room notices will be read by the auctioneer at the beginning, where appropriate, or during the sale prior to a relevant lot being offered for sale. Sotheby's recommends that online bidders log on at least ten minutes before the scheduled start of the auction to ensure that you have heard all announcements made by the auctioneer at the beginning of the sale.

6. Sotheby's reserves the right to refuse or revoke permission to bid via Online Platforms and to remove bidding privileges during a sale.

7. Purchase information shown in the "Account Activity" section of BIDnow, the "Purchase History" section of the "My eBay" page on eBay, and the "Account Activity" section of the "My Invaluable" page is provided for your convenience only. Successful bidders will be notified and invoiced after the sale. In the event of any discrepancy between the online purchase information and the invoice sent to you by Sotheby's following the respective sale, the invoice prevails. Terms and conditions for payment and collection of property remain the same regardless of how the winning bid was submitted.

8. Sotheby's offers online bidding as a convenience to our clients. Sotheby's will not be responsible for any errors or failures to execute bids placed via Online Platforms, including, without limitation, errors or failures caused by (i) a loss of connection to the internet or to the BIDnow, eBay, Invaluable or other Online Platform software by either Sotheby's or the client; (ii) a breakdown or problem with the BIDnow, eBay, Invaluable or other Online Platform software; or (iii) a breakdown or problem with a client's internet connection, mobile network or computer. Sotheby's is not responsible for any failure to

execute an online bid or for any errors or omissions in connection therewith.

9. Live online bidding via all Online Platforms will be recorded.

10. In the event of any conflict between these Online Terms and Sotheby's Conditions of Business and Terms of Guarantee, Sotheby's Conditions of Business and Terms of Guarantee will control.

11. In the event of any conflict between these Online Terms and any term in any agreement between the User and eBay, these Online Terms will control for purposes of all Sotheby's auctions.

12. In the event of any conflict between these Online Terms and any term in any agreement between the User and Invaluable, these Online Terms will control for purposes of all Sotheby's auctions.

05/18 ONLINE_TERMS

SOTHEBY'S GREENFORD PARK STORAGE AND COLLECTION INFORMATION

Smaller items can normally be collected from New Bond Street, however large items may be sent to Sotheby's Greenford Park Fine Art Storage Facility. If you are in doubt about the location of your purchases please contact the Sale Administrator (see front of catalogue) prior to collection.

COLLECTION FROM NEW BOND STREET

Lots will be released to you or your authorised representative when full and cleared payment has been received by Sotheby's, together with settlement of any removal, interest, handling and storage charges thereon, appropriate identification has been provided and a release note has been produced by our Post Sale Service Group at New Bond Street, who are open Monday to Friday 9.00am to 5.00pm.

Any purchased lots that have not been collected within 30 days from the date of the auction will be subject to handling and storage charges at the rates set out below. In addition all purchased lots that have not been collected from our New Bond Street premises within 90 days of the auction will be transferred to Sotheby's Greenford Park Fine Art Storage Facility.

Collect your property from:

Sotheby's Property Collection

Opening hours:

Monday to Friday 9.00am to 5.00pm
34–35 New Bond Street
London, W1A 2AA
Tel: +44 (0)20 7293 5358
Fax: +44 (0)20 7293 5933

COLLECTION FROM SOTHEBY'S GREENFORD PARK FINE ART STORAGE FACILITY

Lots will be released to you or your authorised representative when full and cleared payment has been received by Sotheby's, together with settlement of any removal, interest, handling and storage charges thereon, appropriate identification has been provided and a release note has been produced by our Post Sale Service Group at New Bond Street, who are open Monday to Friday 9.00am to 5.00pm.

Purchasers must ensure that their payment has been cleared prior to collection and that a release note has been forwarded to Sotheby's Greenford Park by our Post Sale Service Group at Sotheby's New Bond Street. Buyers who have established credit arrangements with Sotheby's may collect purchases prior to payment, although a release note is still required from our Post Sale Service Group as above.

Any purchased lots that have not been collected within 30 days from the date of the auction will be subject to handling and storage charges at the rates set out below.

