COLNAGHI

Past, Present and Future

An Anthology

Foreword

It has been six years since I last sat down to write a foreword for a Colnaghi catalogue. On that occasion it was for our 250th anniversary catalogue, *Colnaghi: The History*, a commemorative publication celebrating the gallery's past achievements. In 2014 my family firm, the Bernheimer Gallery, celebrated its 150th anniversary. These landmarks have made me reflect on the past, albeit with one eye firmly fixed on the future of both galleries. In 2015 I decided to close the gallery in Munich, although I will still deal privately there, and the Bernheimer name will now be carried forward into the fifth generation by two of my daughters: Blanca, who will continue to deal in photography, and Isabel, who set up her own contemporary art gallery in 2014.

This decision has left me freer to concentrate on the future of Colnaghi. It has been a real privilege to have been at the helm of what is arguably the most important Old Master dealership in the history of the art market. It has been a great challenge, both exciting and demanding, to maintain the high standards of the gallery, from its commercial successes to its academic achievements. Much of the experience has been shared with my business partner, Katrin Bellinger. Katrin decided to cease trading at the end of 2015 and focus on her academic interests and her Tavolozza Foundation. For this reason I decided to look to the next generation of dealers to join me in carrying Colnaghi forward into the future. I am delighted to say that I have had the good fortune to find two young men, Jorge Coll and Nicolás Cortés, whom I am confident are able to assist me in this. Operating as Coll & Cortés, Jorge and Nicolás have enjoyed great success in a relatively short space of time. More importantly they have demonstrated their commitment to what I consider to be the core values of Colnaghi: dealing in artworks of great quality, undertaking scholarly research and working closely with the museum world. As Chairman, I will continue to be involved at Colnaghi, but I know that, in their hands, the future of this great firm is assured and the gallery will go on to even greater heights.

Nicolás Cortés, Konrad Bernheimer and Jorge Coll, London, December 2015

I would like to thank Katrin for the time we have worked together at Colnaghi – I could not have hoped for a better partner. I dedicate this catalogue to all our friends, be they collectors, fellow dealers or museum curators and directors – we are all part of a community united by a shared passion for art. I am most grateful to the writers and scholars who have contributed essays to the catalogue, and my thanks go to the individuals, museums and institutions that have allowed us to reproduce works of art or archival material from their collections. Lastly, I would like to thank the teams at Colnaghi and Coll & Cortés who made this anthology possible: the editors Tim Warner-Johnson and Jeremy Howard, who also contributed several essays; Sarah Gallagher and Olivia Mackay for sourcing the images and coordinating the catalogue production; Diego Fortunato for designing the catalogue, with the help of Juan Montenegro and Julie Bond; and Andreas Pampoulides for his assistance with the Coll & Cortés material.

Konrad O. Bernheimer, London, January 2016

The year 2015 was an extremely important one for us. Not only did we celebrate the tenth anniversary of Coll & Cortés, but we also joined Konrad as partners of Colnaghi, and it is with great pride that we write the foreword to our first Colnaghi catalogue.

In our opinion Colnaghi is the biggest name in the history of Old Master dealing. The gallery epitomises so much that we, as dealers in so-called 'traditional art', consider to be important for the continued success of our sector of the art market. We have been asked more than once why we chose to enter into partnership with Colnaghi and our answer is quite simply that we share the values that have underpinned the gallery's many triumphs. For us, Colnaghi stands out among Old Master dealerships for its long-standing relationship with museums and its commitment to research and scholarship – subjects that will be explored from different perspectives in this catalogue. These are the goals that we have aspired to in our first ten years of Coll & Cortés and we are fully committed to continuing our pursuit of them at Colnaghi. By respecting the gallery's traditional values, we are confident that we can add another chapter to Colnaghi's great story.

Although we opened a gallery in London in 2012 and have developed our international profile greatly in recent years, we believe that as Colnaghi we will have an even stronger platform from which to realise our objectives, both in the academic and commercial spheres. Between London and Madrid we will now have a team of twenty-five people and this will allow us to position ourselves very strongly in the market place, not only for gaining access to important works of art but also for placing them in the best collections around the world.

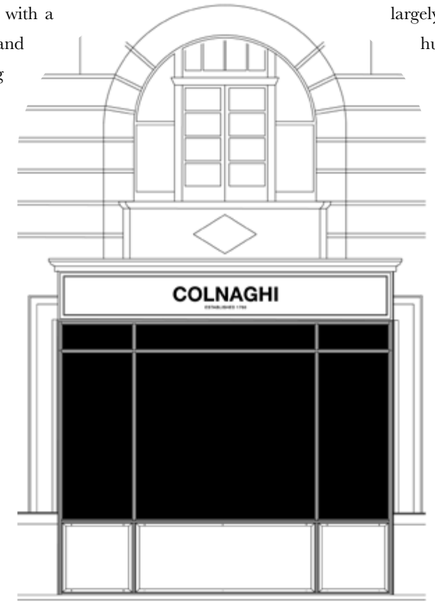
As a gallery, we are committed to Old Master paintings, sculpture and works of art. This is our passion and our focus will remain in this area. Experience has shown us that there are people who share this passion and there is still a market for traditional art, not just with museums but also among private collectors. By understanding, respecting and nurturing this tradition for older art – and what gallery represents this tradition better than Colnaghi? – we are confident that there is a bright future for the gallery and this sector of the art market in general.

We are grateful to the contributors to this anthology whose interviews and essays have introduced an outside perspective on the Colnaghi story. Our thanks also go to the teams at Colnaghi and Coll & Cortés who have worked so hard to produce this catalogue. We would like to dedicate it to the memory of our dear friend Bentley Angliss, who was so supportive of us when we first started. He would have been delighted to know that we have become a little more English, now that we are partners at Colnaghi.

Jorge Coll and Nicolás Cortés, London, January 2016

Introduction

Six years ago we celebrated our 250th anniversary with a history of the firm and an exhibition featuring some of the remarkable achievements of the previous two-and-a-half centuries in the art business. The present publication, which commemorates a new partnership and Colnaghi's move back to St. James's after a hundred years in Mayfair, marks a new chapter in our long history. It is appropriate, therefore, to emphasise at the outset that this new publication is not a history, but an anthology which, while reflecting upon the past and the present, is essentially forward-looking. This is reflected in the tripartite structure of the anthology – Past, Present and Future – which ends with a section on our plans moving forward and some broader reflections on emerging markets, new museums and the future of the art world as we see it.



Colnaghi Gallery, 26 Bury Street, St. James's

As was the case with the catalogue for the 1984 Colnaghi exhibition, *Art, Commerce and Scholarship*, this compilation of words and pictures is designed to celebrate some of the great works of art that have passed through our hands and to include some reflections by art-world figures on various aspects of the art market today and in the future. Museums and the academic world are also featured here because Colnaghi has always believed that 'Scholarship' should go hand-in-hand with 'Art' and 'Commerce'. This explains the prominence given here to the Colnaghi Archive, a gold mine for those interested in the history of the art market. Now housed at Windmill Hill on the Waddesdon Estate, the archive has not only supplied material for all the essays in the Past section, but also provided the inspiration for a chapter in the Future section discussing the importance of this and other archives held in major institutions around the world. In the words of Thomas Gaehtgens, Director of the Getty Research Institute, quoted in that chapter: 'We have underestimated the inspiring role of art dealers. They have too often been described only by the business part of their profession. Art history has somewhat overlooked their professionalism which was, and still is, based on experience, knowledge, and art historical connoisseurship.' One of the aims of the new Colnaghi Foundation, which is to be established in the future, will be to encourage scholarly research into the history of the art market and to redress this imbalance, as well as to open new avenues and approaches in the history of art.

It is a truism that history repeats itself. The conditions are never precisely the same and the market as it was a hundred years ago is very different from how it is today. Then the market was largely dealer-led and Colnaghi operated from a huge emporium on New Bond St. in a building which – in what is surely a sign of the times – is currently occupied by a contemporary art gallery. The supply of Old Masters was so plentiful that in one year, 1911, Colnaghi acquired no fewer than three Vermeers; and the demand was such that two of them were sold almost immediately to American collectors. The competition from the auction houses was far less fierce than it is today, there was no internet and telephones were a novelty which had only recently been introduced to the art business.

Nevertheless, some things have not changed greatly in the last hundred years. Then, as now, the market for Old Master paintings was underpinned by scholarship, and this, combined with a long tradition of connoisseurship, is something of which Colnaghi, as one of the leading dealerships at the time, can be proud. The letters written by Otto Gutekunst to Bernard Berenson in the 1890s and early 1900s, now in the Colnaghi Archive, are full of acute observations on pictures on the market, and Harriet Reed's illuminating article on the sale of an altarpiece by Piero della Francesca to Robert Sterling Clark shows the scholarly care that Gutekunst took to reassure a client of the justness of an attribution. Later in the century, James Byam Shaw, who is the subject of a moving memoir by Francis Russell, was revered both as a scholar and great connoisseur of Old Master drawings and greatly respected as someone who straddled the worlds of scholarship, connoisseurship and commerce.

Byam Shaw exemplifies another important characteristic of the Colnaghi tradition which continues today: Colnaghi's close relationship with the museum world. His wonderful correspondence with Sir Karl T. Parker, former Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, reveals the closeness of that relationship, which undoubtedly contributed greatly to Parker's remarkable acquisitions for his museum in the field of Old Master drawings. Colnaghi has also enjoyed important relationships with many of the great American museums and played a key role in forming the private collections of Henry Clay Frick, Isabella Stewart Gardner, Andrew W. Mellon and others on which today's public collections in America were founded. These relationships continue to be as important today. Colnaghi also has a long history of dealing with museums in the German-speaking world, a history which goes back to Wilhelm von Bode and the Berlin Gemäldegalerie in the 1890s, as Konrad Bernheimer points out in the chapter on Colnaghi and the German art world.

Nonetheless, as Bernheimer observes, one has to adapt in order to survive and always to be alive to the development of new markets and collecting areas. One such area recently developed by our new partners, Jorge Coll and Nicolás Cortés, is the field of Spanish polychrome wood sculpture, which is now starting to gain the recognition it deserves, as discussed in an interview with Xavier Bray conducted by Maggie Gray. Our hope is that new museums and private collectors will emerge in parts of the world that have not traditionally collected Old Masters, who might in future be inspired to take an interest in this most venerable of collecting fields. After all, who, in the early 1890s, could have predicted the importance that America was to play in the market for Old Masters?

No publication of this sort would have been possible without the help of numerous people and institutions. Firstly, we would like to thank our contributors: Margaret Iacono, Assistant Research Curator at The Frick Collection, for her fascinating chapter on Frick and Turner; Harriet Reed for casting new light on Robert Sterling Clark and the sale of an altarpiece by Piero della Francesca; Francis Russell for his affectionate memoir of James Byam Shaw; and Maggie Gray for her insightful interview on on the subject of Spanish sculpture with Jorge Coll and Xavier Bray, Arturo and Holly Melosi Chief Curator, Dulwich Picture Gallery. We are also very grateful to Anna Somers Cocks, OBE, Chief Executive Officer, and Anny Shaw, UK correspondent, of *The Art Newspaper*, and Keith Christiansen, John Pope-Hennessy Chairman of the Department of European Paintings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for their thought-provoking chapters in the Future section of our catalogue. Our thanks also go to the following for their enlightening reflections on the Colnaghi Archive and the wider significance of dealers' archives: Pippa Shirley, Head of Collections at Waddesdon Manor, and Catherine Taylor, Head Archivist of The Waddesdon Archive at Windmill Hill; Alan Crookham, Research Centre Manager, and Susanna Avery-Quash, Senior Research Curator (History of Collecting), at the National Gallery, London; Inge Reist, Director of The Frick Collection's Center for the History of Collecting; and Thomas Gaehtgens, Director, and Gail Feigenbaum, Associate Director, of the Getty Research Institute. In compiling this anthology we would like to acknowledge other individuals and institutions who have helped in varying ways: Sarah Williams-Bulkeley, James Byam Shaw's former secretary, for sharing her memories of Colnaghi in the 1960s; Nathaniel Silver, Assistant Curator, and Shana McKenna, Archivist, at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, and Ilaria della Monica, Archivist at Villa I Tatti, all of whom provided some valuable new information on Botticelli's *Lucretia*; Caroline Palmer and Catherine Casley of the Ashmolean Print Room for their help with the Karl Parker correspondence to James Byam Shaw and the sourcing of images; and Alexander Kader for permission to publish the Parker letters. We are indebted to Anne Varick Lauder for her help in proofing the catalogue, and to Tony Fisher and Matthew Hollow for many of the photographs in this publication. We would also like to thank the archivists at Windmill Hill, Catherine Taylor and Nicholas Donaldson, for assisting with research in the Colnaghi Archive and for all their help with locating material. We also owe a huge vote of thanks to Lord Rothschild and the Rothschild Foundation for so generously agreeing to house the Colnaghi Archive in the magnificent new archive building at Windmill Hill, where it is now far more accessible to scholars.

Our thanks also go to all the museums, too numerous to mention individually, who have allowed and enabled us to reproduce some of the many works of art which once passed through our hands. Last but not least, the editors would like to thank their colleagues in London: Sarah Gallagher and Olivia Mackay, without whose logistical support this anthology could not have been produced; Andreas Pampoulides for his valuable input from the Coll & Cortés side; and Diego Fortunato for the wonderful design of the anthology, realised with the support of Juan Montenegro and Julie Bond.

Tim Warner-Johnson and Jeremy Howard
London, January 2016

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THE PAST

It has been no easy task to select just a few subjects to illustrate the long history of Colnaghi, so rich and varied is the gallery's past. However, we have chosen to highlight in this section the importance of the Colnaghi archive for our understanding of the firm's history. Now safely housed at a special facility at Windmill Hill on the Waddesdon Estate, the Archive is the source of so much of the material included in the following chapters.

The first chapter in the section presents a summary of the gallery's growth and development from 1760 to 2002, and sets the scene for the more detailed studies presented in the essays that follow. Each presents a fascinating story from Colnaghi's history, drawing on the almost inexhaustible supply of stories contained within the archive. The archive itself will be the subject of its own chapter, with a selection of archival materials reproduced and discussed. Among them is a selection of letters written by artists such as Mme. Vigée Lebrun, Constable and Delacroix, which vividly evoke the era of Paul and Dominic Colnaghi, a time when Colnaghi was at the heart of the contemporary art world thanks to its print publishing activities.

The following chapters comprise three case studies highlighting Colnaghi's important relationships with American collectors during the Gilded Age: the purchase of Botticelli's *Tragedy of Lucretia* by the firm's first important American client, Isabella Stewart Gardner; the sale of J.M.W. Turner's *Mortlake Terrace* to Henry Clay Frick, effectively Colnaghi's second great American client, and of two other Turners which are now in the National Museum of Wales; and lastly the story of a Piero della Francesca altarpiece acquired by Robert Sterling Clark and its role in the founding of the Clark Institute's collection. All three studies are testament to the collaborative nature of archival research, with information in the Colnaghi Archive complemented by documentation found in various museum archives to create a fuller picture of events.

Chapter five focuses on Colnaghi's activities in the 1950s and 1960s, the era of the director James Byam Shaw, and on the contributions made by that remarkable scholar-dealer and connoisseur in establishing the academic reputation of the firm and building its relationships with museums. This chapter also includes a memoir by Francis Russell, Deputy Chairman of Christie's, as well as a revealing series of letters written to Byam Shaw by Sir Karl T. Parker, former Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum.

The final chapter presents highlights of the many masterpieces sold to museums across the world by Colnaghi between the late nineteenth century and 2002, a year which marked the beginning of a new chapter in the long history of the firm. The sheer quantity and quality of such works emphasises the significance of Colnaghi's role in forming some of the most important collections in America. Even if we are now living in a time when Leonardos, Rembrandts and Vermeers are not so easily found, Colnaghi still remains connected to the museum world through its commitment to scholarship and its collaborations with institutions in conducting the sort of research that is made possible only by the remarkable resource of the Colnaghi Archive.

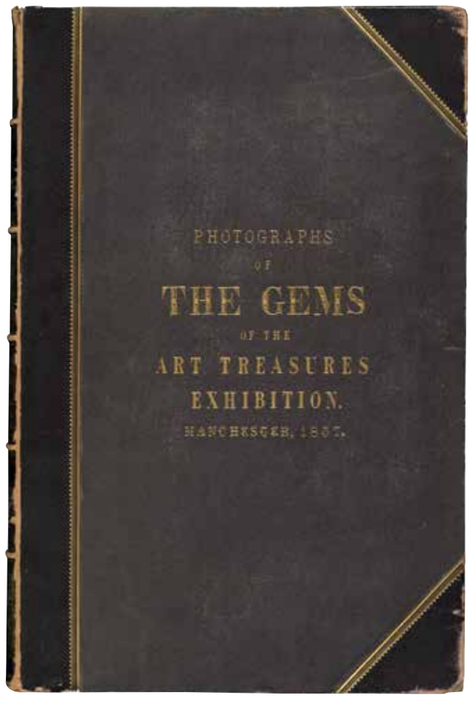


Fig. 3. Cover and illustration of Sir Anthony van Dyck's *Portrait of Frans Snyders* in *Photographs of the Gems of the Art Treasures Exhibition, Manchester, 1857*, Colnaghi Archive

Fig. 1. Luigi Schiavonetti after Francis Wheatley
Milk below maids, *Cries of London*, 1793
British Museum, London

Fig. 2. Sir Muirhead Bone, *The Colnaghi gallery at 13-14 Pall Mall East*, 1911, Colnaghi

Chapter 1

From print selling to picture dealing: Colnaghi 1760-2002

Jeremy Howard

The year 2010 marked the 250th anniversary of Colnaghi, a landmark in the galley's long and varied history. This first section of our anthology traces some of the highlights of this history from 1760, when the first business was established, through to 2002, when the company was acquired by Konrad Bernheimer. Our intention here is not to give a comprehensive history, but rather a broad overview, pausing to throw a spotlight on certain interesting facets of the firm's history which are discussed in more detail in the essays that follow. The section closes with a selection of some of the many great works of art sold by Colnaghi in this period that are now in the collections of museums around the world.

The firm which now bears the name Colnaghi was founded by an enterprising pyrotechnist called Giambattista Torre. In 1760, on the back of his firework business, Torre opened a shop in Paris dealing in scientific instruments (the *Cabinet de Physique Experimentale*), followed by a branch near Pall Mall in London seven years later. This was managed initially by his son Anthony, who developed a thriving print-selling business, and he was joined there in 1785 by Paul Colnaghi, who took over the business with Anthony three years later when Torre retired. Colnaghi weathered the storm caused by the outbreak of the French Revolution thanks in part to the great success of the *Cries of London* series of prints by Luigi Schiavonetti after Francis Wheatley published in 1792-97 (fig. 1). This was followed in 1805 by another best-selling print of Admiral Lord Nelson, whose publication coincided with the Battle of Trafalgar. During the Regency period the gallery's print-shop in Cockspur Street became a fashionable haunt, the '3 O' Clock Levee crowded with Beauty and Fashion', and Colnaghi became print-seller both to the Prince Regent and later to his brother, William IV. Paul was joined in the business by his son Dominic and the firm moved to a gallery on Pall Mall East (fig. 2). They enjoyed close relationships with contemporary British artists such as John Constable, and Dominic also had important contacts in France, both with the Orléans family and painters like Eugène Delacroix. His wide range of activities extended to selling armour to Samuel Rush Merrick and antiquarian books and prints to Ralph Bernal. Dominic was the obvious choice to organise the works on paper section of the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition of 1857. This was commemorated in the sumptuous *Photographs of the Gems of the Art Treasures Exhibition,* published by Colnaghi and Agnew's and one of the first art publications to be illustrated by photography. Sir Anthony van Dyck's *Portrait of Frans Snyders*, illustrated there (fig. 3) and now in The Frick Collection, was one of the many paintings

in the exhibition later sold by Colnaghi to American collectors. In the same decade, Colnaghi also commissioned from William Simpson *The Seat of the War in the East*, a magnificent series of lithographs of the Crimean War, which was, however, to be Colnaghi's swan-song as contemporary print publishers.

Fig. 4. Titian, *The Rape of Europa*, c.1560-62
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston

After Dominic's death in 1879 there was no direct heir to take on the business. However, in 1894, two young dynamic partners, Otto Gutekunst and Edmond Deprez, joined the firm, transforming London's most venerable print shop into one of the leading Old Master picture dealers of the Gilded Age. Although prints remained an important part of Colnaghi's business until the closure of the Print Department in 1989, the focus of the business increasingly swung towards what Gutekunst called 'the big-big game'. In 1894 Colnaghi sold their first painting to Isabella Stewart Gardner, Sandro Botticelli's *Tragedy of Lucretia*, and this deal, discussed in chapter three of this section, was followed two years later by the sale to Mrs. Gardner of one of the greatest Italian Renaissance masterpieces to cross the Atlantic, Titian's *Rape of Europa* (fig. 4). During the 1890s Colnaghi also sold highly important works by the likes of Rembrandt and Vermeer to the Berlin Gemäldegalerie, with whose director, Wilhelm von Bode, they enjoyed a very close relationship. From around 1900, however, Colnaghi's business started to shift decisively towards America. Initially the main conduit was the connoisseur Bernard Berenson, through whom Colnaghi sold around thirty works of art to Mrs. Gardner, but, from around 1905, Colnaghi developed an important relationship with the Knoedler Gallery. This partnership, and the very close friendship between Gutekunst and 'Charlie' Carstairs of Knoedler, led to some of the biggest deals of the early twentieth century, when pictures, sourced mainly by Colnaghi, were sold to collectors such as Henry Clay Frick, Peter Widener and Andrew W. Mellon.

Fig. 5. View of the interior of the Colnaghi Gallery in New Bond Street, c.1912

In 1911, Colnaghi moved from the relatively modest premises in Pall Mall East to a sumptuous gallery on New Bond St. (fig. 5), thought more appropriate for their millionaire clientele, and in the same year Gustavus ('Gus') Mayer, a notable expert on Old Master prints, joined the firm as Gutekunst's junior partner. During the 1920s Colnaghi and Knoedler sold important paintings to Andrew Mellon, such as Holbein's *Portrait of Prince Edward VI* (p. 67), and this was followed, despite the aftermath of the Wall Street Crash, with the biggest single deal in the firm's history: the sale in 1930-31 to Mellon and other collectors and museums of the Hermitage Collection of paintings. This transaction, which was orchestrated by Colnaghi, Knoedler and Matthiesen (with the dealer Duveen notably excluded), featured masterpieces such as Raphael's *Alba Madonna* (fig. 6) which were to form the core of the National Gallery of Art in Washington.

Fig. 6 . Raphael, *The Alba Madonna*, 1510, National Gallery of Art, Washington

The Hermitage deal appeared to defy the economic laws of gravity, and during the later 1930s Colnaghi, like so many of the firms that had flourished during the Gilded Age, experienced a major slowdown in their business. In 1939 they moved out of the grand space in New Bond St. into premises on Old Bond St. (fig. 7). The art market was sluggish after the Second World War, but Colnaghi were able to take advantage of the strict post-war currency controls to acquire by instalments a great collection of prints and drawings from the Prince of Liechtenstein, most of which found their way into prominent museums, particularly in America. During the later 1950s and 1960s, under the directorship of James Byam Shaw, Colnaghi built up a formidable reputation for scholarship and connoisseurship and enjoyed very close relationships with museums. The gallery also played a pioneering role in the reappraisal of certain relatively neglected fields of collecting, such as Italian Baroque painting.

The acquisition of Colnaghi by Lord Rothschild in 1970 saw the transformation of what had been a relatively small, private concern into a larger and more ambitious business that now extended into new fields such as oriental art and photography. The Print Department started to show the work of Munch, the German Expressionists and Russian Constructivists, while the gallery started to deal in sculpture and decorative arts. There was also a series of pioneering exhibitions on themes such as *Painting in Florence 1600-1700* (1978) and *Objects from the Wunderkammer* (1981), which helped open up new fields of collecting and scholarly enquiry. In 1981 Lord Rothschild relinquished his interest in the business to the Oetker Group, under whose ownership Colnaghi opened a gallery in New York in 1983. In the 1980s and 1990s, under the directorship first of Franco Zangrilli, and then Richard Knight and Nicholas Hall, Colnaghi organized several important exhibitions through which they developed close relationships with American museums that resulted in a number of significant sales of Italian Renaissance and Baroque paintings and French eighteenth-century art. The gallery's reputation in Old Master drawings, which had been established during the Byam Shaw era, was continued by Jean-Luc Baroni. In 2002 Colnaghi was acquired from the Oetker group by Konrad Bernheimer, thus marking a new chapter in the gallery's history.

Fig.7. View of the Colnaghi Gallery at 14 Old Bond Street, c.1990

Chapter 2

The Colnaghi Archive: A general introduction

Jeremy Howard

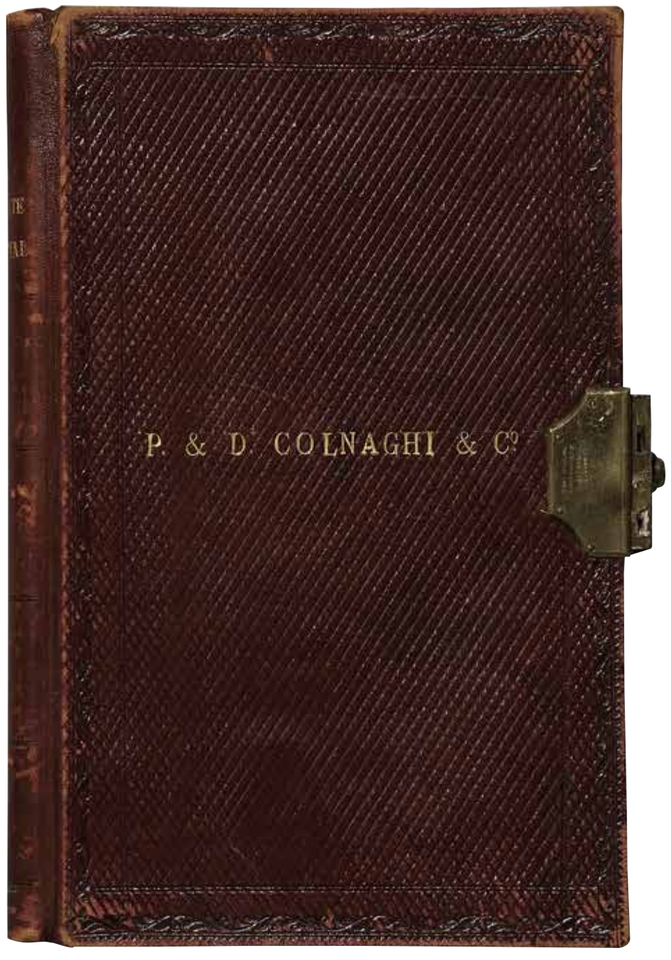


Fig. 1. Private Journal account book, Colnaghi Archive

Since 2014 the Colnaghi Archive has been housed at the Windmill Hill Archive in the grounds of Waddesdon Manor, Aylesbury. A remarkably varied resource, the archive comprises a unique collection of letters, account books (fig. 1), stock books, photographic files, legal documents and miscellaneous albums and manuscripts dating from the late eighteenth century onwards. These are complemented by some rare books and annotated early auction catalogues. Among the legal documents are partnership agreements, wills, inventories and a royal warrant appointing Paul Colnaghi as Print seller to King William IV. The archive includes an often entertaining series of letters written mainly to Paul and Dominic Colnaghi by a range of artists, from Mme. Vigée Lebrun to Lord Leighton. There is also an album put together by Dominic's son, Dominic Ellis Colnaghi, who was British Consul in Florence, of material relating to the House of Orléans (fig. 2), with which Dominic was on intimate terms, a relationship which was continued after his death with the Duc d'Aumale, an important client of the gallery.

Fig. 2. Album of the House of Orléans compiled by D. E. Colnaghi, Colnaghi Archive

Dating from 1894 until 1947, the Colnaghi letter books, which are office copies of outgoing correspondence, including telegrams and invoices, provide a fascinating record of the day-to-day transactions of the firm, which can be cross-referenced with the account books. The letters not only give an insight into Colnaghi's business, but are also sprinkled with observations, both personal and professional, about other members of the art world: museum curators, dealers, agents, collectors and scholars, as well as the restorers, shippers, insurers and bankers whose services were essential to the running of the art market. Some of the letters are carefully transcribed copies of invoices or telegrams, while others are rapid notes dashed off in the heat of the moment. Similarly the account books provide a wide range of information from daily transactions, which were recorded quickly in the company's 'Waste Books', to the meticulous Private Journals written in copperplate hand. One such journal records the purchase of Lord Ashburnham's Botticelli of *Lucretia* in 1894 and another the

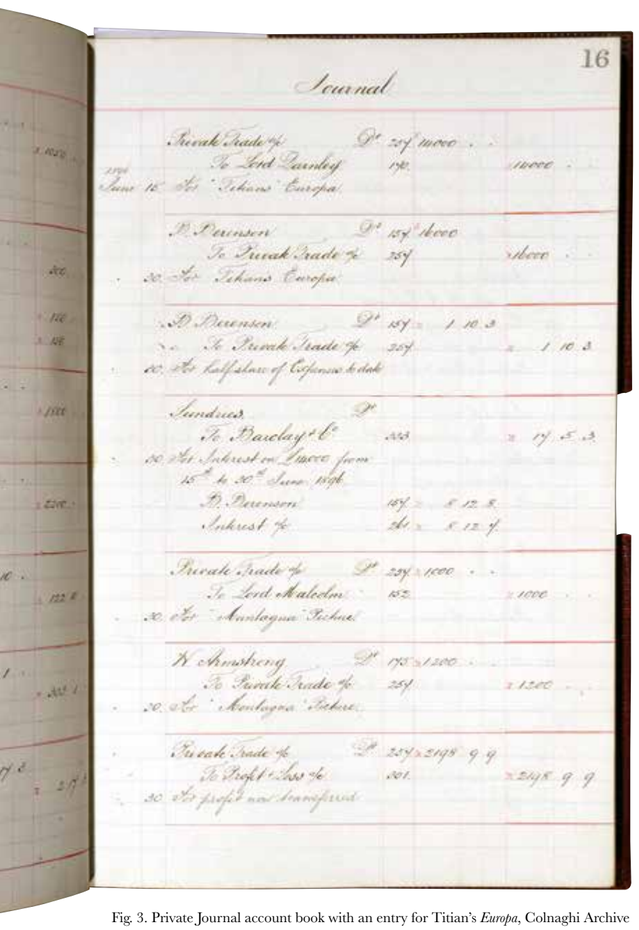


Fig. 3. Private Journal account book with an entry for Titian's *Europa*, Colnaghi Archive

sale of Titian's *Rape of Europa* to Isabella Stewart Gardener in 1896, with the itemisation of expenses and interest owing on the transaction (fig. 3). Although the letterbooks end around 1947, the 1950s and 1960s are well documented in the thirty or so boxes of material from the time of the then director James Byam Shaw, including both private and business correspondence, some of which is featured in chapter six of this section.

The booming market for Old Master and British eighteenth-century paintings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries prompted the production of the most sumptuous catalogues. The purpose of these might be to advertise what was for sale or to celebrate a successful acquisition, and they could function both as showcases for dealers and trophy publications for collectors. The books might also have a more scholarly function as catalogues raisonnés or commemorations of the blockbuster exhibitions – often orchestrated by dealers – that were such a feature of the Gilded Age of dealing. The magnificently bound catalogue of *The Hope Collection of Pictures*, bought *en bloc* by Colnaghi and Asher Wertheimer in 1898, seems to have been both a trophy and an advertisement. The alluringly presented illustration of the painting by Gabriel Metsu now in the National Gallery of Ireland (fig. 4), may well have helped its sale to Sir Alfred Beit, when combined with the persuasive guidance of his advisor Wilhelm von Bode. A significant number of the monographs produced in the late nineteenth century were published, and in some cases also written, by dealers, one notable example being the book on Hoppner, which was co-authored by Colnaghi's senior partner William McKay and published by the gallery in 1909, at a time when there was huge transatlantic interest in the artist.

The archive also contains a selection of press books, which give a wonderful insight into life at the gallery. A volume from 1909 records one of the most high-profile episodes in the firm's history: the threatened sale by Colnaghi and Knoedler of the Duke of Norfolk's Holbein *Portrait of Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan* to Henry Clay Frick. The Duchess was saved for the nation at the eleventh hour, but the case provoked a huge storm of protest, which is vividly captured in a series of clippings in the press books (fig. 5).

From the late nineteenth century onwards, Colnaghi were renowned for the exhibitions which they put on and the parties thrown to commemorate them, occasionally, as in the great 1911 Vermeer exhibition, attended by royalty and often by the aristocracy and celebrities. Some of these events are also recorded in the press books and letter books, and occasionally invitations survive, but none as beautiful as that for the Dürer 400th anniversary exhibition of 1928 (fig. 6). The press books also provide a changing record of art transactions, reviews and gossip, along with photographs of private views such as the party held in 1978 at Colnaghi for the Sebastiano Ricci exhibition, in which several current members of the art trade appear in their more youthful incarnations (fig. 7). Such photographs, like Proust's madeleine, offer us a means to unlock the past and the archive as a whole provides a unique insight into the history of the art market.

Fig. 4. Gabriel Metsu's *Man writing a letter*, illustrated in *The Hope Collection of Pictures*, Colnaghi Archive

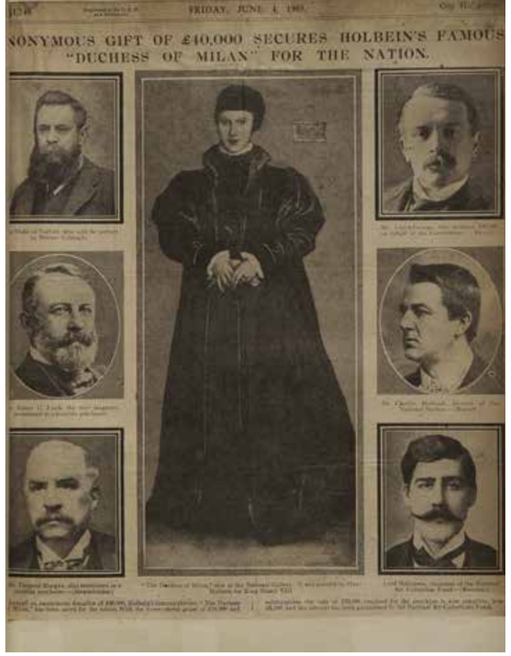


Fig. 5. Press book relating to Holbein the Younger's *Christina of Denmark* Colnaghi Archive

Fig. 6. Invitation for the Dürer 400th anniversary exhibition in 1928 Colnaghi Archive

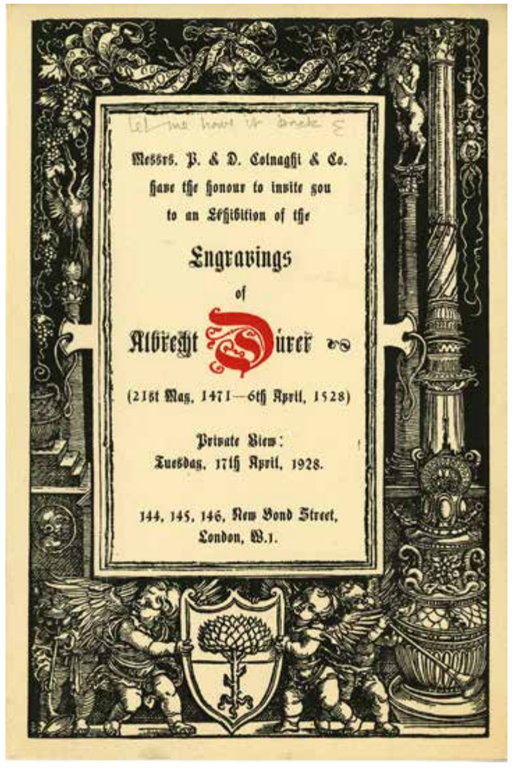
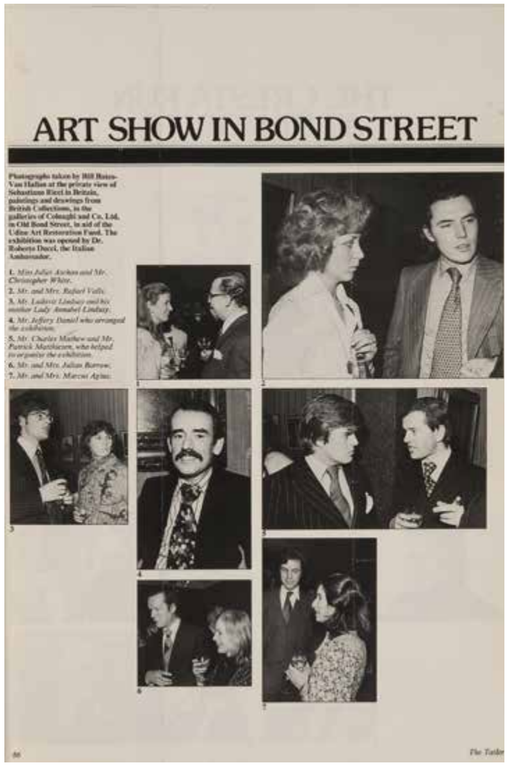


Fig. 7. Press book with a photograph of the reception at Colnaghi for the Sebastiano Ricci exhibition in 1978, Colnaghi Archive



Paul and Dominic Colnaghi and the London art world: Letters from the Colnaghi Archive

Jeremy Howard

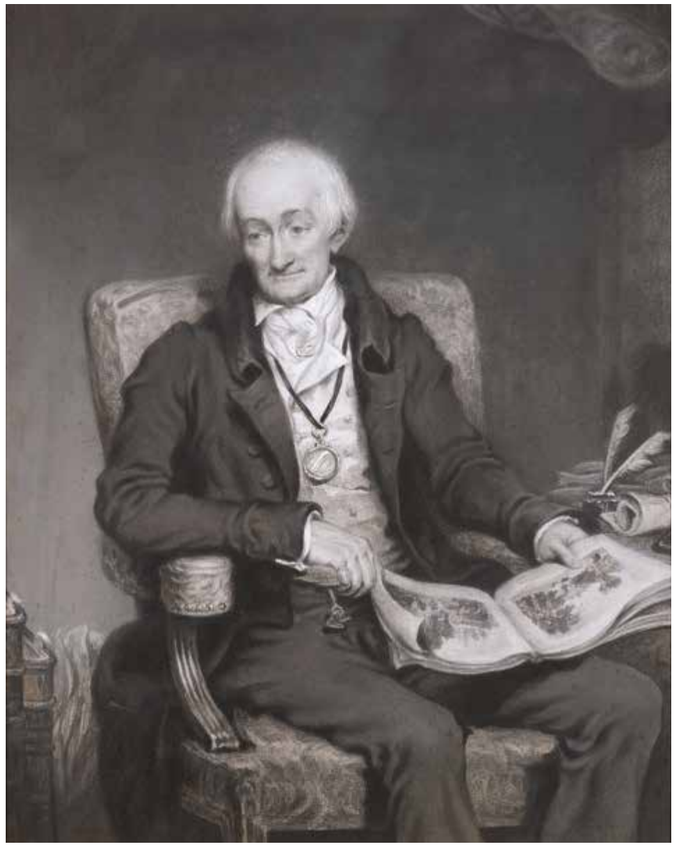


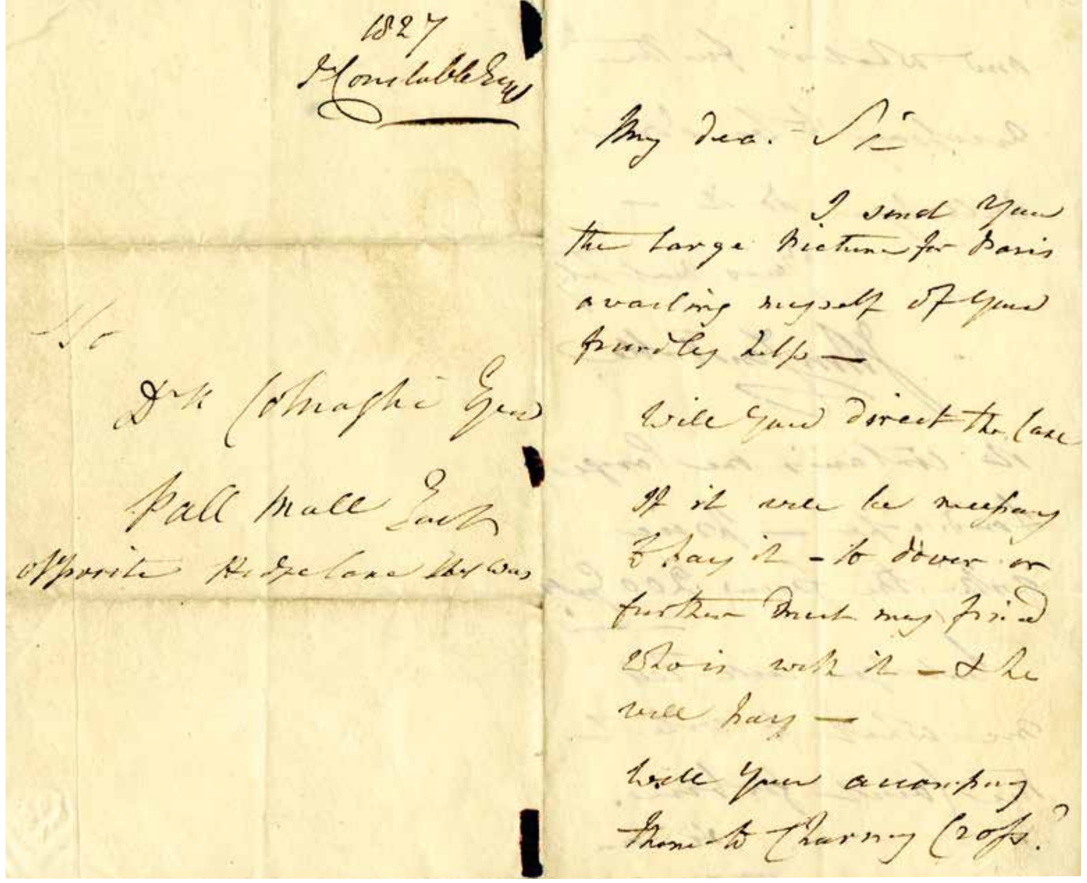
Fig. 8. Charles Turner, A.R.A., *Paul Colnaghi (1751-1833),* c.1830, Colnaghi

For the last hundred years Colnaghi have primarily been known as dealers in Old Masters, but in the early nineteenth century, as London's preeminent firm of print publishers, they attracted to their gallery not only the *beau monde*, but also some of the most important artists of the day. These artists, who came to them partly for business reasons, but also for advice and help, included prominent British masters such as Constable and the French painters Delacroix and Mme Vigée Lebrun. The letters in the Colnaghi Archive provide an intimate portrait of these relationships and range from the brisk and businesslike to the intimate and informal.

