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Orazio Gentileschi

(Pisa 1563 – 1639 London)

The Rest on the Flight into Egypt

oil on canvas

140 x 169 cm.;

55 1/8 x 66 1/2 in.

Provenance

Possibly George Villiers (1592 – 1628), 1st Duke of Buckingham;

Probably George Villiers (1628 – 1687), 2nd Duke of Buckingham;

By tradition given to Anna Maria Brudenell (1642 – 1702), Countess of Shrewsbury;

Probably by descent to her son, George Brydges (1678 – 1751) of Avington Park, who had no male heirs and by descent to his cousin, James Brydges (1731 – 1789), 3rd Duke of Chandos;

Probably by descent to his daughter, Anne Eliza Brydges (1779 – 1836) and by marriage to her husband Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville (1776 – 1839), 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos;

By descent to their son, Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville (1797 – 1861), 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (first recorded at Stowe in 1838);

His sale, Stowe House, Christie's, 13 September 1848, lot 152, sold to P. Norton for 18 guineas;

Montague Parker (1807 – 1858), Whiteway, Devonshire;

By descent to Ambassador Sir Harold Farquhar (1894 – 1953), London;

Sale, London, Sotheby's, 13 December 1950, lot 5;

Where acquired by Thomas Agnew and Sons, London;

By whom sold in September 1953 to:

Jean Paul Getty (1892 – 1976), Sutton Place, Guildford, Surrey;

By whom donated to the Getty Museum, Malibu, 1971;

By whom sold, New York, Christie's, 21 May 1992, lot 12 (as Attributed to Orazio Gentileschi), where acquired by the present owners.

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Literature

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- C. Strinati & R. Vodret Adamo (eds.), *Caravaggio e i suoi primi seguaci*, exh. cat., Okazaki 2001, pp. 47, 104-5;
- K. Christiansen & J. Mann (eds.), *Orazio e Artemisia Gentileschi*, exh. cat., Rome 2001, pp. 28-9, 218-220;
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- M. A. Lazzari, A. Bonazzi & C. Merlo, 'Analisi scientifiche sui Riposo durante la fuga in Egitto ex Getty di Orazio Gentileschi', in P. Carofano (ed.), *Luce e Ombra: Caravaggismo e Naturalismo nella pittura Toscana del 600: Frammenti di immagini tra realtà naturale misticismo sensualità*, exh. cat., Pisa 2005, pp. 202-211, illustrated;
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Exhibited

London, Thomas Agnew and Sons, *Autumn Exhibition of Fine Pictures by Old Masters*, October – December 1951, no. 26;

London, Wildenstein & Co., *Old Masters from the City of Birmingham*, 11 November – 12 December 1970, no. 11;

Tokyo, Tokyo Metropolitan Teien Art Museum, *Caravaggio e i suoi primi seguaci*, 29 September – 16 December 2001, no. 13;

Okazaki, Okazaki City Museum, *Caravaggio e i suoi primi seguaci*, 22 December 2001 – 24 February 2002, no. 13;

Pisa, Museo Piaggio, *Luce e Ombra: Caravaggismo e Naturalismo nella pittura Toscana del 600: Frammenti di immagini tra realtà naturale misticismo sensualità*, 18 March – 12 June 2005, no. 45;

Fabriano, Pinacoteca Civica 'Bruno Molajoli', *La luce e i silenzi: Orazio Gentileschi e la pittura caravaggesca nelle Marche del Seicento*, 2 August – 8 December 2019, no. 8;

Cremona, Museo Civico Ala Ponzoni, *Orazio Gentileschi: La fuga in Egitto*, 10 October 2020 – 5 April 2021, no. 1.2.

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The art historian Herman Voss wrote of Orazio Gentileschi's treatments of *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* that 'there were few compositions upon which the artist lavished so much care and attention.'¹ The composition was indeed extremely successful and was much admired and desired by the three greatest patrons of Orazio's later years: King Charles I of England, the King's close friend and mentor George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, and Queen Henrietta Maria. The success of this intimate scene of the Holy Family resting on the stony earth during their long journey to Egypt is attested to by the multiple versions that the artist produced. Of the four main variants by Orazio, the Colnaghi canvas is the only known autograph version left in private hands; the other three are all in museum collections: Birmingham Museum and City Art Gallery (fig. 1); and two of the most prestigious institutions in Europe: the Louvre, Paris (fig. 2), and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (fig. 3).

The results of an extensive technical investigation published in 2005,² and more recently the effective removal of some 19th-century restoration that masked areas of the present painting's true quality, have allowed for a re-examination of this masterwork by Orazio Gentileschi, and its relationship with the other three versions. X-rays of the Colnaghi canvas have revealed numerous significant *pentimenti*; the left hand of the Madonna was first conceived as a closed, but obliquely placed fist; the left hand of Saint Joseph was realised in its entirety before the fingers were covered over by his right arm; the Saint's right wrist was shown at first without its right-angle bend, and a piece of cloth once slightly overlapped his right elbow; the line of the linen clasped in the fist of the Christ Child has been altered (figs. 4-6).

There has been considerable scholarly debate about both the Colnaghi picture and its cognate versions over the last 60 years. The discussion has been complicated by issues of when and where (in Italy, France, or England?) it might have been painted, and by the difficulties of identifying the different versions within primary documents. Further technical evidence has been deployed revealing the complexities of Gentileschi's working methods, particularly his use of tracings to facilitate replication.³ It is well known that Orazio is likely to have produced his variants with the re-use of a cartoon made for, or a tracing taken from, a finished work. That he would have used mechanical means for both replicating and varying

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his designs should come as no surprise given his experience supplying drawings for tapestries when he was in London;⁴ the idea of creating designs for replication was by no means foreign to him, and he frequently produced autograph replicas of his most sought-after inventions. The analysis of the x-rays of the variants of Orazio's famous *Danaë* (Cleveland Museum of Art and Getty Museum, Los Angeles), and of his *Judith and her Maidservant* (Vatican Museums and the Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art), proves the use of these cartoons.⁵ His use of them did not result in a slavish replica; in fact, there are differences in the structure of the variants that indicate that the cartoons may well have been in sections, that were moved around in the refining of the composition. Ward Bissell wrote of the *Danaës* that 'sections match up individually, but the tracing has to be shifted so that these sections align.'⁶

There are similar differences in the structure of the composition and in the details through all four versions of Orazio's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, and scholars have long debated the dating of the four canvasses, and their relationships to each other. The great scholar of Italian painting Federico Zeri listed the present canvas as an autograph work by Orazio Gentileschi,⁷ and more recent analysis comes to us from art historians Raymond Ward Bissell, in his 1981 catalogue raisonné of Orazio's *oeuvre*, Keith Christiansen in the catalogue co-written with Judith Mann for the exhibition *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, at the Museo Del Palazzo Di Venezia, Rome, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the Saint Louis Art Museum in 2001 – 2002, and Raffaella Morselli in her catalogue for the 2020 exhibition in Cremona (see *Literature*). Although the Colnaghi painting was thought by Ward Bissell in his 1981 catalogue raisonné of Orazio's paintings to be 'possibly the work of an excellent seventeenth-century copyist',⁸ exhaustive technical analysis carried out by Mario Amadeo Lazzari in Cremona in the late 1990s and published in 2005 uncovered the aforementioned *pentimenti*, and revealed the fact that the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* had been painted over an earlier composition.⁹ These revelations led Ward Bissell (in his 2005 exhibition catalogue for *Luce e Ombra*, see *Literature*) to withdraw publicly his earlier doubts about the picture and to publish his revised opinion that the present painting is in fact an autograph work by Orazio. Ward Bissell dated the Colnaghi canvas to the early 1620s, and thought it likely that Orazio executed it in Genoa, just prior to his departure for Paris, and

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that it is this version that served as the template from which the signed painting in Vienna derived.¹⁰ This is supported by the fact that traces of chalk, that would have been used in the process of transferring a design from a cartoon, are visible in the Vienna canvas and are not evident in the present picture.

This earlier composition, visible in the x-rays of the Colnaghi painting, is of the utmost interest. Ward Bissell noted that when the canvas is rotated counter-clockwise by 90 degrees, one can see the head of a bald old man, shown in profile, with a long beard (fig. 7), seemingly from an abandoned idea for an altarpiece which was then painted over and the canvas recycled.¹¹ First, it is important to note that this man is extraordinarily similar to Orazio's aged male type. In particular, it bears close resemblance to the saints in his altarpieces depicting *Saint Jerome in Penitence* (see, for example, fig. 8),¹² and to his fresco of *Saint Anthony Abbot* in San Venanzo at Fabriano painted around 1616,¹³ and (as Morselli pointed out in her recent catalogue entry for the exhibition in Cremona) to his Abraham in the *Sacrifice of Isaac* in the Palazzo Spinola in Genoa, which is dateable c. 1612 (fig. 9).¹⁴ The old man shown in the x-rays beneath the present *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* is not, however, partially naked as is Saint Jerome, nor does he wear a cowled garment in the manner of Saint Anthony Abbot. Rather, his coat and the position of his outstretched left arm again bring to mind the figure of Abraham. This head was apparently taken from that of a Sicilian pilgrim, Pietro Molli, who was also the model for Gentileschi's *Saint Jerome* painted about two years earlier (fig. 8, Museo Civico de Arte Antica, Turin). Although Morselli argued that the present picture should therefore be dated c. 1612,¹⁵ Gentileschi might well have reused the canvas at a considerably later date, probably, as Christiansen and Ward Bissell argued, in the early 1620s when he was working in Genoa. One can suggest, therefore, that the first composition may have been another experiment for a *Sacrifice of Isaac*. While it is not possible to identify the sketch as preparatory to the known painting in Genoa, it does seem likely to have been created at the same time that Orazio was confronting this theme.¹⁶

The re-use of a piece of canvas is not unprecedented in Orazio's *oeuvre*. For example, x-rays of the *Young Woman with a Violin / Saint Cecilia* in the Detroit Institute of Arts have uncovered an underlying composition of the *Penitent Magdalene*. The earlier use of the

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present canvas is further corroborated by the extraordinarily similar structure of the canvas itself to that of Orazio's *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, that is dated to 1605/1607 (fig. 10). While it is too difficult to be absolutely certain about the relationship between the two canvasses, both have an extension of exactly the same dimensions along the long edge; the seams match up almost exactly, and the weave of the larger piece of canvas used in the present painting matches that used in the larger piece of canvas used for the *Christ Carrying the Cross*.¹⁷

It would therefore appear that Orazio carried this canvas with him until he, some 15 years later, reused it in an effort to develop his composition of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt that he had addressed once already – for it seems that the likely prototype for the Colnaghi, Paris and Vienna versions was the Birmingham painting. The Birmingham painting has a bucolic, somewhat rustic quality very different in character from the pictures Orazio painted in Paris and London. It seems to be the earliest of the four versions and was probably executed in Italy. The dating of the Birmingham canvas to Orazio's earlier Italian period is supported by Ward Bissell,¹⁸ who notes that the morphology of the figure of the Christ Child in the Birmingham painting is close to that of the Christ Child and angel putti in the *Madonna of the Rosary with Saints Dominic and Catherine* of c. 1618 (Chapel of the Rosary, Santa Lucia, Fabriano), and specifically the similarity between the position of the Christ Child's raised leg and that of the putto angel on the step in that same altarpiece. The Birmingham canvas's early Italian provenance also serves to corroborate its Italian origins. There are several features of the Birmingham picture that are better resolved in the Colnaghi version: the positioning of the legs of the Christ Child, much plumper and more solidly conceived in the Colnaghi and other two versions, whose left leg is raised and bent with the heel coming along a line above His other knee, providing a firmer anchor for His body in the Virgin's lap; the more tender and naturalistic way in which He is held by His mother with her hand, as in the Louvre and Vienna versions, wrapped around His small torso; the more convincing naturalism of the way in which the Christ Child clutches the folds of the drapery which is apparent in the Colnaghi picture and the Paris and Vienna versions, but not present in the Birmingham picture; the refined execution of the Virgin's head, and that of the Christ Child, which is higher in quality and more consistent with the paintings in Paris and Vienna; and the

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beautiful painting of the shawl which falls round the Virgin's left shoulder, which has a sophistication found also in the Paris and Vienna versions, which again is not present in the Birmingham version. The rustic Virgin of the Birmingham version has been replaced by a much more courtly and suavely painted figure, her hair coiffed and the draperies, with the gold threads in her transparent shawl, elaborated in line with the sophisticated tastes of the courts in Paris and London.