Collect your property from: Sotheby's Greenford Park Fine Art Storage Facility

Opening hours:

Monday to Friday 8.30am to 4.30pm
Sotheby's Greenford Park,
13 Ockham Drive, Greenford, Middlesex,
UB6 0FD

Tel: +44 (0)20 7293 5600

Fax: +44 (0)20 7293 5625

ROUTE GUIDANCE TO SOTHEBY'S GREENFORD PARK FINE ART STORAGE FACILITY

From Bond Street head towards Regents Park, take the A40 Marylebone Road to Western Avenue. Take the exit off the A40 signposted Greenford A4127. At the roundabout take the third exit signposted Harrow and Sudbury, A4127 onto Greenford Road. Go under the railway bridge and at the traffic lights turn first left into Rockware Avenue. At the T Junction turn right onto Oldfield Lane North and then left into Ockham Drive. Stop at the security barrier and say you are visiting Sotheby's. Once cleared, travel 300 yards down the road and Unit 13 is situated on the left hand side.

STORAGE CHARGES

Any purchased lots that have not been collected within 30 days from the date of the auction will be subject to handling and storage charges at the following rates:

Small items (such as jewellery, watches, books or ceramics): handling fee of £20 per lot plus storage charges of £2 per lot per day.

Medium items (such as most paintings or small items of furniture): handling fee of £30 per lot plus storage charges of £4 per lot per day.

Large items (items that cannot be lifted or moved by one person alone): handling fee of £40 per lot plus storage charges of £8 per lot per day.

Oversized items (such as monumental sculptures): handling fee of £80 per lot plus storage charges of £10 per lot per day.

A lot's size will be determined by Sotheby's on a case by case basis (typical examples given above are for illustration purposes only).

All charges are subject to VAT, where applicable. All charges are payable to Sotheby's at our Post Sale Service Group in New Bond Street.

Storage charges will cease for purchased lots which are shipped through Sotheby's Shipping Logistics from the

date on which we have received a signed quote acceptance from you.

LIABILITY FOR LOSS OR DAMAGE

Buyers are reminded that Sotheby's accepts liability for loss or damage to lots for a maximum period of thirty (30) calendar days after the date of the auction. Please refer to Condition 7 of the Conditions of Business for Buyers.

IMPORTANT NOTICES

ESTIMATES IN EUROS AND US DOLLARS

As a guide to potential buyers, estimates for this sale are also shown in Euros and US Dollars. The estimates printed in the catalogue in Pounds Sterling have been converted at the following rate, which was current at the time of printing. These estimates may have been rounded:

£1 = US\$1.298

£1 = €1.161

By the date of the sale this rate is likely to have changed, and buyers are recommended to check before bidding.

During the sale Sotheby's may provide a screen to show currency conversions as bidding progresses. This is intended for guidance only and all bidding will be in Pounds Sterling. Sotheby's is not responsible for any error or omissions in the operation of the currency converter.

Payment for purchases is due in Pounds Sterling, however the equivalent amount in any other currency will be accepted at the rate prevailing on the day that payment is received in cleared funds.

Settlement is made to vendors in the currency in which the sale is conducted, or in another currency on request at the rate prevailing on the day that payment is made by Sotheby's.

LIABILITY FOR LOSS OR DAMAGE FOR PURCHASED LOTS

Purchasers are requested to arrange clearance as soon as possible and are reminded that Sotheby's accepts liability for loss or damage to lots for a maximum period of thirty (30) calendar days following the date of the auction. Please refer to condition 7 of the Conditions of Business for Buyers.

COLLECTION OF LOTS MARKED 'W'

All purchased lots marked in the catalogue with a W will be transferred from the saleroom to Sotheby's Greenford Park Fine Art Storage Facility after 5 pm on the day of the sale. Collection can be made from Sotheby's Greenford Park two days after the sale, but not on the day immediately following the sale.

Exceptions to this procedure will be notified by auction room notice and announced at the time of the sale. After 30 days storage charges will commence.

Please see the Buying at Auction guide for further information.

SAFETY AT SOTHEBY'S

Sotheby's is concerned for your safety while you are on our premises and we endeavour to display items safely so far as is reasonably practicable. Nevertheless, should you handle any items on view at our premises, you do so at your own risk.

Some items can be large and/or heavy and can be dangerous if mishandled. Should you wish to view or inspect any items more closely please ask for assistance from a member of Sotheby's staff to ensure your safety and the safety of the property on view.

Some items on view may be labelled "PLEASE DO NOT TOUCH". Should you wish to view these items you must ask for assistance from a member of Sotheby's staff who will be pleased to assist you. Thank you for your co-operation.