Earliest in date is an impatient and irritable letter written in French to Paul Colnaghi by Mme Vigée Lebrun, who was clearly exasperated by the slow progress being made by one of Colnaghi's engravers, Samuel Reynolds, in retouching a print after her portrait of Mme Grassini. She wants to ask if Monsieur Reynolds has 'at last retouched the engraving', which 'should have been done a long time ago', and whether Colnaghi has had any new subscribers for the print.

More amicably Paul and Dominic Colnaghi both enjoyed very cordial relations with Constable. In fact the book shown resting on Paul Colnaghi's leg in the 1830 portrait of him by Charles Turner (fig. 8) is *The Landscape*, a collection of mezzotints after Constable's paintings, on whose publication Paul had offered much valuable advice. Three years earlier, on 6th April 1827, Constable wrote to Dominic Colnaghi (fig. 9), telling him that he had completed 'The Brighton Coast' and was intending to bring it to London (from Hampstead) for sending-in day at the Royal Academy on 10th April. That same year he also wrote to Dominic, seeking his help in shipping a picture to Paris and asking for an introduction to Count Forbin, who headed the Salon Jury (fig. 10).

Fig. 9. Karoly Brocky, *Dominic Colnaghi (1790-1879),* c.1840, Colnaghi



1827
Hampstead

My Dear Sir

I send you the large Picture for Paris availing myself of your friendly help —

Will you direct the case

If it will be necessary to pay it – to Dover or further meet my friend who is with it – & he will pay —

Will you accompany them to Charing Cross?

&c

Dft Colnaghi Esqr

Pall Mall East

Opposite Bridgewater House

and what is further necessary to be done will you do it —

Yours most truly

John Constable

It contains one large Landscape — price with the frame 200 Gns

But you will tell me what to write to the Count Forbin.

&c &c

Fig. 11. John Constable, *The Cornfield*, 1827, National Gallery, London

John Constable to Dominic Colnaghi, 1827

My dear Sir,

I send you the large picture for Paris availing myself of your friendly help. Will you direct the case. If it will be necessary to pay it – to Dover or further [–] *meet my friend who is with it and he will pay – Will you accompany them to Charing Cross? And what is further necessary to be done will you do it –*

Yours most truly,
John Constable

It contains one large landscape – price with the frame 200 gns. But you will tell me what to write to the Count Forbin.

Opposite: Fig. 10. Letter from John Constable to Dominic Colnaghi, 1827, Colnaghi Archive

The picture has been identified as *The Cornfield* (fig. 11) now in the National Gallery, London, which was exhibited as 'Paysage avec animaux' at the Paris Salon of 1827-28, and is now one of Constable's most celebrated paintings after *The Haywain.*

Fig. 12. Henri Monnier, *Dominic Colnaghi and two friends*, 1831, Colnaghi

Fig. 13. Eugène Delacroix, *Self-Portrait*, c.1837, Musée du Louvre, Paris

Dominic Colnaghi, who appears to have been an excellent linguist, was also very friendly with a number of contemporary French artists, as is shown by an affectionate caricature of 1831 by Henri Monnier (fig. 12). Two years after Constable's letter of 1827, Eugène Delacroix (fig. 13), who had been introduced to Dominic by Monnier, wrote to ask a similar favour but in reverse: he would like an introduction to the British Institution where he hopes to exhibit his pictures (fig. 14):

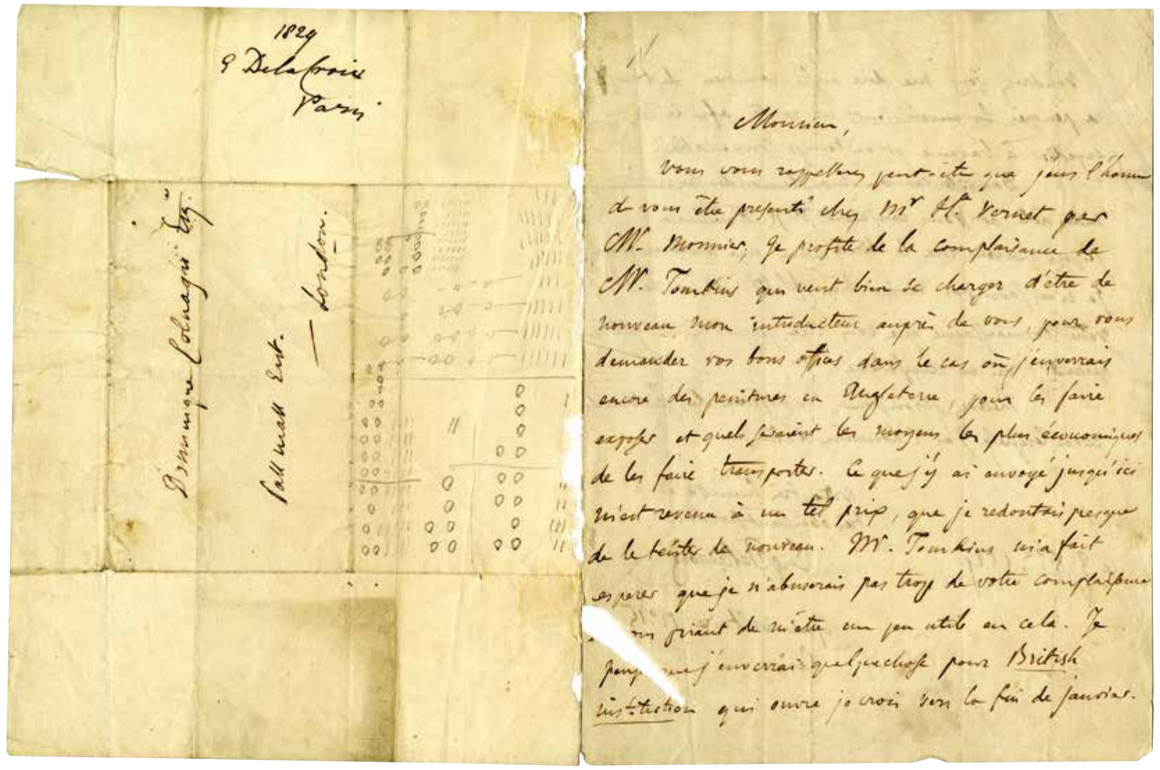
Eugène Delacroix to Dominic Colnaghi, 3rd October 1829
(Translated from the French original)

Sir,

You remember perhaps that I had the honour of being presented to you at Monsieur Horace Vernet's house by Monsieur Monnier; I profit from the goodwill of Mr. Tomkins who has agreed to provide me with a new introduction to you in order to ask for your good offices in the event that I send some more pictures to England for exhibition and for your advice as to the most economic means of shipping them. That which I have sent up to now has cost me so much that I have been doubtful about attempting to do so again. Mr. Tomkins has made me hope that I would not be trespassing too much on your generosity to ask whether you might be able to help me in this. I am thinking of sending something to the British Institution which opens, I believe, towards the end of January. Would you be kind enough to let me know also approximately how much time in advance the shipment needs to be sent in order to arrive in time?

In the event that my question seems indiscreet and might cause too much trouble, I hope that you will be perfectly frank with me. I am very flattered to have made your acquaintance, which I hope to be able to cultivate when I come to England. Please accept, Sir, the expression of my compliments with which I have the honour to be your very humble and obedient servant,

Eug Delacroix
Quai Voltaire no.15, Paris



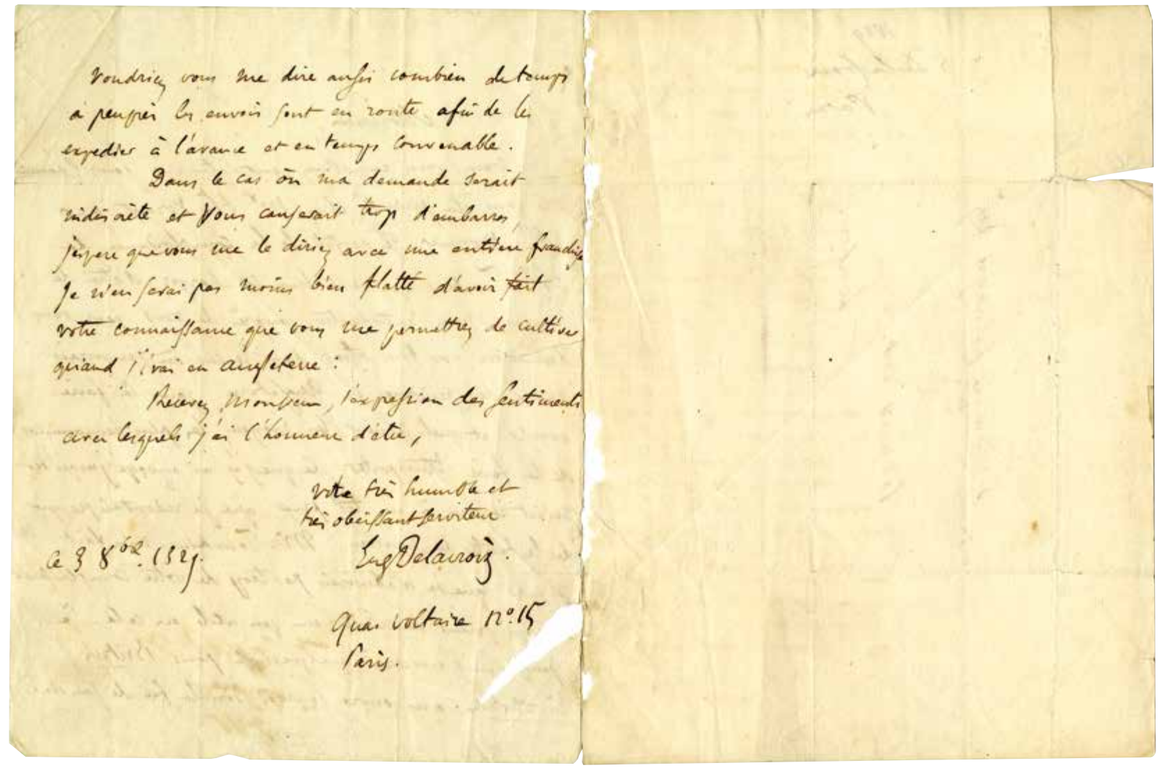


Fig. 14. Letter from Eugène Delacroix to Dominic Colnaghi, 1829, Colnaghi Archive

Colnaghi also seem to have to acted as an unofficial lending library for books and prints which were requested by Dominic's artist friends. Thus, in the following letter (fig. 15), we have the artist Clarkson Stanfield writing to beg the loan of some prints while convalescing from an illness:

Clarkson Stanfield to Dominic Colnaghi

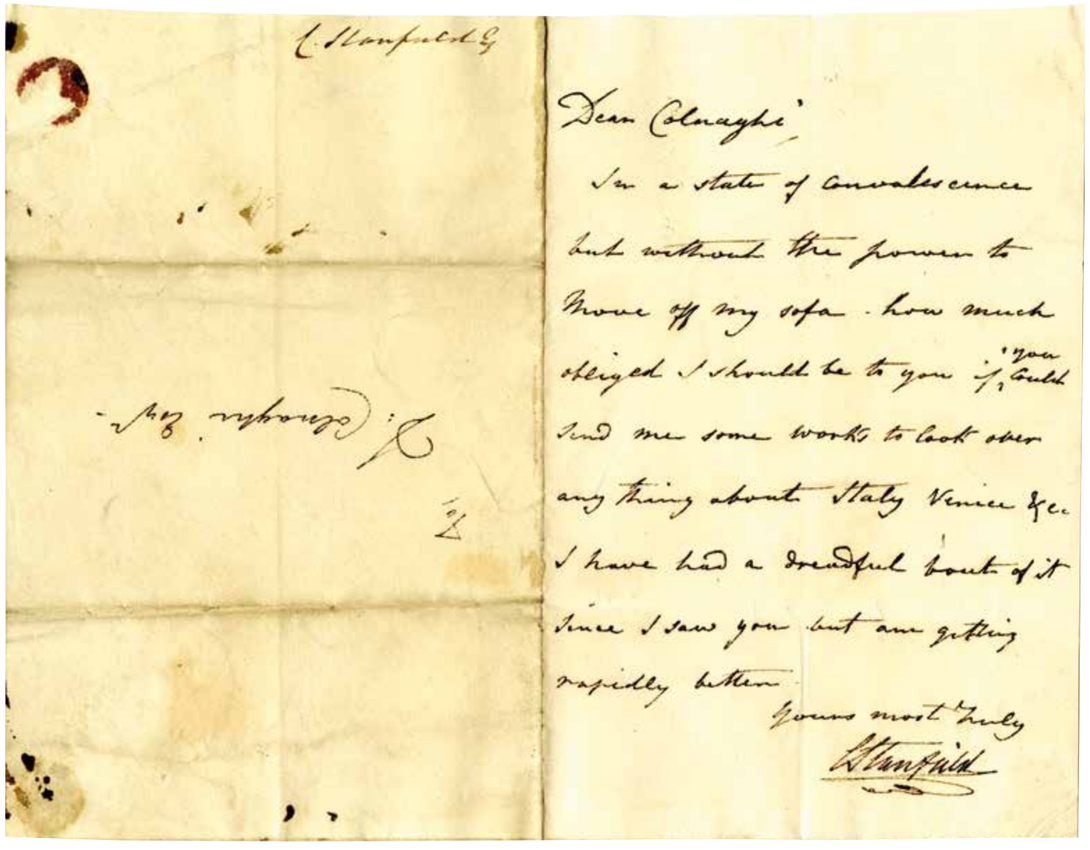
Dear Colnaghi,

In a state of convalescence but without the power to move off my sofa. How much obliged I should be to you if you could send me some works to look over, anything about Italy Venice etc. I have had a dreadful bout of it since I saw you, but am getting rapidly better.

Yours most truly,
C Stanfield

In 1838, William Etty writes in a similar vein to Dominic to crave the loan of a folio of Benjamin West's drawings after the Old Masters, 'I have a hankering after one or two', issuing the light-hearted warning that Colnaghi had better count them before sending them because he might be tempted to 'cabbage some'.

Dominic was also very generous in presenting prints to artists. In May 1836, the sculptor Richard Westmacott wrote to thank Dominic for sending him a print – 'I am not unworthy of the print you have been so kind to send me – for I had a great respect for your excellent Father'. The letter gives no clue as to the subject of the print, but a reasonable inference might be that it was a posthumous engraving based on the bust of Paul Colnaghi by Antoine Dantan, which was issued shortly after Colnaghi's death, a gift which Westmacott, as a sculptor, would have appreciated (fig. 16).


C Stanfield Esq.

Dear Colnaghi

I'm a state of convalescence but without the power to move off my sofa - how much obliged I should be to you if you could send me some works to look over any thing about Italy Venice &c. I have had a dreadful bout of it since I saw you but am getting rapidly better.

Yours most truly
C Stanfield

Fig. 15. Letter from Clarkson Stanfield to Dominic Colnaghi, Colnaghi Archive

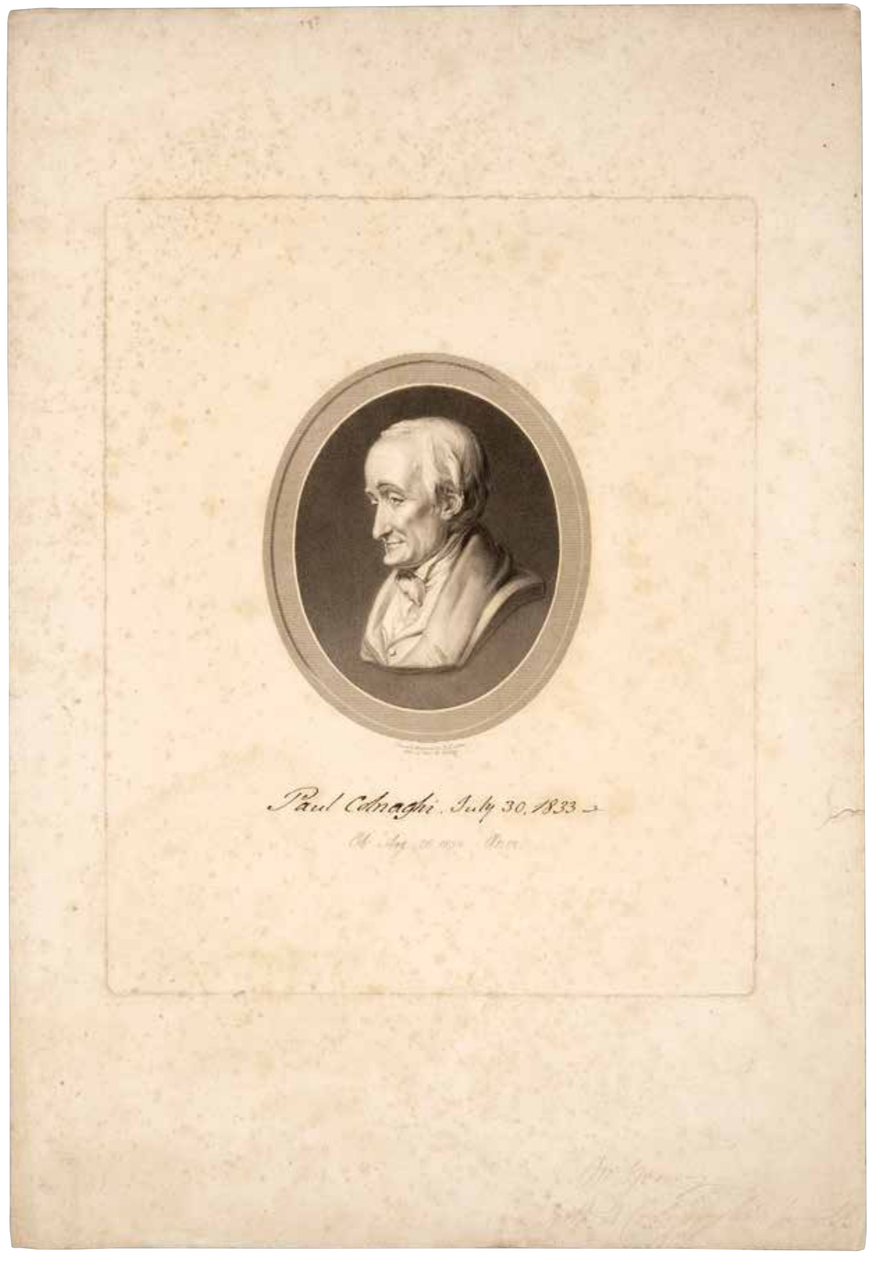


Fig. 16. Engraving after Antoine Dantan's Portrait bust of Paul Colnaghi, Colnaghi Archive

Among the most charming of the all the letters from artists in the Colnaghi Archive is an invitation written by Dickens's illustrator George Cattermole (fig. 17) to Dominic Colnaghi in 1831, inviting him to his cottage in Brixton to 'partake of a plain mutton chop' with J.F. Lewis and David Roberts, the two greatest British topographical and orientalist artists of the early nineteenth century (fig. 18).

Although the reason for the meeting is not known, it was doubtless connected with some publishing project and reveals the delightfully informal relationship that Dominic enjoyed with some of the leading contemporary artists of his day.

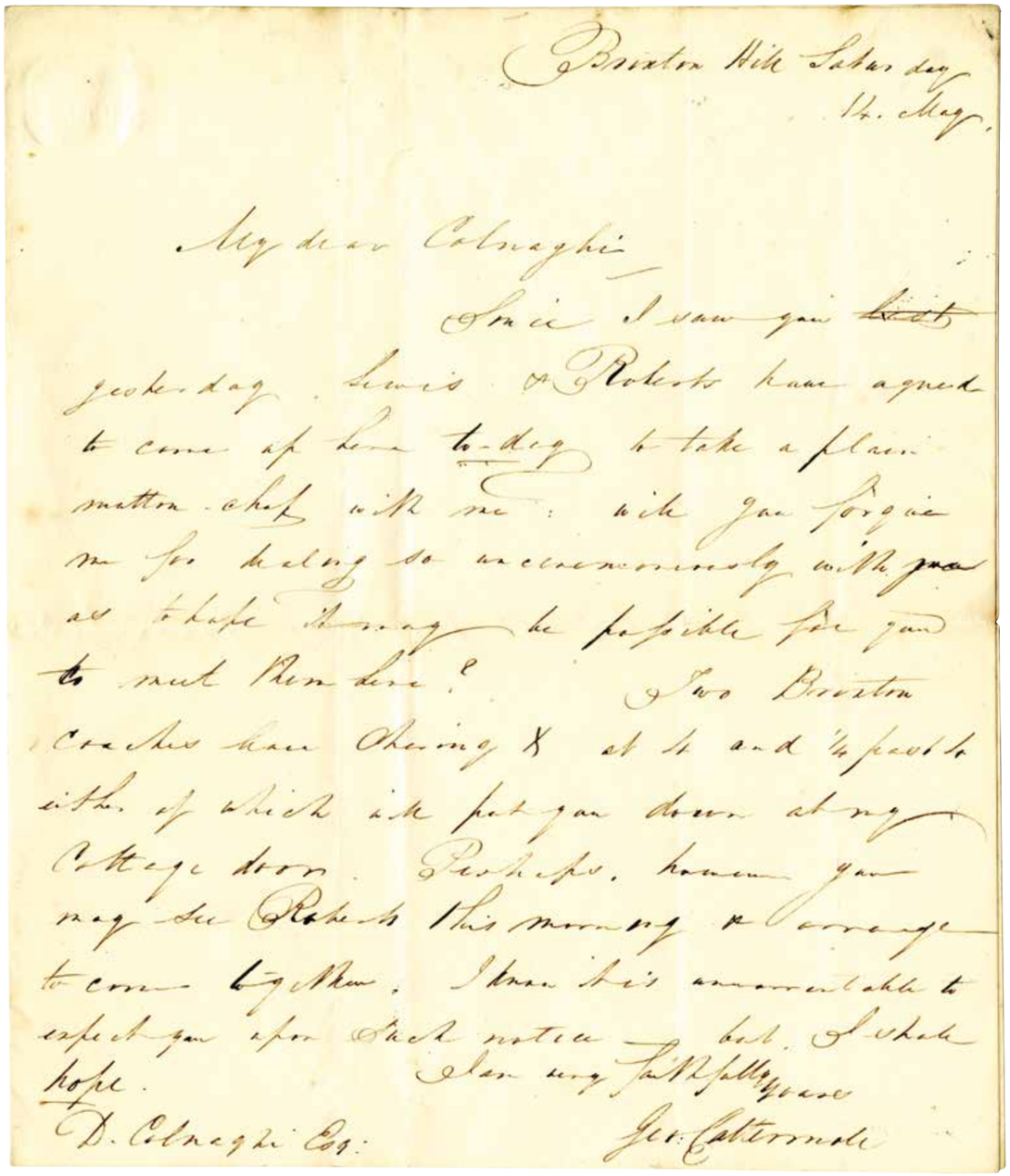
George Cattermole to Dominic Colnaghi, 14th May 1831

My dear Colnaghi,

Since I saw you yesterday, Lewis and Roberts have agreed to come up here to take a plain mutton chop with me. Will you forgive me for dealing so unceremoniously with you as to hope it may be possible for you to meet them there? Two Brixton coaches leave Charing X at 4 and ½ past 4 either of which will put you down at my cottage door. Perhaps, however, you may see Roberts this morning to arrange to come together. I know it is unwarrantable to expect you at short notice, but I shall hope.

I am very faithfully yours,
Geo Cattermole

Fig. 17. Unknown Artist, *Portrait of George Cattermole,* 1830s, National Portrait Gallery, London



Brixton Hill Saturday
14. May.

My dear Colnaghi

Since I saw you ~~last~~ yesterday. Lewis & Roberts have agreed to come up here to-day to take a plain mutton chop with me: will you forgive me for dealing so unceremoniously with you as to hope it may be possible for you to meet them here? Two Brixton Coaches leave Charing X at 4 and ½ past 4 either of which will put you down at my Cottage door. Perhaps, however, you may see Roberts this morning to arrange to come together. I know it is unwarrantable to expect you upon short notice — but I shall hope.

I am very faithfully yours

D. Colnaghi Esq.

Geo. Cattermole

Fig. 18. Letter from George Cattermole to Dominic Colnaghi, 1831, Colnaghi Archive

Chapter 3

Colnaghi, Bernard Berenson and Mrs. Gardner's first Botticelli

Jeremy Howard

Fig. 2. Sandro Botticelli, *The Tragedy of Lucretia,* c.1500, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston

1894 marked the beginning of a new era at Colnaghi. This was the year that two new young partners, Otto Gutekunst and Edmond Deprez, joined the firm, transforming London's most venerable print-shop into one of the most significant Old Master paintings dealerships of the Gilded Age. It was also the year that saw the start of two very important relationships: the first was with Bernard Berenson, the great connoisseur of Italian painting, and the second with Isabella Stewart Gardner who, through Berenson, was to become Colnaghi's first important American client (fig. 1). The sale of Sandro Botticelli's *Tragedy of Lucretia* (fig. 2) to Mrs. Gardner in December 1894, the first of over thirty Colnaghi pictures to be acquired by her during a period of about eight years, was a milestone in this triangular relationship. It was the beginning of Berenson's career as an art adviser and 'salesman for Colnaghi'[1] (although he did not like to see himself in this light) and the opening up of Colnaghi's business with America. It was also the year when Isabella Stewart Gardner came of age as a collector. Hitherto she had made some sporadic purchases of works of art largely under her own initiative, including some pictures by Dante Gabriel Rossetti and, in 1892, one astonishing Old Master painting: Vermeer's *Concert*. But from 1894 onwards, with Berenson's guidance and the largely unrecognised help of Colnaghi in sourcing works of art, she became far more systematic in her approach and the pace and scale of the acquisitions increased enormously. Her first Botticelli was to lead to other great purchases of Italian Renaissance art including Titian's *Rape of Europa* (p. 82), Cellini's *Bust of Bindo Altoviti* (p. 75) and Fra Angelico's *Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin* (p. 55), culminating in 1899 with the great Botticelli *Madonna of the Eucharist* from the Chigi Collection (fig. 3).

Isabella Stewart Gardner and her husband had helped finance Berenson's education at Harvard and his trip to Europe in 1887. However, in the intervening seven years he had lost touch with his former patroness. The publication of his first book, *Venetian Painters of the Renaissance,* in 1894 gave him the opportunity to re-establish communication with her. He sent her a copy and she responded enthusiastically asking him for advice on paintings that she was considering buying. Within a short space of time he was acting as her informal art consultant, although his relationship with Gardner was not then on a professional footing. On 1st August 1894, at the end of a letter in which he had given his rather lukewarm opinions on photographs she had sent him, he closed, almost casually with the offer, not of a Venetian painting, but a picture by the great

Fig. 1. Anders Zorn, *Isabella Stewart Gardner*, 1894
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston

Fig. 3. Sandro Botticelli, *The Madonna of the Eucharist*, c.1470, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston

Florentine master, Botticelli, whose star was then in the ascendant after almost five centuries of neglect:

'*How much do you want a Botticelli? Lord Ashburnham has a great one – one of the greatest: a Death of Lucretia, a cassone picture to rival the Calumny in the Uffizi. I understand that, though the noble lord is not keen about selling it, a handsome offer would not insult him. I should think it would have to be around £3000. If you cared about it, I could, I dare say, get you the best terms. It would be a pleasure to me to be able in some sort to repay you on an occasion when I needed your help*.'[2]

What Berenson did not tell Gardner is that he was not dealing directly with the owner, but through Colnaghi; indeed, for most of the eight years that Gardner was buying pictures supplied by Colnaghi, Berenson was at pains to minimise the firm's involvement. He also failed to disclose to her that he was receiving commission from them and, in many cases, owned paintings in shares with them.[3]

The price mentioned by Berenson, though a fraction of the £21,000 (including commission) that she spent two years later for Titian's *Rape of Europa*, and about a fifth of the price that she was to pay for her second Botticelli, *The Madonna of the Eucharist*, in 1899, was over twice what she had paid two years earlier for her Vermeer. This underscored the fact that the sale represented a turning-point in her collecting. For Gardner, as for Berenson, Botticelli was a master who held a particular allure, connected with the aesthetic movement, the lush writings of Walter Pater and the Harvard lectures of Charles Eliot Norton which both had attended. 'To a Bostonian,' wrote Berenson's biographer Samuels, 'the sacred name of Botticelli was like the sweep of a hand across an Aeolian Harp, sounding the keynote of culture.'[4] One of Gardner's first interests as a collector, in which she was encouraged by Norton, was in early editions of Dante, whose *Divine Comedy* Botticelli had illustrated. And there were other links too: Dante Gabriel Rossetti, whose paintings Gardner collected, had been a pioneering collector of Botticelli in the 1860s (he owned the *Portrait of Smeralda Bandinelli* now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London). Berenson, who in the early days of their courtship, led Mary Costelloe blindfold through the Uffizi 'to the spot in the adjoining room where she could best see for the first time the *Primavera*,'[5] was also a great admirer of Botticelli, a master whom he thought combined two fundamental 'life-enhancing' qualities: movement and what Berenson famously called 'tactile values'. He was also an artist who had the appeal, to Gardner, of the undiscovered. Here was a master, like Vermeer in fact, that very few other American collectors had heard of in the 1890s. In 1865, the year that Berenson was born, there were no Botticellis in America. By 1959, the year of the scholar's death, there were more paintings by him in America than in any other country apart from Italy.[6] Gardner's purchase of *The Tragedy of Lucretia*, the first authentic Botticelli to enter an American collection, was undoubtedly a milestone in this American discovery of the artist.

The picture is unrecorded in the Botticelli literature prior to 1893, when it was discussed in Hermann Ulmann's monograph[7] and included in the great exhibition, *Early Italian Art*, which opened at the New Gallery in London in December of that year. The exhibition, which attracted four lengthy reviews in *The Times*, was remarkable for the quantity and quality of Italian Renaissance art, which ranged from paintings and sculpture to illuminated manuscripts, precious *studiolo* objects, maiolica lent by Sir George Salting and 'the throne which belonged to the Medici family and a marvellous suit of armour of steel inlaid with gold.'[8] The throne and armour were lent by Mr. G. (later Sir George) Donaldson along with a Botticelli *Holy Family* and 'a very beautiful *Banquet*' by Botticelli, one of the series of paintings of the *Story of Nastagio degli Onesti* now in the Prado, Madrid. There were *in toto* thirteen pictures in the exhibition attributed to Botticelli, whose importance as one of the presiding spirits of the exhibition can be gauged by the fact that his name, intertwined with those of Leonardo, Bernardino Luini and Andrea del Sarto, surmounts the cover of the special souvenir edition of *The Illustrated London News* of 24th March 1894.

Among the many paintings attributed to Botticelli in the exhibition was one lent by Colnaghi (no. 134) – '*The Virgin and Child with St. John*, which was in the Leyland sale, where it was acquired by P. & D. Colnaghi who here exhibit it'[9] – and the *Portrait of Smeralda Bandinelli*, the picture that Rossetti had formerly owned, later bequeathed by Ionides to the Victoria and Albert Museum. Lord Ashburnham, in addition to lending the Botticelli *Tragedy of Lucretia* (no. 160), also loaned 'for the first time his most interesting series of the Story of Jason', as well as a *Portrait of a lady in profile*, then attributed to Piero della Francesca, but since reattributed to Antonio Pollaiuolo (fig. 4),

Fig. 4. Antonio Pollaiuolo, *Portrait of a lady in profile*, c.1465, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

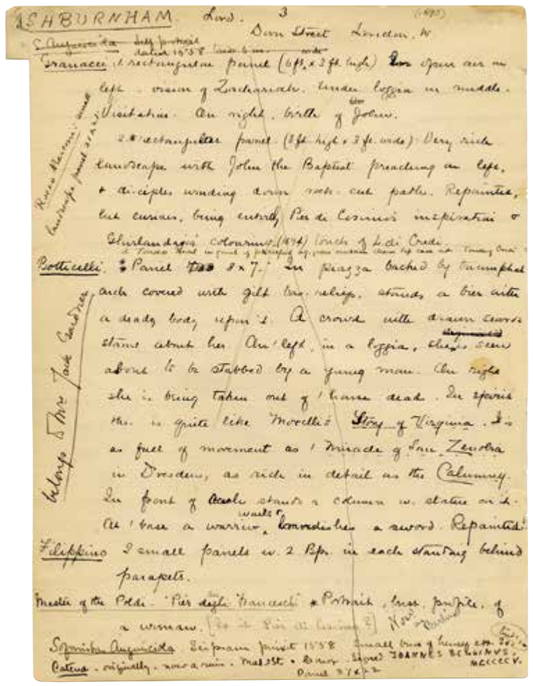


Fig. 5. Mary Berenson's notebook recording *The Tragedy of Lucretia* in the Ashburnham Collection in 1890, Biblioteca Berenson, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti

which Colnaghi sold later in 1894 to the Berlin Gemäldegalerie. Lord Ashburnham also lent at least two works, including the *Jason and the Argonauts*, from his country house, Ashburnham Place. The reviewer concluded: 'Once more it proves, what has been proved so often before, that the wealth of England in the artistic treasures of the past is almost inexhaustible.'[10] What it also showed, though the reviewer made no allusion to this, was how much art was potentially available for purchase from the impoverished British aristocracy for whom these public exhibitions provided a discreet means of advertising what might, unofficially, be for sale.

Fig. 6. Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn
The preacher Cornelis Claesz Anslo and his wife, 1641
Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

It is not clear when Berenson first encountered Lord Ashburnham's *Tragedy of Lucretia* or, indeed, what he first thought of it. We know that his future wife Mary had seen the painting in 1890 in Lord Ashburnham's townhouse because she made a detailed description of it in her notebook (fig. 5), observing that 'in spirit this is quite like Morelli's *Story of Virginia*,' and that it was 'as full of movement as *Miracle of San Zenobia* in Dresden, as rich in detail as the *Calumny*.'[11] Whether or not she passed this information on to Berenson at this time, he was certainly aware that picture was on the market by the summer of 1894, when the couple were in London. It is probably around this time that he first made the acquaintance of Otto Gutekunst, the new young junior partner of Colnaghi, with whom he was to forge an important business partnership and lifelong friendship, which is charted in the Colnaghi Letter books. If Gutekunst was to become Colnaghi's link with Berenson and Isabella Stewart Gardner, it was the Colnaghi senior partner, William McKay, who, together with Edmond Deprez, was mainly responsible for dealing with the owner of the Botticelli, Lord Ashburnham, while simultaneously negotiating with Wilhelm von Bode, Director of the Berlin Gemäldegalerie, over the sale of what was at the time a far more valuable painting in the Ashburnham Collection: Rembrandt's *Preacher Cornelis Claesz Anslo and his wife* (fig. 6). The Rembrandt was eventually sold for £22,050 – over seven times what Gardner was to pay for her Botticelli.

Colnaghi's relationship with Lord Ashburnham seems to have started in early 1894. Like many impoverished aristocrats, Ashburnham was looking to sell some of his paintings and it was possibly Bode[12] who first got wind of the fact that his Lordship might be prepared to sell the Rembrandt, when approached by Woods of the auctioneers Christie, Manson and Woods. Bode may then have tipped off Colnaghi, hoping that they would be able to negotiate a better price than could be attained through Woods, who was notorious for giving rather optimistic estimates. Colnaghi, seemingly, were then able to persuade Lord Ashburnham that they, rather than the auction house, were the best firm to handle the sale. By the end of June 1894, Colnaghi clearly had their feet firmly under the table – as can be traced through a series of letters in the Colnaghi Archive. On 20th June Deprez wrote to Lord Ashburnham, 'to enquire if your Lordship would be willing to dispose of the Rembrandt picture at Dover Street. We think we might obtain a very high price for it and in view of the probable outcome of the transaction we would ask your lordship a commission of 2½ per %. In any case we would be much obliged if your Lordship would allow us to see the pictures once more.'[13] On 23rd June, McKay, perhaps in anticipation of a favourable answer from Ashburnham to Deprez's request, contacted Bode to say that he would meet with his Lordship the following Monday (25th). On the 25th, McKay wrote to Ashburnham 'to express our thanks for your Lordship's' last letter addressed to Messrs Deprez and Gutekunst' – presumably in response to Deprez's letter of the 20th – and to ask whether they might 'again trouble your Lordship to view the pictures at Dover Street in favour of Baron Edmond de Rothschild who is on a visit to London.'[14] Nothing seemingly came of the Baron's possible visit, although the Letter books indicate that Colnaghi did have some interest in Ashburnham's large Teniers. However, by early August, Colnaghi had negotiated not only the sale at £22,050 of the Rembrandt portrait, which was shipped in circumstances of the greatest secrecy to Berlin, but also of the Pollaiuolo *Portrait of a lady in profile*, at that time attributed to Piero, for the much more modest price of £2,000.

As for the Botticelli *Tragedy of Lucretia*, one can only presume that in the summer of 1894 Colnaghi must have come to some informal agreement with Lord Ashburnham to offer the picture on a commission basis and that they had agreed a price, which was then communicated by Berenson to Mrs. Gardner. Frustratingly there appears to have been no written agreement with the Earl, and the Botticelli does not appear in any of the letters written to Ashburnham during the summer. Curiously Bode, who in 1899 was so desperate to acquire the second Botticelli sold to Gardner (the Chigi *Madonna of the Eucharist*), seems not have had the *Lucretia* in his sights at all, probably because he was focusing on the purchase of the Rembrandt and the Pollaiuolo. It is also possible that Bode did not see it during his visit to London in June 1894 because the picture may have been hanging in Lord Ashburnham's country house. That Colnaghi were clearly interested in Ashburnham's collection in the country is proved by a letter they wrote on 21st July to a relation of the Earl making arrangements to visit Ashburnham Place 'on Tuesday next.' The fact that this was written only a few days prior to Berenson's opening letter to Gardner of 1st August may just be a coincidence, but it raises the tantalising possibility that the purpose of this visit may have been for Berenson to view the Botticelli there. In any event Berenson's letter to Gardner had kindled a flame and on 12th December, following his return from a trip to America, he met her in Paris where he toured the Louvre with her, 'puzzled', according to Samuels, 'by a certain reserve in her manner. The enigma was solved the next day. She announced to him that she would buy the Ashburnham Botticelli, which Berenson had recommended to her.'[15] On 18th December McKay wrote a letter to Lord Ashburnham (fig. 7) with the news that, 'We have what we consider a good offer for the Botticelli "Subject from Roman History".'[16] Two days later, Colnaghi wrote to Ashburnham saying they had received instructions from Barings bank to pay his lordship '£2,500 as agreed – reserving £50 as commission' and requesting that, 'The Buyer being most anxious to receive the picture, we would wish you to be good enough to telegraph an order for the delivery of the same.'[17] That day they also received the final payment of £3,200 from Berenson.[18]

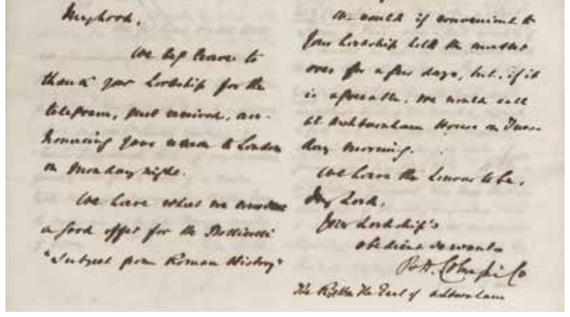


Fig. 7. Letter from Colnaghi to Lord Ashburnham, 18th December 1894, Colnaghi Archive

The picture left London for Boston with none of the fanfare that attended the departure of Botticelli's *Madonna of the Eucharist* in 1901, when the farewell was marked by a special exhibition at Colnaghi before it was shipped to America. Nor was its reception by Gardner as ecstatic as the 'orgy' of 'drinking myself drunk with Europa' when Titian's *Rape of Europa* arrived in Boston two years later.[19] But it was a turning point both in Isabella Stewart Gardner's collecting and in Colnaghi's relationship with her and with Berenson. Shortly after the conclusion of the sale, Gardner gave Berenson a Christmas present of 'a charming watercolour by Pissarro', and, according to Samuels, kept repeating 'you do not know what an extra pleasure it is to have you connected with the picture.'[20] Berenson, who travelled to London after Christmas to confer with Gutekunst, was given a tour of the remains of Lord Ashburnham's collection and shortly afterwards Gutekunst wrote a letter to Berenson which marks the start of a fifty-year correspondence:

My dear Berenson,

Trusting that you are quite quietly settled down at "Firenze" and ready, I will fire this first shot. It is still Lord Ashburnham. Don't you think that some other Mrs Gardner – in the book and mss line – could be found, and be found by you, who would buy his famous and splendid library of books and chiefly manuscripts? [21]

In the event, Berenson seems to have been unsuccessful in finding a buyer for the Ashburnham library, but the sale of Botticelli's *Lucretia* was the prelude to a spectacular series of sales to Gardner between 1895 and 1902, as well as marking the beginning of a lifelong friendship between Berenson and Colnaghi's mercurial junior partner Gutekunst. Some years later Morris Carter, the first Director of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, recalled in his notebook (now at Fenway Court) how Mrs. Gardner had 'sat beside R.H. Benson the collector, at a dinner in London, and in talking about collections that ought to be visited, he said she could cross Lord Ashburnham's off the list – it was rather out of the way, but he used to make pilgrimages there to see one picture, Botticelli's *Death of Lucretia*, and now it was gone, sold, and no one knew to whom. There was a chance that an Englishman had bought it, but he was awfully afraid the purchaser was an American. The picture belonged to Botticelli's early period, which he considered his greatest, and the only thing with which to compare it, was the *Calumny* in the Uffizi.'[22] Unfortunately Carter did not record Mrs. Gardner's reaction to this remarkable gaffe, but the fact that she told him the story suggests that she enjoyed getting the last laugh.

