

LORD LINDSAY AS A COLLECTOR¹

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We have seen how a proper appreciation of Lord Lindsay's *Sketches of the History of Christian Art* depends on an understanding of the extent to which he regarded this study as an illustration of his all-embracing determinist philosophy of history. His attitude to collecting from the 1840s until the mid-1870s must also be considered in a much wider context. His ambition was to form a private museum and library which would represent all branches of science, literature and art, and all stages in the development of human intellectual progress. As he himself was to record nostalgically in 1865: 'I had, in fact, in my earliest youth determined to assemble together the wisest and most graceful thinkers of all countries, ages, and pursuits, as agreeable companions, instructive teachers, and honoured guests, under the symbolical pavilion of the Lindsays, who, with their friends, might thus converse hereafter, as in the School of Athens, with congenial associates in whatever branches of literature, art, or science, their genius or taste should severally direct them to. ...'²

We should not, therefore, expect to find Lindsay's picture collection limited to the works of the fourteenth-century masters about whom he had written so eloquently in 1847. Yet it still comes as a considerable surprise to discover that between the late 1850s and the early 1870s he extended his range sufficiently to acquire works attributed to Bolognese *seicento* artists including Annibale Carracci, Guercino, and Guido Reni, and even a Dutch animal painting attributed to Paul Potter as well. For these were precisely the categories of painting which he had most vehemently condemned in the 1840s after reading Rio's *De La Poésie Chrétienne*.

It was in 1833, when he was still only twenty-one years of age, that Lindsay was able to take the first steps towards making his

¹See note on p. 333 below.

²Open letter, concerning the Bibliotheca Lindesiana, from Lord Lindsay to his son James Ludovic, dated Florence, February 1865.

early dream a reality, after he had received an unexpected but substantial legacy from a relatively distant relation, Lady Mary Crawford (sister of George, 22nd Earl of Crawford), who had been attracted by his ardent enthusiasm for the clan history of the family. At first he concentrated on accumulating books, including incunabula, and it was only after the long European tour from which he returned in August 1842 that he began to make any serious effort to build up a collection of pictures. By this date other scholarly writers with an interest in early Italian art had already formed impressive collections from relatively modest financial resources. William Roscoe (1753–1831), author of lives of Lorenzo de Medici and of Pope Leo X, had bought Simone Martini's *Christ in the Temple* and Ercole Roberti's *Pietà* and other early works now in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, without even stepping abroad.¹ James Dennistoun, a Scotsman of Jacobite sympathies who in 1851 would publish his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, with a valuable account of early Umbrian art, had already collected pictures, both locally and in Italy, by Fra Angelico (Seilern collection, London), Lorenzo Monaco (Gambier Parry collection, Courtauld Institute, London), G. Schiavone (National Gallery, London, Inv. 630), and Cima (*Virgin and Child*, Detroit Institute of Fine Arts).² In contrast, Lindsay's acquisitions before the summer of 1842 were insignificant, picked up in a casual manner during his successive wanderings abroad. In 1840, for instance, he had bought in Florence a copy of Raphael's *Madonna del Cardellino* and had also commissioned the Florentine painter, A. Marini, to draw him copies of some of Benozzo Gozzoli's frescoes in S. Gimignano. Two years later Marini had also made him a copy of the head of Dante from the newly-uncovered Giottesque frescoes in the Bargello at Florence. A little earlier the same year, while he was in Rome with his cousin, Coutts, Lindsay had commissioned a copy of the *Dalmatica di San Leone*, a sacerdotal vestment in the Vatican,³ and had also

¹ For William Roscoe see M. Compton in *Liverpool Bulletin, Walker Art Gallery* No. 9 (1960–1), pp. 26–51.

² For James Dennistoun see H. Brigstocke in *The Connoisseur*, October 1973, pp. 90–7; December 1973, pp. 240–9; August 1978, pp. 316–22.

³ Present whereabouts of these copies unknown.

bought three original early Italian paintings, a fourteenth-century Florentine school *Crucifixion*,¹ a *Coronation of the Virgin* now attributed tentatively to Niccolo di Tommaso,² and a *St. Lucy and St. Agatha* by Matteo di Giovanni.³ Then in Assisi he had acquired a complete series of copy drawings of every fresco in both the upper and lower churches of the Basilica made by G. B. Mariani,⁴ a local artist.

However, it is only after Lindsay had returned from these travels in the summer of 1842 and had heard that the celebrated *Last Judgment* attributed to Fra Angelico, then still in the Fesch collection in Rome (now in West Berlin), might be for sale, that the full extent of his ambitions as a picture collector became apparent. He had first admired the Fesch Fra Angelico in 1829 and now listed it as a major desideratum for his museum, at the same time idly boasting to Anne: 'I would ... pledge myself to write the Life and Panegyric of Adam Smith sooner than not possess it.'⁵ Yet, when the actual moment came to make a firm offer, he instructed a friend, who happened to be in Rome and who had been making enquiries on his behalf, to limit her bid to a mere £150, or at the very most £200.⁶ This figure, which was ludicrously low and quickly rejected, was based on the price that Samuel Woodburn, a pioneer British dealer in early Italian art, was apparently then asking for a Fra Angelico of about the same size which, according to Lindsay, had 'lain without a purchaser in their warehouse for at least five years'.

After this early setback Lindsay elected to make a more modest but also a more decisive beginning, and in April 1843 commissioned a full size copy of Perugino's *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (now in the Palazzo Pitti) from the Florentine artist Vincenzio Corsi at a fee of £75. James, who was staying in

¹Private collection. Scottish National Portrait Gallery (subsequently abbreviated as SNPG) photographic survey reference B.4612.

²SNPG photographic survey reference B.4727.

³SNPG photographic survey reference B.4683.

⁴Present whereabouts of these drawings unknown.

⁵Letter to Anne Lindsay, dated Haigh, 10 September 1842.

⁶Letter to Miss Jean Trotter, dated Haigh, 24 January 1843. Jean Trotter, daughter of John Trotter of Dyrham Park, Herts, was a brother of Sir Coutts Trotter, Anne Lindsay's father. She was therefore related to Lord Lindsay by his marriage to Margaret Lindsay.

Florence at this time, had already told Lindsay of Corsi's proficiency and had himself just bought from him a copy of Perugino's *Entombment* (Uffizi). These two acquisitions were the start of a long and very happy association with the Florentine painter, and were followed up by a succession of valuable commissions from Lindsay for full-scale replicas of other major works of art in the Florentine museums and churches. They included Raphael's *Vision of Ezekiel* (Palazzo Pitti) in 1843; Lorenzo di Credi's *Nativity* (Accademia) in 1845; selected details from Masaccio's frescoes in the Brancacci chapel in the church of the Carmine; and Ridolfo Ghirlandaio's *St. Zenobius raising a child* (Accademia), in 1848; Fra Angelico's '*S. Maria Nuova*' *Coronation of the Virgin* (Uffizi) in 1849; Gentile da Fabriano's *Adoration of the Magi* (Uffizi); and Fra Angelico's '*S. Trinità*' *Deposition* (S. Marco) in 1867; Carlo Dolci's *Poesia* (then in the Corsini gallery); and Andrea del Sarto's *Cenacolo di San Salvi* in 1877.¹ Lindsay appears to have had no doubts as to the utility of these large-scale replicas and in June 1848 assured his mother, with particular reference to the copies after Masaccio, that they 'will be *invaluable* hereafter, and even in our own times, for the frescoes have never been copied in large ... and may create new artists as of old they created Leonardo da Vinci and Raphael'.² Evidently he had still not abandoned the idea, already voiced a year earlier in the *Sketches of the History of Christian Art*, that contemporary British artists might be inspired by study of Italian Old Masters to create a new modern style of religious painting.

During the years 1843–6, when he was mainly living at home and writing his *Sketches of the History of Christian Art*, Lindsay had made no apparent effort to travel, or to acquire, either at home or abroad, original works of art to supplement the copies he was ordering from Corsi, in spite of the fact that his father had just bought him an estate at Echt in Aberdeenshire, at a cost of around £150,000. In consequence he had missed one of the principal opportunities of the decade to bid for original pictures of outstanding importance by the early Italian masters. This occurred at the Cardinal Fesch sale in Rome in 1845. It was here, for

¹None of these copies can now be traced.

²Letter dated 7 June 1848.

instance, that the Revd Walter Davenport-Bromley, vicar of Fanshawe, near Capesthorpe, Cheshire, bought, for the relatively modest outlay of 5000 scudi, over 40 Italian pictures, ranging from Giotto's *Death of the Virgin* (Dahlem Museum, West Berlin) and Lorenzo Monaco's *Coronation of the Virgin* (Gambier Parry collection, Courtauld Institute, London) to three fragments of Sebastiano del Piombo's *Visitation*, formerly in S. Maria del Popolo, Rome (now Alnwick Castle).¹

In June 1846 Lindsay became engaged to his cousin Margaret (Min) and they were married at St. George's, Hanover Square, London. Perhaps in celebration he bought, in November, a vast picture of *Moses on Mount Sinai* by Benjamin West, measuring 18 ft by 12 ft, for which he paid 200 guineas. It is now in the London Law Courts. He had stubbornly ignored the advice of his cousin Coutts, who had made the alternative suggestion that, as a 'noble experiment', he might employ George Richmond to paint a fresco. Soon afterwards, however, Lindsay appears to have felt some regret for his supposed lapse in taste, to judge from the apologetic letter he wrote to Anne: 'I have considered it all along as a furniture picture agreeable to the eye as regards colouring, light, etc. but not to be subjected to the critical rules by which you would judge a work of high art.'²

Absence abroad with his wife during the Spring and early Summer of 1847 deprived Lindsay of the opportunity of viewing the sale of William Young Ottley's collection at Christie's. (Ottley (1771-1836), an artist and *marchand amateur*, had started his collection, which included Botticelli's *Nativity* in the National Gallery (Inv. 1034) and Gentile da Fabriano's *Madonna*, now in the Royal collection, while he was resident in Italy during the last

¹The Revd Walter Davenport was the youngest son of Davies Davenport of Capesthorpe and of Charlotte Sneyd. After graduating at Christ Church, Oxford in 1808, he married first Caroline Barbara, daughter of John Gooch of Saxlingham, Archdeacon of Sudbury, and second Lady Louisa Mary Dawson. After inheriting the Bromley family property at Baginton in 1822 he changed his name to Davenport-Bromley. Waagen (1854, iii. 371) described him as 'an ardent admirer of all such pictures, be they of the 13th or 16th century, in which an unaffected and genuine feeling is expressed'. For his acquisitions at the Fesch sale see further Appendix I.

²Letter dated Haigh, 28 November 1846.

decade of the eighteenth century¹). The Lindsays had gone to Paris and then moved on to Florence where Lindsay at last saw the Lombardi-Baldi collection which had already attracted the discerning attention of William Coningham, MP for Brighton, and his artistic adviser, the dealer Samuel Woodburn.² But, like Coningham, one of the most acute and selective picture buyers in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century, Lindsay was disappointed to learn that the collection, which consisted of about one hundred early Italian pictures, including some dating from the thirteenth century, could only be bought *en bloc* for a sum approaching £12,000. This precluded any negotiations on his part, even if he did tell his mother, perhaps not altogether seriously, that he would have been prepared to part with as much as £3500 for thirty unspecified items of his own choice.³ Admitting defeat, he then resolved to refer the matter to the Commissioners of the National Gallery of London and eventually, ten years later, in Autumn 1857, the Gallery succeeded in acquiring twenty-two major works of art from the Lombardi-Baldi collection, including the vast altarpiece of the *Coronation of the Virgin*, in the style of Orcagna, for the sum of around £7000.⁴

After returning to Britain in 1848, Lindsay appears to have shown no further interest in buying pictures until the Thomas Blayds' sale which took place at Christie's on 30 and 31 March 1849.⁵ It was at this little-publicised auction of a somewhat mediocre, but not uninteresting, collection that he first really took the plunge as a picture collector, buying twenty-six lots for a modest outlay of just under £200. Among his more successful

¹See E. K. Waterhouse, *Some Notes on William Young Ottley's collection of Italian Primitives* in *Studies presented to E. R. Vincent* (London, 1962), pp. 272 ff.

²Mr William Coningham was in Florence in December 1845, together with the English dealer Samuel Woodburn. On 7 December 1845 Woodburn, in a letter to the National Gallery, London (Gallery archives), refers to a 'collection of 58 Pictures formed with much judgement consisting of the early schools', and then adds: 'both me and Mr. Coningham was much pleased with them and would have bought some out at good prices but they will not sell any separately'.

³Letter dated 7 June 1848.

⁴For the National Gallery's negotiations see M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogue. The Earlier Italian Schools* (London, 1961), pp. 565-7.

⁵Nothing is known to me about Mr Blayds.

acquisitions¹ must be counted a series of four predella panels now attributed to Luca di Tommè which may originally have belonged to a *Polyptych* now in the Siena museum;² they were sold in 1849 under an attribution to Giotto which Lindsay apparently accepted. He also bought two predella panels by Signorelli representing *The Meeting of Zachariah and Elizabeth*, and *The Birth of St John the Baptist*;³ a pair of portraits by B. Bruyn the elder which were catalogued as by Holbein;⁴ a Veneto-Byzantine seventeenth-century double triptych with *Scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin*;⁵ a *Meeting of Jephtha and his daughter* sold under the name of Orcagna but now attributed to Pietro di Domenico;⁶ and a *Madonna and Child* sold under the name of Vivarini and recently attributed to the workshop of Girolamo di

¹In addition to the pictures described in the main text Lindsay bought the following from the Blayds' sale:

Lot 26 = School of Ghent, *15 panels with scenes from the life of Christ*; Private collection. Each wood 10 × 6½ in. SNPG photographic survey reference B.4646.

