“Clowes Collection Catalogue” (unpublished typed manuscript, 1968) by Mark Roskill

Preferred Citation: Mark Roskill, “Clowes Collection Catalogue” (unpublished manuscript), 1968, Clowes Registration Archive, Indianapolis Museum of Art.
The present catalogue deals with the paintings on display at Westerley, Indianapolis: a major private collection, of works from the fourteenth through the nineteenth centuries, which is now administered by the Clowes Fund Incorporated and has been open to the public on a regular basis since 19.

The majority of the paintings catalogued are ones acquired by Dr. George Henry Alexander Clowes (1877 - 1958) between 19 and his death. For an account of Dr. Clowes's life and his activities as a collector, the interested reader is referred to the Introduction to the catalogue of the Memorial Exhibition held at the John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis in 1959. Also included are a number of paintings which were acquired by Mrs. Edith Clowes prior to her own death in 1967, and which form part of the total collection.

The catalogue does not cover works of sculpture, manuscript illuminations and Oriental and other decorative objects in the collection, since they contribute only in a secondary way to the character of the Clowes home and were acquired for that sort of purpose. Also excluded are two English portraits (by Beechey and Kettle) belonging to Allen W. Clowes; a small number of paintings (mostly minor) which raise special problems of condition or attribution; and a group of drawings to which the same applies. In the latter two cases a checklist of the works in question has been included in the form of an appendix, and comment sheets on the works have been deposited in the files of the collection.

The format of the entries is self-explanatory. The attributions given at the head of each entry are those of the collection. The biographical entries for each artist that follow are modelled on those in the catalogues of the National Gallery, London, the Kress Collection and the Metropolitan Museum, New York (and are heavily indebted to those sources).

Under Condition, detailed comments are made
only in those cases where technical reports and reliable information was available. It was not possible to undertake a technical examination of all of the pictures, and the remaining remarks under this heading are therefore limited to comments of the briefest kind, where this was appropriate and the condition reasonably self-evident.

Under Provenance, the records in the Clowes archives have in a number of cases been modified or expanded on the basis of additional information. The date of acquisition is given in each case. Literature goes up to the end of 1968, and includes cases where the work was reproduced without comment. Under Exhibited, the memorial exhibition of October-November 1959 (Paintings from the Collection of George Henry Alexander Clowes, John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis) is referred to throughout by the abbreviation "Ind., 1959", followed by the catalogue number. A few standard abbreviations are also used under these headings: e.g. Bull. (Bulletin); Burl. Mag. (Burlington Magazine); but in general references have been given in full in each entry.

In the discussion section, certificates, opinions recorded in the Clowes files and ones sought by the compiler are all included. At the same time final responsibility for judgements made here rests with the compiler. The aim of these sections is to arrive at the most accurate possible attribution for each work, and also to include remarks on subject-matter, the identification of sitters, dating and other similar questions that may be of interest to the general reader as well as to the specialist. For reasons of space, it was decided not to include color descriptions of each work. Supporting footnotes are used for references sources and also for information and discussion of a more peripheral or supplementary kind.

The writer was invited by the Clowes Fund in 1965 to act as consultant to the collection and compile the present catalogue. He is most grateful to Allen W. Clowes for help of every kind, and to him and his mother, before her death, for their hospitality at their home.

Thanks are also due to those who have given information, opinions and advice in the course of the
compiler's researches in particular to five former colleagues at the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Everett Fahy, Sydney Freedberg, Elizabeth Jones, Charles Kuhn and Seymour Slive; and also to Sir Anthony Blunt, Diana Bentley-Cranach, Felton Gibbons, P. Grossmann, Michael Jaffé, Evelyn Joll of Aṇgnews, Robert Koch, Drs. Kerslake and Strong of the National Portrait Gallery, London, Sir Karl Parker, Philip Pouncey, Graham Reynolds, A. Sánchez-Pérez and X. de Salas of the Prado and Egon Verheyen. Opinions from these helpers, where used in individual entries, are cited with their kind permission.

Mark Roskill

December 1968
Italian Paintings
FRA ANGELICO
Florentine school, ca. 1400 - 1455.

This artist was born Guido di Pietro da Vicchio (Vicchio is in the Mugello). The date of his birth, given by Vasari as around 1386-87, is now placed by the findings of Orlandi around 1400-02. He entered the Dominican friary of San Domenico, near Fiesole, around 1420-22, and from then on was known as Fra Giovanni. He lived for a considerable time in the friary at Fiesole and eventually became its friar. He probably received his training as a painter under Lorenzo Monaco or another artist of that generation in Florence. The first references to his activity as an artist come in 1417-18, and the earliest works of his which are documented and extant are of the later 1420s. He is recorded as working in Orvieto in 1447, and worked a great deal in Rome during the last decade of his life. He is now commonly called in Italian "Il Beato Angelico". He does not seem to have been formally beatified, but his tombstone calls him "Venerable", and the sobriquet "Angelico" was perhaps used already in his lifetime as a term of praise -- it is so used in Landino's 1481 edition of Dante.

Nativity
tempera on panel, 10 x 20 ins.

Condition
Examined by the Conservation Dept. of the Fogg Art Museum in 1935. Reported by them to be seriously abraded all over and extensively repainted, especially in the sky.

Provenance
Kilenyi family, Hungary (?); Ercole Canessa, New York; American Art Association sale, New York, Jan.11-13, 1934, no.537. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19

Exhibited
B.M.Colln. 1937, 24; New York, 1939, p.16 (ill.)
Versions


2. Sotheby's sale, June 14, 1961, no. 100 (ill.); from the colln. of the Duke of Sachsen-Weiingen. 74×17 ins. There are angels here on top of the cave.

3. Vatican Gallery, Rome, no. 255. 23.5×49 cm. Quite close to the Clowes version in the position of the Madonna and Child and the shape of the cave; the animals are also similar.

Certified by W. Suida (1934) as a work of Fra Angelico, around 1439-40 (7). He was followed in this opinion by G. Glück and R. Eisenberger (1934 also) (6); L. Venturi at the same time suggested Domenico di Michelino — a pupil of Fra Angelico's (5). Panofsky, however (1942), gave the work to the school of Lorenzo Monaco, comparing the painting in the Vatican Gallery (see above) (5).

In view of the condition of the painting (q.v.), it is not possible to go beyond Panofsky's opinion. Essentially this panel is based, in its composition, on the Lorenzo Monaco predella panel of the same subject in Trinità, Florence, which forms part of this artist's altarpiece of the Annunciation. As noted by E. Fahy (orally, 1966) it is also related to the corresponding predella panel of Gentile da Fabriano's altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi. In view of this, it may not be Florentine.
Notes.


2. According to information given at the time of purchase.

3. It was in a columniated frame which carried below the inscription "IPSUM QUEM GEMVIT ADORAVIT MARIA" (see the reprodn. in the sale cat.), and was certified as a Fra Angelico by Prof. Giacomo di Nichola.


7. Expertise of June 25, 1934, Clowes archives. The picture is identified there as the "nostre Donna piccola" mentioned by Vasari (Le Vite, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878-85, II, p.512) as belonging to the steward of the Innocenti Hospital in Florence. It is claimed that Vasari stated that this steward, Bartolommeo Gondi, also owned three other paintings by Fra Angelico ("un quadro grande, un piccolo ed una croce"); and a reconstruction is offered on this basis, connecting the Clowes picture with the Crucifixion in the Accademia, Florence, and the Birth of the Baptist in the Uffizi. In fact Vasari names Don Vincenzo Borghini as the steward who owned the Madonna painting, and Gondi as the owner of the remaining works in question.
Notes, cont.

8. Docs. of Jul. 7 and 19, 1934 (Clowes archives).

9. This opinion is cited in the 1934 sales cat.

10. Letter to Dr Clowes, Nov. 12, 1942.

GIOVANNI BARONZIO
School of Rimini, fourteenth century.

This artist came from Rimini. Works of his are dated 1344 and 1345, but he must have been active over several decades. A pupil of Giuliano da Rimini, he was much influenced subsequently by Byzantine art. Cavallini and Giotto.

St Francis receiving the Stigmata
tempera on panel, 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) × 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) ins.
Colln. Edith Clowes

Condition
Treated for blistering in June 1934 by Stephen S. Richetto, New York. Minor losses of paint along the bottom edge. From an infra-red photograph (Clowes archives) the mountain, trees and robe of the friar appear to have been reinforced.

Provenance
Bourgeois Gallery, New York; Minneapolis Institute of Art (acquired in 1914 as gift of Angus W. Morrison; sold in 1958); Newhouse Galleries, New York; Acquired by Mrs Clowes in 1959.

Literature
This panel is clearly by the same hand as the six scenes from the Life of Christ in the Accademia, Venice, and the five related scenes in the Berlin Museum, which are now generally accepted as being the work of an early fourteenth century artist of the school of Rimini. Originally published by Breck[1] as a school of Giotto work, it was then catalogued by the Minneapolis Institute as a Giottesque work of the school of Rimini. Siren (1914) had meanwhile attributed it to Pietro da Rimini — an attribution which was subsequently repeated by A. Cohara (1934) and Suida (1939)[3]. Van Marle, however (1924) described it as executed under Baronzio's influence, and Offner (1926)[5] called it a work of the Romagnole school, possibly by Baronzio. L. Venturi (1932) was the first to attribute it specifically to Baronzio[4]. Berenson then (1936) listed it as a Baronzio, and this attribution was more recently confirmed by F. Zeri (1961)[5].

The small size of the panel, its subject and its embossed gold background imply that it formed part of a cycle of scenes similar to the one comprising the Accademia and Berlin panels[2]. The Giottesque character of the work suggests a date some time in the first half of the fourteenth century[1].

Two years before his death, St Francis retired to the Monte la Verna. There, as he knelt in prayer on a lonely part of the mountain, a seraph with six flaming wings appeared to him, carrying between these wings the effigy of the crucified Christ; and the five wounds of Christ were miraculously imprinted upon the saint's hands, feet and sides. Francis's companion Brother Leo is shown to the right, here, absorbed in reading in front of a small oratory.
Notes.

1. They were grouped together by M. Salmi ("La Scuola di Rimini, III", Rivista del R. Instituto d'Archeologia, 5, 1935, pp. 106ff.) under the name of the "Master of the Parry Nativity" — the reference here being to the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi in the Gambier-Parry colln. (Provisional cat., Courtauld Institute of Art, 1967, no. 117). Cf. also C. Brandi, Mostra della Pittura Riminese del Trecento, Rimini, Jun.-Sept. 1935, under no. 22. Siren had earlier given the Gambier-Parry panel to Baronzio (op. cit., pp. 314ff.), and Berenson in 1936 put all of the works mentioned under this artist's name. A. Toesca (Storia dell'Arte Italiana, 2 vols, Turin, 1927-51, II, Il Trecento, p. 729, n. 256) has denied the grouping in question, but it has since been reaffirmed by C. Volpi (La Pittura Riminese del Trecento, Milan, 1965, p. 48, no. 95). The attribution here to Baronzio depends upon resemblance to the two signed works by this artist: the polyptych at the Galleria Nazionale di Urbino (L. Serra, Il Palazzo Ducale e la Galleria Nazionale di Urbino, Rome, 1930 ed., pp. 64f., ill.) and the Crucifix in the Church of S. Francesco, Mercatello; and therefore needs to be made with some reservation.

2. A. Cobara, letter of Nov. 1934; Suida, oral opinion, 1939 (information from the Minneapolis Institute files).

3. Oral opinion recorded by the Frick Art Reference Library.

4. Oral opinion, recorded in the Minneapolis Institute files.


6. Berenson (see Lit.) also attributed to Baronzio two panels in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (NG 837-38) where the present subject takes last place after scenes from the Passion of Christ.

7. Breck (see Lit.) dated the panel ca. 1330.
DOMENICO BECCAFUMI
Siennese school, 1486 (?) – 1551.

The leading Mannerist painter of Siena. According to Vasari, his real name was Mecherino, and he took the name of Beccafumi from an early patron of his. Vasari says that he died in 1549 at the age of 65. However, there is documentary evidence that he actually died in 1551. On the premise, therefore, that Vasari was correct about his age when he died, his date of birth is put in 1486. There are documented works of his from 1513 on—by which time he had paid a visit to Rome. For the rest of his life, apart from visits to Genoa and Pisa, he remained working in Siena. He was involved there, from 1517 on, in designing the marble pavement of the Cathedral.

John the Baptist and Francis
oil on panel, each panel 12 1/2 x 4 3/4 ins.
Wings of a triptych, the centrepiece of which consists of a Madonna and Child in a Tabernacle, in carved and polychromed wood, 12 ½ x 8 ½ ins.
Colln. Edith Clowes.

Provenance

Literature

Exhibited
Baltimore, 1961 (see lit.).
Certified by E. Sandberg-Vavalà (1960) as a work by Beccafumi; she cited J. Pope-Hennessy to the effect that the centrepiece was by a follower of Jacopo della Quercia (Sienese, 1374/5-1438). Coor (1961) justly noted that this is a composite work. The sculpture she identified as Querciesque-Nerocciesque — comparing Quercia's wooden group in S. Martino, Siena; the wings as later, very different in character, and remote from the art of Beccafumi. She identified the right-hand saint as St. Francis, rather than St. Anthony as had previously been supposed. Pouncey (1966) suggested that the wings should be labelled Umbrian school, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century; they have a provincial, Signorellian character.

The whole forms an interesting example of a composite devotional triptych, consisting of a wooden sculpted centrepiece and two painted wings. This combination may well go back to the sixteenth century.

Notes.

1. Doc. in Clowes archives.

2. E. Carli, Scultura Lignea Senese, Milan, 1951, fig.121.

3. Statement to the compiler.
GIOVANNI BELLINI

Venetian school, ca. 1430 – 1516.

The leading Venetian artist of his generation, Giovanni Bellini was the son of the painter Jacopo Bellini and brother of Gentile, who was probably older than he. The date of his birth is purely conjectural, and there is an equal problem concerning the chronology of his early paintings — the first signed and dated works being of 1487–88. According to a reported document of 1459, he was at that time living apart from his father and brother, which would suggest that he was by then independent. The presumption is that he was trained by his father, and remained connected with his father's workshop until Jacopo's death in 1470–71. A more fundamental influence upon his art, however, was that exercised by Andrea Mantegna, who had married his sister in 1454. He lived and worked in Venice all his life. In 1479 he took over from Gentile the execution of a cycle of history paintings in the Doge's Palace (destroyed in 1577), and subsequently became the State's chief painter. His official work included altarpieces, devotional works and portraits of the Doges. He maintained a large workshop, consisting of pupils and assistants working with varying degrees of independence, and the inscription IOANNES BELLINUS (found in a number of variant forms) is simply the identifying stamp of this workshop, rather than an autograph signature. The workshop specialized particularly in the production of "Madonna paintings", evolving under Giovanni's guidance, a large number of designs, which then served as the basis for innumerable repetitions, with and without variations. This makes the problem of attribution extremely difficult.

After 1500 Giovanni's work expanded in a direction comparable to that taken by Giorgione and the young Titian.
Madonna and Child
oil on panel, 21 x 16½ ins.

Provenance
Jules S. Beche, New York; Beche sale, Kende Galleries, New York, Apr. 23, 1945, no. 20. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19

Literature

Versions
1. Kress Foundation, New York, on loan to Kansas City Art Museum (formerly in colln. of Nicholas F. Brady, Mershon, Long Island). 29½ x 22½ ins, transferred to canvas. (Heinemann no. 45 and fig. 72) Insr., JOANNESE BELLINUS on the parapet. Without curtain, so that there is open landscape to the rear on both sides of the figure group; castle to the left.

2. National Gallery, Washington, no. 373 (formerly in the Wesendonck colln., Bonn; on loan for many years to the Landesmuseum, Bonn). 30½ x 21½ ins. (Heinemann no. 45(a) and fig. 213). Insr., JOANNESE BELLINUS on the parapet. Without curtain; castle building to the left, tree to the right.

3. Formerly in the colln. of William Salomon, New York. 30½ x 21½ ins. (Heinemann no. 49 and fig. 51). Curtain at the right; castle to the left.


Exhibited
Ind., 1959, no. 5
Sold in 1945 with certificates from R. Longhi and G. Gronau, and a supporting letter from D. von Hadeln (all of 1928). Further certified to be a Bellini at that time by H. Tietze, W. R. Valentiner, W. Suida and L. Venturi. Longhi suggested a date of around 1480, and Valentiner one of around 1485-87. Tietze-Conrat (1948) judged the Cloves painting to be the earliest of the existing versions and an integral production of Giovanni Bellini's. She suggested a date of around 1487 for the invention of the composition by Bellini, by analogy with the _Madonna degli Alberetti_, dated that year.

Suida later (1952) called the Kansas City version the best example of the composition, and classified the Cloves version as a somewhat earlier variant. Heinemann catalogued the painting as a copy of the Kansas City version, in the style of Catena. F. Gibbons (1962) singled out the Kansas City version as the strongest one, and dated it around 1490. The Cloves version is in fact closest to the "Washington one," the face of the Virgin is more drily painted and the mouth is smaller. These features point to its being the work of a Bellini follower, to whom the design was handed over; and Heinemann's suggestion of Catena (active ca. 1480-1531) deserves consideration in this connection.

Notes.

1. In the 1945 sale cat. the painting is said to have belonged previously to Count Alessandro Contini-Bonacossi, Rome. According to Heinemann, however (1962, no.45(b)), the Contini-Bonacossi version is a different one, signed and dated 1480. He gives its earlier provenance as Lochis colln., Bergamo; Maazza colln., Milan (sold 1864); and states that it is now in the colln. of F. A. Ghedini, Bologna. For further references to the Contini-Bonacossi version, see G. Gronau, Giovanni Bellini, Klassiker der Kunst, Stuttgart, 1930, p.212, under nos.127-28, where this version ("formerly in Milan") is said to be by Bellini and a forerunner of the Bonn version; and R. van Marle, The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting, 19 vols, The
Hague, 1923-38, XVII, 1935, p. 294, where it was given to the Bellini shop.

22. Heinemann's supposition that the work subsequently passed into the Gimbel colln., New York appears to rest on a misunderstanding of Tietze-Conrat's already mistaken statement (1948, p. 379) that the Bache sale took place "at Gimbel's".

3. See n.1. Heinemann lists three other versions which are less relevant, in that they reflect only the Bellini composition, and that much less directly.

4. Longhi, document of May 1928; Gronau, doc. of Sept. 3, 1928; von Hadeln, doc. of Nov. 3, 1928, stating that in his view this was to be taken as the lost original referred to in his article "Kopien eines verschollenen Originals Giovanni Bellinis", Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, N. F. 31, 1909-10, pp. 139ff.

5. Tietze and Valentiner, docs. of Jun. 18, 1945; Suida, letter of Oct. 22, 1945, concurring with Longhi's opinion; 'enturi, doc. of Dec. 5, concurring also (Clowes archives).

GIOVANNI BELLINI (cont.)

Madonna, Child and Infant St John
oil on panel, 30 x 23 ins.
Signed on the cartello on the parapet.

Provenance
Schatzker colln., Vienna; Berlin art market, 1932 (?)
Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19 .

Literature

Versions
1. Staedel Institute, Frankfurt, no. 653; (formerly in the Baronowsky colln., Vienna). 28½ x 35½ ins. (Reinemund no. 118 (a) and fig. 239) Inscr. JOANNES BELLINUS. With Sts John the Baptist shown as an adult -- and Elizabeth; without heads of cherubim. Set outdoors.

2. Palazzo Ducale, Urbino, no. 643. 27¾ x 35½ ins. (Reinemund no. 118 (b) and fig. 740) With the same figures as (1).

3. John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis; formerly in Trotti colln., Paris. 30 x 23½ ins. (Reinemund no. 118 (n) and fig. 296) Madonna and Child only; curtain to rear.

Exhibited
Museum of Fine Arts, Exhib. of Paintings, Sculpture and Graphic Arts, June-Nov. 1936; Renaissance Gallery, no. 9; Ind., 1959, no. 4.
Versions (cont)

4. Last recorded in Schlossmuseum, Berlin. Dimensions unknown. (Heinemann no.118(i) and fig.301). Inscr. on parapet: "Alunno Latentio P. (by Lattanzio da Rimini). Madonna and Child only; background of a single color (sky)?"

First published by Suise (1935). He had earlier certified it to be by "Bellini", and this attribution was confirmed by G. Glück, G. Gronau, G. Ficocco and M. J. Friedländer (1932 also). Considered by Berenson (1957) to be by a close follower of Bellini. Heinemann (1962) classified it as a workshop version of a lost Bellini original of around 1490-95, attributing the central group to Girolamo di Santa Croce. According to F. Gibbons (1965) it is probably by Lattanzio da Rimini, working on a design of Bellini's.

Comparison with the Madonna and Child in the Herron Institute, Indianapolis, with Lattanzio's name on it (see under versions) suggests that this latter attribution may well be right. Certainly the inscription in this case simply represents a public avowal of "Bellini's primary responsibility for the work -- and one that was put on all major workshop products, irrespective of their true authorship."

There are similar angels in the sky in the Madonna and Child with Cherubim in the Accademia, Venice (no.612/70); and, as Heinemann noted, the Infant St John appears in the same place and pose in a Bellini composition known, e.g., from the version in the National Gallery, London (no.3540), ascribed to Catena.

Notes.

1. These two pieces of information are taken from Heinemann (see Lit.). At the time of purchase, the Closer's picture was

Penofsky noted the possibly emblematic significance of the colors here. According to Cesare Ripa's Iconologia of 1593, winter could be represented with a bluish garment, fire with a red one; and pink (the color of the three cherubim round the angel's head) signified the "amor per Dio."
simply listed as coming from an "Austrian private colln."

21 Heinemann lists numerous other versions, both with saints and with the Madonna and Child only; but they are either not reproduced or not relevant to the Clowes painting.

3. Suida, cert. of May 1932, Baden bei Wien; Glück, doc. of May 16, 1932; Gronau, doc. of Jun. 26, 1932 (citing the resemblances to pls. 156-158 in his book Giovanni Bellini, Klassiker der Kunst, Stuttgart, 1930; and also pl. 190 there, a copy by Pietro Duja); Fiocco, doc. of Sept. 7, 1932; Friedländer, doc. of Sept. 10, 1932.

4. Gibbons mistakenly cited the Clowes version as being at Indiana Univ. For his opinion of the Frankfurt version (which he considers to be the best, though not necessarily by Bellini) and of the Urbino version, which he gives to Lattanzio, see pp. 147, 149 of that article. He proposed that use of the design in question was shared by Lattanzio and Rondinelli.


7. Letter to Dr Clowes, Nov. 10, 1942.
AGNOLO BRONZINO
Florentine school, 1503-1572

This artist, whose true name was Agnolo di Cosimo di Mariano, customarily signed documents "Il Bronzino", and on one occasion specifically referred to himself as "Agnolo di Cosimo, called Bronzino". He was born at Monticelli, near Florence. According to Vasari, he was a pupil of Raffaellino del Garbo, and subsequently of Pontormo. He did his first independent work around 1526, and in 1530-32 worked as an assistant on the decoration of the Villa Imperiale at Cesaro. Subsequently he worked with Pontormo for some years -- assisting him in decorating the Medici villas at Careggi and Castello between 1535 and 1543 -- and was directly affected in his own work by this association. At the same time, from 1532 on, he became increasingly involved with portraiture. He became, in effect, around 1540, official painter to the Florentine ducal court. He visited Rome in 1546-47, but spent almost the whole of his life in Florence. Besides making tapestry designs and writing verses, he did paintings of many different kinds, but his fame rests primarily on his portraits.

Portrait of a Lady
oil on canvas, 48 x 37½ in.

Provenance
Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19

Acquired as a Bronzino. The identity of the sitter is unknown. P. Pouncey made the attractive suggestion (1966) that this portrait may rather be the work of Jacopo Zucchi (ca.1541 - 1589/90). According to Baglione, Zucchi did portraits for Ferdinand de' Medici in Rome (1) -- i.e. between 1572 and his
death. None of these portraits has been identified, and the attribution must therefore remain tentative. At the same time, comparison can be made with the ladies of the court portrayed in Zucchi's Fishing for Coral (Borghese Gallery, Rome\(^2\)); another version in Borletti colln., Milan, and with the portrait of Ferdinand in the foreground of his Mass of Gregory X (S. Trinita dei Pellegrini, Rome) and with the facial type of the Madonna in the Madonna and Child in S. Clemente, Rome (upper church). The patterning of the drapery also closely resembles that found in Zucchi's Amor and Psyche, dated 1589 (Borghese Gallery). The portrait certainly appears Roman rather than Florentine in character.

Notes.

1. Eleanor of Toledo was suggested at the time of acquisition (note in Clowes archives), by analogy with Bronzino's Uffizi portrait of her (A. McComb, Agnolo Bronzino, His Life and Works, Cambridge, Mass., 1928, pl. 39); but this is quite unconvincing.

2. Orally, to the compiler, 1966.


4. The first of the comparisons that follow was made by Pouncey, the remainder by E. Pillsbury, who is strongly inclined to accept Pouncey's attribution for the Clowes painting (letters to the compiler, Jan.-Feb. 1967).


6. Oil on canvas, ca. 6 x 3½ ft. Attributed to Zucchi by Pouncey (1966)

7. Voss, op. cit., pl. 114
Michelangelo Merisi was born in Caravaggio, between Milan and Brescia. His father was the majordomo and architect of the Marquis of Caravaggio. He was apprenticed at the age of eleven to the Milanese painter Simone Peterzano, and this apprenticeship appears to have continued for five or six years. According to Mancini, he arrived in Rome at the age of about 20; and the sources agree that he assisted for a while Giuseppe Cesari, known as the Cavaliere d'Arpino, the leading fresco painter in Rome. Lombard, Bergamasque and Venetian painting all contributed to the formation of his art. He was already "very famous" by 1597. His major patron in Rome was the Cardinal del Monte; and he did paintings for a number of churches there. From 1600 on he was involved in numerous lawsuits. In May 1606 he was forced to flee from Rome, after wounding a man in a fight. He stayed in Naples briefly, probably in 1607, and then moved to Malta, from which in turn he fled to Syracuse in October 1608. On his return to Naples in 1609 he was wounded in another armed fight, but recovered and sailed to Port' Ercole. He died there in July 1610. His art had a tremendous influence in the North during the early seventeenth century, as well as in Italy itself.

Sleeping Eros
oil on canvas, 25 3/4" x 41 3/4 ins.

Condition
Altered at one time to show a sleeping Christ-Child. Cleaning revealed the two wings, the bow with its string loose, the arrow and quiver (in place of a crown of thorns). An X-ray revealed a head akin to that of St Lucy in Caravaggio's Martyrdom of St Lucy of 1608 in Syracuse. There are a number of pentimenti.

The left foot appears to have been altered. The general appearance of the picture suggests that its condition is not good and that it has been considerably restored.
Provenance
Private colln., Ireland; New York art market. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19 ... 

Literature

Exhibited
Ind., 1959, no. 13; Detroit, 1965 (see under lit.) ; 

Versions
Palazzo Pitti, Florence; Sleeping Putto, 27½ x 41 ins. (Friedlander no. 38A and pl. 53). Inscr. on back "Opera di Michelangelo Meresse da Caravaggio i[n] Malta 1608". Overpainted to make the figure a Christ-Child. From the colln. of the Grand Duke of Tuscany; in Florence by 1618.

Certified by Friedlander as a Caravaggio (1948 and 1950). Also certified by L. Venturi (1949), with a suggested date of 1600-5. Friedlander subsequently published the painting as an autograph Caravaggio (1955). He suggested that it was painted around 1608 --the date on the back of the Pitti version-- for one of the Knights of Malta, and that the Pitti version, rather than this one, could be the duplicate. Since then, scholarly opinion has inclined to the view that the Clowes painting is by a South Italian follower of Caravaggio's. The compiler considers it particularly close to the work of Giovanni Battista Caracciolo, called Battistello (Napoleitan school, ca. 1570-1637). A directly comparable painting of a Sleeping Cupid, attributable 

Exhibited
Ind., 1959, no. 13; Italian and Spanish paintings from the Clowes Collection, Indiana University Museum of Art, Bloomington, 1962, no. 22; Detroit, 1965 (see lit.); Gods and Heroes, Baroque Images of Antiquity, Wildenstein, New York, Oct. 1968 - Jan. 1969, no. 3 (cat. by E. Williams)
to Carraciolo, is at Hampton Court; it appears similar in technique and character.

The correspondence with the Pitti version extends to every element of the imagery except the wooden board (which became the stem of the Cross). A copy of the Pitti version by Giovanni Manozzi, with a swan beside the Cupid — on the facade of the Palazzo dell'Antella in Florence, painted in 1619 — is recorded by Baldinucci.

The subject of the sleeping Cupid, with wings and unstrung bow, goes back to ancient sculpture.

Notes.

1. See Friedlander's entry for these comments.

2. Moir noted the weakness of the left foot; the remaining comments on condition are based on notes taken by S. Slive at the Detroit exhbn. (communicated orally to the compiler).