In painting these different versions, Gentileschi was careful to introduce points of difference so that the pictures are indeed not replicas, but subtle variations on a theme. Thus we move from the sunlit open landscape of the Birmingham picture to the enclosed Caravaggesque cellar space of the Colnaghi and Vienna versions, before re-emerging into the open air in the Louvre version (probably painted for Charles I, and which Sandrart recorded seeing the artist working on in early 1628).¹⁹ The Louvre version heralded a return of the earlier landscape theme with the broken wall, but 'tidied up' and made more classical, more Poussinesque; the break in the wall is a right angle that falls neatly over the line of the Virgin's hand that encircles her baby, and the sunlit sky has become stormier. If, as is probable, King Charles I saw the Duke of Buckingham's version of the *Rest on the Flight* (now in Vienna) and then commissioned another version, it would make perfect sense for Orazio to have produced a picture which was more or less identical in terms of the main figures, but significantly different in terms of its background and setting. He also varied the colours of the draperies between the Colnaghi, Vienna and Paris versions, replacing the lapis blue worn by Saint Joseph in the Colnaghi version with a steelier grey-blue in the Louvre picture, and an orangey brown in the Vienna version, while the Virgin's cloak is shown as plum coloured in the Colnaghi picture, cerise in the Louvre version, and a slatey blue in the version in Vienna.

As Voss argued as early as 1959, the versions in Vienna and the Louvre show Gentileschi developing the theme with progressive sophistication, as his style changed in response to the tastes of the French and English courts.²⁰ These refinements, combined with the *pentimenti* in the Colnaghi picture and the traces of the chalk from the transfer from cartoons

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used in the execution of the Vienna picture, serve to substantiate the notion that the present painting was the obvious source for the Vienna and Louvre variants.

The Vienna version of the *Rest on the Flight*, the only canvas in the series to be signed and the one which is closest to our painting, marked the beginnings of Gentileschi's crucially important relationship with the 1st Duke of Buckingham. It was probably executed in Paris, as argued by Christiansen,²¹ as one of the two pictures which were sent by Gentileschi from there to the duke in London; or alternatively may have been painted in London shortly after his arrival in England. The fact that the Vienna version and its companion work of the *Magdalene Lying in a Grotto* are the only two pictures in the group to be signed lends weight to the argument that the pictures were painted in Paris, because the artist seems to have signed only those works which were being sent abroad.²² The canvasses' Parisian origins are further supported by an account of payments received by the artist from Buckingham for two pictures sent to the duke from Paris.²³

In a private communication, Ward Bissell wrote that he considered the present picture 'a rare autograph work, of great beauty'.²⁴ He drew attention to the superb moments 'among many' in terms of quality: the transparent shawl of the Madonna, the twisted sleeve, and the white linens, and stated that he thought that the weaker moments in the composition – such as the flattened impasto of the highlights and certain schematic moments, including the yellow drapery beneath Joseph's head, were attributable to some poor restoration executed in the 19th century, but that this did not detract from the painting's overall very high quality. The re-evaluation of the Colnaghi *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* has allowed a fuller understanding of Orazio's working method, and of the role that the canvas served as a stepping stone in the stylistic development of his composition. We see in the present painting a refining of the bucolic Birmingham painting, that in turn anticipates the elegance of the Paris and Vienna versions; an elegance befitting its illustrious early owners.

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AN INTRIGUING PROVENANCE: ORAZIO GENTILESCHI'S *REST ON THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT* - ITS HISTORY AND OWNERSHIP

Jeremy Howard

Very few of Orazio's most favoured compositions can have rivalled the illustriousness of the provenances of his variants of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Of the four versions of the composition included in Ward Bissell's catalogue raisonné,²⁵ and there are several more possible versions recorded, three have noble or royal provenances. The first, and probably earliest, which is now in Birmingham City Museum (fig. 1), belonged in the seventeenth century to the Duke of Lucca and in the twentieth century to HRH the Duke of Kent; the version in the Louvre was traditionally believed to have been commissioned by Charles I as a gift to Henrietta Maria and later acquired by Louis XIV (fig. 2); and that in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (fig. 3), Vienna, the only one to be signed, was successively in the collections of the 1st Duke of Buckingham, his widow, the 1st Duchess and her son the 2nd Duke of Buckingham, was acquired by the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and his brother Kaiser Ferdinand III, descending in the imperial collections first in Prague and subsequently in Vienna. The present version, which is closest to the Vienna picture (for which it is the probable prototype), cannot boast royal or imperial ownership, but its provenance is nonetheless illustrious and intriguing given its possible association with George Villiers, the 2nd Duke of Buckingham and very probably his father, the great courtier collector and favourite of Charles I. The painting later featured first in the aristocratic collections at Stowe and probably those of the Duke of Chandos, and subsequently in that of the great plutocratic collector J. Paul Getty.

George Villiers, the 2nd Duke of Buckingham (fig. 11), is said to have given the painting,²⁶ together with four other paintings later at Stowe, to his lover, Lady Shrewsbury (fig. 12), whose husband he killed in a duel, this being not the first occasion on which that famous femme fatale had provoked a fatal altercation.²⁷ Passing into the famous collection of the later Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos at Stowe, whose celebrated sale, conducted by Christie's in 1848, was one of the greatest aristocratic dispersals of the nineteenth century, the painting was later acquired by J. Paul Getty from where in the 1950s it passed for a time

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into the collections of the Getty Museum. Thus, all four versions of Gentileschi's *Rest on the Flight* passed from distinguished private collections to the equally illustrious contexts of great museums. But, like their owners, works of art are subject to the vagaries of fortune and they are also vulnerable to changing attributions. De-accessioned by the Getty Museum in 1992, the present *Rest on the Flight* was not only demoted in terms of its attribution to 'possibly by the hand of an excellent seventeenth-century copyist',²⁸ but doubt was also cast on its long-accepted provenance as being the result of a romantic tradition enthusiastically publicized through Henry Rumsey Forster's colourful accounts in the annotated edition of the 1848 Stowe sale.²⁹ Recent technical analysis revealing *pentimenti* and the presence of another composition attributable to Gentileschi beneath the top paint layers has largely settled the questions of attribution, though there is still disagreement over the dating of our picture and therefore the order of primacy of the different versions. But questions of provenance remain. The present essay will therefore attempt to address some of these issues with the aim of shedding new light on the complex and fascinating history of the painting and the famous collections through which it passed.

Provenance histories tend, where possible, to follow a chronological progression from commissioning to present ownership. But, while the present picture's history over the last century and a half can be charted with complete confidence, its earlier history remains somewhat conjectural. There is therefore a case for starting in the middle of the painting's long history when it was undoubtedly in the collection of Richard Grenville, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1797 – 1861, fig. 13),³⁰ at Stowe (fig. 14). It was the duke's colossal extravagance, compounding that of his father, the 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, which led to the great Stowe sale of 1848. Our earliest secure record of the Gentileschi occurs in Calkin and Budd's 1838 guidebook, *Stowe, a Description of its House and Gardens* (fig. 15), where it is listed among the paintings hanging in the Billiard Room as: 'The Virgin and Infant Saviour, with St Joseph Sleeping, Gentileschi, formerly in the collection of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham who gave it to Lady Shrewsbury'.³¹ What must be our picture was also recorded in the same room, although without attribution (because none were given for the paintings), in the general inventory of Stowe carried out in the following year on the death of the 1st Duke.³² Historically the Billiard Room had been

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hung with family portraits, but with the great influx of paintings caused by Richard Temple the 1st Duke's acquisitiveness as a collector, and the migration of paintings from Avington Park and other houses to Stowe,³³ the room began to fill up with subject pictures. The 1838 guidebook lists three other paintings apart from the Gentileschi which are described as having the same Lady Shrewsbury provenance, all of which we are told had been transferred from Avington (fig. 16). These included, in the State Drawing Room, 'Correggio, *Mercury and Venus teaching Cupid to Read*'³⁴ (a copy of the famous picture which had belonged to Charles I now in the National Gallery, which features prominently in the Joseph Nash watercolour in the Royal Collection commissioned to record Queen Victoria's visit of 1845),³⁵ 'Van Dyck's *Virgin and Infant Saviour*',³⁶ which is recorded in 1838 hanging in the same room as the Gentileschi, and 'Steenwyck's *Saint Peter Delivered from Prison*' all of which, we are told, 'formerly belonged to George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and were given to Anna Maria Brudenell Countess of Shrewsbury who, after her second marriage to George Rodney Brydges Esq., resided at Avington in Hampshire from whence the pictures were lately removed'.³⁷

To this list can be added some pieces of furniture with the same Shrewsbury provenance, given both in the 1838 guidebook and later in the 1848 sale catalogue: a silver toilet mirror, an associated ebony table and a pair of candlestands which were acquired there on behalf of the Countess of Jersey, whose husband was descended from Edward Villiers, the 1st Duke of Buckingham's elder brother, and were illustrated, along with a travelling organ that had belonged to James II, in a sale-room report which appeared in the *Illustrated London News* (fig. 17). The Shrewsbury furniture included two *sgabello* chairs for York House with the GB (George Buckingham) monogram, commissioned evidently by the 1st Duke of Buckingham between 1624 and 1628, which are now in the present Earl of Jersey's collection³⁸ and which presumably were also given by George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, to Lady Shrewsbury. The silver furniture formerly at Stowe, however, which is comparable to that still in situ at Knole, must date from the Restoration period and is an extremely rare survival of a fashion at the Court of Charles II which was based on the prototype of the furniture made for Louis XIV at Versailles, none of which survives because it was melted down to pay for the Sun King's wars.³⁹ In Calkin and Budd's 1838 guidebook to

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Stowe this suite of silver furniture was recorded in the State Closet, one of two closets adjacent to the State Bedroom (fig. 18) where, we are told, the walls were 'covered in a very rich Indian silk of many colours. The table in the windows has a toilet of silk, embroidered with silver, and a splendid service of Chinese silver filigree plate. A looking glass, with a frame of massive silver, chased, is over a table of the same material, very elaborately chased with flowers and scroll work and there are two stands of similar workmanship'. 'All these articles', we are told, 'came from Avington, having formerly been the property of the Countess of Shrewsbury to whom they were probably given by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham'.⁴⁰ In the early twentieth century the table and mirror were at Osterley Park (before the house was taken over by the National Trust), where, according to the Dowager Duchess of Jersey, they were displayed in the State Bedroom in a typical seventeenth-century arrangement still found today in the silver furniture at Knole and at Windsor Castle.