Lot 85 = Bellini, *Portrait of Beatus Jacobus de Marchia*; Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (24).

Lot 86 as Mantegna *Head of the Virgin*: not traceable beyond Crawford collection, Haigh Hall, Wigan, 1933 MS catalogue no. 456.

Lot 93 as Matteo da Siena *The Virgin and Child, with the Magi and Saints*: not traceable beyond a MS list of Lindsay's collection at Dunecht in 1886.

Lot 111 = Filippino Lippi, *The Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John*, Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (101).

Lot 118 = Pierfrancesco Fiorentino, *Virgin and Child*, Private collection. See Van Marle, xiii 455.

Lot 119 = Byzantine School, *Death of the Virgin*; Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (39).

Lot 131 = Flemish/Italian School, *Luna*, Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (62). A. C. Cooper (Christie's) photograph 141525.

Lot 134 = Ghirlandaio, *The Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John in a landscape*, Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (67).

Lot 163 = Signorelli (school), *Two scenes from the life of St. George*. Private collection. See Van Marle xvi. 144. SNPG photographic survey reference B.4728.

Lot 211 = Botticelli, *Madonna and Child* (tondo), Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (31). An old Christie's photograph in the Witt Library, London, is filed as Botticelli.

²Lots 192–3 and 198–9. See Berenson 1968, p. 224, plates 366–7.

³Lot 81. Private collection. See St. John Gore, *The Art of Painting in Florence and Siena from 1250 to 1500* (London, 1965), p. 42, nos. 73–4, figs. 69 and 70.

⁴Lot 23. Private collection. SNPG photographic survey reference B.4565–6.

⁵Lot 121. Private collection. SNPG photographic survey reference B.4770.

⁶Lot 108. Private collection. See Van Marle, xvi p. 519, fig. 298.

Giovanni da Camerino.¹ He also bid successfully for a number of cassone panels, including a pair representing *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* by a follower of Apollonio di Giovanni.² Yet he still allowed himself to lose one of the very best items in the sale—three fragments from a dismembered polyptych by Simone Martini, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge—in spite of the fact that this lot fetched only £15. It was bought after the sale by the Revd John Fuller Russell of Eagle House, near Enfield, a high church Anglican who, as an undergraduate at Cambridge, had formed a close friendship with Pusey and became interested in the Oxford Movement.³

Lindsay, to judge from correspondence with Coutts, appears to have approached the Blayds' sale in the spirit of a bargain hunter, and there was never any suggestion that he might limit himself to works of major art-historical interest or even to the works of those among the early Italian painters who might have qualified for inclusion in Rio's *école mystique*. Indeed James, now Lindsay's father-in-law, who had hitherto always encouraged him in his academic researches on Italian art, understandably chose this moment to issue him with a word of warning against squandering his money by collecting in such an indiscriminate manner. 'I can go quite the length of understanding your wish for *specimens of schools*, or of old masters, but to fill your room with a heap of old Rubbish, I think you will one day regret. ... I would anxiously dissuade you from outlay which none but yourself and some very few others would appreciate—and this only for a *short time*, because I feel the taste cannot last for *deformity*. ... Some of these

¹Lot 115. Private collection. See Berenson 1968, p. 193. SNPG photographic survey reference B.4682.

²Lot 161. Private collection. See E. Callmann, *Apollonio di Giovanni* (Oxford, 1974), p. 65, plates 151 and 152. Lord Lindsay also bought Angiari Master, *Battle of Pharsalus* (see P. Schubring, *Cassoni* (Leipzig, 1915), no. 112), and Paris Master, *A knight of the Caponi family on horseback* (see Schubring, *op. cit.* no. 183).

³For Fuller Russell see further Appendix II. He acquired three other pictures from the Blayds' collection: Lot 104 = Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *The four crowned martyrs before Diocletian*, Denver Art Museum, Inv. K.17; lot 175 = Giotto, *The Virgin lying dead* ... Present whereabouts unknown (formerly Fuller Russell sale, Christie's, 18 April 1885 (98), bought by Colnaghi); lot 187 = Andrea Vanni, *Adoration of the Magi*, Isaac Delgado Museum, New Orleans, K.233.

paintings are curious, some of them are good, but to possess a quantity of them would give one a distaste for painting generally.¹

Yet this stern admonition does not appear to have seriously deterred Lindsay and a month later, at the Campe sale, on 13 May 1849, we find him bidding in an equally opportunist manner for a picture of *Esther and Ahasuerus* attributed to Lucas van Leyden,² a *Melancholia* by Cranach,³ and a *Virgin and Child*, now attributed to the Master of the Embroidered Foliage, which had been wrongly catalogued by the auctioneer as a work of Dürer.⁴ Together these three pictures cost £86. 2s. 0d.

However, the necessity of replying to his father-in-law's criticism stimulated Lindsay to define his aims as a collector with unusual precision, and his long letter on this subject deserves our close attention not only for its account of the sheer scale and breadth of his ambitions, but also for its occasional and revealing omissions, including the absence of any reference to eighteenth-century Italian art. For Lindsay's principal preoccupation remained the power of early Christian art as an intellectual and moral influence and as an inspiration and example for contemporary artists.

'Haigh 22 April/49

Dearest James

I have been so overwhelmed with work of late & so wearied during the intervals of repose, that I have never answered and barely thanked you for your very kind letter & most judicious advice. I will keep it in view—and do not think that I question your judgement or assert my own if I reply to you at some length (as I have intended ever since I received it) in the spirit, not of self-defence, but of explanation.

I do not wonder that it should appear to you as if my visit to town and my purchase of these pictures were a *spurt* of

¹Letter dated London, 12 April 1849.

²Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (97).

³Private collection. Reproduced by D. Koeplin and T. Falk, *L. Cranach* (Exhibition Catalogue, Basel, 1974), i. 292, no. 171, Pl. 133.

⁴Private collection. See M. Friedlander, *Hugo van der Goes* (Brussels, 1969), iv. no. 84 c, pl. 79.

miscalculating enthusiasm, of which I shall repent at leisure; but I do not think you will consider it such after I have explained the principle on which I have acted.

I will acknowledge first of all, that I am by nature ardent, and need the restraining hand of a friend,—and yet the principle I allude to will show you, I hope, that my ardour has not been altogether unregulated.

The great object I set before me in early youth, when not more than seventeen or eighteen, and which I have kept steadily before me ever since, was to form a Museum—in the old Greek sense of the word—of specimens carefully selected so as to illustrate the respective works of Nature and Art,—thus to educate not only my own mind, but that of our family generally, by creating a centre of intellectual and moral influence which should radiate to each member according as his innate disposition might render him predisposed and susceptible to this or that line of interest.

Of Natural History we already possess a few curious specimens in most of its branches—but of this department of Science, though always longing and yearning after it, I as yet know little or nothing. I will confine the illustrations of my scheme therefore to Literature and Art.

When I was a boy and youth—I mean till I was eighteen, I was unquestionably a bibliomaniac, though without the means of indulging the taste; and the fever was still unsubdued at twenty-one, when Lady Mary's succession opened upon me.¹ I had however had many opportunities of reflecting upon the danger of indulging any exclusive mania, as exemplified in the case of great collectors—I therefore then determined to limit my purchases to works of real use, excluding systematically all books which were solely valuable on account of their scarcity. I drew up with great care and after many months' almost exclusive study an ideal or theoretical Catalogue of the library which I wished to possess—limiting, for example, my edition of each classic to the *editio optima* in lieu of the *editio princeps* which would have given me far greater pleasure,—rejecting all large paper copies and sumptuous bindings, and only admitting the principle of rarity, as I have just said, where the rare volumes were indispensable to my scheme on

¹Lady Mary Crawford, sister of George, 22nd Earl of Crawford.

merits independent of that rarity—and these I considered fair game. I carried this plan out, and have never deviated from it except in a few exceptional instances of extraordinary bargains, the aggregate amount of which I do not believe exceeds a couple of hundred pounds. The result is, that I have formed a good working library, which has been of the most inestimable use to me, and which very rarely fails me when I need information in my different lines of study. It is still susceptible of improvement and addition—but for four or five years past I have purchased no books except the current literature of the day and such as I have needed for use on extraordinary occasions.

I now proceed to Art, under the department which you have mentioned of Coins, Prints and Pictures—and to which I must add Sculpture—but I must first state that books being my first object and most necessary, I have till within the last four or five years, as above implied, postponed my views upon those heads. Such medals, for example, as I possess, were all bequeathed to my father by Lady Anne Barnard, formerly part of the collection of the Bishop of Limerick—I have never purchased any myself. My old prints similarly were collected when little more than a boy at Paris in 1828 and 1829,¹ and I have been contented with those acquisitions ever since, with the exception of a few modern engravings necessary for me to possess in reference to my History of Christian Art. Except in the Library department, I have in fact done little or nothing towards the realization of my proposed scheme.

What I wish to do hereafter in the department of Art is this:

1. To form a cabinet of medals—few in number but so selected as to illustrate the history of that branch of Art, and the character and progress of civilisation from the earliest times till now.

2. To procure casts of a very few of the best antique and modern sculptures—and form a drawer of specimens, very selective and few, of the ancient gem.

3. To furnish a room with a selection of engravings, framed, after the example of the Cabinet d'Estampes in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, illustrating the progress of Engraving, from the earliest woodprints and Maso Finiguerra to the present time—one

¹For these acquisitions see *Bulletin*, lxiv.

good specimen, that is to say, of each great artist,—of Martin Schoengauer, the Master of 1466, of Albert Durer, of Lucas van Leyden, of Mantegna, Marc 'Antonio, etc. etc.—to be arranged chronologically.

4. To form a gallery illustrative of the progress of Painting from the earliest times till now—but with especial reference to the period between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.

5. And lastly to devote a room to general or miscellaneous antiquities and curiosities.

I need not say much regarding the three former heads nor the last mentioned, inasmuch as my object being in no case a complete collection in any one department, but only specimens—amounting to a single cabinet of medals, a single room of framed engravings, a few casts, eschewing originals, a drawer of gems, and a museum (in the more limited sense of the word) containing such objects of varied and curious interest as may create an appetite for information among the children of the Lindsays—the expense, though ultimately great, would not be ruinous. But with respect to the fourth head, of pictures, which is the chief object of my attention and your alarm at present, I must make a few special observations.

In the first place, as you are well aware, the best works of the greatest masters are for the most part inaccessible to purchase, being either in churches or public galleries. Yet by these alone can the height and excellence of Art be known. I know what a prejudice exists against copies, and yet I do not think you will blame me when I avow that I prefer a good Copy of the best existing work of a great master to a second-rate or third-rate original—which is all, generally speaking, that is now attainable. Copies moreover are all that can be possibly obtained of some of the greatest masters, who worked almost entirely in fresco, for example Benozzo Gozzoli and Michael Angelo,—and many painters of whom original easel paintings *may* be obtained, are only to be truly estimated by their frescoes—Nay the greatest achievements of painting are in fresco. My plan therefore is, to employ artists gifted with that peculiar genius which enters into, lives in, and reproduces, the ideas of others, without having any original conceptions of its own, to make accurate copies for me,

the size of the originals, of some twenty of the most important frescoes of Italy, from Giotto to Leonardo, Raphael and M. Angelo—and also of the most important easel-paintings, Italian, Flemish, and German which form epochs in Art—limiting my purchase of original paintings to such as will fill up the gaps in the series so formed, and illustrate the progress and history of painting during the period contemplated. Of this class of paintings are those I have just purchased—of little interest or beauty in themselves, viewed as an entire collection, but which will link in and add their quota to the gallery which I thus propose to form. It is as such only I value them—as component parts of a great future whole,—but, viewed at present in inevitable isolation, I do not wonder at your disesteem of them—while I believe notwithstanding that when that whole is completed you will feel differently. A very few good specimens of the more recent oil-painters I should also wish to possess, to complete my plan—but this would exclude Giorgione, Titian, Parmigianino, Cigoli, Vouet, Rembrandt, and some of the best masters of the Dutch school,—together with the old masters of the English, Vandyke, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Fuseli, Wright of Derby, West etc. of whom we already possess examples in their respective styles.

I have been working to this object for several years past, and already possess excellent copies of the *Dalmatica di San Leone*, of Giotto's head of Dante, the three figures of Masaccio, the Resurrection of the Child (nearly finished), Perugino's Agony in the Garden, and Raphael's *Madonna del Cardellino* and *Vision of Ezekiel*. I keep Corsi continually at work for me, and though I must of course get on very slowly for many years, still something is being done, and when I can command the means I shall proceed quicker.

I will only add that, independently of private gratification and improvement, these copies, more especially those of the frescoes, will be of great use to artists, may give a new development to British art, and must be invaluable a hundred years hence when the originals have mouldered into dust.

