

Art Crossing Borders

*The Internationalisation of the Art Market
in the Age of Nation States, 1750–1914*

Edited by Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna



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Acknowledgements

More than five years ago, we were appointed as lecturers at Radboud University Nijmegen in the Netherlands—two Belgian ‘migrants’ in an internationalising European knowledge market. Despite our different academic affiliations, to the Art History/Literary and Cultural Studies and History Departments, respectively, it was our shared interest in the art market of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that brought us together and made us pool our efforts. Perhaps that should not come as a surprise, given that crossdisciplinarity has been a key element of the field of art market studies since its very conception. Exploratory talks, many of which took place during our long commute between Antwerp—our shared Belgian home city—and Nijmegen, eventually led to the organisation of a day-long session at the international conference ‘Europe and Its Worlds: Cultural Mobility in, to and from Europe’ at our new home institution in October 2013, which we baptised ‘Art Crossing Borders: The Birth of an Integrated Art Market in the Age of Nation States (Europe, ca. 1780–1914).’ Afterwards, and again during long drives to and from our university, that same session slowly but surely (but surely slowly) grew into the volume that the reader presently holds.

Our session at the 2013 conference—and therefore this volume—would not have been possible without the Institute for Historical, Literary and Cultural Studies (HLCS) at Radboud University Nijmegen, which organised the conference. We would like to thank both its former and current research directors, André Lardinois and Olivier Hekster, for their support, as well as Maarten Depourcq, who coordinated the event. We also owe a debt of gratitude to the Departments of Art History, History and Literary and Cultural Studies at our university, whose generous contributions—together with the Institute’s—made the publication of this volume possible. In addition, the History Department awarded us an extra student assistant, Rowin Jansen, who helped us with some of the preparatory editing work.

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contributed, we feel, to the quality of this volume and its chapters. We are also grateful to Cara Jordan for her thorough editing work. Last, but certainly not least, we would like to thank all of our authors for their hard work and their almost angelic patience: it is thanks to their efforts and inspiring ideas that this volume saw the light.

Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna

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Towards an International History of the Nineteenth-Century Art Trade

Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna

In 1920 the prestigious French Légion d'honneur was awarded to the art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel, whose clever business tactics had launched the careers of the impressionists a few decades earlier. The reason for this official mark of honour was not so much Durand-Ruel's role in the flowering of *French* art as such, as it was his contribution to *foreign* trade.¹ This motivation was probably not a surprise for the dealer. Commercial success abroad had been essential in the impressionists' rise to fame: as Durand-Ruel himself observed in his memoirs, it was only after he had been able to secure a firm footing for impressionist art abroad—especially in the United States—that it became a subject of appreciation in France.² Such a dynamic of foreign success as a catalyst (or even a precondition) for success in the home-market is by no means unique to impressionist art, or even to art in general. However, the need for and the beneficial effects of such a detour are striking for a type of painting that was quick to be considered as quintessentially French and also marketed as a very “national” kind of art.

Yet Durand-Ruel's international promotion of an apparently very “national” kind of art is less singular than it may appear at first sight. In fact, on closer inspection, it seems characteristic of much of the international expansion of the art market in the course of the “long” nineteenth century as a whole: not only did it become increasingly easy and common for works of art, dealers, artists and collectors to cross national borders in search of new markets as the century progressed, but this internationalisation of the market often also involved the conceptualisation and mobilisation of notions and modes of thinking closely tied to ideas about national identity.

During the nineteenth century continuing improvements to the roads and transportation infrastructure ensured that the local art markets in Europe became connected like never before, both in the proverbial and literal senses of

¹ Paul Durand-Ruel, *Memoirs of the First Impressionist Art Dealer (1831–1922)* (Paris: Flammarion, 2014), 164.