Since the Gentileschi is not listed in the earlier guidebook to Stowe of 1817, it seems reasonable to assume that it, along with some of the other pictures with recorded Shrewsbury provenances, was transferred to Stowe sometime between 1835, when a 'Deed of Revocation' was drawn up of the print collections and paintings still listed as at Avington (which included some of the highlights of the collection later at Stowe), and 1838, the year before the death of the 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. According to Colin Anson, 'some of the finest pictures in the [Stowe] collection...came from Avington, and were at Stowe for a comparatively short time. Although the highly prized Chandos portrait of Shakespeare was there by 1817, the rest did not arrive until after 1832,⁴¹ and were only included in the 1838 guidebook, the last to be published before the sale.'⁴² Among the more important Chandos pictures from Avington highlighted by Anson was '*The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* by Orazio Gentileschi - in the J. Paul Getty Museum, California'.⁴³ Another Chandos picture from Avington, mentioned by Anson, is Govaert Flinck's *A Young Negro Archer*, then believed to be by Rembrandt (it hung in the 'Rembrandt Closet' at Stowe), one of several important paintings acquired by the 4th Marquess of Hertford at the 1848 sale, which is now in the Wallace Collection.⁴⁴

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Calkin and Budd's reticent and respectful guidebook gives no hint of the colourful backstory to these Shrewsbury heirlooms, but no such inhibitions were displayed ten years later when the colossal extravagance of the 1st and 2nd Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos precipitated the 1848 sale and flung the family into a fierce glare of publicity. In his priced and annotated catalogue of the sale (fig. 19), Henry Rumsey Forster described in considerable detail the background to some of the lots, and dwelt with particular relish on a painting by or attributed to Lely of the notoriously wanton Countess of Shrewsbury as the virginal goddess Minerva,⁴⁵ which fetched the not inconsiderable sum of £68 (over three and a half times the price fetched by the Gentileschi), propelled no doubt by the romantic allure and notoriety of the sitter. It was bought by the former Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel, much of whose great collection of Dutch pictures, including the famous Hobbema *Avenue at Middleharnis*, ended up in the National Gallery, London. It is in Forster's catalogue that we find quoted Pepys's account of the duel, in January 1668, between Buckingham and the Earl of Shrewsbury and the entirely spurious story of the countess brazenly dressing up as a page and holding her lover's horse while he was duelling with her husband, 'after which she went to bed with him, stained with her husband's blood'.⁴⁶ This was impossible given that the countess had prudently retired to a French monastery at the time of the duel. Also from Forster, we learn that after her second marriage, the unrepentant former countess regularly entertained Charles II and Nell Gwynn at her new husband's house, Avington Park near Winchester (fig. 16), which became 'the scene of the licentious pleasures of that profligate monarch'.⁴⁷ Exaggerated and prurient though *this* might sound, it is based on fact. The King was a frequent visitor to Avington which was close to his projected, but never-completed, palace of Winchester and was very friendly with George Brydges, Lady Shrewsbury's second husband, who was appointed his Groom of the Bedchamber on a substantial annual salary of £500 per annum. It was at Avington that rooms were provided for Nell Gwynn when she was refused lodgings in the Cathedral Close on moral grounds by the Dean of Winchester⁴⁸ and, in the late eighteenth century, when Avington belonged to the 3rd Duke of Chandos, 'Nell Gwynn's Dressing Room was still shown' to visitors and 'The Old Green House was the Banqueting Room in which Charles was entertained'.⁴⁹

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Given the highly-coloured nature of these accounts, it might be tempting to dismiss as romantic fabrications Forster's statements about the provenances of the pictures described as gifts from the 2nd Duke of Buckingham coming from Lady Shrewsbury's collection at Avington. This was the view of Burton B. Fredericksen in his 1974 *Catalogue of the Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, who thought that the traditional provenance was 'probably erroneous' (though he did not dismiss it entirely) and suggested that it might have been based on 'the desire by the compilers of the Stowe commemorative catalogue to connect the picture, a version of which was known to have belonged to George Villiers Duke of Buckingham [...] with Buckingham's picture because of Stowe's relation to the Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos', despite the fact that there was no hereditary connection between the families.⁵⁰ Forster would have been unlikely to make such a fundamental genealogical mistake unwittingly, since he was an acknowledged expert on the British and Irish peerage, who was very thorough in setting out the history of the family and the Stowe collections. As for the suggestion that he was being deliberately misleading in order to add lustre to the Gentileschi's history, there is no more reason to doubt his statement as to the traditional provenance of our painting than for any of the other lots in the catalogue.⁵¹ Moreover, although in his article on the picture collection at Stowe Colin Anson, like Fredericksen, was also sceptical about the traditional connections with George Villiers 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Lady Shrewsbury, he had no doubts about our picture's Chandos provenance, stating that it was 'among the most important Chandos pictures' that came to Stowe in the 1830s from Avington as part of the heirlooms inherited by the 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos through his marriage to Eliza Brydges.⁵² Furthermore, Forster's statements on the provenance were not romantic fabrications as has been supposed, but are corroborated by (and probably based on) the details given in the more measured 1838 guidebook to Stowe, where the Shrewsbury provenances of other paintings that came from Avington are also listed. These also find circumstantial support in a considerably earlier description of the highlights of the celebrated picture collection at Avington Park, which was published in Bayley and Britton's *The Beauties of England and Wales* of 1805. Here are included some of the star lots in the later 1848 Stowe sale,⁵³ such as the *Centurian Cornelius* then attributed to Rembrandt (now reattributed to Cornelis Drost) which, rechristened *The Unmerciful Servant*, was the top lot in the sale, and the Domenichino *Sybil*

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(acquired from the Orléans Collection), both of which are now in the Wallace Collection. Two paintings are also mentioned which were evidently not believed to be recent purchases by the 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, but are listed as having been gifts from George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham to Lady Shrewsbury: '*Our Saviour and the Virgin*, Guido'⁵⁴ and '*Venus and Mercury teaching Cupid to Read*, Correggio'. The last of these was among the paintings listed in the 1838 guidebook and in Forster's annotated edition of the 1848 sale catalogue as having provenances from Lady Shrewsbury at Avington, as gifts from the 2nd Duke of Buckingham. An unpublished partial inventory of 1769 lists what is clearly the 'Correggio' hanging in the Dining Parlour at Avington, providing corroboration for the Avington provenance of one of the paintings in the group and it is likely that the other pictures, including our Gentileschi, would have been hanging in other rooms for which an inventory does not appear to survive.⁵⁵

The 'Correggio' was catalogued in the 1848 sale catalogue as being 'an early copy' of the famous painting in Charles I's collection, which by then was in the National Gallery, London. The fact that it was an acknowledged copy, but evidently highly esteemed,⁵⁶ reflects a respectful attitude towards copies still prevalent in the early nineteenth century - greatly at variance to that of our own age - and it might well have been, as described, an 'early', i.e., seventeenth-century copy. If so, its commissioning would chime both with the tastes of Charles I's court and with seventeenth-century practices of replication of compositions, often as statements of friendship or loyalty, which can still be seen today in the copies of Titian's paintings then in Charles I's collection, commissioned in the 1630s by William Murray, Charles I's Groom of the Bedchamber, to hang on the staircase at Ham House.⁵⁷ These practices also explain the many autograph variants of his own compositions that Gentileschi produced, the versions of the *Rest on the Flight* created for Charles I and the 1st Duke of Buckingham being a case in point. Guido Reni was also an artist greatly favoured by the 1st Duke of Buckingham. This lends weight, albeit circumstantially, to the tradition that both pictures may have belonged to George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, perhaps inherited from his father, and were given by him to Lady Shrewsbury along with the other four pictures at Stowe with recorded Shrewsbury provenances, including our Gentileschi.⁵⁸

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Apart from our Gentileschi and the 'Correggio', the other pictures listed as having Villiers/Shrewsbury provenances and coming from Avington Park were a *Madonna and Child* by Van Dyck and a Steenwyck of the *Liberation of St Peter*. The Steenwyck is of interest because the artist was much favoured both by Charles I and the Duke of Buckingham; also because Gentileschi is recorded as having painted the figures in one of his 'perspectives'.⁵⁹ There are three paintings by Steenwyck of the *Liberation of St Peter* which are still in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court, one of which certainly belonged to Charles I,⁶⁰ and the Steenwyck *Liberation of St Peter* now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, was one of the paintings sold off by the 2nd Duke of Buckingham in 1649.⁶¹ These pictures chime closely with the types of paintings and favoured artists recorded in the collections of the so-called 'Whitehall Group' of courtiers in Charles I's entourage, and the fact that the Avington link can be securely established in the case of one out of the five pictures with traditional Shrewsbury provenances that were later at Stowe, lends some credibility (though no conclusive proof) to the traditional story of our picture's progress from the collections of the seventeenth-century dukes of Buckingham.⁶² At the very least it seems highly probable, as Anson stated, that our Gentileschi was among the 'Chandos' heirlooms removed from Avington and the weight of family tradition makes it more likely that it descended from the countess's son, George Brydges of Avington (1678 – 1751), rather than his cousin, the 3rd Duke of Chandos and grandson of the notable collector and patron of Handel, although the alternative option cannot be entirely ruled out.⁶³ It was probably during his lifetime that the picture acquired its splendid William Kent-style frame, which must date from the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

Opinions differ over the dating of our canvas and, indeed, over the chronological order of the four main versions, but what is certain is that the meeting in 1625 with Buckingham, who was in Paris in May of that year as proxy for the marriage of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, was to be of seminal importance to the artist, providing him, as it did, with introductions to his two most important English patrons: Buckingham himself (fig. 20) and the new Queen.⁶⁴ The duke encouraged Orazio to move to London in the autumn of 1626, providing him with a splendid suite of rooms including the 'Great Upper Room' which was used as his studio at York House (fig. 21), and commissioning him to paint a ceiling of *Apollo and the Muses*. This

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house was both the epicentre of Buckingham's social and political power and the site of his phenomenal art collection, which had been put together in just over six years with the help of Balthasar Gerbier, and which was to continue to grow until the duke's assassination in 1628.⁶⁵