Some additional and considerable expenditure will necessarily be incurred in building (as I propose) a sort of quadrangular gallery for the reception of these paintings, and which would also serve

for all the purposes of the Museum, with the exception of the Library. This building might be connected with conservatories etc.—but all this is food for future consideration.¹

I have already stated my first great principle—of forming a selection of good things in many departments instead of devoting all my energies to the perfection of one. I would now mention another which I have also held steadily in view hitherto and have no wish to deviate from—and this is—not to attempt to do all at once, but to diffuse my object over many years. In the very nature of things this must be so. The execution of the copies above mentioned must be a work of time, and the collections from which in their dispersion I may hope to form my own come to the market only (generally speaking) at distant intervals. The great point is to keep a watchful eye on all that is going on, and to profit by opportunities. The dispersion of Mr. Blayds' collection is a case in point—and I hold that when such occasions occur (and they may probably multiply upon us now that all the foundations of Europe are out of course) I ought to avail myself to them, if possible, in the spirit of true economy—inasmuch as, by our recent experience, dozens of valuable works may at such fortunate moments be obtained for less price than would be paid for single ones bought piecemeal and by private bargain under ordinary circumstances. I confess I feel very desirous of being what you will probably deem extravagant at the present moment, but if I have never gambled, never raced, cost my father nothing beyond my education, refused any increase of income for years as long as Lady Mary's bequest lasted, spent my money hitherto on objects of substantial and permanent interest, and by which others may profit too, and lived in short as a Benedictine monk rather than a son of the nineteenth century,—this may be forgiven me—And in support of my opinion that this is a moment especially favourable for the purchase of pictures of the class I wish for, there is this further consideration,—that, though as yet the productions of early art are not esteemed at their due value in England, the taste is daily gaining ground and the price of such pictures rising,—and a few years hence such acquisitions as I have now made will be in all probability impossible. I have been my

¹The gallery was never built.

own enemy in this through my book on Christian Art. It is to future years when either the mercantile value may be abated (which is not unlikely) or I may be more equal to the purchase, that I look for the acquisition of such comparatively recent pictures as are requisite to complete my plan. Had I had the means, I might during the last fifteen or twenty years have realised my vision of a Museum such as I speak of in all its departments, at a far smaller expenditure than I can even hope now to do it. I do not however regret this, first, because I have no right to regret it, and secondly, because the pleasure of forming it remains still in prospect. And if I do endeavour to carry this object out hereafter I do think, dear James, that I shall be able to exercise such self restraint as is needful, and keep it always in its due position, secondary I mean to the great works of public religion and charity which have the first claim on the purse of a British nobleman. The second place I may well vindicate for it, believing that to preoccupy the mind of the successive generations of a family with wholesome, pure, and elevating tastes is to add wings to their individual piety, enlarge their social or external charity, prepare them for that expatiation and progress in the life to come for which we need an intellectual no less than a moral discipline in the present, and, in a word, contribute directly and powerfully to the leavening of society and the upbuilding of the Church of Christ in time and eternity through their means.

You will not I am sure misconstrue the spirit of this letter, or suppose that I am contentious where I ought to be deferential; on the contrary, you may estimate the impression that your letter has made on me by the length and earnestness of this. Ever most affectionately

Yours,
Lindsay'

Lindsay's justification for putting the main emphasis of his picture collection on full-scale copies, on the grounds that first-rate original works by the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century masters rarely came on to the market, was soon to be overtaken by events. For, less than two months later, on 9 June 1849, William Coningham's exceptionally well-chosen collection of pictures

came up for sale at Christie's. It included numerous early Italian works, some of which have since found their way to the National Gallery in London: two fragments of *Adoring Saints* by Lorenzo Monaco (Inv. 215 and 216); Antonello da Messina's *St. Jerome* (Inv. 1418); Mantegna's *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (Inv. 1417); Botticelli's *Adoration of the Kings* (Inv. 1033); Pollaiuolo's *Apollo and Daphne* (Inv. 928); Lo Spagna's *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (Inv. 1032); Cima's *Madonna and Child* (Inv. 634); Moretto da Brescia's *Madonna and Child with SS. Hippolytus and Catherine of Alexandria* (Inv. 1165), which had previously been in Edward Solly's celebrated collection; and Sebastiano del Piombo's *Madonna and Child with Saints* (Inv. 1450). Among other early Italian pictures in the collection were Crivelli's *Madonna and Child*, now in West Berlin (Inv. 1156A), the Giovanni Bellini (and school) *Virgin and Child* in the Atlanta Museum of Art (K. 2188), the *Adoration of the Magi* by Fra Angelico and Filippo Lippi in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (K. 1425), and Albertinelli's *History of the Creation*, which was bought by Thomas Gambier Parry and is now in the Courtauld Institute's collection in London. There were also works by Titian (*Tarquin and Lucretia*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge), Veronese (*Death of Procris*, Strasbourg Gallery), Rembrandt (*Portrait of Martin Looten*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art), and Tintoretto (*Portrait of a Venetian*, Duke of Sutherland loan to the National Gallery of Scotland), as well as El Greco's *Portrait of Vincentio Anastagi* (Frick collection, New York).¹ But although Lindsay viewed the sale and carefully marked a catalogue, he made no serious effort to leave any bids, thereby reinforcing the suspicion that he was still more interested in bargains (prices at

¹Coningham himself obviously had a high opinion of this work and after the sale wrote (20 June 1849) to his friend Sir William Stirling, then in Seville, to tell him: 'The Greco was not sufficiently estimated, and sold for 118£ a sufficiently small sum for such a picture.' Coningham continues by informing Sir William that 'my wife after a long illness, came to London just in time to take a last look at the pictures before they were sold. They were much admired, but those who have good taste have little money, and Ld Hertford will give more for a bawdy Greuze, than for a fine Titian.' Sir William Stirling, who had just published *Annals of the Artists of Spain* in 1848, was one of the few British collectors capable of appreciating El Greco, and Coningham may well have hoped that he would buy his picture, especially as it is in the artist's early Italianate style. Coningham's letter is in the Stirling of Keir MSS.

the Coningham sale were relatively high) than in works of outstanding quality.¹ Or perhaps he was temporarily short of funds. This was apparently the difficulty five years later, when an exceptionally beautiful *Crucifixion*, attributed to Duccio,² came to light at the sale of E. Joly de Bammerville, a Frenchman who had been collecting early Italian art from the 1840s and who was later converted to Roman Catholicism, following a visit to Oxford in 1851.³ The Duccio was bought by the Revd Walter Davenport-Bromley for £278. 5s. 0d. with Lindsay as the disappointed underbidder. All that Lindsay did manage to secure at this sale was a group of miniatures attributed to Agnese Dolci which fetched £17. 6s. 6d.⁴ However, after the auction he also acquired a *Venus reclining near a fountain* by Cranach, which, as Lot 28, had fetched £15. 4s. 6d.⁵ And it was on this same day, with a sudden switch of mood or taste, that he then successfully offered 50 guineas at the Henry Clayton Freeling sale for a *Landscape with cattle* by Dujardin.⁶

Much of the credit for Lindsay's eventual achievement as a collector is due to William Spence, an English artist and dealer who was generally resident in Florence. Lindsay probably first came into contact with him in 1856 while he and his family were staying at the Villino Borghese. And, although Spence was at his best in the company of admiring ladies,—even the usually level-headed Anne Lindsay conceded that he had 'a very pretty voice and sings beautifully'⁷—he could also be impressive in more

¹Lord Lindsay marked lots 29 (Antonello da Messina), 34 (Fra Angelico and Filippo Lippi), 38 (Botticelli), 47 (Giovanni Bellini), 56 (P. Veronese), 58 (Mantegna), 59 (Crivelli), 60 (Lo Spagna) and 61 (Sebastiano del Piombo). The attributions in brackets are those now current, not those of the sale catalogue. In addition Lindsay also noted lots 39 and 40 (after Mantegna), now National Gallery, London (Inv. 1106 and 1381); lot 46, Mazzolino, *Circumcision*, last seen at Christie's, 29 May 1959 (88); and lots 9, 11, 14, 20, 30 and 31, which remain unidentified.

²Last seen at Christie's, 2 July 1976 (95), illustrated in sale catalogue. Formerly on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

³For E. Joly de Bammerville see Appendix III.

⁴Lot 18. Present whereabouts unknown. Probably sold by Lindsay's descendants around 1946.

⁵Private collection. SNPG photographic survey reference B.4588.

⁶Christie's, 12 July 1854 (25). Present whereabouts unknown.

⁷Letter to her son Robert, dated Florence, 4 May 1856.

serious company and certainly appreciated Lindsay's potential value as a client. Moreover Spence's stock was as versatile as his manner, and he was able to provide Lindsay and his wife with the majolica and decorative furnishings they needed for their new home at Dunecht in Aberdeenshire (Lindsay's father had given them £400 for this purpose) before tempting them with a selection of well-chosen pictures.¹ In 1856 alone he sold them a fifteenth-century Tuscan banner painting, showing the *Virgin interceding for the people of Florence*, which now belongs to the Metropolitan Museum, New York;² an altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child with Tobias*, then attributed to Cosimo Rosselli and now thought to be by Francesco Botticini;³ a fifteenth-century panel, showing the *Death of St. Ephraim and other scenes from the lives of hermits*, which was then attributed to Lorenzetti on the strength of its retardataire style and traditional iconography;⁴ a *St. Barbara*, then attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli and now given to Mainardi;⁵ an exceptionally fine cabinet picture of *St. John the Baptist*, then attributed to the circle of Leonardo da Vinci and now associated with the name of Cesare da Sesto;⁶ a small oil painting connected

¹Unfortunately many of Spence's accounts and letters addressed to Lord Lindsay are undated. Prices are sometimes quoted in sterling, sometimes in francs. I have not always managed to establish the rate of exchange, and it appears to have fluctuated quite considerably over the years with which we are concerned. For a detailed study of Spence as an art dealer, with references to Lord Lindsay as a client, see J. Fleming in the *Burlington Magazine*, cxxi, August 1979, pp. 500–03 and September 1979, p. 570 and pp. 578–80.

²Reproduced by F. Zeri and E. Gardner, *Italian Paintings. A Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art ... Florentine School* (New York, 1971), pp. 56–60, inv. 53.37. The price to Lindsay was 36 francs (receipt dated 6 May 1856).

³Private collection. Reproduced by Berenson 1963, plate 1065. The price to Lindsay was 700 francs (receipt dated 6 May 1856).

⁴Private collection. Lord Lindsay later acquired another panel of the same subject and the same format (cf. p. 324 n. 4 below) and there is no apparent means of establishing which of them belonged to Spence. The two panels are reproduced by P. Schubring, *Cassoni* (Leipzig, 1915), nos. 36 and 37, plate VI. For further discussion of these panels, with references to the earlier literature, see H. Brigstocke, in the *Burlington Magazine*, cxviii, August 1976, pp. 585 ff. The price to Lindsay for Spence's panel was 210 francs (receipt dated 6 May 1856).

⁵Private collection. Reproduced by Berenson 1963, plate 978. The price to Lindsay was 110 francs (receipt dated 6 May 1856).

⁶Private collection, on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland. Reproduced by Berenson 1968, plate 1504 but with the wrong caption. The price to Lindsay

with Tintoretto's celebrated picture of *St. Mark's body transported from Alexandria*;¹ and a *Deposition* which was attributed, very optimistically, to Annibale Carracci.²

Some of these acquisitions, especially the pictures attributed to Tintoretto and Annibale Carracci, confirm the impression that Lindsay had relaxed the regard for the *école mystique* which had dominated his aesthetic responses during the 1840s. Two years later, in March 1858, he and his wife again demonstrated the increasingly catholic range of their taste when they paid Mr Bruce, an Edinburgh picture restorer, the sum of £250 for a *Flight into Egypt* by Guido Reni now in the City Museum at Bradford, which was probably brought to Britain from the Palazzo Colonna in Rome early in the nineteenth century. Although the initiative in this case definitely came from his wife, Lindsay, obviously happy to have an authentic specimen of Guido Reni's style at a bargain price, readily acquiesced; while Min, spurred on no doubt by a strong rumour that the officers of the Royal Institution in Edinburgh were also considering it, settled the matter within the same week.³

In August 1859 Lindsay laid out the surprisingly large sum of £836. 12s. 0d. on twelve pictures at the Northwick Park sale.⁴ It is probably fair to say that the money could have been spent better elsewhere. In June the following year (1860) Samuel Woodburn's Masaccio *Madonna and Child* (now National Gallery Inv. 3046) was sold at Christie's (as Gentile da Fabriano) for 15 guineas; and in April 1861 Charles Eastlake bought Piero della Francesca's *Baptism of Christ* (National Gallery Inv. 665) at the Uzielli sale for

was £80 (receipt dated '26 July'; although the year is not given, it was probably 1856).

¹Private collection. Reproduced by Berenson 1957, plate 1294. The price to Lindsay was 18 francs (receipt dated 6 May 1856).

²Private collection. Exhibited *Exhibition of Italian Art, 1200–1900*, R.A., London, 1930 (743). SNPG photographic survey reference B.4578. The price to Lindsay was 30 francs (receipt dated 6 May 1856).

³Letters from Lady Lindsay dated Edinburgh, 12 and 17 March 1858; letter from Lord Lindsay, dated Haigh, 15 March. The picture is conveniently reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*, cvii, June 1965 p. 330, fig. 59.

⁴Northwick Park sale, Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, by Phillips, 26 June 1859 and twenty-one subsequent days.