3. Information given at time of acquisition.


5. See Moir's comments (1965). Other visitors to the Detroit exhbn. expressed the same view. Moir subsequently (1967) called the Clowes version an "excellent copy" of the Pitti version.

6. See, for this artist, Moir, 1967, pp. 159ff. Hibbard and Lewine introduced the name of Caracciolo in their review of the Detroit exhbn., but it is difficult to attach any precise meaning to their phrase "circle of Caracciolo"; it appears to amount simply to an attribution to a South Italian follower of Caravaggio's.

7. No. 1107, 36½ x 49½ ins. From the Gonzaga colln. at Mantua. See M. Levey, Late Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen, Phaidon Press, 1964, pp. 68ff., no. 422.
Notes, cont.

The right arm lies across the front here, the left arm crosses to the right shoulder and the attributes lie below to the right. A loose derivation from the Pitti painting is noted in that entry; and also the existence of the Clowes version and two further versions with a landscape background (Sabin Gallery, London, 1956, as Orazio Gentileschi; and colln. Miss E.H. Bayard, Baltimore). There is also a Nitz Bayard child in bronze in the Museo Nazionale, Alermo; but the photograph of it is the worst kind. It is incredible.


9. As noted by Moir (1965). Williams (1963) suggested that Caravaggio might have known a 17th-century bronze or marble statuette, or the "antique" Cupid made by Michelangelo in his youth.
The first outstanding painter of the Sienese school, Duccio was active chiefly in Siena itself. He is first mentioned in a document of 1278 which refers to him as a painter, and therefore implies that he was at least 20-25. Further decorative projects are mentioned in documents of 1279-1295. A document of April 15, 1285 deals with a commission which was almost certainly to paint the Rucellai Madonna from S. Maria Novella, now in the Uffizi; so that by that date Duccio was a fully formed artist. In October 1308 he was commissioned to paint his most famous work, the Maestà for Siena Cathedral -- also referred to in supplementary documents up to June 1311, when it was placed in the cathedral. Documents of 1318-19 strongly suggest that the artist was dead by this time. Duccio was evidently in touch with Florentine art -- specifically that of Cimabue -- by 1285. Besides absorbing the characteristic features of Byzantine art, he also appears to have been affected by the new classicism and humanism of Gothic sculptures in the main Tuscan centres (especially Pisa).

Madonna and Child

Tempera on panel, 24½ x 20½ ins.

Condition

Damaged at the bottom. Weigelt (see lit.) published a photograph showing the earlier falsification of this damaged area. The halo is still reinforced, but otherwise the work is in good condition.

Provenance

Count Sighard von Enzenberg; Schloss Tatzberg, Austria; Silberman Galleries, New York. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 193...
Literature

Exhibited

Certified as a work of Duccio's by W. Suida, G. Fiocco and O. Siren (1935). Van Marle also accepted it as a Duccio prior to his publication of it as such (1936); he dated it around 1303-8, and compared it with the Madonna in the Pinacoteca, Perugia. Weigelt (also 1936) reported the view of her late husband, Curt Weigelt, that it was by Segna. She compared the Madonna in the Siena Pinacoteca. Coor attributed the painting to the so-called Badia a Isola master, a close follower of Duccio. She compared the Madonna in the Siena Pinacoteca (no. 593), and the fragment of a Madonna and Child in the Centraal Museum Utrecht (no. 572), and suggested that the Clowes work was likely to be based on a lost Duccio of around 1300. The compiler concurs with that attribution. The Badia a Isola Master takes his name from a Madonna and Child with Two Angels at St. Salvatore, Badia a Isola. After serving as an assistant in Duccio's workshop, he probably produced his first independent painting, the work in question, shortly before 1300; and he was then active for at least a further decade.

Notes.
1. These comments are taken from Coor (see lit.)
2. Reproduced by Weigelt (see lit.) as being in that colln.--which it no longer than was
Notes, cont.


5. C. Brandi, La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena, Rome, 1933, p. 165, ill. Coor, fig. 1.

6. Van Marle, op. cit., II, fig. 45.

Holy Family
tondo, oil on panel, 32 ins. in diam.
Colln. Edith Clowes.

Condition
A fissure down the center has been repaired.

Provenance
Baron Raoul Kuffner, Castle Dáoszegh, Czechoslovakia;
Drey Gallery, New York. Acquired by Mrs Clowes in 19

Literature
E. Fehy, "The 'Master of the Naumburg Madonna'", Fogg
p.17, cat.no.3.

Exhibited
Allen R. Hite Art Institute, Louisville, Kentucky, Oct. 1954

A work reflecting the style of Filippino Lippi
(1457 (?) - 1504). Fehy has grouped this painting with a
number of other works which he sees as being by the same
unknown artist, working in the orbit of Lorenzo da Credi
and Filippino Lippi around 1490-1510, and copying directly
in other cases from those two artists. The key pieces in
his group of attributions are a Holy Family with the Infant
St John and an Angel in the Richmond Museum, Virginia, and a
Virgin
Virgin and Child with a Bird in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge (1930.195, bequest of Nettie G. Naumburg). He dates the Richmond painting, and the Clowes one similarly, around 1495-1500, and has named the artist — whom he judges to have been a simple artisan — the "Master of the Naumburg Madonna".

Notes.

1. Information given at the time of purchase.

2. Acquisition no. 53-18-9, as Ghirlandaio workshop; Fahy fig. 2. Based in its design, as noted by Fahy, on a tondo of the Holy Family in the Alte Pinakotek, Munich (W.A.F. 191) which is probably a Fra Bartolommeo of the mid-1490s.

3. Fahy, op. cit., fig. 1. Further works that Fahy catalogues as by the same hand are: Virgin and Child, Gemäldegalerie, no. 215; Holy Family with an Angel, Depot of Galleria Fiorentine, no. 5891; Virgin and Child with Infant St John, Ehrich Galleries, New York in 1925; Virgin and Child, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, no. 2775 (all based on works by Filippino — the last two on his 1496 altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi, which gives a rough date for the group); and Virgin and Child with the Infant St John and two Angels, in the colln. of Sir Thomas Merton, Maidenhead, Berks.

4. Fahy kindly communicated the substance of his article to the compiler in 1966, and suggested then how he would date the present work.
FLORENTINE SCHOOL, fifteenth century

Madonna and Child with St John
Oil on panel, 33 ins. in diameter.

Provenance
Prince Tassolo Festetics, Austria-Hungary. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19.

Versions
Five very close variants exist:
1. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Camera Verde
2. Musée Fabre, Montpellier (inv.no.676; 1926 cat., no.67). Diam. 75 cm. From Campana colln.
3. Formerly in del Nero colln., Rome

Exhibited
Ind., 1959, no.23.

Certified by R. van Marle to be the work of Piero di Cosimo (1462-1521). While the painting shows affinity with the works of that artist, the other known versions clearly indicate that it is a product of the school of Botticelli (ca. 1445 - 1510).
Notes.

1. Information from E. Fahy (1966).

2. Undated doc., Clowes archives.

3. Allen W. Clowes discussed the painting in his unpub. B.A. thesis for the Dept. of Fine Arts, Harvard Univ. (1939). He dated it there around 1490, and compared the composition of a school of Botticelli painting in the Nardus colln., Suresnes. E. Forbes (note to Dr Clowes) similarly assigned the painting to the school of Botticelli, and so did W. Suida in an unpub. doc. (Clowes archives).
FRANCESCO FRANCIA, School of
Bolognese school, ca.1450 - 1517/18.

His name was Francesco di Marco di Giacomo Raibolini. The name Francia may be simply a variant of Francesco, or may derive from the name of the goldsmith, to whom he is said to have been apprenticed. He came from Bologna; Vasari gives his date of birth of 1450 (with some reservation in his first edition). He matriculated in the goldsmiths' guild at Bologna in 1482, is first mentioned as a painter in 1486, and his earliest dated work is of 1490. His painting shows the influence of the Ferrarese school of Lorenzo Costa. He had a number of pupils and followers. He died either in 1517 or in 1518. Practically nothing remains of his work as a jeweller, but there are a few rare prints of his and some medals and coins are ascribed to him.

Madonna and Child
oil on panel, 25 1/8 ins.

Condition
Above average state. A strip added at the top. Small losses— one on the Child's shoulder.

Provenance
Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19 .

There are good grounds for attributing this work to Francesco's son Giacomo. (before 1486 - 1557). Very similar compositions by him are in the collection of Lady Ettrick, Burghley House (inv.no.417) and the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (no.250; 1966 cat., p.30).
Notes.

1. From a report of 1954 by Mr S. Keck of the Brooklyn Museum (Clowes archives)

2. Information from E. Fshy (1966). Cf. also the following works recorded in photos at the Witt Lib.: Madonna and Child with Sts Francis and Catherine, labelled there "Glasgow, Ilay M. Campbell loan" and "G. Francia ?"; and Madonna and Child with St John labelled there "Mrs A. E. Walker, U.S.A. Attrib. to G. Francia".
AGNOLO GADDI
Florentine school, active 1369 - died 1396.

Agnolo was one of the sons of Taddeo Gaddi, by whom he was probably trained. According to Vasari, when his father died (that is, in 1366) he was put in charge of Giovanni da Milano for painting. In 1369 he is recorded as working as an assistant, probably to his brother Giovanni, in the Vatican. He worked in Florence itself, where a dependable tradition attributed to him frescoes in Santa Croce; and in Prato, where frescoes by him are definitely documented as late works of 1392-95. Some panels in San Miniato, Florence also appear to be documented works of his, from 1393-96. The probability is that the execution in all of these cases was at least partially the work of assistants, and the problem of attributing other paintings to him is therefore a troublesome one.

Four Saints (The Magdalen in the Wilderness? Benedict, Bernard and Catherine of Alexandria)

Tempera on panel. Four panels reconstituted to go side by side, each 28½ × 8 ins.

Condition
Good.

Provenance
Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin (?). Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19

Literature
Attributed to Agnolo Gaddi by R. Offner (1927)². He compared the triptych in the National Gallery, Washington (see below) and suggested that these were the side-panels of a similar altarpiece.

These panels are clearly by the same hand as a group of paintings which have sometimes been identified as the work of a distinct follower of Agnolo's, Gherardo Starnina (also called "Compagno d'Agnolo"). One should compare in this connection the triptych of the Madonna and Child with Two Angels and Saints in Washington, the St. Julian in the Alte Pinakotek, Munich (no. 7619), and most especially the St. Julian, James and Michael in the Jarvis collection of the Yale University Art Gallery (1871.20). All of these works, along with the Clowes saints, show somewhat blonder colors and somewhat sweeter expressions than appear to be characteristic of Gaddi himself. The attribution to Starnina—which would date the work around 1400—is, however, purely theoretical; and Berenson in 1963 attributed the whole group to Gaddi himself—taking the characteristics referred to as representing a phase in the work of Gaddi and his school.

Notes.

1. According to the record at the time of acquisition; I have not been able to verify this.

2. Letter of May 12, 1927 (Clowes archives)

3. L. Venturi, Pitture Italiane in America, Milan, 1931, pl. 52 (as Starnina).
4. R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, 19 vols., The Hague, 1923-38, III, 1924, p. 572, fig. 320 (as Starnina). It belongs to an ensemble which includes a corresponding panel of St Nicholas of Bari with a donor, and four scenes from the lives of these two saints—all in the same location (nos. 7818, 7818 a-b, 7819 a-b). See Alte Pinakotek, Munchen, Kurzes Verzeichnis der Bilder, 1958, pp. 39f., where the whole group is now attributed to the circle of A. Gaddi.


BERNARDINO LUINI
Milanese school, active 1512 - died 1532.

Very little is known about this artist's life. His birth date, which is unknown, has been put both around 1460 and around 1490, and the first absolutely secure record of his activity as a painter comes only with his fresco at Chiaramelle, dated 1512. For these reasons the nature of his artistic formation is difficult to gauge with any certainty. He was certainly strongly affected by the example of Leonardo, some of whose designs he transcribed; and he seems to have been influenced prior to this by other, non-Leonardesque traditions represented at Milan (in particular the work of Bramante and Solari). He worked at Milan, Lugano and elsewhere in that region, producing a large body of painting; and he must have had a school working under him, to judge from the large number of copies and derivations. He has come to represent, for modern taste, the most popular artist of the Milanese school.

Madonna and Child with St. John and the Lamb
oil on panel, 32 x 23 ins.

Provenance
Count Ambrosy Mgyassy, Hungary. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19...

Literature

Exhibited
Los Angeles, 1949 (see lit.): Ind., 1959, no.38.
Versions

1. Coln. Edward Rothschild, Paris. (Della Chiesa no. 210 and pl.104) 85 × 60.5 cm.

2. Coln. E.J. Kaufmann, Pittsburgh. (Della Chiesa no. 217) 83.8 × 62 cm.


4. Scranton University, Pa., from colln. of M.R.W. Coleman Newills. Formerly in colln. of Nicholas Brady, Long Island. (Della Chiesa no. 239) 81 × 64.5 cm.

5. Formerly in the Doetsch colln; present whereabouts unknown. (Della Chiesa no. 89; F. Malaguzzi Valeri, "Nuovi Dipinti del Luini e una Recente Pubblicazione", Rassegna d'Arte, 13, 1913, p.31, fig.8) 52.7 × 40 cm.

Attributed to Luini by W.R. Valentinier (1936), with a suggested date of around 1520; certified also as a Luini by W. Suida, G. Gronau and G.M. Richter (1936). More recently the Rothschild painting has justly been recognized by Della Chiesa as the best version of this composition from the artist's maturity. She considers the Clowes painting the second best version after it—seeing it as a product of the circle of Luini at the same period. The compiler concurs in this view; it appears to him the work of a follower or pupil of Luini's.

All of the versions listed are related to, and probably depend on, the detached fresco of Luini's now in the Museo delle Scienze e delle Techniche, Milan—where the composition differs and is in reverse. And behind it in turn lies a famous work of Leonardo's, the cartoon of the Virgin and Child with St Anne and John the Baptist now in the National Gallery, London.
Notes.

1. The coat of arms on the reverse of the panel, said at the time of acquisition to be that of the Sforza family (ca. 1520) seems dubious in character. A corresponding provenance by descent, which cannot be confirmed, was given at the time of acquisition: Christine, wife of Duke Francesco III of Sforza -- Emperor Charles V -- Austrian line of Hapsburg family. According to a note of Berenson's, recorded by Della Robbia (see Lit.), the painting was in the Cardinal Fesch colln.; but it was not included in Berenson's lists. According to Suida (1949 cat.) the snake of Milan (adopted by the Sforza and Visconti families) is combined here with the lilies of the Royal House of France and the white eagle of the Este dynasty.

2. E. Fahy, in spot to the compiler (1966), listed also the following versions: colln. F.M. Perkins, Assisi; Heath-Kosken dolln., Vernon Court Hotel, London. (Cf. also the version pub. in the version pub.


4. Cf. also the listing of this version by B. Berenson, North Italian Painters of the Renaissance, 1907 ed., p. 250 (omitted in later lists in favor of the ex-Brady version).


Cf. also the version pub. by Z. van der Woude, "Meister der Renaissance in Italien," Potsdam, 1927, color pl. xii, as in colln. of Dr. Anschütz Kämpfe, Munich; and the one in the Graf Harresch'schen "Gemäldegalerie, Vienna (88.7 x 58.4 cm. 1926 cat., no. 134, as manner of Luini; 1960 cat., no. 179, as workshop of Luini).
MICHELE MARIESCHI
Venetian school, 1710-1744.

This artist was born in Venice on December 1, 1710, the son of the engraver Antonio Marieschi. Very little is known about his life and artistic activity. According to Alessandro Longhi in 1762, he was trained by his parents, but his father is known to have died when he was only eleven. It has been proposed that he received training from Gaspare Diziani, but this remains a hypothesis. Orlandi in 1753 speaks of a visit to Germany, but its date and duration are unknown. In May 1735 he was evidently at Fano to collaborate in the funeral exequies for the Queen of Poland, since he provided designs for two engravings issued in that connection—one by Camerato, the other by F. Tasso. A further design of Camerato's after a design of his is dated 1736. Between 1736 and 1740 he received payment for work done for the Marshal Schulenberg, and in 1741 his fundamental work appeared, a series of twenty-one engraved views of Venice. He designated himself there "painter and architect." He died on January 18, 1744 (1743 Venetian style). There is no signed painting of his to provide a basis for attributions.

The Piazza San Marco, Venice
oil on canvas, 29 × 38 ins.
Colln. Edith Clowes.

Provenance

Versions
For versions by Caneletto, or his school, see below.
This view of the Piazza, looking south, is a variant of a Canaletto composition. There is a related etching by Marieschi, with the view in it extending much further to the right, but an attribution to Marieschi in the present case necessarily has to be tentative, since there is no certainty as to the character of this artist's paintings.

Notes.


2. Information from the Newhouse Galleries (brochure on the painting).

3. W.G Constable, Canaletto: Giovanni Antonio Canal, 1697-1768, 2 vols, Oxford, 1962, cat. no. 48, ill. pl. 19, (Royal Colln., Windsor; 30 x 47 ins, signed and dated 1744), where the composition is cut off above at the point where the top of the tower begins, and the view is from a little farther off and more to the left, but is otherwise basically similar. See also the second version of cat. no. 57 there (ill. pl. 22), with less shown to the right.
Notes, cont.

4. Maieroner, op.cit., cat.no.20 (Piazza and Piazzetta, 30.2 x 44.2 cm.), ill. p.212. There is a corresponding painting in the Nat. Gall. of Ireland, Dublin (Palluchini, op.cit., pl.497)

5. There has been dispute as to whether the figures included in his vedute are by him or by another hand; see Zampetti, op.cit., pp.246f.
MARIOTTI DI NARDO
Florentine school, recorded 1394 - 1424.

Son of a stone-cutter called Nardo, and according to Vasari grandson of the painter Andrea Orcagna, he did his earliest recorded work in 1394-95, the altarpiece for the church of Donnino in Villamagna. Subsequently he was active in Florence, apparently doing stained-glass windows as well as paintings there. He made his will in 1394. His work shows at first the influence of the Gerini -- particularly Lorenzo di Niccolo, whose pupil he probably was -- and subsequently, as he became caught up in the International Gothic movement, that of Lorenzo Monaco.

Scene from the Legend of St Nicholas
Tempera on panel, 7 x 13½ ins.

Condition
Probably a fragment. The architecture at the top would appear to have been cut, and the base-section probably continued in both directions.

Provenance

Literature
Staedel Institute, Frankfort; Ausstellung von Meisterwerken alter Malerei aus Privatbesitz, Summer 1925, no.67, ill. (cat. by G. Swarzenski).

Exhibited
Frankfurt, 1925 (see Lit.); Ind., 1959, no.41.
called Florentine, fourteenth century in the 1926 catalogue. W. Suide subsequently certified it as a work by Mariotto. Some twenty years later he then recorded his changed view that it was by Simone da Bologna (active 1335-1399). Neither of these attributions is convincing, but the view that it is a Bolognese work merits consideration. Not enough, however, has been published on Bolognese art of this period for an attribution to be really feasible.

The incident represented shows Nicholas of Bari throwing gold into the room where a destitute nobleman is asleep with his three daughters.

Notes.

1. Doc. of Feb. 1929, Clowes archives. The statement there of agreement with the Frankfurt cat. appears based on a misapprehension.

2. Unpub. MS, Clowes archives.

MILANESE SCHOOL? sixteenth century.

Madonna and Child
oil on canvas,

Provenance
Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19.

Acquired with the above label, which appears justified. The painting seems to reflect, at a considerable remove, the works of Leonardo da Vinci's followers.
NEROCCIO DEI LANDI
Sienese school, 1447-1500.

Neroccio di Bartolommeo di Benedetto di Neroccio was a member of the Sienese noble family Landi del Poggio. He trained under Vecchietta, was an independent artist by 1468, and entered around that time into a partnership with Francesco di Giorgio; which lasted until 1475. He was active chiefly as a painter, but also occasionally as a sculptor, and was employed mainly in Siena itself.

Madonna and Child with St John the Baptist and the Magdalen
tempera on panel, 20½ x 28 ins.

Condition
Well preserved, apart from damage at the bottom --which has been skilfully restored -- and minor losses and retouches. The painted elements in the spandrels and on the frame appear to be of very recent date.

Provenance
Conti Chigi-Saraceni, Siena; Count Ladislaus Karolyi, Budapest; Silbermann Gallerie, New York. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 1933.

Literature
Literature, cont.


Exhibited


Attributed to Neroccio since Berenson. A leading example of the delicate Madonna paintings produced by this artist. Placed by Dami and van Marle between 1492 and 1500, and by Brandi around 1496. Coor, accepting the latter date — by analogy with the Monisi altarpiece of 1496, the Magliano altarpiece and the Madonnas in Berlin and in the Chigi collection — noted the influence at this point of Signorelli's bronze and reddish flesh-tones and his intense garment-colors.

Notes.

1. These comments are taken from Coor (see lit.) A photograph of the work taken before its restoration (Frick Art Ref. Lib.; cf. Jacobsen, pl. 49) shows that at that time star-shaped studs
Notes, cont.

were affixed in the panels, and there was no visible sign of the heraldic devices. These escutcheons (said to be those of the Chigi-Saraceni family) appear to have been suggested by the presence of similar ones in Neroccio's Virgin Protectress of Siena (Archivio di Stato, Siena; Coor, fig. 39). Some damage is evident in the same old photo in the area of the Child's left foot.


3. According to Perenson (1932, 1936) and van Marle (1937) the painting passed into the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, as part of the Johann Palffy bequest. But it appears that it was in fact only exhibited at the museum, without changing collections.

4. Coor, figs. 63, 73, 79, 89.
PERUGINO
Umbrian school, living 1469 -- died 1523

His real name was Pietro di Cristoforo di Vannucci; he was known as Perugino after the principal place of his activity, Perugia. He was born, on good evidence, at Castel (now Città) del Pieve, near Chiusi. Vasari gives his birth-date as around 1445-46, and says that he was trained by some low-class Perugian painter, while Giovanni Saviti claims that he was the same age as Leonardo (born 1452). He probably remained in Castel del Pieve till 1470. In any case his style appears to have been formed primarily in Florence, where he appears listed as a member of the Compagnia di San Luca in 1472. Tradition has it that he trained in Florence under Verrochio -- either as his pupil or as an assistant -- and this appears acceptable. His first certain work that survives is a fragmentary fresco, dated 1478, at Cirqueto, near Perugia. In 1481-82 he was one of the artists who did frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. He divided his time thereafter between Florence, Rome and Perugia and its environs, doing many frescoes and easel-paintings. He ran an important studio, where he had Raphael as one of his pupils.

Christ on the Mount of Olives
oil on panel, 19 × 17 ins.

Condition
The work appears considerably restored.

Provenance
Kilényi, Hungary. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19...

Exhibited
Ind., 1959, no. 43.
Versions


2. Cenacolo di Foligno, San Onofrio, Florence: version in background of Last Supper fresco. Dateable around 1500 (Bombe, pl. 96).

Certified as a work of Perugino by G. Glück and W. Suida (1935). Handling and color suggest rather a late, sixteenth century follower of Perugino's. One of these, Giovanni Nicola, did a painting of the subject for S. Francesco in Perugia.

Notes.

1. Letters of Sept. 21 and Nov. 9, 1935 (Clowes archives).

RAPHAEL, School of
Roman school, 1483-1520.

His first name was Raffaello; his patronymic Santi or de' Santi. He was born in Urbino, the son of the painter Giovanni Santi (who died in 1494). His teacher is traditionally said to have been Perugino. Until he settled in Rome in 1508 or 1509, Raphael moved to and from through Umbria and Tuscany — working at Città di Castello and Perugia, and also apparently spending a considerable amount of time in Florence. In Rome he worked for a number of private patrons, particularly the Sienese banker Agostino Chigi; but he was mainly occupied in painting in the Vatican. On Bramante's death in 1514 he was appointed architect in charge of the rebuilding of St Peter's, and he seems by the end of his life to have been in charge of all papal enterprises in the arts. He employed for this purpose a large number of assistants. At his death, his fame was spread all over Europe.

Madonna and Child with a Bird
oil on panel, 8 1/2 x 6 1/2 ins.

Condition Some of the detail appears to have been sharpened.

Provenance Acquired by Dr Clowes at a New York auction.

Exhibited Ind., 1959, no.45.

Versions Sotheby's sale, Nov.26, 1958, no.152 (ill.) —as by Albertinelli: 8 1/2 x 6 1/2 ins. The Virgin wears a cape there and the landscape differs in its detail, but the Christ-Child is virtually identical in anatomy and the pose of the Virgin equally corresponds.
Acquired as a school of Raphael work of around 1520-40, F. Heinemann (1961) suggested the name of Mariano di Ser Austerio, an Umbrian follower of Perugino and the early Raphael; but the known works of that artist bear no particular resemblance to this one. The version of the composition attributable to Albertinelli (see above), around 1506-7, suggests that both it and the Clowes painting are based on a lost Raphael design—which could have been a drawing only—of around 1505; and the archaising aspects of the present work argue for its being the work, around 1510-20, of an Umbrian follower of Raphael's.

Notes.

1. Oral information from Mrs Clowes and Allen W. Clowes.

2. I am grateful to E. Fahy for drawing my attention to this version. The attribution seems undoubtedly correct.


4. See U. Gnoli, "Mariano di Ser Austerio", Bolletino d'Arte, 23, 1921, pp.124ff. (with illustrations), and the same author's Pittori e Miniatori nell' Umbria, Spoleto, 1923, pp.190ff.

5. I owe this suggestion and interpretation of the evidence, which I find convincing, to S. Freedberg (orally, 1967). For the approximate date of the Albertinelli, cf. Freedberg, Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence, 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1961, I, p.583 and II, pls. 46-7, and the Madonna and Child in the Seminario Arcivescovile, Venice (Anderson photo 12200), which is probably a little earlier than the latter works. For the dating of the Raphael prototype, the Madonna del Granduca of 1505 is relevant as well as the Madonna del Cardellino (ibid., I, p.603 and II, pls. 50, 54). Albertinelli can be presumed to have known the lost Raphael hypothized through his association with Fra Bartolommeo.
SANO DI PIETRO
Sienese school, 1406 - 1481

His full name was Ansano di Pietro di Mencio. A pupil and follower of Sassette, he collaborated on occasion with Vecchietta and with Giovanni di Paolo. Documented paintings establish clearly what his style was like during the last forty years of his life, and other very closely related works can be attributed to him on this basis. These works include virtual repetitions of documented ones, so that the picture which emerges is of a high and extremely uniform rate of production during that period. It has been suggested that an earlier phase in his work, around 1430-40, is to be recognized in the form of a group of paintings which were once taken to represent a Gothic phase in Sassette's art, and have more recently been put by certain writers under the name of the "Osservanza Master". This is an attractive but as yet unconfirmed hypothesis.

St Benedict
tondo form, tempera on panel, 14 ins. in diam.

Condition
Evidently cut down to its present roundel form (see below). The remainder of the original panel was probably so damaged as to suggest this expedient.

Provenance
Dan Fellowes Platt, U.S.A. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19.

Exhibited
Ind., 1959, no. 44.
Attributed to Sano by W. Suida (1934). This attribution certainly seems correct. The Clowes panel, in fact, goes with a half-length figure of a saint—probably Saint Augustine—which also belonged to Platt (by 1913) and was equally attributed to Sano. The halo pattern is identical there, and the treatment of the hair and eyes is also closely similar, to the point of implying that these two works came from the same ensemble.

Further parts of that same (dismembered) ensemble also appear identifiable, on the basis of the appearance of the same halo-pattern in them, and related records as to their origin. The works in question are: a Madonna and Child with Four Saints and Angels in the collection of MRS Simon Guggenheim, New York, bought on the advice of F. Mason Perkins; Bernardino supported by two angels, full length, in the Perkins collection at Assisi; and Three Scenes from the Life of St. Cosmo and Damian, formerly belonging to Perkins and now in the collection of Robert Lehman, New York.

If this identification of the different parts is correct, it follows that the ensemble must almost certainly have consisted of the Madonna and Child panel in the center, with two full-length saints either side (the missing one was most probably St. Catherine of Siena) and the scenes in the Lehman collection forming the predella beneath. To judge from the turn of the saints’s heads and gazes, the bishop saint was presumably on the inside left, matched on the other side by Bernardino, and the Clowes figure on the outside left. Damage to some of the parts presumably led to the dismemberment of the whole—which most probably came from Siena or nearby—early in this century, to the cutting down of the Clowes panel and the bishop saint to their present dimensions; and to the gradual dispersal of the parts to or through Platt and his colleague Perkins. Certainly the Clowes panel cannot originally have been a roundel, since this format was not used in the fifteenth century for heads of this kind.

The format described is of a type much favored by Sano, in one or another variation. The Bernardino is very closely based, as far as the head, angels and lower half are concerned, on Sano’s 1450 painting of this saint in the Accademia, Siena (no. 253; variant in the Sala Capitolo of the Siena Duomo), while the
hands holding the tablet correspond to his fresco of the same saint in the Palazzo Comunale, Siena, also of 1450. The Lehman panels similarly correspond to three of the six panels which form the predella of the Cosmo and Damian Altarpiece in the Accademia, Siena (no.233).