² *Id.*, 158.

the word. Art and antiques increasingly found new destinations in private and public collections abroad, while more and more artists, *amateurs* and art dealers roamed the European continent—and beyond—in their never-ending pursuit of aesthetic pleasure and/or commercial benefit. Information networks equally tightened, allowing dealers and collectors to communicate easily across wide distances and at the same time stay close to the pulse of art scenes far away. The painting depicted on the cover of this book, Giuseppe de Nittis's *The National Gallery* of 1877, seems to summarise much of this state of affairs. De Nittis was an Italian who moved to Paris and worked for much of his career for the multinational Goupil dealership. In 1874, however, he started undertaking annual trips to London, where he sought a new market and was aided in these efforts by the expatriate French artist James Tissot. Like Tissot, De Nittis was interested in typically British scenes, which he presented from his outsider point of view as a foreigner. One of his subjects for a series of twelve paintings made for a British collector was the National Gallery, one of the main tourist attractions in London, which he showed with its throng of local and foreign visitors on the pavement in front of it showcasing the dynamic flux of modern life surrounding it.³ Eight of these very British scenes made by an Italian artist living in France were exhibited at the universal exhibition of 1878.⁴

The internationalisation of European art worlds was closely intertwined with the growing importance of the very conceptual categories and modes of thinking that this integration seemed to question: artistic or commercial labels referring to nationality and structures of knowledge based on distinctions grounded in national identity, most conspicuously articulated in the division of art production into separate national “schools” in (popular) art-historical literature, art criticism, early museum catalogues, auction catalogues, and catalogues of contemporary art exhibitions and commercial galleries. Thus, major art dealers imported thousands of paintings from abroad, but often pitched them as typical examples of a national school; universal exhibitions introduced foreign artists to local markets, but were also based on a logic of emulative competition along national lines; and artists often sought patronage abroad, either nurturing the taste for the foreign in other countries or adapting their own work to foreign taste.

The aim of this volume is to study the development of the nineteenth-century art market along these two crucial axes of nationalism and internationalism. More specifically, it examines the international expansion and

3 Caroline Corbeau-Parsons, ed., *Impressionists in London: French Artists in Exile 1870–1904* (London: Tate, 2018), 109.

4 *Id.*, 209.

gradual integration of art markets and the ways in which this process was connected to the steady—or, rather, steadily growing—emphasis on categories, concepts and modes of thinking related to national identity in the matrix of art knowledge accompanying it. This book therefore raises the central question how the integrating European art market of the “long” nineteenth century (1750–1914) simultaneously countered and constructed notions and modes of thinking tied to national identity and how the various operators in the art market contributed and responded to them.

The Internationalisation of Art Worlds

The internationalisation of the art market was, of course, hardly an evolution specific to the nineteenth century. Already in the early modern era, important steps were taken towards expanding the art markets of European cities across supra-regional and proto-national borders. The export-oriented art market of Antwerp, for example, branched out to Paris from 1570 onwards, and three generations later specialist firms, such as Musson and Forchondt, explored markets in Central Europe, the Iberian Peninsula and even the Spanish Americas.⁵ Frequently informed of the local markets’ pulse or demand by their agents (often family), these firms were able to deliver low- and middle-end art to new buyers abroad. In mid-seventeenth-century Amsterdam, gentleman-dealers such as Johannes de Renialme and Hendrick Uylenburgh dealt with Frederick William, ruler of Brandenburg-Prussia, while Uylenburgh’s son Gerrit expanded the family business internationally with agents in every major European city.⁶ From the 1720s onwards, British artist-dealers such as Andrew Hay, Arthur Pond and John Blackwood crossed the Channel to replenish their stock for art

5 Filip Vermeyleen, “À la recherche de l’art vendu: la diffusion de la peinture flamande en France (16ième–18ième siècle),” in *Collectionner dans les Flandres et la France du Nord au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Sophie Raux (Lille: Université Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille, 2003), 128–30; Neil De Marchi and Hans Van Miegroet, “Novelty and Fashion Circuits in the Mid-Seventeenth-Century Antwerp–Paris Art Trade,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28, no. 1 (1998): 201–46; Mickaël Szanto, “Antwerp and the Paris Art Market in the Years 1620–1630,” in *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450–1750*, eds. Neil De Marchi and Hans J. Van Miegroet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 329–42; Sandra van Ginhoven, *Connecting Art Markets: Guiliam Forchondt’s Dealership in Antwerp (c. 1632–78) and the Overseas Paintings Trade* (Boston: Brill, 2016).