£241. 10s. 0d. In the face of such alternatives, Lindsay's acquisitions at the Northwick Park sale are mainly of interest as further examples of his attempt to widen the range of his collection. The two best pictures he bought were a small *Holy Family* which he believed to be by Ludovico Carracci but which is now seen to be French and by a close follower of Vouet,¹ and a portrait of *Philip Sydney* attributed to Sir A. Mor and now thought to be by Moreelse.² Of the remainder, a picture of *The Patriarch Gennadius and Mahomet II outside Constantinople* was sold under an attribution to Gentile Bellini but is now considered to be Flemish;³ and a *Vision of St. Anthony of Padua* which was sold as by Alonso Cano may be by Antonio de Pereda.⁴ But, unfortunately, a *Landscape with St. Hubert and the Stag*, attributed to Gaspard Dughet, about which Lindsay was particularly enthusiastic, can no longer be traced beyond the Crawford sale at Christie's in 1946.⁵ It has also proved impossible to identify other pictures acquired from the Northwick Park collection under attributions (probably incorrect) to Pordenone,⁶ Domenichino,⁷ Guercino,⁸ and Velazquez;⁹ these were also disposed of by Lindsay's descendants in 1946.

Lindsay himself appears to have had no reservations about the

¹Lot 544. Private collection.

²Lot 1495 = Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (109); then Northwick sale, 25 June 1965 (26) as Moreelse, *Portrait of a Gentleman, three-quarter length, in dark blue embroidered dress, white cuffs and ruff, his gloves in his right hand, leaning on a table—dated 1617—on panel—40 x 29 in.*

³Lot 1002. Private collection. Courtauld Institute, London, photographic survey reference B.57/1351.

⁴Lot 1600 = Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (42). An old Christie's photograph in the Witt Library, London, is filed under the name of Antonio de Pereda.

⁵Lot 468 = Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (126).

⁶Lot 1770 = Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (124), Pordenone, *Christ curing the blind man.*

⁷Lot 1776 = Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (54), Domenichino, *Christ's Journey to Emmaus.*

⁸Lot 1581 = Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (71), Guercino, *St. John the Baptist.*

⁹Lot 1092 = Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (187) Zurbaran, *Head of John the Baptist on a charger.* An old photograph is on file at the National Gallery of Scotland.

quality of the pictures he had acquired from Northwick Park.¹ His only regret was that he had been outbid by the National Gallery in London for an altarpiece by Girolamo da Treviso² and for a picture of the *Infancy of Jupiter* now attributed to the studio of Giulio Romano.³ At the same time he was extremely anxious in case news of his extravagance should reach his father, who had already expressed concern about the scale of his recent book-buying exploits. We therefore find him desperately swearing his sister in law, May Holford, to secrecy; and he also had to confess, somewhat shamefacedly, that he had still not found the courage to tell his father about the Mazarine Bible which he had bought through Quaritch at the Cashel sale, the previous year, for £595: 'I have always lived in trembling lest Lord Overstone who unluckily discovered that I had bought the Mazarine Bible some time ago, and can never let a joke die, should preach to him about it'.⁴

In June 1863 the Davenport-Bromley collection came back on to the market and gave Lindsay a second opportunity to secure the Duccio *Crucifixion* which he had lost at the de Bammerville sale.⁵ On this occasion he was successful and had to pay only £262. 10s. 0d., some £15 less than it had cost its previous owner. He also bought for six guineas a panel of *St. Bartholomew and St. Andrew* from a dismembered altarpiece by Ugolino di Nerio; it is now in the National Gallery, London (Inv. 3473). But he ignored the important group of pictures that Davenport-Bromley had acquired so perceptively from the Fesch collection.⁶

¹In addition to those already listed, Lord Lindsay also acquired the following minor items:

Lot 1095 = Private collection, *Copy of the figure of Bacchus from Titian's Bacchus and Ariadne*. SNPG photographic survey reference B.4577.

Lot 1781 = Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (164), *Tuscan School, The Virgin Annunciate*.

Lot 1719 = Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (98), Lucas van Leyden, *The Madonna and Child, with a Cardinal as Donor and St. James of Compostella*.

²Lot 565. N.G. London inv. 623. *Madonna and Child with Angels, Saints and a Donor*.

³Lot 578. N.G. London inv. 624.

⁴Letter from Dunecht, September (n.d.) 1859.

⁵See p. 302 n. 2 above.

⁶For Davenport-Bromley's acquisitions at the Fesch sale see Appendix I. For the remainder of his collection, acquired from other sources, see Appendix IV.

Perhaps it was as an antidote to the austerity of the Duccio that Lindsay then bought, in the same year, a Paul Potter (£70 from Bruce of Edinburgh),¹ a Crome (from Colnaghi, London)² and the *Head of an Apostle*, by an artist close to Palma Vecchio, which he believed to be by Giorgione (£105 in London).³ Such acquisitions, none of which was satisfactory, as well as some of his earlier efforts to buy post-Renaissance painting, illustrate the inevitable dangers associated with his ambition to form a museum which would represent the whole range of art-historical progress, including styles for which he had no particular sympathy and periods about which he had no specialized knowledge.

* * *

It is important to remember that Lindsay's chief preoccupation during the mid 1850s and early 1860s was not his picture collection, but the Bibliotheca Lindesiana. The rising scale of his acquisitions in this field, and his regular commissions to booksellers such as Lilly, Molini, and Quaritch, lie outside the scope of this study except inasmuch as art-historical works are concerned. Even in this relatively restricted department, however, there is ample evidence that he was now making a major effort to fill out the library, and Molini, the well-known Italian bookseller in London, was to receive a rapid succession of substantial orders between November 1854 and May 1856. Of these, perhaps the most interesting was a request for an edition of Livio Mercuri's engravings after Giotto's frescoes in Assisi. Lindsay's letter on this subject, dated Rome, 28 May 1856, reveals the very informed interest which he took in the technical difficulties of reproducing works of art.

'Lord Lindsay encloses the advertisement of a publication about to come out, of engravings of the frescoes of Giotto at Assisi, with letter-press. Lord Lindsay, when at Assisi the other day,

¹Present whereabouts unknown.

²Private collection. The price to Lindsay was £17.

³Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (174). Coutts Lindsay appears to have bought it on behalf of Lord Lindsay from an unspecified London dealer.

visited the artist (Livio Mercuri by name) who is employed by the Association, and certainly nothing can be more accurate than his drawings. The frescoes are first carefully traced on the walls—then finished cartoons are made, the size of the originals—these are reduced by photography, and the engravings are made from the photographs. The work will be most valuable, in as much as the originals are gradually perishing, and except some very coarse engravings of the four largest frescoes in the lower church in Fea's description of Assisi published 30 or 40 years ago, there are no other engravings of the series. Lord Lindsay informed Signor Mercuri that he would subscribe for a copy (of the ordinary description), *but through Mr Molini of London*. He will therefore be much obliged by Mr Molini importing a copy for him.'

Further detailed evidence of Lindsay's ambition to form a comprehensive library of art books, with particular emphasis on reproductive engravings, is to be found in the relevant section of a long report or open letter which he drafted for the benefit of his son and heir, and which he had conceived as a guide to the Bibliotheca Lindesiana and to the systematic principles on which it was founded. In this fascinating document, completed in February 1865 during a leisurely stay at the Villa Caprini in Florence, Lindsay looks back on some of his own recent achievements in this field and at the same time pinpoints a number of avenues which he had left open for future exploration.¹

The name of Lionardo (*sic*) naturally introduces us to the Fine Arts; and in this department, I am happy to say, the Library rises more nearly to the general average which I should wish to attain. This has been owing to the special interest we have all, as a family, felt in the various branches—let me for once say of 'Poesy'—which, in my Bibliographical Classification I have grouped together under that head. While containing some rare works on the theory of Art—among which I will mention some of the early works on Architecture of the 16th and 17th cent. and more particularly the

¹See p. 287, n. 1 above.

'Arte de la Pintura' of Pacheco, *Seville*, quarto, 1649—a perfect and beautiful copy, which I bought at M^r Ford's sale,¹ of a work so rare that Senor Cortes, the Director of the Academy at Seville never, during twenty years' search, met with a perfect copy, and M^r Williams of Seville² never saw any other except Senor Cortes' imperfect one³—while containing (I say) various books of this description, the Library is rich, for a private and English collection, in the history of Art and in the biography of artists, works (as a general rule) neither of absolute rarity nor of high price, but which it is extremely difficult to assemble together, owing to their having been published (many of them) in distant and obscure towns of Italy, and considered of local rather than general interest. Strictly speaking, according to the classification I am following, I ought to reserve mention of these historical and biographical volumes for a subsequent page, but as I have anticipated the subject I may go through with it, and add that the series of lives of the more

¹A reference to Richard Ford, author of *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain* ... (London, 1845). His book sale by S. Leigh Sotheby and John Wilkinson, Wellington Street, Strand, took place on 9 and 10 May 1861.

²Don Julian Benjamin Williams, the British consul in Seville.

³Lindsay had, however, overlooked a copy in the library of Sir William Stirling of Keir. Stirling, the author of the pioneering work *Annals of the Artists of Spain* (London, 1848), described his own copy of Pacheco in *An essay towards a collection of books relating to the Arts of Design being a catalogue of those at Keir*, 1850 (1860 edition), pp. 99–100, as follows: 'One of the rarest Spanish books of the 17th century. The impression was probably not a large one, and most of the copies seem to have been destroyed by tear and wear (*sic*) in the studios of Spain, where the work was long the only handbook within the reach of the painters. The surviving copies are usually stained with oil, paint, and thumbing. The finest which I have ever seen are those in the possession of F. C. Ford, Esq. at Hevitre, Devon, and Don Valentine Carderera, at Madrid. Pacheco wrote a Prologo for his treatise, which, however, was suppressed. ... Of Prologo and portrait only twelve impressions were taken off, four of which I placed in the hands of the late Lord Ellesmere, the late Mr. Ford, and Sir Charles Eastlake, and in the British Museum—the possessors of the only other copies of Pacheco's volume which I have heard of in England. The present copy has been rendered perfect by the addition of a title page and two leaves, and parts of some other leaves, executed in very admirable facsimile MS. by Mr. Bishop. Still rarer, perhaps, than the book itself, is the 4to. tract of 9 pages, without date, place, or printer's name, in which Pacheco published chap. xii. as a specimen of his lucubrations. Of this I have seen only a single copy, in the curious collection of the late Don Bartolomé José Gallardo, at the Dehesa del Barquillo, near Toledo.'

celebrated Italian artists, collective and individual, is almost complete; while those of the Spanish, French, Flemish, Dutch, German, and English contemporaries are also present in considerable numbers. All these have served me well in my study on 'Christian Art', and especially (in conjunction with personal inspection) in forming the detailed classification of the schools of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, which I prefixed to the volumes of that work already published. I may also notice here with much satisfaction, alike as a treasury of information and as a book of great rarity in a complete state, the 'Kunst-Blatt' an artistic journal published in [Munich, *om. in MS.*], between the years 1820 and 1858, in thirty-eight quarto volumes—being the copy which belonged to Professor Von der Hagen, and which has been (since I bought it) carefully collated, and all imperfections supplied. It would be almost hopeless (I am informed) to expect to see any other copy, complete as this, for sale.¹ Its importance in respect to the works of mediaeval art in Italy may be estimated by a glance at the writings of V. Rumohr, Kugler, and Waagen.

The Library possesses some of the principal collections of Engravings after the great works of Architecture and Sculpture, and after pictures preserved in public galleries; and many of the engraved series of Italian frescoes—some of them very rare. There are however many gaps in both these classes, which ought to be carefully filled up. Still, we have enough to exhibit and illustrate the entire progress of Italian and German art. I may mention Lasinio's engravings of the frescoes of the Campo Santo at Pisa for the pleasure of the remembrances which attach us to that sanctuary of beauty and peace, rather than on account of the rarity of the series in the original issue, as we possess it.² The 'Etruria Pittrice', Florence, 2 vols. folio, 1791–3, may be noticed as a scarce collection, even in Italy.³ The heads engraved from the frescoes of Masaccio and Giotto in the Carmine, by Patch, are a

¹Sir Charles Eastlake also acquired a complete set of this influential German periodical. It is now in the library of the National Gallery, London.

²*Pittura a fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa intagliata dal Professore Cav. Carlo Lasinio* . . . , Florence, 1812. See Lloyd, p. 110, no. 44.

³M. Lastri, *L'Etruria Pittrice ovvero Istoria della Pittura Toscana dai suoi monumenti che si esibiscono in stampa dal sec x fino al presente*, Florence, 1791 and 1793. See Lloyd, p. 73, no. 24.

valuable and rare series,¹ and the engravings of the Loggie of Raphael by Volpato are in our copy of the earlier and best impressions. I shall mention some others after Raphael presently. Among the Raffaelleschi, I have a volume of drawings by Van Thulden, the pupil of Rubens, of the frescoes of Primaticcio at Fontainebleau, representing the history of Ulysses, now destroyed, and which are only known by a series of indifferent engravings after these very drawings. And in connection with English art, I may mention a series of drawings of the frescoes which, although covered over by the stalls, still exist on the walls of the chapel at Eton—executed apparently in the reign of Henry VII, and full of spirit and character, evidently representing the finest succession of native English painting. These drawings were made by a M^r Essex, with the view of publication, but he met with no encouragement, and after his death his portfolio was bought by M^r Kerslake, the bookseller, of Bristol, from whom I purchased it for a mere trifle. I ought to have recorded previously a collection of drawings of the frescoes of the thirteenth and fourteenth century at Assisi—exhibiting the entire series (with scarcely an exception) of the paintings existing in the Upper and Lower Churches—a series executed about fifty years ago by a native artist, with the intention (never accomplished) of publication, and which I bought from him when staying for a few days in that most interesting old town in 1842.²

I had to look for some years before I obtained (at the sale at Alton Towers) my beautiful set of the 'Maria Krönung' or engravings of the Coronation of the Virgin, by Fra Angelico—the great altarpiece with its lovely predella, formerly in S./Domenico/, Fiesole, now in the Louvre Gallery—published with his criticisms upon it, by Augustus W. von Schlegel, in 1817,—a volume which did much towards restoring the works of the early masters to their due credit and appreciation. It was this Coronation of Fra Angelico which first impressed me with the beauty and interest of the early Tuscan painters, when it hung (in 1828–9) in the ante-room of the Louvre gallery among a number of inferior pictures of

¹ T. Patch, *The Life of Masaccio*, Florence, 1770. See Lloyd, p. 56, no. 15.