In that same year, Joachim Sandrart recorded seeing in Gentileschi's studio at York House a 'Penitent Magdalene and Mary seated on the ground, the Christ child drinking from her breast, the old Joseph however lying to the rear and resting his head on a sack', which may be the variants painted for Charles I.⁶⁶ However, Gentileschi seems to have painted more than one version for the King because in Van de Doort's 1637 inventory of the Royal Collection, the King's Surveyor noted 'in the little store room in the beare gallorie another peece of our ladie Christ and Joseph being copied by Jentellesco' for presentation to the Queen ('being giffen tu de quin').⁶⁷ In making this copy, or more probably an autograph variant, Gentileschi might well have used our painting as a template, just as he almost certainly did when painting the earlier Vienna version for the Duke of Buckingham. This would have been a far less disruptive option than having to borrow back the Duke of Buckingham's picture from his widow, with whom he was clearly by then on very poor terms.⁶⁸ What happened to our picture thereafter is unclear, but Ward Bissell suggested that, although only one version (the Vienna version) was recorded in the inventory of York House of 1635, this was only a partial inventory of one house, and the picture could have either remained in the Buckingham collections in one of their many other houses or been confiscated and returned to the young 2nd Duke of Buckingham in 1660, along with the rest of his estates.⁶⁹

What then of the painting recorded by Van der Doort as being copied by Gentileschi as a gift for the Queen? Could this be the version later acquired by the banker and *marchand-amateur* Jabach, and sold by him to Louis XIV? It was long believed that the picture now in the Louvre was a painting that had belonged to Charles I, however, although Jabach was a major buyer in the Commonwealth sales, purchasing, for example, the Caravaggio *Death of the Virgin* in the Louvre, there is no record of a *Rest on the Flight* by Gentileschi in the lists of sales. So, if Jabach did purchase the picture that had been commissioned by Charles I,

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possibly the one recorded by Van der Doort in 1637, it must have come by another route. Could Jabach have acquired the Louvre version independently from Henrietta Maria's collection while she was in exile in France or, following her death in 1669? A *Rest on the Flight*, probably by Gentileschi (though unattributed), was recorded in 1669 in the Queen's presence chamber at the Chateau de Colombes hanging next to the painting of *Joseph with Potiphar's Wife*,⁷⁰ so a version of the Gentileschi *Riposo* was certainly taken by her to France; and, given that the Louvre picture was sold by Jabach to Louis XIV in 1671, this might seem a feasible scenario. But the evidence suggests that the Colombes version, probably the one which was Charles I's 'giffen tu de quin', was returned to England, in which case Jabach would have had to acquire it in England after its repatriation in 1669 or shortly thereafter. Unless, that is, there was more than one version of the Gentileschi in the Royal Collection. But this raises other questions. At this period, why did the picture need to be sold to Jabach? If Henrietta Maria had been forced to sell her picture to Jabach, then she would have been more likely to do so in the 1640s when she was sorely in need of the money, than in the 1660s when she was a rich woman, and after her death would Charles II have readily parted with a picture associated both with his mother and with his sainted father, who had given it to her, when he was so keen to repatriate other works of art which had belonged to his parents? The records show that a Gentileschi *Rest on the Flight*, probably the one inventoried in the Queen's presence chamber at Colombes in 1669 (but possibly another version), was repatriated and is later recorded in the Royal Collection from the time of James II.⁷¹ Could the Queen perhaps have taken more than one version of the picture in 1644 as part of the cargo carried in the four ships which accompanied her into exile? Or did Jabach acquire a replica of this picture, the one Van der Doort referred to as 'being copied', in or shortly after 1637?

Returning now to the present picture: an alternative theory of its provenance, first advanced by Fredericksen, is that it might have arrived in the collections at Stowe via a different route, acquired at some time after 1714, following the death of Queen Anne, from the British Royal Collection.⁷² Given that a *Rest on the Flight* attributed to Gentileschi was recorded in inventories of 1688 (James II) and Queen Anne (1714),⁷³ having been returned from Colombes after Henrietta Maria's death, this raises the interesting possibility that our

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painting, or another version (certainly not the Louvre version which was in Louis XIV's collection by 1671), descended through the Royal Collection before being deaccessioned and acquired sometime in the eighteenth century by George Brydges, or the 3rd Duke of Chandos, or, towards the end of the century, by Richard Temple Nugent, 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. A *Rest on the Flight* attributed to Gentileschi, which might or might not be linked to our picture, was included in the 1758 sale of the collection of Luke Schaub,⁷⁴ a banker who had acted as an art advisor to Frederick Prince of Wales and who would have been in a good position to access the painting if it were being deaccessioned from the Royal Collection, and it is known that a considerable number of paintings were sold off from the Royal Collection during the reign of George II. Schaub's Gentileschi was sold to the collector Governor Saunders. But there, seemingly, the trail goes cold.

The problem with connecting our picture with the one in the Schaub sale is the absence of eighteenth-century records linking the painting with the family of the Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos, and this view was shared by Fredericksen and Ward Bissell.⁷⁵ Another problem with this intriguing alternative theory is that the two most likely figures who could be connected with the provenance chain, who had the means and the acquisitiveness to have bought the painting, both of them notable collectors, would have been James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos, but he died ten years before the Schaub sale, and Richard Temple Grenville, 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, but he did not start to collect in a significant way until the 1790s, following his marriage to the heiress Eliza Brydges. There are also no paintings attributed to Gentileschi in the Chandos inventories for the 1st Duke's country house at Canons or his town house in St James's Square, and the only *Rest on the Flight* included in the Duke's posthumous sale in 1746 was attributed to Reni, all of which makes it unlikely that the Gentileschi *Rest on the Flight* last recorded in the Royal Collection in 1714 was an heirloom that descended from the 1st Duke of Chandos, and the links with Schaub also seem tenuous and impossible to substantiate.⁷⁶ One final reason why our picture cannot be the version 'giffen tu de quin' recorded in the royal inventories, though it may, of course, have been the prototype for it, is that the physical evidence shows that our picture, which has substantial *pentimenti* but conversely no pouncing marks indicating a transferred design, was clearly not a copy, but, in fact, a prototype. We are left, therefore, with the

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traditional Villiers and Lady Shrewsbury provenance, impossible though it is to prove and romantic though the story might seem, as providing the most likely account of its history.

Returning now to the early seventeenth century, relations between Gentileschi and the Buckingham family took a major turn for the worse following the assassination of the 1st Duke of Buckingham in 1628, with the widowed Duchess making strenuous efforts to remove both him and the late duke's curator and art agent, Balthasar Gerbier, from York House. In this she seems to have been ultimately successful. However, despite her cordial dislike of Gentileschi's arrogant and fractious personality, she clearly had some regard for his work, because in 1632 she had a room at York House luxuriously redecorated and hung with paintings including the Vienna version of Gentileschi's *Rest on the Flight*. The room was something of an *hommage* to her late husband and, in addition to paintings that he had commissioned, featured a new Van Dyck family group of the Duchess of Buckingham and her children commissioned by the duchess following her husband's death and which is now in the Rubenshuis, Antwerp (fig. 22). In this picture, the 1st Duke is included posthumously in a circular painting hanging on the wall, while a miniature of him is held by his extremely eligible, grieving young widow (soon to be remarried).⁷⁷ Gentileschi's *Rest on the Flight* would have provided a suitable biblical family group to hang in the same room as Van Dyck's painting of the duchess's own family. The inventory of York House drawn up at the time of the Duchess of Buckingham's second marriage in 1635 mentions 'A great piece of Our Lady Christ and Joseph' hanging then in the King's Bedchamber, which is generally considered to be the version now in Vienna.⁷⁸ Confirmation of this identification is provided by an invoice of two years earlier for the supplying of a frame parcel-gilded and grained to resemble walnut for Gentileschi's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, which must, from the dimensions given, refer to the Vienna picture.⁷⁹ Also included in the invoice are four other pictures and the bill describes the painting, varnishing and gilding of the frame of 'a picture of the Duchess of Buckingham', 'done by Sig Antonio van Dycke', which was carried out on the orders of the widowed Duchess of Buckingham in February 1632 by Matthew Goodricke, a leading decorative painter and gilder at the Caroline court who was responsible for gilding the staircase at Ham House and executing the grotesques on the ceilings of the Single Cube Room at Wilton and the Queen's Bedroom at the Queen's House, Greenwich.

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The whereabouts of the present picture during this time are not documented, but it cannot have been commissioned or acquired from the artist by the 2nd Duke of Buckingham, who would only have been ten at the time of Gentileschi's death in 1639. It is therefore likely to have been initially in the artist's studio at York House, being used, as has been suggested above, as a template for the pictures painted for the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I, before being acquired, most probably by the 1st Duke of Buckingham but conceivably by the 1st Duchess of Buckingham, who was quite a significant patron and collector in her own right.⁸⁰ The cordial dislike felt by the duchess for Gentileschi and Gerbier, and her well attested determination in 1631 to remove both men from the house, makes it unlikely that Gentileschi would have been in residence by the time of the 1635 inventory which was carried out at the time of the duchess's second marriage to protect the interests of the children from her first marriage, but the painting could perhaps have been acquired, however, around 1631 from the artist as part of a financial settlement aimed at removing him from the scene, because on 28th July the duchess wrote to Lord Secretary Dorchester - who was in charge of Charles I's financial affairs - as follows:

'My Lo: I understand by Jentelesco that if hee could have the money dewe to him from his Mat' hee would willinglie leave England and begone into his owne Cuntrie, and I believe the King hath noe greate use of him.' 'I should have Yorke house free to myself', she added, 'for want whereof I suffer much'.⁸¹

If our painting formed part of this severance agreement aimed at paying off and getting rid of Gentileschi from York House, it would provide one explanation as to how it came into the Buckingham collections and, once acquired, the painting could have been hung in one of the many other residences of the Duke of Buckingham, such as Chelsea House where the most important sculptures, including Giambologna's *Samson and the Philistine*, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, were housed, or at one of the country houses, such as Burley on the Hill or New Hall, thus escaping being inventoried. The same would apply if our picture had been acquired by the 1st Duke from the artist at some point between 1626, when Gentileschi arrived in England, and 1628, when Buckingham was assassinated. It is unlikely that either the 1st Duke or his duchess would have wanted to hang two paintings by

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Gentileschi of the same subject in the same house, but our picture could have been hung elsewhere, or possibly remained in the artist's studio until his death in 1639, having perhaps been used as the template for the picture which Van de Doort described as being copied for Charles I in 1637.

Between 1640 and 1647, during the minority of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham, York House was leased to the 10th Earl of Northumberland, a staunch Parliamentarian who nevertheless had a passion for the work of those painters that one tends to associate with the collections of the royalists. He was, for example, one of Van Dyck's most important patrons and shared the enthusiasm of the 1st Duke of Buckingham for the work of Titian and other great Italian masters of the Cinquecento. He seems to have taken the young 2nd Duke of Buckingham under his wing and also shielded the collections of the 1st Duke from the attentions, both iconoclastic and acquisitive, of the Parliamentarian Government, saving from destruction some of the more 'superstitious' paintings that the Puritans wanted to have burnt while also managing to acquire for himself some of the pearls of the 1st Duke's collection, notably the Elsheimer cabinet whose panels are now at Petworth and the Titian of *Cardinal Georges d'Armagnac and His Secretary Guillaume Philandrie*, now in the Duke of Northumberland's Collection at Alnwick.