6 Friso Lammertse and Jaap van der Veen, *Uylenburgh & Son: Art and Commerce from Rembrandt to De Lairese 1625–1675* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2006); John Michael Montias, *Art at Auction in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), 130–43.

auctions in London.⁷ Around the same time the French dealer-auctioneer Edme-François Gersaint travelled north to acquire Flemish and Dutch old masters to fuel his Parisian picture sales.⁸ In the late eighteenth century, the Austrian Netherlands were a crucial transit region with Brussels at its core, connecting the French, Dutch, English and even the emerging German markets.⁹

However, while the integration of the nineteenth-century European art market was clearly anticipated in earlier centuries, concepts of national identity hardly played a role in this. It was only in the last decades of the eighteenth century that these concepts began to be developed and could be deployed to further expand markets across national borders. The categorisation of art in national schools, for instance, was only a mid- to late eighteenth-century invention at best. It took until 1751 before Parisian auction catalogues began to consider this systematic approach, and even these early categorisations were far from exact, especially when it came to northern paintings.¹⁰ Popular art-historical publications followed similar patterns and suffered from comparable flaws. The title of the influential collection of artists' biographies *La vie des peintres flamands* (1753–64) by Jean-Baptiste Descamps suggests a focus on a specific (proto-national) school, but Descamps in fact discussed Dutch and not Flemish painters. His contemporary Antoine Joseph Dézallier d'Argenville's *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres* (1745–52) lumped together Flemish, Dutch, German and even English painters under the flag

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- 7 David Ormrod, "Dealers, Collectors and Connoisseurship in Seventeenth & Eighteenth-Century London 1660–1760," in *Kunstsammeln und Geschmack im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Michael North (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2002), 17.
- 8 Guillaume Glorieux, *À l'enseigne de Gersaint: Edme-François Gersaint, marchand d'art sur le pont Notre-Dame (1694–1750)* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2002); Neil De Marchi and Hans J. Van Miegroet, "Transforming the Paris Art Market, 1718–1750," in *Mapping Markets for Paintings*, 391–402.
- 9 Dries Lyna, "Towards an Integrated Market? The Austrian Netherlands and the Western European Trade in Pre-Owned Paintings," in *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th–18th Centuries*, eds. Neil De Marchi and Sophie Raux (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 277–88.
- 10 Krzysztof Pomian, "Marchands, connaisseurs, curieux a Paris au XVIII^e siècle," *Revue de l'art* 43 (1979): 23–36; Patrick Michel, "French Collectors and the Taste for Flemish Painting During the Eighteenth Century," in *Art Auctions and Dealers: The Dissemination of Netherlandish Art During the Ancien Régime*, eds. Dries Lyna, Filip Vermeylen, and Hans Vlieghe (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 127–37.

‘école flamande.’¹¹ A 1777 Flemish instruction book for art aficionados drew in Dutch artists in its own Flemish “national” category and informed its readers of the other (according to him) five schools of painting in existence (Roman, Venetian, Lombard, German and French).¹² It was not until 1778 that a French auction catalogue finally made the distinction between the Flemish and Dutch schools of painting.¹³ So while the internationalisation of the European art market was well underway, the concept of national schools had not yet fully crystallised in the art world of the eighteenth century, let alone come to full maturity, in scholarly, commercial or popular artistic discourses. It was only when this mode of thinking developed and, eventually, came to structure systems of art knowledge in a defining way, that the internationalisation of the market further evolved.