Chapter 4

The Holland Turners: An epic sale and tale of collaboration

Margaret Iacono

Fig. 1. Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Mortlake Terrace: early summer morning*, 1826, The Frick Collection, New York

On Thursday, 25th June 1908, an excited crowd filled Christie's Great Room on King Street, St. James's, to witness the sale of pictures from the estate of Stephen G. Holland (1817-1908), a prosperous wool and silk merchant who had assembled an important group of oil paintings and watercolours from the English and continental schools.[1] According to *The Daily Telegraph*, news of the renowned collection's dispersal sparked enormous interest: 'When everybody was supposed to be everywhere else, Christie's rooms were crowded with visitors eager to inspect the Holland collection of masterpieces… All day long yesterday art-lovers poured into Christie's.'[2]

Among the most celebrated of the works in the sale was *Mortlake Terrace* (fig. 1), a tranquil scene painted by Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775-1851) in 1826. The canvas depicts the inhabitants of the expansive Mortlake property of William Moffatt – known as 'The Limes' – as they commence the day's activities. At right stands the stately Georgian mansion, distanced from the viewer by a swathe of manicured lawn being tended by two gardeners. At left, four colossal lime trees fan out along a low wall. A gentle radiance illuminating the water's surface casts shadows about the terrain. Two days before the sale, a writer in *The Daily Telegraph* mused at the odd contrast between the image, 'this picture of peace and quiet', and the 'big, belligerent dealers, who stalk to and fro like so many bullfighters in the swept arena.'[3]

When Turner's picture appeared (as lot 111), a bidding war erupted as described by *The Evening Post*: 'The bidding began with a modest offer of 1000 guineas…soon the price had reached 10,000 guineas, when the bidding developed into a duel between Messrs. Agnew and Messrs. Knoedler, the latter being declared victor at 12,600 guineas [or £13,230].'[4] The loss was particularly stinging for Agnew's, as they had sold the painting twice before, to James Price in 1874 and later to Holland in 1895.[5] A spirited contest next arose over lots 112 and 113: *The storm* (fig. 2) and *Morning after the storm* (fig. 3), also by

Fig. 2. Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The storm*, c.1840-45
National Museum of Wales, Cardiff

Fig. 3. Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Morning after the storm*, c.1840-45
National Museum of Wales, Cardiff

Fig. 4. Charles Stewart Carstairs (1865-1928)

Fig. 5. Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919)

Turner. These 'examples of Turner's latest style… [were]… secured by Messrs. Colnaghi and Co. after a stiff fight with Mr. Hugh B[l] aker, curator of the Holbourne Art Museum, Bath.'[6] Colnaghi obtained the pictures for £5,775 and £8,085, respectively.

Mortlake Terrace had achieved a record price for the artist when it was knocked down to Charles Stewart Carstairs, M. Knoedler & Co.'s representative at the auction (fig. 4). Carstairs, who was Head of Knoedler's London gallery and a friend and art adviser to renowned American collectors such as Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919) and Andrew W. Mellon (1855-1937), also procured John Constable's *Salisbury Cathedral*, 1826, another coveted lot, for £8,190. *The Times* of London trumpeted the historic Turner purchase, noting, 'A large picture by J.M.W. Turner, "Mortlake Terrace", brought 12,600 guineas – by far the highest price ever given at auction for a Turner.'[7] Another newspaper declared: 'In three hours yesterday no less a sum than £65,384 was realized for pictures at Christie's … the auction room apotheosis of the painter being established by the disposal of "Mortlake Terrace".'[8] The sale represented a new echelon in the escalating art market as *The Art Journal* snidely remarked: 'The Holland sale has demonstrated … the huge sums collectors will now pay for good examples by French and British masters of the last half-century or so, some of whom were, during their lifetime, glad enough to get £40 or £50 for a picture.'[9]

The international attention should have caused Carstairs great pleasure. *American Art News* applauded his success: 'The big sales-room event of the month has been the dispersal of the Stephen Holland Collection at Christie's, where…Messrs Knoedler…were in fine fighting trim.'[10] Eighteen years after the event, art critic A.C.R. Carter still recalled Carstairs's impressive performance: 'It was the first time…that I saw that doughty antagonist, Lockett Agnew, fairly and squarely beaten, for Mr. Charles Carstairs of Knoedler's passed him on the post.'[11] Despite these lauds, however, in the days after the Holland sale, Carstairs was troubled. He owned two very expensive pictures with no identifiable buyer.

Nearly a month before the auction, Carstairs had written to the industrialist Henry Clay Frick (fig. 5). The two had likely met in May 1894, when Carstairs made a sale to Frick as a Knoedler employee. Carstairs now urged the collector to consider four works in the Holland Collection that he thought were of special importance: Turner's *Mortlake Terrace, The storm* and *Morning after the storm,* and Constable's *Salisbury Cathedral*. 'The "Mortlake" is a fine picture the size of your "Antwerp" and painted 5 years before … The two small ones are in his late manner 1840 & would be desirable for your collection.' Carstairs added, 'I would not care to buy these pictures were they not something out of the common. You know how seldom we have had anything by Constable and how rarely good Turners come up.'[12]

Much to Carstairs's dismay, Frick was not interested. The collector's reply was characteristically terse: 'I received the catalogue of the Holland collection. There is nothing in it that I would care for.'[13] Not easily deterred, Carstairs cabled his mercurial client following the auction: 'BOUGHT CONSTABLE SALISBURY CATHEDRAL 8190 POUNDS TURNER MORTLAKE 13230. DO YOU WANT THEM[?] TURNER WONDERFUL COMPANION FOR YOUR ANTWERP ANSWER SOON AS POSSIBLE.'[14] Frick replied straightaway: 'I have the greatest confidence in your judgment, yet, having two Turners, I would not care to purchase a third until after I had seen it. The Constable I probably should have, but it seems to me the price is very high.'[15]

Carstairs was not alone in his present quandary. In addition to firm head Roland Knoedler, who surely found the substantial expenditure worrisome, several of their colleagues at Colnaghi were apprehensive too. Two months before the auction, Colnaghi's William McKay had contacted Carstairs about the upcoming sale: 'I see the Holland pictures and drawings are coming to Christies shortly. Turner. Mortlake t.r! [Terrace?] Such is life! Life is a little disappointing at present. Otto is at Amsterdam.'[16] McKay's pessimistic tone likely alluded to the recent sluggishness in sales and the astronomical price that *Mortlake Terrace* was expected to fetch, with neither firm able to front such a cost.

The 'Otto' to whom McKay referred was his Colnaghi colleague Otto C.H. Gutekunst (1865-1947) (fig. 6). Like Carstairs, 'Gutie' – or 'Goodie' as he was playfully called – was a talented connoisseur, and he and 'Charlie' Carstairs had formed a successful alliance, with Gutekunst generally identifying significant, procurable works of art and Carstairs orchestrating their sale to affluent, usually American, clients. Their copious surviving correspondence – discussing art, collectors, family life and their frequent collaborations – is peppered with genuine affection. Gutekunst was such an intimate confidant that Carstairs named him an executor of his estate.[17]

Fig. 6. Otto C.H Gutekunst (1865-1947)
The Berenson Archive, The Harvard University Center
for Italian Renaissance Studies,Villa I Tatti

Several months before the Holland auction, Gutekunst expressed his concerns to Carstairs regarding available capital. Desirable pictures often appeared unexpectedly and were easily lost to competitors with ready money. Perhaps Frick could help? In his letter, Gutekunst prompted Carstairs,'not to forget... to talk to Clay confidentially & to sound him on the matters we have repeatedly discussed between us; I mean in the case of very important & expensive purchases that may confront us, he might entirely or partially finance you & us, enable us to buy; & get what he requires, out of such lots, at 10% – we keeping and dealing with what does not interest him.'[18] Frick had provided financial assistance previously, but he seems not to have participated in an arrangement like that proposed by Gutekunst. Five days before the Holland sale, however, Frick guaranteed $125,000 in credit to Knoedler's payable that December.[19]

With Frick's pecuniary support secured, Knoedler and Colnaghi, who enjoyed a cordial relationship and often collaborated, joined forces to acquire *Mortlake Terrace*. Voluminous monthly listings of jointly owned pictures, preserved in the firms' archives, confirm the constancy of their partnership, which resulted in such illustrious sales as Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait* of 1658 (fig. 7) to Frick in December 1906 and van Dyck's *Marchesa Elena Grimaldi Cattaneo* of 1623 (fig. 8) to P.A.B. Widener in May 1908. To affirm their part in this latest venture, Colnaghi's paid Knoedler's £5,000 on 20th June, securing a half-share of *Mortlake Terrace*.[20]

In the absence of an announcement of the painting's new owner, the press began to speculate. *The New York Times* reported that an American collector now possessed the picture.[21] *American Art News* printed, as an admitted rumor, that J.P. Morgan had acquired the heralded canvas, adding that some, however, believed Frick to be the owner.[22]

Fortunately, an interested buyer soon appeared, an enormous relief for both firms but especially for Knoedler, who could now settle its financial obligation to Frick. Carstairs apprised him on 3rd July 1908: 'The Turner is… sold [and] will be paid for early in December in time to meet your note.'[23] Frick, who had reconsidered and bought Constable's *Salisbury Cathedral* for $52,000,[24] was now keen to know who owned *Mortlake Terrace*. 'I promised not to disclose the name of the purchaser of the Turner,' Carstairs discreetly responded, 'but will try and see him and ask permission to tell you.'[25]

Frick was undoubtedly surprised to learn that the new owner was the prosperous banker and businessman Andrew W. Mellon (fig. 9), who acquired the painting for $70,902.22.[26] The men were close associates, and it was through Frick that Mellon was introduced to art and to Carstairs.[27] *Mortlake Terrace* was a superb addition to Mellon's collection. When it was displayed at Knoedler's London galleries in late 1908, Claude Phillips, the then Keeper of The Wallace Collection, wrote about the work in *The Daily Telegraph*.[28] Phillips, as Carstairs related to Mellon, had 'expressed most poetically the charms of your lovely Turner...It is indeed a treasure to be proud of.'[29]

Besides Colnaghi's and Knoedler's collaboration on *Mortlake Terrace*, archival evidence reveals a similar partnership on the sale of the two smaller Turner pictures.[30] Few explanatory details exist in the financial ledgers; nevertheless, extant correspondences tell the story.[31] On 20th October, Colnaghi's wrote to Hugh Blaker, curator of the Holbourne Art Museum in Bath, offering the

Fig. 7. Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn, *Self-Portrait*, 1658, The Frick Collection, New York

Fig. 8. Sir Anthony van Dyck
Portrait of Marchesa Elena Grimaldi Cattaneo, 1623, National Gallery of Art, Washington

paintings at cost plus a commission of one thousand pounds.[32] In a subsequent letter, the firm assured Blaker, who had previously accepted the deal, that, 'of course we should be most discreet and not disclose your friend's name should we discover it.' The missive added, 'We are rather pressed by Knoedler to conclude the transaction.'[33] Knoedler's role is confirmed also by a later epistle to Mellon from Carstairs explaining, 'I have sold the 2 small Turners here in England, you will be pleased at not having to think further about them. I wanted you so much to have them, it really disappointed me to sell them.'[34]

Thanks to Blaker's intervention, Turner's atmospheric seascapes were now in the possession of Margaret Davies (1884-1963; fig. 10), who bought *The storm* for £5,775, and her sister Gwendoline Davies (1882-1951; fig. 11), who paid £8,085 for *Morning after the storm*.[35] Colnaghi probably accepted the modest profit in anticipation of future business with the Welsh heiresses.[36] The sisters were just beginning to develop what would become one of the most important private British collections of the twentieth century. Although they would become renowned for their holdings of Impressionist, Post-Impressionist and modern twentieth-century works, the sisters spent more on pictures by Turner than any other artist.[37] Upon their deaths they bequeathed 260 objects – including the Turner paintings – to the National Museum of Wales.[38]

All appeared settled with the Holland Turners until a curious event occurred. Apparently, once Frick laid eyes on *Mortlake Terrace*, he was besotted with it. Harrison Dwight, former Assistant Director of The Frick Collection, shared a remarkable account relayed by Andrew Mellon: 'As soon as Mr. Frick saw it he took a tremendous fancy to it, asked what it had cost…and wanted to buy it. Mr. Mellon replied that it was not for sale. Mr. Frick returned to the subject several days in succession, always getting the same answer. At last he came into Mr. Mellon's room one morning, laid down in front of him a check for twice what Mr. Mellon had paid for it, and walked off with the picture. Mr. Mellon said that at first he was too surprised to protest, and afterwards it was too late. But he had always regretted selling the picture.'[39] If Frick actually gave his friend a cheque for double the amount, it was clearly not accepted. Records show that Frick paid Mellon $82,875.67 for the painting – a substantial price but not double what Mellon had paid a year earlier.[40]

In the end, Knoedler and Colnaghi each benefitted from the sale of the Holland Turners. While the profit realised was not substantial,[41] placing paintings with Mellon, Frick and the Davies sisters was itself significant. Today visitors to The Frick Collection in New York can enjoy Turner's luminous scene[42] and Constable's *Salisbury Cathedral*. Mellon's displeasure over the loss of *Mortlake Terrace* to Frick would be assuaged some years later when he acquired the pendant picture featuring Moffatt's property as seen from the mansion, the morning light depicted in Frick's painting transformed into the mellow glow of an evening sky (fig. 12).[43] Mellon held on to this second canvas, bequeathing it in 1937 to the National Gallery in Washington, where it remains today.

Fig. 9. Andrew W. Mellon (1855-1937)
Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh

Fig. 10. Margaret Davies (1884-1963)
National Museum of Wales

Fig. 11. Gwendoline Davies (1882-1951)
National Museum of Wales

Fig. 12 Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Mortlake Terrace*, 1827, National Gallery of Art, Washington

Chapter 5

Virgin and Child enthroned with four angels by Piero della Francesca: Colnaghi and Robert Sterling Clark 1911-1930

Harriet Reed

Fig. 1. William Orpen, *Portrait of Robert Sterling Clark*, c.1921-22
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown

'Except for Knoedler and Colnaghi you have got to know the game yourself and that is what I am trying my best to learn.'

Robert Sterling Clark to Stephen Clark, 12th August 1913

Robert Sterling Clark (1877-1956; fig. 1), the heir to the Singer sewing machine fortune and a prestigiously wealthy American, formed the Sterling Clark and Francine Clark Art Institute in 1955. Across a period of over fifty years, Clark and his wife amassed a significant collection of paintings, drawings, porcelain and silverware from dealers across Europe and America, forming an internationally renowned museum particularly rich in Impressionist and twentieth-century works.

In the first decade of Clark's collecting, however, his primary focus was Old Masters, the majority of which he purchased from Colnaghi in London. To give an idea of the extent of his patronage of the firm, one needs only to look at the catalogue for the exhibition, *15th and 16th Century Paintings*, held at the Clark Art Institute in 1957, two years after its opening.[1] Of the total twenty-one Old Master paintings on view, thirteen had a Colnaghi provenance, including works by Bartolomeo Montagna, Luca Signorelli, Hans Memling, Matteo di Giovanni, Pietro Perugino and Piero della Francesca. The latter was represented by an altarpiece, *Virgin and Child enthroned with four angels* (fig. 2), and its purchase from Colnaghi in November 1913 for £35,000 has been cited as Clark's greatest collecting coup. The painting has become a celebrated masterpiece of the Institute's collection, as well as being one of the finest surviving Renaissance altarpieces in America.

The sale of the Piero was negotiated by Otto Gutekunst, a partner at Colnaghi, in one of his greatest deals of the twentieth century. His relationship with Clark was remarkable for both its intimacy and animosity. It was well-known in art circles that Clark was a difficult client to deal with. He could be indecisive, opinionated and suspicious of dealers, who had on several occasions misled him into buying copies by lesser artists. When Gutekunst offered Clark first refusal for one of his early art purchases, a picture by Meindert Hobbema, Clark immediately questioned its exposure on the market. Gutekunst shot back: 'You slightly misunderstood the position… [The picture] neither is nor has been in Paris and you are the only one to whom I have so far offered it.'[2]

Opposite:
Fig. 2. Piero della Francesca
Virgin and Child enthroned with four angels, c.1460-70
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA

Clark's stubbornness and nit-picking drove dealers to despair, but it testifies to his high standards and desire to understand the trade. Unlike many of the other big-name American buyers, Clark collected stealthily and privately and he would not be lured by the 'big game' so often courted under the eyes of the press. Collecting in this manner in the 1910s and 20s, it is impressive that Clark managed to assemble such a high quality group of Old Masters when he so often returned and exchanged pictures. This great collecting achievement reveals not only Gutekunst's influence on the collector's taste, but also Clark's growing connoisseurial eye, and the legacy of both can be seen at the Clark Art Institute.

The Seymour Collection

The *Virgin and Child enthroned with four angels* was part of a consignment of pictures inherited by Jane Margaret Seymour (1873-1943) from her father Alfred Seymour (1824-1888), a Member of Parliament and a Justice of the Peace. The picture had previously been owned by Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, 6th Baronet of Nettlecombe, who had bought the painting in Florence in 1837 and then sold it in 1869 through Christie's, where Seymour acquired it. Under the latter's ownership, it was exhibited at the Royal Academy twice, in 1870 and 1892.

Following her mother's death in 1911, Jane Seymour decided to sell some of her collection through the family lawyer, Trower, Still & Co. In February 1912 William McKay of Colnaghi provided a valuation of the pictures for Seymour's lawyer. In a letter of 23rd February, he reported, 'I have ventured to alter some of the attributions which were, to my idea, not correct. This is my opinion, given to the best of my knowledge and ability, but without responsibility.'[3] Through the private valuation, McKay discovered not only the contents of the consignment but also started to assign pictures to potentially interested clients. Three months later Gutekunst would write to McKay: 'We saw the Seymour pictures yesterday. I regret very much the Botticelli head of a woman and the small Flemish portrait by J. David or Mostaert are not amongst them. We will discuss this on your return.'[4] This was followed by a formal letter to the family lawyer on 10th May, requesting to buy 'the remaining Pictures of the Alfred Seymour Collection, which we inspected at Messrs. Tilbury's Warehouse (Marylebone Street).'[5] This suggests that, despite other dealers having pickings of the collection first, the Piero had not yet been acquired. Its poor condition and low critical rating among collectors may have deterred buyers, and it was therefore bought by Colnaghi as lower-value stock.[6]

Gutekunst and his associate, Charles Carstairs of Knoedler, had already approached J.P. Morgan about the collection. But it appears the financial magnate was being elusive, leading to Carstairs making the suggestion of Robert Sterling Clark. In late September 1912 Gutekunst acquiesced to Carstairs' idea, but warned him that they would not be able to show the pictures in the gallery. 'If we show them, we should have to tell him we have bought them & in no case before having heard from J.P. Morgan. Could we besides, ask him a higher price?'[7]

While the firm waited for answers, they hurriedly worked to put the paintings into a presentable state. Gutekunst reported to Carstairs that the pictures were 'on poor mounts on the whole & very ordinary looking cases, in which they might appeal to commissioners or students, but not to a millionaire. It's not advisable to show the Coll. tentatively but – like a picture – ready for sale, looking its best and got up for sale.'[8] Gutekunst's advised Carstairs to wait for Morgan's answer, and then to repair the mounts while they informed Clark they had been delayed in trying to buy the whole collection. In October 1912 he repeatedly reached out to the family lawyer requesting a decision.

In a twist of fate, Morgan died on 31st March 1913, leaving the way clear for Clark to take his pick. The Colnaghi Financial Ledger for 7th August 1913 records the firm's final investment: Seven pictures purchased with Knoedler, including works by Sellajo, Romanino, Bronzino, a North Italian School portrait later sold to Clark as a Moroni, Clouet and a van Dyck.[9] The Piero was purchased jointly for £7,500 by the two galleries, with an intriguing note reading: 'The virgin is said to be a portrait of the Duchess of Urbino wife of Duke Frederic (Maddalena Sforza) with her son Guidobaldo. Similar to Fra Carnavale in Brera, Milan.'[10]

Clark agreed to the purchase the Piero after first viewing a photograph and then inspecting the picture in person. On the 17th November 1913 the clerk recorded a sale of £35,000 and a profit of £27,000 to the dealerships. Subtracting the half-share with Knoedler and a 10% consignment fee, Colnaghi made an impressive £16,125. Clark had paid three times the amount he had paid for his house in Paris.[11]

Gutekunst the Persuader

The acquisition of the *Virgin and Child* by Clark has been cited by Nathan Silver as a significant moment in the history of collecting.[12] As discussed by Silver in The Frick Collection exhibition catalogue *Piero della Francesca in America*, Clark was a member of the first wave of Piero purchasers, alongside Isabella Stewart Gardner in 1903 and Philip Lehman in 1914. In Silver's words: 'If English museums and connoisseurs drove the nineteenth-century obsession with Piero, then American private collectors replaced them in the twentieth.'[13]

But it was not just the forward-thinking of Clark which is notable. The seduction of Clark by Gutekunst was exceptionally skilful and ultimately very respectful of both Clark's collecting and artistic taste. Gutekunst was an expert at client courtship. Within the first month of their working relationship he arranged the restoration of a portrait of George Washington by Gilbert Stuart, a picture which had been passed through the family to Clark in April 1911. It demonstrated Colnaghi's investment in their client's collection, displaying expertise which would reassure Clark when he requested work to be done to the Piero.[14]

Gutekunst was also eager to build Clark's connoisseurial trust in him. In 1912 Clark had bought a painting wrongly attributed to Bellini

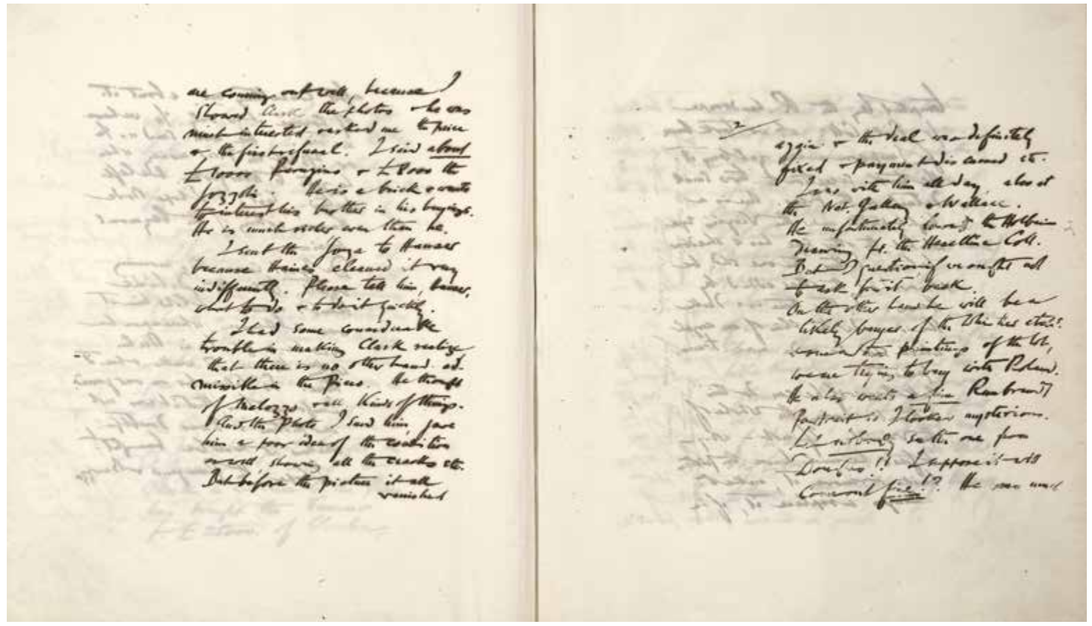


Fig. 3. Letter from Gutekunst to Mayer about Clark and the Picro altarpiece, 29th October 1913, Colnaghi Archive

from the dealer Reinhardt, and not long after he had been tricked into buying a dubious Ghirlandaio by Elia Volpi. These incidents had severely damaged his trust in dealers and had taught him to be cautious, particularly when big names were attached to small works.[15] In seeming recognition of this, Otto would write to Clark: 'As far as you and your collection is concerned is not this motto the safest: When in doubt, don't?'[16] Not only did he repeatedly reassure Clark in correspondence, but early purchases such as the picture by Matteo di Giovanni were accompanied in account books with lines such as 'this picture has been confirmed as by the artist by Bernhard Berenson' as an extra precaution. Gutekunst records Clark's defiant opinions on the Piero: 'I had considerable trouble in making Clark realize that there is no other hand admissible in the Piero. He thought of Melozzo and all kinds of things' (fig. 3).[17] During his visit to London to inspect the painting, Gutekunst also took him to the National Gallery. This may well have been to inspect the three works by Piero on display there (*The Nativity*, *The Baptism of Christ* and *Saint Michael*) as further positive comparison and encouragement.[18]

Part of the role of the dealer is also to clarify any issues concerning the condition of a painting that the client may have. With Clark, this was no small feat, as Gutekunst wrote to Mayer: 'He took exception to two small pieces in the Piero. One is a light patch under the Virgin's eye whilst the other eye has a shadow below. Either the one should be removed or the other added by [restorer Alois] Hauser. Further there is a dark shadow under the chin of an angel which should be made more transparent. Ask Hauser if he can do this without removing the whole of the varnish. If not – why – I fear he must have the picture back and remove it, make the changes and replace it, if he can, without hurting the picture in its present fine appearance.'[19] According to Gutekunst, the photograph had not done the picture justice and it was only in front of the canvas that he was able to secure the sale.

The acquisition of the Piero clearly came at a critical juncture in the relationship between dealer and collector. In the same year, Clark purchased works by other *quattrocento* masters from Colnaghi, such as Bartolomeo Montagna, Luca Signorelli, Ercole de' Roberti and Pietro Perugino (fig. 4). He also added to the collection John Singer Sargent's exotic *Fumée d'ambre gris* of 1880 (fig. 5) – evidence of his growing interest in more modern art.

Clark the Collector

Letters in the Clark Art Institute Archives reveal that Clark had begun to conceive a public collection as early as 1912, with discussions of a location for the museum recorded in a letter to his brother Stephen in February 1913.[20] This suggests that his frame of mind during this period was already leaning towards the formation of a cohesive and comprehensive collection which would represent all eras of painting, not only his preferences for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The purchase of the Piero would therefore fit in with his earlier acquisitions of Old Masters and his desire to build a museum-quality public collection. It is also not insignificant that his competitive brother had been purchasing Renaissance works around the same time.[21]

Just as important when we consider this purchase are Clark's independent study of art and his favourable comparison of Piero to Winslow Homer, an artist he would collect extensively. In a diary

Fig. 4. Pietro di Cristoforo Vannucci, il Perugino
Dead Christ with Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, c.1494-98
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA

entry from 6th February 1924, he writes that he has been at the New York dealers Ainslies, inspecting a work called *Rab and the girls* (fig. 6): 'They showed me a very interesting youthful Winslow Homer of two girls with a dog against a dark hill. I never saw one like it. It was flat but the most curious thing about it was that the impassive expression and the faces themselves might have belonged to the Piero della Francesca frescoes at Arezzo. It proved what I always said that Winslow Homer's figures resembled Piero's more than another artist.'[22]

It is an example of Clark's evident appreciation and devoted study of art. In 1917 he would describe a typical day as dividing his time up into 'riding, Spanish and collecting old books and studying art catalogues.'[23] He was clearly a keen student of Piero's works, referencing his famous frescoes at Arezzo. Clark had also purchased his first Homer (*The rooster*) in 1915, two years after the Piero. Presumably, he had responded to the impassivity of the figures in the *Virgin and Child* noted above, and not only using it as a measure of quality, had been informed in his search for other paintings.

Additionally, one of the most significant developments in the scholarship of Piero della Francesca has been his influence on modern painting. Links to works by Cézanne, Seurat and Braque have been cited frequently by art historians, with French painter and art critic Andre Whote memorably announcing Piero as 'the first Cubist.'[24] The strong threads of Modernism in his work – the mathematical precision, emotional distance and obsessively precise perspective – suggest that Clark may have bought the Piero altarpiece not only as a significant Old Master but also as a suitable accompaniment to his increasingly Modern taste.

Clark's pursuit of Old Masters did not just correspond with his desire to found a museum-quality public art collection. It also suggests an emulation of the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century revivalist taste for the *ancien regime* displayed at the homes of Ernest Cognacq, Moïse de Camondo and even in The Wallace Collection. The pairing of Old Masters with the eighteenth-century French style of their home in Paris was a small-scale emulation of the aristocratic lives of Francophiles. The Clarks' house at No. 4 rue Cimarosa was a Second Empire *hôtel particulier*, renovated by the couple to create a Louis XVI façade and interiors by Parisian firm Schultz et Leclerc. Not only did it include original and reproduction furniture of the Directoire, Empire and Louis XVI styles, but it followed the Wallace Collection's cubic template. 'For my part I am highly in favour of a house that is built like a box', commented Clark.[25] The estate of Francine Clark, sold by Sotheby's on 23rd & 24th September 1960, testifies to the couple's taste in decoration, listing hundreds of pieces of slightly damaged, repaired or repainted furniture and decorative objects, suggesting a long ownership and practical use.[26] Testifying further to this, Gutekunst accompanied Clark to the Wallace on a visit in 1913.[27] Holding court in his beautiful gallery, Clark was clearly not afraid to play the French King: 'I feel as though I would like to be the Roi Soleil and send a beautiful *cordon bleu* on a golden dish to my prize cook', he wrote in 1915.[28]

Surviving the 1930s

As the decades progressed, the *Virgin and Child* would continue to feature heavily in the Clarks' lives. Although he admired Isabella Stewart Gardner's *Hercules*,[29] in the early 1930s Clark considered selling his Piero to make room in his Paris home. He may also have been concerned about the condition of the picture – a concern, however, not shared by Roberto Longhi, who in his landmark work on the artist in 1946, described the *Virgin and Child* as in a 'good, even if not perfect, state of conservation. One detects a few uncertainties – resulting, I believe, from minor restorations – in the somewhat dulled folds of the Virgin's robe, and perhaps in her face as well... I hope that everyone will eventually have the opportunity to give this masterpiece work the unstinting admiration it deserves.'[30]

In 1930 Helen Clay Frick began to look for a work by Piero, and when Robert Langton Douglas, the art historian and dealer, found out that Clark was considering selling his picture, he reported to Frick that he could purchase the painting for her if she named her price. Douglas wrote of his difficulties dealing with Clark:

I had been told, by a mutual friend, that the owner of the Piero della Francesca 'Madonna' had now some thought of selling it. I knew, too, that the publication of the picture, both in 'Il Corriere della Sera' and 'Dedalo' would bring into the field more prospective buyers… But I found that the difficulties were very great; and I have not succeeded in getting to know what price the owner of the picture would accept… I am confident that the best way to set about acquiring the picture is to see the owner, when he is in a mood to consider the question of selling the painting.[31]

Douglas was ultimately unsuccessful, but he was correct in thinking that the publication of the picture in *Dedalo* by Umberto Gnoli would bring in a swarm of dealers.

Gnoli described the picture as a work that 'is unknown to everyone and, what is worse, will remain invisible to everyone for years to come', since 'the lucky and jealous owner has no intention of letting others enjoy it.'[32] This description of Clark's temperament was more than enough to alert other dealers. Joseph Duveen contacted Clark in 1937, offering $500,000 for the painting.[33] In a scouting report for the firm, the clerk wrote: 'Clark is a rich man, of very peculiar temperament. He does not care for this picture, as he has put it away in a safe, but it is mere obstinacy on his part because he has been approached by several people – including Miss Frick – which has upset him.'[34] Clark declared that the Old Master was a thing of the past, a genre that had been absorbed by the great American collectors of the last twenty years.[35] Luckily, however, he had the foresight to retain the painting, even while his tastes moved on to the Impressionist and Modern pictures available at Durand-Ruel and Knoedler in New York.

Colnaghi has enjoyed a long history of fascinating and lucrative relationships with its clients. With Robert Sterling Clark, it played a crucial role in establishing a world-renowned museum, fostering the taste of a collector and developing an influential and trusting relationship. That is not to say that Gutekunst was blind to his client's new buying habits, but nor was he deterred by them. In one of his last letters to Clark he writes provocatively: 'What is of greater intrinsic beauty, distinction and value – a Veronese at £5,000 or a, let us say, Renoir at £15,000???'[36]

Fig. 5. John Singer Sargent, *Fumée d'ambre gris*, 1880
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA

Fig. 6. Winslow Homer, *Rab and the girls*, 1875, The Parthenon, Nashville

Opposite:

Fig. 1. James Byam Shaw (1903-1992)

Chapter 6

Colnaghi in the era of James Byam Shaw

Jeremy Howard

'Fair or not, it is probably true to say that for many people Colnaghi *was* Jim Byam Shaw during the third quarter of the twentieth century. His scholarship, probity and generosity gave the firm a special standing in the post war art trade.' These words, written by Sir Christopher White and published in the gallery's 250th anniversary catalogue *Colnaghi: The History*, sum up the peculiar character of the firm during an era when 'Colnaghi, at least on the second floor where the Old Master drawings were kept, had the atmosphere of a museum which just happened to sell.'[1]

The academic and museological character of the firm reflected the distinguished career of James Byam Shaw (1903-1992; fig. 1). After working for two years at the British Museum and teaching at the Courtauld Institute, Byam Shaw joined Colnaghi in 1935. He remained throughout his life a scholar-dealer, widely respected for his frequent contributions to academic journals such as *Master Drawings*, his magisterial drawing catalogues of the Christ Church and Frits Lugt collections and his work on Venetian eighteenth-century art on which he was a world authority. But it also reflected his firm belief in the importance of developing and maintaining links between the museum world and the art trade which he felt 'depended on personal and friendly contact.'[2] Two of Byam Shaw's closest friends in the museum world were A.E. Popham at the British Museum and Sir Karl T. Parker at the Ashmolean Museum. Their friendships, nurtured over lunches and games of billiards at the Athenaeum Club in London, bore fruit in some very significant acquisitions of prints and drawings by both museums over a period of about thirty years between the late 1930s and Byam Shaw's retirement in 1968.

The Byam Shaw era was also marked by some quite spectacular sales in other fields such as Italian Baroque paintings, a relatively untilled area of collecting which Roderick Thesiger did much to promote. There were also important British paintings, drawings and watercolours sold during this period through John Baskett, who did so much to help build up Paul Mellon's collection, while the print department flourished under the aegis of the legendary Arthur Driver. There was even a framing department on the top floor, where Sarah Phillimore (now Williams-Bulkeley), who was Byam Shaw's secretary in the 1960s, recalls being summoned to look at some Leonardo drawings which were being reframed for the Royal Collection.

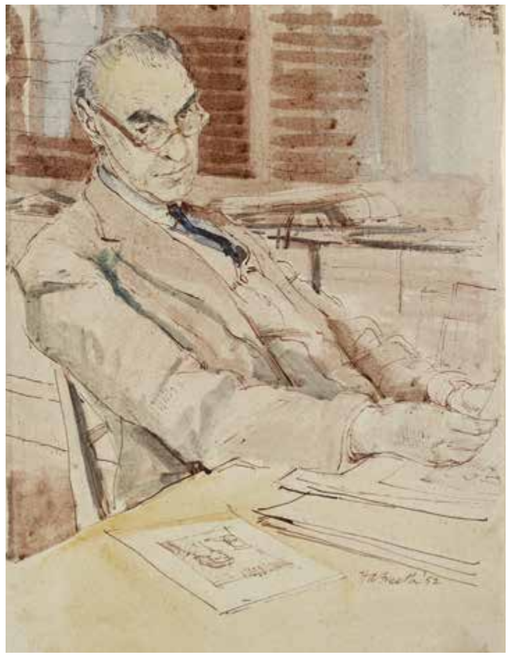


Fig. 2. H.A. Freeth, *Portrait of Karl Theodore Parker, K.B.E.*, 1952
Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Fig. 3. Raphael, *Caryatid*, 1514
Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Around thirty boxes of Byam Shaw papers preserved in the Colnaghi Archive at Windmill Hill, Waddesdon, bear testimony to the extremely wide range of his interests and acquaintances. They range from personal and professional correspondence (the two often intertwined) to notes on collections and museums written in the author's minute and immaculate hand and drafts for publications such as the manuscript of his book on Guardi drawings. From this we have selected a group of letters that were written to him by Parker, along with the following extract from his draft introduction to a book on Holbein drawings. Byam Shaw was best known as an authority on Italian drawings, but he also wrote very perceptively about Dürer and Holbein. This passage, in which he shows why Holbein was far more than just a fashionable court portraitist, reveals the scholar's rare ability to sum up the work of a great artist with elegance and insight:

Since it was in portraiture that the Northern artist excelled, and Holbein especially was before anything a portrait painter, these drawings, of which so many are now at Windsor, may be considered the very cream of Holbein's art, the truest expression of his artistic personality. Yet it may be said that the essence of that artistic personality was self suppression. It is not the artist but the sitter who is revealed… Each generation, we may suppose, tends to evolve a fashionable type; and the fashionable portrait painter of the period is sensitive to this, and makes his sitter conform to it. This is the common factor in all the portraits painted by Lely and his pupils in England of the beauties of the Restoration – those plump, languid creatures with prominent eyes, square-tipped noses, full lips and receding chins; and no less so in Sargent's visions of the tall and stately Edwardian ladies, with large open eyes and thin, bony faces, which were so much admired a generation ago. The natural laws of morphology seem to yield, at the touch of these conjurers, to the capricious dictates of fashion. But Holbein's vision is more fundamental; his eye is not selective, but comprehensive, and incredibly keen; his statement is exact, but he makes no comment; he is the perfect witness. In a word he is one the most objective of all great portraitists, and among later artists only Velázquez, perhaps, rivals him in the power of dispassionate observation.[3]

James Byam Shaw, Sir Karl T. Parker and the Ashmolean

One of Byam Shaw's closest and most abiding friendships was with Sir Karl T. Parker (1895-1992; fig. 2), Keeper first of the Department of Fine Art (later Western Art) and then of the Ashmolean as a whole between 1934 and his retirement in 1962. The friendship can be charted in a remarkable series of letters written by Parker to Byam Shaw (now in the Colnaghi Archive) and some of these can be cross-referenced with outgoing Byam Shaw letters in the Ashmolean Museum Archives. Their shared passion for Venetian eighteenth-century drawings bore fruit in the great Canaletto and Guardi drawings exhibition held at the Cini Foundation the year that Parker retired. In an article which originally appeared in *The Museums Journal* in December 1965, Byam Shaw paid tribute to this close professional and personal relationship:

When I think of the pictures, drawings and prints which passed through the salerooms in those days and the trifling prices which were then often beyond our means – for very few dealers had much to spend on their own account – it seems to me lamentable that there was no closer liaison between us and the museums at a time when masterpieces were to be had for such modest sums. Only one museum, in my experience, apart from the British Museum, took advantage of the situation: The Ashmolean, in the Department of Fine Art; and that was due to

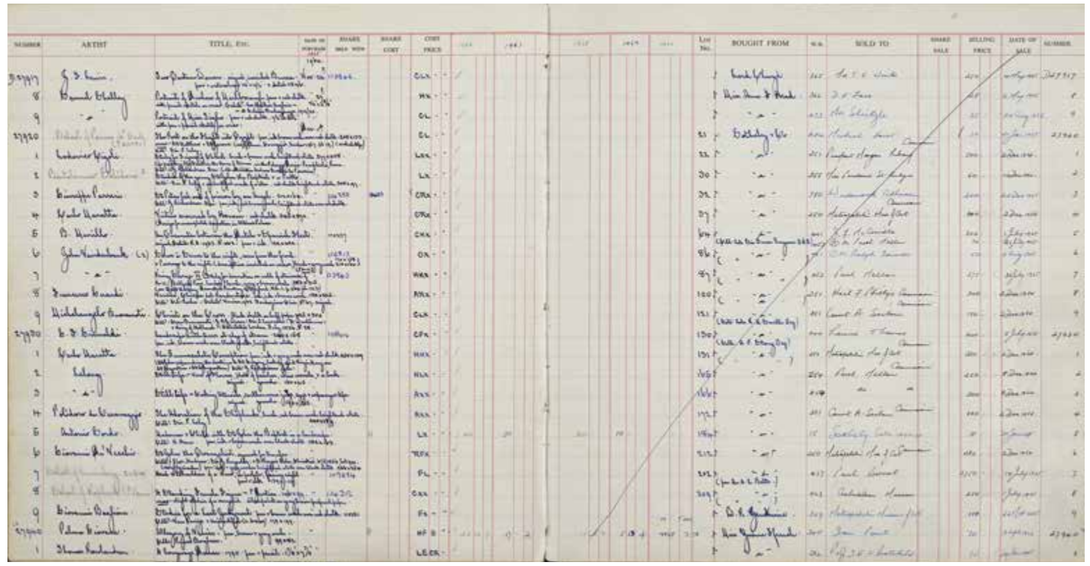


Fig. 4. Colnaghi Drawings Stockbook, 1965, Colnaghi Archive

the far-sighted policy of K.T. Parker. His exceptional knowledge and judgement, combined with a natural friendliness and lack of pretension, and his wisdom in deciding to buy chiefly drawings, which his meagre resources could afford, resulted in the enrichment of the Oxford collection – by over 3000 drawings of all schools in the course of his Keepership – which is now recognised as one of the most enlightened achievements in the history of collecting, public or private.[4]

In this remarkable story of 'enlightened achievements', Colnaghi, and in particular Byam Shaw, played a significant role. It was a story that happily continued under Parker's successor, Ian Robertson, who co-authored with 'JBS' a tribute to Parker which appeared in *The Burlington Magazine* in 1962.[5] On the list of drawings bought from Colnaghi during Parker's time at the Ashmolean are some of the greatest names in Western Art, beginning in 1935, a year after he joined the museum, with a remarkable rarity, a *Study of a head* by Rogier van der Weyden. Also included are examples by Guercino, Preti, Procaccini, Giambattista Tiepolo and, among the French masters, Watteau, Boucher, Fragonard and Ingres. Many of the drawings were acquired for what seem in Byam Shaw's words 'trifling prices'. One of the greatest bargains – acquired in fact after Parker's retirement – was a Raphael drawing of a Caryatid (fig. 3) bought on 1st July 1965 for £250, as recorded in the Colnaghi Drawings stockbook (no. 27938; fig. 4); another bargain from the same year also recorded on the same page of the stockbook was a Michelangelo drawing of *The Crucifixion*, sold to Count Seilern for £150 and now in the Courtauld Gallery (stockbook no. 27929). Not only were the prices remarkably cheap, but Colnaghi, during the Byam Shaw era, were also generous in their donations to the Ashmolean, among them a Watteau drawing and a Dürer engraving.

Byam Shaw was also regularly in the habit of knocking down the prices charged to the Ashmolean, writing apologetically to Ian Robertson in January 1964 to say, 'having rather overdone the reduction on the Clausen, which I think I must put at £25 instead of £20, I have knocked a total of £26 off the other four drawings, which I hope will compensate.'[6] He also seems, whether from absent-mindedness or gentlemanly reluctance, to have been very slow at remembering to send invoices to the Museum.

Some of Parker's most amusing letters to Byam Shaw reveal the tribulations of a museum curator dealing as tactfully as possible with unwanted gifts or awkward donors, situations which will be all-too-familiar to modern museum directors. In the former category is the following letter written to Byam Shaw on 9th December 1948:

Dear Jimmy,

This is a little "point of business" in which you might be able to help me. An old gent of my acquaintance is wanting to present some object, to the value of about £50 in memory of his late espoused saint. He came here actually the other day with what was obviously a bogus Teniers, and wanted to know whether I thought it would be suitable. I didn't rub in too much that it was bogus, but suggested that a group of drinking and vomiting peasants would perhaps not be just what the deceased, who was a very sober sort of person, might have liked! He pointed out that the dominating interest in his wife's life was music, and I said that, given a little time, I was pretty sure that one might find some object – whether it be a drawing, or possibly a bronze, or what not – which would strike the musical note, and therefore be appropriate to the purpose required. Would you bear this in mind, and if you ever see a drawing with a musical interest in it, let me know. I should be most grateful to you.