In 1649, the year of the King's execution and that also of the death of the 2nd Duke's mother, some of the greatest paintings from the 1st Duke of Buckingham's collection, including the version of Gentileschi's *Rest on the Flight* now in Vienna, were sent to Antwerp for sale where they joined the paintings that had been despatched from the late Duke of Hamilton's collection, who had shared the same fate as his monarch. Those considered the most important masterpieces were snapped up by that most acquisitive of collectors, the Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm, brother of the Emperor, and immortalized in the famous series of gallery views by David Teniers the Younger (fig. 23). The Vienna Gentileschi was not among those memorialized, partly because contemporary art was less highly regarded than the work of the great Italian sixteenth-century masters, but partly also because Leopold Wilhelm had acquired the painting on behalf of his imperial brother, Ferdinand III, and it was sent first to Prague and then to Vienna. It was with a view to this dispersal of the collection,

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previously sequestered by Parliament, that Brian Fairfax, on the orders of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham, drew up his catalogue between 1648 and 1649. Our painting was not among those sent to Antwerp in 1649 and one must assume that George Villiers, the 2nd Duke, whose primary interests (outside politics) lay in literature and music rather than art collecting and who was also at the time in great financial difficulties, decided to sell the more polished, signed version and its pendant of the *Magdalene Lying in a Grotto* (fig. 24), both of which ended up in Vienna, and to keep our version before later giving it to his lover, the beautiful young Countess of Shrewsbury, with whom the old rake seems to have fallen hopelessly in love. The fact that a Steenwyck painting now in Vienna of the *Liberation of St Peter* was, like the Vienna version of our Gentileschi, sent to Antwerp for sale in 1649, whereas another version of the subject attributed to Steenwyck was evidently kept back and later sold at Stowe in 1848, lends weight to the hypothesis that the 2nd Duke divided the collection when there was more than one version of a given painting, and later gave the other versions to the Countess of Shrewsbury.

The strength of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham's passion for the countess was reflected not only in the poems that he dedicated to her, but also by the vast sums that he spent. Following the killing of her husband, he created a palatial love nest for the adulterous couple at Cliveden in Buckinghamshire, which reminded the diarist John Evelyn of the Villa Aldobrandini at Frascati, where in the late nineteenth century the lovers were memorialized in a sculptural group by W. S. Frith carved into the late Victorian staircase installed by Viscount Astor.⁸² Although few of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham's papers survive, one suspects that there must have been many other paintings showered upon her than the six, including our Gentileschi, which were recorded as having been in her collection in the Stowe guidebook and sale catalogue. The couple's affair was terminated in 1673 by a lawsuit brought on behalf of her son by the trustees of her late husband's estate, which led to a highly embarrassing arraignment of the 2nd Duke in the House of Lords and a 'Deed of Separation' enforceable by a fine of £10,000 for each party. After another spell in a nunnery, the Countess of Shrewsbury married her second husband, George Rodney Brydges (after 1649 – 1714) of Avington Park, and was again received at Court.⁸³

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Following her death in 1702, and that of her husband in 1714, Avington Park and its collections passed to their son, George Brydges of Avington (1678 – 1751). Since Brydges died without male issue, the estate passed to his cousin James Brydges, 3rd Duke of Chandos, and it was through his marriage to Chandos's daughter Anna Eliza Brydges Kinloss in 1796 that Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville (1776 – 1839, fig. 25), scion of Stowe and the first of the nineteenth-century Dukes of Buckingham, inherited both Avington and the substantial Chandos fortunes which devolved upon his wife. This money enabled Richard Grenville, Earl Temple and 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, to embark upon an ambitious refurbishment of Avington and to build what was to become a notable art collection, housed initially there rather than at Stowe, profiting from the unrivalled opportunities provided by the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars with notable acquisitions at the 1798 Orléans sale. The duke's expenditure constantly outran his income, a propensity inherited by his son, which was to lead ultimately to the family's decline and fall. It was at Avington that the greatest gems of his collections were housed until around the time of Grenville's elevation to the dukedom of Buckingham and Chandos in 1832, although the grave financial difficulties which the family was already in by the 1830s meant that it was only through the intervention of the Marquess of Chandos (the future 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos) that the Avington pictures were spared from sale in 1835.⁸⁴

The transfer of the art collections from Avington to Stowe was given impetus by the accession of the 2nd Duke in 1839, but the growing financial difficulties that he faced in the run up to the 1848 Stowe sale meant that, much to the chagrin of the Dowager Duchess, Avington, which she always regarded as *her* family home, fell victim to the feckless extravagance of first her husband and then her even more irresponsible son. Forster recorded in his annotated catalogue of the sale that 'the mansion formerly housed a fine collection of pictures, but the best subjects were removed to Stowe on the accession of the present Duke of Buckingham, and in the last few months the house has been invaded by the Sherriff and entirely dismantled.'⁸⁵ The Stowe sale, when it finally arrived, was conducted by Christie's, and lasted for a biblical forty days attracting enormous publicity, most of it extremely hostile, though, with some exceptions, and disappointing prices. The Gentileschi was bought by the dealer Norton on behalf of Montague Parker for 18 guineas, a modest

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sum compared to the prices fetched by the works of Rembrandt and his Dutch contemporaries,⁸⁶ which during the time of Charles I had been much less highly esteemed and valued than the works of the Italian masters and,⁸⁷ it was not until the middle of the twentieth century, that collectors like J. Paul Getty began to be attracted once more to the masterpieces of the Italian baroque.

When our painting finally came back onto the market at Sotheby's in 1950, it was bought by Agnews and resold three years later to J. Paul Getty (fig. 26) for £200, a price which seems nugatory by today's levels, but which signified a tenfold increase on its price in 1848 and an indication of the growing appreciation on the part of museums and private collectors for Italian baroque painting. The famously taciturn Getty did not comment on the painting in his book, *Collector's Choice. A Chronicle of an Artistic Odyssey Through Europe*, published in 1955 (two years after he bought the picture), but it obviously struck a chord with him because he chose to illustrate it twice in that publication, once in the form of detail and once in the form of an installation shot. The picture was first hung at his English country house at Sutton Place (fig. 27), near Guilford, where it was seen and admired by the art historians Clifford Musgrave and Douglas Cooper, both of whom were fulsome in their praise,⁸⁸ and then transferred to Getty's Ranch House in Los Angeles, before being presented to his new museum in Malibu. The photograph of its presentation (fig. 28) shows the painting rather appropriately framed by an archway, on the right-hand side of which hangs Gainsborough's famous painting of James Christie, a portrait sold to Getty by Colnaghi in 1938 of the auctioneer whose firm had conducted the famous Stowe Sale of 1848, where our story began.

In his book *Great Private Collections*, which had an introduction written by Kenneth Clark, Cooper wrote in his chapter on Getty's collection: 'Everyone will have his own preference among the lesser works which set off the masterpieces in the Getty Collection; in my opinion the greatest reward for the visitors to the collection is likely to be the *Rest on the Flight to Egypt* by Orazio Gentileschi, a Caravaggesque masterpiece by an artist who had learnt the lesson of realism.'⁸⁹ This was a rather remarkable tribute from a man who at the time was perhaps the world's leading expert on Cubism. The recent rehabilitation of the painting,

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which was exhibited in the Museo Civico in Cremona last year alongside the version from Vienna, has brought back into the light a painting with an illustrious provenance which, it is argued here, was probably the prototype for both of the two great paintings now in the Louvre and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, once in the collections of Charles I and those of his favourite courtier.

Illustrations



Figure 1. Orazio Gentileschi, *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, c. 1620 (?)
Birmingham City Art Gallery

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Figure 2. Orazio Gentileschi, *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, c. 1628 (?)
Louvre Museum, Paris

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Figure 3. Orazio Gentileschi, *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, c. 1626 (?)
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

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Figure 4. X-ray of the present canvas

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Figure 5. X-ray of the present canvas (detail)

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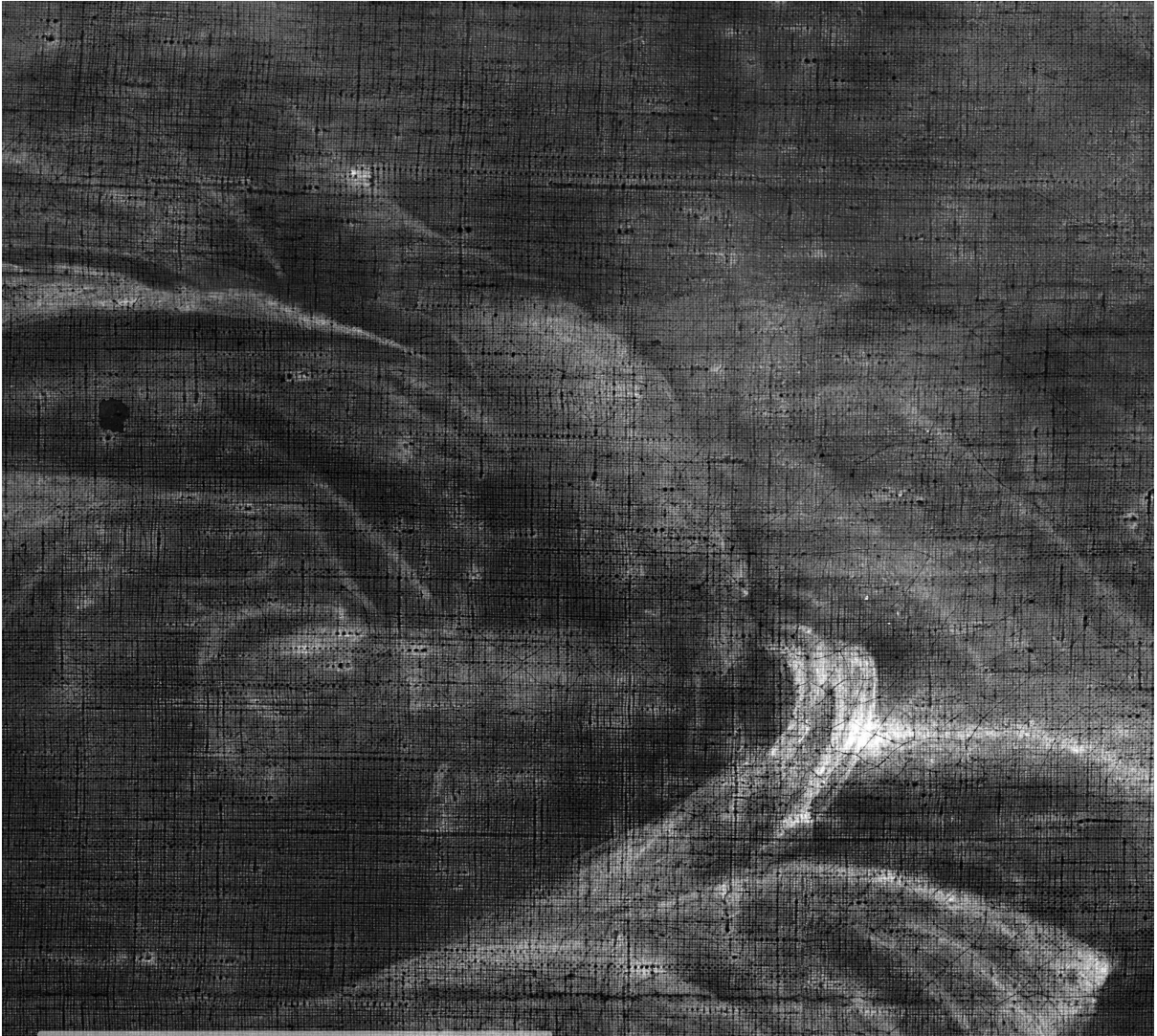