If the international mobility of art, artists, dealers and collectors was not a new phenomenon proper to the nineteenth-century art market, it did not diminish in the twentieth century either. However, with the wake of twentieth-century modernism, the discursive structure that accompanied and facilitated transfers and exchanges across borders did change in a fundamental, if gradual, way. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, nationally defined ideas and categories increasingly lost their explanative power or even their relevance, as secessionist movements and the commercial agents behind them all over Europe increasingly adopted ‘a pan-European [...] *Weltanschauung*’ in their ‘search for a trans-national cultural identity,’ as Robert Jensen has argued.¹⁴ Ultimately, this led to a discursive de-nationalisation of (advanced) art in favour of a universalist modernist view and thus to a ‘process whereby national and regional styles were swept away in favour of a hegemonic, unitary history of modern art.’¹⁵ This is not to say that national discourse or national labels became completely invisible in the twentieth century. Nationalism was back with a vengeance in the discourse surrounding French cubism, Italian futurism and German expressionism, to name only the most obvious examples.¹⁶

11 Bart Cornelis, “Arnold Houbraken’s *Groote Schouburgh* and the Canon of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting,” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 26, no. 3 (1998): 154–5.

12 Anon., *Nieuwen almanach der konst-schilders, vernissers, vergulders en marmelaers*, (Ghent: s.n., [c. 1777]), 144.

13 Pomian, “Marchands, connaisseurs, curieux,” 23.

14 Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 5.

15 *Id.*, 6.

16 *Ibid.*

Nevertheless, the importance of national identity in systems of art knowledge steadily declined as modernism rose internationally. With the final bankruptcy of nationalist ideologies after World War II, the significance of national labels became all but obsolete in the art world. Presently, national labels play a much more modest role in the art market. Old master paintings or nineteenth-century works of art are still often related to their national schools in auction catalogues and in the art trade in general. In the globalised contemporary art scene, however, such a logic has largely disappeared in favour of a cosmopolitan or transnationalist paradigm.

Two Sides of the Same Coin?

The last decade has witnessed a mounting scholarly interest in the history of the art market of the “long” nineteenth century. This has resulted in the development of digital databases and other research tools, exhibitions on dealers, and dozens of publications concerned with various aspects of the art market or, rather, the markets for art in the nineteenth century.¹⁷ Most of these studies, however, have adopted a predominantly national perspective, delineating their field of research along national lines and usually dealing with the international dimension only from the perspective of a specific national framework.¹⁸

17 The stockbooks and other archival documents of Goupil, Knoedler and the Duveen Brothers have been digitised by the Getty. The Netherlands Institute for Art History is digitising the archives of Goupil's the Hague branch. Other examples of digital databases include the Archives Directory for the History of Collecting in America of The Frick Collection and Art Reference Library, the Salons et expositions de groupes 1673–1914 database of the Musée d'Orsay and the London Gallery Project of Bowdoin College. Recent exhibitions on art dealers include *Kunsthandel Frans Buffa & Zonen, 1790–1951. Schoonheid te koop* (2016–17, Laren, Singer Laren); *Paul Durand-Ruel. Pari de l'impressionisme* (2014–15, Paris, Musée du Luxembourg, London, National Gallery, Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art), *Picasso, Léger, Masson: Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler et ses peintres* (2013–14, Villeneuve-d'Ascq, LaM), *De Cézanne à Picasso. Chefs-d'œuvre de la galerie Ambroise Vollard* (2006–7, Paris, Musée d'Orsay, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Chicago, Art Institute); *Gérôme & Goupil: Art and Enterprise* (2001, Bordeaux, Musée Goupil, New York, Dahesh Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, Frick Art & Historical Center); and *Theo van Gogh: Art Dealer, Collector, Vincent's Brother* (1999–2000, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum, Paris, Musée d'Orsay).

18 See for instance: Thomas M. Bayer and John R. Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England: Money as Muse, 1730–1900* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011); Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, eds., *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939* (Manchester – New York: Manchester University Press, 2011); Monica Preti-Hamard and Philippe Sénéchal, eds., *Collections et marché de l'art en France 1789–1848* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2005).

This can hardly be a surprise. Art history itself is still often written along national lines and has been so from its very inception as an academic discipline in the nineteenth century, the great age of nation states. Neither is this something to be rejected out of hand. Indeed, the epoch's own obsession with national identity may very well suggest the validity of national borders as lines of demarcation for a modern study of the art of that century: if national identity is a myth, or at least a construction, it is a construction that nineteenth-century artists and their audiences often believed in, built their expectations on and sometimes tried to live up to.