Yours ever Karl[7]

Arguably the most difficult donor that Parker ever had to deal with was Lena Gutekunst, widow of the famous Colnaghi director Otto Gutekunst, who had been responsible for some of the greatest art

Fig. 5. Francis Derwent Wood, R.A., *Portrait bust of Lena Gutekunst*, 1915
Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

deals of the Gilded Age. In this case the bone of contention was a rather unlovely bust of her by Francis Derwent Wood (fig. 5), which Mrs. Gutekunst wanted displayed in pride of place as a *quid pro quo* for her giving the Ashmolean a Canaletto drawing in the summer of 1947. In July 1916, shortly after its completion, Otto had written enthusiastically to Bernard Berenson to say that, 'My countess [his nickname for Lena] has been sculpted by I fancy the ablest of the younger sculptors in the country: Derwent Wood. She now "adorns" the sculpture "Department" of the Academy show. I shall have her painted I think by Orpen presently.'[8] Parker clearly did not share his enthusiasm either for the bust itself or for Mrs. Gutekunst, who was seemingly a most difficult woman. The correspondence in the Colnaghi and Ashmolean Archives reveals the comic twists and turns of the story as Parker tries first to extricate himself and then, through the diplomatic offices of Byam Shaw, to persuade Mrs. Gutekunst to donate other items to the Museum – most of which had been consigned to Colnaghi for sale after her husband's death[9] – as the price of exhibiting her bust in the Ashmolean.

Parker raises the question of the donation of the bust in a letter to Byam Shaw dated 19th August 1948:

Dear Jimmy,

We had so much to talk about on Tuesday that I quite forgot to say anything about Mrs G's offer of her portrait bust. I feel that this has been hanging fire rather and you will guess of course, that there is a certain embarrassment about it. I think that so far as the Annual Report is concerned, one could easily make it seem a trifle less ridiculous by referring to it simply as a portrait of a lady, and then it could easily be made to disappear into our wonderful new storage basements which come to us with the Beaumont Street extension. But on the other hand, I am not really too certain of the ethics of this sort of playing up to people from whom one might hope to get something better. As I feel at the moment, however, I think there would really be no harm in taking the thing and hoping for the best. As I know Mrs G, I shouldn't wonder if her reaction to the presentation of the bust would be that having given such a magnificent gesture as to hand over her beautiful self, she had done as much as anyone could in the way of munificence to the museum. It would take a very subtle hint from you I think to suggest anything more than that to her.[10]

This letter had in fact crossed with one sent by Byam Shaw to Parker, who then writes back to Byam Shaw the next day, having spoken with Ian Robertson. The latter, with a 'very much nimbler mind than I, and, I think, perhaps also, a better sense of bargaining', suggests pointing out to Mrs. Gutekunst that, 'although it would be quite unusual to accept a portrait of a living person, there is ample precedent for doing so in the case of benefactors to the Museum.' While Parker feels that she has not 'yet made the grade' as a benefactor, he says to Byam Shaw that they will nonetheless write to her, 'very tactfully', while conceding that 'my feeling is that the letter had better come from you.'[11]

On 13th October, Mrs. Gutekunst discusses the matter in a letter to Parker from the Hotel Montana, Lausanne:

Dear Mr Parker,

Gus Mayer came to see me a few months ago and told me that he had met you and your wife in Zurich…I don't know if Mr Shaw told you that I should like to present my bust – by Derwent Wood – to your museum. My husband always wanted it to go to the Tate Gallery, but they grandly refused it which hurt me very much. No doubt you must have seen it some time. It is my first piece of sculpture – very close to Houdon. I feel it ought to go to a well-known museum. Kindly let me know of your decision – I have so often spoken and written to Colnaghi's about it – but they seem to take no interest in the matter. I shall be so glad to know that it is safely housed.

With kindest regards to your wife,
Lena Gutekunst [12]

Parker's reply five days later is rather direct.[13] The museum does not collect modern sculpture, he states, unless they are of people 'who have made prominent benefactions'; however, since Mrs. Guteknust had 'so generously presented us with the beautiful drawing by Canaletto, which has been much admired', he feels that 'it was perhaps your intention to create some sort of monument to your husband by giving to this Museum other objects from his collection, which would be commensurate with its importance and his connoisseurship.' Parker then concludes the letter by saying that this would have a direct bearing on whether the Museum was able to accept her portrait bust.

This shameless attempt at hard bargaining was then followed up by a letter from Byam Shaw to Mrs. Gutekunst written on 20th October 1948.[14] Aware that Parker had written to her regarding her offer of the bust, he advised her that the works of art she had left for sale at Colnaghi, such as the Romney *Coy Child* and the 'large bronze bust of a child by an Early-Renaissance master', could be donated to the Ashmolean in preference to the National Gallery, with whose Director, Philip Hendy, Mrs. Gutekunst had already crossed swords over the gift of a so-called Titian *Portrait of Doge Gritti*, which had recently been demoted to Vincenzo Catena.[15]

Mrs. Gutekunst was, however, not going to give up without a fight, as can be seen in her reply of 21st October 1948.

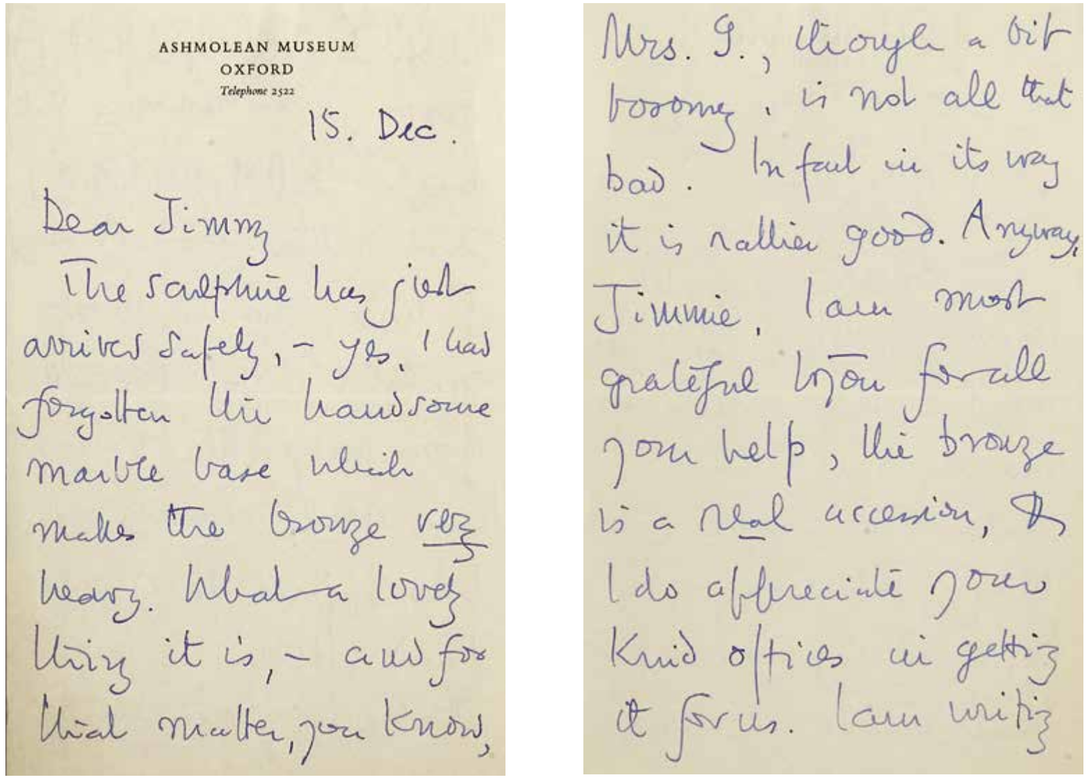
Dear Mr Parker,

I have just received your letter and hasten to answer it – as I don't want Colnaghi to send my bust to Oxford as I could not possibly part with anything else in my collection. I want to realise as much money as possible for my pictures, having many relations to provide for after my death. I shall try the museum at Birmingham – as the saying goes, maybe the third time lucky. I am sorry to think that Derwent Wood's sculpture is going begging.

Yours sincerely,
Lena Gutekunst [16]

Presumably Mrs. Gutekunst failed in her approach to Birmingham, or perhaps she was swayed ultimately by Byam Shaw's letter of 20th October, because two months later, on 9th December, Parker wrote to thank her for agreeing to donate the Renaissance portrait bust of a child, 'which I have known so long and long admired', along with the Derwent Wood, 'in memory of Mr. Gutekunst. I shall accept them both with all the more feeling in that they connect both with him and with you.'[17]

On 15th December Parker wrote delightedly to Byam Shaw to say that the busts had arrived safely by road from Colnaghi (fig. 6):


ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM
OXFORD
Telephone 2522

15. Dec.

Dear Jimmy
The sculpture has just arrived safely, – yes, I had forgotten the handsome marble base which makes the bronze very heavy. What a lovely thing it is, – and for that matter, you know, Mrs. G., though a bit bosomy, is not all that bad. In fact in its way it is rather good. Anyway, Jimmie, I am most grateful to you for all your help, the bronze is a real accession, & I do appreciate your kind offices in getting it for us. I am writing effusively once gain to Mrs G & will endeavour to get the bronze reproduced in the report which will probably please and flatter her…

Fig. 6. Letter from Parker to Byam Shaw, 15th December 1948, Colnaghi Archive

The sculpture has just arrived safely – yes I had forgotten the handsome marble base which makes the bronze very heavy. What a lovely thing it is – and for that matter, you know, Mrs. G., though a bit bosomy, is not all that bad. In fact in its way it is rather good. Anyway, Jimmie, I am most grateful to you for all your help, the bronze is a real accession, I do appreciate your kind offices in getting it for us. I am writing effusively once gain to Mrs G & will endeavour to get the bronze reproduced in the report which will probably please and flatter her…[18]

The story did not quite end there. Throughout 1949, Mrs. Gutekunst continued to be a thorn in Parker's flesh, requesting photographs of her portrait bust and then complaining that the ones taken by the Ashmolean were not of pre-War quality. Then, during 1950, she switched her attentions to the collection of unwanted pictures which had been left at Colnaghi, including the Romney and a van Dyck. Although Parker failed to find a donor to purchase them for

the Ashmolean, his attempts to help eventually led to a further donation of a group of bronze figures. Writing to Mrs. Gutekunst on 15th July 1953, he struggles 'to find words adequate to express my gratitude for such a generous and valuable gift… I shall always feel a particular attachment to these lovely figures as I remember them so well in your house in Hyde Park Gardens, when Mr. Gutekunst used to show them and explain them after a very good dinner.'[19] Although not all the bronzes proved to be of importance, one work – a depiction of Mars by Susini (fig. 7) – has turned out to be considerably more interesting than Parker or Mrs. Gutekunst had ever suspected and is now displayed prominently in one of the Renaissance galleries at the Ashmolean. It is the earliest known bronze reproduction of the famous *Ludovisi Mars* of the second century AD and probably dates from shortly after the acquisition in the 1620s by Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi of the much-admired antique statue, which was to inspire artists such as Velázquez. And there were was one more unexpected bonus: in 1957 Mrs. Gutekunst decided to give the Ashmolean Martin Luther's wedding ring, which was transferred via Germany in the diplomatic bag and eventually arrived in London on 29th April. 'I am sure that the best place and the right one for Miss Lloyd to hand the ring over,' wrote Parker to Mrs. Gutekunst, 'would be at Messrs Colnaghi, 14 Old Bond Street, London W1.'[20]

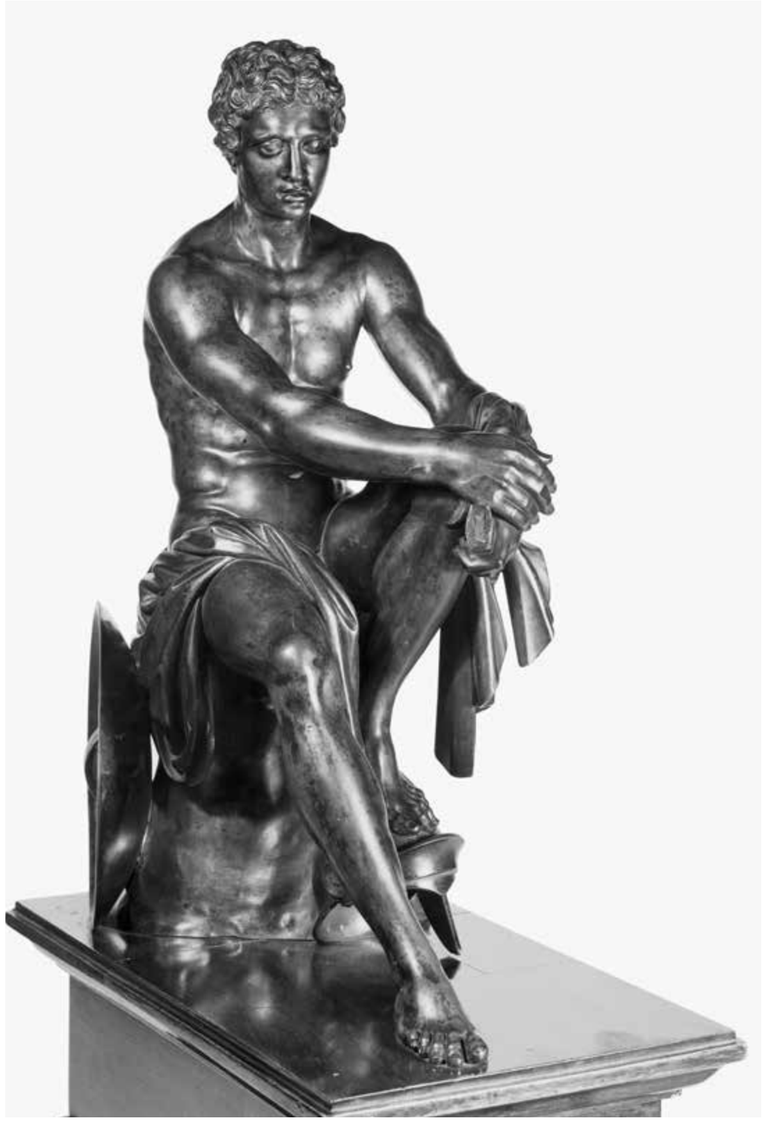


Fig. 7. Giovanni Francesco Susini, *The Ludovisi Mars*, 1630s, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

Thus ended the trying, if ultimately rewarding, saga of Lena Gutekunst, James Byam Shaw, Sir Karl Parker and the Ashmolean.

James Byam Shaw and his protégés

Perhaps because Byam Shaw had no children of his own, he was extremely generous to the young. The Byam Shaw Papers in the Colnaghi Archive contain several thank you letters from young people that he had helped or to whom he had given valuable advice. One budding young connoisseur was Francis Russell, now Deputy Chairman of Christie's, who concludes this section with an affectionate memoir in which he pays tribute to a great connoisseur and a most inspirational mentor.

***James Byam Shaw– a Memoir* by Francis Russell**

Few men were more generally loved than Jim Byam Shaw. His elegance of mind and acuity of eye were matched by the generosity of his spirit, and, indeed, by his fastidious appearance. Others have recorded his scholarly achievements, although no one perhaps has done full justice to the assistance he gave to the Ashmolean and the British Museum in enriching their collections of Old Master drawings. Nor has anyone adequately expressed the way in which his services to his country during the Second World War were matched by his belief in the value of British institutions, including not only museums and the National Art Collections Fund, but also the Church of England, which he revered, Westminster School and Christ Church College, Oxford – to both of which he felt an absolute loyalty – and, of course, his club, the Athenaeum.

After the war Jim and his second wife, Margaret, adopted a son of a friend who had been in the Indian Police Service. He naturally sent James ('Jamie') to Westminster, and by chance I was placed in the same house as him in the summer term of 1962. I thought little of our housemaster, but have an abiding debt for his telling Jim – then and for some years successively 'Mr Byam Shaw' and 'J.B.S.' to me – of my interest in Italian pictures. A meeting was arranged and thereafter I made occasional visits to Colnaghi in Bond Street, sometimes for tea. I had, of course, already seen a number of exhibitions there, but looking at things with Jim was an altogether different experience. His courtesy was invariable and he never patronised. There was always something special to see: thus on one visit he was particularly excited by two *grisailles* by Guardi that were eventually to be sold to Liverpool.

No one was more pleased by my decision to go to Christ Church, nor, once I had arrived in the autumn of 1966, more welcoming. Jim had the use of rooms in Tom Quad while he worked on his catalogue of the college's distinguished collection of pictures. While work on the new Picture Gallery was under way, most of the collection was housed in Dr. Lee's Academy, behind the Hall. Jim was meticulous. What was known about each work was written in his inimitable and beautifully legible hand on a series of cards. I spent many happy mornings helping him check measurements and other mechanical details. It was a wonderful way of examining pictures both good and bad – the latter omitted from the published catalogue – at close quarters.

In my second year, 1967-68, I had a beautiful set of rooms on Canterbury 2, the doorway to which led also to the new Picture Gallery. Jim had been closely involved with the plans, and the progression of the spaces was brilliantly calibrated for what was after all a largely static collection – so brilliantly indeed that no subsequent changes have really been made for the better. Inevitably, after the gallery opened, more scholars came to see this, and I met many of these with Jim, sometimes for tea in the Tom Quad rooms.

The Pounceys, Philip and Myril, had long been regular visitors: I was fascinated by his casual comment that Lotto was a restless wanderer and by her saying that she was most interested in minor painters. There were foreign visitors too, including Alessandro Bettagno, Giuliano Briganti and Alessandro Ballarin, who had already embarked on his sustained study of Bassano. He championed as a late masterpiece a *Way to Calvary* that had been hung high up in the entrance hall to the Library, but it was characteristic of Jim to maintain his more cautious view. Of resident scholars in the field, Jim was most devoted to Larissa Haskell, the wife of Francis, whom he had enlisted to help with cataloguing the major assemblage of prints that formed, with the pictures and drawings, a key component of the collection left to Christ Church by General Guise.

After completing the catalogue of the pictures at Christ Church, Jim turned to the drawings. Initially he had no assistant, so I helped as before, looking particularly at the celebrated early Italian drawings and the partly dismembered volume assembled by the Venetian writer, Carlo Ridolfi. Jim introduced me to artists of whom I was almost completely ignorant, Naldini for example, and wasn't wholly convinced when I thought I could detect two separate series of prick marks in the celebrated profile drawing by Leonardo.

Jim was generous with both advice and introductions. In my last year at Oxford, knowing that I wished to work for a museum, he put my name my forward to Anthony Blunt as a candidate to succeed Aidua Scott-Elliot as Curator of Drawings at Windsor. Although Blunt left me in little doubt that I had been selected and Jim was so confident that he told one of my tutors, I was eventually informed that whoever was appointed would have also to act as secretary, and so I did not get the job. Jim's next thought was the British Museum, where I had already gone through the earlier Italian holdings. The key thing, he commented, was 'to get one's foot in the door'. No wholly appropriate museum was advertised in the two and a half years after I left Christ Church, and it may be that the fact that Jim and Sir John Pope-Hennessy were my referees made me seem almost too well qualified for any of the posts for which I did apply. It was then on Jim's recommendation that I was asked by Abrams, the New York publisher, to revise the text of a book on Italian *quattrocento* drawing they had commissioned over a quarter of a century before from A.E. Popham. Then finally, in 1972, Jim was asked by Peter Chance, the Chairman of Christie's, whether he could suggest a drawings man and I was invited to see him, not expecting to meet Guy Hannen and Patrick Lindsay also. The upshot was that I was taken on by Christie's.

From the start, Jim took a very close interest in my activities at King Street and there was nothing that Jim relished more than coming in to look at things and discuss attributions. He was generous with information, but never competitive. If he said, 'I rather think it is by the man', this meant that he assumed you also knew whom a drawing was by. His enunciation could surprise those unfamiliar with it. Guardi, about whom he wrote with such perception, became 'Gaardi', while Bison, to him perhaps the last real Venetian draftsman, was 'Bis-own'. Jim, moreover, never hazarded rash guesses, believing that, if one misattributes something, one is revealing a double ignorance: of both the artist who was responsible and the one whose name had been incorrectly invoked.

Not only did Jim help me work out whom things were by, but he also encouraged anyone he knew who wanted to sell things, or might wish to do so, to get in touch with me, or arranged for me to visit them. A case in point was his old friend, Sir Karl T. Parker, whom I had met glancingly as a boy, but who had long since withdrawn from Oxford to Eastbourne. Theirs had been a long collaboration, and a close one: they were respectively Charles and Jimmy to each other – Parker liked others to address him as 'K.T.P.' I suggested that Sir Karl, rather than give a fine drawing by Maes to the Ashmolean, should lend it to them and instruct his

executors to offer this in settlement of Capital Transfer Tax, to help his family, but he was persuaded otherwise. Jim himself very occasionally sold something when he wanted to support a proper cause. Thus I was asked to sell a small Cambiaso study as his contribution to the cost of a remarkable book by a long-dead and unfairly traduced friend, Roger Hinks: *The Gymnasium of the Mind*.

Although Jim might have reservations about some people, these were by far outweighed by his devotion to others. And of their reciprocal devotion I was a beneficiary. It was through Jim that I came to know such men as Keith Andrews, the champion of Elsheimer, and many American curators and scholars, not least Felice Stampfle of the Morgan Library, who quite literally revered him. His close friend, Carlos von Hasselt, I met first with John Pope-Hennessy, but it was our mutual friendship with Jim that kept us in regular touch. The catalogues of the Lugt collection, which Jim completed with much help and encouragement from Carlos, were the key projects of Jim's final decade.

Jim had always taken a benign interest in the collectors, whether young or long-established, who called at Colnaghi. But I only realized the extent of the resulting friendships when I began to visit the United States. It was he who, before I started to work at Christie's, put me in touch with Janos Scholz, who owned a drawing which was relevant to my pursuit of the young Perugino. Many others in New York and elsewhere remained grateful for the reception they had received in Old Bond Street.

Jim was a man of method. I first learnt this from the cards which he prepared for the Christ Church catalogues and then from the notebooks, copiously illustrated with drawings that he filled on his long circuit of European print rooms in preparation for his role at Colnaghi. I now have other evidence of this, both in his annotations, for example in his copy of the first edition of Constable's *Canaletto*, and in his meticulously arranged collection of postcards of pictures and buildings, the messages sent on many of which offer a microcosm of the pattern of Jim's personal friendships.

Method underlay his connoisseurship over what was, by the standards of other art historians, an exceptionally wide field. This also, of course, helped to explain the clarity of his memory for more personal things. Naturally he took a proper interest in the work of his father, John Byam Liston Shaw, perhaps the last serious painter in the Pre-Raphaelite tradition. He talked little of his childhood, or indeed of Westminster, but more often about Christ Church. Many friendships from there survived, and he was, for example, fascinated to find that an ancestor of one contemporary, Ralph Assheton, later Lord Clitheroe, had been a pupil of Carlo Labruzzi, best known as Colt Hoare's travelling draftsman.

It was in the mid-1930s that he first visited Penheale, to value what was then a very mixed collection of pictures assembled by Colonel Colville, whom he initially found overbearing, but came to both like and admire. He acted both for Colville and for a younger friend, Brinsley Ford, at the sale in 1936 of the great collection of drawings formed by Henry Oppenheimer, who was referred to as 'Henry Op' by Parker who catalogued it. Ford bought the Michelangelo, while Colville bought three Leonardos, one of which is now the Fitzwilliam Museum (p. 51). Other acquisitions followed, and it was Jim who alerted him to the sale of the three houses in Wyndham Place where he was to live for some sixty years.

Jim was not a natural soldier, but his service in the Second World War resulted in many friendships, including that with Roderick Thesiger, whom he persuaded to join him afterwards at Colnaghi. They returned to a very changed world, but one in which Jim's perspicacity gave the firm a unique place. No one ever complained that Jim paid them too little or overcharged. His generosity to museums and the young was unfailing. And he was equally generous with his rare mistakes: when Michael Hirst found an overlooked Correggio drawing in a box of bargains and showed it to Jim, the latter congratulated him.

Colonel Colville and Jim's close friend, Mrs Christie-Miller, apart, there were relatively few English collectors of Old Master drawings. More often vendors were British. Sometimes there could be complications. Through Lord Plunkett Jim had met Lord Dalkeith, later the Duke of Buccleuch, for whom the Duke of Beaufort sold two notable lagoon views by Guardi to his friend Gianni Agnelli. As she told me many years later, Signora Agnelli did not care for the pictures, and their advisor asserted that the pictures were not authentic. The Duke of Beaufort had no option but to take the pictures back. He then consulted Jim, who considered, wholly correctly, that these were masterpieces from the earliest phase of Guardi's development as a view-painter, and then found an alternative buyer. He would I think be delighted to know that what is probably the prime version of one of them is now in the Ashmolean, as a result of a negotiation that may subconsciously have been inspired by him.

Jim's conversation knew few victims. He avoided in the main talking about people and things he did not care for. And this in part helped to explain the loyalty felt for him by many of differing outlook or from different worlds. Despite their very different political views, he admired Michael Levey and was devoted to Alessandro Bettagno, who sensibly recruited him to help with exhibitions at the Cini Foundation and was certainly responsible for Jim's appointment as a *grande ufficiale* of the Italian Republic. By contrast, Jim was never awarded the public honour that those who knew of his contributions considered he deserved in his own country. His honorary doctorate of Oxford and studentship of Christ Church, however, both meant much to him.

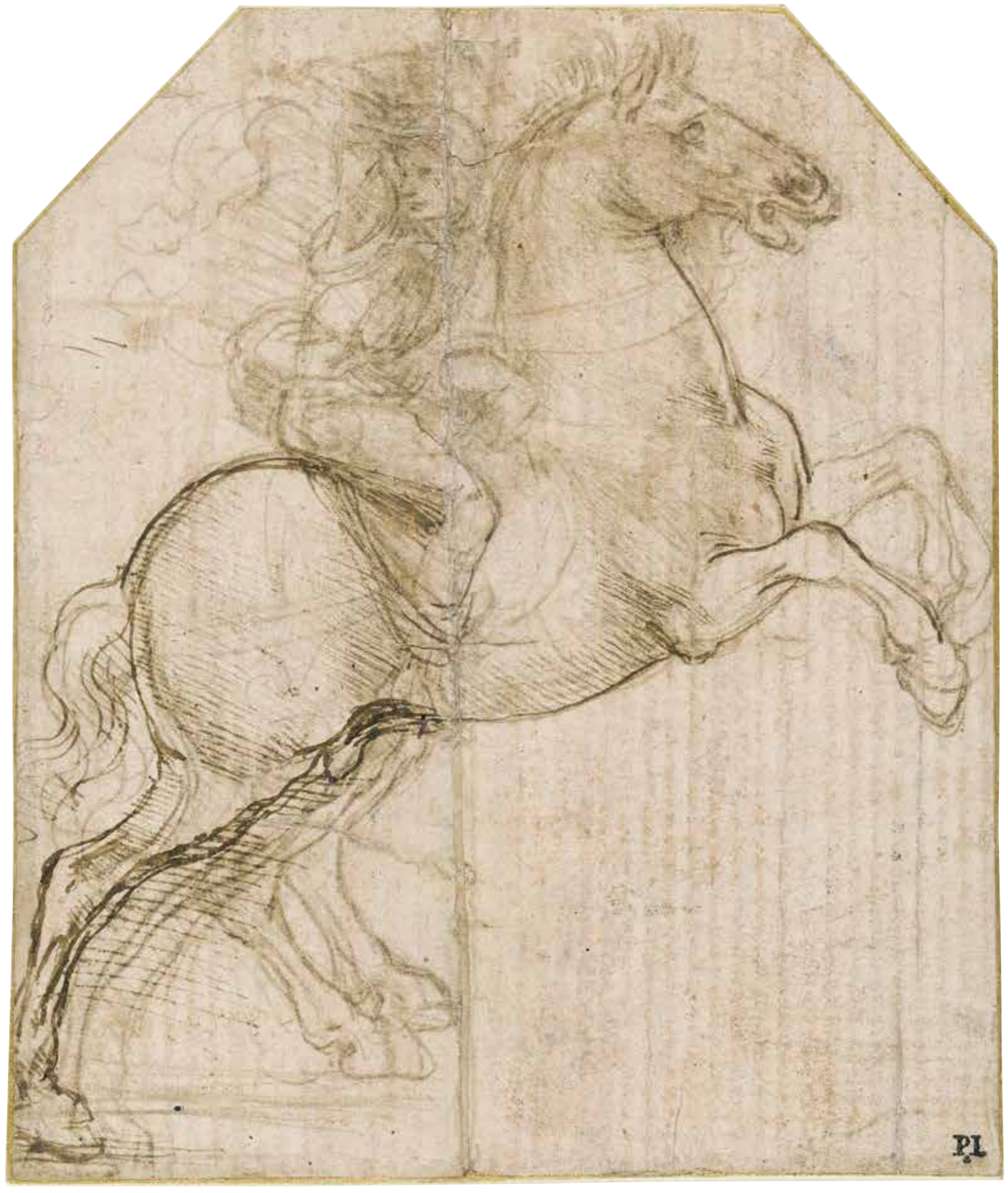
Not the least of Jim's qualities was a capacity to form new friendships. He was always interested in the young who shared his interests. One day I will re-read the hundreds of letters he sent me, many, but by no means all, about matters of attribution. And I will hear that voice, once so familiar, and sense the presence of one whose sartorial elegance matched so closely the elegant generosity of his mind.

Chapter 7

Colnaghi 1760-2000: Notable museum sales

1

Leonardo da Vinci (**1452-1519**)
Rider on a rearing horse, c.1482
Metalpoint, pen and brown ink, 141 x 119 mm.
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge



2

Jan van Eyck (c.1390-1441)
The Annunciation, c.1434-36
Oil on canvas transferred from panel, 92.7 x 36.7 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington

Opposite:
3

Rogier van der Weyden (c.1399-1464)
Portrait of Francesco d'Este, c.1460
Oil on panel, 31.8 x 22.2 cm.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

4

Fra Angelico (c.1390-1455)
The Death and the Assumption of the Virgin, c.1432
Tempera and gold on panel, 61.8 x 38.5 cm.
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston

5

Antonio del Pollaiuolo (**1431-1498**)
Portrait of a lady in profile, c.1465
Oil on panel, 52.5 x 36.5 cm.
Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

6

Sandro Botticelli (1445-1510)
The Adoration of the Magi, 1472-82
Tempera and oil on panel, 70.1 x 104.2 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington

7

Carlo Crivelli (**c.1430-c.1494**)
St. George slaying the dragon, c.1470
Gold and tempera on panel, 94.2 x 47.8 cm.
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston

8

Giovanni Bellini (c.1424-1516)
St. Francis in the desert, c.1476-78
Oil on panel, 124.6 x 142.1 cm.
The Frick Collection, New York

9

Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino, called Raphael (**1483-1520**)
St. George and the dragon, c.1506
Oil on panel, 28.5 x 21.5 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington

10

Hans Holbein the Younger (**c.1497-1543**)
Portrait of Edward VI as a child, c.1538
Oil on panel, 56.8 x 44.1 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington

11

Lucas Cranach the Elder (**1472-1553**)
Melancholia, 1532
Oil on panel, 76.5 x 56.5 cm.
Musée Unterlinden, Colmar

12

Gerard David (**c.1460-1523**)
Rest on the Flight into Egypt, c.1510
Oil on panel, 44.3 x 44.9 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington

13

Bartolomeo Veneto, (active 1502-1531, d.1531)
Portrait of a lady in a green dress, 1530
Oil on panel, 85.9 x 67.6 cm.
Timken Museum of Art, San Diego

14

Benvenuto Cellini (**1500-1571**)
Portrait of Bindo Altoviti, c.1550
Bronze, 105.4 cm. high
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston

15

Domenikos Theotokopoulos, called El Greco (1541-1614)
Portrait of Vincenzo Anastagi, c.1575
Oil on canvas, 188.1 x 126.7 cm.
The Frick Collection, New York

16

Agnolo Bronzino (1503-1572)
Portrait of Lodovico Capponi, 1550-55
Oil on panel, 116.5 x 85.7 cm.
The Frick Collection, New York

17

Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564)
The Dream of Life, c.1533
Black chalk, 396 x 279 mm.
The Courtauld Gallery, London

18

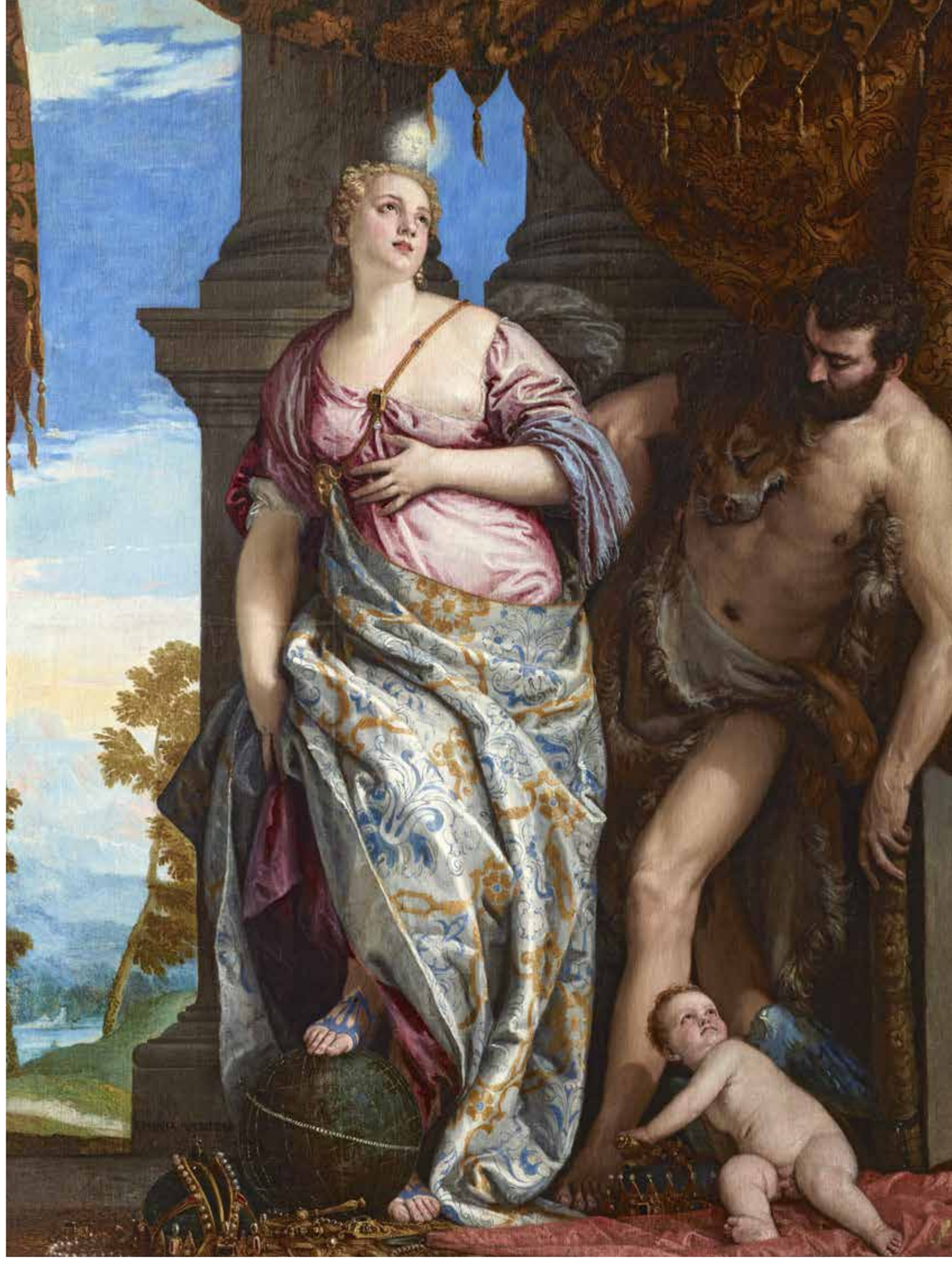
Tiziano Vecellio, called Titian (**c.1488-1576**)
The Rape of Europa, c.1560-62
Oil on canvas, 178.1 x 205.3 cm.
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston

19

Tiziano Vecellio, called Titian (**c.1488-1576**)
Portrait of Pietro Aretino, c.1537
Oil on canvas, 101.9 x 85.7 cm.
The Frick Collection, New York

20

Paolo Caliari, called Veronese (c.1528-1588)
The choice between Virtue and Vice and *Wisdom and Strength*, c.1565
Oil on canvas, 219.1 x 169.5 cm.
The Frick Collection, New York



21

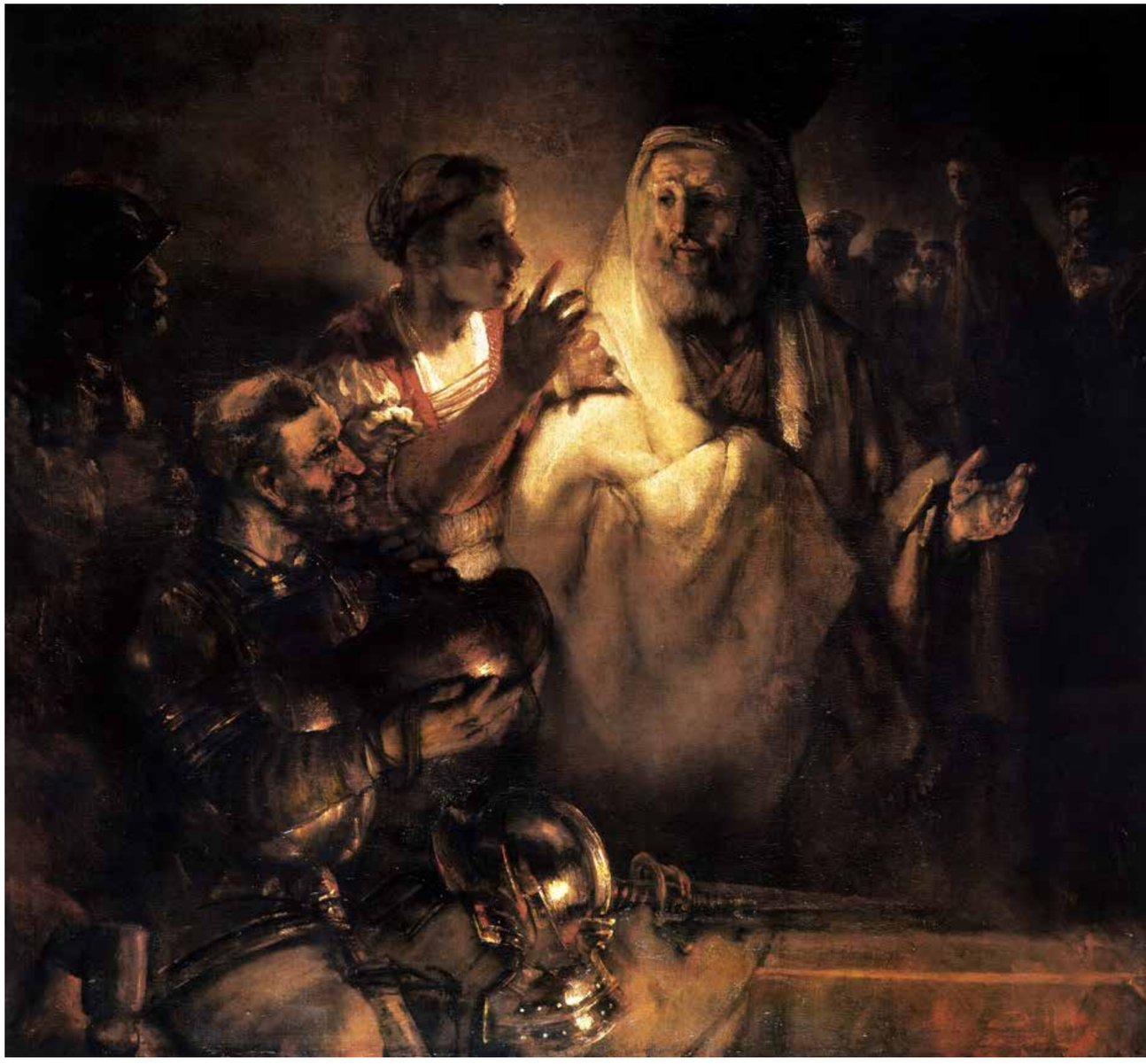
Sir Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640)
Equestrian portrait of the Duke of Buckingham, 1625
Oil on panel, 46.6 x 51.7 cm.
Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth

22

Dirck van Baburen (1595-1624)
Christ crowned with thorns, 1621-22
Oil on canvas, 130.5 x 171.1 cm.
Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City

23

Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn (**1606-1669**)
The Denial of St. Peter, 1660
Oil on canvas, 154.2 x 169.1 cm.
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



24

Guido Reni (**1575-1642**)
Portrait of Cardinal Roberto Ubaldino, 1627
Oil on canvas, 196.9 x 149.2 cm.
Los Angeles County Museum of Art

25

Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, called Guercino (**1591-1666**)
Semiramis receiving word of the Revolt of Babylon, 1624
Oil on canvas, 112.4 x 154.6 cm.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

26

Jusepe de Ribera, called lo Spagnoletto (1591-1652)
Portrait of a Knight of Santiago, mid-1630s
Oil on canvas, 144.9 x 105.4 cm.
Meadows Museum, Dallas

27

Alessandro Algardi (**1598/1602-1654**)
Pietà, c.1630
Bronze, 32.4 x 30.8 cm.
The Frick Collection, New York

28

Simon Vouet (**1590-1649**)
The Entombment, c.1635-38
Oil on panel, 56.5 x 41.5 cm.
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

29

Sir Anthony van Dyck (**1599-1641**)
The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, 1617
Oil on canvas, 151.1 x 229.2 cm.
Indianapolis Museum of Art

30

Georges de la Tour
(1593-1652)
A peasant couple eating, c.1620
Oil on canvas, 74.1 x 87.2 cm.
Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