Figure 6. X-ray of the present canvas (detail)

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Figure 7. Detail of the x-ray of the present canvas, rotated 90 degrees, with the figure from the pre-existing composition marked up, as illustrated in Morselli 2020, p. 295, fig. 14 (see *Literature*)

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Figure 8. Orazio Gentileschi, *St. Jerome in Penitence*, 1610-11.
Museo Civico de Arte Antica, Turin

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Figure 9. Orazio Gentileschi, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, c. 1621.
Palazzo Spinola, Genoa

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Figure 10. Orazio Gentileschi, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, 1605/1607.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

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Figure 11. Sir Peter Lely, *Portrait of George Villiers (1628 – 1687), 2nd Duke of Buckingham*, c. 1675. National Portrait Gallery, London

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Figure 12. Sir Peter Lely, *Portrait of Anna Maria Brudenell (1642 – 1702), Countess of Shrewsbury*, c. 1670. National Portrait Gallery, London

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Figure 13. John Jackson, *Portrait of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos*, 1830.
Stowe House Collection, Buckinghamshire

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Figure 14. John Buckler, *Stowe House - Buckinghamshire*, 1815.
The William Salt Library, Stafford

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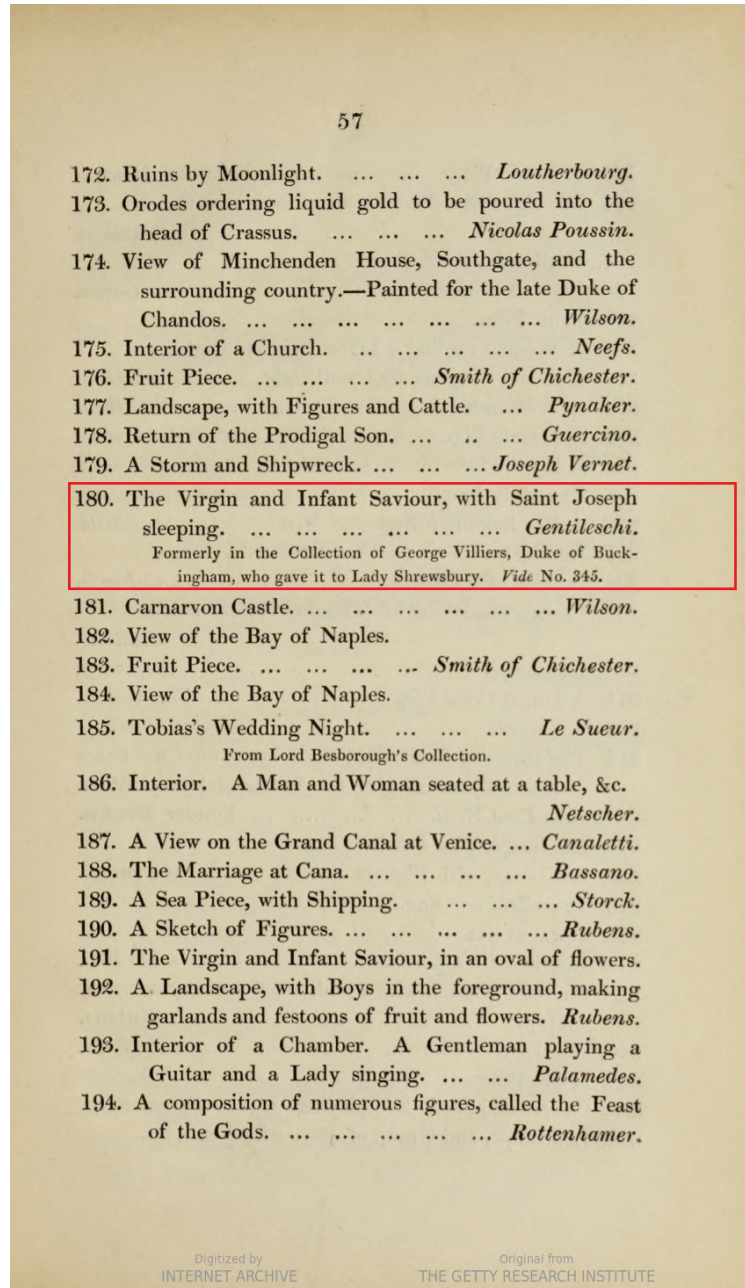


Figure 15. Extract from Calkin and Budd's *Stowe, a Description of its House and Gardens* (1838), showing the earliest record of the Gentileschi painting, hanging in the Billiard Room

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Figure 16. View of the exterior of Avington Park, near Winchester, published in Bayley and Britton's *Beauties of England and Wales*, 1805

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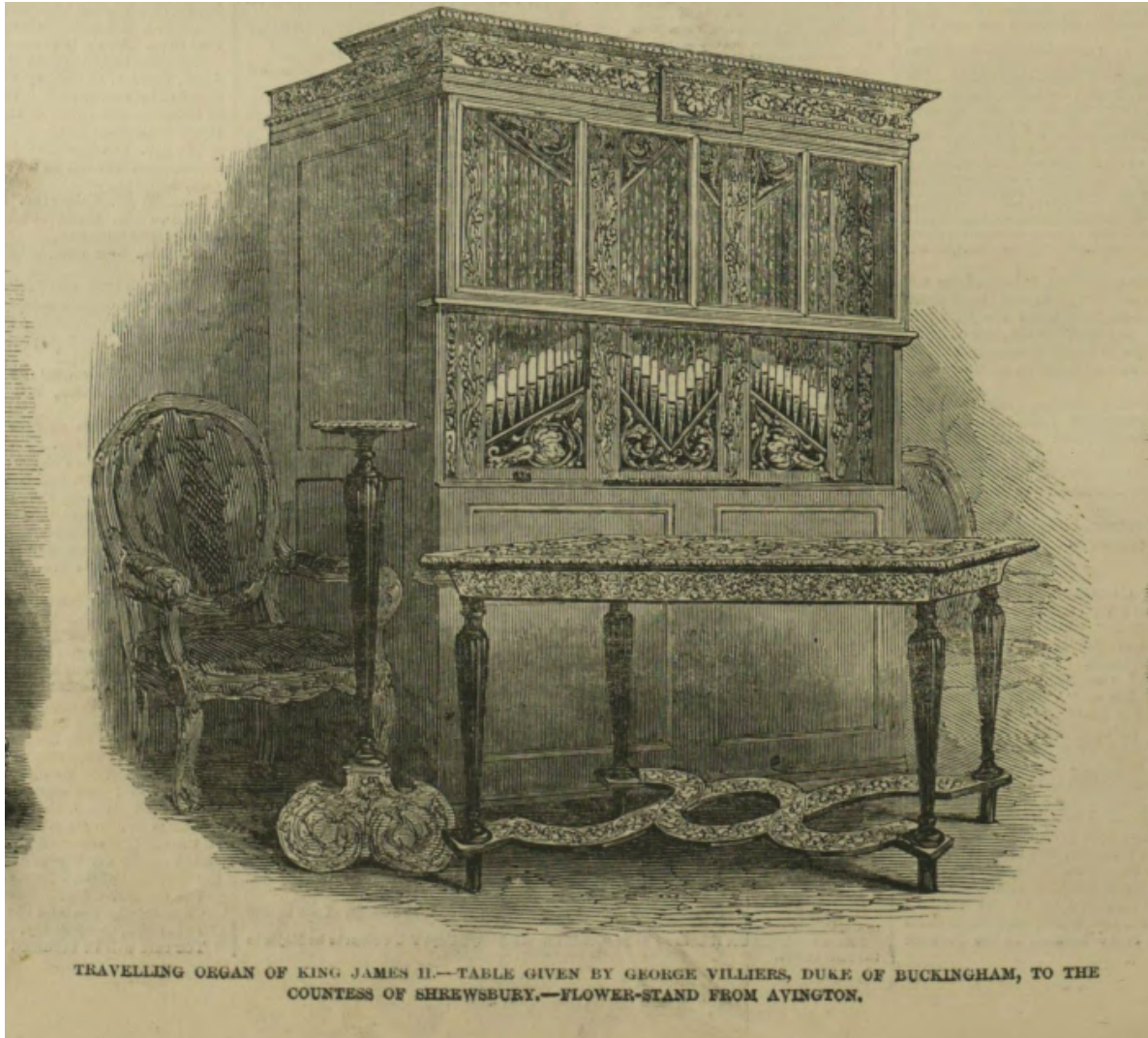


Figure 17. *Illustrated London News* saleroom report of 23rd September 1848, showing in the foreground the Countess of Shrewsbury's ebony and silver table and candlestand, part of the suite said to have been given to her by George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham

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Figure 18. Joseph Nash, *View of the State Bedroom, Stowe*, at the time of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert's visit in 1845. The Countess of Shrewsbury's silver furniture was displayed in an adjacent closet

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THE
STOWE CATALOGUE

PRICED AND ANNOTATED:

BY HENRY RUMSEY FORSTER.



STOWE—ENTRANCE TO THE ENGLISH PARK.

LONDON: DAVID BOGUE, FLEET STREET.

MDCCCXLVIII.