Such repetition of existing images is characteristic of Sano's art, and there is therefore no need to assume studio assistance in the creation of the ensemble reconstructed here; the Clowes panel, in particular, would certainly seem to be of a quality consonant with Sano's own hand.

Notes.


3. Not, however, recorded, in the photographic archive of the Platt colln., Dept of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University (information from Mrs. K. Higuchi, Jul. 1967)

4. Cert. of Jun. 25, 1934 (Clowes archives). In a letter of the time Suida also suggested Sassetta -- see the biographical note for the explanation of this.

5. E. Gaillard, Sano di Pietro, Paris, 1923, p.203, where the dimensions are given as 25×21 cm. (ca. 9½×8½ ins.), which represents an approximate proportional correspondence; European Art, 1450-1900, Brooklyn Museum, May-Jun. 1936, no.6 and pl.6 (without measurements).

6. Except that in this case there is an additional embossed
Notes, cont.

leaf-pattern outside the halo proper; cf. also the cusped decoration along the top of this panel.

7. MS. cat. of Mrs Guggenheim's colln., 1934, Frick Art Ref. Lib., no. 3 (the Frick has a separate photo). The panel is said to be in its original "Gothic" frame, and the dimensions with frame are given as: extreme height 29 ins., extreme width 20 ins. The provenance is given as: Marquis de Grolée Virville, of Lyons and Florence, (who married a daughter of the Sansedini family of Siena); Luigi Grassi, Florence; bought 1933. The saints are identified as (left) St John the Baptist and another (unidentifiable); (right) Sts Peter and Paul. The painting has now been bequeathed by Mrs Guggenheim to the Denver Art Museum.

8. Mentioned by Perkins, along with the Platt saint, in his article "Alcuni Dipinti Senesi Sconosciuti o Inediti", Rassegna d'Arte, 13, 1913, p. 123 n. See also Gaillard, op. cit., p. 194; R. Van Marle, The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting, 19 vols., The Hague, 1923-38, IX, 1927, p. 492. A photo in the Frick Art Ref. Lib. records the work as belonging to Perkins (at Lastra a Signa) in 1926, and shows that the background in this case had gone completely. Dimensions without frame: 42 × 28 ins. (ca. 16½ × 11 ins.), which again represents an approximate proportional correspondence with the other saints. I am grateful to Dr F. Santi of the Galleria Nazionale dell' Umbria for informing me of these dimensions and the present whereabouts of this picture.


10. Gaillard (op. cit., p. 254) records an independent painting of this saint as being then in the colln. of Robert Loeser, San Francisco; but he gives no further specifications.
Notes, cont.

11. This is suggested by the history given in n.7 above.

12. See, for these and other versions, , van Marle, op.cit., IX, pp.484ff.

13. Gaillard, op.cit., pl.13. This point was noted in the Lehman cat. (and cf. Gaillard pp.108ff.). The suggestion there, however, that there must have been three more panels in addition to the Lehman ones, in order to make up a corresponding set, is hardly allowed for by the dimensions of the ensemble as reconstituted here. It would appear likely that, for these purposes of this smaller work, three scenes were simply excerpted from that series.
ANDREA DEL SARTO
Florentine school, 1486-1530.

Born in Florence in July 1486, this artist was the son of Agnolo di Francesco, a tailor—hence his name "del Sarto". According to Vasari, he was apprenticed to a goldsmith at the age of seven, was then with the painter Gian Bartile, and finished his training under Piero di Cosimo. In December 1508 he matriculated in the guild of Medici e Speziali. Vasari also states that he shared a workshop early on with Franciabigio. He spent most of his life in Florence as the leading artist of the High Renaissance there, but went to France in 1518-19 at the invitation of Francis I. Most of his extant works consist of religious images and portraits. He died of the plague in September 1530.

Episode from the Life of St. Filippo Benizzi: the Punishment of the Gamblers
oil on panel, 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 24 ins.

Provenance

Literature

Exhibited
Ind., 1959, no. 52.
Early in his career Andrea del Sarto painted five frescoes depicting scenes from the life of Filippo Benizzi in the atrium of the Annunziata Church in Florence, the last of them is dated 1510. The present work corresponds, in its subject-matter and the general arrangement of the figures, to the second of those frescoes (in narrative order). It was reproduced by Reinach by Sarto himself. Freedberg, however, assigned it to Pier Francesco Foschi or Toschi (1502–1567)—a follower of Sarto—and this attribution has since been supported by Pinelli. It appears fully justified. A comparable work, equally attributable to Foschi, is the Payment of the Workers in the Vineyard, based on Sarto's lost fresco of that subject in the cloister garden of the Annunziata. Pinelli tentatively suggested that the Clowes panel might have formed part of the predella of Toschi's Altarpiece of Sts Peter and Filippo Benizzi in the church of S. Benedetto, San Frediano, Florence. This appears possible in terms of size, but not really likely.

In the episode depicted, some gamblers and profligate young men mocked at the saint's devotion as he was going up the Monte Senario with three members of his brotherhood. When a storm came on, the brothers drew their cowls over their heads and quietly went on their way. The mockers ran to a tree for shelter and were killed by lightning.

Notes.

1. See pl. XIX in the 1883 cat. of this colln.
2. As in Hess colln.
3. For this artist's known works in painting (three altarpieces in San Spirito, Florence) and other documented or attributed frescoes, see O.H. Giglioli, "Affreschi inediti di Pier Francesco di Jacopo di Domenico Toschi", Bolletino d'Arte, 32, 1938, pp. 25ff. See also, for further literature on him, preceding Pinelli's article: R. Longhi, "Avvio a Pier Francesco Toschi", Paragone, 43, 1953, pp. 53f.; M. Poungsey, "Five Drawings by Pier Francesco di Jacopo di Domenico Toschi", Burlington Mag., 99, 1957, p. 159; and D. Sammimiatelli, "Foschi e non Toschi", Paragone, 91, 1957, pp. 55ff.
4. In an oral opinion given to the compiler in 1966, P. Pouncey also supported the attribution. He compared the heads and expressions in the drawing in his own colln., pub. by M. Pouncey (see n.2)


6. The width of the altarpiece was given by Pinelli as 1.85 m. -- i.e. a little over 72 ins; Pinelli suggested a date for it of towards 1540. Foschi's Altarpiece of the Immaculate Conception in S. Spirito, Florence (cf. n.2) has three predella panels, which are about one tenth the height of the altarpiece itself.

This artist, whose family name was Robusti, took the nickname Tintoretto on the basis of his father's profession of dyer (tintore). The character of his artistic apprenticeship has been much disputed: while Ridolfi wrote of ten days of working under Titian, and Borghini appears to state that he modelled his draughtsmanship on Michelangelo (whose sculpture he knew in the form of casts or modelli) and his color on Titian, Bonifazio Veronese, Paris Bordone and Schiavone have also been proposed as his teachers. The earliest absolutely certain work of his which survives is the Last Supper in S. Marcuola, Venice, dated 1547; but the Apollo and Marsyas (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford) has generally been identified as one of a pair of pictures which he did for Pietro Aretino in 1545; and a Sacra Conversazione, signed "Iacobus" and dated 1540, has been reasonably attributed to him.

There is good reason to think, on the basis of his work, that Tintoretto visited Rome early on, most probably in the 1550s; but the only occasion when he is recorded outside Venice is in 1580, at Mantua. His enormous output includes a vast number of religious paintings, histories, mythologies, allegories, and portraits. Particularly famous are the cycles of paintings that he did for the Scuola di San Rocco in Venice. Late in life he was assisted in his work by his son Domenico. He died in Venice on May 31, 1594.

Apollo and the Nine Muses
oil on canvas, 21 3/4 x 36 3/4 ins.

Provenance
Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1659); Gemälde Galerie, Vienna (by 1882); Princess Thurn and Taxis (after 1907); Silbermann Galleries, New York (1939). Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19
Literature


Exhibited

Four Centuries of Venetian Painting, Toledo Museum of Art, March 1940, no. 56 (cat. by H. Tietze); Pontormo to Greco, the Age of Mannerism, John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis, Feb.-Mar. 1954, no. 57; Ind., 1959, no. 54.

Versions

1. Hampton Court, Royal Collns., no. 77 (Von der Bercken-Mayer, II, pl. 99; Tietze, fig. 107) 83 3/4 x 119 3/4 ins. Inscr. at bottom left "JACOMO TINTORETTO IN VENETIA". With an additional muse to the left, instead of the right, of the one at the left corner of harpsichord, and without the figure of Apollo as he appears in the Clowes version. Assumed to have come from the Gonzaga colln. at Mantua, since it was subsequently in the gallery of Charles I.

2. Colln. Otto Lanz, Amsterdam. A fragment corresponding to the muse at the bottom left in the Hampton Court version (Tietze, fig. 108). 50 x 32 1/4 ins. Von Baedel convincingly indicated (Burl. Mag., 43, 1923, p. 293) that this is to be taken as a fragment of a lost original, on which the Hampton Court version is based.


4. Formerly Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, no. 271; lost in World War II (Geras, p. 39, fig. 30, as studio of Tintoretto).
214 x 325 cm. With Apollo in the center, the nine Muses and the three Graces. From Prague; according to tradition it was taken from there in 1632 by Johann George I, Prince of Saxe.

The Clowes painting, which can be traced back to 1659 (see above) was engraved in David Teniers II's Theatrum Pictorium of 1660. Ascribed to Tintoretto in the Vienna catalogues (1882 and later), it was accepted as such by von der Werck and Mayer (1923) and certified as a Tintoretto by L. Venturi (1937) and by W. Suida. Tietze recorded it simply as a variant of the Hampton Court painting. In his 1957 listing Berenson attributed it to the studio of Tintoretto.

This version cannot be any one of the three versions of the subject by Tintoretto mentioned by Ridolfi in the seventeenth century. Ridolfi, however, records a painting of the "Muses by Pàlma Giovane, as well as one by Tintoretto, as having belonged to the Emperor Rudolph II. In terms of handling, and the fact that it is a variant of some quality of a Tintoretto composition, it seems quite possible that the present work is by Palma Giovane (1544-1628); and in view of its provenance, it could be the work in question.

Notes.

1. It appears as no.357 in the 1659 inventory of that colln. and cf. the engraving referred to below.

2. According to a record in the Frick Art Ref. Lib.

3. The painting is erroneously said there to be in the Indianapolis Museum.
Notes, cont.

4. It includes the right leg of the next muse and the rocks behind, exactly as in that version.

5. According to Caras, *op.cit.*, p.44, n.40, this painting does not represent Apollo and the Muses, but rather *The Crowning of Poetry*.


7. By Hoy : in reverse, inscr. "3½ alte, 5½ lata". The print differs in minor details of the drapery. This publication (first issued in Antwerp-Brussels, 1660; later eds. 1673 and 1694) reproduces Italian pictures from the colln. of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.

8. Venturi, doc. of Sept.1, 1937 ; and undated doc. by Suida (both in Clowes archives).

9. It was suggested in the 1882 Vienna cat. that the Clowes version was probably the one mentioned by Ridolfi as being in the Barberigo colln. (C. Ridolfi, *Le Meraviglie dell'Arte* [Venice, 1648], ed. D. von Hadeln, 2 vols., Berlin, 1914-24, II, p.54 : "un capriccio delle Muse in piccolo quadro"). Tietze, however, pointed out in the 1940 Toledo cat. that this work was still recorded in the 1845 cat. of the same colln. (no.35). The version recorded by Ridolfi as being in the Casa Mulo at San Vido (*ibid.*, p.55 : "un Capriccio delle Muse con Apollo nel mezzo, che suona il liro") differed in having Apollo in the center, *laying*. As for the version Ridolfi mentioned as belonging to a cycle of four paintings executed for the Emperor Rudolph II, (*ibid.*, p.50 : "Le Muse .......che ridotto in un giardino formano un concerto di Musici con vari strumenti"), Caras (*op.cit.*, pp.29ff.) convincingly argued, on iconographical grounds, that Dresden no.271 (see under versions) formed the central piece of the cycle at question. She proposed correspondingly that Ridolfi
erroneously identified Dresden no.265, *Women making music* (her fig.31; 142×214 cm.), with six women in it in a garden, as the relevant painting done for Rudolph II, because the latter had died in 1612, his collection was dispersed in the first half of the seventeenth century, and no.265 also came from Prague. Cf. von Hadeln, p.50, n.2, for the suggestion that Ridolfi was referring to no.265.


11. This was suggested to the compiler by E.Fahy (orally, 1966) purely on the basis of the work's character.

12. For the dispersal of Rudolph II’s collection in the early XVIIth c., which would accord with the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm’s ownership of this work, see n.9 above.
Tiziano Vecellio came from Pieve di Cadore in the Dolomites. The date of his birth is uncertain. The traditional and canonical date given in some of the early biographical sources is 1477; but at the same time competing sources (letters of the time, and other sixteenth and seventeenth century lives) give a range of dates running all the way from 1473 to 1482 or later. A birth date within the latter time range cannot be ruled out absolutely, but Titian himself appears either not to have known his age late in life or to have exaggerated it deliberately; and present-day opinion had tended towards the view that he was born later, around 1486-90, and correspondingly did his first independent paintings around 1509. Dolce records that he was sent to Venice at the age of nine to study painting with the Zucchi, that he spent time successively in the studios of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, and then worked alongside Giorgione, painting with him the frescoes on the Fondaco de' Tedeschi (for which Giorgione was paid in 1508).

The completion of the altarpiece of the Assumption of the Virgin for the Frari church in Venice (1516-18) established Titian's reputation; and from then on he worked not only for the Venetian republic, but also for the great princely families elsewhere in Italy—the Este of Ferrara, the Della Rovere of Urbino, the Gonzagas of Mantua. He did work equally for Francis I of France; and in 1545 the patronage of the Farneses led him to pay a visit to Rome. His relations with the Hapsburgs were of even greater consequence; he worked for Charles V, who made him Count Palatine and Knight of the Golden Spur in 1533, for other members of the Hapsburg courts, and subsequently for Charles's successor as King of Spain, Philip II, who kept Titian almost continually busy on his behalf during the artist's late years. Titian did numerous portraits and religious and mythological paintings. He signed himself on his letters variously Titiano, Tiziano or Ticino and Tizian or Tician Vecellio; and on his paintings used the Latinized Titianus or Tizianus; his nickname, "Titian", was already in use in the seventeenth century.
Portrait of Andrea dei Franceschi
oil on canvas, 34×27 ins.

Condition
Somewhat rubbed, particularly in the face.

Provenance
Major and Mrs Bono, Florence. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19...

Literature

Exhibited
Ind., 1959, no. 55.

Versions

The identity of the sitter here was established by Poglayen-Neuwall, on the basis of an eighteenth century engraving by Crescenzo Ricci. Andrea dei Franceschi, born in Venice in 1472, was made Grand Chancellor in 1529 and died in 1551.
Ridolfi, in his biography of Titian, mentions him as extremely devoted to the artist.

The Clowes painting was attributed to Titian by G. Gronau and G. Fiocco (1928) and by E. Sandberg-Vaavå (1935). Berenson, however, expressed some doubt, attributing it to Titian in his 1957 listing with a question-mark.

The fragmentary inscription on the Washington version (without hands) was read by Holmes as implying 1532 as its date. The Detroit version, which suggests some increase in age, has correspondingly been dated in the 1540s. The present version, as noted in the Detroit catalogue, shows Franceschi as older still, with white hair; but the face-mask and turn of the head correspond closely here, particularly with the Detroit version, and this suggests an attribution to the studio of Titian.

Notes.


2. For the triple portrait (as it is now revealed to be) at Hampton Court, which includes Franceschi along with Titian himself, see S. Gore, "Five Portraits", Burl. Mag., 100, 1958, pp. 351ff. The figure of Franceschi there is based on the Detroit version, and the work as a whole has generally been identified as a studio production.


4. C. Ridolfi, Le Meraviglie dell' Arte (1648), ed. D. von
Notes, cont.

Hadeln, 2 vols., Berlin, 1914-24, I, p.154: "amorevolissimo del Pittore". The inclusion of a portrait of him in Titian's presentation in the Temple from the 1530s (now in the Accademia, Venice) is noted there. For a portrait of him by Palma Giovan (lost), see ibid., II, p.201.


7. See H. Tietze, Titian, Paintings and Drawings, Vienna, 1937, p.320.

8. Cf. n.2 above.
Man with a Glove

oil on canvas, 29½ x 23 ins.

Condition

The costume — especially the sleeves and collar — suggest repainting; the book may also have been rehandled, since it appears too large.

Provenance

J. Seligmann, Paris-New York (1937 ?). Acquired by Dr Clowes prior to 1940.

Literature

A. Venturi, "Tre Ritratti Inediti di Tiziano", L'Arte, 8, 1937, p. 56 and fig. 3; H. Tietze, cat. of exhbn., Four Centuries of Venetian Painting, Toledo Museum of Art, March 1940, no. 67 (ill.).

Exhibited

Toledo, 1940 (see lit.)

Published by A. Venturi as a late Titian (of the 1560s). Tietze (1940) suggested a follower of Titian. In the opinion of the compiler, this portrait — with allowances made for its rehandling — should in fact be attributed to Leandro Bassano (Venetian school, 1557-1622). Amongst signed portraits by that artist, one may compare particularly the very early
one of "Leonardo Armano di Venetia" -- the Nuremberg merchant Leonard Hermann, who was in Venice between 1571 and 1582 -- in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (no. 8091) ; the Man with the Glove, Sculpture at Hampton Court ; and the Portrait of Alvise Corradini in the Museo Civico, Padua (no. 1625). The Clowes portrait would appear to belong in date after the Munich and Hampton Court ones, and the adherence in it to Titian's example correspondingly suggests a date around 1590-1600.

Notes.

1. Venturi in his article of that year (see lit.) dated it as being in a "private colln.".

2. Unpublished, I owe my knowledge of this work and the information given above the sitter to E. Verheyen, who kindly supplied me with a photograph. He fully accepts my attribution of the Clowes portrait to Leandro (oral statement, 1967). The treatment of the fur and the nose in the Munich portrait are particularly similar.


4. Ibid., I, p. 336 and II, pl. 331 ; dated there around 1600.

5. This date equally suggested by E. Verheyen (see n. 2).
French Paintings
CLAUDE LORRAIN
French (in fact Roman) school, 1600 - 1682.

Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, one of the two leading landscape painters of the seventeenth century, was born at Chamagne in Lorraine, but was in Rome by about 1613 and spent most of his life there. He seems to have been trained by Agostino Tassi, "Goffredo" (perhaps Gottfried Wals) and Claude Deruet, or at least to have taken guidance from their work. He returned to Lorraine for a spell in 1625, but went back to Rome in 1627 and started an independent career then, devoted entirely to landscape painting. By about 1634 he had achieved sufficient success for Sebastien Bourdon to fake one of his pictures. Drawings of the compositions of two hundred of his major pictures (running in date from about 1630 to about 1678) are contained in the Liber Veritatis at Chatsworth, and were the basis for a book of engravings with the same title published in 1777. After 1640 he seems to have received stimulus from the landscapes of Domenichino. Receiving commissions from kings and ambassadors, popes and cardinals -- including Richelieu --, he achieved tremendous popularity in his lifetime, and he made the Liber Veritatis as a protection against the work of imitators.

Landscape with Rest on the Flight into Egypt
oil on canvas, 29 3/8 ins.
inscr. on stone at bottom center "CLAV IN...." (the rest illegible)
Colln. Edith Clowes.

Condition
Fair; somewhat rubbed.
Provenance
Viscount Palmerston, Broadlands (from 1773); by descent to Lord Palmerston, Lord Mount-Temple and Hon. Evelyn Ashley; Sir E. Guinness, later Earl of Iveagh (purchased 1889); Iveagh sale, Christie's, Jul. 10, 1953, no. 57 (sold to Knoedler); Agnews, London (purchased 1957). Acquired by Mrs Clowes in 1959.

Literature

Exhibited
British Institution, 1828, no. 32; Works by Old Masters, Royal Academy, 1884, no. 162; Recently Acquired Pictures by Old Masters, Agnews, London, 1957, no. 11.

This landscape is to be dated, according to Rothlisberger, around 1635.

Notes.

3. Comments taken from Rothlisberger, 1961 (see lit.)

4. He bought the painting, according to his records, from the Parisian dealer Durjeu. See Rothlisberger (1961, p.99, under no.LV.2) for this and the subsequent provenance.

5. See under exhibitions.

6. As Landscape, Morning. with Flight into Egypt

7. Said there to be signed and indistinctly dated 1645; this cannot be right.

8. He convincingly compared the following works of the 1630s: Judgement of Paris, dated 1633, colln. of Duke of Buccleuch; Landscape with Rest on Flight into Egypt, assigned to 1634-35, Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha; same subject, assigned to ca. 1638-39, private colln.; and Landscape dated 1633 or 1635, Princeton Univ. Art Museum (his nos. 201, 221, 228-229).
FRANÇOIS CLOUET

French school, active by 1536 --died 1572.

François Clouet --also known as Janet, like his artist-father Jean Clouet (who worked for Charles I) -- was born in Tours. He is first mentioned in 1540, the year of his father's death, as an excellent continuer of the latter's art and as successor to his father's title of "Painter and valet of the king's bedchamber". It would appear that he was already active in his father's lifetime (since he is said to have made a death-mask of the Dauphin Francis, who died in 1536), and he was most probably trained by his father and may well have collaborated with him. He was naturalized on November 27, 1541. He subsequently worked for Henry II, Francis II and Charles IX. He did mythological subjects as well as portraits, and evidently directed a large workshop which produced enamel designs, miniatures and decorations for the triumphal entries of the kings, as well as oil-paintings and drawings. He died on September 22, 1572.

Because he and his father bore the same name, Janet, confusion between their works arose early on. In the case of François, there are two signed paintings of his: Lady at the Bath (Cook collection, Richmond) and Portrait of Pierre Quthke, dated 1562 (Louvre). Attributions to him have to be based on these two works, and on two drawings for oil-portraits which were ascribed to him at an early date. Some sixty further drawings can be associated with those two to form a group, and some of them in turn served as the preparatory studies for corresponding oil-portraits. In some of his portraits François appears to have adapted the half-length type of portrait introduced into France by his father, and in others to have produced a variation of a less formal kind on the Italian portrait.

Portait of François de Sopeaux

Oil on canvas, 12½ x 9½ ins.

Dated 1566 (top right).
Provenance
Early provenance uncertain. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 1919.

Exhibited
Ind., 1959, no.14

Versions
3. Musée de Besançon. 31×18 cm. (1886 cat., no.295; presented to the Museum by Pintard). The order there is a star. The right arm differs beyond the sleeve, the collar has an indentation pattern along the edges; otherwise identical.

François de Scepesaux, Sire de Villeville, was born in 1509-10 and died in 1571. He served as marshal of France and ambassador.

This portrait of him was probably done from the British Museum drawing (see under versions), since the date appears at the top right here also. It appears to be equal, if not superior in quality to the Besançon version, and can best be attributed on this double basis to the studio of Clouet on the assumption that Clouet made only the drawing himself.

Notes
Notes, cont.

2. It was said at the time of acquisition to have belonged to the sitter himself, and to have descended to Jean de Scepeaux; but this is unconfirmed.

3. Ascribed to F. Clouet in this cat., but now attrib. to the "Maître de Luxembourg". On a photograph of this work in the Frick Art Ref. Lib. there is a note by Sterling (1962): "attributed to Clouet".

4. As suggested by Sir A. Blunt to the compiler (orally, 1965).
CORNEILLE DE LYON

French school, active 1533-34, --died 1574.

This artist was born in the Hague, probably around 1500-1510, and moved to France from there. His family name is unknown; it has been suggested that Corneille may represent a gallicization of the Dutch family name Cornelisz. He established himself in the city of Lyons (hence the eponym "de Lyon"), residing there from before 1534 until his death. He is mentioned in 1541 as painter to the Dauphin (the future Henry II), received French naturalization in 1547, and is recorded in 1551 as bearing the title of "painter and valet of the king's bedchamber". The last mention of him comes in 1574.

He is known through other sixteenth century records to have had a high reputation as a painter of portraits, mostly of members of the French court. But no certain work of his is known, and the situation as regards attributions is a confused and difficult one. Briefly, the sole basis for the ascription of works to him is that certain portraits in the collection of Roger de Gagnières (1642-1715), who bought pictures in Lyons in the seventeenth century, were attested then as being by Corneille de Lyon. A group of five portraits which found their way to Versailles, Chantilly, the Louvre, and from there passed into the Pierpont Morgan collection, have been identified as coming from Gagnières' collection; and so have other portraits on the backs of seals on the backs of them. Further attributions to the artist have to depend upon this core of works; but it would appear that studio-pieces are involved even here, all that one can legitimately speak of is of a type of portrait associated with the practice of Corneille de Lyon -- a type involving small, bust-length depictions of men and women of the French nobility, with pale faces, small hands and most often a green background.

It is evident from the number of repetitions that Corneille must have maintained a large atelier; and probably his son, also called Corneille, and his daughter were amongst those employed in this capacity. Remoter derivations and imitations suggest further that he and his atelier created an
international vogue for the type of portrait in question — a vogue which spread outside France to Germany, the Netherlands and Italy.

![Portrait of a Lady (called "Diane de Poitiers")](image)

**Provenance**

Duke of Hamilton, Hamilton Palace; sold Christie's, Jun. 17-Jul. 20, 1882, no. 1653 (bought by Moses); J. Seligmann and son, Paris (1937); Seligmann Galleries, New York. Acquired by Dr. Clowes in 19.

**Literature**


**Exhibited**


**Versions**

1. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, 5 × 5 ins. Called there a portrait of Marie de Lorraine (viz. Marie de
 Versions, cont.

Guise, second wife of James V of Scotland and mother of Mary Queen of Scots. Corresponds almost exactly in the details of head and headdress. In keeping with the slightly larger size, more of the bodice and the white part of the sleeves are shown. The background appears to be darker (from a photograph). No provenance.

2. Musée de Versailles no. 3148, as Femme Inconnue. On panel, 16×13 cm. (Dimier no. 277, as studio of Corneille; this attribution has been kept). In very bad condition, scratched and disfigured. The dress again exactly the same, with cut-out bodice and chains on the shoulders; more at the bottom, as in the Edinburgh version. No provenance.

Attributed to Corneille de Lyon by Sterling in the 1937 catalogue—with a suggested date of 1530–40—and also by W. Suida. It seems quite feasible in terms of type and quality that this and the Edinburgh version should both be by Corneille, but the attribution cannot be made more strongly, because of the problems surrounding this artist's work (see above).

In an effort to establish the sitter's identity, Sterling compared the drawings of Diane de Poitiers at Chantilly. It does not, however, seem likely that she is the lady represented here.

Notes.

Notes, cont.

of French Paintings, XV – VIII Centuries, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, pp.30ff, and the critical comments on the problem of M. Davies, National Gallery Catalogues, French School, London, 1957, p.50. In preparing this entry and the following ones the compiler has been much helped by the work that D. Bentley-Cranch has been doing for a book on Corneille, which will include a cat. of his works.


3. According to the reproduction in Baschet (see lit.), he still owned the work in 1946.

4. The following notes were provided by the curator, and passed on to the compiler by Miss Bentley-Cranch: "flesh-tones pale (? from overcleaning), dress and head-covering black, hair auburn, sleeves white, background bright green. Seal on the reverse identified as that of C. de Torcy, suggesting that the painting was one of those sold in 1718 from the Cagnières colln.


6. The colors are hard to make out, but the background appears to be green, the dress black, the sleeves white, the headress black and the hair lightish-brown. Possibly some slight difference in face and expression (notes from Miss Bentley-Cranch).

7. We compared the portrait of M. d’Orléans, one of the sons of Francis I, now in the Brooklyn Museum.

8. Undated doc., Clowes archives.

9. As suggested to the compiler by D. Bentley-Cranch (letter
Notes, cont.

of May 3, 1966). The Versailles version definitely appears to be inferior.

10. See, for her iconography, P. Erlanger, "Diane de Poitiers -- the Myth", Connoisseur, 163, 1966, pp. 83ff.
**Portrait of a Man in a court bonnet (called "Rene du Puy du Fou")**

oil on panel, 6 × 5½ ins.

**Provenance**


**Literature**


**Exhibited**


Attributed by Bouchot in the 1904 catalogue to the school of Corneille de Lyon, with a date of around 1555; then to Corneille himself in the 1937 catalogue, with a date of around 1550. The portrait may very possibly be by this artist, in terms of type and quality; there is at the same time no basis for giving it a date.

The identification of the sitter as René du Puy du Fou (1528-1570) goes back also to the 1904 catalogue, and was
based there on the resemblance to a drawing at Chantilly. Dimier in his comments on the catalogue justly queried this identification. It was used again in the 1937 catalogue, with a note there that the name of Rabelais had also been suggested. Both identifications appear equally unjustified; any resemblance there might be to other works being insufficient basis for giving this sitter a name.

Notes.