² The artist was G. B. Mariani; Berenson 1963, i. 49, reproduces two drawings of the interior of San Francesco, Assisi, by L. Carpinelli and G. B. Mariani.

the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—all of which nevertheless interested me greatly—altarpieces and fragments of altarpieces which were not returned at the time of the general restitution of stolen property.

Books of common occurrence, however costly or beautiful, such as the 'Musée Français',¹ the 'Galleria del Palazzo Pitti' (the older one by Wicar² and the recent publication by Robillard), the Gallery of the Academy at Florence, Turin, Milan, Venice and Bologna, the galleries of Dresden, Munich, Vienna (by Haas), and others, I ought to leave unmentioned, as the ordinary furniture of a well-appointed collection. But I may specify as of rarer occurrence, a beautiful copy of the 'Theatrum Artis Pictoriae', or engravings after the gallery of Vienna, by Prenner, Amsterdam, folio 1728, and the still more important series of engravings after the collection of the Medici at Florence, then as now preserved in the Palazzo Pitti,—a magnificent work, in four folio volumes, executed in 1720 and afterwards under the direction of Cosmo III, the last but one of the Medici, and distributed in presents—a series very seldom indeed to be met with, and which was not even in the rich artistic library of Conte Cicognara.³ I should mention too that our copy of the Dresden Gallery (in four volumes, folio, 1753–7) possesses the two full-length portraits of Augustus III, King of Poland, and of Marie Joseph, Queen of Poland, engraved by Balechou and Daullé, which are of great rarity.⁴ Among more modern works, not Galleries, I may notice our copy of Gruner's 'Fresco Decorations and Stuccoes of Churches and Palaces in Italy during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries' with due honour, as being coloured throughout after the original drawings under M^r Gruner's own eye and with the utmost care, forming altogether a series of exquisite beauty; and which I purchased (through M^r

¹S. C. Croze-Magnan, *Le Musée Français, Recueil complet des tableaux, statues et bas-reliefs qui composent la collection nationale*, Paris, 1803.

²*Tableaux, Statues, Bas-Reliefs, et Camées de la Galerie de Florence, et du Palais Pitti dessinés par Wicar, gravées sous la direction de M. Lacombe et M. Marquelier.*

³I have failed to trace a copy of this publication.

⁴*Recueil d'Estampes après les plus célèbres tableaux de la galerie royale de Dresde, Dresden, 1753 and 1759.*

Quaritch) from M^r Gruner himself.¹ Of equal beauty are the series of the great compositions of Raphael in the Vatican, the Dispute of the Sacrament, the School of Athens, and others, thirteen in number, engraved and exquisitely coloured after the originals, by Volpato,—a series which I bought at the sale in Paris, of the great German architect Von Klenze. I have also (distinct from the set just mentioned) a considerable number of the engravings of the Loggie and Stanze by Volpato, coloured, but the set is not as yet complete. Lastly, we have the frescoes of the Farnesina, representing the story of Cupid and Psyche, engraved by Dorigny, and coloured with equal beauty—a lovely series. If I shall ever meet with a volume of engravings or drawings similarly coloured, of the frescoes of the Campo Santo of Pisa, such as I remember being for sale at Mess^{rs} Payne and Foss's when I was a boy, and which I suspect to be identical with a set now possessed by M^r Holford, I shall certainly endeavour to purchase it. I am not sure whether it might not be well to have the series photographed and carefully coloured or tinted by some able artist after the originals.

I may notice here a rare book in our possession, entitled 'Gli Ornati del Coro della Chiesa di S. Pietro dei Monaci Casinesi di Perugia', and consisting of line-engravings of the compositions and ornaments on the stalls of the convent church, designed by Raphael and executed in *tarsia*, or what the French call *marqueterie*, by Stefano da Ferrara—a beautiful series. The work was published at Rome, in folio, 1842; but the greater portion of the impression was retained by the monks and sold at the convent, where I purchased it. The 'Ornati presi da graffiti e pitture antiche esistenti in Firenze' by Lasinio, Florence, folio, 1789, is also a scarce volume and very useful for decorative purposes.

The value of these artistic books in forming the taste when young, and in assistance and suggestion to us when in riper years we dream of emulating the ancients in their own immortal spheres, cannot be overestimated; and therefore, I repeat, our deficiencies in this department ought to be carefully and judiciously supplied.

¹Published 1844. For Ludwig Gruner (1801–82), who was employed by the Arundel Society and was artistic adviser to the Prince Consort, see Lloyd, pp. 122–3.

We ought also to procure the Comte de Bastard's great work on illuminated MSS.—a distinct department of the Fine Arts. ... I had the offer of a copy of great beauty for £250 about four years ago, which I was obliged to decline, in consequence of prior demands.¹ I have a volume (as you may recollect) of ancient miniatures, collected apparently by a German artist, one or two of which must be as old as the eleventh or twelfth century, while the majority appear to me to be from the hand of Fra Filippo Lippi—a very rare and precious collection.²

We have the great and beautiful work of Silvestre on 'Paléographie Universelle' or the history of Writing (and incidentally of illumination) in all ages and countries, printed at Paris, in four volumes—folio 1839–41—a magnificent copy of the rare original issue.³ But this belongs rather to the distinct class of Bibliography....

I have always looked upon a series of specimens of the great European engravers, from the fifteenth century downwards, as necessary to my scheme of collection; and I began forming one (as I mentioned in the Introduction to this Report) when a youth at Paris in 1828–9; but I could not afford to have so many irons in the fire, and I consider this series as still to be begun and prosecuted, either by myself or you, in future years. One or two *chefs d'oeuvre* of each artist would accomplish my wish, in the symmetry which I wish to give to the Library in this respect. The Engravers I speak of are chiefly the great old masters who engraved their own compositions before the art sank into a mere handmaid to Painting. ...

A choice collection of Photographs would be very desirable, but photographs, unless when taken from pictures, would rank under our collections of Art, not Literature. We ought unquestionably to obtain the best photographic series taken from the works of Raphael and the great old masters.

¹August de Bastard, *Peintures et ornements des manuscrits ... pour servir à l'histoire des arts du dessin, depuis, le IV^e siècle et l'ère chrétienne jusqu'à la fin du XVI^me* (Paris, 1835).

²This album may be tentatively identified as Latin MS 14 in the John Rylands University Library. I am indebted to Miss Glenise Matheson, Keeper of the Manuscripts, for advice on this question.

³J. B. Silvestre, *Paléographie universelle, collection de fac-similé d'écritures de tous les peuples et de tous les temps* (Paris, 1839–41).

Costume likewise is an interesting branch of the Fine Arts. We see artistic taste displayed in the shape of vestments and the harmony of colours among races who have never produced a painter. The Scottish Highlanders, for example, were complimented by [..., *blank in MS.*] as an artistic people in virtue of their tartans. We have several of the early and rare collections of costumes, such as those of Weigel (published in 1577),¹ of Bruyn (in 1581),² of Amman (in 1586),³ Franco's *Costumes of Venice* (1610),⁴ and others; besides various modern and not very common books on the 'Vestiture' and 'Trajes' of Italy and Spain, and the 'Abiti Antichi e Moderni' of Vecellio, Venice, octavo, 1590, and Hollar's 'Ornatus Muliebris Anglicanus', London octavo 1640. Ferrario's immense work on costume is really not worth having—I have a copy in the house at this moment on inspection but which I am about to send away as utterly unsatisfactory—being, to use the old phrase, a very 'catchpenny'.⁵ Much more valuable in point of fidelity are the 'Costumes Historiques des 12^e, 13^e, 14^e et 15^e siècles' by Mercuri and Bonnard, published, in three volumes, quarto, 1860; and the more magnificent and very valuable work of Von Hefner-Alteneck on mediaeval costume—the 'Trachten des Christlichen Mittelalters', Frankfurt, three volumes, folio 1840–54, and of which our library possesses a beautiful copy.'

Probably the only other British art historical writer with a library even approaching the importance of Lindsay's was Sir William Stirling of Keir. He had started to build up a working collection of specialized art books during the 1840s, while preparing his *Annals of the Artists of Spain* (1848), and he had then continued to expand it in a systematic manner during the 1850s. Stirling's library is more scholarly and art-historical, yet narrower in scope than Lindsay's. The emphasis is on tracts and source books on Spanish and Italian art and architecture by writers such as Alberti, Dolce, Lomazzo, Juan de Herrera, Diego de Sagredo, Pacheco and

¹H. Weigel, *Habitus praecipuorum populorum*, 1577.

²Abraham de Bruyn, *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Africae, et Americae gentium habitus* (Antwerp, 1581).

³J. Amman, *In Frauwenzimmer Wirt ...* (Frankfurt, 1586).

⁴Giacomo Franco, *Habitu delle donne Veneziane* (Venice, 1610).

⁵C. Ferrario, *Il costume antico e moderno* (Milan; 1816–34) (18 vols.).

Carducho. He also assembled an impressive selection of works on the art of ornamental writing; and, like Lindsay, he, too, bought the volumes of reproductive engravings after earlier Italian artists by Seroux d'Agincourt, and Carlo Lasinio (the proof plates of his *Pitture a fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa*, Florence (1812)).¹ Stirling also painstakingly accumulated an exhaustive collection of individual reproductive prints after the works of Velazquez, and then in 1856 published his own catalogue of them.² He made a similar collection of prints after Murillo, which he catalogued in 1873.³ Detailed meticulous art-historical research of this kind offers a remarkable contrast to Lindsay's essentially abstract view of historical development.

Notwithstanding such differences of approach to art-history and bibliography, one might reasonably have expected to find evidence of some social contact between Lindsay and Stirling. Lindsay would certainly have appreciated Stirling's incomparable collection of original prints,⁴ and his paintings by little-known Spanish artists.⁵ Stirling, in turn, was probably one of the few people capable of understanding the value of Lindsay's gallery of copies of the Italian masters, to judge from his own commissions for copies after many of the outstanding masterpieces of Spanish

¹See p. 311 n. 2 above.

²*Velazquez and his works; with a catalogue of the prints after them* (London, 1855).

³William Stirling-Maxwell, *Essay towards a Catalogue of Prints engraved from the works of Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velazquez and Bartolomé Estéban Murillo* (London, 1873). This catalogue was founded on the even larger collection of prints owned by Stirling-Maxwell's friend, Mr Charles Morse. The albums which belonged to Stirling-Maxwell are still preserved in a Scottish private collection.

⁴Stirling's collection of prints was important largely on account of the set of working proofs for the *Desastres de la guerra* by Goya. These, together with other important Goya prints from the same collection, are now in Boston; see E. Sayre, *The Changing Image, Prints by Francisco Goya* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1974). For further, more miscellaneous, prints from Sir William's collection see the Keir sale, Sotheby's, 12 March 1964.

⁵Many of Stirling's most interesting pictures had been acquired at the Louis Philippe and Standish collection sales during May 1853. Part of his collection is now at Pollok House, Glasgow. See J. Caw, *Catalogue of Pictures at Pollok House* (Glasgow, 1936) and the current guide to *The Stirling Maxwell Collection, Pollok House* (Glasgow, n.d.). See also E. Harris in *Apollo*, January 1964, pp. 73 ff.

art between 1847 and 1857.¹ But these two pioneering and scholarly Scottish collectors never found an opportunity to stimulate each other by an exchange of visits. The explanation probably lies largely in the attitude of Lindsay's immediate circle of friends, who appear to have found Stirling too brash. In December 1846, for instance, we find James writing to his daughter Min (Lindsay's wife), about a recent meeting with Stirling, whom he describes as 'rather a conceited, desperately ugly, clever sort of man, conscious of having a large fortune at his back, and that the Ladies admire him',² and it is with evident relish that he then goes on to relate how his other daughter May (who later married Robert Holford) had 'snubbed' him (Stirling).

* * *

The exercise of writing a report on the principles on which the Bibliotheca Lindesiana was developing may well have brought home to Lindsay the extent to which his museum of pictures and prints still failed to match his achievements as a collector of illustrated art books. His ambition to buy old master prints never took wing, but it was during the next eleven years (c.1864-75) that he bought many of his most important paintings. During this period he often took his family to stay at the Villa Caprini in Florence, and there he found that William Spence was still eager to offer him assistance in extending his picture collection. During the interval which had elapsed since Lindsay's visit to the city in 1856, Spence had succeeded in making himself virtually indispensable to Anne Lindsay, whose husband had died in 1855, and he had eventually been rewarded when her daughter, May Holford, elected to make generous use of his services in 1861.³

¹For Stirling's collection of copies after old masters see Appendix V.