Figure 19. Frontispiece to the Stowe catalogue of 1848, published with prices and annotations by Henry Rumsey Forster

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Figure 20. Peter Paul Rubens, *Sketch for the Equestrian Portrait of George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham*, 1625. Kimbell Museum, Fort Worth, Texas

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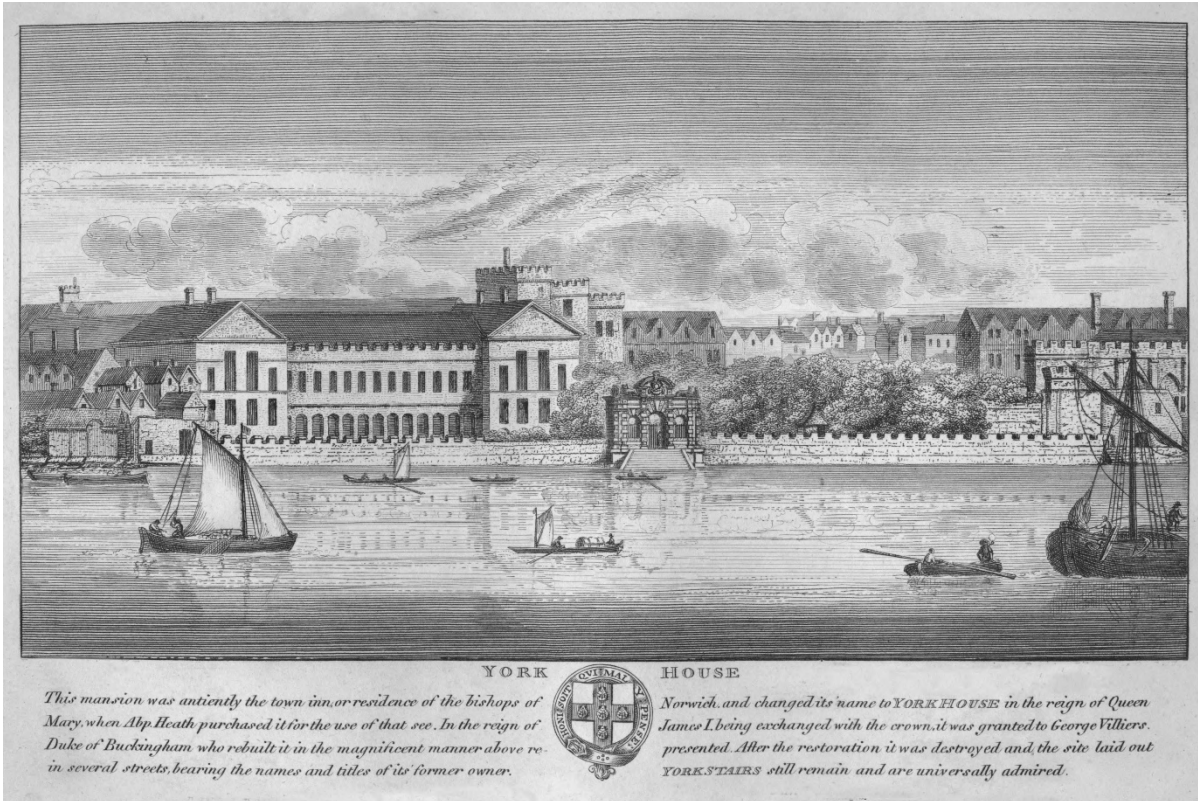


Figure 21. After Wenceslaus Hollar, *General View of York House from the River*, engraved by Robert Wilkinson, 1808

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Figure 22. Sir Anthony Van Dyck, *Portrait of Katherine, Villiers 1st Duchess of Buckingham (died 1649), with her children*, c. 1633. Rubenshuis, Antwerp. Her dead husband's portrait hangs on the wall

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Figure 23. David Teniers the Younger, *Interior of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm's Collection in Brussels*, 1651. Petworth House and Park, West Sussex

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Figure 24. Orazio Gentileschi, *Magdalene Lying in a Grotto*, c. 1626. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. This painting also belonged to George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, and was the pendant to the Vienna version of the *Rest on the Flight*

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Figure 25. Caricature of Richard, Earl Temple, 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, who built an important art collection at Avington Park which was transferred to Stowe in the 1830s. The Gentileschi entered the Stowe collections as a result of the Duke's marriage to Eliza Brydges, daughter of the 3rd Duke of Chandos, from whom the dukedom of Chandos was also inherited

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Figure 26. Photograph of J. Paul Getty at Sutton Place, his house near Guildford, where the Gentileschi hung for many years

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Figure 27. Sutton Place, near Guilford

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Figure 28. Photograph of the presentation of Gentileschi's *Rest on the Flight to the Gethsemane* to the Getty Museum in 1971

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Footnotes

- ¹ H. Voss, 'Orazio Gentileschi: four versions of his *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*', *Connoisseur*, no. 144, November 1959, pp. 163-164, fig. 2.
- ² First published by M. A. Lazzari, A. Bonazzi & C. Merlo, 'Analisi scientifiche sui Riposo durante la fuga in Egitto ex Getty di Orazio Gentileschi', in P. Carofano (ed.), *Luce e Ombra: Caravaggismo e Naturalismo nella pittura Toscana del 600: Frammenti di immagini tra realtà naturale misticismo sensualità*, exh. cat., Pisa 2005, pp. 202-211.
- ³ For a general discussion of Gentileschi's techniques of replication using cartoons and tracings, see K. Christiansen & J. Mann (eds.), *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, exh. cat., New York 2001, pp. 21-33 and more recently R. Morselli, 'Opere multiple, La poetica della serialità nell'impresa', in *La luce e i silenzi. Orazio Gentileschi e la pittura caravaggesca nelle Marche del seicento*, exh. cat., A. M. Ambrosini Massari & A. Delpriori (eds.), Fabriano 2019, pp. 284-299.
- ⁴ Christiansen and Mann (eds.) 2001, p. 21.
- ⁵ Christiansen and Mann (eds.) 2001, pp. 21-27.
- ⁶ R. Ward Bissell, *Orazio Gentileschi and the Poetic Tradition in Caravaggesque Painting*, London 1981, p. 22.
- ⁷ Fondazione Zeri, entry number: 46623.
<http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/entry/work/47951/Gentileschi%20Orazio%2C%20Riposo%20nella%20fuga%20in%20Egitto>
- ⁸ Ward Bissell 1981, p. 187.
- ⁹ Lazzari *et. al.* 2005, pp. 202-211.
- ¹⁰ R. Ward Bissell in P. Carofano (ed.), *Luce e Ombra: Caravaggismo e Naturalismo nella pittura Toscana del 600: Frammenti di immagini tra realtà naturale misticismo sensualità*, exh. cat., Pisa 2005, cat. no. 45, pp. 128-137, 202-211.
- ¹¹ R. Ward Bissell, *Letter of expertise*, Gentileschi files, Colnaghi London.
- ¹² Turin and location unknown, see Ward Bissell 1981, p. 151, cat. no. 51 and fig. 41.
- ¹³ Ward Bissell 1981, p. 163, cat. no. 32e and fig. 74.
- ¹⁴ Ward Bissell 1981, p. 171, cat. no. 453, figs. 94-95.
- ¹⁵ See R. Morselli, 'Storia di un quadro italiano di Orazio Gentileschi che diventò pegno di amore in Inghilterra', in M. Marubbi (ed.), *Orazio Gentileschi: la fuga in Egitto e altre storie dell'infanzia di Gesù*, exh. cat., Cremona 2020, pp. 15-23, 28-29; Morselli's earlier dating of the present painting is less plausible in the view of the present writer. She argues that ours, rather than the Birmingham picture, might be the earliest and prime version in the entire series, painted in Italy in the early 1610s over another composition, over ten years before Gentileschi met the 1st Duke of Buckingham in Paris in 1625. There are, it is true, strong influences from Caravaggio in our picture, particularly in the diagonal shaft of light which recalls that in Caravaggio's *Calling of Matthew*, which would argue for an early Italian dating and this, as Christiansen has shown, is very different from the more courtly, polished style which the artist developed while in England. However, the Birmingham *Rest on the Flight*, for all its charm, has an earthy, rustic realism, particularly in the figure of the donkey, which is at odds with the progressive sophistication of Orazio's artistic trajectory.
- ¹⁶ Lazzari's technical examination also revealed the presence of several heads to the right of the Virgin looking upwards, possibly indicating another abandoned composition, perhaps an *Assumption of the Virgin* (see Lazzari *et. al.* 2005, p. 205, fig. 7).
- ¹⁷ We are sincerely grateful to Helena Loermans for her valuable assistance in the evaluation of the canvas weave of both the present painting and of Orazio's *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. An illustrated summary of her findings is available upon request.
- ¹⁸ See Ward Bissell 1981, cat. no. 38, p. 168.
- ¹⁹ J. von Sandrart, *Academie der Bau, Bild Und Mahlerey Kunste von 1675*, A. R. Pilzer (ed.), Munich 1925, p. 166: 'Also machte er auch eine auf der Erden sitzenden Maria, an deren Brust das Christkindlein trinket, der alte

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Joseph aber lieget auf dem Rucken und ruhet mit seinem Haupt auf einem Sack, alles in der Zeichnung, mahlen, ordiniren und natürlicher Ausbildung aufs aller gentileste vorgestellt’.

²⁰ Voss 1959, pp. 163-164, fig. 2.

²¹ Christiansen in Christiansen & Mann (eds.) 2001, p. 217.

²² As earlier noted in Ward Bissell 1981, p. 183.

²³ Cited by Christiansen in Christiansen & Mann (eds.) 2001, pp. 217-8.

²⁴ Available upon request.

²⁵ Ward Bissell 1981, no. 38 (Birmingham, City Museum and Art Gallery), pp. 167-8; no. 57 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), pp. 183-4; no. 58 (Paris, The Louvre), pp. 184-6; no. 59 (the present picture, formerly Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum), pp. 186-7.

²⁶ H. R. Forster, *The Stowe Catalogue Priced and Annotated*, London 1848, p. 164, no. 152 and Calkin and Budd, *Stowe. A Description of the House and Gardens of his Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, at Stowe, in the County of Buckingham*, London 1838, p. 57, no. 180.

²⁷ On another occasion the countess arranged for a near fatal attack on Harry Killigrew, a former lover, in which his servant was killed.

²⁸ Ward Bissell 1981, p. 187.

²⁹ Significantly by B. B. Fredericksen in *Catalogue of the Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Malibu 1972, p. 46, note 1, though Fredericksen was not prepared to rule out the possibility that the picture might have belonged to the Countess of Shrewsbury. Colin Anson, ('The Picture Collection at Stowe', *Apollo*, no. 136, 1973, p. 173, note 75), while fully accepting the picture's Avington provenance from the Duke of Chandos, also cast doubt on the suggestion that it might have been a gift to the Countess of Shrewsbury from George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham. Both scholars' opinions are discussed at greater length later in the present essay.

³⁰ Confusingly no relation of George Villiers (1628 – 1687), the earlier 2nd Duke of Buckingham, because the dukedom was revived in the early nineteenth century being combined with that of Chandos on the extinction of that title, following the death of the 3rd Duke of Chandos.

³¹ Calkin and Budd 1838, p. 57, no. 180.

³² Los Angeles, Huntington Library, *Stowe Manuscripts: ST274: 1839 inventory of furnishings, The Billiard Room, 'Holy Family'*.

³³ Such as Wotton and Gosfield. For the most complete account of the formation of the Stowe picture collections, see Anson 1973, especially pp. 596-598. Unfortunately, Anson does not give sources for many of his statements about provenances.

³⁴ Calkin and Budd 1838, p. 74, cat. no. 345. The original by Correggio, which had at one time belonged to Charles I, was in the collection of the Marquess of Londonderry until acquired by the National Gallery, London, in 1834. The Stowe picture can be seen hanging prominently in the centre of the right-hand wall in Joseph Nash's watercolour of the Drawing Room commissioned to commemorate Queen Victoria's visit of 1845, now in the Royal Collection.

³⁵ Joseph Nash, *The State Drawing Room, Stowe*, watercolour, 1845, Print Room, Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, RCIN920174.

³⁶ Calkin and Budd 1838, p. 74, no. 333.