If the adoption of a national research perspective can gain some validation on these grounds, it nevertheless remains a fact that the importance of international transfers in the nineteenth-century art market can hardly be overestimated. A number of publications have, as a result, paid attention to this international dimension of the market, usually on the basis of individual case studies. Often, they discuss either the commercial relations between two nationally circumscribed art communities, with one usually framed as dominant (Paris, London) and the other as peripheral; or, alternatively, they deal with the import and promotion of a specific type of foreign art production in a nationally defined market.¹⁹ These studies have contributed greatly to a more internationally oriented understanding of national markets and were a source of inspiration for the present volume. Even in these studies, however, the international is usually an accessory to the national rather than an essential and defining element. What is still lacking is an overall understanding of, or an overarching argument on, the international dynamic of the art market as a whole—or at least the art market in the West. Such an argument would have to examine the geographically divergent social, political and economic contexts that formed the breeding ground of the increasing internationalisation of the art market as well as its effects on producers, consumers and middlemen. It would have to analyse the parts played by these various actors, whether in response to broader market developments or by actively making or shaping the market. It would also need to address the complex interplay between the national and the international, for indeed both often appear to have been two sides of the same coin in this dynamic.

Substituting a national perspective for a more international view is, however, a delicate undertaking and entails various problems and difficulties.

19 See for instance the excellent essays collected under the title 'Paris et l'Europe: Mouvements des modes, diffusions des connaissances' in: Monica Preti-Hamard and Philippe Sénéchal, eds., *Collections et marché de l'art en France 1789–1848* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2005), 283–430.

The most obvious and practical difficulty is that it is virtually impossible to become profoundly acquainted with the large number of national art scenes that would have to be studied extensively in order to fully develop such an all-encompassing approach. This is the reason why the different case studies that form the bulk of this volume still focus on international aspects of national art scenes. This is also why this volume, while striving for a truly international perspective, takes its material mainly from the French, British, Belgian and Dutch art worlds, with an occasional excursion to the German and the burgeoning North American markets. Nevertheless, taken together, we hope that the different contributions in this book will constitute a first step in the direction of an international history of the nineteenth-century Western art market.

On a more fundamental level, the most important risk of an international or transnational approach is to lose sight again of the contexts and developments specific to national circumstances. One example may make this clear. Despite astute criticism, Harrison and Cynthia White's famous notion of the 'dealer critic system' is arguably still the closest we have come to a master narrative of the history of the nineteenth-century market for modern art.²⁰ Attempts have been made to relate their concept to other national contexts than the French, for which the Whites originally intended it. These studies have added a comparative perspective to art market research and have sometimes even been able to identify flaws in, or add nuance to, the Whites' theory.²¹ An international dynamic undoubtedly played a role in some of the developments described by the Whites (leaving aside the validity of their conclusions for now). The increasing presence of foreign artists at the annual French Salons, for instance, unquestionably put more pressure on the existing Salon-Academy system, thus making the reform of the French art world more urgent and possibly contributing to art dealers' rise to power. It is another thing, however, to simply apply the Whites' ideas to other national circumscriptions. Indeed, a simple transplantation of the notion of the 'dealer critic system' to other national

20 Harrison C. and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World* (Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993). See for the most thorough critique of the Whites' understanding of the French art market: David W. Galenson and Robert Jensen, "Careers and Canvases: The Rise of the Market for Modern Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *Van Gogh Studies* 1 (2007): 137–66.

21 Jan Dirk Baetens, "Vanguard Economics, Rearguard Art: Gustave Coûteaux and the Modernist Myth of the Dealer-Critic System," *Oxford Art Journal* 33, no. 1 (2010): 25–41; Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, "The Periodical and the Art Market: Investigating the 'Dealer-Critic System' in Victorian England," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 41, no. 4 (2008): 323–51; Chris Stolwijk, *Uit de schilderswereld. Nederlandse kunstschilders in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw* (Leiden: Primavera, 1998), 20–1.

contexts may change the very meaning of the concept. The specific institutional constellation that the Whites had in mind when coining the notion of the 'dealer critic system' was, in their thinking, both a reaction to and a result of the bankruptcy of the French academic system. This academic system, however, was never as powerful and dominant in other European countries as it was in France. Pointing at phenomena in other countries that seem related to what the Whites designated as the 'dealer critic system,' therefore, either calls for another label or for a complete revision of the history of the market as sketched by the Whites, including perhaps a rejection of their terminology as a whole.