1. Information from Cleveland Museum records.

2. He married the widow of Charles de Cabannes, Catherine de la Rochefoucauld, and became Chevalier de l'Ordre in 1562.

3. Box xi, no. 369.

4. To quote his actual words: "...ce crayon (the Versailles drawing), contredit par la lettre d'un panneau de Versailles (no. 3223) qui le nomme François III, conte de Larocheffoucauld, est definitivement démenti, par ce même nom inscrit sur une copie, de la collection de l'archiduc Ferdinand (tab. B, no. 210)." Dimier curiously did not include the Clowes painting, though he knew it, in his publication Histoire de la Peinture du Portrait en France au XVIe Siècle (3 vols., Paris, 1924-26).

5. Rabelais usually wears a doctor's hat, and the other three works cited by Dimier (see n.4) allow no conclusion. (information from D. Bentley-Cranach, letter to the compiler, Jul. 23, 1966)
Portrait of a Lady (called the Duchess of Chatillon)
oil on panel, 7 x 5½ ins.

Condition
Touched up (with filling in of worm-holes) and sleeves altered after 1949 sale.

Provenance
Lord Boston, England; D.M. Koetser, New York (sold 1945 to an unknown buyer); Mary Charlotte Hunter, Beech Hill, near Reading; sold Christie's, Apr. 29, 1949, no. 25. Acquired by Dr Clowes in

Exhibited
Ind., 1959, no. 18.

Attribute to Corneille de Lyon in the 1949 sale, and certified by M.J. Friedlander (1949 also) as being by him. The condition of the work and the retouching done to it (see above) make it hard to give a firm attribution, but it may perhaps be from the studio of Corneille.

The identification of the sitter as the Duchess of Chatillon—presumably the wife of Gaspard, Seigneur de Froment at Chatillon and the mother of the Coligny brothers, who served as lady in waiting to Queen Eléonore, the second wife of Francis I—appears doubtful. There is a portrait of a lady at Versailles, identified on the reverse as "Princesse de la Roche-sur-Yon," which bears some resemblance to the sitter in the present case, but that inscription is not sixteen century in origin, and the identity of the sitter there remains correspondingly uncertain.
Notes.

1. The Witt Lib. has a photograph showing its earlier condition. The surface is harder there, and the sleeves more detailed. According to Mr Koetsier, in a note to D. Bentley-Cranch (kindly passed on to the compiler) the painting was "in perfect state of preservation" when he owned it.

2. Doc. of Apr. 1, 1949 (Clowes archives)

3. D. Bentley-Cranch expressed agreement with this view (letters to the compiler, May 3 and Jul. 23, 1966)

4. As suggested by Mrs Bentley-Cranch. For a portrait of Isabelle de Hauteville, wife of Odet de Coligny-Chatillon, Cardinal de Brouillon, who might be meant, see E. Moreau-Nélaton, Les Clouet et Leur Emules, 3 vols, Paris, 1924, III, fig. 267; there is no particular resemblance.

5. It is not clear if this identification goes back any further than the 1949 sale.

6. Versailles no. 3189, as Femme Inconnue (E. Soulie, Notice des Peintures......., 1854-55, II, no. 3095, where the subject is identified on the basis of the inscription as Philippine de Montespedon; Moreau-Nélaton, op. cit., III, p. 262, no. 32; L. Dimier, Histoire de la Peinture du Portrait en France au XVIe Siècle, 1924-26, no. 285, as studio of Corneille de Lyon). Inscription on front, top left and right of headdress, "GISELLE [I]Z...". The lady looks a little older and the costume differs. I am grateful to D. Bentley-Cranch for drawing my attention to this work and informing me that the inscription is not contemporary.
FRENCH SCHOOL, fifteenth century

Portrait of a Monk

oil on panel, 9 x 6\(\frac{3}{4}\) ins.

Provenance

Unknown. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19

Exhibited

Ind., 1959, no. 25

Attributed to Jean Fouquet by K. Perls and J. Pijoan (1946), and by W. Friedlander (1948) and P. Wescher to the orbit of Fouquet. The compiler concurs with the present labelling of the work.

Notes.

1. Docs. of Feb. 16 and Mar. 15, 1946 (Clowes archives). Perls suggested a date of around 1450.


3. The closest available comparison — one made already in Wescher's expertise (see n. 2) — is with the Head of a Monk in the Musée de Tours (J. Dimier, "Un Fouquet Inconnu", Gazette des "Eaux Arts, 13, 1935, pp. 76ff.). Sterling however notes that this was a fragment of a much large picture (La Peinture Française: Les Peintres du Moyen Age, Paris, 1942, répertoire et tables, pp. 17ff., no. 3), and Ring observed that it was largely repainted (A Century of French Painting, 1400-1500, Phaidon Press, 1949, p. 214, no. 137).
FRENCH SCHOOL, eighteenth century (?)  

Portrait of a Lady  

oil on canvas, 20 × 16 3/4 ins.  
Colln. Edith Clowes.

Condition  
Poor

Provenance  
Acquired by Mrs Clowes in 19

Exhibited  
Northern Schools from the Clowes collection, Indiana University,

The costume here appears to be mid-sixteenth century, and the tiny curls also represent a sixteenth century hairstyle. This would appear therefore to be a fancy-dress portrait of later date—probably eighteenth century, and perhaps English.

1. Ascribed there to Kneller.

2. A. Cavallo, Curator of Textiles at the Boston Museum, kindly helped this compiler on this point.

3. As suggested orally to Allen W. Clowes by Mr Cecil Gould.
HUBERT ROBERT
French school, 1733 - 1808

Born in Paris on May 22, 1733, Robert was trained at the Collège du Navarre and then by the sculptor Michel-Ange Slodtz. Under the patronage of the Marquis de Ménars et de Henguy, Minister of Fine Arts, and the Duc de Choiseul, a leading French collector of the time, he went to Rome in 1754 to study at the French Academy there, and remained in Italy for eleven years. He became a friend of Piranesi and Pannini there, and devoted himself like them to depicting antique ruins. Following Pannini's example, Robert combined representations of actual monuments with imaginary prospects. In 1761 he travelled with Fragonard to Naples. On his return to Paris, he used the drawings from nature he had made in Rome and nearby as the basis for countless painted variations. He became a member of the Académie in July 1766, and thereafter busied himself with providing decorative panels for French palaces and houses. He also drew plans for parks and gardens, including those of the Petit Trianon built at Versailles for Marie Antoinette. His range of subject-matter came to include Gothic ruins, street-views of Paris, genre scenes and still lifes as well as landscapes. Having been appointed keeper of the King's pictures under Louis XVI, he also became one of the first curators of the Louvre when this museum was created. He died in Paris on April 15, 1808.

The Statue
oil on canvas, 33x66 ins.
Colln. Edith Clowes.

Provenance
Acquired by Mrs Clowes in 19...
Spanish Paintings
FRANCESCO DE GOYA
Spanish school, 1746 - 1828.

The full name of this artist was Francesco José de Goya y Lucientes. He was born in March 1746 in the village of Fuendetodos near Saragossa. His father was a master gilder by trade. Spending his early years in the village, Goya did some painting in the local church. Around 1760 he moved with his parents to Saragossa. There he studied with José Luzan for several years, mostly studying prints, but devising some compositions of his own. Late in 1763 he competed for a scholarship at the San Fernando Academy in Madrid; and in 1766 he is recorded in Madrid, where he probably studied for a short while with Francesco Bayeu, a pupil of Luzan. He went to Italy at his own expense, perhaps in 1769, and probably visited France on the way. In 1771 he is mentioned as being in Rome, but was back in Saragossa later in the same year. He worked at this period for several churches in that region. In 1773 he married Josepha Bayeu, Francesco’s sister, and the next year he was summoned to Madrid by Anton Raphael Mengs. By 1775 he had settled there. He did etchings after Velasquez and, more important, began in 1776 for the Royal Tapestry Works the first of series of cartoons which he continued painting until 1791. In 1780 he was elected to the Academy and began to get commissions for portraits from the King’s brother, the Infante Don Luis, the Dukes of Osuna and others. In 1785 he became deputy director of the Academy. The next year he was appointed painter to the King, and in 1791 "primer pintor del camara"; he would continue in those posts through succeeding reigns, spending most of his time in Madrid. An attack of paralysis in 1792-93 left him deaf; but after his convalescence he obtained further commissions, and his public career reached its height in the early years of the nineteenth century. In 1808, during the Napoleonic Wars, he witnessed the siege of Saragossa, which left a deep impression on him and led to his series of etching The Disasters of War. He served nevertheless under Joseph Bonaparte, but avoided compromising himself publicly and made at least one unsuccessful attempt to
Goya, cont.

leave the country. After the war he was cleared of the charge of collaboration and reinstated as court painter to Ferdinand VII. Unsympathetic to the monarchy, however, he ultimately went into exile in France, spending his last years from 1824-28 mainly in Bordeaux, with visits to Madrid and Paris. He died in Bordeaux.

*Portrait of a Little Girl*

oil on canvas, 26 × 21 ins.

**Condition**

Badly rubbed and repainteds.

**Provenance**

Don Esteben Espeu, Havana (?) ; Count Pudgorsky, New York. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19

**Literature**


**Exhibited**

Goya, Zurbaran and Spanish Primitives, Syracuse Museum of Fine Arts, New York and Atlanta Art Association Galleries, Georgia, Feb.-Mar.1957, no.36 (no.34 in Addenda to later ed.) ; Ind., 1959, no.29.

Attributed to Goya by J. Lopez-Ray (1947 as a work of around 1785-87. Soria considered it to be by Agustin Esteve (1753 - 1820 or later) and dated it around 1790-1800. The costume suggests an earlier date for this work, around 1775-85. It may possibly be by Esteve, but this is uncertain.
Notes.

1. Said by him, at the time of purchase, to have a provenance going back to 1788: "painted for the Governor of Vizcaya, Spain, Anzotegui, 1788; Don Aniceto Amat, Barcelona; Don Esteben Esqua, Havana; Mrs Mercedes Esque Reinhardt". These details cannot be verified.

2. Expertise of Jun. 6, 1947, Clowes archives.

3. Cf. the portrait by Maella in the Prado of the Infanta Carlota Joaquina, who was born in 1775 (Goya and his Times, Royal Academy, London, winter 1963–64, cat.no. 36; E.M. Aguilera, Pintores Españoles del Siglo XVIII, Barcelona 1946, pl.xxxviii). I am grateful to E. Sayre for her assistance here.

4. A. Sánchez-Pérez of the Prado kindly gave the compiler his opinion to this effect (orally, 1966).
EL GRECO

Spanish school, 1541 - 1614.

The real name of this artist was Domenicos Theotokopoulos. In Spain his contemporaries called him Domenico Greco or "el Griego" (the Greek); El Greco, the form which is now generally used, apparently came into use only later. He was born in Crete, then a Venetian possession. Nothing is known of his early years, but there are a few surviving paintings which indicate that he worked initially in the Byzantine manner practiced by Cretan icon-painters. The date of his move to Italy is equally unknown. It seems probable that he went to Venice first, around 1560. He was almost certainly a pupil of Titian's there, and appears to have assimilated alongside this the art of Tintoretto and Jacopo Bassano. He can be identified with reasonable certainty as the pupil of Titian's, "Giovanni Candiotto", whom Giulio Clovio mentioned in 1570 as having arrived in Rome. There he reacted, in a fundamental way, to the work of Michelangelo. By 1577 he was in Toledo, where he remained for the rest of his life. In 1580 Philip II commissioned him to do a painting for the Escorial, but was displeased with the result. He worked also for numerous churches and convents, both in Toledo and in other parts of Spain. Most of his compositions exist in several versions, and there are further versions which appear to have been done by assistants working under him. He died in Toledo on April 6 or 7, 1514.

Three Saints: Matthew, Simon and Luke
oil on canvas, each 26\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 21\(\frac{1}{2}\) ins.
each signed with El Greco's Greek initials

Condition Cleaned and restored after their discovery. The Clowes saints appear to have been overcleaned.
Provenance

Church of Almadrones, St Guadalajara, Spain; Newhouse Galleries, New York. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 1952.

Literature


Exhibited


Versions

There are related series of saints by El Greco in the Cathedral at Toledo (thirteen three-quarter length figures, average size 39\(\frac{1}{8}\) x 30 ins.) and in the Museo del Greco, Toledo (also thirteen three-quarter length figures, average size 38\(\frac{1}{4}\) x 30\(\frac{1}{2}\) ins.); also a further group, probably from the artist's studio, in the colln. of the marquis de San Feliz, Oviedo (half-length, average size 27\(\frac{1}{4}\) x 21 ins.), and another series, now split up, which was in the Henke colln., Seville, and again seems to have been produced by the artist's workshop (half-length, 24\(\frac{1}{4}\) x 19\(\frac{1}{2}\) ins.).

These three paintings belong to a series of nine, depicting eight apostles and the Savior, which were discovered high up in the parish church of Almadrones during the Spanish Civil War (1936-38). Four of the paintings are in the Prado
(the Savior, Sts. James Major, Thomas and Paul). The remainder—comprising the present works, the St. Andrew now in the Los Angeles County Museum and the St. John the Evangelist in the Kimbell Art Foundation, Fort Worth, Texas—came to the United States as the result of an exchange between the Prado and the Kress Foundation in 1952(1).

The identification of the Clowes saints is based on the depiction of St. Matthew with an open book in his left hand and a pen in his right, as though he were writing his gospels; of St. Simon with an open book which he supports with both hands and reads; and of St. Luke as holding a book and his painter's brush in his right hand.

The series, which was evidently left unfinished(7), was dated by Lafuente Ferrari[around 1600 and by Camon Aznar][around 1614. Soehner[proposed a date of 1610-1614 and considered the whole group to be a workshop production; Wethey (1962) dated the series similarly—after the Toledo Cathedral series and contemporaneously with the one in the Museo del Greco—and attributed it largely to El Greco's workshop, with the exception of the St. Matthew which he considered to be by El Greco himself. There are evident differences of quality within the series, and the St. Matthew stands out in this respect; but it seems unnecessary to posit workshop assistance to that extent, since the looseness of technique here (accentuated by cleaning) goes with the fact that the paintings were high up in the church.

Notes.

1. See E.K. Waterhouse "El Greco's Italian Period", Art Studies, 8, 1, 1930, pp. 59ff. For reservations about the number of works which can be attributed to El Greco's early period, see most recently E. Arslan, article on El Greco, Encyclopedia of World Art, VI, 1962, p. 835 and the still stronger view of Wethey, op. cit., I, pp. 30ff.


Notes, cont.

4. Prado nos. 2880 (Savior) and 2890–2892. No. 2880 is the most finished; in the others the head and neck in particular are unfinished.


6. See Wethey, op.cit. pp.100ff. For Luke, cf. the Toledo Cathedral series, (Wethey no.166 and fig.214), where the book is displayed open with a portrait of the Madonna in it, and the San Félix series (Wethey no.X-212 and fig.236; wrongly inscr. St Simon”) where the saint is shown frontally and the book is closed, as here. The painter’s brush appears in the right hand in both cases. For Matthew, cf. both the Toledo and the Museo del Greco series (Wethey nos. 167, 180 and figs 215, 229) where the arm is extended down to the right, with the pen in it. Wethey states that in the present case, as in the Henke and San Félix series (his nos. X-213, fig.231 and X-226) the right arm with the pen is eliminated; but the pen is in fact clearly visible here, indicating that St Matthew is in this case actually writing, rather than about to write. For Simon, the iconography is invariable in all of the series mentioned (Wethey nos. 171, fig.217, wrongly labelled St Mark, and 184, fig.230; and nos. X-217, fig. 232, wrongly inscr. St Bartholomew, X-230, now at Fogg Art Museum, Harvard Univ. and wrongly called St Philip, as noted by Wethey, in accordance with the identification of the previous owner, Edwin H. Abbott). The Clowes Luke has sometimes been identified alternatively as Bartholomew, and the Simon as Mark.

7. See n.4


9. I am grateful to A. Sánchez-Perálz of the Prado for making this point to me (orally, 1966).
Christ Bearing the Cross (head)

oil on panel, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

Provenance
Frank G. McComber. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19

Literature

Exhibited

Versions
1. Colln. Oscar B. Cintas, Havana. $25\frac{1}{2} \times 21\frac{3}{4}$ ins. (Wethey, I, fig. 180 and II, p. 41, no. 59). Half-length, with cross shown. Signed on cross (below hand).


This image of Christ, here, which was attributed to El Greco by L. Furst (1944), corresponds to the head in the Cintas and Thyssen versions. Wethey considered it to be a copy of the head in the first of those versions, produced by the school of El Greco early in the seventeenth century. In the
compiler's view, it would certainly appear to be a workshop product.

Notes.

1. As noted by Wethey, this may perhaps be the version listed by M.B.Cassio (El Greco, Madrid, 1908, no.13) as belonging to Lois Perez, Alcoy, near Valencia.

2. Letter of Nov. 20, 1944, Clowes archives.

3. Dated by Wethey ca. 1590-95; he labelled the Thyssen version a "mediocre repetition".

4. This view was supported by A.Sanchez-Perez of the Prado (orally, personal communication, 1966)
EL GRECO, cont.

**St. Judas Thaddeus**

Oil on canvas, 42 x 25½ ins.

**Condition**

Examined by the Conservation Dept. of the Fogg Museum, Sept. 1966. The canvas has been relined. It was once wider at the two sides (there is dark green paint on the tacking margins). Red ground. Plant forms at the bottom have been painted out. Found to be a work of some age.

**Provenance**


**Literature**

A. L. Mayer, *El Greco*, Munich, 1926, no. 216 and fig. 37;


According to Mayer, this painting represents a workshop repetition of a lost original, belonging to a series of four saints—the other three being Sts. Andrew, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. He reproduced in his book versions of these three saints which certainly appear to be by the same hand as the Clowes painting. He considered that the Andrew and Evangelist might be by Jorge Manuel (son and follower of El Greco, 1578-1631) and that the Baptist was definitely by him. Wethey (1962) attributed the present work to Luis Tristan.
(1586 (?) -1624) or his school, around 1620. It appears, however, to be of later date than either of those suggestions would imply.

The identification of the saint as Judas Thaddaeus is based on his holding of the halberd with which he was martyred.

Notes.

1. It appears to be the painting reproduced in M. Legrande, Domenikos Theotokopoulos called El Greco, London, 1937, pl.334 (as in a private colln.; photo Moreno, Madrid)

2. These two details of provenance are taken from Wethey (not cited)

3. As "present whereabouts unknown".

4. Andrew, colln. Diego Canovas, Madrid; dimensions unknown (Mayer no.175a; Wethey no.X-233). 
   Evangelist, Museo Cerralbo, Madrid; 40x25 ins. (Mayer no.194a; Wethey no.X-384). 
   Baptist, whereabouts and dimensions unknown (Mayer no.190a; Wethey no. X-380). 

5. The sources for the three saints enumerated in note 4 appear to be (as noted by Mayer and Wethey): (1) Andrew, Metropolitan Museum, New York (Mayer no.175; Wethey no.196 and fig.112) 
   (2) for the Evangelist, The Sts John Baptist and Evangelist, San Ildefonso, Toledo (Mayer no.193; Wethey no.252 and fig.199) 
   (3) Baptist, formerly in colln. of Bernard Koehler, Berlin; present whereabouts unknown (Mayer no.190; Legrande and Hartmann, op.cit., pl.289; Wethey no.X-379, as school or workshop of El Greco, ca. 1600-1610).

6. See n.4 for refs. A. Camon Aznar (pp. 1374, 1376) similarly considered that the Andrew was by Manuel, and possibly the Evangelist also, and H. Soehner ("Greco in Spanien", pt.iii, Münchener Jahrbuch für Bildende Kunst, 9-10, 1958-59, p.226, no.235) attributed the Evangelist to this artist, ca. 1620-30. Wethey, on the other hand, gave different attributions for each of the three
saints in question (Andrew: Spanish school ca.1650; Evangelist: workshop of Greco, Jorge Manuel (?), ca.1610-20; Baptist: school of Toledo, ca.1625-50). The latest of the dates suggested by Wetley here seems the most plausible, if the four saints do indeed go together (lack of record of the dimensions in two cases makes it difficult to be certain of this); Soehner (op. cit., no.259) correspondingly classified the Andrew as a XVIIth or XVIIIth c. copy.

6. Cf. the Judas Thaddeus in the series of saints in the Museo del Greco, Toledo, and also in the Toledo Cathedral series (Wetley nos. 165, 179, figs. 216, 226). Wetley correspondingly corrected Mayer's identification of the Cloves saint as St Thomas, who is shown by El Greco holding either the lance with which he was martyred, as in the Museo del Greco series (ibid. no.185, fig. 233) or his normal attribute, the carpenter's square, as in the Toledo Cathedral series (ibid. no.172, fig.210). The weapon held in the present case is definitely a halberd and not a lance.
Born in Madrid, this artist was baptized there on April 8, 1596. His parents were both natives of Brussels, and his father was described in the baptismal certificate as arquero to the King, so that Falomino's statement that the father was a painter is to be distrusted. There is no evidence as to his early training, but his still lifes come out of an existing Spanish tradition. He married Eugenia de Herrara and had a daughter, in 1622, and also a son. In 1627 he applied unsuccessfully for the position of Court Painter to the King, left open by the death of Bartholomé González. He died on March 28, 1631.

Still Life
oil on canvas, 22 41 ins.
signed lower left: "Ja· Van der Hamen de Leon fe 1623"
Colln. Edith Clowes.

Condition
Good.

Provenance

Literature
A still life characteristic of this artist's production; Jordan noted the tripartite character of the composition here.

Notes.

1. Cf. the two still lifes in the Prado, nos. 1164-1165 (Catalogo de las Pinturas, 1963, p. 311), one dated 1622 and the other 1623.
This artist was baptized in Seville on New Year's Day 1618. He was apprenticed there to the painter Juan del Castillo, who died in 1640. He married in 1645 and subsequently had nine children. According to Palomino (who emphasizes the point very strongly), he went to Madrid and studied the paintings in the Royal collections there. This visit is put by Palomino before the execution of a series of paintings for the cloister of San Francisco in Seville, one of which is dated 1646; but Murillo himself in declaration made at the time of his marriage said that he had never left Seville. This contradiction, and the fact that substantial changes are found in the artist's work by the mid-1650s, as compared to the San Francisco series -- changes implying a move away from the native pictorial tradition of Seville, and an accompanying knowledge of the work of Rubens, van Dyck, Velasquez and perhaps the Venetians -- suggest that the visit should be put later, most probably between 1648 and 1650, when the artist is not recorded as being in Seville. Thereafter he seems to have spent the rest of his life in his hometown. In 1655 paintings by him of Saints Leandro and Isidoro were placed in the Cathedral there, and he was described as the city's best painter. In 1656 he completed the Vision of Saint Anthony for the Cathedral, and in 1660 became one of the founders of the Seville Academy and its first president. In 1670-74 he is recorded as working on paintings for the Hospital de la Caridad, and from 1678 on he did paintings for the Hospital de los Venerables Sacerdotes. He was engaged in producing pictures for the Capuchin church at Cadiz at the time of his death in April 1682, caused by a fall from the scaffolding. He was an extremely productive artist, with many assistants and followers, and created a tradition of painting which continued in Seville, probably throughout the eighteenth century.
Madonna in Prayer
oil on canvas, 20 × 14 1/4 ins.
Colln. Edith Clowes.

Condition

A photograph in the Witt Library shows the condition of the painting before cleaning. Much of the detail was previously obscure, particularly in the landscape and drapery.

Provenance


Literature


That dated at the time of its acquisition around 1650; but there is no clear basis for dating the work. The Madonna is shown with the instruments of the passion—nails and a crown of thorns.

Notes

1. As 18 1/4 × 14 ins. Bought in, by Mason.
Notes, cont.

2. All of these publications refer only to the location of the work. It does not appear in A.L. Mayer, *Murillo*, Berlin-Stuttgart, Berlin, 1913.

3. Very few of Murillo's works are dated and have definite dates attached to them. See Mayer, op. cit.
FÈRE VALL (The Master of the Cardona Pentecost)
Spanish school, around 1400.

The "Master of the Cardona Pentecost" represents the name given by Chandler Post to the Catalan painter of around 1400 responsible for the retable of the Pentecost in the parish church at Cardona. Post presented this artist as strongly influenced by the Serra brothers, particularly Jaime, and attributed to him two further works, the retable of St. Anne in the same parish church and a panel of St. Anne, the Virgin and Child in a private collection in Budapest. Gudiol, in reference to the present works, has claimed to be able to identify this master, on the basis of documents, as Fère Vall.

Two Pairs of Saints (Sts. Michael and Amator, Stephen and Mary Magdalen)
tempera on panel, each 35\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 26 ins.
Colln. Edith Clowes.

Provenance

Literature
Archivo Español de Arte, 31, 1958, p.165, no.36, ill. (reprodn. of second panel)

These panels certainly appear to be by the same hand as the central section of the St. Anne retable at Cardona (see above). Gudiol suggested that they might have belonged to the predella of the Pentecost retable itself. Two further panels from the same set as said to be in a private collection in Indianapolis.
The saints in the present case have been identified as above.

Notes.


2. J. Gudiol, statement on back of present panels, communicated to the compiler by the Newhouse Galleries.

3. Post, op. cit., II, fig. 175.

4. Cf. n. 2

5. Information from Allen W. Clowes to the compiler. They were acquired from a different source.
JUSEPE DE RIBERA
Spanish school, 1591 (?) – 1652.

Ribera was known in Italy as "lo Spagnoletto". He was born at Játiva, near Valencia, and is almost certainly the one known as "Joan Jusep Ribera" baptized in the Colegiata there on February 17, 1591. According to Palomino he studied with Francesco Ribalta at Valencia, but there is little or no evidence in his early paintings to suggest this. He went to Italy at an early age — the exact date is unknown — and stayed there for the rest of his life. He spent several years in Rome, and may also have visited Perma and Padua. Subsequently he moved to Naples — again the date is unknown, but probably around 1616 — and did work for the Spanish viceroys. He was apparently on close terms there with Reni, Stanzione, Lanfranco and Domenichino. He may also have met Guercino, and certainly knew his work. The last years of his life were years of hardship, ending with his death in Naples. Ribera's style is based essentially on that of Caravaggio and his followers in Naples. There are dated etchings of his from 1621 onwards, and his first dated painting is of 1626, by which he belonged to the Accademia di San Luca in Rome. Many of his paintings were sent to Spain by the patrons who commissioned them, and Ribera's art correspondingly played a key role in the spread of Caravaggism to Spain.

_A Philosophe_ (called Archimedes)

oil on canvas, 49 x 39 ins.
signed bottom left "Jusepe de Ribera, español F. 1637".

**Condition**

Good. The character of the sleeve suggests some repainting in that area.
Provenance

Fürstlich Lichtensteinsche Gemäldegalerie, Vaduz, Lichtenstein (by 1767); Newhouse Galleries, New York. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 1955.

Literature


Exhibited

Paintings and Graphics by Jusepe Ribera, Oberlin College, Ohio, winter 1957, cat. no. 4 (Allen Memorial Art Museum Bull., 14, 2, winter 1957, p. 74); Ind., 1959, no. 49.

One of a series of paintings by Ribera of the "wise men" or ancient philosophers. The total number of canvases in the series in question is unclear, and so is the identification of the figures in them. The present work --along with five other philosophers-- was evidently in the Lichtenstein collection by 1767. How they were acquired and where they came from is unknown.

In the eighteenth century the Lichtenstein figures were identified as Aristotle, Plato, Crates, Anaxagoras, Diogenes, and Protagoras. Subsequently the present philosopher --shown holding papers which include a sketch of intersecting spheres-- was identified as Archimedes. According to Fitz Darby, however, the figure is to be taken as Aristotle, in doctor's cap and gown.
Notes

1. See n. 3 below.

2. The prefix "A" refers back to the 1873 cat. (by O. Miethke).

3. Descrizione completa di tutto ciò che ritrovavasi nella Galleria di pittura e scultura di sua altezza Giuseppe Wenceslas del S.R.I. principe reggente della casa di Lichtenstein, Vienna, 1767, p. 105. The listing of six works here seems to go against Fitz Harby's suggestion that there were originally three more paintings in the series corresponding to the missing numbers A 56, 373 and 375.

4. See the cat. cited in n. 3, and also Description de tableaux et des pièces de sculpture que renferme la Gallerie de Son altesse Francois Joseph chef et prince regnant de la maison de Lichtenstein, Vienna, 1780, pp. 160 and 169. It is not clear which numbers in Krönfeld's 1931 cat. correspond to each of these identifications. The other five philosophers appear in that cat. as A 55, 372, 374, 376 and 377. A 377, signed and dated 1636, is inscribed with the name of Anaxagoras, but it is not clear if this inscription is contemporary. A 55 is called Diogenes and A 52, the present work, Archimedes. A 372, 374, 376, all said to be dated 1637, are listed as unidentified philosophers. A 376, sold along with the Clowes painting, is now in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford (Turner, op. cit., fig. 1), and a third painting sold is in a U.S. private colln. (Ford, fig. 3). A 55 is illustrated in A. Strix and E. V. Strohmer, Die Fürstlich Liechtensteinsche Gemäldegalerie in Wien, Vienna, 1938, pl. 19; the remaining two have never been published.