11/10 NBS_NOTICE_E & US

SOTHEBY'S AUTHENTICITY GUARANTEE

If Sotheby's sells an item which subsequently is shown to be a "counterfeit", subject to the terms below Sotheby's will set aside the sale and refund to the Buyer the total amount paid by the Buyer to Sotheby's for the item, in the currency of the original sale.

For these purposes, "counterfeit" means a lot that in Sotheby's reasonable opinion is an imitation created to deceive as to authorship, origin, date, age, period, culture or source, where the correct description of such matters is not reflected by the description in the catalogue (taking into account any Glossary of Terms). No lot shall be considered a counterfeit by reason only of any damage and/or restoration and/or modification work of any kind (including repainting or over-painting).

Please note that this Guarantee does not apply if either:-

- (i) the catalogue description was in accordance with the generally accepted opinion(s) of scholar(s) and expert(s) at the date of the sale, or the catalogue description indicated that there was a conflict of such opinions; or
- (ii) the only method of establishing at the date of the sale that the item was a counterfeit would have been by means of processes not then generally available or accepted, unreasonably expensive or impractical to use; or likely to have caused damage to the lot or likely (in Sotheby's reasonable opinion) to have caused loss of value to the lot; or
- (iii) there has been no material loss in value of the lot from its value had it been in accordance with its description.

This Guarantee is provided for a period of five (5) years after the date of the relevant auction, is solely for the benefit of the Buyer and may not be transferred to any third party. To be able to claim under this Guarantee, the Buyer must:-

- (i) notify Sotheby's in writing within three (3) months of receiving any information that causes the Buyer to question the authenticity or attribution of the item, specifying the lot number, date of the auction at which it was purchased and the reasons why it is thought to be counterfeit; and
- (ii) return the item to Sotheby's in the same condition as at the date of sale to the Buyer and be able to transfer good title in the item, free from any third party claims arising after the date of the sale.

Sotheby's has discretion to waive any of the above requirements. Sotheby's may require the Buyer to obtain at the Buyer's cost the reports of two independent and recognised experts in the field, mutually acceptable to Sotheby's and the Buyer. Sotheby's shall not be bound by any reports produced by the Buyer, and reserves the right to seek additional expert advice at its own expense. In the event Sotheby's decides to rescind the sale under this Guarantee, it may refund to the Buyer the reasonable costs of up to two mutually approved independent expert reports.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

The following are examples of the terminology used in this catalogue. Any statement as to authorship, attribution, origin, date, age, provenance and condition is a statement of opinion and is not to be taken as a statement of fact.

Please read carefully the terms of the Authenticity Guarantee and the Conditions of Business for Buyers set out in this catalogue, in particular Conditions 3 and 4.

1 GIOVANNI BELLINI

In our opinion a work by the artist. (When the artist's forename(s) is not known, a series of asterisks, followed by the surname of the artist, whether preceded by an initial or not, indicates that in our opinion the work is by the artist named.)

2 ATTRIBUTED TO GIOVANNI BELLINI

In our opinion probably a work by the artist but less certainty as to authorship is expressed than in the preceding category.

3 STUDIO OF GIOVANNI BELLINI

In our opinion a work by an unknown hand in the studio of the artist which may or may not have been executed under the artist's direction.

4 CIRCLE OF GIOVANNI BELLINI

In our opinion a work by an as yet unidentified but distinct hand, closely associated with the named artist but not necessarily his pupil.

5 STYLE OF.....; FOLLOWER OF GIOVANNI BELLINI

In our opinion a work by a painter working in the artist's style, contemporary or nearly contemporary, but not necessarily his pupil.

6 MANNER OF GIOVANNI BELLINI

In our opinion a work in the style of the artist and of a later date.

7 AFTER GIOVANNI BELLINI

In our opinion a copy of a known work of the artist.

8 The term signed and/or dated and/or inscribed means that in our opinion the signature and/or date and/or inscription are from the hand of the artist.

9 The term bears a signature and/or date and/or inscription means that in our opinion the signature and/or date and/or inscription have been added by another hand.

10 Dimensions are given height before width

1/03 NBS_GLOS_OMP



In recognition of the high standards of business administration and our compliance with all required customs protocols and procedures, Sotheby's UK

has been awarded the European Union Authorised Economic Operator status by Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs.



Sotheby's UK is committed to improving its sustainability, conserving resources and reducing the environmental impact of its various operations. A copy of Sotheby's Environmental Policy is available on request. Main Enquiries: +44 (0)20 7293 5000.

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LOT 4



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