Knowledge and Networks across Boundaries

The present collection offers neither a new master narrative of the development of the nineteenth-century art market nor, more modestly, of the internationalisation of the art market. However, it does attempt to sketch out some of the lines that such an overarching narrative could follow or weave together. Central in this volume is the idea that new modes or structures of knowledge were crucial for the international expansion of the art market. More in particular, this volume studies the gradual rise of an international economy of art knowledge (both artistic and commercial) in which, firstly, local and regional knowledge coagulated in institutions and networks through which that knowledge was progressively transferred across borders; and secondly, in which categories and concepts based on ideas of national identity became increasingly important and, paradoxically, facilitated rather than obstructed the internationalisation of the nineteenth-century art market. It is this volume's contention that this dialectical process of, on the one hand, the rising emphasis in art discourse and art knowledge on national identity and, on the other, the international expansion of the art market, was one of the defining characteristics of the development of the Western art world(s) during the "long" nineteenth century.

In our introductory chapter, we first trace the internationalisation of the European art world from a chronologically and geographically broad perspective and pay attention to the different ways in which this process affected the production, distribution and consumption of art. On this basis, we subsequently set out to develop our overarching argument on the quintessential importance of new modes of art knowledge based on national categories in this process of market integration. Thus, the stage is set for the other chapters, which focus on more time- and place-specific case studies. They deal with

structures of knowledge, information networks and the fields of tension created by them, all conceived along the two complementary axes of national identity and international exchange.

The chapters by Bénédicte Miyamoto and Leanne Zalewski address specific instances where new **structures of knowledge** emerged in dialectical relationship with the art market. Miyamoto chronologically captures the eighteenth-century transformation of the auction catalogue from a mere advertisement to an educational tool for a new generation of art lovers. British catalogues, with a growing discursive shift towards schools, manners and genres, offered their readers a carefully constructed conceptual framework and vocabulary to think and talk about paintings. Zalewski paints a similar picture for late nineteenth-century New York, where collection, auction and exhibition catalogues not only supported the education of American auction and exhibition visitors, but they also produced social and cultural capital for collectors who could present themselves as cosmopolitan and sophisticated because of their acquaintance with European high culture. Zalewski's close reading of these catalogues and their references to foreign schools, honours and career trajectories reveals how knowledge was constructed in order to meet the different purposes that prestigious international art collections served in the burgeoning American art market of the late nineteenth century. Together, both chapters also demonstrate that catalogues are a much-underestimated force in structuring art knowledge in general and were indeed crucial in solidifying the categories of national artistic schools in the nineteenth-century art market in particular.

The new structures of knowledge that were designed and fine-tuned in the course of the nineteenth century not only served the market, in the strict sense of the word, in that they accommodated the transfer of works of art across borders, but they also affected the market in a broader sense and left their traces, for instance, on the modes of production and consumption of art. In her contribution Barbara Pezzini shows how the strong intertwining of the art market and the knowledge market helped British artists in the early twentieth century to construct their own national identities and at the same time affected the reception of the work they produced. She explains how British artists saw their markets threatened as advanced French art became increasingly *en vogue* in the London art scene of the 1900s, with Roger Fry's 1910 post-impressionist exhibition as a key moment. Inspired by the concomitant boom of the old masters market, however, British artists turned to the examples of these old masters to construe a pan-European, eclectic artistic identity for themselves and thus face the challenges of an internationalising art world.