5. See n. 4

6. She suggested (pp. 288ff., 296ff.) that Prado no. 1121, called there Archimedes (Catalogo de Las Pinturas, 1963 ed., p. 551; dated 1630) should in fact be identified as Democritus, the laughing philosopher; and that Prado no. 1120, called Aesop, may be an "unrevised" Aristotle.
SPANISH SCHOOL

Still Life
oil on canvas, 24½ x 28 ins.

Provenance
Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19.

Exhibited
Ind., 1959, no.53

Acquired as a Velasquez, this still life was then relabelled "Spanish School" in the exhibition cited above. It does not appear to be a Spanish seventeenth century work, but rather one of later date — most probably eighteenth century. It might be Spanish or Italian.
His full name was Diego Rodriguez de Silva Velasquez; he signed himself "Diego Velasquez" or Diego de Silva Velasquez. He was born in Seville, and is supposed to have worked there for a short time, around 1612, under Francesco Herrara the Elder. From 1613 to 1618 he was a pupil of Francisco Pacheco. He first went to Madrid on a brief visit in 1622. The following April he was summoned there by Philip IV's minister, the Conde-Duque de Olivares. His success in Madrid was immediate; he was commissioned almost at once to do the King's portrait and entered the royal service in October, with the promise that he alone should paint Philip IV. He remained attached to the Court for the rest of his life, and from then on most of his paintings consisted of portraits of the royal family and of members of the court. He was made a Gentleman Usher in 1627, the first of a series of court appointments. In 1628-29 he met Rubens in Italy. In July 1629 he left Madrid to visit Italy, and first spent time in Venice, studying and copying the great Venetian painters. He then travelled on to Rome in 1630, and at the end of the year to Naples. He returned to Madrid early in 1631. Early in 1649 he visited Italy a second time, going to Genoa, Venice, Naples and Rome and coming back to Madrid in June 1651. His single most important work, Las Meninas, was apparently completed in 1656. He was made a Knight of Santiago in 1659 and died in Madrid the next year. To judge from the number of copies and versions of his portraits, he must have employed a large number of assistants; and he probably produced only a relatively small number of autograph works.

Portrait of a Lady
oil on canvas, 21½ × 19¼ ins.
Condition

A photograph from 1909 (Witt Lit.) shows that the painting, which then measured 65 x 54 cm., has been cut down at the bottom. More of the white of the sleeves was then visible, and comparison with the photograph also suggests some retouching.

Provenance


Acquired as a Velasquez, this appears to be a school of Madrid painting of the second half of the seventeenth century which depends compositionally upon portraits by Velasquez.

Notes.

1. I am grateful to A. Sánchez Pérez of the Prado for his help here (given orally, 1966).
Francisco de Zurbaran Salazar was born on November 7, 1598 at Fuente de Cuntos in the province of Badajoz, and was apprenticed by 1614 to Pedro Díaz de Villanueva in Seville — an artist who was perhaps a pupil of Juan de la Roelas there. He was greatly influenced by the work of the Italian tenebrists, Ribera and the young Velasquez. He resided in Llerena in the province of Badajoz from 1617 to 1628, and then in 1629 moved to Seville at the request of the town council and settled there. His first work there, commissioned in September 1629, was the altarpiece of Saint Joseph for the Church of the Trinidad Calza. In May 1630 the painters' guild in Seville, headed by Alonso Cano, ordered Zurbaran to submit to an examination, but the town council supported him in his refusal and commissioned an Immaculate Conception for the town hall as a vote of confidence. In 1634 he is recorded in Madrid, collaborating on the decoration of the Buen Retiro palace, and was paid for the series of the Labours of Hercules in the Prado. He also did two historical pictures for the Hall of Realms, only one of which, the Defense of Cadiz, is preserved. He returned to Seville with the title of painter to the King and worked from 1636 onwards on a large cycle of paintings for the Charterhouse of Jerez de la Frontera. Between 1640 and 1658 he produced works for South American patrons as well as for Spanish churches. He apparently returned to Madrid and lived there from 1658 on, but by that time his handling had deteriorated in quality. He died in Madrid on August 7, 1664.

A Monk being Stoned

oil on canvas, 24\frac{3}{4} \times 16\frac{3}{4} \text{ ins.}
Condition

The painting appears heavily retouched in the head, hands and sky.

Provenance

Acquired by Dr. Clowes in 19

Literature

(See below).

Evidently one of the series of canvases of Mercedarian martyrs, painted for the lower cloister of the Barefoot Mercedarians of the Church of San José in Seville; the date of around 1636 for this series comes from the fact that Zurbarán did two paintings for the church which are dated that year. Thirty-eight paintings from the series passed to the Alcázar in Seville in 1810; sixteen were subsequently in the Galerie Espagnole of Louis-Philippe. Soria catalogued twenty-three paintings from the series in all; but did not include the present work, which corresponds in size to the remainder (approximately 61 x 41 cm.). It has generally been agreed that Zurbarán's workshop was wholly or largely responsible for the execution of the series; and the present work, from its quality, is to be attributed to the workshop correspondingly.

It is not possible to establish the identity of any of the individual martyrs depicted.

Notes.

1. Other paintings from the same series (see below) are also in doubtful condition -- e.g. the Cistercian Monk Praying in the Museo Greco, Toledo.

German/Austrian Paintings
AUSTRIAN SCHOOL, around 1400

Passion of Our Lord

tempera on panel, reconstitution of a dismembered altarpiece. 12 panels, each approx. 14 x 7 ins.
In present sequence, left to right: top, Last Supper, Agony in the Garden, Kiss of Judas, Pilate Washing his Hands, Christ at the Column, Mocking of Christ; bottom, Way to Calvary, Raising of the Cross, Crucifixion, Deposition, Entombment, Resurrection.

Provenance
A convent near Bregenz, Austria; private colln., Austria; Newhouse Galleries, New York. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 1951-52.

Exhibited
Ind., 1959, no. 2.

Originally there were eight panels. The present reconstitution and the containing frame were created for Dr Clowes by the Newhouse Galleries.

Acquired as Austrian school. K. Boon (1962) suggested a Westphalian origin. Bausch (196) suggested that the work was South-East German -- possibly Bohemian or Austrian. F. Grossmann (1966) considered that if the work was Austrian, it must be from the province of Styria; but he noted that it was closer to North-West German examples in its iconography. C. Kuhn correspondingly considered it to be a provincial, North-West German work of around 1390-1400 -- probably from Westphalia.

Although other parts can be presumed missing, this work represents
work represents an unusual example of the Northern Gothic altarpiece composed of multiple panels.

Notes.

1. These two pieces of information were supplied by the Newhouse Galleries at the time of acquisition.

2. Information from Allen W. Clowes.


HANS BALDUNG GRIEN
German school, 1484/5 - 1545.

Born in 1484-5 (not 1476, as was believed earlier), most probably at Gründ in Swabia, Baldung adopted the name of Grien or Grün, as seen in his accustomed monogram HGR. His early training is obscure, the suggestion that he was in Dürer's studio at Nuremberg before 1505 being purely hypothetical. He most probably worked first at Strasbourg, and in this way assimilated the example of Schongauer. The first dated painting which is known to be by him is the Saint Sebastian altarpiece of 1507 for the Stadtkirche in Halle. He is first recorded at Strasbourg the following year, by which time he was married. Around 1510-11 he began working for the Margrave Christopher I of Baden, and further commissions from the Baden court ensued. He is last recorded at Freiburg in 1512, and from then until 1517 carried out commissions there, which consisted chiefly of the execution of paintings and designing of stained glass for the cathedral. In 1517 he moved back to Strasbourg and renewed his citizenship there. He settled there for the rest of his life, becoming a senator of the city of 1545, and died there in September of that year. He did a number of portraits and also made copper-plate engravings.

Portrait of a Young Man
oil on panel, 14 1/2 x 11 1/2 ins.
Colln. Edith Clowes.

Provenance
This portrait, acquired as a Baldung, appears to be German and sixteenth century -- the costume is possible for that period -- but it is difficult to make a more precise attribution.
LUCAS CRANACH the Elder,
German school, 1472 - 1553.

This artist's real name was Lucas Sunder or Müller. His adopted name derives from Kronach, in Upper Franconia, where he was born. By tradition he was a pupil there of his father Hans. Around 1500 or a little earlier he travelled through Bavaria and subsequently reached Vienna. The Crucifixion now in the Kupferstichkabinett Museum, Vienna is generally accepted as his earliest known painting, and woodcuts of 1502-3 indicate that he knew the work of Dürer. On April 14, 1505 he was taken into the service of the Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony at Wittenberg, and remained there working for two subsequent electors, John the Steadfast and John Frederick the Magnanimous. In January 1508 he was granted a coat of arms. The next year he was in the Netherlands. He was elected a town councillor of Wittenberg in 1517, and became burgomaster there in 1537 and again in 1540. In 1550 he joined the Elector John Frederick at Augsburg, where this patron of his was being held as prisoner of Charles V. He painted Titian's portrait there. He returned to Weimar in 1552 and died there on October 16, 1553. He did mythological and classical as well as religious paintings, and portraits, including ones of his close friend Martin Luther and his wife. His artistic output was huge and involved a large degree of studio assistance. His sons Hans (who died in 1537) and Lucas the Younger (1515-1586) were certainly active in the studio, working from designs of his. The device of the flying snake or dragon, derived from Cranach's arms, was used without differentiation on autograph and on studio works, and it is frequently difficult or virtually impossible to make a clear demarcation between the two.

**Crucifixion**

oil on panel, 30 × 21¾ ins
signed with dragon, bottom left, and
dated 1532 (?)
Provenance

Heinrich Ranzau, Schleswig-Holstein (1596); Count Wilczek, Schloss Kreuzenstein, near Vienna (before 1938). Acquired by Dr. Clowes in 19

Literature


Exhibited


Versions

1. Lempertz sale, Cologne, Nov.21, 1957, no.30 (photograph in Witt Lib.). Corresponds exactly to the Clowes version, apart from the inscription. The date is clearly readable here as 1532.

2. Art Institute, Chicago, Worcester colln. (M.J.Friedländer - J.Rosenberg, Die Gemälde Lucas Cranach, Berlin, 1932, cat.no. 302, ill.) From the colln. of Sir Fairfax Cartwright. Friedländer and Rosenberg read the date here as 1518, rather than 1533, the reading given by Rich (Bull. of Art Institute of Chicago, 33, 1929, p.6). A variant of the same composition. 5

This panel carries an inscription at the bottom left recording its gift by Dr. Hardwig of Dassel on October 26, 1596 to Heinrich Ranzau, Vicar of the King of Denmark and nobleman of Schleswig-Holstein.  3 The coat of arms is said to be that of the Dassel family.  3

It was certified to be a work of Cranach the Elder by M.J. Friedländer (1934) 5 and by W.Suida, G.Glück and W.R. Valentiner (1935) 6. Friedländer and Suida read the date as 1532, and this appears preferable to Rich's reading of it as 1544.
The situation as regards activity in Cranach the Elder's workshop (see above) makes it extremely difficult to make a firm attribution in the present case; but the possibility that this version is by Lucas the Younger—whom Friedländer and Rosenberg suggested as the author of some of the variants that they list—deserves consideration.(6)

Notes.

1. Friedländer and Rosenberg also list (nos. 302a-d) the following further variants of the Chicago version which they do not illustrate: Dessau, Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie, nos. 16 and 17 (the latter dated 1538); Erlangen, Galerie, nos. 8, 9 and 10 (dated 1540); Lazzaro colln., Madrid, 1929 cat., no. 1002. They further mention a version is the Schlosskirche, Hanover (pub. by F. Stuttmann, "Ein unbesehen Alter Lucas Cranachs d. Ä. in Hannover", Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, 21, 1927-8, pp. 341ff.)


3. By Glück (see n.4).


6. The version sold in 1957 seems definitely of lower quality.
HANS HOLBEIN the Younger  
German school, 1497/8 - 1543

This artist was born at Augsburg in 1497-8, the son of Holbein the Elder, by whom he was trained. By 1515 he was at Bâle, where his elder brother Ambrosius is recorded as a painter, and he took part at this time in the decoration of Erasmus's book The Praise of Folly. From 1517 to 1519 he was at Lucerne, and was a member of the Guild of St. Luke there; and it is probably that he visited North Italy during this period. He became a member of the painters' guild at Bâle in September 1519, and a citizen there in July of the following year. During the ensuing period which he spent in Bâle he was kept busy with paintings, did drawings for stained glass and woodcut illustrations, and drew the blocks for his famous series of the Dance of Death. A visit to France in 1524 is recorded, and he is to be identified as the painter mentioned by Erasmus, in a letter of August 1526, as on his way to England. He is correspondingly recorded in London in a letter from Sir Thomas More to Erasmus of December that year. On this first visit to England, he undertook a large portrait of More's family, which appears never to have been completed, and also painted Archbishop Warham and made decorations for one of Henry VIII's celebrations at Greenwich -- the first of a long series of works for the King. He returned to Bâle in 1528, but was in London again by 1532, and now settled there. He entered Henry VIII's service (the date of this is unknown, but he is referred to as a royal servant in 1536). In March 1538 he was in Brussels, and in France later that same year, after which he visited Bâle briefly. He made his will in London on October 7, 1543 and died between then and the end of November. He worked as a painter, draughtsman, and book illustrator, and also did jewellery-designs, pageant-designs and fresco decorations. In England he did mainly portraits.

Self-Portrait  
Oil on panel, 4½ ins. diameter.  
monogrammed HH either side of head, and inscr.  
on the panel, L. J. A. AN. 1542 and ACA 45
Condition

Restored in the 1870s by Andreas Müller. It was reported then that the oak panel had been broken on the left side and repaired, and that the inscription had been somewhat strengthened. The last figure of the date appears today to be somewhat dubious.

Provenance

Von Stackelberg family, Schloss Fähna, near Riga (1873); Emil Paravicini-Engel, Bâle (from 1929); Silberman Galleries, New York (1936). Acquired by Dr. Clowes in 19

Literature


Exhibited

1. Private colln., Switzerland. Oil on panel, 12.5 cm. in diameter. (Knackfuss, 1902, p.154; Schmid, 1951, ill. pp.29ff.) Green background. Inscr. HH either side of the head, and beneath each of the letters AN ° 154(3?) --last figure illegible -- and AETA 49(1). Considerably damaged, restored 1949 with removal of earlier retouchings. From the colln. of Capt. Edward Manners, Rutland House, Knightsbridge (inherited by him in 1835(2)); then with the Veret family.

2. Florence, Uffizi (no.149). Drawing, black and colored chalk. (Ganz, 1950, no.131, ill.; Schmid, 1948, II, p.21 and frontispiece). Acquired by Cardinal Leopold Medici in 1714. Enlarged then on all four sides and almost entirely painted over with watercolor and gold. Dimensions, without the later additions, 23 × 18 cm. Inscr. IOANNES HOLPEIUS BA / SILENSIS / SUI IPSIUS EFFIGIATOR AE XLIV; this inscription is not original.

There are also various miniature versions: Wallace Colln., London (P. Ganz, Hans Holbein der Jüngerer, des Meisters Gemälde, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1912, p.150); colln. of Duke of Buccleuch (H. Kennedy, *Early English Portrait Miniatures in the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch*, The Studio, 1917, pl.11); colln. Meyer van den Bergh, Antwerp, etc. The first two versions, which seem to be the best, are both dated 1543(3).

There was already considerable controversy in the 1870s, when this work was first written about, as to whether or not it could be by Holbein himself. Wollmann (1876), taking support from a report by E. His-Hausler (quoted by him) considered that it could not be an autograph work.

Ganz subsequently published the portrait and argued (1929, 1937, 1950) for its being a work of 1542 --the year before Holbein's death --by the artist himself; but the arguments which he presented in support of this are confused and inconsistent. At the same time Schmid (1931, 1948) judged the Clove version to be a copy after Holbein. Schmid's later view (1951) that the Veret-Manners version, which he had previously classed as more
removed still from the original, was by Holbein was echoed in a modified form by Grossmann (1951 also), who stated that while its condition made judgement difficult, the Verney-Manners version appeared to be better. The compiler concurs with the view that the Cloves version can hardly be by Holbein; its metallic and enamel-like character suggest that it is a later sixteenth century version, of very high quality, and that the inscription correspondingly represents a retrospective statement as to Holbein's age when he died.

The adoption of a toundo form for self-portraits in the sixteenth century is related to the use of a mirror for portraying oneself.

Notes.

1. See the restorer's statement of that time, published by Wörmann, pp.317ff.

2. Dr F. Grossmann, after seeing the work, wrote to the compiler to that effect (letter of Jul.31, 1966). For the evidence of other versions which can equally be taken as casting doubt on this date, see below; and cf. Woltmann's comment, p.168. According to Ganz (1937, p.68, n.23) the last figure of the date was altered at some point and then revealed as a "2" by cleaning.

3. According to Wörmann, it had been with the family for 150 years; according to Knackfuss, who appears more reliable here, their ownership went back to 1774. The supposed appearance of the work in the Dresden Holbein-Austellung, May-Oct. 1871, is not substantiated by the cat. of that exhbn.

5. It would appear most likely, from this provenance, that this version and not the Clowes one is the one that belonged to the Earl of Arundel; for, as noted by Wornum (loc. cit.) there was a marriage connection between the Arundel and Rutland families. Cf. Schmid (1951) and Grossmann for this suggested identification.

The history of the Arundel version can be put together as follows: possibly the version which Carel van Mander recorded having seen in the possession of the painter Bartholomeus Ferreris (Het leven der...Schilders [1604], Amsterdam, 1764 ed., I, p.134): "groot omtrend de palm van eene hand"; recorded in an engraving by Lucas Vosterman (H.S. Hyams, Lucas Vosterman, Catalogue Raisonné de Son Oeuvre, Brussels, 1893, no.167; Ganz, 1937, pl.IB; inscr. "...AMHO 1543 AETAT 45"), which was probably done in England between 1624 and 1630, since Vosterman worked for the Earl of Arundel at that time; also recorded in a corresponding engraving by Wenzel Hollar, dated 1647 (G. Parthey, Wenzel Hollar, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis seiner Kupferstiche, Berlin, 1853, no.1418; Ganz, op. cit., pl.IC; the writing on the portrait itself is reproduced in this case — HH and AE.45, put here to the left of the head, and AN. 1543, put on the other side — and the inscription below records the original as being in the Arundel colln.); recorded by Richard Symonds in his notebooks (British Museum, Egerton MS. 1636, f.89v.; cited by Wornum, loc. cit.) as being in the Arundel colln. in 1653, and as being dated 1543; passed subsequently to Lord Stafford (H. Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England, 1828 ed., I, p.128).

6. Schmid's statement (1948, p.19) implying that there is at least one miniature dated 1542, as against 1543, remains unverified. The earliest record of a miniature version is provided by Carel van Mander, who saw one in the house of Jacques Razet in Amsterdam (op. cit., I, p.134: "het Portret van Holbein door hem zelf in een kleine rondje zeer net en zuiver in migniator geschilderd"). Subsequently Joachim von Sandrart, who was in Amsterdam between 1639 and 1645, gave a small, round version which was probably a miniature one to the collector Michel Le Blond...
n. 6, cont.


7. See Wörmann’s remarks on this subject, recording the views of both sides and abstaining from a final judgement of his own.

8. It was sold to Dr Clowes with certificates from Ganz of Jul. 24, 1936 and one from W. Suida (Clowes archives).

9. Cf. Grossmann’s corrective comments, 1951. If the date of 1542 on the Clowes version is genuine, as Ganz consistently believed, then this version cannot have been the Arundel one (discussed in n. 5), since the latter was definitely dated 1543. Also, in his 1950 cat. entry, Ganz now gave 1616 as the date of the Vosterman engraving, rather than 1624-30 (cf. again n. 5), and argued from this that the Clowes version could have been one of the two versions seen by van Mander in Amsterdam (cf. ns. 5, 6), at the same time maintaining his point (cat. no. 6A) that one of those two was in fact the Holbein portrait of Hans of Antwerp; whereas he had previously maintained (1937) that the version seen in the Ferreris colln. was the Hans of Antwerp and had correctly stated that the other version was described by van Mander as a miniature. That the Arundel version was not a miniature is shown by Symonds’ description of it as an oil-painting. In his 1950 entry Ganz also suggested that the Uffizi drawing was most probably the preliminary study for the Clowes version; in his 1937 article he had argued that that drawing was used for a lost original, of which the Clowes version was to be taken as a small replica.

10. I am grateful to Dr Grossmann for his help here (letters of Jan. 7 and Jul. 31, 1966).
Portrait of Thomas Cromwell
oil and tempera on panel, 20 × 17 ins.

Condition
A photograph in the files of the National Portrait Gallery, London (no. 12511) shows the condition of the work at the time of the 1930 sale. A crack appears there, running all the way down the center of the panel, and the sitter's right hand —now missing—is included at the bottom left, resting together with the left hand. Comparison of infra-red photographs of the work in its present state (taken for the compiler) with that older photograph suggests, that in the course of the restoration and between 1930 and Dr. Clowes's acquisition of the work, older retouchings were removed and replaced, where necessary, with a slightly more delicate hand, and that the face is less covered up than it was.

Provenance
Charles Penruddocke (1890); Capt. G.W. Penruddocke; sold Robinson and Fiske, Nov. 13, 1930, lot 23. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19.

Literature

Exhibited
Versions

For the major versions of the Holbein portrait showing Cromwell as Master of the Jewel House (Frick colln., New York; Chichester Constable colln.; National Portrait Gallery, London, no.1727) see, most recently, R. Strong, "Holbein in England, I and II", Burl. Mag., 109, 1967, pp.276ff. Further versions are in the Saumarez colln., Shrubland Park (from the colln. of Lord Cunliffe; sold Sotheby's Jan.23, 1946, no.52); in the colln. of Lord Egremont, Petworth House (1920 cat., no.161); and in the colln. of Major H.B. Trevor Cox (on loan to Northampton City Art Gallery). The National Portrait Gallery also has a second version, no.1083.

For related miniature versions, see L. Cüst, "A Newly Discovered Miniature of Thomas Cromwell", Burl. Mag., 20, 1911, pp.5ff. (this miniature was sold at Christie's, Jun.27, 1958, no.47); and Ganz, 1950, cat.no.137, pls.190-191.

Ganz also mentioned (under cat.no.81) further versions of the present work, but he did not specify their whereabouts. One was in the C.L.Cardon sale, Brussels, Jun.27-30, 1931 (roundel, head only).

Thomas Cromwell (ca.1485 - 1546), the son of a blacksmith and brewer, became known to Cardinal Wolsey and was elected a Member of Parliament. He was made Chancellor of the Exchequer by Henry VIII in 1533; Master of the Rolls and Vicar General of Ecclesiastical Affairs in 1535; Lord Privy Seal in 1536; and Earl of Essex and Lord Chamberlain in 1539. He was arrested on January 10, 1540 and beheaded on a treason charge on July 20.

Chamberlain (1913) considered that the present work could not be by Holbein. After its restoration, Ganz certified it to be a Holbein and published it accordingly (1950).

In fact all of the portraits of Holbein which have been attributed to Holbein show, basically, the same face-mask, though the costume and accoutrements differ; and they are all to be taken correspondingly, according to Strong, as derivations from a lost original of around 1533-34, the character of which is most closely reflected in the portrait in the Frick Collection;
cont.

(see under versions). The condition of the present work makes it hard to assess its quality; but it would appear, according to Strong's argument, that it can hardly be by Holbein, but is rather to be taken simply as a sixteenth century derivative -- from the same prototype as lies behind all the other versions.

Notes.

1. I am grateful to Elizabeth Jones of the Fogg Museum for interpreting these photographs for me, and to F. Grossmann for giving me his opinion of the work's condition, before and after he saw the 1930 photograph, which I sent him (letters of Jul. 31 and Aug. 6, 1966). According to Ganz (see Lit.), the painting was cut down on three of its sides, and the restoration revealed "underdrawing .... in Indian ink on a light red-tinted chalk ground".

2. The previous owner was given in the 1959 cat. as Count Wilczek, Schloss Kreuzenstein; but this would appear to be a transfer of provenance from the Portrait of a Lady (q.v.). Ganz (1950) gives no provenance in the present case.

3. As 18 x 16 ins.

4. Information from the revised cat. entry of the National Portrait Gallery, kindly provided for me by Mr Kerslake.

5. Doc. of Dec. 9, 1937, Clowes archives. In his 1950 cat. Ganz dated the portrait around 1538, on the grounds that the sitter appeared older than in the Frick portrait and that this might be the work for which "Hannes the painter" (Holbein) was paid 40 shillings by Cromwell on Jan. 4, 1538 (see Chamberlain, op.cit., II, p. 232 for this payment in Cromwell's account book). Chamberlain, in contrast, had suggested that this payment was for a miniature portrait. Since the document gives no
specification as to the kind of work involved, all assumptions on the subject are purely hypothetical.

6. I am grateful to Dr Strong for outlining to me (orally, 1965) the viewpoint which he subsequently put forward in his 1967 article, and for giving me his opinion of the Clowes portrait in terms of that viewpoint (it will be mentioned correspondingly as a derivation in the forthcoming revised cat. of the National Portrait Gallery, under no. 1727). F. Grossmann (letter to the compiler, Aug. 6, 1966) considered that the differences from the Frick version were sufficient to justify the assumption that at least a design of Holbein's lay behind the Clowes version.
HANS HOLBEIN the Younger, cont.

Portrait of an Unknown Lady (sometimes called Frau Holbein)
black and colored chalk and watercolor
on red tinted paper, 14 3/8 x 11 3/8 ins.
signed lower right HH.

Condition
Mounted on wood. The ink appears to represent later strengthening, and the blue ground to have been renovated more than once. The tempera may also be a later addition.

Provenance
Count Hans Wilczek, Schloss Kreuzenstein, near Vienna; Vienna art market (early 1930s). Acquired by Dr. Clowes in 19.

Literature

Exhibited
This drawing was recognized by Ganz as being a pendant to the male portrait now in the Bâle Kupferstichkabinett (inv. 1949.43); Ganz, 1939, no. 46. He identified the watermark in that case as one found on paper made in Zurich between 1536 and 1540, which gives an approximate date for the drawings. They have been assigned correspondingly, following Ganz, to around 1538, and are accepted generally (by Schmid and Grossmann as well as Ganz himself) as being by Holbein.

The identification of the sitters as Holbein and his wife Elsbeth, originally proposed by Ganz, has to be abandoned, as it was by Schmid and in the 1960 catalogue. It rests on the supposed evidence of two engravings made by Francesco Bartolozzi, for John Chamberlain's publication of 1792 reproducing drawings of Holbein at Windsor. Those engravings are after a pair of portraits monogrammed HB, which were then at Kensington Palace and are now at Hampton Court; taken to be by Holbein on the basis of the monograms, these portraits show different persons and are not in fact by Holbein, but rather by another German artist—most probably Hans Brosamer. The sitters for the two drawings must therefore be taken to be an unidentified married couple, most probably Swiss and or German-Swiss.

Notes.


1. See Ganz's comments and those in the 1960 cat.


4. In his 1939 publication Ganz dated the Clowes portrait 1524-26, but this appears to have been an oversight on his part, since he dated the pendant portrait 1538-40, and had dated it around 1538 in his article "Das Bildnis Hans Holbein der Jüngeren", Jahrbuch
Notes, cont.

für Kunst und Kunstdpflege in der Schweiz, 5, 1928–29, pp. 273ff.; the latter date was adopted by Schmid for both portraits.


6. See n. 3 for the male portrait; the matching identification of the female sitter, by Ganz, is first recorded in print in the 1950 Indianapolis cat.


8. This attribution was first proposed by F. Grossmann (Exhbn. of the King’s Pictures, Royal Academy, London, 1946–47, cat. nos. 143, 146). It seems to have become generally accepted, and will be put forward in the forthcoming cat. volume on the German portraits in the Royal Collections (letters from O. Millar to the compiler, Jan. 17 and 21, 1966)

9. As suggested by Schmid.
English Paintings
WILLIAM HOGARTH
British school, 1697 - 1769.

Born in London in 1697, the son of Richard Hogarth, a schoolmaster and literary hack, Hogarth was apprenticed to a goldsmith, Ellis Gamble, and began engraving on copper about 1720. That year he entered the Academy of Cheron and Vanderbank in St Martin's Lane. His earliest works were engravings, designs for a tapestry and illustrations to travel books. Between 1728 and 1732 he did conversation- and theatre-pieces. In 1729 he married Sir James Thornhill's daughter and was living in Thornhill's house at the time when in 1731, he engraved his first satirical series, The Harlot's Progress, which proved an immediate popular success. In 1732 he made a famous five-day "peregrination" through Kent with Thornhill, Samuel Scott and two others. He moved in 1735 to Leicester Fields and, apart from occasional absences in Chiswick, based himself there from then on. About 1736 he painted two religious works for St Bartholomew's Hospital. Meanwhile and subsequently he continued with his famous satirical series: The Rake's Progress, Marriage à la Mode, The Four Times of the Day, etc. He visited Paris in 1743 and 1748. His main later works were the twelve plates of Industry and Idleness (1747), The Gate of Calais (1749), the march to Finchley (1750), Beer Street, Gin Lane and the Four Stages of Cruelty (1751). He also carried out three further essays in the style of history painting. His final series was that of The Election. He was the author of The Analysis of Beauty, published in 1753, which consists mainly of an advocacy of the "serpentine line" as the basis of artistic composition. In 1757 he was appointed Sergeant Painter to the King, and was reappointed on the accession of George III. His last years were dominated by a bitter quarrel with his former friend John Wilkes and Churchill the poet. His associates included, besides the novelist Fielding, with whom he had a long and close friendship, Sterne, Smollett, Addison and Steele. Besides the works mentioned he did a number of single portraits.
Lord Lovat

oil on canvas, 28½ × 18 ins.