31

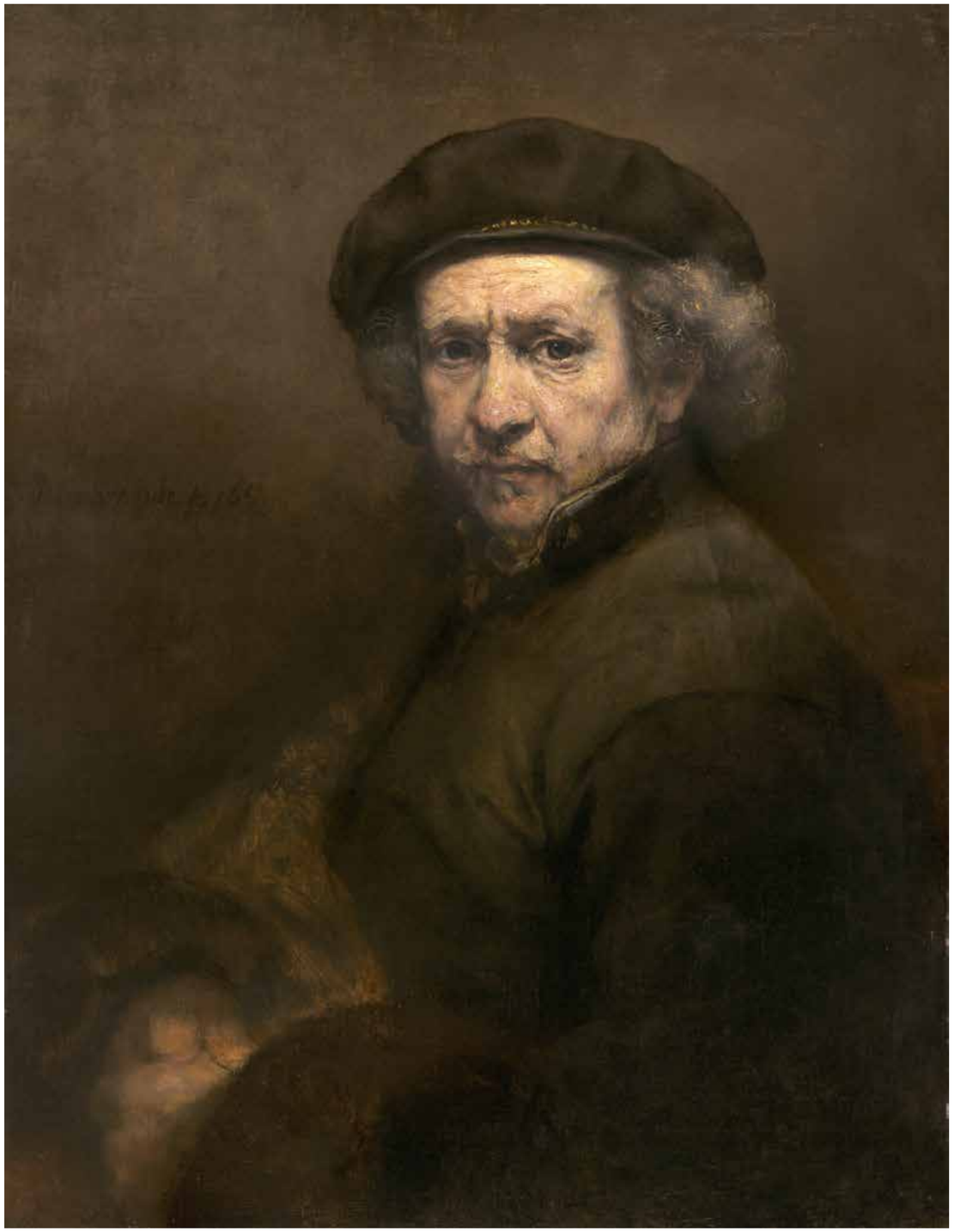
Johannes Vermeer (**1632-1675**)
A woman holding a balance, c.1664
Oil on panel, 42.5 x 38.1 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington

Over:
32

Claude Lorrain (**1600-1682**)
The Adoration of the Golden Calf, 1660
Oil on canvas, 114.1 x 158.1 cm.
Manchester Art Gallery

33

Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn (**1606-1669**)
Self-Portrait, c.1659
Oil on canvas, 84.5 x 66.1 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington



34

Carlo Dolci (1616-1686)
David with the head of Goliath, c.1680
Oil on canvas, 131.5 x 106.1 cm.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

35

Mattia Preti (**1613-1699**)
The Feast of Herod, 1656-61
Oil on canvas, 177.8 x 252.1 cm.
Toledo Museum of Art

36

Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680)
Bacchanal: a faun teased by children, c.1616-17
Marble, 132.1 cm. high
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

37

Guido Cagnacci (**1601-1663**)
Martha rebuking Mary, after 1660
Oil on canvas, 222.9 x 261.1 cm.
Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena

Over:
38

Jean-Antoine Watteau (**1684-1721**)
The Portal of Valenciennes, 1709-10
Oil on canvas, 32.4 x 40.6 cm.
The Frick Collection, New York

39

Jean Siméon Chardin (**1699-1779**)
The house of cards, c.1737
Oil on canvas, 82.2 x 66.1 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington

Over:
40

Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (**1696-1770**)
The Banquet of Cleopatra, 1744
Oil on canvas, 250.3 by 357.1 cm.
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne

41

Jean-Etienne Liotard (**1702-1789**)
A Frankish woman and her servant, c.1750
Oil on canvas, 72.4 x 57.1 cm.
Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City

Over:
42

Francesco Guardi (**1712-1793**)
Gala concert in the Sala dei Filarmonici, 1782
Oil on canvas, 67.1 x 90.1 cm.
Alte Pinakothek, Munich

43

Pompeo Batoni (**1709-1787**)
Diana breaking Cupid's bow, 1761
Oil on canvas, 124.5 x 172.7 cm.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

44

Antonio Canova (**1757-1822**)
Dancing girl with cymbals, c.1809-12
Marble, 187.1 cm. high
Bode Museum, Berlin

45

Thomas Gainsborough (**1727-1788**)
Portrait of James Christie, 1778
Oil on canvas, 127.6 x 102.2 cm.
J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

46

Elizabeth-Louise Vigée-Lebrun (**1755-1842**)
Portrait of Mademoiselle Roland, 1791
Oil on canvas, 99.1 x 75.2 cm.
Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco

Over:
47

Ubaldo Gandolfi (**1728-1781**)
Mercury lulling Argus to sleep and
Mercury about to decapitate Argus, c.1770-75
Oil on canvas, 218.4 x 136.2 cm.
North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh

48

Francisco de Goya (**1746-1828**)
The Forge, c.1815-20
Oil on canvas, 181.6 x 125.1 cm.
The Frick Collection, New York

49

Anne-Louis Girodet de Roucy-Trioson (**1767-1824**)
Portrait of the Mameluke Katchef Dahouth, 1804
Oil on canvas, 144.7 x 113.1 cm.
Art Institute of Chicago

Over:
50

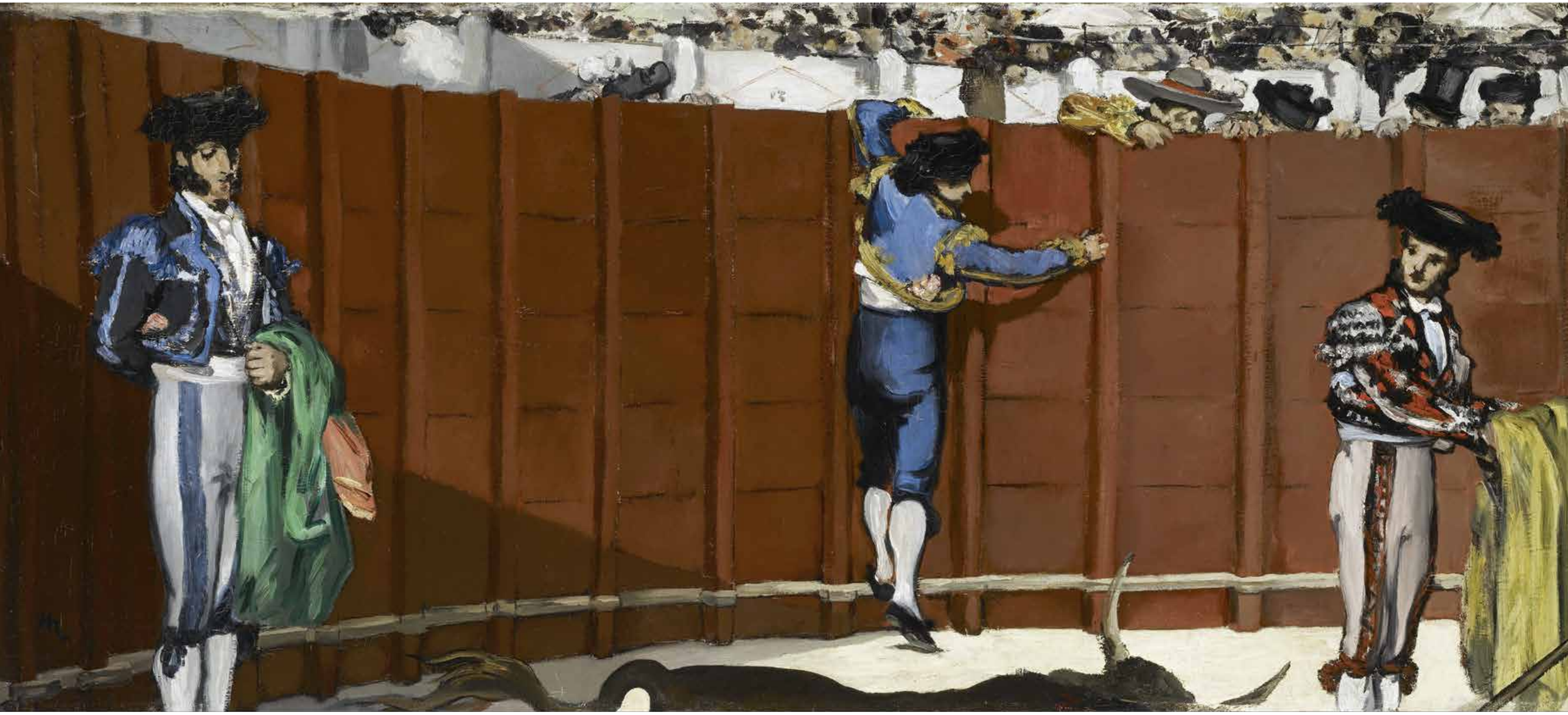
Caspar David Friedrich (**1774-1840**)
Mountain peak with drifting clouds, c.1835
Oil on canvas, 25.1 x 30.6 cm.
Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth

51

Gustave Courbet (**1819-1877**)
Portrait of H.J. van Wisselingh, 1846
Oil on panel, 57.2 x 46.6 cm.
Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth

Over:
52

John Martin (**1789-1854**)
The Seventh Plague of Egypt, 1823
Oil on canvas, 144.1 x 214.1 cm.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



53

Edouard Manet (**1832-1883**)
The bullfight, 1864
Oil on canvas, 47.9 x 108.9 cm.
The Frick Collection, New York

54

Gustave Moreau (1826-1898)
Dejanira (Autumn), c.1872-73
Oil on panel, 55.1 x 45.4 cm.
J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

55

John Singer Sargent (**1856-1925**)
Portrait of Mrs. Cecil Wade, 1886
Oil on canvas, 167.6 x 140.3 cm.
Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City

Museums in North America with artworks sold by Colnaghi

ANN ARBOR, MI
Museum of Art, University of Michigan

ATLANTA, GA
High Museum of Art

AUSTIN, TX
Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery

BIRMINGHAM, AL
Birmingham Museum of Art

BLOOMINGTON, IN
Indiana University Art Museum

BOSTON, MA
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum
Museum of Fine Arts

CAMBRIDGE, MA
Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University

CHAPEL HILL, NC
Akland Art Museum

CHICAGO, IL
Art Institute of Chicago

CINCINNATI, OH
Cincinnati Art Museum

CLEVELAND, OH
Cleveland Museum of Art

COLUMBUS, OH
Columbus Museum of Art

DALLAS, TX
Dallas Museum of Art
Meadows Museum of Art

DETROIT, MI
Detroit Institute of Art

EAST LANSING, MI
Kresge Art Gallery, Michigan State University

FORT WORTH, TX
Kimbell Art Museum

HANOVER, NH
Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College

HARTFORD, CT
Wadsworth Atheneum

HONOLULU, HI
Honolulu Academy of Arts

HOUSTON, TX
Museum of Fine Arts
Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation

INDIANAPOLIS, IN
Indianapolis Museum of Art

JACKSONVILLE, FL
Cummer Gallery of Art

KANSAS CITY, MO
Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art

LEXINGTON, KY
University of Kentucky Art Museum

LOS ANGELES, CA
J. Paul Getty Museum of Art
Los Angeles County Art Museum

LOUSIVILLE, KY
J. B. Speed Art Museum

MERION, PA
Barnes Foundation

MIAMI, FL
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami

MINNEAPOLIS, MN
Minneapolis Institute of Art

MONTREAL, ONT
Montreal Museum of Fine Arts

NEW HAVEN, CT
Yale Center for British Art

NEW ORLEANS, LA
New Orleans Museum of Art

NEW YORK, NY
Frick Collection
Samuel Kress Foundation
Metropolitan Museum of Art

NOTRE DAME, IN
Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame

NORTHAMPTON, MA
Smith College Museum of Art

OBERLIN, OH
Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College

OTTAWA, ONT
National Gallery of Canada

PASADENA, CA
Norton Simon Museum of Art

PHILADELPHIA, PA
Philadelphia Museum of Art

POUGHKEEPSIE, NY
Vassar College Art Gallery

PRINCETON, NJ
Art Museum, Princeton University

PROVIDENCE, RI
Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design

RALEIGH, NC
North Carolina Museum of Art

SARASOTA, FL
Ringling Museum of Art

SAINT LOUIS, MO
Saint Louis Museum of Art

SAN FRANCISCO, CA
Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco

STANFORD, CA
Stanford University Museum of Art and
T. W. Stanford Art Gallery

SAN DIEGO, CA
Timken Art Gallery

TOLEDO, OH
Toledo Museum of Art

TORONTO, ONT
Art Gallery of Ontario

TULSA, OK
Philbrook Art Center

VANCOUVER, BC
Vancouver Art Gallery

WASHINGTON, DC.
National Gallery of Art

WILLIAMSTOWN, MA
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute

WORCESTER, MA
Worcester Art Museum

Museums in Europe and the Rest of the World with artworks sold by Colnaghi - a selection

ABERDEEN
Aberdeen Museum

AMSTERDAM
Rijksmuseum

BERLIN
Gemäldegalerie

BIRMINGHAM
Barber Institute of Fine Art
City Museum and Art Gallery

CAMBRIDGE
Fitzwilliam Museum

CARDIFF
National Museum of Wales

DUBLIN
National Gallery of Art

EDINBURGH
National Galleries of Scotland

FRANKFURT
Städelsches Kunstinstitut

LONDON
British Museum
Courtauld Institute
National Gallery
Victoria and Albert Museum

LIVERPOOL
Walker Art Gallery

LISBON
Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation

MANCHESTER
Manchester City Art Galleries

MELBOURNE
National Gallery of Victoria

MUNICH
Alte Pinothek

OXFORD
Ashmolean Museum

PARIS
Musée du Louvre

ROTTERDAM
Museum Boijmans-van Beuningen

SAO PAOLO
Museu de Arte

VIENNA
Albertina Museum

THE PRESENT

The following section covers the history of Colnaghi from 2002, following its acquisition by Konrad Bernheimer, the fourth-generation of the Munich-based Bernheimer gallery, until 2015, when Jorge Coll and Nicolás Cortés of Coll & Cortés joined Bernheimer as partners in Colnaghi.

The opening chapter summarises the recent histories of the galleries: Colnaghi in London, Bernheimer in Munich and Coll & Cortés in Madrid and London. The particular interests and strengths of each gallery are explored in two interviews. In chapter two, Maggie Gray talks to Jorge Coll and Xavier Bray about the growth of interest in Spanish polychrome sculpture. Out of the illuminating conversation on the subject comes the important idea that both institutions and commercial galleries have a vital role to play in discovering overlooked areas of European art and presenting them to a wider audience. The same theme recurs in Jeremy Howard's discussion with Konrad Bernheimer on the subject of Colnaghi and the German art world in chapter three. The conversation covers a wide range of topics from the significant roles played by a number of German owners and directors in the gallery's history to Bernheimer's passion for and promotion of German artists such as Lucas Cranach. The interview also takes in Bernheimer's close ties to the museum world in Germany.

The section closes with a small selection of notable sales made in recent years by the three galleries to museums around the world.

Chapter 1

Colnaghi, Bernheimer and Coll & Cortés

Tim Warner-Johnson & Andreas Pampoulides

Colnaghi: 2002–2015

In January 2002 a new chapter opened in the long history of Colnaghi. Ownership of the gallery passed to Konrad Bernheimer, the fourth generation of the Munich-based art-dealing dynasty. Bernheimer was soon joined by Katrin Bellinger, who had dealt in drawings in London and Munich since 1985, Rachel Kaminksy, Tim Warner-Johnson and Florian Härb. Together with Bellinger, Bernheimer also acquired the famous Colnaghi Library and Archive, which are an integral part of the firm's history.

Fig. 1. The Red Gallery, Colnaghi, 15 Old Bond St., with an installation view of the exhibition *In Italian Light*, 2007

Operating from the grand 'Red Gallery' on the ground floor at 15 Old Bond St. (fig. 1), Colnaghi began to deal more eclectically under Bernheimer's ownership. In addition to the Italian pictures for which the firm had long been associated, the gallery also handled important works from the Northern Schools, from Dutch and Flemish artists such as Rubens and Brueghel to French masters of the eighteenth century, notably Watteau, Boucher and Fragonard. The gallery also enjoyed great success with the German Renaissance artist Lucas Cranach the Elder, who was commemorated in a monographic catalogue and exhibition in June 2009. On the drawings side, Bellinger made notable sales of French and Italian drawings, but also expanded into German nineteenth-century drawings and oil sketches, staging, for example, an exhibition of German *plein-air* studies, *Out into Nature*, in association with Hans-Jürgen Moesch (2003).

During this period Colnaghi continued to host a wide range of exhibitions and to maintain its long tradition of scholarship. There was also an expansion of academic activities, such as the monographic catalogue on Frans Hals's *St. Mark*, which was the subject of a scholarly symposium held at the gallery in January 2009. There were thematic exhibitions on the Grand Tour and artists at work, both of which were accompanied by well-attended lecture programmes. This commitment to maintaining the gallery's old traditions of scholarly dealing in Old Masters was, however, accompanied by a greater involvement and engagement with contemporary art with a particular empasis on bringing Old Masters and contemporary artists together. This approach was pioneered in 2005 with the exhibition, *In the Company of Old Masters*, which explored the responses to Old Master painting of three American contemporary artists, Julian Schnabel, Tina Barney and Eve Sussman. This was followed by a number of collaborative exhibitions with Hauser & Wirth, such as *We are all Flesh* (2007), which featured the contemporary wax sculptures of Berlinde de Bruyckere, together with two paintings by Luca Giordano which inspired her (fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Installation view of the exhibition *We are all Flesh: Berlinde de Bruyckere and Luca Giordano,* Colnaghi and Hauser & Wirth, 2009

In addition to holding exhibitions at the gallery in Old Bond St., Colnaghi has in recent years participated in the most prestigious international artfairs, including: The European Fine Art Fair (TEFAF), Maastricht; Masterpiece, London; Frieze Masters, London; Biennale des Antiquaires, Paris; and The International Fine Art Fair, New York.

The year 2010 saw Colnaghi celebrate its 250th anniversary, a landmark accompanied by an exhibition and a three-volume commemorative catalogue that included *Colnaghi: The History*. The following year the gallery moved to an elegant suite of rooms over the top three floors of 15 Old Bond St. (fig. 3). At the end of 2015, two major changes occurred. Katrin Bellinger ceased trading to focus on her commitments in the museum world and on the activities of her Tavolozza Foundation, and Konrad Bernheimer welcomed as partners in Colnaghi the Spanish dealers Jorge Coll and Nicolás Cortés. This partnership will be accompanied by a move to a new gallery at 26 Bury St., which will mark the return of Colnaghi to St. James's after an absence of over a hundred years.

Fig. 3. The second floor gallery, Colnaghi, 15 Old Bond St., 2012

Fig. 4. Palais Lenbachplatz, Munich, completed 1889

The Bernheimer Gallery: 1864-2015

The Bernheimer Gallery was founded in 1864 by Lehmann Bernheimer, great-grandfather of Konrad Bernheimer. Lehmann opened his first shop in Munich aged just twenty-two. Situated on Salvatorplatz, the store initially sold clothing fabrics. Bernheimer began dealing in furnishing textiles and soon expanded into oriental carpets, sculpture, antiquities and furniture. He enjoyed such success that he was able to build the magnificent family palace on Lenbachplatz (fig. 4). Lehmann was followed in the business by his three sons, Max, Ernst and Otto. The early success continued and the gallery became the most important dealership of its kind in Germany. With its different departments and workshops, the firm was in the position to furnish entire castles. Its clientele included the high aristocracy, the ruling houses of Europe and the industrial plutocracy, ranging from the Wittelsbach and Hohenzollern to the Krupps and William Randolph Hearst.

After the First World War and the economic crisis, Hitler's anti-semitism put an end to this great success story. The family managed to escape from the Dachau concentration camp and went into exile in Venezuela. Immediately after the end of the Second World War, Otto Bernheimer returned to Munich to rebuild the business. Although much had been lost, he soon was able to re-establish the gallery as the premier dealership for the decorative arts and furnishings in Germany and beyond.

Otto was succeeded in the business by his grandson Konrad Bernheimer, whom he had trained from a young age with daily visits to the museums in Munich. In 1977, Konrad took over the firm and slowly reshaped it according to his own vision. Selling the palace on Lenbachplatz and closing down the furnishing departments, he gradually focused on a new area of specialisation: Old Master paintings. Beginning with a small gallery on Promenadeplatz, Bernheimer eventually moved into an elegant gallery on Briennerstrasse (fig. 5) in 1998, having previously opened a second space in London in 1985. The gallery began to participate in international art fairs and important museum sales followed.

In January 2002, Bernheimer bought Colnaghi from the Oetker group. Founded in 1760 and situated on Old Bond Street in the heart of London's exclusive Mayfair district, Colnaghi is the oldest and one of the most important Old Master dealerships in the world. As a result of this acquisition, the Bernheimer name enjoyed an even greater international profile, with the gallery exhibiting as Bernheimer-Colnaghi at the most significant art fairs around the globe and making major sales to museums.

In 2003, Bernheimer opened a new photography department in Munich, which has been under the direction of Blanca Bernheimer, the third of Konrad's four daughters, since 2005. Bernheimer Fine Art Photography has enjoyed great success, working with contemporary artists as well as the estates of significant modern photographers such as Horst P. Horst and Irving Penn. It has undertaken a busy schedule of artfairs and exhibitions in both Munich and Lucerne, where a gallery was opened in 2013. In 2014, Isabel Bernheimer, the second of Konrad's daughters, set up the contemporary art agency

Fig. 5. The Bernheimer Gallery, Briennerstrasse, Munich, 2010

Bernheimer Contemporary in Berlin, and the same year curated at the Briennerstrasse gallery the exhibition *Vanitas*, which successfully combined contemporary art with Old Masters.

In 2014, the Bernheimer Gallery celebrated its 150th anniversary, an event marked by a commemorative exhibition (fig. 6). This coincided with the publication of *Narwalzahn und Alte Meister* (Great Masters and Unicorns), Konrad Bernheimer's history of the Bernheimer family business. In early 2015, Bernheimer took the decision to close the gallery on Briennerstrasse, athough he will still work as a private consultant in Munich. The Bernheimer name will now be carried forward into the fifth generation by Isabel Bernheimer in Berlin and Blanca Bernheimer in Munich and Lucerne.

Fig. 6. Installation view of the 150th Anniversary Exhibition, Munich, 2014

Coll & Cortés: 2005–2015

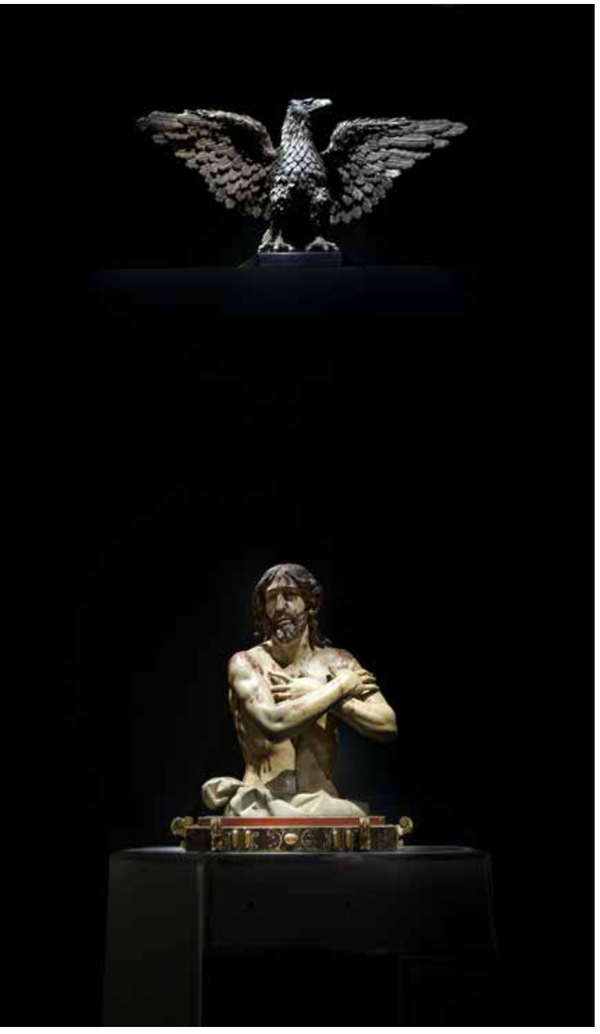


Fig. 8. Coll & Cortés stand, TEFAF Maastricht, 2015

Coll & Cortés was founded in 2005 by Jorge Coll and Nicolás Cortés. They started with a gallery on Calle Justiniano in Madrid and, in 2012, expanded by opening a gallery at 27 Albemarle St. in London's Mayfair. Since their inception they have aimed at establishing themselves as one of the leading international art dealerships through sourcing and selling the best examples of European paintings and sculptures as well as arts from the Spanish-speaking world.

Through their publications and exhibitions Coll & Cortés have sought to promote works of art that history has overlooked but which are rich in quality and cultural significance. Their first two exhibitions, *Maestros del Barroco* (Masters of The Baroque) in 2005 and *El Tiempo de la pintura* (The Time of Painting) in 2007, were scholarly surveys of painting in Spain from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The essays in the accompanying catalogues filled gaps in Spanish art history and reminded art lovers of the importance and popularity that such works once commanded.

The gallery's next exhibition, *The Mystery of Faith* (2009), focused on another field that had been almost entirely neglected in and outside Spain: polychrome wood sculpture. Timed to coincide with the National Gallery's *The Sacred Made Real*, a seminal show on the same subject, this exhibition was a turning point both in the recognition of the Coll & Cortés Gallery and in the appeal – both aesthetic and commercial – of Spanish polychrome sculpture. Since then, a newfound enthusiasm for the subject has emerged among museum curators and private collectors. The gallery's commitment to the re-appraisal of this genre was confirmed by the exhibition *Pedro de Mena: The Spanish Bernini* (2014; fig. 7), which was accompanied by a scholarly catalogue with essays by Xavier Bray and José Luis Romero Torres.

The fourth project undertaken by Coll & Cortés – *Los Artes del Nuevo Mundo* (The Arts of the New World) in 2009 – was dedicated to the arts of the Spanish-speaking world in all its forms: painting, sculpture, textiles, furniture, silver and ivories. This survey aimed not only to promote individual works of art but also to gather and publish the most recent scholarly thought on a highly rarefied subject. Subsequent publications have presented the finest objects on the market with the latest scholarship available and have covered a variety of subjects, from Giambologna and Guercino to Guglielmo della Porta and the father and son sculptors, Leone and Pompeo Leoni. As the gallery approached its 10th anniversary, a commemorative catalogue *X* was produced to celebrate this landmark, featuring a

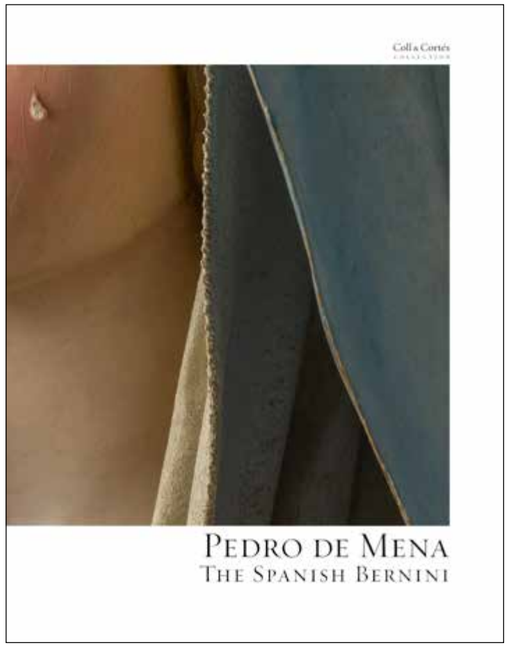


Fig. 7. Catalogue cover of *Pedro de Mena: The Spanish Bernini*, 2014

selection of important paintings and sculptures sold to museums and private collectors.

Along with their ambitious catalogue projects, the Coll & Cortés Gallery has also exhibited regularly at a number of the art world's most prestigious fairs, including The European Fine Art Fair (TEFAF), Maastricht (figs. 8 & 9), Frieze Masters, London and Spring Masters, New York.

In 2015, Jorge Coll and Nicolás Cortés entered into partnership with Konrad Bernheimer and Colnaghi, thus heralding a new chapter for both galleries. They will, however, also continue to operate as Coll & Cortés in Spain.

Fig. 9. Coll & Cortés stand, TEFAF Maastricht, 2015

Chapter 2

Resurrecting Spanish polychrome sculpture

Maggie Gray in conversation with Jorge Coll and Xavier Bray

In 2009, the National Gallery in London staged *The Sacred Made Real: Spanish Painting and Sculpture 1600-1700*, an exhibition curated by Xavier Bray that displayed famous seventeenth-century Spanish paintings alongside their less famous sculptural counterparts (fig. 1). It was an unusual show for the institution, which is not known for collecting sculpture, and it turned out to be a revelatory one. Startling sculptures by the likes of Pedro de Mena and Gregorio Fernández brought the Holy Family and the saints seemingly to life: the artists' fine carving and delicate polychromy rendered their subjects' ecstasy and suffering in unflinching detail, and struck a collective nerve with the British public. The gallery's marketing department had been expecting around 26,000 visitors: in the end, they welcomed just shy of 100,000, a popular triumph that was matched by critical acclaim. The exhibition subsequently travelled to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, where it met with an equally enthusiastic response.

Fig. 1. Installation view of *The Sacred Made Real*, National Gallery, London, 2009-10

At the same time, Jorge Coll and Nicolás Cortés – four years into their partnership as Spanish Old Master dealers and spotting an opportunity to reach a new audience – opened *The Mystery of Faith: An Eye on Spanish Sculpture 1550-1750* at the Matthiesen Gallery in nearby St. James (fig. 2). It was their third scholarly exhibition, but the first in which they contemplated the history and significance of Spain's polychrome wood sculpture. The art market, like the gallery-going public, quickly caught on, and the subsequent years have seen a wide resurgent interest in Spanish Golden Age sculpture, which both Bray and Coll & Cortés continue to champion at every opportunity and in inventive new ways. What follows is an edited conversation between Xavier Bray, Jorge Coll and myself about the subject and its future.

MG: Xavier, what was the thinking behind *The Sacred Made Real?* It was an unusual premise for a UK exhibition at that time.

XB: The exhibition was a challenge because of its Catholic nature, but it made it past the National Gallery's exhibitions committee because it offered a new way of thinking about the relationship between painting and sculpture. It is traditionally assumed that Velázquez, Zurbarán, Ribera and other seventeenth-century

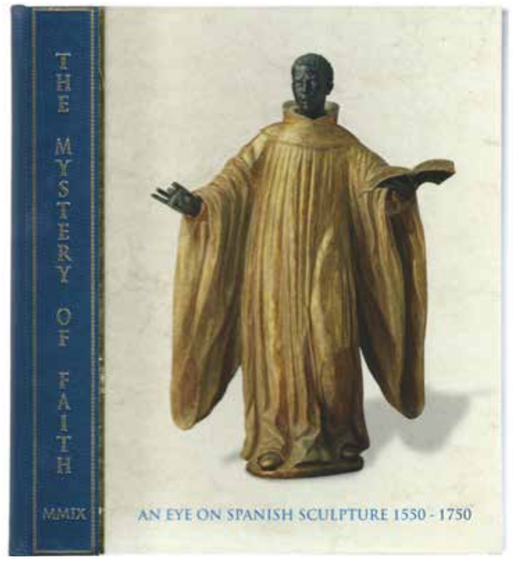


Fig. 2. Cover of the Coll & Cortés catalogue *The Mystery of Faith*, exhibition held at the Matthiesen Gallery, London, 2009

painters all looked to Caravaggio to inform their austere naturalism. My theory was that it had to do with the sculptures being made in Spain. Many of these artists were trained to paint sculpture: the two disciplines went hand in hand to produce some of the greatest images of realistic art. It was exciting to see the art forms converse, sometimes compete but also sometimes fuse into one another. When you looked at a painting you thought you were looking at a sculpture, and when you looked at a sculpture you thought you saw a painting – suddenly the levels of reality were blurred, as you can see from the installation of the exhibition (fig. 3).

MG: Jorge, presumably the timing of your own exhibition at Matthiesen Gallery was no coincidence?

JC: We knew about the project and realised we had to speed up our own to coincide – that's why we looked for a partnership in London. From a commercial gallery you cannot reach so many people, nor explain the subject as well as Xavier did. I will always be grateful to him for that exhibition: I remember it so well, every piece.

MG: There was nothing to suggest that it would be a blockbuster, but *The Sacred Made Real* turned out to have a very broad appeal. Were you surprised?

XB: I remember as a student being told that Spanish polychrome sculptures should be considered almost like tribal art, or a form of puppetry, when what you should be looking at were the white marbles of Bernini and Michelangelo. So taste was an obstacle. The key thing was to select the very best examples, so that the sculptures were equal to the paintings and nobody could question the quality of their carving or polychromy. I was lucky to get a three-month scholarship from the Getty to go to Spain and hunt down the works that would make the final cut. In a way that's what saved the show.

MG: Quality alone was no guarantee of success: this was an exhibition of extremely religious works in a city characterised by its secularism and cosmopolitanism...

XB: The reason I love working in London is that you can provoke a British audience: you can test them, and they will react. Yes, people questioned the show, but when they walked in, the sense of transformation, of entering a space that was unlike anything they had experienced, pushed it beyond the spirituality of the Catholic Church alone. Something I realised only later was that many of the people who commissioned these sculptures were enlightened individuals, who thought about the function of art and its ability to inspire spirituality. That's why I think it transcended the typical Catholic tenets. And that meant we had punks, nuns, monks, young people, artists, Jews and Muslims coming down: it was an extraordinary result.

MG: They may have a wide appeal today, but these works were made specifically for a religious audience. Was it problematic to take them out of that context? Did they lose some of their magic?

XB: Getting the pieces took time: a lot of them are still in use in churches, cathedrals, sacristies and convents, and we had to ensure that the lenders understood the thesis and trusted us to respect the way that they were shown. I remember one of the conditions was that we should place a flower every morning in front of a sculpture of the baby Jesus from Seville Cathedral. In the end the piece didn't come, but if it had, they would have insisted on that treatment.

JC: Xavier may have moved works out of churches but he managed to display them as if they were in their original setting with his use of lighting. I've been to churches all over Spain and I'm sure that the effect in the National Gallery matched what the artists were expecting when they made the works.

XB: I was interested in lighting the sculptures as the painters lit their paintings: in very dramatic ways. I'm sure Velázquez, Zurbarán and other painters had these sculptures in their studio, and saw them daily under different light conditions and realised how influential they could be for their own compositions. Sometimes you go to churches and the sculptures are either over-lit or you can't see them. But they tend to be candlelit, so that's a clue. The biggest clue, though, was seeing these sculptures being taken out in candlelit processions around the streets of Seville. It's extraordinary to see art in motion. The sculptures come to life, and of course that was the whole point: it was a way of re-enacting the Passion of Christ. We filmed these processions so that the National Gallery audience could understand the context.

JC: If people understand what the art is part of, they appreciate it more. In Spain there are many followers of these sculptures, but they approach them from a religious perspective, not an art-historical

one. They know the name of every sculpture but not who sculpted it. They see them as totems. And the artists were very religious themselves: they thought that the final result would earn them a better place in heaven, so they really put something else into their work. It was not just a case of delivering something for a customer; it had this spiritual charge.

MG: Some people see these works as being quite kitsch...

XB: It's something I was aware of when I was planning the show. At first I was thinking of taking it into the early eighteenth century. At that time the polychromy gets worse, because it wasn't given to proper painters like Francisco Pacheco. That in turn was detrimental to the carving underneath, plus artists began to use real hair for eyelashes and hair – something Pacheco was very against. He thought everything should be painted, that the artist was skilled enough to simulate reality on the sculpture, and he was right. In the end I stopped with Pedro de Mena. He was the first sculptor to start using his own workshop for the polychromy, and glass for the eyes and tears, so his realism was verging on over-the-top. But he still respected tradition.

Having said that, those kitsch sculptures that are dressed and 'made up' can be absolutely fascinating from a social point of view. If an *imagen de vestir* ('image to be dressed') is of good enough quality and installed next to, say, a painting of the same saint, then it can have the most fantastic effect.

JC: It's always a matter of quality, and in this case what I like about these images is their relationship with people. Some of these sculptures were re-polychromed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From a museum perspective that can be damaging, but when you go to the processions you see that every brotherhood has its own image, and there is competition between them. That means they try to renew and upgrade their piece. Fashion changes them – they are evolving.

MG: So it's about context and community as well as the work itself?

JC: Yes. It sounds crazy but one day I want to recreate a religious procession in London, from Mayfair to St. James's. People carry eighty or ninety kilograms on their shoulders for hours during a procession. Two years ago I was invited to the Palacio Dueñas in Seville, and when the men arrived carrying the *Christo de los Gitanos* and laid down the float, their necks were all red and swollen. But you could see that they were happy, almost ecstatic, in their suffering, and felt close to religion and to the image. It's very moving, and something that we need to show to the rest of the world.

MG: Today, as we've mentioned, these works also appeal to a non-Christian audience. Could this be to do with the wider taste for hyperrealism in contemporary art? Rightly or wrongly, a lot of people feel there's no skill involved in abstract or conceptual art and have turned to realism instead.

XB: If I had done *The Sacred Made Real* ten years earlier, it might not have got the same reaction. The show coincided with the display of the relics of St. Thérèse of Lisieux in Westminster Cathedral. It was also a time when a lot of priests from the Anglican Church were moving to the Catholic faith. I think it's all to do with *zeitgeist*: there is a sort of mood, a swing in taste, and recently there has been a taste for that realism in the arts. Perhaps *The Sacred Made Real* even touched on Tracey Emin's *Bed* – that sort of in-your-face, shocking realism is something that appeals to people, interestingly enough.

JC: I think this is one of the only arts to really mix tradition and contemporary feelings. When you go to processions you can see how people still respect all the traditions. They know how much an image cost and how much gold is applied, but at the same time they are praying to it. I don't know that many Jeff Koons sculptures have such a following in the street! It's an art that interacts with people, and I think that's important.

MG: What about collectors? They must have a very personal relationship with these works that is distinct, presumably, from religious or curatorial attitudes.

JC: When we started selling this type of art, we found a lot of contemporary art collectors were buying them for the first time. That was surprising: we thought religious art would be a problem, but collectors recognised that these pieces had a strong character and were very moving.

XB: I remember being told that François Pinault wanted to be taken around the exhibition. He was keen to find a piece of Spanish sculpture for his collection. It's that realism, that presence that can offset other kinds of art within the same room, which collectors with a good eye have found interesting.

MG: Have you ever been surprised at how people have decided to display them?

JC: When we set up Coll & Cortés, we decided that we should first get these sculptures into museums. That is the way to reach a bigger audience. If you sell to the Metropolitan Museum you're selling to one client, but that client's going to be able to show it to one million people. It's through the museums that you reach trustees and private collectors, and because these people see the works in galleries rather than in churches, they display it in a similar way – with an art-historical eye. Of course, we have some Spanish clients who want to display things in their own chapels, but on the international market it's through museums.

MG: How many works of this kind survive?

XB: Many of the great examples are either in Spanish museums or in churches and convents. So it's rare for something to turn up on the market.

JC: One of the challenges we faced early on was pricing these sculptures: there were no references, so we tried to find comparisons. First we looked at Italian and French sculpture. We called one project we did with Xavier *Pedro de Mena: The Spanish Bernini*, so people would see that these are some of the best sculptures from the period. We also tried to explain how Zurbarán, Montañes, Cano, Velázquez and Pedro de Mena, were all at the same level. If we talk about the paintings as masterpieces, why should it be different for the sculptures? There isn't that distinction in Italy or France. So we started from that, and now it's easier because we've created a market and a set of precedents.

MG: It's true that Spanish seventeenth-century painting has long been admired for its masterpieces while the sculpture has been neglected. Do you think people are now aware of the interrelationship between the two arts?

XB: In *The Sacred Made Real* it was crucial to explain the fact that there were guilds. Sculptors belonged to the Guild of Carpenters, and painters to the Guild of Painters and Decorators. A sculptor carved and gessoed his sculpture and was then obliged to send it to a painter's workshop so that it could be completed. That was frustrating for some sculptors, who wanted to finish the entire work themselves.

People are fascinated by how the images are actually made: we had a designated room in the show to explain how the sculptors would use different bits of wood, stick them together, carve them and hollow them out, before adding glass eyes and hair. When you x-ray a wooden sculpture it's absolutely extraordinary what you get to see – it's not unlike a human skeleton but with everything held together with nails and glue!

MG: Your exhibitions have helped to bring Spanish polychrome sculpture to wider attention – but there must be a huge amount of research still to do. What projects are you working on at the moment?

XB: I'm hoping to do an exhibition on quite extreme depictions of violence by Ribera next – a sort of *Sacred Made Real* number two.

JC: We are making a catalogue about Luisa Ignacia Roldán, called La Roldana, an important female sculptor. We are in the process of selling a piece by her to an American museum. We've joined forces with Xavier and a scholar from Spain, and we have people from the Hispanic Society of America collaborating. Ideally, what we want is for people to read that catalogue, and decide to go to Seville and Madrid.

The important thing is that we collaborate with institutions. I'm not not just worried about selling a piece; I'm worried about promoting culture. We need to keep the Old Masters alive.

MG: You think they are at risk?