Pezzini's research also draws attention to the ways in which the production, distribution and use of informational categories were embedded in crystallised **information networks** that included artists, critics, art historians and dealers. These networks are the focal point of the second cluster of contributions to this volume. Their importance is beautifully illustrated in Pezzini's discussion of the *Burlington Magazine*, an art periodical at the crossroads of criticism, commerce and artistic practice, supported by a diverse group of people who attempted to promote contemporary British artists by inscribing them in a framework of national and foreign artistic references. In her chapter Camilla Murgia also shows the strength of a diversified network in promoting national schools with her analysis of the Italian artistic community in London around 1800 and its success in creating a niche market for Italian prints. The strength of this particular community was the intense collaboration between print makers, publishers and sellers, with the expatriated Tuscan engraver and art dealer Francesco Bartolozzi at its core, and the vertical business integration that ensued from it. A different example of the importance and strength of knowledge networks in an internationalising art scene is developed by Lukas Fuchsguber, who provides us with a fascinating insight into the functioning of international horizontal networks in the nineteenth-century art world. In his comparative study of, firstly, German dealers Louis and Rudolf Lepke and, secondly, Otto Mündler, he illustrates how different kinds of horizontal networks facilitated different types of international transfers. While the Lepke dealership put their stakes on a comparatively linear model of exchange between Berlin and Paris, Mündler developed a much broader network that allowed him to exchange knowledge and facilitate the exchange of artistic goods on a much ampler international scale.

The crucial role of networks in international transfers is also underlined in Adriana Turpin's chapter. She observes that first French and later British networks not only imported Ancien Régime furniture from the Continent into England, but they also functioned as conductors for the transmission of knowledge on artistic skills and craftsmanship in the decorative arts. International networks thus facilitated the transfer of art and antiques across borders, but also that of art knowledge, which was vital to the further integration of the European art world.

However, the increasing integration of art markets in the age of nation states and the central role of concepts and categories derived from nationalist thinking in the accompanying international knowledge economy could also create complex **fields of tension** that had to be negotiated carefully by actors operating in the international market. These fields are studied in a third

cluster of contributions to this volume. Turpin's article further explores this unavoidable and indeed inherent friction between the forces of nationalism and internationalism in her analysis of the long-lasting success in England of French furniture in an era dominated by—often anti-French—British nationalism. She shows how the adoption of the French foreign style in a period of intense national British pride must be paradoxically framed as an expression of British cosmopolitanism: by appropriating the art of their enemy, British plutocrats were at the same time British and international. In her essay on sculptor Medardo Rosso, Sharon Hecker also examines the tension field created between an internationalised art world and the enduring importance of national interests and nationalist thinking, now from the perspective of an ambitious artist trying to carve out a place for himself in an expanded art world. She shows how Rosso, as a foreign sculptor, attempted to negotiate cultural differences between the different national art scenes that he set out to conquer, exhibiting an outspoken internationalist attitude but also capitalising on his own Italian background and training. In a final contribution, Robert Verhoogt demonstrates how the same tension field between the national and the international affected the vital nineteenth-century print market. He describes how national differences and interests could obstruct the efficient integration of different national markets and how, conversely, international trade could threaten national markets and its players. In addition, he shows how dealers could succeed in reconciling international trade and nationalist discourse, which now no longer opposed but mutually reinforced one another.

Throughout these nine contributions, accommodated in three multi-connected clusters, a common thread emerges. The first cluster concerns the formation of art knowledge in national markets; the second deals with the grounding and circulation of this knowledge in both horizontal and vertical networks; and the third cluster focuses on the negotiation by different actors of the field of tension created by the uneasy relation between international trade and the discourse of national identity that accompanied it. The conclusion that follows from this volume is that the economy of knowledge was a vital precondition to the economy of goods, that knowledge based on national categories lay—paradoxically—at the heart of the market's internationalisation, but also that it created tensions that would eventually necessitate a new cosmopolitan and even global discourse.

All of this, however, is merely a first and modest step towards an international history of the nineteenth-century art trade. In a concluding epilogue, therefore, Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich attempt to move beyond the case study methodology of the volume's contributions. They point out new directions that future research may explore, examining issues related to the

terms “international,” “art” and “market.” They end their epilogue with what they call ‘a provocation:’ a model for future research of the international art market. We can only hope that this challenge will soon be taken up.