Condition

There is visible evidence of repainting, particularly in the face and clothes. What lies underneath appears to be a much damaged eighteenth century work.

Provenance

Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19

Versions

There are many versions of this painting, all of which conform in character (see below); one, for example, in the National Portrait Gallery, London. (no. 216, 26½ × 17 ins, acquired in 1866; repr. in C.R.L. Fletcher, Historical Portraits, Oxford, 1909, III, p. 126). The earliest record of the existence of a painted version comes only in 1810; one was lent by Lord Lovat to the Aberdeen Archaeological Exhibition of 1859, but no description of it is available. The corresponding etching of 1746 is discussed below.

There is related pen and wash drawing, now in the Harris Art Gallery, Preston, which is attributed to Hogarth and is said to have been made for Lovat's escort, Major Gardner; also a drawing of the head only in the British Museum (1893-5-16-390; 10½ × 8½ ins).

Simon Fraser, who became the 11th Baron Lovat in 1699, was an extraordinarily colorful and extremely devious character -- popularly known as the "Fox of the North", because he consistently left in doubt in his intriguing which side he was really on. He was outlawed twice, first in 1698, for having accepted a commission in the regiment of Lord Murray, with the aim of betraying the government of William and Mary. He obtained a pardon for this from
William III, but meanwhile, in 1700, had visited the exiled James II at St Germain. He was then outlawed afresh in 1701, for having forcibly secured the succession to his cousin's estate by abducting, marrying and raping his cousin's widow. Fleeing to France in 1702, he pretended to be converted to Roman Catholicism and intrigued for the Stuarts, setting in motion a plan for their invasion of England which he subsequently betrayed in 1703. Imprisoned in France, he escaped with Fraser in 1713. Arrested in London, he was released and rallied his clan to the government in 1715, thereby receiving a full pardon and, ultimately, recognition of his title in 1733. In return for the promise of a dukedom, he joined the association of 1737 in support of the Pretender, and was deprived of his regimental command and the office of sheriff in consequence. In calling out the Fraser clan, he had taken the precaution of sending his eldest son to lead the men; but his part in the affair was well-known, and in 1745 he was seized in his castle as hostage for the clan's fidelity. He escaped to an island off the West coast, and then moved to another, but the Navy found him hiding in a hollow tree, arrested him and brought him to London. There he was tried, found guilty of high treason and executed on April 9, 1747 on Tower Hill -- the last man in England to be beheaded.

At the invitation of a local physician, Doctor Webster, Hogarth travelled to St Albans in August 1746 to draw Lovat, who had halted there briefly on his way to London for trial. On August 14 he went with Dr Webster to the White Hart Inn, where the doctor was to check Lovat to see if his sickness was genuine. Hogarth presumably made one or more drawings then; and he went on to produce the etching, which was published in London on August 25. As in the present painting, Lovat is shown there counting off on his fingers the clans that fought for the Pretender in the 1745 rebellion; and a volume representing his memoirs lies open on the table, with pen and ink beside it.

The portrayal of Lovat which has the strongest claim to being by Hogarth and having served as the basis for the etching is the drawing now at Preston (see above). It differs from the etching, in that while the pose is the same, the table and the inscription on the books differs, and the prison bars cast a shadow on
the wall at the left; in the left hand top corner there is a satiric coat of arms. It is possible, however, that both it and the British Museum drawing were in fact worked up from the etching.

All of the painted versions which have at one time or another been claimed as the work of Hogarth, including the present work, in fact correspond to the etching in being in the same direction as it: that is, the action is left-handed and the buttons of coat are correspondingly reversed. Only the Preston drawing has the buttons on the right and the right hand used to count. Furthermore, it is intrinsically unlikely that Hogarth had enough time at St Albans to produce a painting. The present work must therefore be regarded as a derivative from the etching, probably from the late eighteenth century (see remarks on condition).

Notes.

1. It was purchased before 1810 by Duncombe of Duncombe Park, Yorkshire.


2. Cat. no.931. I take this information from the revised cat. entry, for the National Portrait Gallery version, kindly shown to me by Mr Kerslake.


5. 13¾ × 8½ ins.; the publication line gives the date of issue. Lettered "Drawn from the Life". See British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, London, 1873-83, no.2801 ;
Notes, cont.


6. This is the view of C. Kerslake of the National Portrait Gallery, who gave the compiler his judgement of the Clowes painting, corresponding to what is said below (orally, 1965).

7. As pointed out by Oppe; see n. 3.
Born at Plympton near Plymouth, where his father was a clergyman and master of the Grammar School, Reynolds was apprenticed at the age of 11 to the Devonshire portraitist Thomas Hudson, and remained with him until 1743. He then returned to Devon and practised on his own as a portraitist until 1749—apart from a period in London, from 1744-46, during which he won notice with a portrait of Captain John Hamilton. He was influenced at this stage by Ramsay and Hogarth. In 1749 he sailed for Italy with his friend Commodore Keppel, landed in January 1750, and spent the next two and a half years in Rome, coming home through Florence, Parma, Bologna, Venice and Paris. Back in England in 1752, he settled in London early the following year, establishing himself in St Martin’s Lane; and from then on ran a studio with numerous assistants. Later he moved to Greet Newport Street, and in 1760 to Leicester Square. Appointed first President of the Royal Academy in 1768, he exhibited regularly there from 1769 and subsequently wrote his Discourses for this audience. In 1769 he was knighted. He travelled to Flanders and Holland in 1781, and his notes from this trip show that he made a special study of Rubens. On the death of Ramsay in 1784 he became Principal Painter to the King. He ceased to paint after 1789, owing to loss of sight in his left eye, and died on February 23, 1792.

Reynolds relied heavily on studio assistants for the large number of portraits which he produced, but he appears unquestionably to have added the final touches to original pictures. Sittings and payments are frequently recorded in his pocket-books and ledgers.

Portrait of Mrs Thomas Watkinson Payler

oil on canvas, 30 7/25 ins.
Provenance
Thomas Watkinson Payler, Heden, Kent; Egerton Hammond, Nonington, Kent; Newhouse Galleries, New York. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19

Literature

Exhibited
Early British Masters, John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis, March-Apr. 1941, no. 26, ill.; Ind., 1959, no. 48.

This is the companion portrait to one of Mr Payler (now in the Willits J. Hole collection, University of California, Los Angeles). This man, the son of Thomas Turner of Heden, who changed his name to Payler, was born around 1748 and married in 1771 Charlotte, daughter of William Hammond; he died in 1816. According to the records published by Graves and Cronin, Mrs Payler sat for the present portrait in May 1771, Mr Payler for his in February 1772, and on June 24, 1771 Reynolds was paid £73 10s for the two works.

Certain areas of the painting, especially the costume, suggest studio assistance.

Notes.
1. Waterhouse, loc.cit. Same dimensions, and set in a painted roundel of the same dimensions as this one. Figure facing three-quarters left. Inscr. bottom right "Mr Payler/Sir Josh. Reynolds". From the colln. of Henry Hammond, St Albans (photo kindly supplied by the Newhouse Galleries).
JOSEPH MALLORD WILLIAM TURNER, attrib. to
British school, 1775-1851

Seascape
oil on canvas, 20\(\frac{1}{4}\) \times 27\(\frac{1}{4}\) ins.

Provenance
Purchased by Dr Clowes from Dawson, 19

An eighteenth century Dutch seascape marine piece, not by Turner.

Notes.

1. I am grateful to Evelyn Joll for giving his opinion here (orally, 1965).
Dutch Paintings
Frans Hals, the son of a cloth worker from Mechelen, Franchoy Hals, was probably born in Antwerp between 1581 and 1585. The earliest reference to the presence of the Hals family in Haarlem comes in March 1591, when Frans's brother Dirck was baptized there. Hals was a pupil of Carel van Mander, probably around 1600-1603, and in 1610 he joined the Guild of Saint Luke in Haarlem. The earliest dated painting of his which survives is from 1611, and in September of that year the artist's son was baptized; his first wife, Annetje Harsman, died four years later, leaving two children. In 1616 Hals painted the first of six large group-portraits of militia-men, the Banquet of the Officers of the Saint George Civic Guards of Haarlem. He is mentioned as being in Antwerp that year, from about August until November. He was an associate at this point of the Haarlem society of rhetoricians, Die Wijngaertranken—an affiliation which he maintained until 1625. In 1617 he married his second wife, Lysbeth Reyniers, by whom he would have eight children. In 1629 he is mentioned as having cleaned and "changed" paintings from the Commandery of Saint John (possibly by Gaertgen tot Sint Jans). In 1633 he was commissioned to paint the Corporalship of Captain Reynier Reael at Amsterdam, but refused to finish the work in Amsterdam, and it was finally completed by Pieter Codde in 1637. 1644 saw him serving as a member of the board of the Saint Luke's Guild of Haarlem. In 1654 a baker seized his property and five paintings on account of an unpaid debt. The Saint Luke's guild exempted him in 1661, on account of old age, from paying his annual dues, and the next year the burgomasters of Haarlem made him a gift of fifty florins, followed by an annual subsidy, which was increased from 150 to 200 guilders in 1663. In 1664 he painted the Governors and Lady Governors of the Old Men's Almshouse, for which he appears to have been handsomely paid. He was buried in Haarlem in September 1666. Besides the group-portraits mentioned, he did single portraits and genres figures. The stories that he was dissolute and a drunkard are all to be distrusted as later
extrapolated from the subjects of his most popular paintings.

Self-Portrait
oil on panel, 13 × 11 ins.

Condition
Good

Provenance
Königlichen Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (1722 inv., no.A 191; sold after 1920); Silbermann Gallerîas, New York; H. Klaus, Minneapolis. Acquired by Dr. Clowes in 19.

Literature
Exhibited


Versions

There are at least fifteen versions or copies of this portrait, including the following ones:

2. Metropolitan Museum, New York; from Friedsam colln. 13 x 11 ins (Hofstede de Groot, opp. t. no. 148; Valentin, 1935, fig. 5).
3. Helsingfors Museum.
5. Lathom sale, Christie's, Jun. 11, 1926, no. 6.
6. Fiecher sale, Lucerne, Aug. 23-25, 1928, no. 208. 23 x 19 cm.

There is every reason to think that this is a portrait of Hals — in fact that it represents, or is based on, the only surviving independent image of the artist painted by himself. There is a strong resemblance to the artist's features as they appear at the back left in the Group Portrait of the Saint George Militia Company, and the multiplication of the image (see under versions) suggests that there was an early tradition that it was Hals's own portrait. The earliest dated reference to the image as a self-portrait comes in 1754, when Cornelis van Noorde reproduced it in the form of a watercolor, dated that year, and inscribed "ipse pinxit"; that in turn formed the basis for a mezzotint by the same artist, dated 1767.
The Clowes version as described by Bode (1883) as a copy, possibly by one of Hals's sons, of the version now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (no longer accepted as by Hals), and was also catalogued by Hofstede de Groot (1910) as a copy. Valentiner then published it as a work by Hals, dating it initially (1935) not much later than 1649, and subsequently (1936) around 1648-50. Slive, who catalogued the work (1962) as the best of the known versions and dated it similarly, has subsequently expressed the view (orally) that it is not acceptable as being by Hals himself. On the basis of quality and handling, the compiler concurs in this view.

Notes.

1. According to Valentiner (1935 and 1936; see lit.), the work appeared in the 1710 inventory, but this is not confirmed by any of the Dresden catalogues. According to those catalogues, it was acquired by Raschke and taken out of the storerooms in 1861.

2. See Time, Jan. 21, 1935, p. 25 for this provenance.

3. Possibly not the same work; no whereabouts are given.

4. The half-length Portrait of a Man, from the colln. of Frau Gisola Kemperdick, Kaster, Cologne, sold at Christie's, Nov. 26, 1965, no. 70, was identified there as a self-portrait, by comparison with the Clowes painting. This identification appears dubious and is not accepted by either H. P. Baard ("Wedergeboote en Lotgevallen van de 'Hotinov-Hals'; Oud Holland, 80, 1965, p. 214, where the Clowes painting is compared; English summary, p. 216) or S. Slive (statement to the compiler, 1967). Valentiner's views (see his 1935 article) as to other works being self-portraits have not won acceptance since then.

5. See Slive, 1962, fig. 9

6. See Slive's cat. entry. The watercolor, unpublished
(Municipal Archives, Haarlem, no. 6414) shows the portrait in an oval frame supported by two putti. One of these bears the arms of Haarlem and the other has a palette at his feet, while a winged figure of Fame blowing a trumpet crown; the portrait with a laurel wreath. These iconographic details, together with the inscription ("he painted it himself") make it clear that van Noordeboek the work to be a self-portrait.

7. In the Detroit cat. of 1935, Valentinier dated the work 1655-60, but he corrected this in his article.

Rembrandt was born in Leyden on July 15, 1606, the son of a miller, Harmen Gerritz van Rijn. The family name van Rijn came from the Rijn-mill, near which they lived. He attended the Leyden Grammar School for seven years, then enrolled in the University of Leyden in May 1620. His parents recognized his artistic bent and allowed him to give up his university studies. While his first teacher has not been identified, his second was Jacob Isaacksz van Swanenburgh, a local painter of architectural views. He was sent to Amsterdam to study for six months with Pieter Lastman. He returned to Leyden around 1624-25 and set himself up as an independent master. His earliest dated work is the Stoning of Saint Stephen of 1625 in the Lyons Museum. He aspired during this Leyden period to be a history painter and did not execute a portrait commission until about 1631. At the end of 1631 or early in 1632 he moved to Amsterdam, and would remain there for the rest of his life. He married in 1634 Saskia van Uylenburgh, and her inherited wealth enabled him to buy a handsome house in 1639 and form an extensive art collection. He occupied an exalted social position in Amsterdam, and the commission of 1632 to paint the Anatomy Lesson of Doctor Tulp appears to have established his reputation immediately. He received commissions for further group portraits and during the 1630s was also commissioned to do a series of Passion pictures for the Prince of Orange. He continued to do self-portraits, also Biblical and mythological pictures and, from the mid 1630s, on, landscapes. Saskia died in 1642, leaving a year-old son, Titus, and changes in taste in Amsterdam led to a gradual waning of the artist's popularity. Around 1645 Hendrickje Stoffels joined his household, first as nurse to Titus and later as Rembrandt's mistress—in effect his wife, though the relationship was never legalized. Financial troubles forced the artist to buy a smaller house in 1655, and he was soon declared insolvent. He received permission to liquidate his property, to avoid bankruptcy, and an inventory of his estate was taken in July 1656, followed by two public auctions in 1657 and 1658. After the sale of the larger house,
he moved to one of the poorer districts of Amsterdam, and his last years were lonely and troubled ones. Of the two large commissions that he received at the beginning of the 1660s, the Syndics of the Drapers' Guild may have had some success, but the Conspiracy of Julius Civilis for the Amsterdam Town Hall apparently did not meet with favor and was cut up. Hendrickje fell ill and died in 1663, and Titus, who was also sickly, died soon after his marriage in 1668. Rembrandt, his economic situation still unrelieved, died himself on October 4, 1669.

Self-Portrait
oil on panel, 17 x 13 ins.
signed bottom right with Leyden monogram, RHL.

Provenance
(?) Pieter Locquet sale, Amsterdam, Sept. 22, 1783, no. 325; Prince Georges Lubomirski, Lemberg (1898); Newhouse Galleries, New York. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 1951.

Literature
Literature, cont.


Exhibited


Versions

Copies of this work include the following : 5

1. Formerly in colln. of E.Warneck, Paris ; sold 1926
Previously in Pacully colln., Paris. 45.5 x 39 cm. (Hofstede de Groot, no. 549.2 ; M.Rooses, "Die Verzameling Pacully te Paris", 5

2. Formerly in colln. of M.Rooses, Paris ; sold 1926

This painting, known from an engraving recorded by Bartsch, but presumed lost, was rediscovered by Bredius at the end of the nineteenth century in the family collection of Prince Lubomirski. It represents one of Rembrandt's earliest self-portraits. The artist wears a beret and scarf as in the Gardner Museum Self-Portrait of 1629, and a steel collar as in the "auritshuis Self-Portrait of about 1629-30. The facial features are very similar to those in the Cassel Self-Portrait, which is probably the earliest one known; and the expression of the eyes and open mouth are features which are equally found in early etched self-portraits. It is generally agreed, on these grounds, that this portrait is to be dated around 1628-29.

Notes.

1. According to Hofstede de Groot (1916), it was probably this work, sold to "Yver" for 350 florins.

2. See below for the rediscovery. The portrait had evidently been with the family for some time, but for how long remains unverified.


4. The Clowes painting is not recognized there as being the Lubomirski one, and is therefore listed as a copy of it.

5. Valentiner (1956 cat.) mentions a copy in a private colln. in Sweden.

6. A. Bartsch, Catalogue raisonné de Toutes les Estampes qui
Notes, cont.

Forment L'Oeuvre de Rembrandt et ceux de ses Principaux Imitateurs, 2 vols., Vienna, 1797, II, p.171, no.87.


8. Ibid. no.295

9. Ibid. no.288 ; cf. also no.287 there.


11. This dating was first proposed by Valentiner (1909). Bauch (1966) noted, with a question mark, the existence here of a date, 1628, accompanying the monogram; but there is no visible evidence of this. Bauch had earlier (1933) taken the Clowes version to be a copy, and the Pacully version probably the original, but in his later book he changed his mind and accepted the otherwise universally held opinion that the present work is the original.
Portrait of an Old Man in a Fur Cap
oil on panel, $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

**Condition**
Retouched in the area of shadow at the right of the hat.
Earlier photographs, such as the one in the Frick Art Reference Lib., suggest that there were additional strips at the sides and along the top which have since been removed.

**Provenance**

**Literature**
Exhibited

Versions
1. Staatslichen Museen, Berlin. Old Man in an Armchair; oil on canvas, 20 × 14½ ins. (Hofstede de Groot, no.363; A. Bredius, The Paintings of Rembrandt, Vienna, 1931, no.269; K. Bauch, Rembrandt : Gemälde, Berlin, 1966, no.203). The figure here is shown full length, seated in a chair with a stick. He has the same face, beard and hat as in the Clowes painting and is similarly dressed, but does not have buttons down the front of his costume.

2. Formerly in the Cook colln., Richmond (no.314). Sold Sotheby's, Jun.25, 1958, no.112. Old Man in an Armchair; oil on canvas, 13½ × 10½ ins. (Hofstede de Groot, no.450; Von Bode-Hofstede de Groot, V, no.390, ill.) Full-length, but with the feet cut off. Corresponds generally in its imagery to the Berlin version; but includes curtains to the rear, and the head, looking off to the left, is turned at exactly the same angle as in the Clowes version.

This small half-length figure study was catalogued by Hofstede de Groot (1906) 1978 as by Rembrandt. He identified the model as the same old man as in the Berlin and Cook Collection paintings (see above) and suggested that all three works were painted at the same period, around 1654. In the 1911 Berlin catalogue the same identification of the model was repeated. The Cook version has been excluded from the work of Rembrandt by subsequent writers. The Clowes version was acquired with certificates attributing it to Rembrandt from W. Suida, who dated it around 1655; von Bode, who dated it 1656-58; Hofstede de Groot (1929); and W.R. Valentiner (1940 and 1951), who had previously doubted it could be by Rembrandt (1909) and had subsequently considered it to be probably a studio copy (1921), but who now accepted it, dating it first around 1650, and then, as originally, around 1654.
According to a suggestion of Hofstede de Groot's, the Berlin painting—which has been generally accepted as a work of Rembrandt's—is to be taken as a study from the life for a painting of Jacob telling Joseph his Dream. In the 1964 Berlin catalogue, the present work is referred to as a detail study for the Berlin painting. In the opinion of S. Slive, however—with which the compiler concurs—the Cook painting is to be taken as a later pastiche; the Clowes version as a school piece. The generally reddish coloring of this painting suggests that it might be by Aert de Gelder (1645–1727), a follower of Rembrandt's who adopted the characteristics of the master's late style; but this can only be a hypothesis.

Notes.

1. Cf. here the illustration in von Bode-Hofstede de Groot, 1906 (see below). The dimensions given in Hofstede de Groot's 1916 volume are correspondingly somewhat larger in both directions: 11¾ × 9½ ins. (29 × 24.5 cm.). The 19310 Grafton Gallery cat. gives the dimensions as 11 × 19 ins. (27.9 × 48.3 cm.), but this would seem to be a mistake.

2. Cf. here the illustration in von Bode-Hofstede de Groot, 1906 (see below). The dimensions given in Hofstede de Groot's 1916 volume are correspondingly somewhat larger in both directions: 11¾ × 9½ ins. (29 × 24.5 cm.). The 19310 Grafton Gallery cat. gives the dimensions as 11 × 19 ins. (27.9 × 48.3 cm.), but this would seem to be a mistake.

3. See Bauch, 1966, under no. 203; he draws attention to the Rembrandt drawing of this subject in the Albertina, Vienna, which has a comparable figure in it (O. Benesch, The Drawings of Rembrandt, 6 vols., London, 1954–57, III, no. 526).

5. Oral communication to the compiler, 1967

6. For this artist's work, see K. Lillienfeld, Arent de Gelder, seine Leben und seine Kunst, The Hague, 1914 (out of date and with poor reproductions).

A portrait of an old man of similar type, which poses
Notes, cont.

analogous problems as to which follower of Rembrandt's it might be by is the so-called Portrait of an Architect in the Cassel Gemäldegalerie (1958 cat., no. 246, as school of Rembrandt). Aert de Gelder has been suggested in that case; but also Drost, Fabritius and Nicholas Maes.
Flemish Paintings
JAN BREUGHEL the Elder
Flemish school, 1568 - 1625

This artist, sometimes known as "Velvet Breughel" because of his fondness for painting fine materials, was born in Brussels, the second son of Pieter Breughel the Elder. He studied in Antwerp under A. Goetkind, who died in 1583. He went to Italy early; there are drawings of his dated as done in Rome in 1593 and 1594. In 1596 he is recorded in Milan, working for the Cardinal Borromeo, with whom he developed a life-long association. The next year he became a member of the St Luke's Guild in Antwerp and subsequently took up citizenship there in 1602. He made many subsequent trips to Germany; he was in Prague in 1604 and Nuremberg in 1616. He became wealthy and gained unusual honors, being named painter to the Governor of the Netherlands and working also for Rudolph II. He had a close friendship with Rubens and often collaborated with him, particularly as a specialist flower- and landscape-painter. He also painted landscape settings or flowers for works by von Balen, Rottenhammer, Frans Francken II and Joos de Momper. Apart from landscape, flower and animal pieces, he also did genre and history paintings; and many engravings were made from drawings of his. On his death in Antwerp on January 12, 1625 Rubens created the inscription and a portrait of him for his tomb. His son Jan Breughel II followed in his steps, along with Daniel Seghers and Lucas de Wael.

Canal Scene
oil on canvas, 15' 24 ins.
Signed and dated left center "Breughel 1612"

Provenance
Jakob de Wit, Antwerp (before 1710); Königlichen Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (1710 - 1920 or later); Duke of Sachsen-Meiningen; Newhouse Galleries, New York. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 1959.
Literature


Exhibited

Ind., 1959, no. 10; Brussels, 1965 (see lit.)

Versions

1. Sutterley Hall colln., River Scene, 8$\frac{1}{2}$ × 12 ins (photo in Witt Lib.). Has figures at the bottom right, otherwise identical.
2. Christie’s, May 14, 1965, lot 90. 10$\frac{1}{2}$ × 13$\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Another variant, also with figures at the bottom right.

This painting, which was in the Dresden Gallery for over two hundred years, is a typical example of the river scenes with deep perspective that Jan Breughel produced in quantity.

Notes.

1. 1722 inventory, no. 708 (this number appears at the lower right here).
PIETER BREUGHEL the Elder, attrib. to
Flemish school, active by 1551 - died 1569.

The birthdate of this artist, sometimes known as "Peasant Breughel", is unknown. He or his family probably came from one of the two Flemish towns named Bruegel -- perhaps the one in North Brabant, near s'Hertogenbosch where Hieronymus Bosch had worked, since Bosch-like monsters appear in Breughel's early paintings. According to van Mander, he was a pupil of Pieter Cock van Aelst. In 1551, the year after Cock's death, he entered the painter's guild at Antwerp; and he married Cock's daughter twelve years later. He travelled in 1552-53, visiting Rome and probably Naples, and recording in numerous drawings the Alpine and southern landscapes through which he passed. Back in Antwerp, probably in 1553, he made a business arrangement around this time with Hieronymus Cock the engraver, and continued for a number of years to produce drawings which were engraved and published by Cock and his assistants. In 1563 he moved to Brussels, and though he continued to supply drawings to Cock, particularly now political satires, the last six years of his life seem to have been devoted mainly to painting. He produced in 1563 the Tower of Babel now in Vienna, in 1564 two religious paintings, in 1565 his famous series of Harvest subjects; and there are at least five dated pictures from the year 1568. In his paintings of peasant subjects he recorded village and farm life, dances and weddings; and there are other series of paintings illustrating occupations, proverbs and human failings.

Seascape with a High Cliff
oil on copper, 5 × 4½ ins.

Provenance
Acquired by Dr Clowes from Dawson, 19
Acquired with an attribution to Pieter Breughel, this painting may perhaps—following a suggestion of J. Held's—be by Jan Breughel the Elder.

Notes.

1. Memorandum to Dr Clowes, (Clowes archives). Subsequently Held confirmed this attribution orally.

2. A comparable painting of a Coast Scene, attrib. to J. Breughel, is in the colln. of Lord Hesketh (ca. 6¼ × 7¾ ins.; photo in Witt Lib.)
HIERONYMUS BOSCH
Flemish school, active by 1480 - died 1516.

Very little is known of this artist's life. According to van Mander he was born in s'Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc) in North Brabant; and a claim has been made for the discovery of his birth-date as October 2, 1453. As well as being called Jeronimus Bosch, which corresponds to the way in which he signed his paintings -- he was also known by the family name of van Aken, and it is now known that he came from a dynasty of painters in s'Hertogenbosch, which included his grandfather Jan, who died in 1481, his father Anthonis, who is recorded between 1472 and 1481, and also two uncles and two brothers who were equally master painters. It was in s'Hertogenbosch, correspondingly, that he spent most of his life. He is first recorded there as "Jeroen the painter" in 1480-81, was married by June 1481 to Aleyt, daughter of Guyart van der Mervenne, and became a member of the Brotherhood of Our Lady in 1486-87. He is subsequently mentioned a number of times, between 1488 and 1512, in the register of the Brotherhood, and is known to have made a design for a stained glass window for the chapel of the Brotherhood, and also a cross for a surplice and a design for a candlestick. In 1504 he was commissioned to paint a Last Judgement for Philip the Handsome, Archduke of Austria. He died in s'Hertogenbosch some time in 1516. Works of his were in private hands in Venice by 1520, if not earlier. Later, in the mid-sixteenth century, Philip II of Spain and Don Felipe da Guevara were both extremely interested in his work, and consequently many important pictures which they acquired are in Spain and Portugal. This interest, along with the evident popularity of the artist's bizarre inventions in the north, led to a multiplication of variants and replicas of his work which appears to have continued throughout the sixteenth century, and probably later still. Bosch's key paintings consist of triptychs, or composites of other kinds, which are filled throughout with a rich vein of allegory and complex allegorical and moral meanings.
Ecce Homo
oil on panel, 24 1/4 x 20 1/2 ins.

Condition
Good.

Provenance
Silberman Galleries, New York. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 1940.

Literature

Exhibited
Masterpieces of Art from European and American Collections, Twenty-Second Loan Exhibition of Old Masters, Detroit Institute of Arts, Apr-May 1941, cat.no.3, ill.; Holbein and his Contemporaries, John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis, Oct.-Dec.1950, cat.no.7, ill.; Ind., 1959, no.6; Detroit, 1960 (see lit.)