²Letter dated Balcarres, 11 December 1846.

³May Holford gives a vivid description of her dealings with Spence in two letters to her mother dated Hotel de la Grande Bretagne, Florence, 16 November 1861; and Genoa, Hotel de la Ville, 25 December 1861. In the first she wrote: 'We have now been here a week tomorrow, and we have been hard at work visiting every shop and picture dealer in the town, always accompanied by Mr. Spence, who arrives every morning soon after breakfast and remains till about 4 o'clock, when it becomes too dark to do anything, and I am thoroughly

Spence was therefore well placed to renew business with Lindsay in 1864,¹ and quickly sold him an interesting Flemish school

tired out. We have made some *wonderfully* good acquisitions and I look forward with so much pleasure to showing you them on our return home. Mr. Spence has been of the greatest use to us, as he knows every collection, and every hole and corner of Florence and he is most kind in helping us to find all that we want. ... I have been all over the Demidoff Villa this morning, where there are things that would take a good month to look well over, such a mixture of magnificence and bad taste I never saw—Félicie [de Fauveau] and Hippolyte went with us and Mr. French, the Banker's son, a very agreeable young man. You cannot think how kind and civil everyone is, and from Robert's having built Dorchester House which seems to me to be quite as well known everywhere we go, as it is in England, everyone opens their houses and are so anxious that we should go and see them, and so willing to give us every help possible. ... We have been twice to pay Mr. Spence a visit at his Villa at the top of Fiesole, such a charming villa. He has also got a beautiful house in Florence—I quite envy him. Tomorrow we go to see Mario's Villa Salviati and Prince Poniatowski's palace. ...' In a subsequent letter of 25 December 1861 she wrote: '... Mr. Spence who dined with us, remained to talk over our day's work, and help us with our arrangements with the different tradesmen. I must say that *nothing* could be kinder or more helpful than he was to us, and I do not know how we should have got on without him. I think that our visit to Florence will have been of the *greatest* use to us—both in ideas and purchases for Dorchester house. ... Through Mr. Spence we got a picture which I admire very much, it is by Cotignola and the subject is the Virgin and child in her arms, she is sitting on a throne and a saint stands on each side of her, at her feet sit 3 little angels—these last are *perfectly lovely*. It is a very large picture and I think you will delight in it. I am sure you will wish to copy the little angels they are so beautiful. We also got from Mr. Spence two other very pretty little pictures, one a little girl of the style of Velazquez and the other a small Bronzino—both very pretty. We got 3 beautiful casoni, gilt, with paintings on the sides, they are very difficult to be found now—and they are wonderfully effective as furniture. ...'

¹Anne Lindsay, writing to May Holford from the Hotel de Florence, 25 November 1864, describes one of their visits to Spence at this time: '... We went to Mr. Spence's Florence lodging, where we saw some really good things, but he does not intend parting with them. He thinks of taking them up to the Villa. He has got a room he calls his Tribune where all his best things are—two portraits by Van Dyke are really à se mettre à genoux devant—one a lady and the other a gentleman of the Guadagni family—the woman is especially beautiful and we heard of course a great deal about the grande Duchesse Marie's anxiety to get hold of it.' Two days later Anne Lindsay returned again to her preoccupation with Mr Spence and his circle in another letter to May Holford. '... I have hardly seen Virginia or [Lord] Somers, they dined here once and were in great spirits having made some purchases that pleased them immensely. They have got one, indeed two, beautiful pictures—one a Chirlandaio quite lovely—a Virgin enthroned with the Holy Child and Saints on each side. In colour and form nothing has pleased me more. They have got also

Portrait of Giovanni Bologna in his studio, which had apparently come from the Guadagni Palace in Florence.¹ This was followed in 1865 by a small picture of the *Crucifixion* now attributed to Jacopo di Cione,² and a Florentine school fresco attributed to A. Pisano [sic].³ Then, in June 1866, Lindsay paid £204 for a half-length male portrait by Van Dyck,⁴ and the substantial sum of 900 gold francs for a large altarpiece by L'Ortolano, representing the *Holy Family with St. Catherine*.⁵ Yet it would be wrong to suppose that Lindsay

some cabinets, majolica, a clock etc. Mr. Spence is Lord Somers' shadow—they go about all day together, and are inseparable. Virginia too passes the greater part of her day in going from one curiosity shop to another. There happen to be some people just now selling pictures and roba that have escaped the dealers, and Mr. Spence has been most good natured about it—both to Somers and to Lindsay and Min. He really is very obliging—he gets as much interested in your purchases as if they were his own and becomes quite excited in your behalf.'

¹Private collection. SNPG photographic survey reference B.4610. The price is not recorded and Spence's receipt is missing from the Crawford MSS.

²Private collection. See Van Marle, iii. 508. SNPG photographic survey reference B.4584. The price is not recorded, and Spence's receipt is missing from the Crawford MSS.

³Not traceable beyond a manuscript list of Lindsay's collection at Dunecht, c.1883, where it is described as follows: 'Andrea Pisano? Fresco laid down on Canvas. Virgin and Child and attendant pouring water into a cup held by the Infant Christ. From the Chiostro Verde, S. Maria Novella, Florence, bought 1865 from Spence fr. 150'.

⁴Crawford sale, 11 October 1946 (168). The price was arranged in the following letter from Spence to Lindsay, dated 8 May 1866: 'I got notice from Mrs. Lindsay that you are willing to take the Van Dyke for 5000 frs (£200). I had a Russian nobleman here who was anxious to have it also, but I had written to you first, as well as to other friends of mine, and in my last letter had raised the price to £300—as Mr. Kirkup said he thought £300 a very moderate price for such a picture. I therefore will let you have it for £204, 5100 frs. I put on the extra hundred francs to be able to say truly you had passed the 5000 francs—which price might have been put down by the Russians and you would have lost the picture. I will forward it to you directly on receiving your instructions. It is very important to me, as I have bills too much in London due on the 1st June that the £204 be paid into my bankers Sir Charles Price and Co.—No. 8 King William Street before that period, say the 25th Inst—and it is the want of ready money that has made me part with this picture, which I should not have been inclined to do otherwise. ...'

⁵Spence had described this picture to Lord Lindsay on 30 March 1866 as 'L'Ortolano. Large altar piece on panel, about 9 feet by 6—good condition, holy family St. Catherine etc. life size nearly, fine composition 2,500 francs.' Spence's receipt is dated 28 June 1866: 'Received from Lord Lindsay nine hundred francs in gold for a Picture by Ortolano from Ferrara.' I have not identified this picture.

indiscriminately accepted everything that Spence had to offer. At one time or another between 1857 and 1877 (the precise dates are not always recorded) a *Portrait* by Leandro Bassano,¹ a *Portrait of Don John of Austria* by Morone,² a *Monk writing* by Girolamo da Carpi,³ and works attributed to a variety of other artists,⁴ were all turned down.

Torello Bacci was another Florentine dealer with whom Lindsay established fruitful relations in the 1860s. Lindsay's acquisitions in January 1865 included two very fine cassoni painted by Filippino Lippi with *Scenes from the life of Virginia* and *The death of Lucretia*;⁵ and two more cassone panels showing the *Rape of the Sabines* and a scene of *Romans celebrating*, attributed to Dello Delli.⁶ Towards the end of the same month Bacci also sold Lindsay a tondo

¹Described by Spence in 1866 as a 'Very fine portrait, length-wise, by Bassano, Leandro, with landscape. 2,500 francs.' Unidentified.

²Described by Spence in 1866 as 'Portrait full length in armour, very highly finished, of Don Juan of Austria by Morone. 8000 francs.' He adds, 'Prince Napoleon made me offer but I refused.' Identified by Mr John Fleming as a picture now in the North Carolina Museum of Art, K.1687, reproduced by F. Rusk Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century* (London, 1973), p. 34, fig. 60.

³Described by Spence as 'Girolamo da Carpi, Portrait of a monk writing, very good, 2000 francs'. Unidentified.

⁴These included the following:

Margaritone, No description, offered in 1859; Simone Martini, *The Marriage of St. Catherine with our Saviour* ..., offered in 1859; Gozzoli, *Santa Lucia*, offered in 1859; Botticelli, *Fragment of angels*, offered in 1859; Signorelli, *St. Joseph*, offered in 1859; Amerigo Aspertini, *Altarpiece by very rare master, holy family, shepherds and glory of angels* ... about 7 feet by 5, offered in 1866; Janet, 2 very good portraits ... of Henry 3 and his wife, offered in 1866; Dosso Dossi, 5 frescoes *Mythological subjects*, offered in 1866; Gaddi, *Presepio*, offered in 1867; Santi di Tito, *Taddeo Zuccheri shewing his design for the Cupola of Florence, life size on panel*, offered in c.1874; Reschi, *Landscape with figures*, offered in c.1874; Netscher (school), *Portrait of an artist by himself*, offered in c.1874; Filippino Lippi, *Large cassone*, offered in 1877; Unknown Small Cassone, *Dante and Beatrice*, offered in 1877; Bellini, *Portrait*, date of offer unknown.

⁵Private collection. Exhibited R.A. 1871 (271 and 272). See Berenson 1963, p. 108. SNPG photographic survey reference B.4677-8.

⁶Earl of Harewood collection. Reproduced by E. Callmann, *Apollonio di Giovanni* (Oxford, 1974), p. 72, no. 48, plates 194 and 198. According to E. Fahy, *Some followers of Domenico Chirlandaio* (London/New York, 1976), p. 192, they were painted by the Master of Marradi. The price to Lindsay for these four items was 3500 francs—probably around £140 to judge from exchange calculations among the Crawford MSS. Receipt dated 17 January 1865.

representing *Diana and Actaeon*, attributed to Balducci,¹ and a portrait of a girl then attributed to Pollaiuolo, now catalogued as from the circle of Ghirlandaio;² these were followed up by a *Tobias and the Angel* then attributed to Matteo Rosselli, which can no longer be traced beyond the 1946 Crawford sale.³

Lindsay purchased further pictures in 1865 from a variety of sources. A *Madonna and Child* attributed to Lorenzo di Credi⁴ and a *Madonna and Child with angels* by Pintoricchio⁵ were both apparently bought from the Marchese Frescobaldi in Florence.⁶ A fresco fragment of the *Virgin and Child enthroned*, attributed to Domenico Veneziano, now in the National Gallery, London, came from the collection of L. Hombert in Florence.⁷ A *St. Sebastian* attributed to Perugino, now in Sao Paolo, came from a Signor Bruschetti in Milan.⁸ And then, in Florence again, one year later, the dealer Tito Gagliardi sold Lindsay an altarpiece of the *Assumption of the Virgin*, attributed to Gaudenzio Ferrari, for £175.

¹Private collection. Exhibited B.F.A.C. 1904 (59). See Berenson 1968, p. 24. The price to Lindsay was 550 francs—probably around £22 (undated receipt).

²Private collection. See Van Marle, xiii. 102. SNPG photographic survey reference B.4648. The price to Lindsay was 100 francs—probably around £4 (receipt dated 26 January 1865).

³Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (140). The price to Lindsay was 250 francs—probably around £10 (receipt dated 1865).

⁴Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (52). A. C. Cooper (Christie's) photograph 167470. The original receipt has not apparently been preserved, and the price is not recorded.

⁵Private collection. Reproduced by Van Marle, xiv. 258, fig. 167. The original receipt has not apparently been preserved and the price is not recorded.

⁶According to E. Callmann, *Apollonio di Giovanni* (Oxford, 1974), p. 70, no. 41, plates 184–5, 190–3 and 215–16), two cassone chests with scenes from the *History of Darius* and *The Battle of Issus*, were also acquired by the Crawford family from the Casa Frescobaldi, in 1872. But I have not found any documents relating to this transaction among Lord Lindsay's surviving papers.

⁷See M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogue, The Earlier Italian Schools*, (London, 1961), p. 170, no. 1215. The price asked of Lord Lindsay was 8000 francs or £400, but he reduced this to £320 according to a letter from Anne Lindsay to May Holford, dated Villa Caprini, 2 Feb. 1865, and preserved in the Crawford MSS.

⁸Reproduced by C. Camesasca, *L'opera completa del Perugino* (Milan, 1969), p. 100, no. 66b. The original receipt has not apparently been preserved and the price is not recorded.

It is now in the Ambrosiana collection, Milan, where it is catalogued under the name of the Pseudo-Boccaccino.¹

It was, however, the Lombardi-Baldi collection which provided Lindsay's principal source of pictures both in 1865/6, and then again in 1872 and in 1875. The residue of the collection was being offered for sale through the agency of Metzger, the Florentine dealer, and in 1865 Lindsay took a *St. Jerome* by Sellaio which was then attributed to Andrea del Castagno;² six small predella panels representing the *Annunciation*, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, *Adoration of the Magi*, *The Presentation in the Temple*, *Christ among the Doctors*, and *The Baptism of Christ*, now attributed to Mariotto di Nardo but then thought to be by A. Gaddi;³ and a horizontal panel showing the *Death of St. Ephraim and other scenes from the lives of hermits*, which dates from the second half of the fifteenth century, but which, like the closely-related panel acquired from Spence in 1856, was traditionally attributed to Lorenzetti.⁴ At this time he bought from the same source a vast terracotta altarpiece by Lucca della Robbia.⁵ In spite of Lindsay's emphasis on sculpture in his *Sketches of the History of Christian Art*, this was the only example of any significance which he acquired for his own collection.⁶ Next, in 1866, he took four panels of half-length figures of the Apostles by Benozzo Gozzoli,⁷ and six years later returned to Metzger to buy yet another Lombardi-Baldi collection picture, a Bicci di Lorenzo altarpiece

¹Reproduced by A. Falchetti, *La Pinacoteca Ambrosiana* (Milan, 1969), p. 67, inv. 17. The price to Lindsay was £175 (receipt dated 22 August 1866).