³⁷ Calkin and Budd 1838, no. 314. The Holbein is, however, not included by Forster among the lots with Countess of Shrewsbury provenances.

³⁸ Forster 1848, p. 19, Third Day's Sale, lots 294 & 295: 'Mr Ryman purchased both lots for the Countess of Jersey - thus restoring the property to the Villiers family'. See S. Jervis, 'Furniture for the 1st Duke of Buckingham', *Furniture History*, vol. 33, 1997, pp. 48-74 and, in particular, footnote 23. Jervis found the Avington provenance for these two pieces plausible and drew attention to paintings given the same provenance in the sale, noting also that 'three similar chairs' [similar to the pair now in Lord Jersey's collection] were recorded in a photograph of the North Hall at Stowe in the 1890s and a fourth at Osterley Park, which, until its transfer to the National Trust during the Second World War, was the property of the earls of Jersey.

³⁹ See *Quand Versailles était meublé d'argent*, exh. cat., Boulogne 2007.

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⁴⁰ Calkin and Budd 1838, p. 79.

⁴¹ See Anson 1973, p. 596. Anson states that the Chandos pictures did not arrive until after 1832, but it is likely that most remained at Avington until at least 1835 when a financial crisis threatened their sale which was only averted due to the intervention of the Marquess of Chandos, who bought them himself for £3000. This is discussed by J. V. Beckett in *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, Manchester 1994, p. 177: 'he [Chandos] could not bear to see the saloon at Avington with naked walls having from childhood been accustomed to seeing them adorned with magnificent paintings'. In the Stowe Papers at the Huntington Library there is an incomplete copy of a schedule attached to a 'Deed of Revocation' referring to the paintings at Avington, which would appear to relate to this episode [STG CL&I, Box 1: Art & Objects – Fldr 14: Avington, [Hants.] [1847<]: Re [Richard...Grenville 2nd] Duke of B[&C]: Trust Deed of 1 August 1833. The First & Second Schedules to which the Deed of Revocation of 12 September 1833 refers. List of prints & pictures.] The second schedule which refers to the paintings, however, only includes seven paintings, albeit some of the highlights of the 1848 auction such as the Cuyp *Baptism of the Eunuch*, the 'Large Rembrandt' (which must refer to the then-called *Unmerciful Servant* now in the Wallace Collection) and the Domenichino *Sybil*, also in the Wallace Collection. Our Gentileschi is not amongst those listed.

⁴² Anson 1973, p. 596.

⁴³ Anson 1973, p. 596.

⁴⁴ Anson 1973, p. 596.

⁴⁵ Forster 1848, p. 179, Twenty-Third Day's Sale, p. 179, lot 333.

⁴⁶ Forster 1848, p. 179, Twenty-Third Day's Sale, p. 179, lot 333.

⁴⁷ Forster 1848, p. 179, Twenty-Third Day's Sale, p. 179, lot 333.

⁴⁸ *Avington Park, Winchester, One of the Stately Homes of England*, 7th edition, Winchester 1993, p. 3.

⁴⁹ E. W. Bayley and J. Britton, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, London 1805, vol. VI, p. 106.

⁵⁰ Fredericksen 1972, p. 46, note 1.

⁵¹ H. R. Forster, *The Pocket Peerage of Great Britain and Ireland*, London 1851-55.

⁵² Anson 1973, p. 596.

⁵³ Bayley and Britton 1805, vol. VI, p. 106.

⁵⁴ Curiously there is no mention of a painting by Guido Reni of this subject in the 1848 Stowe Sale, so perhaps it was sold off separately.

⁵⁵ Huntington Library, *Stowe Papers*, 40 STB C1 box 1-18c. Unfortunately, this inventory is evidently incomplete because it only lists the paintings that were hanging in the Dining Parlour. It is therefore likely that the other pictures with traditional Shrewsbury provenances were in other rooms in the house, such as the grander state rooms.

⁵⁶ As shown by the relatively high auction result: the 'Correggio' fetched £157, 10 shillings, significantly more than the Van Dyck *Virgin and Child* also said to have belonged to Lady Shrewsbury, which fetched £99, 15 shillings.

⁵⁷ For an excellent study of the Ham House copies and more generally of the practice of copying Old Masters in the seventeenth century, see S. Bracken, 'Copies after Old Masters at Ham House and in the Context of Caroline Patronage and Collecting', in C. Rowell (ed.), *Ham House, Four Hundred years of Collecting and Patronage*, London and Newhaven 2013, pp. 37-48. William Murray, Earl of Dysart, accompanied Charles, then Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Buckingham on their trip to Spain in 1623 and many of the copies at Ham are of paintings by Titian seen and admired in the Spanish royal collection.

⁵⁸ Apart from the Correggio, none of the other pictures listed as having come from Avington by descent from the Countess of Shrewsbury were included by Bayley and Britton in what was obviously a very selective description of the picture collection at Avington, unless, as is possible, the Gentileschi was wrongly described and attributed to Guido. The only painting of the *Rest on the Flight* listed by Bayley and Britton at Avington was attributed to Dürer.

⁵⁹ See J. Wood, 'Orazio Gentileschi and Some Netherlandish Artists in London: The Patronage of the Duke of Buckingham, Charles I and Henrietta Maria', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, vol. 28, no. 3, 2000-2001, p. 107. The Steenwyck, formerly in Charles I's collection, was sold from Greenwich Palace in 1651.

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⁶⁰ J. Howarth, *The Steenwyck Family as Masters of Perspective*, Turnhout 2009, pp. 212-213, C.14 and p. 215, C.23.

⁶¹ Howarth 2009, II.C.17, p. 213.

⁶² Of the several autograph versions of Steenwyck's *Liberation of St Peter*, one, which certainly belonged to Charles I, is still in the Royal Collection and hangs at Hampton Court, and another, which belonged to the Dukes of Buckingham (as by 'Stanwicke') was sold in 1649 by George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, to the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. See Howarth 2009, pp. 212-3, nos. II. C.14 (the Royal Collection version) and II.C.17 (the Buckingham version, now in Vienna). The painting which was at Stowe does not seem to be listed by Howarth as among the autograph paintings, though he does include under II.C.71 a *St Peter in the hall of Pilate*, with a suggested Stowe provenance, as present whereabouts unknown. This picture was sold on the 13th September 1848, bought by Town and Emmanuel, and Howarth suggests that possibly the same picture was sold by Christie's on 28th September 1978, lot 140 (as the *Denial of St Peter*). This seems unlikely to be the same picture.

⁶³ Our painting is not listed amongst those in the 'Catalogue of the Genuine Collection of Pictures of his Grace James, Duke of Chandos', which were sold at auction by Christopher Cock in February 1747, although there was a painting then attributed to Guido Reni in that sale which is probably the same one listed in the 1725 inventory of Cannons. That said, eighteenth-century attributions were far from infallible because in that same sale Caravaggio's *Boy Bitten by a Lizard*, now in the National Gallery, London, was also attributed to Guido.

⁶⁴ See G. Finaldi, *Orazio Gentileschi at the Court of Charles I*, London 1999 and, more recently, Wood 2000-2001, pp. 103-128. Wood argues there that the Duke of Buckingham and Henrietta Maria played a much more significant role than Charles I as patrons of Gentileschi.

⁶⁵ See L. Betcherman, 'The York House Collection and its Keeper', *Apollo*, 92, 1970, pp. 250-9.

⁶⁶ Sandrart 1925, p. 166.

⁶⁷ A. Van der Doort, 'Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I, 1637-39', O. Millar (ed.), *Walpole Society*, 37, 1958-60, p. 176: 'Whitehall Palace: 31. Item. An other peece. Of our Ladie Christ and Joseph Being Copied by Jentellesco: Being copied by oracio Jentilesco'.

⁶⁸ It is hard to be precise on the chronology of the copy recorded by Van der Doort because his inventory is variously dated between 1637 and 1639.

⁶⁹ Ward Bissell 1981, p. 186.

⁷⁰ See E. Griffey, *On Display - Henrietta Maria and the Materials of Magnificence at the Stuart Court*, London and New Haven 2015, pp. 241, 278 and p. 345, note 9.

⁷¹ See Griffey 2015, p. 345, note 9.

⁷² Fredericksen 1972, p. 45.

⁷³ Fredericksen 1972, p. 45.

⁷⁴ London, Mess. Langford, 26 April 1758, lot 47.

⁷⁵ Ward Bissell 1981, cat. no. 59, p. 186; Fredericksen 1972, p. 46, note 15.

⁷⁶ R. Ward Bissell, *Letter of expertise*, Gentileschi files, Colnaghi London.

⁷⁷ The invoice is in the Clayton Manuscripts in the Bodleian (OBL, Clayton MSS MS Eng. Misc. c. 208, fol. 39). See P. McEvansoneya, 'Van Dyck and the Duchess of Buckingham's collection, new documents relating to York House', *Apollo*, 140, 1995, pp. 30-32. I am indebted to Claire Kirk for drawing this to my attention.

⁷⁸ Ward Bissell 1981, p. 183, cat. no. 56.

⁷⁹ Goodricke's invoice reads: 'for painting lyke walnutte couloour one carved picture frame and guidling with fine Gould in oyll one moulding next round the painting being 26 ffootte. The Story of Christ and the Virgin Mary by Gentillescho'. For citation, see note 74 (above). I am grateful to Dr. McEvansoneya for sharing this information with me.

⁸⁰ See C. Kirk, *The influence of the Duchess of Buckingham on the York House display of 1635: Reinterpreting the post-mortem inventories of the first Duke's art collection*, MA (Res) Dissertation, The Art Market and the History of Collecting, University of Buckingham, 2019.

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⁸¹ London, PRO, SP, 16/197/45. Quoted in A. M. Crinò and B. Nicolson, 'Further documents relating to Orazio Gentileschi', *Burlington Magazine*, 103, 1961, p. 145.

⁸² National Trust, *Cliveden: Buckinghamshire*, London 1994, p. 41.

⁸³ For more detail on Villiers's remarkable life and loves, see H. Chapman, *Great Villiers*, London 1949.

⁸⁴ Beckett 1994, p. 177.

⁸⁵ Forster 1848, p. 179.

⁸⁶ The top price in the sale was £2300, paid by the 4th Marquess of Hertford for Rembrandt's *Centurian Cornelius*, which at the time of the 1848 sale was known as *The Unmerciful Servant*. Prior to the sale, the Marquess had quipped to his dealer Samuel Mawson that he 'hoped the price would not be as unmerciful as the subject'.

⁸⁷ For example, Rembrandt's *Portrait of His Mother* was valued at a mere £4 in the Commonwealth sales of 'The Late King's Goods' in 1849, by comparison with £2000 for Raphael's *La Perla*, now in the Prado Museum, Madrid.

⁸⁸ C. Musgrave, 'Sutton Place, Guilford: The English Home of Mr. J. Paul Getty', *Connoisseur*, no. 161, March 1966, p. 147, no. 8, illustrated; D. Cooper & K. Clark, *Great Private Collections*, London 1963, p. 184.

⁸⁹ Cooper & Clark 1963, p. 184.