Versions
Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G.Johnson colln., no.352. Oil on wood, 20 x 29 ins. (De Tolnay,1966, cat.no.12, ill.p.104) Does not include the horizontal parapet at the bottom; and a second column to the left of Christ, further over than the one in the Clowes version, was removed by cleaning in 1938 (see
The "Lorchester-Philoc1e/phia Exhibition of Flemish Painting, Feb.-Apr. 1939, cat.no.41 and the plate there, as compared to the one repr. by De Tolnay). The gold at the top has been much rubbed. Evidently cut along the base, since the painted surface extends to the extreme edge there. It has been suggested accordingly that it formed part of a larger whole, corresponding in character to the composition reflected in a drawing in the Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento (ill. De Tolnay, p.326).

H. Tiezze and De Tolnay (1940) considered this work to be by Bosch and superior to the Johnson version; and Richardson (1941) echoed this view, while Valentinier considered both versions to be originals by Bosch. Subsequently De Tolnay modified his earlier opinion (1965), stating that the Clowes version was undoubtedly a replica, from the atelier of Bosch, though equal in quality to the Johnson version and even slightly better preserved. Bozzi and Cinotti (1966) correspondingly argued for its being a copy from the studio of Bosch, made as a self-sufficient painting as opposed to a fragment of a larger whole; and in the 1967 catalogue it was designated as not autograph, but very close to the original.

This painting is indeed virtually identical to the Johnson version in terms of the placing of the figures and the character of their expressions; and the addition of the parapet here, with its slightly incongruous perspective, would seem to point, in the compiler's view, to its being a replica, whether or not the Johnson version is a fragment. It is, at the same time, of very high quality and may perhaps, accordingly, have been produced under the direction of Bosch himself.

As noted by De Tolnay, three moments in the story of the Passion of Christ are condensed and melded together here: the Flagellation, referred to in the column and scourgers; the reading of the sentence (shown at the left); and the presentation of Christ to the people by Pilate.
Notes.

1. See the report stemming from J. Mosmans, "Chronique d'Art", Gazette des Beaux Arts, 53, 1959, pp.15f.

2. See H. Swarzenski, "An unknown Bosch", Bull. of Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 53, 1955, p.5, and the comments of De Tolnay (1966, p.351) and Bozzati-Cinotti on the implications of the perspective. De Tolnay correspondingly affirmed that the right hand edge had been cut irregularly; but this is not commented on in the 1939 cat. entry. It is stated there that the removed column was put in to cover up damage and repair --including slight widening -- caused by a cleavage down the length of the panel at this point.

3. Statements of 1940, Clowes archives. See also De Tolnay's comment (1966) on his earlier opinion.

4. Undated document, Clowes archives. For opinions of the Johnson version expressed by writers who did not know or did not mention the Clowes version, and dates suggested for it, see Detroit cat., 1960, p.210; De Tolnay (1966) assigned it to the 1490s, and Bozzati-Cinotti to around 1500-1504.

5. They argued that the Clowes version must have been made after the cutting up of the larger composition, which led to the painting in of the additional column there. But they give no indication of the dating that this would imply for the Clowes version -- except that their argument would seem to suggest a considerably later date than [their use of the term "di bottega" implies. (I am grateful to Stephen Ostrow for his help in interpreting their view, in comments made in a letter to Allen W. Clowes of Feb. 22, 1967, to which he appended a translation from the Italian). Furthermore, the column in question, which they held to be understandable only as a disguise of the poor restoration, does not appear in the, as noted above, in exactly the same place as in the Clowes version; and it should also be noted that the 1939 Worcester-Philadelphia cat. (cf.
n. 2 above) a different view was expressed as to the original character of the Johnson version: namely that it was originally somewhat taller in format (but still a self-contained painting).

6. There are minor differences, noted by De Tolnay, in the direction of the cudgels and halberds low down. He also felt that the faces were rounder and softer, creating a somewhat empty effect as opposed to the sharply defined psychological tension found in the Johnson version.
HIERONYMUS BOSCH, cont.

Temptation of Saint Anthony
oil on panel, 23\(\frac{3}{4}\) × 19\(\frac{1}{4}\) ins.

Provenance
Private colln., Budapest. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19...

Exhibited

Versions
There are numerous versions of the Lisbon panel, e.g.
1. Sao Paolo Museum, Brazil. 50\(\frac{1}{4}\) × 40 ins. From 'Convent of St Sophie near Seville' (Catalogo das Pinturas..., 1963, no. 179, ill.)
2. Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, van Meuningen colln. 19\(\frac{1}{4}\) × 15\(\frac{1}{4}\) ins.
3. Léon Gardon sale, St Gudule, Brussèls, Jun. 27-30, 1921. 74 × 71 cm.
5. Musée Royal des Beaux Arts, Antwerp, no. 25. 88 × 71 cm. Signed Jheronimus bosch, in gothic letters. Attr. to Pieter Huys (ca. 1519-1581) by analogy with the Temptation in the Musée Meyer van den Bergh, Antwerp, which is signed by him (see A.J.J. Delen, Catalogue Descriptif, Maîtres Anciens, 1948, p. 137).
6. Guimbaud sale, Muller's, Amsterdam, Nov. 4, 1905, no. 10787 (central panel of a triptych; photo in Frick Art Ref. Lib.)
7. Musées Royaux, Brussels, no. 32. Copy of the whole triptych. Central panel 133.5 × 119.5 cm; signed IHERONIMUS BOSCH.
Certified by W.R. Valentiner (1944) to be after the Lisbon Temptation and by Bosch himself. It is in fact a straightforward replica—probably from the sixteenth century—of the central panel of the Lisbon triptych.

Saint Anthony is shown being assailed by a variety of temptations which symbolize the sins of the world. To his left a scene occurs which seems to be a mixture of a black mass and a witches' sabbath, and to his right in the original Christ himself appears in the ruined tower, pointing to a crucifix on the altar which is visible here. The scenes depicted on the ruined column include two Old Testament scenes, Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law and the arrival of Moses's emissaries from Hebron with grapes from the Promised Land (antitypes of the coming of the Holy Ghost and the Baptism of Christ) and scenes of heresy, including the sacrifice of a swan and the worship of the Golden Calf. These scenes may represent hallucinations of Saint Anthony's, rather than actual rituals, since they are rendered as weightless and gleaming.

The rest of the panel is filled with motifs associated with sorcery and witchcraft. They include a whale and a sawfish, a flying man on the back of a monster, a giant rat and egg-like forms.

Notes.

1. According to Valentiner; see n. 3


3. Doc. of Dec. 20, 1944, Cloes archives

4. Museu de Arte Antiga, Lisbon. 51 1/2 ins. Signed Jheronimus Bosch (De Tolnay, 1966, cat.no. 18, ill. p. 136). There are some small differences in the present case—e.g. in the group halfway up the left-hand side—but they are of minor consequence and may be attributable to the use of an intermediate version.
5. See De Tolnay, 1966, p.357. More elaborate interpretations are discussed critically there.
AMBROSIUS BOSSCHAERT the Younger
Flemish school, 1609 - 1645

This artist, the eldest son of the flower-painter Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder (1573-1621), was baptized at Arnenmuiden, near Middleburg, on March 1, 1609. He married Marie Steus (or Stuys) in 1634. He lived and worked in Utrecht and was buried there in May 1645. Paintings by him and his brothers Johannes and Abraham are dated from 1626 to 1633, while those of his father are signed and dated from 1607 to 1620. No known work by either Ambrosius the Younger or Abraham is signed with the Christian name in full. They either used the monogram AB, in imitation of their father's monogram, or the signature "A. Bosschaert", which occurs in two different forms. It is therefore inherently difficult to make distinctions, but a still-life in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht which carries the first form of the signature and is dated 1635, after the father's death, can reasonably be given to Ambrosius the Younger.

Flowers in a Glass Vase
oil on panel, 12\(\frac{1}{4}\) × 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) ins. Signed lower right A. Boschaert.
Colln. Edith Clowes.

Provenance

Exhibited
The Young Rembrandt and his Times, John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis and Fine Arts Gallery, San Diego, Feb.–May 1958, no. 78, ill.; Ind., 1959, no. 8
The signature here appears dubious, and therefore, while the work does bear some resemblance to still-lifes attributable to Ambrosius the Younger, it is difficult to make a firm attribution.

The fly and the lizard in still-lifes of this kind represent symbols of decomposition, and the bouquets themselves are symbolic of transience. At the same time the individual blooms included in the bouquet reflect contemporary interest in rare flowers, particularly tulips. Flower pieces of this kind were evidently done with the aid of pattern-books, like the one that survives by Jacques de Gheyn.

Notes.

1. See I. Bergstrom, Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century, London, 1956, pp. 72ff. and pl. 70. It is suggested there that a group of looser and more amateurish flower pieces, carrying the second form of the signature, are by Abraham.

2. See Bergstrom, op. cit., pls. 69-70; S. H. Pavière, A Dictionary of Flower, Fruit and Still-Life painters, 3 vols., Leigh-on-Sea, 195 , I, pl. 15.


PIETER BOUT and ADRIAEN BOUDEWYNS

Flemish school, 1658 - 1719 and 1644 - 1711

Adriaen Frans Boudewyns (who subsequently used a French version of his name, Adrien François Bauduins) was baptized in Brussels on October 3, 1644. He was a pupil of the landscapist and engraver Ignatius van der Stock, married Louise de Veul in October 1664 and was enrolled in the St Luke's Guild of Brussels in November 1665. In the late 1660s he visited Paris and became associated with the French artist Frans van der Meulen, doing a series of tapestries of the months made for Louis XIV. After the death of his first wife, he married van der Meulen's sister Barbara in Paris in 1670. She died in 1674 after bearing him a son and a daughter, and Boudewyns subsequently returned to Brussels in 1677 and remained there until his death. He painted landscapes and market subjects. Bout, a painter of popular subjects and also an engraver, was baptized in Brussels on December 5, 1658. He entered the artists' guild there in 1671 and married in 1695. He spent a few years in France and also appears to have visited Italy. He died in Brussels on January 28, 1719. He painted the figures for landscapes by Boudewyns and also for ones by Jacob van Arthois.

**Market Day**

Oil on canvas, 10 1/8 x 16 7/8 ins.

**Provenance**


**Exhibited**

Ind., 1959, no.9
This painting was acquired with double attribution given above, which derives from the fact that Bout almost always did the stoffage for landscapes painted by Boudewyns.
ANTHONY VAN DYCK
Flemish school, 1599 - 1641

Van Dyck was born on March 22, 1599 in Antwerp, where his father Frans was a merchant. His mother died in 1607. In 1609 he is listed in the records of the Saint Luke's Guild of Antwerp as a pupil of Hendrik von Balen, and his first dated works are of 1613 and 1616. In February 1618 he was declared independent of his father. Further dated works of 1618-20 follow, and in March 1620 he is named in a contract between Rubens and the Jesuits of Antwerp. By this time he had been with Rubens for some years. In July 1620 he was still at Antwerp with Rubens, but by late November of that year he was at the English Court of James I. After receiving a payment for special services from the King, he returned to Antwerp in February 1621, then left for Italy the following October and spent about five years there. Arriving in Genoa, he moved to Rome in 1622 and then to Venice, with stops at Florence and Bologna. In 1623 he was again in Rome, where he painted the Cardinal Bentivoglio's portrait. In July 1624 he was at Palermo and in July 1625 at Marseilles, on his way to Aix-en-Provence to visit Rubens' friend Pieresc. In 1626 he was in Genoa, where he did portraits of Gian Vincenzo Imperiale. Then in the autumn of 1627 he finally returned to Antwerp and remained there for the next five years. Paintings for the Church of the Augustinians there and for the Church of Saint Michael at Ghent won him an international reputation. In March 1632 he was in Brussels, and by April of that year in London; and in July he was knighted and appointed principal painter to the English Court. He spent his last years thereafter in London, with visits to Antwerp and Brussels in 1634 and Paris early in 1641. In October 1640 he was solemnly honored by the Antwerp Guild. He fell ill in 1641, and thought of returning to Flanders via Holland, but died in his Blackfriars house on December 9, 1641. His production includes religious and mythological subjects, and a very large number of portraits, particularly from the English period. These last were frequently copied and recopied.
Self-Portrait
oil on canvas, 1/4 x 19 3/4 ins.
Colln. Edith Clowes.

Condition
Technically examined at the Fogg Museum, Nov. 1968.
Found to have been rubbed and somewhat compressed by relining.
An infra-red photograph shows retouchings of a relatively modern date.

Provenance

Versions


The Louvre version of this portrait, reproduced by Schaeffer as a Van Dyck, was subsequently excluded from Gluck's 1931 edition of the same publication, being now considered by Gluck to be an inferior school piece. The present version, which became known only recently, is clearly superior to the Louvre version, to which it corresponds exactly, apart from being slightly smaller. It was certified by L.Burchard (1958) as a van Dyck, and dated by him 1632-40. Jaffe, however, (1968), after technical examination, considered it to be a work from the studio of van Dyck.
Notes.


2. Photograph in the Frick Art Ref. Lib., labelled there a copy or replica.

3. This would clearly seem to be a later copy, probably eighteenth century. Since the lower half of the painting is very weakly composed, the existence of this version need not imply that there was an original three-quarter length version on which this one is based.


6. A dating of the work to the artist's English period follows, e.g., from the resemblance to the right-hand head in the double portrait of Stafford and Mainwaring (Glück, *op. cit.* p. 483), especially in the treatment of the hair.

   For the iconography of van Dyck's self-portraits across the years, see Glück, *op. cit.* frontispiece, and nos. 3, 119, 121-22, 440 (with Endymion Porter), 496; the same author's "Self-portraits by van Dyck and Jordaens", *Burl. Mag.*, 65, 1934, pp. 195ff. and "Reflections on van Dyck's Early Death", *Burl. Mag.*, 79, 1941, pp. 194ff.; and also D. Piper, *Catalogue of Seventeenth Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery*, Cambridge, 1963, under no. 1291. Of these, the version which appears as Glück's frontispiece is the closest to the present work in its face-mask.

7. Letter to the compiler, Nov. 13, 1968. Of the versions self-portraits cited in n. 6, the one which appears as Glück's frontispiece (formerly in Holford colln.) is the closest to
the present work in its face mask. Glück, 1934, p. 196, considered the Louvre version an altered adaptation from it, and Jaffe—correspondingly suggested that the present work and another corresponding versions were based on that original. Also Glück no. 449, Cat. Glück no. 440.
FLEMISH SCHOOL; fifteenth century

**Flight into Egypt and Joseph and Mary in Bethlehem**

two companion pieces, oil on canvas, each 6\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) ins.

**Condition**

The Virgin has been overcleaned.

**Versions**

Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh: two corresponding panels.

These two paintings have been attributed to Marchallus Coffermans (active 1549-1570; see the preceding entry). They would clearly seem to be sixteenth, rather than fifteenth century works, and can best be attributed to the circle of Coffermans, around 1550.

**Notes.**

1. J. Held, in a memorandum to Dr Clowes ( ) suggested Coffermans or his daughter and noted the overcleening.
The "Master of the Half-Length Figures" (in German Meister der Weiblichen Halbfiguren) is the name used to designate an unknown Flemish artist of the early sixteenth century, to whom a large group of works can be attributed, consisting mainly of figures of "Paint Mary Magdalen in fashionable costume and Madonna and Child paintings with similar costuming and an equally impersonal type of facial expression. Also included amongst the attributions are a painting of Women Making Music (Harrach collection, Vienna) and a few mythological subjects." These paintings have a close affiliation to the work of Adrien Isenbrandt in Bruges (see below), behind which in turn lies the example of Gerard David; the landscapes suggest a dependence on those of Joachim Patinir (died 1524) and the figure style appears to draw on the work of Bernard van Orley of Brussels (died 1542). It appears probable that this artist was active in Antwerp, around 1525-35, and it has been suggested that he is to be identified as Hans Vereycke, who is mentioned by van Mander as the author of a triptych in Bruges, and whose name appears on a landscape drawing in the Louvre.

**Madonna and Child in a Landscape**

oil on panel, 8×7 ins.

**Condition**

Somewhat rubbed.

**Provenance**

Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19.

**Exhibited**

Ind., 1959, no. 39.
This painting was acquired with certificates from G. Gluck and W. Suida (1937) attributing it to the Master of the Half-Length Figures. It does bear some relation to that artist’s work, but the background architecture and the method of painting the leaves, the informally winding roads and the neatly sawn-off tree stump all suggest, according to R. Koch (1967), that it should be attributed rather to the studio of Adrien Isenbrandt (active 1510-1551). The name of Ambrosius Benson (active in Bruges by 1519, died 1550), who appears to have been a follower of Isenbrandt, has in fact been suggested.

Notes.


2. See C. Benesch, "The Name of the Master of the Half-Lengths", Gazette des Beaux Arts, 23, 1943, pp. 269ff. The evidence presented there seems inadequate. There had been previous attempts to identify the artist as Jean Clouet or Lucas de Heere.

3. Cf. especially the triptych of the Madonna and Child, Sts Jerome and Francis attributed to this artist (Figdor sale, Cassirer, Berlin, Sept. 29-30, 1930; Friedlander, op. cit., no. 51).


5. Note in Clowes archives.
HANS MEMLING
Flemish school, active ca. 1465 - died 1494.

Hans (or Jan) Memling, whose real name was Mimmelingehe (also spelt Memlinc and Himmelinck) was born in the town of Seligenstadt, near Frankfurt-on-the-Main, and the document which provides this information also states that he became a burgess of the city of Bruges early in 1465; his date of birth is, however, unknown, nor is it known when he left Germany for Flanders. There is little or nothing in his early work to suggest an early training in Germany. Rather, the reflection there of the art of Rogier van der Weyden, who died in Brussels in 1464, has led to the hypothesis that he spent time in Brussels as a pupil of van der Weyden before moving to Bruges. The first of the paintings done in Bruges which can be dated even approximately is the triptych made for Sir John Donne, (now at Chatsworth); the fact that this Englishman went to Bruges for the wedding of Charles the Bold indicates a date of around 1468. From 1472 on there is a long series of works, including the famous shrine of Saint Ursula, dedicated in 1489, which the artist decorated with scenes from the life of the saint. Memling’s style did not change much, and it is therefore difficult to give even an approximate date to works of his which are not dated.

Saint Francis
oil on panel, 12 × 6 3/8 ins
Colln. Edith Clowes.

Provenance
Acquired by Mrs Clowes, in 1964.

This work, acquired as a “Memling with a certificate by M. J. Friedländer,” seems in fact closer in feeling to the work of Gerard David (active before 1484, died 1523).
Notes.

1. Copy in Clowes archives.
PETER PAUL RUBENS

Flemish school, 1577 - 1640

Rubens was born at Siegen in Westphalia on June 28, 1577. His father was Jan Rubens, an Antwerp lawyer who had left Flanders because of the prosecution of the Protestants. After his death in 1587, Rubens's mother returned to Antwerp and made the young boy into a page. In 1598, having received his training there from Tobias Verhaecht, Adam van Noort and Otto Venius, Rubens became a master in the Saint Luke's Guild of Antwerp. From 1600 to 1608 he was in Italy, entering the service of Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, in 1600. He stayed in Venice, Mantua, Rome and Genoa, where he painted portraits of the nobility, including the Spinola, Doria and Grimaldi families -- and made copies after works by Michelangelo and Correggio. In 1603-4 he went to Spain for the first time, in the service of Vincenzo Gonzaga; he did works for the Duke of Lerma and made copies after paintings of Titian's. In 1608 he returned to Antwerp, and settled there after the death of his mother; and the following year he was appointed painter to the Brussels Court of the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella, and married Isabella Brandt, by whom he had three children. Between 1609 and 1621 he did numerous paintings for churches in Antwerp and won international fame. Between 1622 and 1625 he paid visits to Paris, in connection with the cycle of paintings commissioned from him by Marie de Medici for the Luxembourg Palace. The cartoons for the tapestry series of the Story of Constantine (see below) also date from this period. Isabella Brandt died in 1626. In 1625-27 Rubens did cartoons for the tapestry series depicting the Life of Achilles and in 1627-28 for the Eucharist series. In 1628 he went back to Spain on a diplomatic mission. He did portraits there of Philip IV, who appointed him Secretary of the Netherlands Privy Council, and of other members of the Spanish Royal Family. In 1629-30 he visited London as envoy to Charles I, who knighted him; and in 1630 he married the sixteen-year old Helena Fourment, by whom he had five children. In 1630-34 he did sketches for the Whitehall Ceiling in London.
In 1635 he purchased the Castle of Steen, and this estate, to which he virtually retired during the last years of his life, and the countryside around would become the inspiration for his most important landscape paintings. At the same time in 1636–38 he did paintings for Philip IV's hunting lodge near Madrid, the Torre de la Parada. Following his death from a paralytic stroke on May 30, 1640, an inventory was taken of the extensive collection he had formed, and of the paintings remaining in his studio. He maintained a large workshop, particularly in the Antwerp house that he occupied during his middle years—employing numerous assistants and specialist collaborators. His letters show him as a many-sided man—diplomat, statesman and humanist as well as a painter.

The Triumphant Entry of Constantine into Rome
oil on panel; 20 x 25 1/2 ins.

Condition
Good

Provenance
(?) Louis XIII of France (1622–23; see below); Saint-Marcel tapestry shop, Paris: Marc de Comans (1623) – François de la Planche (1627); (?) Henri de Valois (died 1676); Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, Palais Royal, Paris (before 1723; sold in England, 1793); Earl of Liverpool, London; sold Christie's, May 25, 1829, no. 63; John Smith, England; Hon. G. J. Vernon, England; Newhouse Galleries, New York. Acquired by Dr. Clowes in 1956.

Literature
(Dubois de Saint-Velais), Description des Tableaux du Palais Royal, Paris, 1727, p. 409, no. VI; Smith, Catalogue

Exhibited
(Exhbn. of Orléans Gallery), 125 Pall Mall, London, Apr. 1793, no.61; British Institution, London, 1815, no.121 (c); Ind., 1959, no.50; A Henten Exhibition, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, Mar.-Apr. 1962, no.43; Northern European Painting, The Clowes Fund Collection, Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington, Indiana, Mar.-Apr.1963 (no cat.); Philadelphia, 1964 (see lit.)

Versions
A copy is recorded by L.Puyvelde (Les Esquisses de Rubens, 1948 ed., p.28, no.6) as being on the Brussels art market in 1947 (ca. 40 x 60 cm.) (d)

The tapestry version woven from the cartoon (lost) in the Saint-marcel shop in Paris in 1623-25 and given by Louis XIII to the Cardinal Francesco Barberini in Sept. 1625 is now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Dubon, 1964, book, 1964b, no.4, ill.p.112. In reverse, central panel 10 ft.9 ins X 12 ft. 4½ ins.). At least nine further sets of the tapestry series were made in Paris in the seventeenth century (ibid., pp.22ff.) One is in the Mobilier National, Paris (see Dubon, 1964 cat., p.42, fig.20 for the Entry). The composition
This is one of a series of twelve preliminary oil-sketches made by Rubens between 1620 and 1625, as the basis for a set of tapestries woven for Louis XIII in Paris, depicting the story of Constantine. They were inventoried in 1627 as being from Rubens's own hand, and their consistent technical brilliance confirms that he painted them himself. The exact circumstances of the commission and the date of execution of the sketches are not entirely clear, but it appears most probably that they were ordered directly by Louis XIII, either for himself or in his capacity as patron of the Saint-Marcel tapestry shop; and they are documented as being in the possession of Marc de Comans, co-director of the shop, by mid-January 1627. They were still in the Saint-Marcel shop in 1627, and subsequently passed into the Orléans gallery. Henri de Valois may have owned them immediately in the seventeenth century (see under provenance). In 1793 the set was sold in London, and was thereby broken up.

The subject of the Entry into Rome appears to have come fifth or sixth in the series as originally planned — after the Marriage of Constantine, Apparition of the Monogram of Christ, Lebarum and Battle of the Milvian Bridge, and either before the Trophy (Victory crowning Constantine) or right after it, concluding the first half of the series. Eusebius's description in his Life of Constantine of the Emperor's triumphal entry into Rome after the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312 A.D. was in all probability the basis for this subject. As Constantine advances on horseback with a diadem on his head — followed by the mounted Imperial guards, one of whom carries the banner bearing the monogram of Christ, and by a man on foot carrying the Imperial fasces — he is met outside an archway by the goddess Minerva, who hold in one hand a statuette of a winged victory; and a winged victory simultaneously places a laurel crown on his head. To the rear a circular building appears, which may represent the...
Cont.

Castel San Angelo, and fragments of Roman architecture appear in the foreground. Rubens appears to have based his design as a whole here on Roman Imperial reliefs, such as the one from the Arch of Constantine showing the triumphant entry of the victorious general; and he correspondingly used a relief-like composition, in order to evoke the look of antique triumph.

Notes.

1. The two were co-directors of the Saint-marcel shop. For the first date, see below. The inventory taken at François de la Planche's death in Aug. 1627 shows that all twelve of the sketches for the Constantine series which had been brought to Paris were in his possession then ("douze petits dessins peints en huille sur des planches de bois, de la main de Pierre Paul Rubens, représentant l'Histoire de Constantine"), as well as the twelve cartoons (referred to as "les dessins peints à destrampe sur papier"); see J. J. Guiffrey, "Notes et Documents sur les Origines de la Manufacture de Gobelins en sur les Autres Ateliers Parisiens, pendant la première moitié du dix-septième siècle". (first pub. in Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris, 19, 1892, pp. 43ff.), in M. Penaille, Etat Général des Tapisseries de la Manufacture des Gobelins depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours, 5 vols., Paris, 1903-23, I, 1923, p. 46. In the subsequent inventory of Sept. 1661 only the cartoons are listed (ibid., p. 61). According to L. Burchard (Loan Exhibition of Works by Peter Paul Rubens, Kt, Wildenstein, London, Oct.-Nov. 1950, p. 21, under cat. no. 19), the sketches passed into the collection of Hippolyte de Comans, son of Marc, who succeeded his brothers Charles and Alexandre as the third director of the shop; but there appears to be no documentary support for this assumption.

2. His seal, or that of Adrien de Valois, is affixed to the back of the sketch from the series for the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in the Wallace Collection, London (no. 520; Wallace Collection Catalogues, Paintings and Drawings, London, 1920, p. 275f.). These two were successively historiographers to the French court in the
Notes, cont.

3. See, for the sale of the present work, W. Buchanan, Memoirs of Painting..., 2 vols., London, 1828, I, pp.168f., no.6; C. Blanc, Le Tresor de la Curiosite, 2 vols., Paris, 1858, II, p.151; and C. Stryienski, La Galerie du Regent, Paris, 1913, p.186, no.478 (where the present sketch is referred to as being in the colln. of H. Lanquin, Paris, and as exhibited at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, 1867, no.179, which appears to be an error). Philippe died in 1723, and his descendant Philippe Egalite was responsible for the sale, which was conducted through the agency of Thomas Moore Slate and associates.

4. The art historian (see below, under lit.)

5. For further refs. to the sale of the work from the Orleans colln., see n.3


7. See n.12 below for the possibility that this may have been one of a complete set of replicas made by Rubens's assistants (high quality replicas of other sketches in the series are known).

8. C. G. Voorhelm Schnevoogt, Catalogue des Estampes Gravees d'apres Rubens..., Haarlem, 1873, p.219, no.18.7


Notes, cont.

is transferred to the Triumph of Rome sketch, but this appears mistaken); J. Coolidge, "Louis XIII and Rubens, the Story of the Constantine Tapestries", Gazette des Beaux Arts, 6e ser., 57, 1966, pp. 271ff.

11. See n. 1 above. Apart from the thirteenth sketch of the Triumph of Rome, about which Guiffrey is said to have expressed reservations (see Fensille, op. cit., I, p. 245, n. 3), the attribution to Rubens has never been doubted. It was strongly affirmed by, for example, Michel (see n. 10). The fact that no tapestry was made from the thirteenth sketch suggests that it was rejected by Louis XIII and the Death of Constantine added in Lieu (see Rotterdam cat., 1953, no. 40, where this suggestion was first made, and Dubon, 1964b, p. 10).

12. See Pieresc's letter to Rubens from Paris of Jan. 13, 1623 (M. Rooses-C. Ruelens, ed., Correspondance de Rubens...., 6 vols., Antwerp, 1887-1909, III, 1900, pp. 114ff.), where "Sgr Colmans" is reported as having admitted that he had in his possession "i disegni dei Cartoni".

According to the traditional view on the subject, arrangements were made for the designing of the tapestries while Rubens was in Paris in Jan.-Feb. 1622. Dubon (1964b, pp. 5ff.) considered it most likely, in default of more concrete evidence, that the commission was made specifically for the Saint-Marcal shop. In his interpretation of the documents, the first four sketches -- rather than the first four cartoons -- had arrived in Paris by Nov. 4, 1622 (The works in question are, however, specifically called "cartoni" in the relevant docs.; see Pieresc's letters of Nov. 24 and Dec. 1, Correspondance, III, pp. 78ff., 83ff.). Others were then received in Jan. 1623, (with perhaps some following later). The cartoons were made up in Paris, by workers attached to the tapestry shop. Seven tapestry panels were ready by Sept. 1625 (see under versions), and the remainder making up the Philadelphia Museum set were completed in Paris by Nov. 1630.