JC: Now everybody is talking about the contemporary, and today's

Fig. 3. Installation view of *The Sacred Made Real*, National Gallery, London, 2009-10

Fig. 5. Pedro de Mena, *Ecce Homo*, c.1674-85, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Fig. 6. Pedro de Mena, *Mater Dolorosa*, c.1674-85, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

lessons are not related to the Old Masters. If the younger generations are skipping all that history, we will lose something.

XB: When I did A-Level Art History, Spain was barely mentioned. But I heard recently that Rhode Island School of Design are now teaching a Spanish sculpture course, and the students get to handle minor examples in the collection. I don't think this whole thing about the contemporary versus the Old Masters should be seen like that. Take the recent Goya portrait show at the National Gallery – he's an Old Master and yet he's got a lot to say to people today. Plus you have to remember that old art was modern in its own time. It's a matter of getting people's mentalities to change so that we no longer think along those lines.

It's also a question of how you show the Old Masters to the public. Presenting art in an immersive installation works well with the contemporary audience, because some of the best contemporary art is like that. Why not put these sculptures in a darkened room and give people electric candles as they approach them? As they walk around them the works would change – that's what brings them to life. Saving the Old Masters is not just a job for the dealers. The museum world has to make galleries less intimidating.

MG: Perhaps now is the time to find new ways to bring these sculptures to life in a more secular world.

JC: To me everything is about the lighting. It's so important. The Pedro de Menas that we sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art look wonderful in the museum, and you see every detail (figs. 5 & 6). That's how it should be in a museum – you see works in a place where the lighting is perfect, you see what the artist intended and it is very surprising. Maybe displaying things differently is a way to stop people or slow them down.

XB: We've been discussing the spiritual and religious, but what I believe in now is the aesthetic. When Brian Sewell reviewed *The Sacred Made Real*, he said that he had a Stendhal moment where he forgot who he was.[1] It wasn't a religious moment, but he let go of his body and his soul, or his mind – he left it. That is, I think, the true function of art.

Chapter 3

Colnaghi and the German art world

Konrad Bernheimer in conversation with Jeremy Howard

JH: Although it has an Italian name, Colnaghi has very strong historic links with Germany which go back to the end of the nineteenth century, and many of its directors and owners over the last hundred years have been German. Can you say something about this tradition and what it means to you as Chairman of Colnaghi?

KOB: I'm not so sure if one can really talk about a tradition. I think it's probably more a coincidence that Germans have played an important role in the history of Colnaghi. The first was of course Otto Gutekunst and if you translate Gutekunst, you couldn't have a better name for an art dealer, because it means 'good art'. He came from a family of art dealers in Stuttgart, so in a way there are parallels to my own life. He moved to London and then became a director of Colnaghi in 1894. He arrived at just the right moment, at the beginning of the so-called Gilded Age when there were so many rich collectors buying Old Masters on both sides of the Atlantic, but particularly in America. The second important German director was Gustavus Mayer, who did a lot of business with my grandfather, so again there is a wonderful connection between my family's history and that of Colnaghi.

JH: Mayer was a fantastic dealer in prints, wasn't he?

KOB: Yes, but also in paintings and other works of art. For some time he was one of the main dealer contacts for my grandfather and for the Bernheimer business generally. He actually dealt more with Max, the brother of my grandfather, Otto.

JH: And, of course, Gus Mayer was the partner who was involved in the most important transaction that Colnaghi did in the twentieth century: the celebrated Hermitage deal.

KOB: Yes, the Hermitage deal is of course a legendary event that showed that Colnaghi at the time was among the top five dealers in the world.

JH: Yes, up there with Joseph Duveen, who, of course, was cut out of the deal. Do you think Duveen has taken a bit too much credit for what he did?

KOB: Well I only know what my grandfather used to say about Duveen. He just hated him. Duveen was certainly very successful, but also very mean. He was a great figure, but apparently his manners and the way he treated colleagues were not liked by everybody.

JH: Now, if we move forward, Rudolf Oetker was another German owner of Colnaghi. Can you tell me a little bit about your relationship with him because you did know him quite well, didn't you?

KOB: Yes, I did. When I started dealing in Munich in the late 1970s, he was one of the most active collectors in Germany. He had a great personality and we all had the utmost respect for him. He used to come to every single fair and, from the very early days, I started to sell to him – all sorts of things from porcelain to furniture. When I started to deal in Old Master paintings, he began to buy pictures from us. I think the first one he bought was a magnificent portrait by Angelica Kauffman. By 1980 he had become a shareholder of Colnaghi and then Jacob Rothschild decided he wanted to sell his interest in Colnaghi, because he had become Chairman of the Trustees of the National Gallery and he saw a conflict of interest. So this was the moment, in 1981, when Mr. Oetker took over the whole company.

JH: And he then approached you later on.

KB: Yes, he did. I had had my own firm in London, Bernheimer Fine Arts, since 1985, and I was working at the time from my flat in St. James's when I heard rumours that Mr. Pinault, the owner of Christie's, was planning to redevelop the whole block and move the auction house to Somerset House. So I decided to leave St. James's as I thought it was going to become a building site. Then one day I had lunch with Christoph Lazár, who had run the Paris office of Colnaghi in the 1990s, and I told him I might be looking for somewhere on Bond Street. The next thing I knew I had a phone call out of the blue from Mr. Oetker saying, 'Herr Bernheimer, you should buy Colnaghi', and, to cut a long story short, I moved into 15 Old Bond St. in January 2002.

JH: Do you think it is a bit ironic that you moved out of St. James's to Bond St. and next year Colnaghi's will be moving back to St. James's?

KOB: Well, in the long history of a firm like Colnaghi, or on the German side Bernheimer, you only survive if you are able to change with the times. Since I took over Colnaghi in 2002, Bond St. has developed in a different way. It used to be the street for the art trade with Agnew's there as well. If you look round the street now, we are one of the last dealers left, surrounded by shops selling high-end fashion, jewellery, shoes and watches. But the galleries are gone and it looks to me as if they are now concentrated in St. James's. The area is mostly owned by the Crown Estate, who are very supportive of the art trade. This means that the fashion world has not yet taken over there – in fact I think that the Crown Estate are even defending the art trade a little bit. So I think that it is quite fitting that we move back to St James's.

JH: Can you tell me a little about your business partnership with Katrin Bellinger?

KOB: After I had taken over Colnaghi, one of my very first thoughts was that I should find someone to continue the tradition of dealing in Old Master drawings, because Colnaghi had such a great reputation in this field, certainly since the time of James Byam Shaw. My expertise was in paintings not drawings, and so I had a conversation with my wife and in fact it was she who suggested that I ask Katrin, whom I had known since she was at university, to join me. So we had lunch and she said yes. Together we also bought the library and the archive, which were not part of the original Colnaghi deal because they had already been sold by Oetker to his son-in-law, Tito Douglas.

JH: Do you regard the Colnaghi Archive as an important part of the history of the firm?

KOB: Definitely. The Colnaghi Archive and Library are very important and I think they have to be at the heart of the gallery. I think it was a mistake to sell them separately from the business, but we were very lucky that we were able to keep them as part of the company.

JH: And now of course the archive has got a wonderful new home at Waddesdon.

KOB: Yes, it has a magnificent home there. I really believe that the archive is like the soul of the company. It contains the gallery's history and you can look up almost everything. Then of course there is the library, which is a fantastic resource for us to work with because we use many of the books on a daily basis.

JH: Konnie, you belong to the oldest family of art and antique dealers in Bavaria. Why have you decided to give up your gallery in Munich and concentrate on Colnaghi in London?

KOB: The explanation is quite simple: at the age of 65 I realised that I could not continue with the same kind of workload that I had when I was much younger. I feel that the family name is being taken care of by two of my daughters who are continuing in the art trade: Blanca in the field of photography and Isabel in the field of cutting-edge contemporary art. This is how it has been for the past five generations of dealing in my family: each generation does something different. When I took over Bernheimer, the firm was as it used to be in the old days. There was pretty much everything in this huge gallery except paintings, and so I became the first picture dealer in the family. Now I find it wonderful that my daughters have found their own direction and deal in their own respective fields. But with regard to Colnaghi, I would like to see it going into the next generation, because after 255 years of history, I definitely didn't want to be the last 'Mr. Colnaghi'. So I made sure I found the perfect partners and I am very happy that Jorge and Nicolás have decided to join me. They have the same energy, enthusiasm and love for the name and the tradition of Colnaghi that I had when I was younger. I foresee that we will have a few great years together until the moment comes when I decide to retire and leave it to them.

JH: Do you see them in some ways as being the twenty-first century versions of Otto Gutekunst and Edmond Deprez, coming into the business and giving it new energy?

KOB: It sounds like that, doesn't it? But time will tell. Ask me again in the future and by then we will know! But I am very optimistic and I know that they will do a fantastic job.

JH: Despite this you're going to be retaining an office in Munich. How important is your German private client base and your links with German museums?

KOB: I think it is certainly one of my strong points. I'm very well known in Germany and from time to time I do find important paintings privately there. Of course I want to continue this and provide Colnaghi with good pictures in the future. Although I will be closing down the Munich gallery, I will retain a private office so everyone who wants to contact me in Germany will know where to find me. I have already found a wonderful large flat where there will be an easel or two and a library where I can read and write and show great things to my best clients, but in a very private way. So there will be no more exhibitions in Munich. In a way it is a relief, because I can now concentrate on helping Colnaghi from this part of the world.

JH: One of your most important relationships in the German-speaking world has been with the Liechtenstein Collection. There is some history here because Colnaghi bought a great collection of prints and drawings from Liechtenstein in the 1950s. Over the last ten years, you've sold some good pictures to the Prince of Liechtenstein, haven't you?

KOB: Yes, we have sold quite a few paintings to the collection, including an exquisite *Venus* by Lucas Cranach the Elder and a wonderful mythological picture by Nicolas Colombel (fig. 1). It's always a pleasure to deal with the Prince and with the Director, Dr. Johann Kräftner. These days it is very rare to find a sovereign prince, the Head of State of his country, who is also a great collector, one of the greatest in the world. When this is complemented by a Director with impeccable taste, that's quite a combination. Of course the Liechtensteins have had a fantastic art collection since the seventeenth

Fig. 1. Nicolas Colombel, *Atalanta and Hippomenes*, c.1699, Liechtenstein, The Princely Collections, Vaduz-Vienna

century because they have been collecting for a long time, but it is great to see that they still have the collecting bug, so to speak, and love to continue buying great paintings and objects.

JH: Now, as a dealer you established a great reputation in the field of German art, particularly Cranach, whom you mentioned a moment ago. Until recently, this was not a particularly popular area, but that has now started to change dramatically. Can you say something about this passion and about how you've managed to persuade collectors outside of Germany to share your enthusiasm for German art?

KOB: Quite simply, it's all about finding and showing great art and, if from time to time we manage to find a great painting by Cranach, then you slowly build up a reputation for being a good dealer for the artist. We've had a few wonderful pictures by Cranach, both the father and the son, but you never know who is going to end up buying a painting. One of the greatest paintings we ever sold by Cranach the Elder was a large panel depicting *David and Bathsheba* (fig. 2). I was sure that picture would go to Germany or America, but it ended up finding a new home in Italy. The painting was then included in a ground-breaking exhibition, *Cranach: L'altro rinascimento,* at the Villa Borghese in Rome in 2009, which placed Cranach within the context of the Italian Renaissance for the first time. The show was a real eye-opener for Italian collectors. Of course if you have built up a reputation for being a good dealer for Cranach then sometimes pictures are offered to you, but not everything shown to us is by the artist, so one has to be very careful!

JH: There are some contemporary artists like John Currin who have produced works heavily indebted to Cranach. Do you think the artist has a particular appeal to collectors of contemporary art?

KOB: Well, Cranach painted very strong pictures. Whether they are mythological, religious or portraits, they are very powerful images and I think that there is something that might appeal to people who come from the contemporary art world. So I don't think it is any coincidence that artists such as Currin look to painters like Cranach. It's quite logical really. What is not logical to me is that the price level for John Currin seems to be higher than for Cranach!

JH: What about other notable German masters you've dealt with – the Master of the Death of St. Nicholas of Münster, for example?

Opposite: Fig. 2. Lucas Cranach the Elder *David and Bathsheba*,1534, Private Collection, Europe

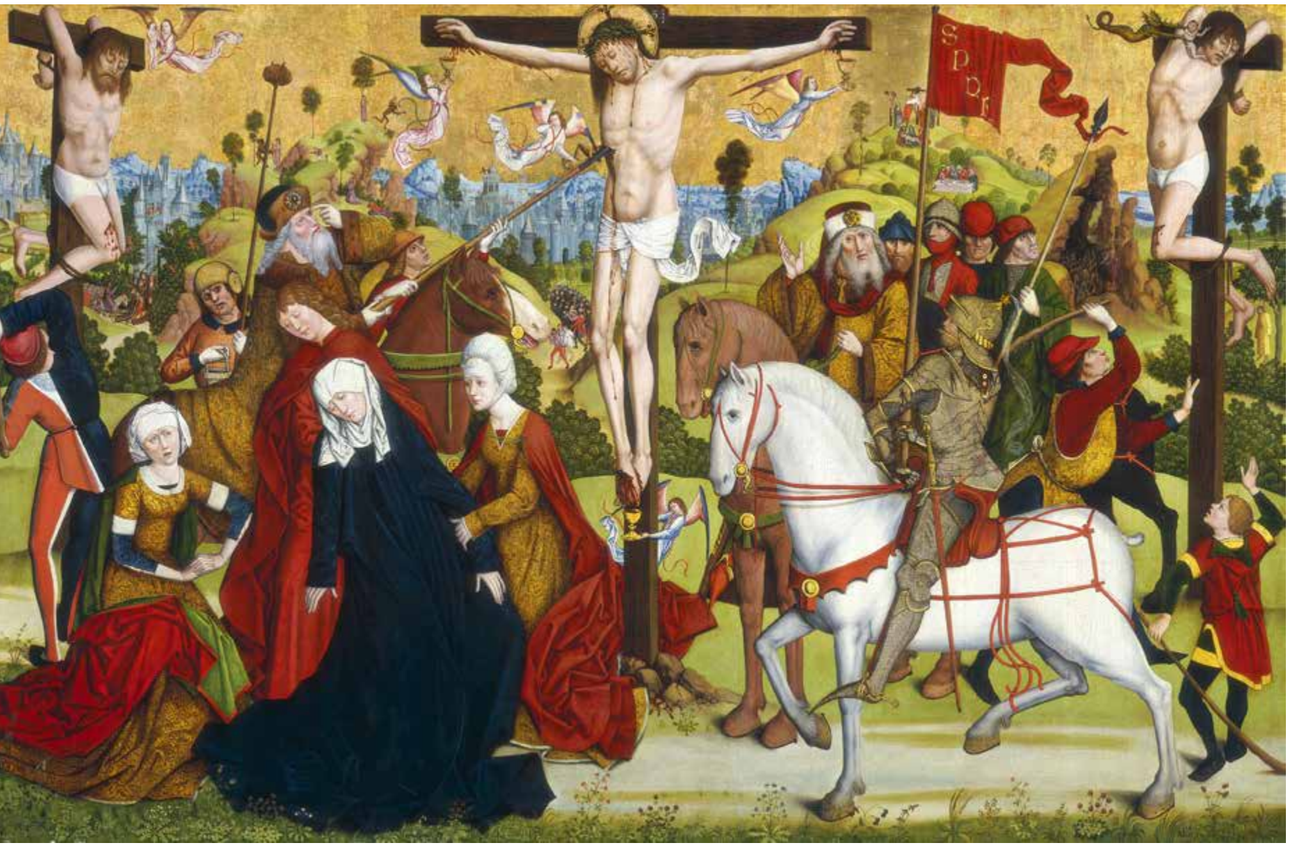


Fig. 3. Master of the Death of Saint Nicholas of Münster, *Calvary*, c.1470-80, National Gallery of Art, Washington

KOB: Yes, I sold a wonderful painting by the artist with a great story behind it (fig. 3). For many years it had hung in the Louvre and I had always admired it, because there aren't that many German gold-ground paintings of that period and format anywhere, and certainly not in the Louvre. Then all of a sudden there was a restitution claim. It turned out that it had belonged to the dealer André Seligmann and had been confiscated by the Nazis who wanted to take it to the Führermuseum in Linz. When it was given back to Seligmann's daughters, they decided to put it into auction. My friend and colleague, Otto Naumann, approached me and said we should try to buy it together. This we did and then afterwards we sold it to the National Gallery in Washington. It was a magnificent picture which I really loved, but what was so moving was to see the two elderly ladies sitting there at the auction. Afterwards I was introduced to them, because they wanted to know who was bidding for their father's picture. When they heard the name Bernheimer, they had tears in their eyes and said, 'Oh my God! Our father did so much business with your grandfather.' They told me they were very happy because the picture was in the right hands, but then of course I let them know later that the picture had become part of the collection in Washington and now it was in even better hands.

JH: What about other German artists that you have sold? There was a wonderful Koch landscape, wasn't there? And Winterhalter too?

KOB: The Koch, I bought with Katrin. It was one of these classical landscapes with a rainbow, which we sold to the Metropolitan Museum (p. 211). You don't see paintings as good as that very often anymore. Winterhalter, as you know, has always been one of my favourites – I think he was one of the best portraitists of the nineteenth century. The first great picture by the artist that I sold was the elegant *Portrait of Madame de Jurjewicz*, a Polish beauty who lived in Paris at the time (fig. 4). It was acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. And then there was a monumental painting by Winterhalter depicting a group of young people reading Boccaccio's *Decameron*, which we sold to the Liechtenstein Collection.

JH: Looking back over the last fifty years, there have been some very significant German private collectors in the Old Master field. We have mentioned Rudolf Oetker: another name would be Baron Thyssen. Do you think this trend will continue in the future or are German collectors more interested in contemporary art?

KOB: It is true that there are fantastic collections of contemporary art in Germany and that by far the majority of collectors in Germany are interested in the contemporary field. But I am sure that one day sooner or later a great private collection of Old Masters will surface. Sometimes these collections are put together in secret and you only find out about it when, for whatever reason, they come to light, such as when a collection is donated to a museum.

JH: We hear a great deal in the press about the auction houses. What role do you think dealers have to play in the art market?

Fig. 4. Franz Xaver Winterhalter
Portrait of Wieńczysława Barczewska, Madame de Jurjewicz, 1860
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

KOB: Well, this is an old story. The auction houses have become very big and powerful. Of course in the good old days the roles were divided in a different way: The auction houses used to be the wholesalers and the dealers were the retailers. Now that has all changed. The private sales departments of the auction houses are growing by the day and they have effectively become retailers.

JH: So they are now competitors?

KOB: Yes, and very fierce ones. But in some ways this is quite good. For example, when I am called to see a picture or collection in a private home, very often I am told that Christie's or Sotheby's have already been there. They have given their auction estimate and this makes it very easy for me: I simply offer a bit more. And of course if I buy the picture outright – something the auctions houses do not do – it is even better for the owner because there is no the risk of the piece failing to sell at auction and getting burned, as we say. So if we do our job well, then the art trade has a great future, even with the big competition from the auction houses.

JH: What advice would you give to young collectors, or perhaps not necessarily young but new collectors, coming into the market today?

KOB: It would be the same advice I would have given thirty years ago: Concentrate on the best. Don't buy quantity, buy quality.

JH: Do you think there are any undiscovered or undervalued areas which would provide new opportunities?

Opposite: Fig. 5. Gabriel Metsu, *A woman reading a letter*, c.1663
National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin

Fig. 6. Albrecht Dürer, *Portrait of a young girl wearing a beret*, 1507
Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

KOB: I think so. There always have been. As the art market keeps changing I'm sure that new fields will be discovered or rediscovered. One good example is the rediscovery – or maybe better to say discovery – of Spanish polychrome wood sculpture, which is one of the impressive achievements of my new partners in Colnaghi, Jorge and Nicolás. This was a field that very few people really knew about, not even the American museums, but they have brought these sculptures to a wider audience and created an international market for them.

JH: If you think about it, it is generally the dealers rather than auctioneers who create markets?

KOB: Yes, dealers are definitely the tastemakers. My great-grandfather was a very good example of this, someone who created a taste for certain things and established new areas for collecting. Museum collections are constantly being built and people are always looking for great examples to follow, so I am sure that there will always be new fields to be discovered or rediscovered.

JH: I'd like to ask you about German museums. Looking back over the last hundred years or so, Colnaghi has had some very important links with German museums, beginning in the 1890s with Wilhelm von Bode and the Berlin Museum. Can you say something about this tradition and what it means to you, and how these links have developed since you took over Colnaghi in 2002?

KOB: As you say, it all started with Dr. Bode. The relationship with Bode and the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin was absolutely crucial in the late nineteenth century. Colnaghi sold some great masterpieces to the Berlin Museum, particularly in the 1890s, and I think you could say that up until 1900, it was as important, if not more so, for the gallery than the new generation of American collectors. Bode was also a key figure because he advised a number of major collectors. It was thanks to him, for example, that Colnaghi sold to Alfred Beit the beautiful pair of Metsus from the Hope Collection, which are now in the National Gallery of Ireland (fig. 5). The Berlin Museum didn't do too badly out of the deal either because they got a Dürer portrait as a thank-you present (fig. 6)! By the early 1900s the market was swinging towards America, but Colnaghi still kept strong links with Germany and this was undoubtedly because of the vital role played by the two great German partners of Colnaghi in the Gilded Age, Otto Gutekunst and Gustavus Mayer, whom we discussed earlier. They ran the firm between 1911 and the outbreak of the Second World War, although Gutekunst had joined the firm as a junior partner much earlier in 1894.

Apart from the wonderful pictures sold to Berlin in the 1890s, there was a magnificent Guardi, which went to the Alte Pinakothek in Munich in 1909 (p. 130), and a great Tintoretto sold in 1914 to the Städel Museum in Frankfurt – both works acquired by German museums after the American collectors had entered the market. Then came the First World War, which had a disastrous effect on Colnaghi's relationship with German museums. In more recent

times, Berlin has bought a splendid Carlevarijs and a major sculpture by Canova (p. 135). Other important recent buyers have been the Städel, which bought an important early Ribera from me in 2015 (p. 187), and the Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe – I sold them a lovely group portrait of three sisters by Anton Graff and an exquisite *Holy Family* by the Dutch master Adriean van der Werff (p. 199). And last but by no means least, we have always had a very good relationship with the museums in Munich. The Neue Pinakothek, for example, acquired a splendid *Return from the hunt* by Carle Vernet in 2003.

JH: If you had to choose two paintings out of all the masterpieces Colnaghi has sold to German museums, which would they be?

KOB: Well I think my first choice would have to be Vermeer's *The glass of wine* (fig. 7) and then Rembrandt's *Portrait of preacher Anslo and his wife* (p. 24), both of which were sold to Berlin in the 1890s.

JH: What do you think the benefits are for a museum curator in developing a relationship with a gallery such as Colnaghi?

KOB: We spend a lot of time really getting to know museum collections and talking to curators and directors to find out what they are looking for. We can identify what the gaps in the collection are and then help to fill them. We are always travelling and visiting institutions and, even when a museum doesn't have a big budget, we think it's still worth spending time with the curators, inviting them to TEFAF and so on. And then, if they see something that they really want, there is always a way to find the money.

JH: So this means that you can offer them what they don't get from the auction houses: time and flexibility. Time to try out paintings, to decide whether they want to buy them and then, if they are interested, time to show the painting to potential donors and raise the money.

KOB: Yes, absolutely, and we will always try to help a museum if they want to buy a picture.

JH: From a dealer's standpoint, what changes have you seen in the German museum world in the last fifty years?

KOB: Well, probably the biggest change is that there isn't the same amount of money available as there was fifty years ago. Museum budgets have been frozen and in the old days there used to be substantial amounts of lottery money available for purchases. This was what enabled, for example, Horst Vey to buy some really good pictures for Karlsruhe. It's much more difficult these days, although museums can still apply to the Kulturstiftung der Länder. There are also private foundations such as the Siemens and Oetker Foundations which are very supportive of museums. They not only support acquisitions, but also help fund exhibitions and catalogues.

JH: What particular challenges and opportunities do German museums face today, and how do you see things developing over the next fifty years?

KOB: I think one of the biggest challenges, apart from the lack of funding, is the new legislation controlling the export of works of art. No-one knows yet what the effect of this will be. What is certain, though, is that Germany will go from being one of the most liberal countries in Europe to something closer to Spain, where the export controls are much tighter. I believe that this is likely to have a negative effect on the art market and I think it is illogical that, at a time when we are trying to build a united Europe, we should start putting up fences. My personal opinion is that it would be a much better idea if Germany adopted a system of export controls similar to the one in the UK. This would mean that the export of a work of art could be stopped for a short period to give museums the chance to try to raise the money to buy it, but at the same time the owners wouldn't lose out. The problems that German museums will have is that private collectors are likely to become less willing to lend art works to them, because they don't want to draw attention to something that they might later want to sell and which would be more difficult to export if it has been on exhibition in a museum. So, on balance, I think this new legislation is going to create more problems than opportunities as far as German museums are concerned.

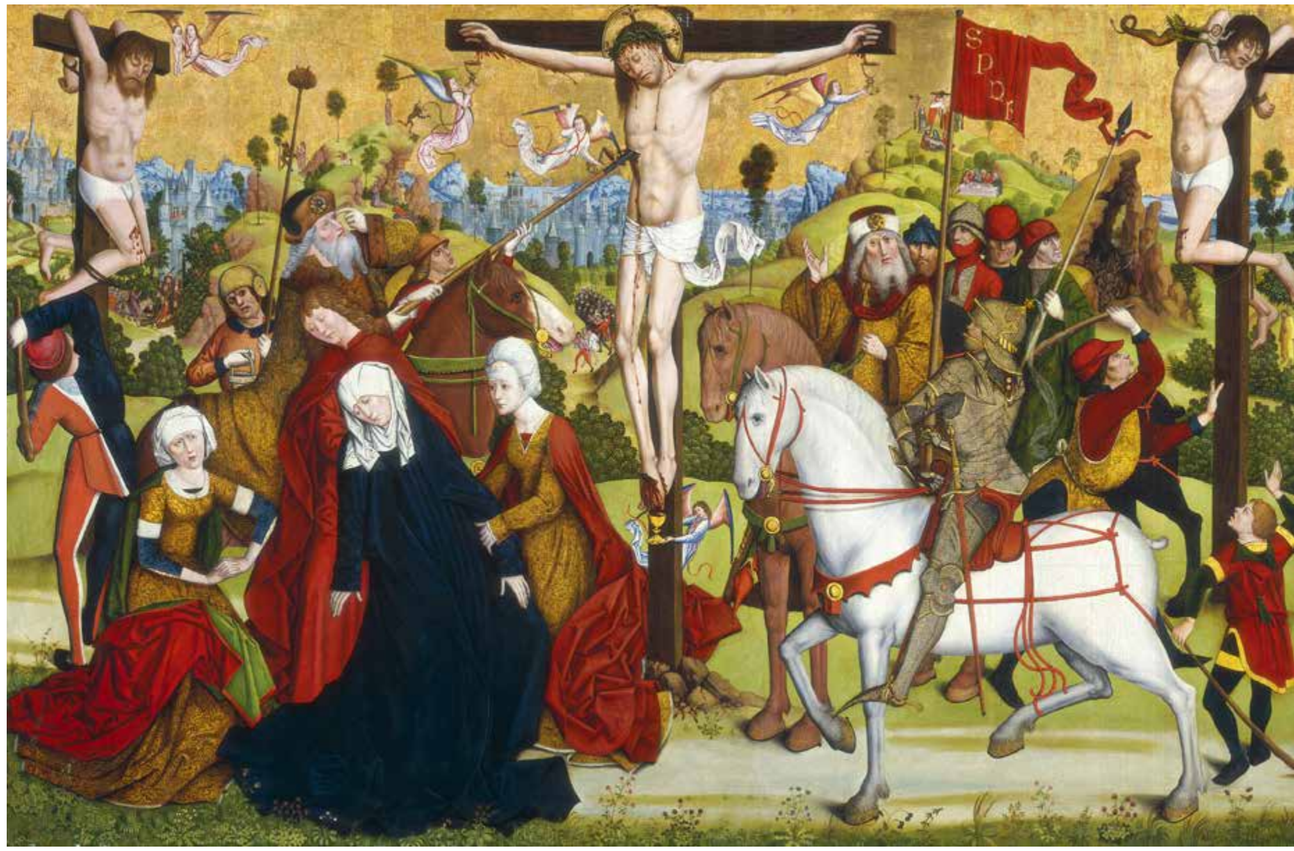
JH: How do you see the future of the art market within Germany?

KOB: Germany is a rich country and it should have a good art trade. Despite the new export laws, I do believe that it will continue to have the strong art trade it deserves. I also think that Germany will remain an important country for both private collectors and museums. The Germans effectively invented art history, so there is a great tradition of scholarship here, there are wonderful museum collections and, above all, Germans have the money and the passion for art.

Fig. 7. Johannes Vermeer, *The glass of wine*, c.1660, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

Chapter 4

Colnaghi and Bernheimer 2000-2015:
Notable museum sales



1

Master of the Death of Saint Nicholas of Münster (active c.1460-1490)
Calvary, c.1470-80
Oil on panel, 129.5 x 199.5 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington

2

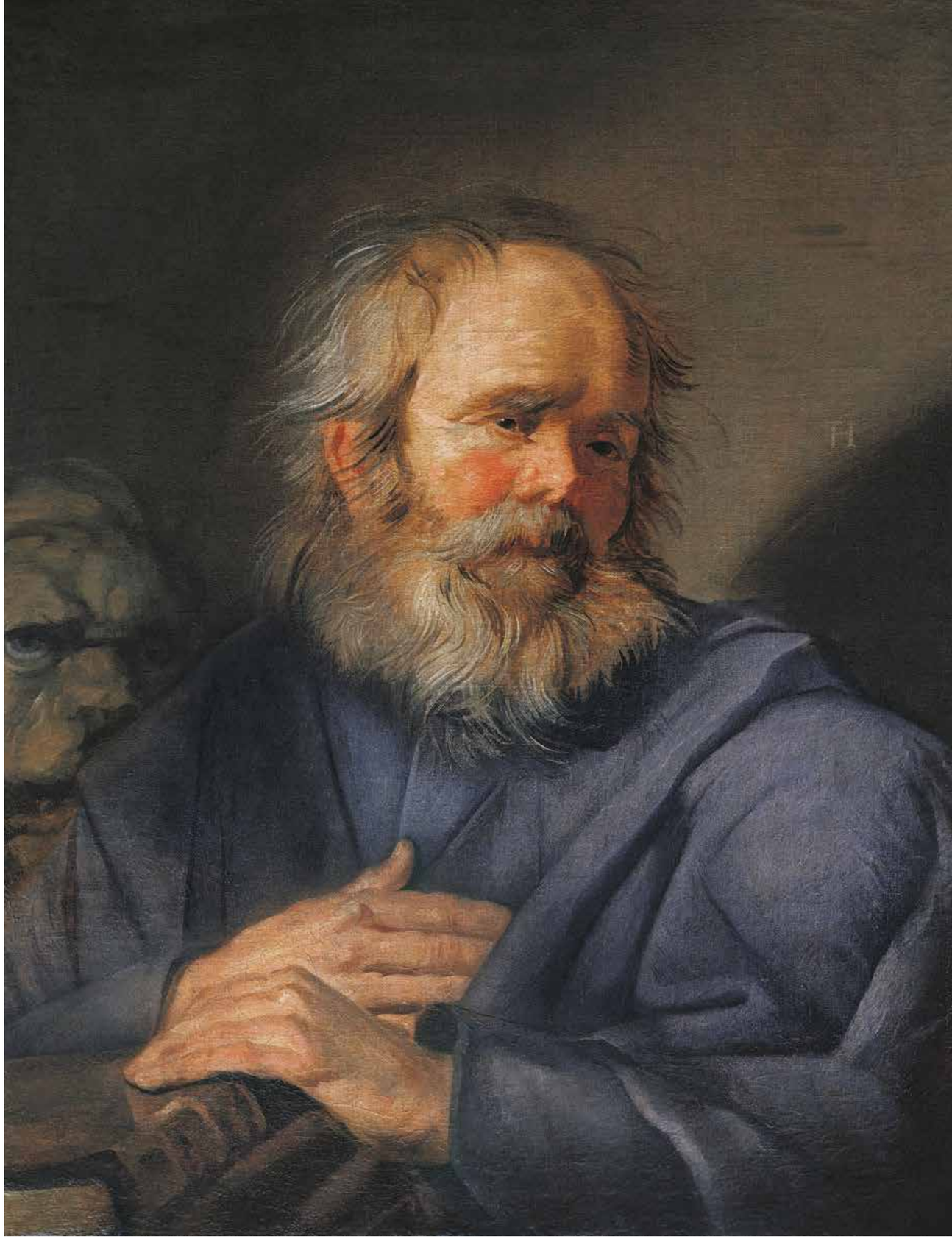
Jusepe de Ribera, called lo Spagnoletto (1591-1652)
St. James the Greater, c.1614-15
Oil on canvas, 133.1 x 99.1 cm.
Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt

3

Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629)
A bagpipe player, 1624
Oil on canvas, 100.7 x 82.9 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington

4

Frans Hals (**1580-1666**)
St. Mark, c.1625
Oil on canvas, 68.5 x 52.5 cm.
Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow



5

Balthasar van der Ast (**1593/4-1657**)
A floral still life with shells, butterflies and a grasshopper, 1630s
Oil on panel, 52.1 x 42.2 cm.
Musée du Louvre, Paris

6

Luca Giordano (**1634-1705**)
The Entombment, 1650-53
Oil on canvas, 303.2 x 202.1 cm.
Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester

7

Rachel Ruysch (**1664-1750**)
Flowers in a glass vase, c.1704
Oil on canvas, 78.1 x 64.1 cm.
Detroit Institute of Arts

8

Adriaen van der Werff (**1659-1722**)
The Holy Family with the Infant St. John the Baptist, 1715
Oil on panel, 58.1 x 44.3 cm.
Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe

9

Jean-Étienne Liotard (**1702-1789**)
An elegant young woman in Maltese costume, c.1744
Pastel with touches of white gouache on parchment, 82.9 x 53.8 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington

10

Maurice-Quentin de la Tour (1704-1788)
Portrait of Monsieur Jean Charles Garnier d'Isle, c.1750
Pastel and gouache on blue paper laid down on canvas, 64.5 x 64.1 cm.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

11

Bernardo Bellotto (**1722-1780**)
The Fortress of Königstein, 1756-58
Oil on canvas, 133.1 x 235.7 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington

12

Joseph Siffred Duplessis (**1725-1802**)
Portrait of Monsieur de Buissy, c.1780
Oil on canvas, 116.1 x 88.5 cm.
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

13

Jean Honoré Fragonard (**1732-1806**) and
Marguerite Gérard (**1761-1837**)
Le Chat Angora, c.1783
Oil on canvas, 65.1 x 53.5 cm.
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne

14

Joseph Anton Koch (**1768-1839**)
Heroic landscape with a rainbow, 1824
Oil on canvas, 108.5 x 96.2 cm.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Paintings sold by Colnaghi and Bernheimer to North Amercian museums: A selection

BOSTON, MA
Museum of Fine Arts

CLEVELAND, OH
Cleveland Museum of Art

COLUMBUS, OH
Columbus Museum of Art

DETROIT, MI
Detroit Institute of Arts

MONTREAL, ONT
Montreal Museum of Fine Arts

NEW YORK, NY
Metropolitan Museum of Art

OTTAWA, ONT
National Gallery of Canada

ROCHESTER, NY
Rochester Memorial Art Gallery

SACRAMENTO, CA
Crocker Art Museum

WASHINGTON, DC
National Gallery of Art

PALM BEACH, FL
Norton Museum of Art

Paintings sold by Colnaghi and Bernheimer to museums in Europe and the Rest of the World: A selection

BRUGES
Groeningemuseum

COLOGNE
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum

FRANKFURT
Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie

KARLSRUHE
Staatliche Kunsthalle

LILLE
Musée des Beaux-Arts

MOSCOW
Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts

MUNICH
Neue Pinakothek

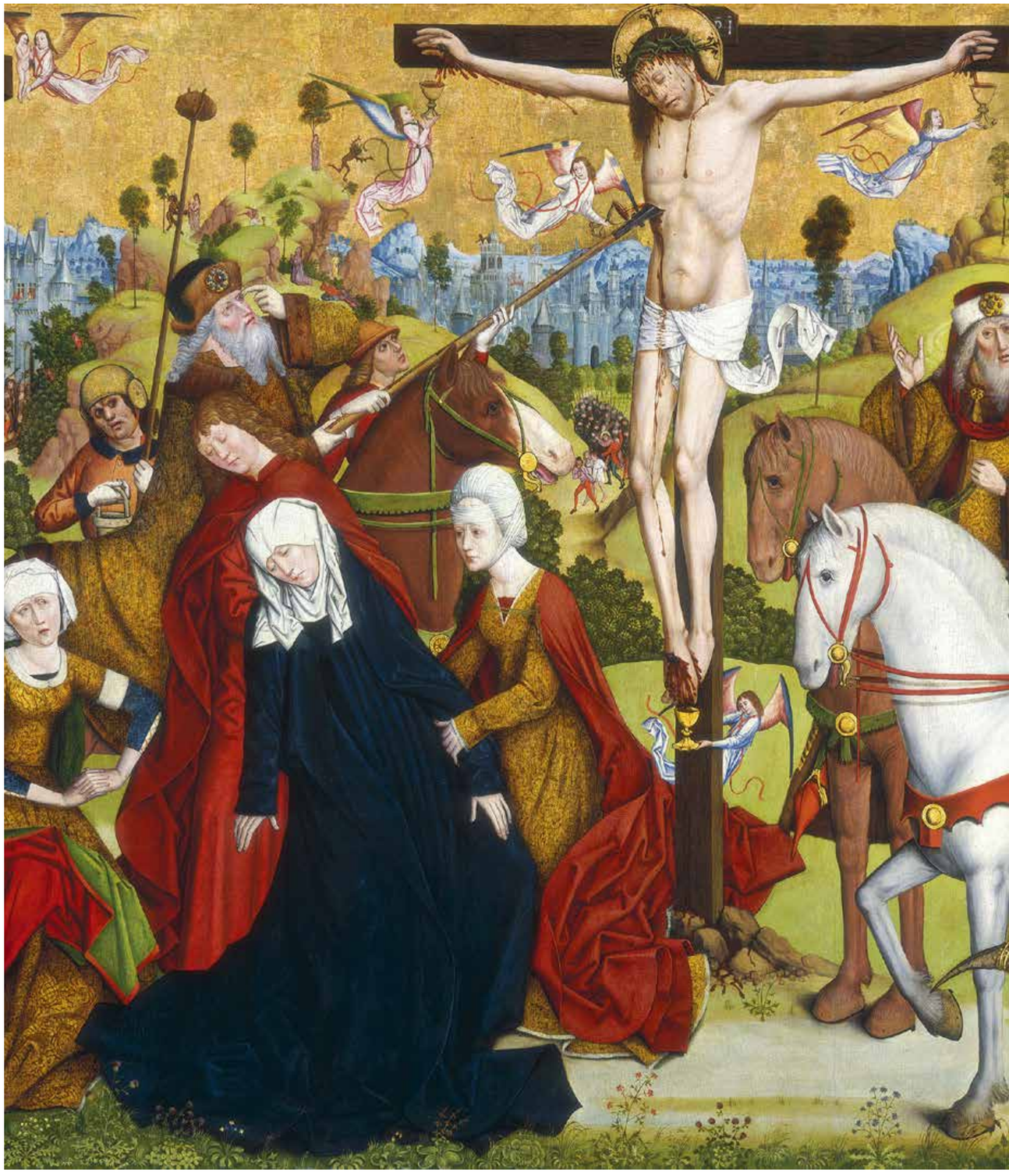
PARIS
Musée du Louvre

SÃO PAOLO
Museu de Arte de São Paolo

STOCKHOLM
Nationalmuseum

VADUZ–VIENNA
Liechtenstein, The Princely Collections

opposite:
Master of the Death of Saint Nicholas of Münster (active c.1460-1490)
Calvary, c.1470-80 (detail)
Oil on panel, 129.5 x 199.5 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington



Chapter 5

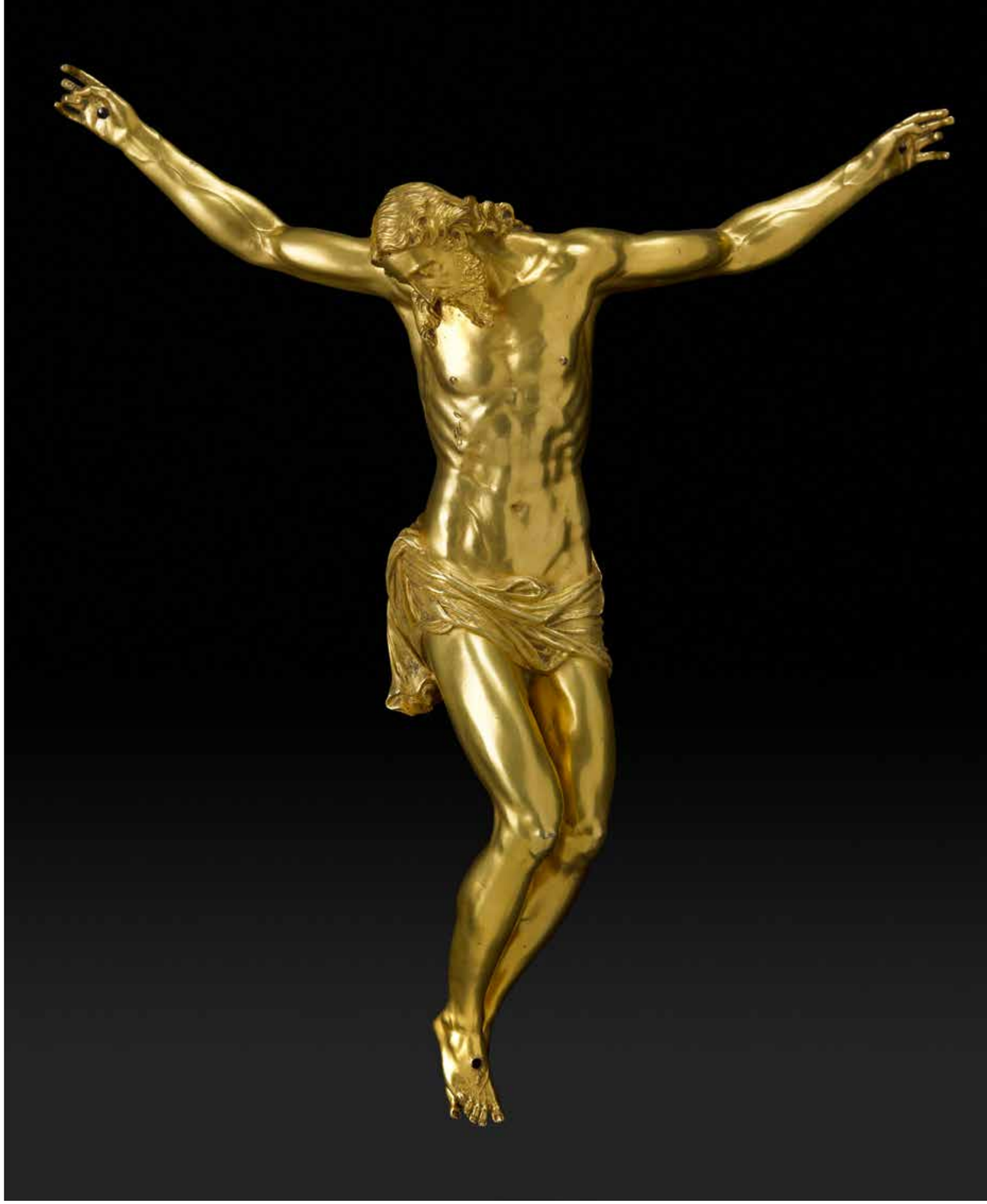
Coll & Cortés 2005-2015:
Notable museum sales