²Private collection. See Van Marle, xii. 410 and Berenson 1963, p. 196. The receipt is dated 17 Jan. 1865; it includes numerous other items, and the individual prices are not given, but the total expenditure amounted to 4828 francs.

³Private collection. See Berenson 1963, p. 129 and plates 523–4. The price to Lindsay was 180 francs (receipt dated 17 Jan. 1865; see note 2 above).

⁴See p. 304 n. 4 above.

⁵Now on loan to the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh. The price to Lindsay was 2000 francs. Metzger's note accepting Lindsay's offer is dated 2 Feb. 1865.

⁶The only other sculpture of any interest which Lindsay acquired was a marble bust of a female figure. It is nineteenth century but Lindsay believed it to be by a fifteenth-century Italian artist. He and his wife, Margaret, had bought it cheaply in Paris on 17 June 1863.

⁷Private collection. Two of the panels exhibited New Gallery, London 1893/4 (9 and 10). See also Van Marle, xi. 236. The price to Lindsay was 500 francs—probably around £20 (receipt dated 29 June 1866).

which is now in Westminster Abbey.¹ With it he acquired a panel representing the *Crucifixion* by Ugolino di Nerio which had been incorrectly attached to the top of the Bicci di Lorenzo.² Two small Bicci di Lorenzo panels representing *The Angel of the Annunciation* and *The Virgin Annunciate* also had to be separated from the Westminster Abbey picture to which they are in no way related.³

It was again in 1872 that Lindsay bought the Lombardi-Baldi's thirteenth-century triptych representing the *Death of St. Ephraim* in the centre panel and *Scenes from the life of Christ* in the wings. The central scene is of considerable iconographic interest as the earliest surviving painting representing hermits and anchorites gathering round the body of St. Ephraim and may well be based on a lost Byzantine prototype. This tabernacle was a particularly suitable acquisition for Lindsay's collection, in view of the fact that he already possessed two fifteenth-century panels of the same subject, where the representation of the death of St. Ephraim followed the same Byzantine pattern.⁴ After this thirteenth-century triptych, as well as the Bicci di Lorenzo altarpiece, Lindsay's decision during the very same years to buy from Spence two small pictures attributed to Boucher seems even more extraordinary.⁵ However it may also have been at about this time that he acquired from Spence a large altarpiece of *The Virgin and Child with St. John and St. Verdiana* which is currently attributed to the Master of S. Spirito.⁶

¹See St. John Gore, *The Art of Painting in Florence and Siena from 1250 to 1500* (London, 1965), p. 20, no 34, fig. 32. The price to Lindsay was 2500 lire (receipt dated 4 June 1872).

²Private collection. See Berenson 1968, p. 437. SNPG photographic survey reference B.4746.

³Private collection. SNPG photographic survey reference B.4550.

⁴Now on loan to National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. See G. Achenbach in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xxv (1944), 129 ff., fig. 3; J. R. Martin in *Art Bulletin*, xxxiii (1951), 217 ff., fig. 5; H. Brigstocke in *The Burlington Magazine*, cxviii (August 1976), 585 ff. The price to Lindsay was 700 lire (receipt dated 4 June 1872).

⁵These can no longer be traced. At the same time Lindsay also bought an Andrea del Sarto *Head*. The combined price was 700 francs—probably around £28. In an undated letter to Lindsay, Spence complained that he had only received £20.

⁶Now deposited in the Roman Catholic church in Richmond. This picture was unquestionably in Spence's apartment in the Palazzo Giugni and appears

By May 1874 Lindsay was back in Britain, where he continued to look for pictures. A London dealer, Raffaele Pinti, now sold him a tondo of the *Madonna and Child* attributed to Botticelli, for the sum of £350.¹ But this unremarkable studio work pales alarmingly in comparison with the selection of paintings by Botticelli and his circle which had been collected at about the same time by Alexander Barker. Son of a fashionable bootmaker on Ludgate Hill, a friend of William Spence, and himself a *marchand amateur* who sometimes acted as buying agent for Baron Meyer de Rothschild of Mentmore, Barker (died c.1874) appears to have anticipated the predilections of the Aesthetic Movement with his Botticelli *Venus and Mars* (National Gallery Inv. 915) and *Scenes from the story of Nastagio degli Onesti* (Prado, Madrid, 2838-40 and Christie's 23 June 1967 (29)).²

Happily Lindsay's final addition to the collection, in 1875, was on an altogether more serious and impressive level: an altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child with Saints* by Signorelli which is now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and which, like so many of his best acquisitions, came from the Lombardi-Baldi collection in Florence.³

Large important works such as this altarpiece, together with the Florentine fifteenth-century banner picture in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and the pictures by Bicci di Lorenzo, Botticini,

in a small painting of these quarters which is known by Mr John Fleming. But there is no record among the Crawford MSS as to when it was acquired by (presumably) Lord Lindsay. The absence of documentation suggests it may have been a relatively late purchase; cf note 3 below where the case of a little-documented late acquisition is described.

¹Crawford sale, Christie's, 11 October 1946 (30). A. C. Cooper (Christie's) negative 703600. Receipt dated 9 June 1874.

²For Barker's friendship with Spence see J. Fleming in the *Burlington Magazine*, cl (1979), 505. Barker's collection was sold after his death at Christie's, 6-8 June 1874 and 21 June 1879. It also included notable pictures by Crivelli (N.G. London Inv. 668, 906, 907 a and b), Piero della Francesca (*Nativity*, N.G. London Inv. 908) and Signorelli (*Coriolanus*, N.G. London Inv. 3929, and *Triumph of Chastity*, N.G. Inv. 910).

³See F. Rusk Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection. Italian School XV-XVI Centuries* (London, 1968), p. 97, inv. K.1657, fig. 233. Apart from a receipt dated 17 May 1875, there are no documents about this transaction in the Crawford MSS, and I have not established the price Lindsay paid for the picture.

the Pseudo Boccaccino, and Guido Reni, as well as much smaller scale pictures of supreme artistic quality such as the Duccio and Cesare da Sesto, certainly entitle Lindsay to a place among the more successful and enterprising collectors of Italian art in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Yet it is also difficult to escape the feeling that his vision for the art-historical department of his family museum, which he had first outlined in 1849, had not been quite adequately realized, even when full allowance is made for the series of copies by Corsi around which the original works of art were to be grouped. This impression is not based simply on the gaps in the historical sequence of the collection, for these could have been dealt with by Lindsay's heir; rather it is a question of the unexceptional quality of some of the other pictures he did buy, sometimes in a rather speculative mood, especially at the Blayds' and Northwick Park sales.

From the outset Lindsay's vision was wholly unrealistic, at least so far as pictures were concerned. It has never been possible to make a satisfactory collection of works of art, each of which is unique, in the same systematic and cerebral manner that may be applied advantageously to the task of building up a library of books. If Lindsay had a weakness as a picture collector, it stemmed directly from his inability to contemplate works of art individually, and in strictly aesthetic terms, rather than as components in a vast historical or philosophical panorama.

This predilection for abstract thought had, of course, already become apparent in Lindsay's art-historical studies during the 1840s, when he had allowed religious preoccupations to distort the structure of his *Sketches of the History of Christian Art* (1847). And, even in his full maturity, he was still all too easily intoxicated by a romantic historical sense of intellectual and artistic continuity and progress. Indeed by the 1860s he had come to regard his own collecting activities, in the field both of books and pictures, as a direct continuation of the Renaissance tradition of private patronage established by the Medici princes in fifteenth-century Florence; and in the library letter of 1865, addressed to his heir, he composed a memorable passage on this idea which eloquently conveys the magnetic appeal of his aristocratic ambitions for the Crawford family.¹

¹See p. 287 n. 1 above.

'I have written you this letter, my dear Ludovic—not from Haigh or Dunecht, but from our villa at San Domenico below Etruscan Fiesole, where I hope ere many days to hail your advent from England. The sky is clear, the sun is shining, the air is delicate and perfumed with the early violet, while the scent of the *nespole*, so fragrant during the winter, is loathe to leave us—the birds are beginning to sing, although the snow lies still on the Vallombrosa mountains,—the bells of Florence come in musical chorus across the slopes, rising and falling with the cadence of the breeze,—the vale of the Arno, glittering with villas while in the sunshine, and bounded by grey receding hills, lies before me, expanding to the eye as I gaze down the gentle valley, the "Vale of Fair Women" (as by its traditional name), which secludes our domain, watered by the Africo, and clad everlastingly in olive green, diversified with cypresses that point to the blue heavens with a finger more perennial and more eloquent than the obelisks of Thebes. All is as Gray painted it in one of his Latin poems, a farewell to Fiesole, a hundred years ago. And yet this scene and valley, so peaceful and secure, was once the refuge of the young and gay of Florence when the "Black Death" reigned there and over all Italy in the fourteenth century, and when the *conviti* of Boccaccio passed the latter half of their "Decameron" in a villa within these precincts, which some believe to be the one we now inhabit. But what is just now more specially present to my thoughts is another and yet still a literary memory. Turning Northwards, I see from our garden, above us, and below the brow of Fiesole, the long line of the terraced gardens and villa of the Medici, the work of Michelozzo, where Cosimo and Lorenzo and their less worthy successors lived and died, and where the Platonic Academy held its meetings immortalised by Landino. I little thought in my boyhood when Cosimo and Lorenzo were the object of my worship at Eton, that I should one day dwell beside their favourite San Domenico, look up to their villa, and point to my son a parallel and a moral from their history. The parallel is this:—What commerce did, directly, for the Medici in the fifteenth century, commerce has done indirectly for our own family in the nineteenth. In the days of Cosimo, with above thirty baronies at our back and thousands of vassals ready to ride at our command, even against the royal banners, our

revenues in actual coin (even including those received from the customs of seaports) were comparatively small, and would not have availed for the collection of books or pictures, even had the taste for such gear existed in those days in feudal Scotland. But now, when those thirty baronies are to ourselves as things of the past, and we have, as a Spaniard would say, but one "hat" to boast of, at least in Scotland, the growth of trade and commerce has, by a strange recompense, afforded us, through the possession of coalfields in England, the means of doing that which our more powerful ancestors, the contemporaries of Cosimo, could not have compassed—of building up our old Library after the example of the Medici, and in the mode they would themselves have acted upon had they been now living. The moral on the other hand, to be derived from the parallel is this:- It is the peculiarity of Britain that, beneath the shadow of her time-honoured constitution, land and commerce, aristocracy and democracy, authority and liberty, are reconciled and balanced under the mild control of a Limited Monarchy, crescent through a thousand years—to the effect of bestowing on her, through the harmony of this composition, a strength, vitality, and influence which no other land can boast of. It is the privilege of certain of her families specially to represent this harmony and reconciliation through their peculiar position as belonging on the one hand by birth, rank, and landed-proprietorship, to the former, and through the possession of mineral property, the sinews of manufactures and commerce, to the latter of these antagonist yet friendly interests. Such is our own case; and from this privilege there arise duties, which I trust you will recognise and carry out in active life more fully than I—seeking out these truths, and truth in general, in the cloisters of retreat—have been able to do. Such families are the *cardines*, the hinges of a society like ours in England, and, as such, are peculiarly bound to practise the cardinal virtues—of Justice, in weighing and deciding between contending claims and interests—of Prudence, in conciliating them—of Temperance, in political judgment and action, generally—and of Fortitude, in resisting every temptation to swerve from the steady and unselfish path of patriotism. The representatives of families of this stamp, belonging by the past to

feudal, by the present to modern times, are bound by their position to be statesmen of a catholic, not a mere party type, friends at once to Order and to Progress, but to Progress tempered by Order,—in the conviction that it is at all times true statesmanship and patriotism to support the weaker side where either party is worthy of esteem and honour—but especially so now, in this nineteenth century, for the purpose of maintaining the balance of parties in the English constitution so long as it may be possible, and postponing that downward political prolapse which commences from the moment when either scale of the balance becomes permanently overweighted. These are views, in their extent, beyond any which the Medici were ripe for in the fifteenth century,—but what they *did* recognise and practise was that breadth and catholicity of taste and interest from which, as from their fount, the views I have just expressed derive and flow—and which may express itself with ourselves, as it did with Cosimo and Lorenzo, even in the peculiar and limited yet suggestive sphere of the collection of a library—of the Library, be it understood, which is the subject of this Report—and which I have sought to form, not as a bibliomaniac—for such were not the Medici—but by laying its broad foundations deep in usefulness, and bringing the spoils of many a distant land, through the compulsion of peace, towards its subsequent edification.’