According to J. Coolidge's reconstruction, on the other
hand, (op.cit., pp.273ff.), Louis XIII commissioned the series between Nov.7, 1620 and Apr. 11, 1621, probably suggesting the subject. Rubens painted the sketches himself, in Antwerp, and must have had his assistants make up a complete set of replicas. He arrived in Paris at the beginning of 1622, at the command of Marie de Medicis, bringing the original sketches with him. Louis had the sketches explained to him on his return to Paris, paid Rubens and kept them (for a year, before ceding them to the shop). Rubens, back in Antwerp by early March, then had assistants work up the full-scale cartoons (in tempera on paper; cf. n.1) from the replicas. I am grateful to John Coolidge for discussing this reconstruction with me (1968) and amplifying the way in which he believes that it is implied by what can be extrapolated from the documents. For the political connotations of the series and the related question of contemporary figures being included in historical guise, see the contrasting interpretations by him and Dubon.

13. Dubon, 1964 cat., p.9 and 1964b, p.10, numbers this as the fifth subject; Coolidge, op.cit., proposes the latter position for it, with supporting arguments.

14. Bk.I, ch. XXXIX; see Dubon, 1964b, p.34, for the suggestion of this source.

15. The imagery is exactly the same in the Philadelphia Museum tapestry, but framed there within a border that was also designed by Rubens himself.

16. See Dubon, 1964b, pp.26, 112 (comparing the Triumph and more especially the Clementia relief panels of Marcus Aurelius, ca. 176 A.D., Museo dei Conservatori, Rome); and for the more general question of Rubens's use of antique sources in the Constantine series. cf. F. Goeler van Ravensburg, Rubens und die Antike......, Jena, 1882, pp.185ff.; E.Kieser, "Antikes im Werk des Rubens", Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, 10, 1933, p.126. In the Clementia relief the movement is from left to right, as in the
present sketch; whereas in the tapestry version the composition is reversed. The putto blowing a trumpet recalls similar winged figures in the spandrels of the arches of Titus and Septimius Severus, which Rubens evidently knew (see Williams, 1968, citing two drawings of about 1620 for the sculptor who decorated the portal of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp, discussed in cat., Rubens Drawings and Oil Sketches in American Collections, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard Univ., 1956, no. 19). The figure of Minerva, absent from the Aurelian reliefs cited by Dubon, is to be taken as an invention of Rubens's own. For the reasonable authenticity of the antique armor shown in the Constantine series, see H.D. Rodee, "Rubens' Treatment of Antique Armor", Art Bull., 49, 1967, p.227.
Portrait of a Man in Armor (called the Duke of Mantua)

Oil on panel, 12\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2} ins.

Provenance

Private colln., Vienna; Mr and Mrs F.E. Keeler, Los Angeles; Newhouse Galleries, New York (1930). Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19 .

Literature


Exhibited

Loan Exhibition of Portraits, 17th to 19th Centuries, from Indiana collections, John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis, Feb.-Mar. 1945, no.5; Ind., 1959, no.51.

Versions

1. Putnam Foundation, on loan to Metropolitan Museum, New York. Life size, 25\times 19\frac{1}{2} ins. (Goris-Held, no.9). Corresponds compositionally to the present version. Acquired by Charles I as Prince of Wales.


This painting was acquired with certificates from W.R. Valentinier (1928 and 1934) identifying it as the preliminary study by Rubens for the Putnam version, which is larger, and
cont.

dating it as having been painted in Italy in 1608-10. Goris and Held (1947) equally called it the preliminary study, and W. Suida recorded his belief that it was by Rubens. Jaffe, however, (1961), considered this version to be a reduced copy of the Putnam version, of considerably later date. The compiler concurs in this view; an eighteenth century date suggests itself as most likely.

The identification by Jaffe of the true Rubens portrait of Francesco IV Gonzaga (National Trust, Saltram House) established that this cannot be, as previously supposed, the young man of about twenty depicted here. Jaffe assigned the Putnam portrait to a later date correspondingly, the mid 1620s, on the basis of style.

Notes.

2. Mentioned by Jaffe in a letter of 1960 to Allen W. Clowes and in his 1961 article (loc. cit.), where he classed both it and the drawing as copies.

3. Certificates of Apr. 20, 1928 and Oct. 18, 1934 (Clowes archives). In a letter to the Newhouse Galleries of Dec. 4, 1930, Valentiner reiterated the same view of the painting.

4. Undated doc., Clowes archives, in which Suida held the portrait to have been painted for the artist's enjoyment and as a personal record.

5. F. Grossmann, in a letter to the compiler of Aug. 6, 1966, noted that the brown paint is applied like the other pigments, a contrast to Rubens's technique in which the brown underpainting is left uncovered in the shadows. He considered this a copy, most probably French XVIIIth c.

6. Francesco IV was born in 1586 and died in 1612.
ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN
Flemish school, ca.1399 – 1464

The origins and training of this artist have been a subject of controversy. Later fifteenth century Italian sources mention him as being from Bruges and a pupil of van Eyck; but the view which generally prevails now is that he is to be identified as the Rogelet de la Pasture, a native of Tournai, who is recorded as having begun his apprenticeship with Robert Campin on March 5, 1427, and again under the name of Rogier, —of which Rogelet is to be taken as the diminutive—as having become a free master of the painters' guild of Tournai on August 1, 1432. Documents of October 1435 and March 1441 give this artist's age as 35 and 43 respectively. On this assumption he had moved to Brussels by October 1435: it being from that time on that Rogier van der Weyden is recorded as active in Brussels. Van der Weyden was official painter of that city by 1436, a post which he held until his death. He married as early as 1426, which is not incompatible with the date when Rogelet's apprenticeship began, insofar as the Tournai system seems to have involved a long training period before the apprenticeship proper; and his financial records show that he had in fact many contacts with the city of Tournai. His Italian contemporary Bartolommeo Faccio records that he went to Rome in 1450 for the celebration of the Jubilee Year; and he is known to have also worked at that time for Lionello d'Este of Ferrara. He died in Brussels. There are no signed paintings of his, and most of the known documentation deals with minor decorative works; but sixteenth century inventories and accounts of works by early writers provide a basis for attributing to him a body of religious paintings, centering around the Crucifixion from the Escorial (now in the Prado) and the Last Judgement in the Hospital at Beaune (painted for the Chancellor Rolin between 1443 and 1450), and also a number of portraits.
Portrait of a Man
oil on canvas, 14 x 10 ins.

Condition
Originally on an oak panel, slightly larger in its dimensions (14\frac{3}{4} x 11 ins or 14\frac{3}{4} x 10\frac{3}{4} ins.). Transferred to canvas, after 1938. Photographs of the work taken before its transfer (Frick Art Ref. Lib., photo taken by Bruckmann at 1902 exhbn. ; Witt Lib., photo from time of 1938 sale) show it to have changed considerably in character. In particular the modelling became softer throughout, and there are corresponding changes in the physiognomy and structure of the face, which appear to be the result of cleaning down.

Provenance

Literature

Exhibited
Bruges, Exposition des Primitifs Flamands et d'Art Ancien, Bruges 1902, tableaux, no.27 (cf. lit.) ; Flemish exhibition, Guildhall, London, 1906, no.11 ; Ind., 1959, no.56.
This portrait, when exhibited in 1902 as a van der Weyden, was catalogued by Hulin de Loo with a question-mark; he affirmed that it recalled van der Weyden, but had suffered too much damage for any definite statement to be made. Hymans (1902) expressed similar doubts as to whether it could be by van der Weyden. Friedländer (1924) noted that it was much restored, and suggested a date of around 1450.

After transfer to canvas and restoration (see under condition), the work was sold with certificates of 1934 from G. Glück and R. Einberger, attributing it to van der Weyden and dating it 1450-60. It was said then, without apparent basis, to be a portrait of William Rolin. In the opinion of the compiler, this portrait is reminiscent of van der Weyden in its general character, and most probably fifteenth century.

Notes.

1. Information from the photo in the Frick Art Ref. Lib. The painting was not in the Cardon sale, Brussels, Jun. 27-30, 1921, and was listed by Friedländer (1924) as whereabouts unknown.

2. Sold by order of John M. Schiff (son); bought by Ranson.

3. According to information provided at the time of acquisition.

4. Cf. in particular the Portrait of Laurent Froimont (Destrée op. cit., pl. 35)
ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN, studio of

Annunciation
oil on panel, 17 3/4 x 13 ins (framed)

Coâln. Edith Clowes

Condition
Good. Some rubbing in the head of the Madonna

Provenance
Princess Thurn and Taxis; Newhouse Galleries, New York.
Acquired by Mrs Clowes in 1966.

Versions
Louvre, Paris 86 x 92 cm. (E. Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1953, pls. 309b, 310).
Universally accepted as by Rogier van der Weyden; dated by Panofsky ca. 1435.

This painting presents a later version of the Louvre Annunciation. It follows that work very closely, differing only in the dress of Gabriel, the proportions and some details of the interior. As noted by Panofsky, motifs taken over from the Louvre painting — the fireplace, cabinet, carafe and basin and the medallion showing Christ enthroned, blessing — were combined with others which are of Eyckian origin: namely the Romanesque double window (from the Ghent altarpiece) and the gestures of both Mary and Gabriel (which derive from van Eyck's Annunciation in the National Gallery, Washington). Panofsky dated the work accordingly to the very end of the fifteenth century, suggesting that it was by an artist who was engaged in fusing together the two traditions in question. The compiler agrees with that dating; one may compare, in particular, the Annunciation, now in Brussels, which forms part of the altarpiece for the Abbey of Afflighem and is by an anonymous...
Flemish artist of around 1500. It is equally based on the Louvre painting, includes bedposts similar to the ones here, and is generally analogous in handling.

The window is shown open, as in the Louvre version, because the Annunciation took place in summer; and the three cushions allude to the trial of the Holy Family.

Notes.


3. Musée Royaux, Brussels, no.552 (scenes from the Childhood and Passion of Christ). For the artist in question—sometimes known correspondingly as the "Master of the Abbey of Afflighem"—see M.J. Friedländer, Die Altniederländische Malerei, 14 vols., Berlin, 1925-37, IV, 1926, pp.115ff., where he is discussed as a follower of van der Weyden around the turn of the century.
Appendix
APPENDIX

The following is a checklist of works excluded from the present catalogue, on the compiler's judgement (see p. of the preface). They were acquired by Dr Clowes unless otherwise stated.

Paintings

Attrib. to

Jan Breughel I
Jan Breughel and H. van Balen
Pieter Breughel the Elder
Paul Cézanne
François Clouet
Marcellus Coffersman
John Constable
Albrecht Dürer
French school, XVIth c.
Francesco Goya
Francesco Guardi
Master of Winter Landscapes
Pierre-Auguste Renoir
School of Reynolds

A Lady and her Retinue
Rest on the Flight into Egypt
Landscape with Hermit
Figures in a Landscape
Francis II (?)
Holy Family with Angels
The Cornfield
Portrait of a man, said to be Dr Christopher Scheurl Jnr.
Abbess at Prayer
The Game of Bars
Two Venetian Canal Scenes
Winter Landscape
Supposed study for Bal de Bougival
Mrs Charles James Fox
Appendix, cont.

### Attrib. to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Painter</th>
<th>Works</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter Paul Rubens</td>
<td>Portrait of a Man (with ruins)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paolo Uccello</td>
<td>Head of a Young Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William van de Velde</td>
<td>Seascape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam Willaert</td>
<td>Seascape with Ruins on a Cliff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Drawings</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Cassattt</td>
<td>Portrait of a Lady (pastel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>François-Hubert Drouais</td>
<td>(Colln. Edith Clowes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean-Honoré Fragonard</td>
<td>Figure of a Woman on Clouds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francesco Goya</td>
<td>Holy Communion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean-François Millet</td>
<td>Gleaner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubert Robert</td>
<td>Italian Garden Scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paolo Veronese</td>
<td>Self-Portrait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antoine Watteau</td>
<td>Three Studies of a Seated Woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Five Standing Female Figures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Four Ladies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sheets of comments on these paintings and drawings have been deposited by the compiler in the Clowes Fund archives, and are available for consultation on request.
JAN BREUGHEL the Elder, attrib. to

A Lady and her Retinue
oil on canvas, 13½ x 20½ ins.

Condition
Damaged all over by loss of paint.

Provenance
Acquired by Dr Clowes from Dawson, 19.

Following the view of J. Held, this work is to be attributed to a Flemish follower of Jan Breughel.

Notes.

1. Memorandum to Dr Clowes, 19 (Clowes archives)
JAN BREUGHEL the Elder and HENDRIK VON BALEN, attrib. to

(See above for collaboration between these two artists. Von Balen's dates are 1575-1632)

Rest on the Flight into Egypt
oil on canvas, 21\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 31\(\frac{1}{2}\) ins.

Condition
Fair

Provenance
Acquired by Dr Clowes from Dawson, 19

Versions

As pointed out by J. Held\(^\text{1}\), there is no basis for attributing the figures here to von Balen; Frans Francke II (1581-1642) has equally been suggested as the author of Madonnas in Jan Breughel's studio, but again there is no basis for attributing the figures here to him. This painting is therefore best ascribed to the studio of Jan Breughel the Elder, and dated to the late sixteenth, or more probably the early seventeenth century (Jan Breughel died in 1625). Held thought it possible that it might be by Jan Breughel the Younger (1601-1678).

Notes.

1. In a memorandum to Dr Clowes, 19 (Clowes archives)
PIETER BREUGHEL the Elder, attrib. to

*Landscape with a Hermit*

o il on panel, $19\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

**Condition**

Blisters were laid down by the Newhouse Galleries, New York, Jun. 1966.

Technically examined and X-rayed at the Fogg Museum, Sept. 1966. The panel is made up of a first layer of masonite, a second of masonite and a third of walnut veneer. Scattered repaint was found over the varnish, and one large area of repaint in the center. Beyond the design area, on the wood on the left side, are dots which presumably represent repaint applied with an airbrush. Much of the angel goes over the crackle. Beard round the edges shows that the work had an attached frame when painted. The azurite was tested and found to be a pigment not used in Europe before the seventeenth century. The crackle is not typical of Flemish net-crackle. In the blues, the pigment particle-size is quite uniform.

**Provenance**

Alfred Strauss (Heiman and Strauss). Acquired by Dr Clowes in 1949.

**Literature**


**Exhibited**

Certified as a work of Pieter Breughel by G. Glück and W.R. Valentiner (1948) and subsequently published by Glück (1950) with a suggested date of 1552-53, this is an old painting, probably sixteenth century, which has been completely done over (see condition report).

Notes.

1. It is not on pine, as stated by Glück (see lit.)


3. Glück believed it to have been the left wing of a triptych representing a legend of St. Christopher.

4. The only remotely comparable work attrib. to Pieter Breughel is a panel of a *Hermit in a Mountainous Landscape*, inscr. "BRUEGEL 1568", which was in the colln. of M.W. Frilling (16 1/2 x 19 cm.) sold Galerie Groux, Brussels, Mar. 1-2, 1957).
PAUL CEZANNE? attrib. to
Frenchs school, 1839-1906.

Figures in a Landscape
oil on canvas, 14x8 ins.

Not by Cézanne; a nineteenth century French, or possibly
English work. The subject cannot be made out, but it may
simply be an outdoor genre scene.
FRANÇOIS CLOUET, attrib. to.

Francis II (?) oil on vellum, $6\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

Provenance

Jules Robert Auguste, Paris (before 1850) (?); F. Kleinberger, New York (1929). Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19...

This miniature belongs to a series of at least seven miniatures on vellum, depicting the French royalty of the sixteenth century. Six of the miniatures in question were in the Hamilton Palace collection in the later nineteenth century. They were exhibited together in London in 1862, and then, and also when the collection was dispersed in 1882, their subjects were identified as: Claude de France, wife of Francis I (1499-1524); François le Grand Dauphin, son of the above (1518-1536); Henry II (1510-1556); Catherine de Médicis, wife of Henry II (1519-1589); Charles IX (1510-1574), and Henry III (1551-1589). The Henry III subsequently became detached from the group; the remaining five were sold together in 1955. The present miniature, which evidently became detached from the set before 1862, clearly belongs with the others, because of the correspondences in size, medium and presentation. It was identified as showing Francis II (1544-1560, son of Henry II and Catherine de Médicis) at the time of its acquisition by Dr Clowes. This identification has some possible basis, in so far as Henry II and Henry III, who might otherwise suggest themselves, appear elsewhere in the series — but it is by no means certain.

In 1862 the group of six was attributed to "Janet", the name shared by Jean and François Clouet, and this attribution was maintained by subsequent owners. W. Suida dated the Clowes miniature around 1574 — i.e. after François Clouet's death.
fact this series cannot be traced back before the mid nineteenth century, and would appear to be a later pastiche in the manner of Clouet, most probably of nineteenth century origin.

Notes.

1. See below, n.5

2. Information from the photograph in the Witt Lib.

3. The Hamilton Palace Collection, sold Christie’s, London, Jun. 17-Jul.20, 1882, cat. rop.190, no.1651 (as by "Janet"; in tortoiseshell frame). Sold to W. King (£1758.15.0 for set). For the miniature of Henry III, subsequently separated from the group, see the engravings made by C.E. Wilson from it and two other miniatures in the set, 1882 cat., pp.191-193, and the labelling of those engravings in P. Bodel, La Vente Hamilton, Paris, 1883, plates facing pp.63-65. The engraving labelled "Henry III" does not correspond to the Clowes miniature.


5. Galerie Charpentier, Paris, Dec.2, 1955, lot 20, ill. Five miniatures on vellum (20 A-E), 0.135×0.09 m. The provenance given there runs: Auguste, Paris (the painter and follower of Delacroix, 1789-1850); M. Rattier, London (1859); Duke of Hamilton (cf. n.3); Capt. Bertram Currie, Dingley Hall.

6. The Witt Lib. photo is erroneously labelled "Henry II". Sir A. Blunt doubted that it could be Francis II (orally, 1965), but without having seen the 1883 engravings (see n.3) which need to be taken into account here.

7. Doc. in Clowes archives.
MARCELLUS COFFERMANS
Flemish school, active 1549 - 1570

Marcellus, or Marcellis, Coffermans (also spelt Koffermans and Koffermaker) was received as a free master into the Guild of St. Luke at Antwerp in 1549. He is repeatedly mentioned thereafter in the records of the guild, but little is otherwise known about his life. The latest date on an extant work of his (the Death of the Virgin in the Cremer collection, Dortmund) is 1570. His chief work is generally taken to be the Penitent Magdalen in the Prado. While his artistic origins are unknown, his style harks back to that of an earlier generation in Flemish painting; he seems to have made deliberate imitations of earlier Flemish and German paintings, including works by Schongauer.

Holy Family with Angels
oil on panel, 5x4 ins.

Condition
Split down right hand side. Some losses.

Most probably a sixteenth century work; the attribution to Coffermans is unconvincing.
The Cornfield
oil on canvas, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

Condition
Technically examined at the Fogg Museum, Sept. 1966. The white surface coating of varnish has pigment added to it, possibly in order to give the effect of age.

Provenance
George Eames, Boston; Alfred Eames. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19...

Exhibited
Early British Masters, John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis, Mar.-Apr. 1941, no. 3, ill.; Ind., 1959, no. 15.

This painting purports to be a study for the Cornfield of 1826 in the National Gallery, London. In the opinion of G. Reynolds, with which the compiler concurs, it is to be taken as a pastiche of around 1880, possibly by W. W. Warren.

Notes.
1. According to information given at the time of acquisition, it was previously in a private colln. in London.
JOHN CONSTABLE, attrib. to
British school, 1776 - 1837

Harnham Bridge, Salisbury
oil on canvas, 21¾ x 30¾ ins.

Provenance

Exhibited
Nicholson Gallery, New York, Feb. 1947, no. 5, ill. 1
Ind., 1959, no. 16

Acquired as a Constable; W.G. Constable (1955) confirmed this attribution. In the opinion of G. Reynolds, though the topography here is partially accurate (one can compare an 1821 watercolor by Constable of Harnham Bridge), this is a pastiche of Constable motifs. The compiler concurs in this view. The handling bears some resemblance to the work of John Dunthorne Jnr. (1798-1832) in the manner of Constable.

Notes.

1. Letter of June 13, 1955 (Clowes archives)
4. E.g. a version of Salisbury Cathedral in the colln. of Edward Fisher in 1949 (photo in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Dept. of Prints and Graphics). I am grateful to Mr. Reynolds for suggesting this attribution as a possibility.
ALBRECHT DÜRER; attrib. to
German school, 1471 - 1528.

Portrait of a Man (said to be Doctor Christoph Scheurl, Jnr.)
oil on panel, 36 x 24 ins.
inscr. across top, 1504. ALT 23

Condition
Technically examined at the Fogg Museum, Sept. 1966. Very extensive overpaint, over heavily fluorescent varnish. Repaint in the mouth, over crackle, did not appear under ultra-violet --implying it was under the varnish. The structure of the support is very much like that in the Landscape with Hermit attributed to Pieter Breughel (q.v.).

Provenance

Literature

Exhibited
Exhibition of Painting, Sculpture and Graphic Arts, Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, Jun.-Nov. 1936, Gallery of Primitives, no. 12; Holbein and his Contemporaries, John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis,
The sitter here was identified as Dr Christoph Scheurl Jnr. by Suida. He holds in his left hand a sprig of eryngium, a common European weed included in betrothal and other pictures of the Renaissance, because the male plant was supposed to be irresistible to women and the female plant to men; because at the same time no one knew how to distinguish between the male and female plants, the root was regularly concealed, as here.

This portrait was certified as a work of Dürrer's, whose monogram AD appears on the shirt, by G. Glück and W. Suida (1935), and attribution was accepted by Tietze (1936). Subsequently, however (1938), Tietze expressed a modified view, stressing the lack of parallels in Dürrer's work of 1503-65 and seeing the work as more related to the portraiture of Hans Baldung Grien; and Panofsky analogously (1945) considered the work upper Rhenish in character and somewhat reminiscent of portraits by Baldung.

The condition of the work obscures its original character to such an extent that it is difficult to make any firm attribution; but it is doubtful if the inscription or monogram can be original.

Notes.

1. According to Mrs Clowes (orally, 1966) the cradling was done for Dr Clowes by the Newhouse Galleries, New York.

2. See below, n. 4.


5. The work bears some kinship, in physiognomy and handling, to a Portrait of a Man, attr. to Dürer, which was in the Giindele sale, Baden-Baden, Jan. 24-26, 1935, no. 121 (24 x 28 cm., inscr. upper right AETATIS SVAE GXVIII / 1515; photo in Witt Lib.)
Abbess at Prayer
oil on panel, 17¼ x 11¾ ins.

Provenance
Acquired by Dr Clowes in 1959.

Exhibited
Ind., 1959, no. 26

This may perhaps be an early sixteenth century work from the school of Avignon; it is certainly by a minor artist.
FRANCESCO DE GOYA, attrib. to

The Game of Bars
oil on panel, 24½ × 27½ ins.

Provenance
Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19 .

Literature

Exhibited
Inaugural Exhibition, Fort Worth Art Center, Texas, Oct. 1954, no. 37, ill.

Certified as a Goya by S. Bourgeois (1943) and J. Lopez-Rey (1944). Soria attributed the work to Eugenio Lucas (1824-1870), dating it around 1860-65. Gudiel (1965) discussed it as being by Goya himself, and subsequently (1965) catalogued it as by him.

In the opinion of X. de Sales—with whose view the compiler concurs—this is a later imitation of Goya, done around 1900. It may perhaps be by Eugenio Lucas de Villamil (1863?—1918), son of the elder Lucas.

Notes.
1. Docs. of May 3, 1943 and Sept. 21, 1944, Clowes archives.
Notes, cont.


3. For a work signed by this artist, see J. Babelon, Les Deux Lucas, cat. of exhbn. at Galeries des Beaux Arts, Paris, [1936, no.48, ill. p.10 (La Fête du Village); and for information about him, E. Lafuente Ferrari, Antecedentes, Coincidencias e Influencias del Arte de Goya, Madrid, 1947, pp.234ff. A painting which has been attributed to both Goya and Lucas the Elder and appears to the compiler to be by the same hand as the present work is the Revolutionary Scene in the Budapest Museum, acquired in 1912 (Katalog der Gemäldegalerie alter Meister, ed. G. von Terey, 1913, no.328g; E. du Gué Trapier, Eugenio Lucas y Padella, New York, 1940, pl.26).
FRANCESCO GUARDI, attrib. to.
Venetian school, 1712-1793.

Two Venetian Canal Scenes
oil on canvas, each 3½ x 4½ ins.
Colln. Edith Clowes.

Provenance
Acquired by Mrs Clowes in 19

Acquired as by Guardi, these little paintings appear, at
best, to be in the manner of Guardi.
MASTER OF THE WINTER LANDSCAPES, attrib. to
Flemish school, first half of seventeenth century

One of the winter landscapes by the anonymous artist
known by this name has on the reverse the monogram GL and the
mark of the Saint Luke's Guild of Antwerp, and it has been
suggested on this basis that he is to be identified as Gysbrecht
Lyttens, who was born probably in 1586, was a pupil of Jacob
Vrolyck in Antwerp in 1598 and became a master in Antwerp in 1617.

**Landscape**

*oil on canvas, 4½ × 7½ ins.*

**Condition**

Technically examined at the Fogg Museum, winter 1966. The
handling of paint, under magnification, seems impossible for
the seventeenth century.

**Provenance**

Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19

Evidently a modern imitation (see under condition) of
the style associated with the early seventeenth century winter
landscapists of the Netherlands.

**Notes.**

1. See P.F.J.J. Reelick, "Bijdrage tot Identificatie van den
Meester der Winterlandscapen" (G.Lytens ?), Oud Holland, 59,
1942, pp.74ff.
PIERRE-AUGUSTE RENOIR, attrib. to
French school, 1841-1919

Supposed study for the Bal de Bougival
oil on canvas, 64\(\frac{1}{4}\) x 64\(\frac{1}{4}\) ins.

Condition
Technically examined by the Fogg Museum Conservation Dept.,

Provenance
Certified as a work of Renoir by W. Pach and S. Bourgeois.
In the opinion of the compiler, this is a forgery, purporting
to be a study for the painting of 1883 in the Boston Museum.

Notes.

1. Docs., in Clowes archives.
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, school of

Portrait of Mrs Charles James Fox
oil on canvas, 30 × 25 ins.

Provenance
Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19

The subject of this portrait was identified at the time of acquisition as Mrs Armstead (1752-1842), who married Charles James Fox, the politician, in 1795. Style suggests that the portrait was done in the later 1770s. A portrait of the same sitter by Reynolds done in 1789 is recorded (colln. Hon. Stephen Fox Powys) and also a version showing her in old age.

Notes.

1. This may perhaps be the half-length portrait sold by Puttick and Simpson, London, Jun. 26, 1930 (p. 2, not ill.)

2. I am grateful to Mr C. Kerslake of the National Portrait Gallery, London, for his help on this point.


4. Colln. of Earl of Ilchester, Holland House (photo in files of National Portrait Gallery, London); shows the sitter frontally.
RUBENS, attrib. to

Portrait of a Man
oil on panel, 19 1/2 x 14 ins.

Provenance

Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19.

This portrait would appear, at best, to have a seventeenth century basis.
PAOLO UCCELLO, attrib. to
Florentine school, ca. 1397 -1475.

Head of a Young Man
tempera on oval panel, 22¼ x 22¼ ins.

Condition
In a technical examination at the Fogg Museum in Sept. 1966, the paint was tested for solubility at the edges, and found to dissolve readily and completely in acetone. The appearance of the crackle is unusual: there is little evidence of gross crackle, although the panel is cradled. The drawing runs over the paintwork, which is very thin. The panel appears to be mahogany (discovered only in 1493) and has what appears to be painted custom stamps on the back.

Provenance
Galerie Charpentier, Paris (1952); Silbermann Galleries, New York. Acquired by Dr Clowes in 19...

In the compiler's view, this painting was created in the present century — most probably around 1920. Technical considerations (see above) certainly militate against its being a fifteenth century work.

Notes.
1. Information from E. Fahy (1966), deriving from his cooperation with J. Pope-Hennessy on the revised ed. of the latter's book on Uccello.
Notes, cont.

2. Miss Elizabeth Jones of the Fogg Museum concurred in this view, at the time of the technical examination.
WILLIAM VAN DE VELEDE, attrib. to Dutch school,

**Seascape**

Oil on panel, 11 × 8½ ins.

Colln. Edith Clowes

Provenance

Acquired from Dawson,

This would appear to be a forgery.
ADAM WILLAERT, attrib. to
Dutch school, 1577 - 1664

Born in Antwerp, this painter of marines became a member of the Guild of Saint Luke in Utrecht in 1611. He resided in Utrecht for the rest of his life. He was the father of three painter sons, Abraham, Cornelis and Isaac.

Seascape with Ruins on a Cliff
oil on canvas, 14 1/2 x 20 1/2 ins.

Condition
Poor

Provenance
Acquired by Dr Clowes from Dawson, 19.

As suggested by J. Held, this painting would seem more probably to be by Abraham Willaert (ca. 1603-1669), Adam's son, than by Adam himself.

Notes.

1. Memorandum to Dr Clowes,