1

Alonso Berruguete (1488-1561)
St. Sebastian, mid 16th century
Parcel-gilt and polychrome wood, 165.1 cm. high
Private Foundation

2

Guglielmo della Porta (**c.1515-1577**)
Corpus Christi, 1569-77
Gilt-bronze, 48.1 cm. high
Private Foundation



3

Gregorio Martinez (**1547-1598**)
Tityus bound, c.1590-96
Oil on canvas, 172.1 x 223.2 cm.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

4

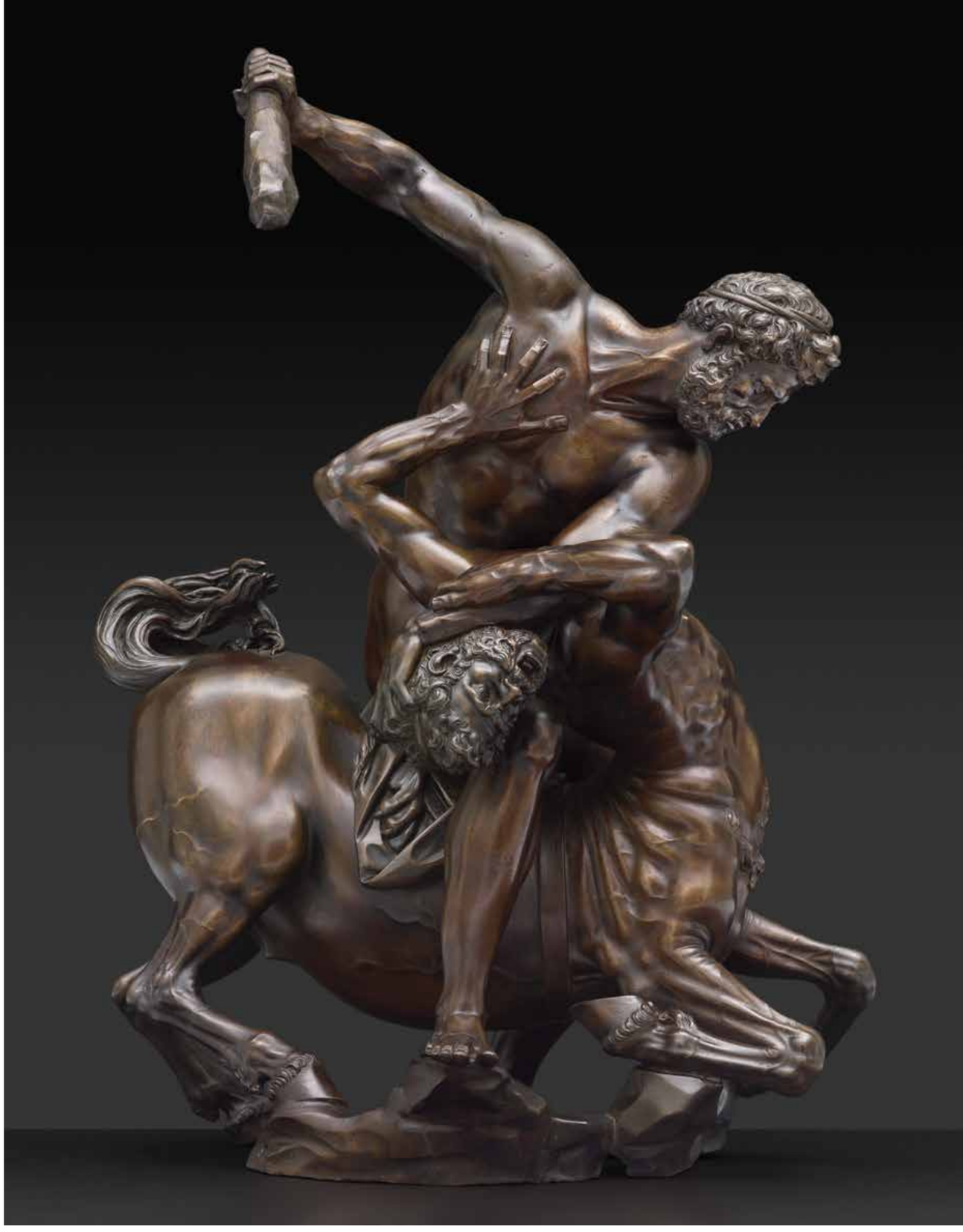
Alonso Vázquez (c.1560-1607)
St. Sebastian, c.1600
Oil on canvas, 130.1 x 85.2 cm.
Hispanic Society of America Museum and Library, New York

5

Domenikos Theotokopoulos, called El Greco (1541-1614)
St. Francis of Assisi, 1590s
Oil on canvas, 101.2 x 89.1 cm.
Private Foundation

6

Antonio Susini (1588-1624), after a model by Giambologna
Hercules slaying a centaur, c.1600-10
Bronze, 39.7 cm. high
Private Foundation



7

Jusepe de Ribera, called lo Spagnoletto (1591-1652)
The Tears of St. Peter, c.1612-13
Oil on canvas, 161.9 x 114.3 cm.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

8

Giulio Cesare Procaccini (1574-1625)
The Agony in the Garden, c.1616-20
Oil on canvas, 216.1 x 147.3 cm.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

9

Bartholomé Esteban Murillo (**1617-1682**)
St. Roch, c.1650
Oil on canvas, 190.5 x 102.1 cm.
Private Foundation

10

Francisco de Zurbarán (**1598-1664**)
Portrait of Don Juan Bazo de Moreda, c.1655
Oil on canvas, 199.2 x 102.1 cm.
Detroit Institute of Art

11

Bartholomé Esteban Murillo (**1617-1682**)
Ecce Homo, c.1655-60
Oil on canvas, 166.2 x 107.1 cm.
Private Foundation

12

Pedro de Mena (**1628-1688**)
San Diego of Alcalá, c.1660-79
Parcel-gilt and polychrome wood with reverse painted glass eyes
61.5 cm. high
San Diego Museum of Art

13

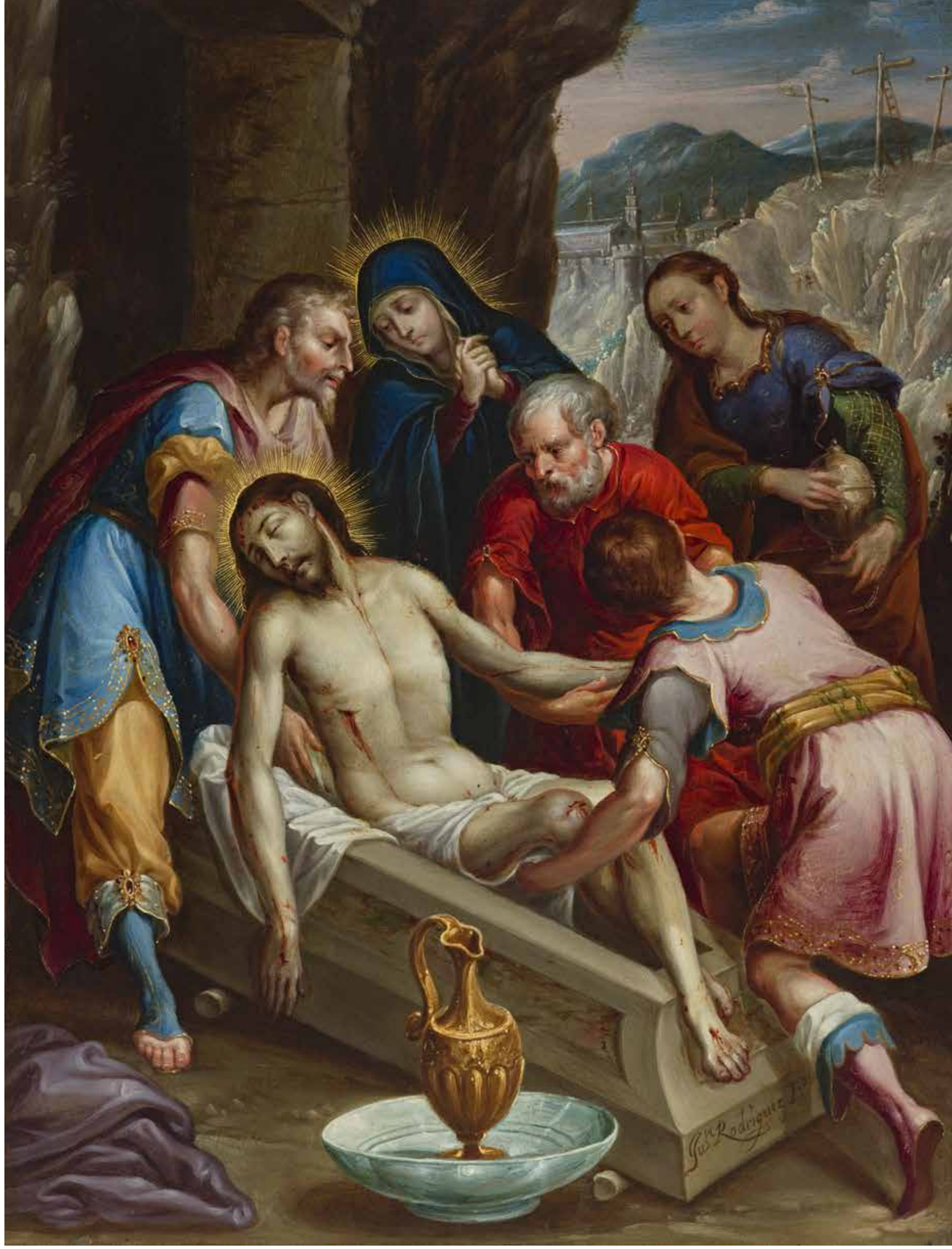
Pedro de Mena (**1628-1688**)
Ecce Homo and *Mater Dolorosa*, c.1674-85
Polychrome wood with reverse painted glass eyes and hair
63 cm. and 64 cm. high, respectively
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

14

José de Mora (1642-1724)
St. Francis of Assisi, first quarter 18th century
Polychrome wood with reverse painted glass eyes and hair
83 cm. high
Detroit Institute of Art

15

Juan Rodríguez Juárez (1675-1728)
The Entombment, c.1702
Oil on copper, 26.1 x 19.5 cm.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



16

José Montes de Oca (c.1675-1754)
St. Benito of Palermo, c.1725-50
Parcel-gilt and polychrome wood inset with glass paste eyes
122.1 cm. high
Minneapolis Institute of Art

17

Bernardo Lorente German (1680-1759)
St. Michael triumphant over the Devil, c.1730-35
Oil on canvas, 310.2 x 198.3 cm.
The Apelles Art Collection Luxemburg, now on long term loan to
The Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp

18

Luis Egidio Meléndez (**1716-1780**)
Still life with fruits, boxes of sweetmeats, a honey-pot and a cask, 1760s
Oil on canvas, 48.2 x 34.5 cm.
Fondo Cultural Villar Mir, Madrid

19

Antonio María Esquivel y Suárez de Urbina (1806-1857)
Venus Anadyomene, 1842
Oil on canvas, 182.1 x 110.3 cm.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

Giuseppe Sanmartino (**1720-1793**)
St. Raphael with Tobias, his dog and the fish and *The Archangel St. Michael in triumph*, c.1780
Silver and gilt-bronze
69.3 and 85.1 cm. high, respectively
Minneapolis Institute of Art

Paintings and sculptures sold by Coll & Cortés to North Amercian museums: A selection

BIRMINGHAM, AL
Birmingham Museum of Art

BOSTON, MA
Museum of Fine Arts

BROOKLYN, NY
Brooklyn Museum

DALLAS, TX
Meadows Museum

DETROIT, MI
Detroit Institute of Arts

HOUSTON, TX
Museum of Fine Arts

LOS ANGELES, CA
Los Angeles County Museum of Art

MINNEAPOLIS, MN
Minneapolis Institute of Art

NEW YORK, NY
Hispanic Society of America Museum and Library
Metropolitan Museum or Art

PHILADELPHIA, PA
Philadelphia Museum of Art

SAN DIEGO, CA
San Diego Museum of Art

TOLEDO, OH
Toledo Museum of Art

VIRGINIA, VA
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts

Paintings and sculputures sold by Coll & Cortés to museums in Europe and the Rest of the World: A selection

BUDAPEST
Museum of Fine Arts

CAMBRIDGE
Fitzwilliam Museum

CORDOBA
Museo de Bellas Artes

JAEN
Museo Provincial

MADRID
Fondo Cultural Villar Mir
Museo de America
Museo Nacional del Prado

NAGASAKI
Nagasaki Prefectural Art Museum

PARIS
Musée du Louvre

SEVILLE
Museo de Bellas Artes

VALLADOLID
Museo Nacional de Escultura

opposite:
Giuseppe Sanmartino (1720-1793)
The Archangel Saint Michael in triumph, c.1780 (detail)
Silver and gilt-bronze
85.1 cm. high
Minneapolis Institute of Art

THE FUTURE

The following section focuses on the future of Colnaghi, which will be marked by a move to a new custom-built gallery at 26 Bury St. in St. James's in the second half of 2016. The move actually signifies a return for Colnaghi to St. James's, which is the centre of the Old Master world in London. The section opens with an interview conducted by Anna Somers Cocks in which Konrad Bernheimer and Jorge Coll discuss the new partnership at Colnaghi and their plans for the future.

In chapter two we return to the Colnaghi Archive with a fascinating transatlantic conversation between Jeremy Howard and directors and senior figures at some of the most important museum archives on both sides of the Atlantic. Not only does the conversation highlight the significance of collaboration between these archives in order to gain a more complete picture of the art market, but it also underlines the vital role that dealers have played in shaping tastes in collecting. This theme – the ongoing relationship between commercial galleries, museums and private collectors – is explored from the perspective of a museum curator, Keith Christiansen, in his essay, *Connecting with the so-called 'Old Masters'*. As the title suggests, Christiansen argues that we should not lose our connection with the art of the past for it has a relevance to us today. Even if we sometimes need to make an effort to understand it, it is through this effort that our lives are enriched. Christiansen's hopes for such a connection finds concrete expression in the creation of new museums of Western Art discussed by Anny Shaw in her essay, *Old Masters in new museums*.Taking the examples of the Louvre Abu Dhabi and the Chi Mei Museum in Taiwan, Shaw offers us reassurance that older Western Art has a universal appeal, even to those who grew up in non-Western cultures. In our increasingly globalised world, this is indeed a fitting conclusion to our anthology.

Chapter 1

Colnaghi and Coll & Cortés: the future

Konrad Bernheimer and Jorge Coll in conversation with Anna Somers Cocks

When a famous art dealership with enough history to be part of art history itself changes hands, it is not only a delicate moment from the trade's point of view, but also a matter of interest for all those with concern for the cultural heritage of London.

In 2001, just after the attack on the Twin Towers, Konrad Bernheimer, based in Munich, acquired Colnaghi. The world will go on, he said to himself, and he was right; the catastrophe was followed by probably the biggest boom the art market has ever seen. Now he is 65 and after reinventing himself as an art dealer at least four times in his life, he has brought in the Spaniards Jorge Coll, 37 (fig. 1), and Nicolás Cortés, 45, as partners at Colnaghi. Bernheimer will close his gallery on Briennerstrasse in Munich, although he will work as a private dealer and consultant in Germany. This will leave him more time and energy to focus on Colnaghi, where he will continue as Chairman. In partnership with Konrad Bernheimer, Coll and Cortés are relishing the prospect of defying the decline in the Old Master market with a combination of enthusiasm, connoisseurship, educational marketing and the potential of the digital world.

Fig. 1. Jorge Coll and Konrad Bernheimer, London, December 2015

Coll, a Catalan, and Cortés, a Madrileño, have sixteen members of staff in their Madrid gallery, which will continue to deal under the name of Coll & Cortés. There will be close collaboration, however, with the five people in the Colnaghi office, which moves from Bond St. to a very large ground floor and basement space, 26 Bury St., in St. James's, that small enclave that has managed to resist the luxury and clothes shops and is still home to many art galleries, not to mention Christie's.

It is a symbolic gesture of continuity and commitment to research that has led them to reinstall the large and very important library at the heart of the gallery in the double-height space. The Colnaghi Archive, on the other hand, they have chosen to leave in the purpose-built archive building at Windmill Hill, on the Waddesdon Estate, where Lord Rothschild, a former owner of Colnaghi, is housing it, and where scholars can consult it easily. The Colnaghi works of art remain the property of Konrad Bernheimer: 'I didn't want to unload everything onto them, you know, because they have their own stock', he says. The look of the new gallery is classic modern, a style that avoids putting a barrier between the enthusiast for contemporary art and the art on sale, but it will not be super-modern. 'We are after all dealers in old art', says Coll.

ASC: Konrad and Jorge, tell me how you first met.

KOB: The first time was at the Biennale in Rome in 2010. I saw this unbelievable enthusiasm for art and their serious approach to the art market, so I got them into TEFAF Maastricht and from year one, they didn't let me down. And then, of course, what does help is that we have a common language, Spanish.

JC: We wanted to be part of Maastricht because it is the organisation that represents everything we want to be: professional and close to museum curators, close to research.

KOB: I was very impressed again at the 2015 Maastricht fair, where they'd created a spectacular stand, with a relatively small group of paintings and sculpture, mainly Spanish. We had dinner in my favourite restaurant in Maastricht, *Mediterraneo*, and they started to ask me what my plans were because I told them that I was turning 65 that year and they knew that Katrin [Bellinger] was going to cease trading. I replied that I would have to look for the next Colnaghi generation, and they both jumped and said, 'Nosotros estaríamos lo suficientemente locos' [We would be mad enough].

ASC: Jorge, what does each of you bring to the partnership?

JC: I think that what we can add now to Colnaghi is our strength – I love the team that I've found here, but we also have our team and when we join forces it's going to be spectacular. Nicolás is the eye, he's very talented, and I'm – I don't know how to describe myself – I'm the one who pursues, you know, who follows up on everything.

KOB: I think the two are the perfect match, because Nicolás really is a genius with his eye and of course Jorge also has a very good eye, but he is the businessman.

JC: For example, we sold a Zurbarán to The Detroit Institute of Art recently (fig. 2). Nicolás had said, 'Oh, I know where there's a Zurbarán', and when I asked where it was, he replied: 'I saw it eight years ago, in a corridor in a country house in the north of Spain.' So we rang the people to see if they still had the painting, and said, 'If you're interested in selling it, it's worth a lot of money.' We bought it and now, two years later, everybody is saying it's one of his best portraits.

ASC: How did you learn your expertise?

JC: Both my parents and Nicolás' parents were Old Master dealers. However, when Nicolás and I decided to work together, we chose to follow our own path and for the evolution of the business I think it was positive because we had our own ideas and didn't want to continue what our parents had done – the business model in Spain was quite different from what we were seeing at Maastricht.

Fig. 2. Francisco de Zurbarán, *Portrait of Don Juan Bazo de Moreda*, c.1655
Acquired from Coll & Cortés by the Detroit Institute of Art

ASC: So you both taught yourselves by exposure to works of art. Did you chase around markets looking for things?

JC: Every day. And we went to museums very often. I couldn't wait for the envelopes from Christie's and Sotheby's to arrive with the price list so that I was able to match the prices with the catalogue. When I was 6 or 7 years old, I already really enjoyed finding the treasure in the catalogue. And I liked to go to fairs. I made my own price list and I'd ask my father what they'd sold every day – I was really interested.

ASC: What nationality are your really good clients?

KOB: A strong group of Germans, of course, particularly for artists like Cranach (fig. 3). For the bigger objects they are American collectors and museums.

Fig. 3. Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Phyllis and Aristotle*, c.1530, acquired from Colnaghi by a private collector

ASC: And yours, Jorge?

JC: We are the same, but with Spaniards.

ASC: What are the advantages of having a space in London?

JC: You cannot say that the market is in London or New York – the market is travelling. I take 140 planes a year. London is important because it's where everybody comes once or twice a year. London is the best combination of where you can find art, where you have the auctions, and where at the same time you can run your company with various communities.

KOB: I think you simply see the people who matter. You tend to see them much more often here in London.

JC: An important thing: they come in a buying mood; I can sell things here to my Spanish clients that they would never buy in Spain.

KOB: I had exactly the same experience with my German clients, and in Germany, as in Spain, you have so many different centres. I would see my clients from Hamburg or Frankfurt or Hannover here in London more frequently than in Munich.

ASC: This gets us onto the shrinkage of the market for older art, which is partly because there is less good art for sale, and partly because it tends to go to the auction houses so the margins are reduced, but, ultimately, it's because there is this gap between people today and the past, which is perhaps worse in Britain and the US than in Spain.

KOB: In Germany it's even worse; everybody's contemporary, contemporary, contemporary.

ASC: The great problem is that in the West, particularly in Europe, people's knowledge of religion is poor. I know that St. Paul is represented with a sword and a beard, but if you don't even know who St. Paul is, it can be more difficult to understand this kind of art.

KOB: It's the same with any scene from the *Metamorphoses*. There are not many people who know what it is about, but I don't think it really matters so long as someone likes the picture as an image, the human face, the colours and so on.

JC: We don't want people to be afraid to come in because they are embarrassed about their lack of knowledge. It's just a matter of wanting to start. So I don't think that not knowing about iconography is a problem. The nice thing about Old Masters is that you never know everything; you keep on learning every day. When I see thirty Lucio Fontanas at the same fair, I understand that it has a kind of magnetism, but at a certain point everything has been said. They are very easy to identify, and maybe that's what makes people say, 'This is a Fontana, it's three million.'

ASC: So there you are, Coll & Cortés – you're paddling up-stream. Where do you see the opportunity?

JC: When we are selling an Old Master painting, we need people to understand what they are buying: to travel to Italy and see the city where the painter came from, to see museums. Because an Old Master is not only about buying, it's about living the experience and having a hobby that can give you hours of pleasure. So on the one hand we have to work very hard with the museums, so that we have a base to which we can keep on selling, but on the other hand we must try to engage all these people by creating special experiences.

ASC: That takes a lot of time.

JC: Yes, but I prefer to have ten good clients who enjoy their time with us, because if you don't get them to fall in love with the art, it's impossible to have a really good client. We've done that with two or three people, and they are so grateful because they find that they have a new facet to their lives.

ASC: What date range do you cover?

JC: From the Gothic up to the early nineteenth century, but mainly from the Renaissance to the Baroque, both paintings and sculpture. I realised when we started getting into the sculpture market that all the sculpture dealers knew a lot about paintings, but the paintings dealers were very weak on sculpture. When you start working in both fields you understand that there is a relationship between them. The exhibition by Xavier Bray, *The Sacred Made Real* [National Gallery, London, 2009-10], was a perfect illustration of this, with Montañes and Velázquez working in the same workshop, and Cano being both a sculptor and painter, so I think that if you only deal in one thing, you are missing out.

KOB: Especially in Spanish art.

JC: When we started selling Spanish sculpture everybody said that we were crazy, that it wasn't worth anything. But now we have managed to create buyers of Spanish sculpture, because we really like it. When I go to a museum or a client, I say, 'OK, you are not going to buy anything from me until you come to Andalucía with me, because as much as I explain things to you, you won't understand anything until you go to Holy Week in Seville, and then you will make up your mind in five seconds.' So, I know that it's an effort, but either we do this, or it's finished. Art is not only about the art and the artist; it's also about the history of the time, and you should make people enjoy that too.

ASC: Do you think that the rise in the importance of the Hispanic population of the US is predisposing people to want to look at Spanish art more?

JC: That's what we thought at the beginning and there has indeed

been much more interest over the last ten years. It's a combination of the demographics with the fact that the Spanish collections in museums were weaker. Curators want to leave their own mark on a collection, and in Spanish art there are more gaps to fill.

ASC: Spain has always been slightly outside the main art scene, partly because Franco was there for so long, but going further back still. J.C. Robinson, the great buyer for the Victoria & Albert Museum in the 1850s and 60s who had a fantastic eye, went to Italy, and there everybody was rushing after him saying, 'Buy my Tiepolo, buy my Titian'. Then he went to Spain and found that people were so proud and private that they hardly wanted to receive him, let alone sell him anything. Is it still like that?

JC: It's quite like that. Being a foreign company it's going to be easier for us to buy. Even now, if I want to purchase something in Barcelona, it is actually easier to do so from Madrid because then we can give a more discreet service to the client in offering the artwork for sale outside of Barcelona.

KOB: I found that the moment I was Mr. Colnaghi, quite a few German collectors were prepared to open their doors to me because I was not just Mr. Bernheimer. People think, 'If I sell this, I would not like it to be shown in Munich because then too many people will see it, so if I give this picture to you, you'll take it to London.' It's a question of privacy and discretion. Also they think that, because London is the centre, it might fetch a better price.

JC: In the last twenty to thirty years, the English have had great success in Spain, because the experts in Spanish art are mainly from the English-speaking world: Peter [Cherry], Xavier Bray, Bill [Jordan] and Jonathan Brown. It's hard to find Spanish scholars who are internationally recognised. I want to work a bit to promote Spanish art with our various itineraries and trips within Spain.

ASC: What about the digital world and social media?

JC: I really think it's the future. I'm reading about all the new technologies that museums are adding to show their collections, and if you think about why the auctions have become such an important business, the milestone for them has been the internet: to be able to reach every collector; to offer things and to send a photograph instantaneously. So when the internet came to the art market, that played in favour of the auctions, because dealers don't want to show things; we want to be more private, to create momentum gradually.

ASC: Konrad, you've been dealing for over forty years, and, of course, your family's business goes back to the middle of the nineteenth century. How do you see the future of the art market?

KOB: The future is adaptation. You see a cycle of about ten years. I have reinvented myself about four times in the last forty years, and I think this will be just as necessary in the future.

JC: The things that change are how you run your business, but what doesn't change is the quality. If you have the quality, people keep on coming.

KOB: If it changes, it changes up; your eye becomes even more critical. If I look at what I was buying forty years ago, there is very little that I would buy today. I'm extremely happy now if I find three to five very important pieces a year, instead of thirty to forty, because they simply don't exist.

JC: What I see is that the top end of the market is working better every year, so one of the main issues is how to get access to those kinds of works of art. The only way is to have an important brand, so what we are trying to do is to create a different platform from which we can gain more access to these pieces and the clients who are buying them. We need to have a lot of prestige, to have visibility and create this trust. People need to know that we sell to the best museums in the world and what our projects are.

KOB: But I think it's very important how you treat people. The old school of art dealers could be quite snobbish. It's so important not to make a person feel like an idiot, because you kill your potential client.

JC: At Maastricht, I always work on presales, which is why we are successful. I travel beforehand, showing things to clients and museums, so we try to create a buzz. We try to have everybody there at the same time so they feel something's going on and have to take a decision. We sold a Ribera at Maastricht in 2015 (fig. 4) and maybe five hours later, somebody came to me and asked the price. I replied that it was sold and, of course, as soon as you say something is sold, people automatically want to buy it. This man was about to leave the stand and I thought, what a horrible situation, it's so difficult to find a client, and I could really feel that he had been going to buy the painting. So then I remembered that eight years previously I had sold a very similar painting to a collector in Madrid, but it might now be available because Spain was in such a difficult situation. So I showed him a photograph and said I could try calling the owner. He said, 'Let's try. You know, I like this one even more than the other one.' I called the collector and offered him the same price he had paid for it; he was happy to sell and the new client came and paid the next day without even having seen the painting. He said, 'Jorge and Nicolás, this is the first piece I have bought from a dealer; I only buy from auctions because I don't trust dealers.' So I answered, 'By not trusting dealers you've bought a painting for nearly a million euros on the basis of a photograph.' He said, 'Yes, but I've been following you and I trust you. Although I was not a client, you treated me as if I was your best client and after five or six times that you've been so nice to me, I've realised that I can trust you.' So now this guy is one of our best friends and we've sold three or four more paintings to him. But it's a matter of how you treat people. You never really know.

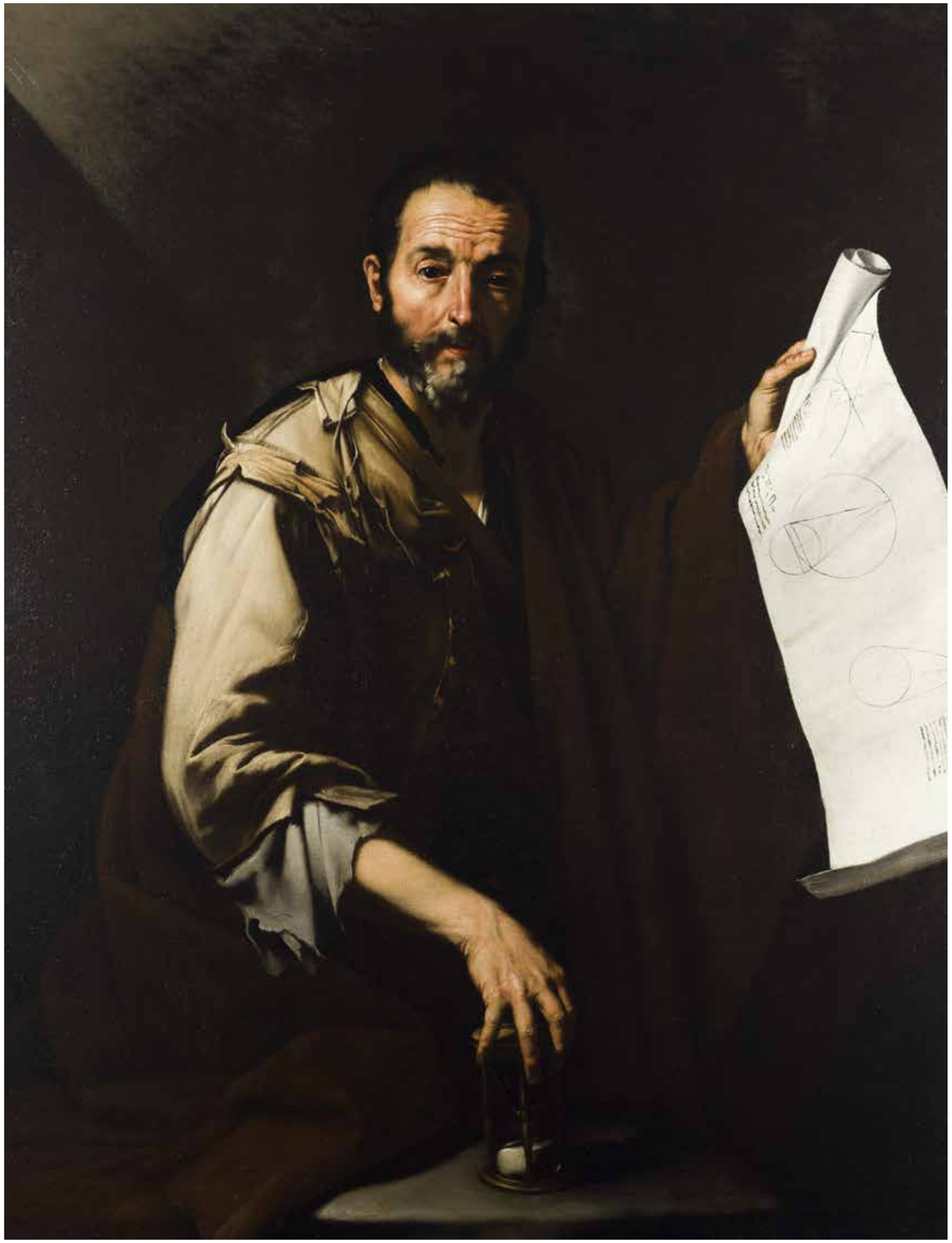


Fig. 4. Jusepe de Ribera, called lo Spagnoletto, *Thales of Miletus*, 1630s, acquired from Coll & Cortés by a private collector

Chapter 2

Reflections on the Colnaghi Archive:
A transatlantic conversation

Jeremy Howard

Fig. 1. Windmill Hill Archive, Waddesdon Estate, Aylesbury

Jeremy Howard (JH), Head of Academic Projects at Colnaghi, talks to Thomas Gaehtgens (TG), Director, and Gail Feigenbaum (GF), Associate Director, of The Getty Research Institute; Inge Reist (IR), Director of the Frick Center for the History of Collecting; Pippa Shirley (PS), Head of Collections at Waddesdon Manor (Rothschild Collections) and Catherine Taylor (CT), Head Archivist for The Waddesdon Archive at Windmill Hill, Waddesdon; and Alan Crookham (AC), Research Centre Manager, and Susanna Avery-Quash (SAQ), Senior Research Curator (History of Collecting), at the National Gallery, London.

For a number of years the Colnaghi Archive was divided between a large bookcase in the Colnaghi Library and a remote warehouse at Momart in East London. It is now housed in a glorious new state-of-the-art building on the Waddesdon Estate, which opened in 2011 (fig. 1). It has been catalogued and properly conserved, and now provides far greater accessibility than before to scholars working on the history of collecting and the art market, for which it is a key resource. In this interview Jeremy Howard asks for some reflections on the significance of this, until recently, rather neglected treasure-trove.

JH: Catherine, as the archivist in charge, can you tell me something about how the archive moved to Windmill Hill and the challenges that you have had to face over the last year-and-a-half in terms of cataloguing, reorganising and curating the archive? It must have been quite a formidable logistical exercise.

CT: Yes, it was a bit complicated at times. The first steps were to survey the archives stored in East London and identify those that formed the core of the business archive. Once this had been done, decisions then had to be made about what material ought to be transferred to Windmill Hill and what should be left in storage at Momart. Colnaghi staff then boxed and packaged the selected materials for transfer by road to Waddesdon, but, despite

Fig. 2. The Colnaghi Archive, Windmill Hill Archive,Waddesdon Estate, Aylesbury

the care that had been taken in labelling the boxes and packing up similar records in groups, it was clear by the time we had unloaded everything at Windmill Hill that there was a lot of re-sorting needed. We employed an intern to do the bulk of the listing, reorganising and cataloguing, and in six months we had seen a real transformation.

During that period every box was opened, the contents were listed and a series of records identified. A full catalogue entry was then written for each volume or file and entered onto the database used by the Waddesdon Archive. Things were then repackaged where necessary and reorganised on the shelves to make finding individual items easier (fig. 2). Once this initial phase was completed we looked at options for indexing – most researchers using the Colnaghi Archive are interested in a particular painting, artist or buyer, seller or dealer, and accessing this information in dense un-indexed volumes is tricky. We employed another intern to index the letter books and some stock books but there is still work to be done on the financial records, so that's the next step!

JH: Pippa, as Head of Collections at Waddesdon, you look after what is arguably the greatest surviving Rothschild collection and the only one in this country to survive intact in its original house. You also have overall responsibility for the archives, which include all the Waddesdon-related Rothschild material. In what ways do you think the Colnaghi Archive complements those collections and archives, and how do you think a dealer's archive can help one understand the history of private, and specifically Rothschild, collecting?

PS: The Colnaghi Archive complements the collections in some very specific ways – several Rothschilds were clients of the business and Ferdinand, the creator of Waddesdon, bought some highly important works of art from them, although recent research has revealed that the two great Guardis with opposing views of Venice from the lagoon now hanging in the East Gallery of the Manor (fig. 3), which it was always said came from Colnaghi, were, in fact, bought from Martin Colnaghi, who was Dominic Colnaghi's nephew and had a separate business. More generally, the archive gives us a unique and significant insight into the intricacies of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century art market – who was buying what, and when, and why. It acts as a kind of barometer of taste, and for a collection like ours, which grew out of a very particular taste, it provides an invaluable context.

JH: Finally, before I bring our American colleagues into the conversation, in what ways, Pippa, do you think the collections at Waddesdon and the Colnaghi Archive can help us understand the formation of the great American private collections of the early twentieth century?

Fig. 3. Francesco Guardi, *The Bacino di San Marco with the Molo and the Doge's Palace, Venice*, c.1755-70
Waddesdon Manor, The Rothschild Collection (National Trust)

PS: The collections at Waddesdon were to some extent a forerunner of the Gilded Age collections in the States, and the ways in which the Rothschilds combined European decorative arts and English painting were an inspiration for several major American collectors, including Henry Clay Frick and Henry Huntington. The growing appetite for the eighteenth century was something which Ferdinand was very attuned to – he talked in his memoirs of his fear that the contents of Waddesdon would disappear across the Atlantic when he died – and archives such as this one throw light on that process, and the way in which the major dealers both responded to and shaped the market.

Fig. 4. Inge Reist, Director of the Frick Center for the History of Collecting

JH: Thank you, Pippa and Catherine. I now want to bring in Inge Reist (fig. 4), who works for a museum which was formed by one of these great American Gilded Age collectors: Henry Clay Frick.

Inge, you run the Center for the History of Collecting at the Frick Collection in New York (fig. 5) and you recently edited a book entitled *Reflections Across the Pond* about the ways in which American collectors responded to the paradigm of British collectors. Frick, of course, was really Colnaghi's second major American client after Isabella Stewart Gardner, although nearly all the pictures were actually bought through Knoedler. Could you tell us a little about the significance of the Colnaghi Archive from the Frick perspective? What does it have to offer those who are interested in researching the Gilded Age of American collecting?

IR: Of course, you are absolutely right. Henry Clay Frick's purchases of pictures from Colnaghi invariably were brokered by Knoedler, but this is a fact that was little known until researchers such as Cynthia Saltzman delved into the Frick and Colnaghi Archives. For example, whereas the provenance listings of the 1968 Frick catalogues quite simplistically indicate that Frick purchased a painting such as the 'Ilchester' Rembrandt *Self-Portrait* from Knoedler, the reality is that Otto Gutekunst of Colnaghi was the key negotiator for the sale on the Ilchester side, while Gutekunst's trusted friend at Knoedler, Charles Carstairs, patiently dealt with Frick's haggling over the price. Similarly, Frick's first important purchase of an Old Master picture, the portrait of an artist then thought to have been by Rembrandt, was also a Colnaghi find, although in that instance it was sold to Frick by Arthur Tooth and Sons. In essence, recent increased access to archival information has enabled scholars to present a far more nuanced view of the 'back-room dealings' conducted within the art markets of London and New York and tells us that men who were thought to be rivals, often worked together to bring home what Gutekunst called 'Big-big, big Game.'

JH: Apart from Frick can you give us some 'reflections across the pond' about any other significant East-coast collectors who were clients of Colnaghi?

IR: The American Gilded Age collector most often associated with Colnaghi is Isabella Stewart Gardner, who arguably led the charge in purchasing Old Master pictures from the London dealer at a time when Frick and others were still focused exclusively on contemporary French and American art by Barbizon and Orientalist artists. Not only did Gardner purchase her famed Titian *Rape of Europa* from Colnaghi, but also her Botticelli *Tragedy of Lucretia*, as well as paintings by Fra Angelico and Holbein. In most cases this was the result of the role Bernard Berenson played as Gardner's advisor and silent partner, profiting from both parties of the transaction. In later years, during the first two decades of the twentieth century, Peter Widener of Philadelphia was another important American Gilded Age purchaser of Colnaghi pictures, in his case, most notably the spectacular Cattaneo van Dycks that were brokered with Widener by Knoedler as part of a three-way deal with Colnaghi, Trotti and Knoedler itself.

JH: The Knoedler-Colnaghi partnership is just one example of Anglo-American cooperation amongst art dealers. How important was this transatlantic trade and what do you think American and European dealers had to offer one another?

IR: There's no doubt that the transatlantic partnerships were invaluable to both parties, especially once the American collectors' appetites for Old Masters had been successfully cultivated. The British dealers knew far more about the location of masterpieces and which owners might be willing to part with their treasures, whether due to financial distress or other extenuating circumstances. With that knowledge, they could use their powers of persuasion, finely honed through awareness of the aristocratic culture of Great Britain, to purchase works of art at prices that would still allow for a reasonable profit margin upon resale to American collectors. The American dealers for their part went to great lengths to cultivate their wealthy clients, travelling with them, playing endless rounds of golf, assisting with framing and moving pictures, and, in the case of Frick's daughter, even arranging for her to use Roland Knoedler's Paris apartment during World War I. Thus, the dealers on both sides of the pond gained the trust of the sellers and buyers as they worked together to their mutual benefit, usually, though not always, demonstrating comparable trust in one another.

JH: We have talked a bit about the Gilded Age. Do you think there are any lessons to be drawn about the art market today from studying the market as it was a hundred years ago? What things have changed and what things are more or less the same?

IR: I think that today's market has numerous parallels in the art market of the Gilded Age, as well as in the art market of the early nineteenth century, when the English were so feverishly acquiring continental art. For example, we speak today of the 'overheated' market for contemporary art, yet the same was true in the United States during the 1870s and 1880s when Vanderbilt, Frick, Morgan, and countless others were eagerly buying paintings by Zamacois, Meissonier, Monticelli, Ziem and Alma Tadema. Does that mean that collectors today may shift away from the contemporary to begin seeking out Old Masters and nineteenth-century art? Perhaps. Something else that I don't think has changed all that much is that some collectors can be spotted as having a genuine and abiding interest in art, as compared to those who buy art to gain social status or to decorate extravagant homes. Moreover, the collector whose motivations to acquire are driven by love and curiosity about the art are not in all cases wealthy and this is also a constant. Where I do see some differences between today and the Gilded Age is in the position of the museum and university professional in the context of the market. Today, their role, more than ever, is to serve as sources of knowledge and even impresarios of our entertainment, but not as direct participants in or beneficiaries of the market. So even as the dealers continue to consult with curators to garner expert opinions, the curators themselves have a more arms-length relationship to the market, very different from, for example, Wilhelm von Bode or William Valentiner, and, on the academic side, Bernard Berenson. Granted, some individuals have moved back and forth between not-for-profit and for-profit organizations, but they have done so openly and without any hint of conflict of interest.

JH: Lastly, what opportunities do you think there are for collaborative research between the great American archives, such as yours, and the Colnaghi Archive at Windmill Hill?