Appendix I

The range of the Revd Walter Davenport-Bromley’s acquisitions at the Fesch sale in 1845 is particularly impressive. He bought several pictures by Crivelli, including *St. Dominic* and *St. George*, now Metropolitan Museum, New York (Inv. 05.41.1 and 05.41.2), a *St. James* now in the Brooklyn Museum, a *St. Nicholas* in Cleveland (Inv. 52.111), and a *Virgin and Child*, signed by a pupil of Crivelli, Pietro Alamanno of Ascoli (Sotheby’s 14 December 1977 (8)). Florentine works from the Fesch sale included the beautiful *Cupid and Psyche* cassone by Sellaio now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Inv. M. 75), and its companion, now in the Proehl collection, Amsterdam, as well as the much less distinguished *Triumphal Procession*, attributed to Sellaio, in the National Gallery of Scotland (Inv. 1538). The sale also included a tondo by Botticelli of the *Virgin and Child*, now in Baltimore (Inv. 38.226), and an altarpiece by Cosimo Rosselli, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Inv. 556). Milanese pictures in the sale, also acquired by Davenport-Bromley, included an *Adoration of the Kings* by Vincenzo Foppa, now in the National Gallery, London (Inv. 729), and a small *Virgin and Child*

attributed to Leonardo da Vinci, and last recorded at an exhibition in Dallas, *Leonardo and his time*, 1949 (no. 100). The Fesch sale also offered the opportunity to acquire works signed by comparatively rare masters, such as the *Annunciation* by Vincenzo Pagani di Monte Rubiano (Paul Getty collection), and a *Virgin and Child with Saints* by Giulio di Amendula (Stuttgart Museum). It would be interesting to know whether Davenport-Bromley bought them out of any interest in connoisseurship and the problems of attribution. Certainly there is no *prima facie* reason to suppose that he had scientific interests of this kind; it was not until the next generation, with Morelli, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle, that such methods were applied in any systematic manner. I am indebted to Professor Sir Ellis Waterhouse for much valuable information about Davenport-Bromley and his collection.

Appendix II

For the Revd John Fuller Russell see H. Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey* (London, 1893-7) i. 400-8 and ii. 141-5. Waagen, 1854, ii. 461 described him as 'one of the most enthusiastic admirers of the grandeur and high significance of the ecclesiastic art from the 13th to the 15th century that I met with in England, being so much impressed with its purity and religious depth of feeling, that the art of the 16th century, with all that fuller development of chiaroscuro, perspective, etc., which too often usurped the place of the true religious aim, is only sparingly admitted into his collection ...'; and Waagen further observes that 'So richly are his walls adorned with Italian specimens of the 14th century, that the spectator feels as if transported into a chapel at Siena or Florence'. For later additions to the collection see also Waagen 1857, pp. 284 ff. Apart from pictures from the Blayds' sale, some were acquired at the Ottley sale, Foster's 30 June 1847, others were acquired abroad (Berlin, Paris, Lisbon) in the early 1850s and at least one was bought from L. Gruner in 1856. On Fuller Russell's death the collection was sold at Christie's, 18 April 1885. Among the Italian pictures the following may be identified:

Lot 93 as Giotto = L. Monaco, *Dead Christ*, Christie's, 14 May 1971 (13).

Lot 94 as Giotto = Master of S. Lucchese, *Man of Sorrows*, York City Art Gallery, Inv. 727.

Lot 96 as Cavallini = Florentine, fourteenth century, *Baptism of Christ*, N.G. London, Inv. 4208.

Lot 97 as Sano di Pietro = Bicci di Lorenzo (workshop), *Baptism of Christ*, York City Art Gallery, Inv. 835.

Lot 99 as Berna (*sic*) da Siena = Lorenzo Veneziano (ascribed), *Madonna of Humility*, N.G. London, Inv. 3897.

Lot 100 as Berna da Siena = Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *The four crowned martyrs before Diocletian*, Denver Art Museum, K17.

Lot 103 as Bartolo di Fredi = A. Vanni, *Adoration of the Magi*, Isaac Delgado Museum, New Orleans, K.233.

Lot 107 as Taddeo di Bartolo = Fei, *Diptych*, Lehman collection, New York. Now Metropolitan Museum.

Lot 108 as T. Gaddi = B. Gaddi, *Coronation of the Virgin*, ex Maitland Griggs collection, New York, now in Yale University Art Gallery as by Jacopo del Casentino.

Lots 110–22 = Ugolino da Siena, Fragments from a dismembered *Polyptych*. See N.G. London, Inv. 1188, 1189, 3375, 3376, 3377 and 4191; W. Berlin Museum Inv. 1635; Lehman collection, New York; Johnson Collection, Philadelphia.
 Lot 123 as Spinello Aretino = Orcagna, *The Crucifixion*, N.G. London, Inv. 1468.
 I am indebted to Professor Sir Ellis Waterhouse for his help, particularly in tracing lots 93, 97, 107 and 108.

Appendix III

E. Joly de Bammerville was a friend of John Henry, later Cardinal Newman (see J. H. Newman, *Letters and Diaries*, ed. C. Dessain (Oxford, 1968), xviii. 27, 191 and 193). For a brief character sketch of de Bammerville see also A. Pollen, *John Hungerford Pollen* (London, 1912), p. 223, who wrote: 'M. de Bammerville proved to be a most agreeable if eccentric companion; and his wife was as pleasant as himself. He soon became intimate with John Pollen, his brother, and his friends and figures in the journal as "Burnvil". He would arrive uninvited, expecting dinner or bed, as often as he failed to come by promise. He was a man of culture and accomplishment, played and sang fine music, and collected beautiful things; his hospitable house in London was filled with superb prints, and pictures well worth seeing; he was a keen judge of character, which he professed to read infallibly in handwriting; and his conversation on men and things was witty and acute ...' (I am very grateful to Professor Francis Haskell for providing me with these references). It would appear that de Bammerville was active as a collector during the 1840s: the Pintoricchio fresco with *Scenes from the Odyssey* (National Gallery, London, Inv. 911) and the Signorelli frescoes of *The Triumph of Chastity: Love disarmed and bound* and of *Coriolanus persuaded by his family to spare Rome* (National Gallery, London, Inv. 910 and 3929) were all transferred from the walls of the Palazzo del Magnifico, Siena, to the order of de Bammerville in 1842 or 1844 (see M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogue, The Earlier Italian Schools* (London, 1961), p. 438). In addition to the Duccio *Crucifixion* described on p. 303 n. 2, and two pictures acquired by Lord Lindsay described on p. 303 nn. 4 and 5, de Bammerville's sale at Christie's on 12 June 1854 included the following:

Lot 35 = Baldung, *Portrait of a Man*, N.G. London, Inv. 245.

Lot 40 = Sodoma (ascribed), *Madonna and Child*, N.G. London, Inv. 246.

Lot 41 = Perugino, *St. Bartholomew*, Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama, K.544.

Lot 42 = Private collection (see H. Brigstocke in *The Burlington Magazine*, cxviii (August 1976), 585 ff., fig. 45.)

Lot 49 = Signorelli, *Esther before Ahasuerus* ..., N.G. London, Inv. 3946.

Lot 50 = Matteo di Giovanni (imitator), *Christ crowned with thorns*, N.G. London, Inv. 247.

Lot 51 = Workshop of Botticelli, *Madonna and Child and St. John Baptist*, Christie's, 1 July 1966 (54).

Lot 53 = Filippo Lippi, *St. Bernard's vision of the Virgin*, N.G. London, Inv. 248.

Lot 55 = Lorenzo d'Alessandro da Sanseverino, *The Marriage of St. Catherine*, N.G. London, Inv. 249.

Lot 56 = D. Ferrari, *Virgin and Child*, Lord Lincoln sale, Christie's, 4 June 1973 (29). I am indebted to Professor Sir Ellis Waterhouse for this sale reference.

Appendix IV

Davenport-Bromley's acquisitions at the Fesch sale are listed in the main text and in Appendix I. Of the remainder of the pictures at the Davenport-Bromley sale, 12 and 13 June 1863, lots 90, 91, 92, 95, 111, 118 and 138 were bought in and remained with the family; lots 25, 27, 57, 59, 99, 106, 112, 113, 119, 135 and 168 (together with lot 64, *Virgin and Child* by Pietro Alamanno of Ascoli, from the Fesch collection), later formed part of Lord Southesk's collection at Kinnaird (lots 27, 99 and 121 were burnt in 1921; lot 59 = Giovanni Bellini, *St. Jerome* Barber Institute, Birmingham; lot 106 = Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino, *Virgin and Child* Lady Aberconway collection; lot 119 = Southesk sale, Christie's 23 July 1948 (53)). And further lots at the Davenport-Bromley sale may be identified as follows:

- Lot 22 = B. Daddi, *St. John*, Christie's, 27 Nov. 1959 (6).
- Lot 23 = B. Daddi, *St. Peter*, Christie's, 27 Nov. 1959 (5) and then Sotheby's, 26 March 1969 (48).
- Lot 31 = Giovanni di Paolo, *Adoration of Magi*, N.G. Washington Inv. 13.
- Lot 33 = Sassetta, *Journey of the Magi*, Metropolitan Museum, New York, 43.98.1.
- Lot 50 = Master of Griselda Legend, *Eunostos of Tangara*, N.G. Washington K.1400.
- Lot 62 = Giovanni Bellini, *Agony in the Garden*, N.G. London Inv. 726.
- Lot 72/3 = Pesellino, *Triumphal Procession*, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.
- Lot 75 = Florentine, *Virgin and Child*, N.G. London, Inv. 2508.
- Lots 77/8 = Barna da Siena, *St. Ursula; Female Saint*, Copenhagen Museum.
- Lot 104 = L. Vargas, *Virgin and Child*, Sotheby's, 14 October 1970 (3).
- Lot 125 = E. Roberti, *St. Jerome*, Sotheby's, 11 June 1947 (5), bt. T. Barlow.
- Lot 128 = Matteo da Giovanni, *Judith and Holofernes*, Indiana University K. 496.
- Lot 130 = Tuscan, *Thebaid*, Christie's, 28 June 1974 (47).
- Lot 133 = Verrocchio workshop, *Virgin and Child*, Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. 14.40.647.
- Lot 149 = After Benozzo Gozzoli, *Virgin and Child*, N.G. London, Inv. 2863.
- Lot 153 = B. Vivarini, *Virgin and Child*, Westminster Abbey, London.
- Lot 156 (Central panel and 2 small panels) = Mariotto di Nardo, *Coronation of Virgin* (Altarpiece), Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Inv. 65.37 and 66.7.
- Lot 159 = Boltraffio, *Virgin and Child*, N.G. London, Inv. 728.
- Lot 162 = G. Cotignola, *Altarpiece*, Brera Museum, Milan.
- Lots 163/4 = Biagio di Antonio, *Death of Hector: The Wooden Horse*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, M.44 and M.45.
- Lot 169 = Florentine, c.1500, *Madonna and Child*, W. Berlin Museum, Inv. 90A.
- Lot 172 = Pesellino, *Trinity*, N.G. London, Inv. 727.

Appendix V

Sir William Stirling's collection of copies, which remain at Keir, included a series of large-scale canvases by José Roldan, as well as watercolours by Joseph West and William Barclay. Roldan's copies were of A. Cano, *Our Lady of Belen*, Seville Cathedral; F. de Herrera, *St. Hermengild*, Seville Museum; Juan de las

Roelas, *The death of St. Isidore*, Church of St. Isidoro, Seville; Zurbaran, *Apotheosis of St. Thomas Aquinas*, Seville Museum; Valdes Leal, *Memento Mori* (two pictures), Church of the Caridad, Seville. He also made a watercolour of the interior of this church. These copies were made 1847–9. Barclay's copy was Murillo, *The Angel Kitchen of S. Diego of Alcala*, The Louvre, Paris, and it dates from 1857. Among West's copies, almost all datable 1849–57, were the following: El Greco, *Burial of Count Orgaz*, Church of S. Tomé, Toledo; El Greco, *Espolio*, Toledo Cathedral; Murillo, *St. Elizabeth of Hungary nursing the sick*, Prado, Madrid; Murillo, *Prodigal Son*, National Gallery of Art, Washington; Murillo, *Loaves and Fishes and St. Juan de Dios*, Church of the Caridad, Seville; Murillo, *Abraham and the Angels*, National Gallery of Canada; Murillo, *Liberation of St. Peter*, Hermitage Museum, Leningrad; Murillo, *Pool of Bethesda*, National Gallery, London; Velazquez, *Jacob receiving Joseph's coat*, Escorial; Velazquez, *Las Meninas*, *Las hislanderas*, and *Declaration of Breda*, all Prado, Madrid; and The High Altar of Toledo Cathedral.

NOTE

For the general sources see my 'Lord Lindsay and the "Sketches of the History of Christian Art,"' *Bulletin*, lxiv. 27 n. 1, of which article the present one is a continuation. The following abbreviations are used:

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| Berenson 1957 | B. Berenson, <i>Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. Venetian School</i> (London, 1957). |
| Berenson 1963 | B. Berenson, <i>Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. Florentine School</i> (London, 1963) |
| Berenson 1968 | B. Berenson, <i>Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. Central Italian and North Italian Schools</i> (London, 1968) |
| Lloyd | C. Lloyd and T. Ledger, <i>Art and its Images. An exhibition of printed books containing engraved illustrations after Italian Painting</i> (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1975). |
| Van Marle | R. Van Marle, <i>The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting</i> (The Hague, 1923–38). |
| Waagen 1854 | G. F. Waagen, <i>Treasures of Art in Great Britain</i> (London, 1854). |
| Waagen 1857 | G. F. Waagen, <i>Supplemental Volume to the Treasures of Art in Great Britain</i> (London, 1857). |