IR: This is an easy question to answer, because it is only through consultation of both sides of the negotiation/transaction that a scholar can gain complete knowledge of, not only the facts, but also the *modus operandi* embraced by dealers to cultivate and coddle their clients and partners. That said, research in archives such as ours and Colnaghi's enriches our understanding of far more than the individuals and events pertaining to the buying and selling of art. After all, it is through the letters stored in these and similar archives that we can measure, for example, how obsessive a collector might have been about obtaining a particular work, or the degree to which a dealer might pressure a collector or feign disinterest as a sales technique. The Duveen Archives, when paired with correspondence in the Frick Archives can, for example, paint a very vivid picture of how Duveen could profit far beyond the price of a picture he might sell Frick by also providing the collector with significant and costly furniture and other decorative pieces that complement the work of the initial sale. As Charlotte Vignon has demonstrated, the Fragonard and Boucher rooms of Frick's home on Fifth Avenue were a textbook case of Duveen's shrewd profiteering, all of which is documented in detail in the Duveen and Frick Archives.

JH: Thank you, Inge. I now want to move to the West Coast of America to the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles (fig. 6), and bring in Thomas Gaehtgens, Director, and Gail Feigenbaum, Associate Director of the Institute (fig. 7).

Fig. 5. The Reading Room at the Frick Art Reference Library, New York

Thomas, apart from running the largest art-historical research institute in the world, you also have in your care some truly remarkable dealers' archives including, I think you told me, a mile-and-a-half of shelf space devoted to the archive of Knoedler, Colnaghi's greatest collaborator, as well as the archive of their greatest rival, Duveen. Can you start by saying something about what you see as the significance of these dealers' archives in helping us to understand first of all Art History in its broadest sense and more specifically the development of museums?

TG: The study of the art market is a relatively recent field of art historical investigation. I see several reasons for this. Here are two of them. Provenance has become a major issue in the art market and in scholarly research. Secondly, archives of art dealers have not been available for a long time. Now, several archives are open to scholars, and these resources allow new insights in the networks created by dealers, collectors and museum curators. This is, however, not only a way to trace the business processes and to reconstruct the provenance of a work of art. This newly available material can help to understand the creation of taste and the reception of certain styles. The art

Fig. 6. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles

dealers were an important force in propagating artistic currents and played, together with the collectors, a major role in the creation of the American museums.

JH: There are certain dealers, most obviously Duveen, who have received a great deal of, dare I say it, rather sensational and unscholarly attention, and there are other dealers, such as Paul Durand-Ruel, who only now seem to be garnering the respect that they deserve. Do you think on the whole that dealers have been overlooked in histories of art and that perhaps the focus has been too much on collectors?

TG: Yes, I think we have underestimated the inspiring role of art dealers. They have too often been described only by the business part of their profession. Art history has somewhat overlooked their professionalism which was, and still is, based on experience, knowledge and art-historical connoisseurship.

JH: Gail, you visited the Colnaghi Archive at Windmill Hill last summer and we also took a very agreeable tour of the Manor. Can I first of all ask you what you think the Colnaghi Archive has to offer researchers in America and how it links up with your wonderful archives at the Getty and at that great sister institution on the West Coast, the Huntington Library?

GF: My first impression of the Colnaghi Archive was that it held immense potential to help us understand much better, both in broad terms and in exquisite detail, how European paintings found their way into America. Take the example of Knoedler who imported so many pictures that were acquired in joint account, and who had a most favoured relationship with Colnaghi. They developed an amazing system of economic and social cooperation. Half of the story can be found in Los Angeles in the Knoedler Archive, and the other half on the shelves at Windmill Hill.

JH: Following on from that, what educational opportunities do you think these dealers' archives offer? Do you think, for example, more universities should teach courses on the history of collecting as a way of training the researchers of the future?

GF: Your question goes to the heart of how art history has changed to become engaged in the social life of objects, first embracing the history of collecting and, more and more, the history of the art market. As Thomas observed, the dealer has been written out of art history. With these archives we have a chance to recuperate an important critical perspective that we had missed. In my experience, today's students are curious about collecting, about the circulation of works of art, and interested also in the phenomenon of the contemporary art market – these dealers were very active in what was the contemporary market of their own day. Students have had limited opportunity to take this kind of study seriously at university level and they flock to courses on the history of collecting and the art market when they are offered. The high number of visitors consulting our Knoedler papers indicates that this is a growing area of research. The expanding digital humanities have also already begun to boost interest because these records can now be studied as large data sets as well as through our traditional methods of analysis.

JH: Lastly, can I ask you both in what ways you think we could build bridges between our respective archives and with some of the other great archives in Europe and America?

GF: All of us on both sides of the Atlantic have already taken the first steps in organising meetings of the institutions who hold major dealers' archives, and who focus on the history of collecting. Communication, coordination and strategic digitisation are crucial. We are getting to know one another's resources and holding workshops and conferences on topics arising from these materials. My hope is that our institutions can support this kind of research to benefit early-career scholars who will build the strong networks needed to advance knowledge in this area. It is exciting to see that universities in America and Europe have now begun to put energy and resources into this kind of research program, some with museum ties, in Lille, Rotterdam, and now Buckingham, to name just a few.

JH: Thank you both. I now want to move back to London to the National Gallery (fig. 8) and bring in Alan Crookham, Research Centre Manager, and Susanna Avery-Quash, Senior Research Curator (History of Collecting).

Alan, the National Gallery recently acquired the highly important archive of Colnaghi's greatest London rival, Agnew's (fig. 9). Are the two archives, in a sense, complementary?

AC: Very much so, and in fact you can broaden it much further than the Agnew's and Colnaghi Archives to include those records held at the Getty and elsewhere. Take all these firms' stock books, remarkable in their similarity. Many of these are now being digitised and opened up via the internet, allowing researchers to trace artworks, collectors and transactions in a manner that was unimaginable a few years ago. This is enabling historians to develop a fresh insight into the workings of the art market. And of course the Agnew's and Colnaghi Archives form a core corpus of material that is an essential research resource for the history of the London art market over the past 150 years.

JH: Susanna, can you tell me what makes the Agnew's Archive so special?

SAQ: Well the first point is that it is amazingly extensive. It consists of the business records of one of the world's most important international art dealers dating back to the 1850s. Agnew's had branches not only in the UK – London, Manchester, Liverpool – but also in leading cities in Europe such as Paris and Berlin, as well as in New York. So it was an extremely diverse operation and the archives are very extensive. There are around 500 volumes dating from the mid-nineteenth to the twenty-first century, including stock books, day books, ledgers, travel diaries, indexes, exhibition material and press cuttings. This material includes records about famous paintings in the National Gallery that passed through Agnew's, such as Velázquez's *The Toilet of Venus* ('The Rokeby Venus'), as well as paintings now in America, including Bellini's *The Feast of the Gods* in the National Gallery of Art in Washington. The second point is that because Agnew's, unlike Colnaghi, remained a family firm throughout its history, the archive is not just a business archive, but includes items of a more personal nature, such as diaries about

Fig. 7. The Special Collections Reading Room, Getty Research Institute, with Alan Crookham, Thomas Gaehtgens and Gail Feigenbaum

overseas trips dating back to the Victorian era. Rachael Merrison, the Agnew's archivist, tells me that keeping track of the various indexing systems and notations over the firm's history has been a real challenge. Fortunately, however, she has had some help decoding the records from Julian Agnew, the sixth-generation former chairman of the firm, so the family continue to take an interest in the archive even if it no longer belongs to them and that's another thing which makes the Agnew's Archive special.

JH: How would you characterise the differences between the Agnew's and Colnaghi Archives and what points do they have in common?

SAQ: Both firms were among the most significant dealers in the London art market for well over a century and so, taken together, their archives provide an unparalleled window onto the international art market of their day. They dovetail conveniently because while the Colnaghi Archive spans the late eighteenth through to the late twentieth century, the Agnew's Archive starts later, in the early nineteenth century, but offers a very complete record of its business right up to 2013. An interesting distinction is that while both firms dealt successfully in paintings and prints, Agnew's found a niche in dealing in drawings and watercolours and, later on, in the decorative arts. Given these two firms were bitter rivals, much of the documentation reveals the interesting dynamic that evolved between them!

There are letters in both archives (the correspondence is far richer in the Colnaghi Archive) recording the details of important sales, some of which can be further cross-referenced with relevant material in other important archives, including the Berenson Archive in Florence, the Frick Archive in New York and the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, which houses the Knoedler and Duveen Archives. Consequently, both UK-based archives, whether taken separately or used in conjunction with each other and other dealer archives, represent a gold-mine for scholars – the even better news is that many of these resources have never been tapped into in any systematic way.

JH: What do you think is the value to a museum of owning a dealer's archive? In what ways does it help our understanding of a great museum collection?

SAQ: The fact that the National Gallery now owns the Agnew's Archive, enables the history of the national collection to be told more fully. Increasingly, art historians and museum curators have become keen to explore works of art not only through asking well-established and fruitful research questions about who made them, what they represent, and how they were made, but also through posing new questions about who owned them in the past, which directly leads on to broader concerns about the history of collecting, provenance, taste and the art market. Indeed professionals in the cultural sector are now expected to know not just about the objects in their care but also about their histories – both social and economic. All this intersects with the interests of the public, many of whom have become increasingly interested in learning about the colourful past owners of pictures and other works of art which are now in important public and private collections worldwide.

The information contained in a dealer archive opens up fascinating details about the provenance of works of art and their movements between collections over time. For instance, material in the Agnew's Archive relates to pictures that the firm sold to public institutions like the National Gallery, as well as to private collectors in Britain like Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild at Waddesdon and Lord Iveagh at Kenwood and to the great American millionaire collectors such as Isabella Stewart Gardner, Frick and Mellon. Not only do dealer records allow individuals and institutions to trace the provenance of specific artworks, but they also bring to light the complex web of partnerships and associations between and within art dealer firms, agents, national museums and galleries, contemporary artists and prominent collectors from among the British aristocracy and American industrialists.

To my mind, you can't fully understand the history of institutions like the National Gallery without having some understanding of the context of the history of collecting. And a very important part of that history is the art market, which helped to form this and other great collections in the private and public domains, not least through promoting certain artists' work and influencing the prices reached through private treaty or public auction sales.

The acquisition of the Agnew's Archive undoubtedly represents a new departure because it was the first time that the National Gallery has collected material not closely bound to its own history. However, the material complements the Gallery's own archival holdings, such as the annotated British auction catalogues and private collections material, and I believe that this helps to secure the Gallery's position as a leading centre of research for the study of the history of collecting, provenance and the art market.

JH: Lastly, can you both tell me briefly what use you have made so far of the Agnew's Archive in terms of your research projects and what research and educational opportunities the Colnaghi and Agnew's Archives open up for the future?

AC: The Agnew's Archive is attracting new researchers to the National Gallery and, I believe, helping to promote the very rich archives of the gallery itself. We currently have two PhD students exploring different aspects of the relationship between Agnew's and the National Gallery and we are also using the archive as a focal point for other activities such as academic conferences. At the same time we are working with archivists and historians to explore how best to make the archives more discoverable, keeping abreast of the latest developments in the digital realm that will help researchers in their work.

SAQ: When we bought the archive it certainly triggered considerable interest both internally and externally. We wanted to make it as widely accessible as possible, so our first step was to appoint an archivist to assess, arrange, catalogue and conserve it. We then began a pilot project to digitise the Picture Stock Books from 1853 – with the view to making this material available online via the National Gallery's website – and now letters from the Agnew's Archive are searchable by name and topic. Alan has mentioned that we took on two PhD students, who are being supervised jointly with Manchester and Liverpool Universities, and their research has fed into the cataloguing process. One of them is examining the relationship between the National Gallery and Agnew's and how that influenced the formation of the collection, while the other is looking at the history of provenance research at a time when approaches to attribution and authentication were vigorously debated.

We are also hosting some conferences in 2016 at the National Gallery, which will be looking at aspects of the art market and also its relationships with museums. The first, in April, celebrating the completion of the Agnew's cataloguing project, will be a two-day conference entitled *Negotiating Art: Dealers and Museums*, *1855-2015*, and the second in July, *Creating Markets: Collecting Art*, organised by Christie's on the occasion of their 250th anniversary, will include a session convened by me featuring Agnew's and Colnaghi and entitled *Creating the Market for Old Master Paintings: innovative dealers between 1820-1920*.

A longer-term venture has been the exciting launch in January 2016 of a new MA in the art market and the history of collecting which you conceived of, Jeremy, in your capacity as Head of History of Art at the University of Buckingham. Jointly organised with the National Gallery and in association with Waddesdon Manor, the course will be taught by staff from the three partner institutions as well as experts from across the field, a unique feature being the access to the Agnew's and Colnaghi Archives. I believe that course, with its emphasis on first-hand investigation of these archives, will be invaluable in preparing students to undertake archival research as well as giving them an understanding of the fundamental role that the art market has played in the formation of so many great public and private collections.

Fig. 8. The Research Library, National Gallery, London

Fig. 9. The Agnew's Archive, National Gallery, London

Chapter 3

Connecting with the so-called 'Old Masters'

Keith Christiansen

Fig. 1. Valentin de Boulogne, *The lute player*, c.1626, Metropolitan Museum of Art

For the past two years I have been actively engaged with an exhibition on Valentin de Boulogne – the great French follower of Caravaggio (fig. 1). It will open at The Metropolitan in October 2016 and then travel to the Musée du Louvre. For me, it is the fulfillment of an almost five-decade-long admiration for this exceptional artist, whose work I first encountered as an undergraduate during my Junior year abroad in France in 1967-68.

Something in his work connected with me – and still does. So it is a shock for me to learn how little known he is to others – even those who consider themselves regular museum-goers and lovers of Old Master painters. How can it be, I ask myself, that a painter whose work depends for its impact, not on some arcane theory of art or inscrutable style, but on real-life situations acted out by completely believable people, does not resonate with everyone? Can it really be that the mere fact that the themes are not drawn from the everyday world in which we live has created an unbridgeable gap? Have we really become so incredibly consumed with ourselves that we insist that everything be self-referential in the most narrow sense of the word? Is life really an extension of the 'Facebook' culture?

A few years ago I visited the Museo Nacional Reina Sofia in Madrid. Such a strange experience. It was filled with young people strolling through the galleries making casual comments as they passed from one gallery to the next. The Spanish equivalent of 'cool', 'awesome'. They paused for a length of time before only one painting: Picasso's *Guernica*. It is, of course, a great painting – far greater than anything else in the museum. But I am quite certain that the reason people stopped was because it was a picture they already knew and felt they *should* stop to admire and discuss. It was a destination piece. I found the whole experience incredibly depressing.

Engagement. It's what is required to connect with works of art – any work of art. But this requires stillness and reflection. What is the artist doing? Why this detail in that place? Why that configuration of forms or figures? How did he or she achieve that effect? What is the function and character of style? These are the basics. Then there is the culture that the work came from and the things we might or might not know about its creator. What you bring to a work of art and the time you spend thinking about the strategies of the artist is an enriching experience – enriching in a personal way, because we all live in a world that is part of a historical process. Residues of that process are part of us. Art is communication and, as in a conversation, it is necessary to listen to what is said before you can begin to grasp something about the person who is talking to you or the circumstance he or she is describing.

Is this too tall an order today? Perhaps contemporary art has become primarily a commodity, and like all commodities, it commands attention by the mere fact of being sought by a number of influential people. Collectors go to galleries selling the work of a painter or sculptor or video artist they have heard about in the press or from a friend, and they buy one because – well, it's what everyone is buying. To a degree, this has always been a factor of interest in art by those who actually are uninterested in its deeper potential. Except that today this phenomenon is more extreme. And yet, this does not mean that other worlds are completely closed. Is there anyone who has entered the Sistine Chapel and left *not* feeling that they have had a privileged encounter with a supremely great creative genius? They have doubtless felt this because the greatness of Michelangelo's vision lived up to the expectation they had. But they had an expectation, and that expectation came from being told about Michelangelo's greatness. This is fundamental, and it takes us directly into the key factor for the decline of interest in Old Master painting: ignorance. Ignorance that derives from a failed education system and a consequent lack of curiosity (because, of course, curiosity is the motivation for finding out things on your own).

If we wish to reverse this situation, we need to be unafraid to tell people that there are great things in this world that do not necessarily come easy and that do not obviously connect with their everyday lives, but which, for that very reason, have the potential of a kind of enriching engagement that cannot otherwise be easily found. To pretend that engaging with an Old Master – or with anything that was created in a culture different from the one in which we live – is simple is to deny that potential richness. And to dress up the old as though it was just like the contemporary is to censure what the old has to say. By all means, play the one against the other, the contemporary against the old – or non-Western. But only in ways that bring out their individual qualities.

Let me return to that first visit to the Musée du Louvre in 1967 – a long time before there were lines to get in (one entered through a single, small door, where there was a single booth selling tickets, and there were no crowds, believe it or not – a reminder that greater visitor numbers have nothing to do with the quality of experience). I was twenty years old. I had never visited a major museum (beside the De Young Museum in San Francisco, which I suppose I had seen once or twice). I had done merely a single, beginner's course in Renaissance art. But I had had a wonderful survey in Western history and had completed a course in Corneille and Racine, because in high school I had taken French. This had made me aware of the ways in which a play based on an ancient source and written in a highly regulated verse form could deal with issues of importance at the time of the war in Vietnam. (Corneille's play, *Horace*, poses the question of duty to one's country versus family allegiance and personal affections.) Like everyone else, I naturally wanted to see the *Mona Lisa* and the *Venus de Milo*, which was a lot easier then than now and also a lot more rewarding. After all, they were so famous that even I, growing up in California, had heard of them as defining masterpieces of human creativity. But another world opened to me as I made my way down the Grande Galerie, where the French paintings of the Grand Siècle were then hung (fig. 2). And that began a half century of exploration and enrichment.

The task ahead for those of us who respond so naturally to works of art created sometimes centuries ago – whether museum curators, dealers or collectors – is to make sure that our passion is passed on to the next generation: to open their eyes to the richness of this art that is as concerned with the essentials of human experience as any contemporary work – perhaps even more so, since their creators lived with a far more acute sense of the passage of time and the inevitability of our mortality.

Fig. 2. The Grande Galerie of the Louvre, highlighting the Grand Siècle

Chapter 4

Old Masters in new museums

Anny Shaw

Fig. 1. Louvre Abu Dhabi, Design by Jean Nouvel

There has been much debate recently about whether the Old Master market is in decline. Some in the trade say that traditional works of art have fallen out of favour and are no longer coveted by collectors and investors. Older paintings and sculptures, they lament, have seen a drop or levelling in value.

Other art dealers and historians, however, point out that the Old Master market has always behaved in this way. It is a trade characterised by steady sales at steady prices, often to long-term collectors who might keep works for decades or pass them down to younger generations. Comparing it to the effervescent contemporary market, which offers an endless supply and the chance to 'flip' works in a matter of months, is almost as pointless as comparing apples and oranges.

Despite – or perhaps because of – the huge disparity in prices between contemporary art and Old Masters, traditional forms of art are making something of a comeback. Old Masters may not provide the instant gratification or financial returns of contemporary art, but a growing swell of collectors motivated by the chance to own a bit of history are broadening their horizons.

Some sectors within the Old Master market are even enjoying mini booms, thanks in part to contemporary art collectors. Pictures created in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are often sought after for display in modern settings, while colourful Tudor portraits and gold-ground paintings have also fared well among those with contemporary tastes. Artists such as Jeff Koons and Julian Opie, who are enthusiastic collectors of Old Masters, have also helped shrug off its stuffy image. Meanwhile, *Goya* at the National Gallery in London and the exhibition of early Renaissance masterpieces at the Museum of Biblical Art in New York were among the hit museum shows in 2015. Private collectors from new markets such as China and Russia are also bolstering sales of older art. Recent auctions of

Fig. 2. Under the dome, Louvre Abu Dhabi, Design by Jean Nouvel

Old Masters in London and New York have seen participation at the highest level from such countries, while collectors from China and Russia are being seen increasingly at international art fairs such as The European Fine Art Fair (TEFAF), Maastricht.

There has been a knock-on effect in the museum sector too, with new institutions opening in new parts of the world. The Louvre Abu Dhabi, due to open on Saadiyat Island in December 2016 at a reported cost of $650m, is perhaps the grandest. The remarkable Jean Nouvel-designed complex will comprise fifty-six buildings, covering a total area of 86,000 sq. m that the French architect has referred to as a twenty-first-century 'Medina' (fig. 1). Some of the exhibition spaces, designed on an 'unprecedented scale', according to Nouvel, are twenty-seven metres high (fig. 2).

The museum's collection, which is owned by the Abu Dhabi government, now numbers 600 pieces, spanning prehistory to the present day and covering a range of civilisations and media. Art, manuscripts and objects of cultural and historical significance will be hung together in an overarching timeline, so an Italian Renaissance painting might be displayed next to artefacts from Islamic civilisations.

In terms of older Western art, the collection features, among many others, fine examples of Venetian Renaissance painting by artists like Giovanni Bellini and Jacopo Bassano; seventeenth-century European paintings by masters such as Luca Giordano, Jérémie Plume and Bartolomé Estebán Murillo; decorative arts including a porcelain candelabra once owned by Napoleon; and a range of Neoclassical sculpture.

Hamad Al Muhairi, the former Director General of the Abu Dhabi Tourism and Culture Authority, which is overseeing the development of the museum, says the Louvre Abu Dhabi has been based on 'the basic universalist model that was first born in Enlightenment Europe', but that 'The Emirates' rich legacy of cultural cross-pollination will provide a completely unique context for this concept to take root.'

Writing in *Louvre Abu Dhabi: The Birth of a Museum*, Al Muhairi says: 'Our universal museum will celebrate and advance intercultural dialogue – so profoundly needed in the modern world – and will be a place where people can connect with each other through the universal languages of the arts.'

In the same book, Laurence des Cars, the former curatorial director of Agence France-Muséums, which consists of thirteen French museums that are collaborating on the project and loaning works to the Louvre Abu Dhabi, says the Middle Eastern museum proposes a new, global reading of art history. The 'multiple perspectives' introduced by the Louvre Abu Dhabi 'undoubtedly disrupt a certain world view that the West has imposed', she says.

The new Chimei Museum, which opened in Tainan in Taiwan in January 2015, also champions a universal approach. Established by Shi Wen-Long, the 87-year-old founder of the petrochemical Chi

Mei Group, the museum aims to bridge the gap between rich and poor. 'Mr. Shi's father was out of work for seventeen years; he grew up in a very poor family,' says Patricia Liao, the Deputy Director of the museum, adding that, 'One of the reasons we have a collection of Western art is so that people who can't afford an aeroplane ticket can see this kind of work.'

The 12,000-strong collection includes the 'most complete collection of Western fine art and sculpture in Asia', according to Liao, as well as musical instruments, weaponry and natural history (fig. 3). The first Chimei Museum opened in 1997, but was more of a storage site for the collection. Now, around 5,000 pieces are on view at any one time inside the new 40,000 sq. m building, which bears more than a passing resemblance to the Smithsonian Museum in Washington, DC.

More than half of the collection is dedicated to traditional European art. Highlights include a range of seventeenth- to nineteenth-century sculpture, including the first large-scale sculpture by George Frederic Watts created in around 1868, a bust of Michelangelo by Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse and several Rodins (fig. 4). The museum also has a large collection of Renaissance paintings, although most are by lesser-known artists.

'Mr Shi tends not to buy the most famous or valuable works of art because that would mean sacrificing ten other works,' Liao says. 'The aim is to present a complete view of Western art, not just a few highlights.'

Liao believes that older European art is a natural fit for Taiwan, which was colonised by the Spanish and Dutch in the seventeenth century. 'Taiwan was also exposed to classical music during the Japanese period 100 years ago, so children here tend to grow up playing the violin, piano or flute,' she says, pointing out that Shi is himself a keen violinist.

But Shi is the exception, not the rule. Despite the number of private collectors in places such as China, India, the Middle East and Brazil buying traditional Western art, there simply are not many museums dedicated to Old Masters in emerging economies. A limited supply of works, reams of red tape and the storage of assets overseas are all probable factors. But, with the opening of the Louvre Abu Dhabi and the Chimei Museum, perhaps more collectors in emerging countries will be encouraged to build new spaces to share their collections with the public.

Fig. 3. Interior of the Chimei Museum, Tainan,Taiwan

Opposite: Fig. 4. Interior of the Chimei Museum, Tainan, Taiwan

The following abbreviation has been used for ease of reference in the endnotes: CA– Colnaghi Archive.

Past

Chapter 3
Colnaghi, Bernard Berenson and Mrs. Gardner's first Botticelli

[1] See A. Chong, 'Isabella Gardner, Bernard Berenson and Otto Gutekunst', in *Colnaghi: The History*, 2010, p. 26.
[2] Quoted in R.N. Hadley (ed.), *The Letters of Bernard Berenson and Isabella Stewart Gardner*, Boston, 1987, p. 39.
[3] Chong, *loc. cit.*
[4] E. Samuels, *Bernard Berenson. The Making of a Connoisseur*, Cambridge, MA, 1979, p. 194.
[5] M. Secrest, *Being Bernard Berenson*, London, 1979, p. 120.
[6] See O. Tostmann, 'Bernard Berenson and America's Discovery of Sandro Botticelli', in *Botticelli 2015-1445*, exhibition catalogue, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin and Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 2016, p. 106.
[7] H. Ulmann, *Sandro Botticelli*, Munich, 1893, pp. 139-40.
[8] 'Italian Art at the New Gallery', *The Times*, 30th December 1893, p .13.
[9] 'Italian Art at the New Gallery', *The Times*, 4th January 1894, p. 7.
[10] 'Italian Art at the New Gallery', *The Times*, 4th January 1894, p. 7.
[11] The notebook is in the Berenson archives at Villa I Tatti. I am very grateful to their archivist, Ilaria della Monica, for this information.
[12] See B. Lindemann, 'Colnaghi, Bode and the Berlin Museum (Not Forgetting Friedländer)', in *Colnaghi: The History*, 2010, p. 21.
[13] Letter from Deprez to Ashburnham, 20th June 1894 (CA, Letter book no. Col 1/4/2).
[14] Letter from McKay to Ashburnham, 25th June 1894 (CA, Letter book no. Col 1/4/2).
[15] Samuels, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
[16] Letter from McKay to Ashburnham, 18th December 1894 (CA, Letter book no Col 1/4/2, f. 87).
[17] Letter from Colnaghi to Ashburnham, 20th December 1894 (CA, Letter book no. Col/1/4/2, f. 91).
[18] Private Ledger, 20th December 1894, p. 157 (CA).
[19] Hadley, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
[20] Samuels, *op. cit.*, p. 208.
[21] Letter from Gutekunst to Berenson, 31st January 1895 (CA, Letter book no Col 1/4/2. f.106)
[22] I am extremely grateful to Dr Nathan Silver, Assistant Curator of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, for sharing this piece of information.

Chapter 4
The Holland Turners: an epic sale and tale of collaboration

[1] Christie, Manson & Woods, *The Highly Important Collection of Modern Pictures and Water Colour Drawings of the Late Stephen G. Holland, Esq.*, 25th, 26th & 29th June 1908.
[2] 'Crowds at Christie's', *The Daily Telegraph*, 24th June 1908.
[3] 'Noble National Art', *The Daily Telegraph*, 23rd June 1908.
[4] 'London Gossip, News and Notes: Large Sums for Paintings', *The Evening Post*, 8th August 1908.
[5] M. Butlin and E. Joll, *The Paintings of J.M.W. Turner*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984, pp. 144-45, no. 235.
[6] 'London Gossip, News and Notes: Large Sums for Paintings', *The Evening Post*, 8 August 1908.
[7] 'The Holland Picture Sale', *The Times*, 26th June 1908.
[8] 'An Auction Record', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 26th June 1908.
[9] 'The Holland Collection', *The Art Journal,* 1908, pp. 251-52.
[10] 'London Letter', *American Art News*, 11th July 1908, p. 2.
[11] 'Forthcoming Auction Sales', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs,* December 1926, p. xli.
[12] Letter from Carstairs to Frick, 9th June 1908, Henry Clay Frick Papers, Series II: Correspondence, The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives. Frick purchased his first painting by Turner, *Falls of Clyde*, in 1898/9 from Arthur Tooth & Sons. He returned the work to the dealers in 1900 for a credit toward other purchases. In addition to Turner's *Antwerp: van Goyen looking out for a subject,* which Frick had acquired in 1901, he also owned *Fishing boats entering Calais Harbour* by the artist, which he bought in 1904. Both paintings were purchased from M. Knoedler & Co.
[13] Letter from Frick to Carstairs, 20th June 1908, Henry Clay Frick Papers, Series II: Correspondence, The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives.
[14] Cable from Carstairs to 'Friction' (Frick), 25th June 1908, Henry Clay Frick Art Collection Files, The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives.
[15] Letter from Frick to Carstairs, 26th June 1908, Henry Clay Frick Papers, Series II: Correspondence, The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives.
[16] Letter from William MacKay to Carstairs, 23rd April 1908 (CA, Letter book COL 1/4/9, f. 45). I am very grateful to Jeremy Howard, Head of Academic Projects at Colnaghi, for his assistance with this and much of the Colnaghi material held at the Colnaghi Archive at Windmill Hill, Waddesdon, Aylesbury.
[17] Last Will and Testament of Charles Stewart Carstairs, 22nd October 1909.
[18] Letter from Gutekunst to Carstairs, 22nd February 1908 (CA, Letter book COL 1/4/9, f. 17). I am grateful to Catherine Taylor and Nicholas Donaldson, archivists at the Waddesdon Archive, for their help with this and other Colnaghi archival material.
[19] In the same letter of 9th June 1908, in which Carstairs alerts Frick to the paintings of interest in the upcoming Holland Sale, he also asks for $125,000 in financial assistance 'in event of our needing it as I don't want to be bothered about money.' Although the specifics are unclear, Frick agrees to this in a letter to Carstairs dated 20th June 1908, Henry Clay Frick Papers, Series II: Correspondence, The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives.
[20] This payment is listed on 20th June 1908 in the Colnaghi Journal Account Book.
[21] 'Turner Paintings Coming', *New York Times*, 26th June 1908, p. C1.
[22] 'Supplementary Letter', *American Art News*, 15th August 1908, p. 2.
[23] Letter from Carstairs to Frick, 3rd July 1908, Henry Clay Frick Art Collection Files, The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives.
[24] Frick wrote to Carstairs on 3rd July 1908 acknowledging Carstairs's cable accepting Frick's offer for the painting (Henry Clay Frick Papers, Series II: General Letterpress Book Vol. 27). Frick did not pay for the painting, however, until late September as per an invoice of 30th September 1908 (Henry Clay Frick Art Collection Files, The Frick Collection/Art Reference Library Archives). According to measureingworth.com, £8,190 was equal to approximately $39,000, meaning Knoedler's profit was about $13,000.
[25] Letter from Carstairs to Frick, 21st July 1908, Henry Clay Frick Art Collection Files, The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives.
[26] This price and a purchase date of 20th August 1908 are recorded in Knoedler's stock books but Carstairs's letter to Frick confirms that Mellon had agreed to purchase the painting before this (Paintings Stock Book 5, p. 162, no. 11683, M. Knoedler & Co. records, approximately 1848-1971, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, accession no. 2012.M.54).
[27] D. Cannadine, *Mellon: An American life*, New York, 2006, pp. 129-32.
[28] M. Knoedler & Co., *Exhibition of Old Masters*, November-December 1908, see no. 5, p. 2.
[29] Letter from Carstairs to Mellon, 17th November 1908, Andrew Mellon Papers, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, Gallery Archives. I am obliged to Michele Willens, Deputy Chief and Senior Archivist, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, for her help in locating this letter.
[30] A notation in a Knoedler sales book suggests the firm had agreed originally to bid on behalf of Henry Reinhardt, a dealer in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, at the forthcoming Holland auction. An entry in a Knoedler sales book dated 'New York July 1908' lists Henry Reinhardt's name and Turner's paintings, *The storm* and *Morning after the storm*, accompanied by a note reading 'To Purchase at Holland Sale'. The prices paid by Colnaghi at auction are listed as well as a 10% commission fee and a fee for 'interest exchange'. Possibly Knoedler had agreed to bid on behalf of that firm for a commission. A scrawled 'Settled' written across the entry, may indicate that the deal was voided (Sales Book 9, p. 61, M. Knoedler & Co. records, approximately 1848-1971, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, accession no. 2012.M.54).
[31] An entry from September 1908 in a Knoedler stock book records *The storm* and *Morning after the storm* by Turner. While the pictures' provenance is listed as Colnaghi with the prices paid at auction, no mention is made of co-ownership (Sales Painting Stock Book 5, p. 162, M. Knoedler & Co. records, approximately 1848-1971, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, accession no. 2012.M.54). I am grateful to Sally McKay and Mahsa Hatam at The Getty Research Institute for their help with this material.
[32] Letter from Colnaghi to Hugh Blaker, 20th October 1908 (CA, Letter book COL 1/4/9, f. 100).
[33] Letter from Colnaghi to Hugh Blaker, 10th November 1908 (CA, Letter book COL 1/4/9, f. 117).
[34] Letter from Carstairs to Andrew Mellon, 17th November 1908, Andrew W. Mellon Papers, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, Gallery Archives.
[35] Blaker was the brother of the sisters' governess and became their primary art advisor.
[36] In a letter of 18th November 1908 addressed to one of the sisters (no first name is listed), Colnaghi's confirms receipt of payment and adds, 'We certainly hope to do business with you in the future.'
[37] As noted by Luke Hermann, in his essay 'The Davies sisters' Turners in Cardiff,' *The British Art Journal*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Autumn 2008), pp. 37-39.
[38] For more on the Davies sisters and their collection, see O. Fairclough, *'Things of Beauty': What Two Sisters Did for Wales,* ed. National Museum Wales Books, 2007.
[39] Andrew Mellon described the episode to Harrison Dwight during a visit to The Frick Collection in 1936 as per a letter from H. Dwight to Frederick Mortimer Clapp, dated 17th February 1941. The letter is contained in the Frick Curatorial Files for the painting.
[40] As per invoice of 29th May 1909, Henry Clay Frick Papers, Series I: Art Files, The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives. Knoedler's invoice to Mellon of 5th December 1908 showed a total price of $72,875.67. This included an interest charge (from 4th July to 14th December 1908) of $1,973.45 (Bill Book No. 2, Henry Clay Frick Art Collection Files, The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives). Carstairs later directed the Knoedler office to remove this charge. Thus, Frick paid Mellon $10,000 over the invoiced price.

[41] The exact amount of profit is difficult to determine since historical conversion rates between dollars and pounds vary. Knoedler's purchased the painting for £13,320 and sold it to Mellon for $70,902.22. According to measuringworth.com, £13,320 was equal to $64,430.10 in 1908, meaning that Colnaghi and Knoedler's would have split a profit of about $6,472.12 or £1,328.98. For the two smaller Turners, Colnaghi received a commission of £1,000 and gave £500 to Hugh Blaker for his part. Colnaghi would likely have then given some percentage of the remaining £500 to Knoedler's but the amount is not recorded.

[42] Frick would eventually acquire two more paintings by Turner: *The Harbour of Dieppe* and *Cologne: The arrival of a packet-boat: evening*. Both were painted in 1826 and purchased by Frick in 1914 from M. Knoedler & Co.

[43] Mellon purchased the painting, also titled *Mortlake Terrace* and painted in 1827, from Knoedler's in May 1920 for $100,000 (M. Knoedler & Co. records, approximately 1848-1971, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, accession no. 2012.M.54. Series I: Paintings Stock Book 6, p. 226, no. 15052). He would also purchase two other paintings by Turner: *Rotterdam ferry-boat*, 1833 and *Approach to Venice*, 1844. These were purchased from M. Knoedler & Co. in 1923.

Chapter 5

Virgin and Child enthroned with four angels by Piero della Francesca: Colnaghi and Robert Sterling Clark 1911-1930

[1] Williamstown, MA, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, *15th and 16th Century Paintings: Exhibit Eight*, 28th September 1957.

[2] Letter from Gutekunst to Clark, 21st June 1912 (CA).

[3] Letter from McKay to Trower, Still & Co., 23rd February 1912 (CA).

[4] Letter from Gutekunst to McKay, 1st May 1912 (CA).

[5] Letter from Gutekunst to F.C. Still, 10th May 1912 (CA).

[6] For key studies on Piero, see B. Berenson, *Piero della Francesca; o, Dell'arte non eloquente*, Florence, 1950, and M. Aronberg Lavin, *Piero della Francesca*, London, 2002. With regard to Piero's reputation in the first half of the twentieth century, Berenson (*op. cit.*, p. 10) comments, 'This mass admiration for Piero della Francesca, which started a quarter of a century ago, took me by surprise.'

[7] Letter from Gutekunst to Carstairs, 24th September 1912 (CA).

[8] Letter from Gutekunst to Carstairs, 24th September 1912 (CA).

[9] Clerk's entry, 7th August 1913, Financial Ledger, p. 422 (CA).

[10] The identification of the Virgin and Child with the Duchess of Urbino (Battista – and not Maddalena – Sforza) and her son Guidobaldo seems improbable given that the latter was only born in 1472 and the altarpiece is generally dated to 1460-70. This identification seems more plausible for the slightly later *Sacra Conversazione* by Piero (formally given to Fra Carnevale) in the Pinacoteca Brera, Milan. Executed between 1472 and 1474, it could have been commissioned to celebrate the birth of Guidobaldo by his father, Federico da Montefeltro, the Duke of Urbino, who is depicted kneeling on the right.

[11] Clerk's entry, 17th November 1913, Financial Ledger, p.125 (CA).

[12] N. Silver, *Piero della Francesca in America: From Sansepolcro to the East Coast*, exhibition catalogue, The Frick Collection, New York, 2013, p. 14.

[13] Silver, *loc. cit.*

[14] Financial Ledger: 'Removal of varnish and cleaning: £7.15', 25th April 1913 (CA).

[15] M. Conforti, *The Clark Brothers Collect: Impressionist and Modern Paintings*, exhibition catalogue, Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, 2006, pp. 44-45.

[16] Letter from Gutekunst to Clark, 6th May 1913 (CA).

[17] Letter from Gutekunst to Mayer, 29th October 1913 (CA).

[18] Letter from Gutekunst to Mayer, 29th October 1913 (CA).

[19] Letter from Gutekunst to Mayer, 29th October 1913 (CA).

[20] Conforti, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[21] Sterling and Stephen had already quarrelled in 1911 about the dispersal of the family pictures (Conforti, *op. cit.*, p. 41).

[22] A.R. Murphy, *Winslow Homer in The Clark Collection*, Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, 1986, p. 36.

[23] Conforti, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[24] M. Aronberg Lavin, *Piero della Francesca*, London, 2002, p. 5.

[25] Conforti, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[26] *Louis XVI, Directoire & Empire Furniture: Belonging to the Estate of the Late Mrs Robert Sterling Clark*, 23rd-24th September 1960, Sotheby Parke Bernet Galleries, New York.

[27] Letter from Gutekunst to Mayer, 29th October 1913 (CA).

[28] Conforti, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[29] Conforti, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[30] R. Longhi, *Piero della Francesca,* Milan, 1946, p. 80.

[31] Letter from Douglas to Frick, 5th September 1930, The Frick Collection / Frick Art Reference Library Archives.

[32] U. Gnoli, 'Una Tavola Sconosciuta di Piero della Francesca', *Dedalo*, Vol. XI, 1930, p. 133.

[33] Clark's Diary, 24th March 1937, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Archives.

[34] Duveen Brothers Scouting Report, 6th November 1931, Duveen Brothers Archive.

[35] Conforti, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[36] Letter from Gutekunst to Clark, 29th October 1926 (CA).

Chapter 6

Colnaghi in the era of James Byam Shaw

[1] C. White 'Colnaghi and James Byam Shaw', in *Colnaghi: The History,* 2010, p. 43.

[2] J. Byam Shaw, 'The Art Trade and the Museums of Great Britain: A Dealer's View', in *Museums Journal*, LXV, 1965, p. 187. The article was reprinted in *JBS. Selected Writings*, Colnaghi, 1968, pp. 136-42.

[3] There is a manuscript and a typescript for this article together with a folder of preparatory notes on the Holbein Drawings at Windsor Castle in the Colnaghi Archive (Col 1/6/1).

[4] J. Byam Shaw, *loc. cit.*

[5] J. Byam Shaw and I. Robertson, 'Sir Karl Parker and the Ashmolean', in *The Burlington Magazine*, CIV, 1962, p. 428.

[6] Letter from Byam Shaw to Robertson, 17th January 1965 (CA).

[7] Letter from Parker to Byam Shaw, 9th December 1948 (CA).

[8] Letter from Gutekunst to Berenson, 6th July 1916 (Berenson Archive, Villa I Tatti).

[9] The consignment note is in the Colnaghi Archive.

[10] Letter from Parker to Byam Shaw, 19th August 1948 (CA).

[11] Letter from Parker to Byam Shaw, 20th August 1948 (CA).

[12] Letter from Gutekunst to Parker, 13th October 1948 (Ashmolean Museum Archives).

[13] Letter from Parker to Gutekunst, 18th October 1948 (Ashmolean Museum Archives).

[14] Letter from Byam Shaw to Gutekunst, 20th October 1948 (Ashmolean Museum Archives).

[15] The problems relating to this donation, which has strong parallels with the difficulties faced by Parker at the Ashmolean, were first drawn to my attention by Nicholas Penny in a very entertaining lecture given at the 250th centenary study day at Colnaghi in 2010. The correspondence is in the National Gallery Archives.

[16] Letter from Gutekunst to Parker, 20th October 1948 (Ashmolean Museum Archives).

[17] Letter from Parker to Gutekunst, 9th October 1948 (Ashmolean Museum Archives).

[18] Letter from Parker to Byam Shaw, 15th December 1948 (CA).

[19] Letter from Parker to Gutekunst, 15th July 1953 (Ashmolean Museum Archives).

[20] Letter from Gutekunst to Parker, 29th April 1957 (Ashmolean Museum Archives).

Present

Chapter 2

Resurrecting Spanish polychrome sculpture

[1] *The Evening Standard,* 22nd October 2009.

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Chapter 1

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Chapter 2

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Chapter 5

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Present

Chapter 1

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Fig. 8. Coll & Cortés, Madrid.
Fig. 9. Coll & Cortés, Madrid.

Chapter 2

Fig. 1. Room 4 of the Sainsbury Wing Exhibition, *The Sacred Made Real: Spanish Painting and Sculpture 1600-1700*. X6152 de Mena, viewed from behind, is in the foreground. © The National Gallery, London.
Fig. 2. Coll & Cortés, Madrid.
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Chapter 4

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Future

Chapter 1

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Chapter 2

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