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The Education of the Art Market: National Schools and International Trade in the “Long” Nineteenth Century

Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna

When the Prussian army threatened to lay siege to Paris in 1870 during the Franco-Prussian War, the famous French art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel rapidly packed up his paintings and shipped them to London. Making his way to the British capital ‘just before the gates of Paris were shut,’ Durand-Ruel lost no time in setting up a new business across the Channel. In his temporary new home London, he was assisted by Henry Wallis, a dealer closely associated with the famous art mogul Ernest Gambart. Durand-Ruel’s London gallery space was capacious, well located and—above all—at a safe distance from the Prussian invaders in France. There was, however, one unhappy feature, as the dealer noted much later in his memoirs: ‘by an unfortunate coincidence [it] was called “The German Gallery.”’¹

National Art, International Markets

The ‘unfortunate coincidence’ described by Durand-Ruel is more than an ironic footnote in the history of the nineteenth-century art market. It was certainly not a coincidence that the dealer’s new gallery carried a name that apparently referred to a specific foreign “school” of art, albeit not the one that he intended to market in London. Nor was it a coincidence that Durand-Ruel apparently did not hesitate to set up his business in London, even with a stock of paintings, mostly belonging to the so-called “School of 1830,” that were generally considered as quintessentially French and, more importantly, that were only beginning to be accepted as serious art even in his own country.

Rather, Durand-Ruel’s relatively easy move from one country to another and the (inter)national name of his new gallery space seem typical of the state of the European art market of the time. The exponential growth of the art market

1 Paul Durand-Ruel, *Memoirs of the First Impressionist Art Dealer (1831–1922)* (Paris: Flammarion, 2014), 78.

in the preceding decades had created important commercial opportunities from which enterprising dealers and other middlemen like Durand-Ruel, increasingly operating on an international scale, could benefit. In addition, a body of knowledge and art discourse centring on notions of national identity had been created, facilitating this process of internationalisation and making artists, dealers and other agents increasingly aware of the commercial potential of marketing art with reference to these notions, or even as actual national “brands.” Thus, upon his arrival in London, Durand-Ruel could fall back on an extensive network that he and his father had started to develop in the 1850s and 1860s and that had already led to a great number of international sales and purchases involving most of the leading galleries in London, including Agnew’s, McLean’s and, of course, Gambart’s gallery.² The name of his London premises, on the other hand, the German Gallery, testifies to the essential role played by national labels and conceptual categories in this process of internationalisation. Indeed, when Durand-Ruel arrived in the British capital, many galleries were named after specific national schools and regularly also specialised in the work of these schools. Most of them had taken their cue from Ernest Gambart, who, in 1854, became the first to successfully promote a specific national “brand” of painting when he established the popular and highly lucrative French Gallery and thus presented himself as an international arbiter of taste. By the last decades of the nineteenth century, the London art world boasted places like the German Gallery, the Belgian Gallery, the Dutch Gallery, the Continental Gallery and even the Japanese Gallery, and almost constituted, in Pamela Fletcher’s terms, ‘a Grand Tour on Bond Street,’ allowing visitors to acquaint themselves with art coming from all the corners of Europe while staying within the bounds of the London art district around Bond Street.³

The reshaping of the London art district as a cosmopolitan centre of European art, all packed in easily identifiable national “brands,” thus reflects the huge influx of foreign art into the British capital during the nineteenth century as well as, from a broader perspective, the general internationalisation of the art market. The development’s structural dependence on national labels, visible amongst other things in the national denominations of gallery spaces, is also indicative of the importance of the binary of the “international” versus the “national” in that process. Indeed, the internationalisation of the

2 Anne Robbins, “À la conquête de Londres,” in *Paul Durand-Ruel. Le pari de l'impressionisme*, ed. Sylvie Patry (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2014), 134–5.

3 Pamela Fletcher, “The Grand Tour on Bond Street: Cosmopolitanism and the Commercial Art Gallery in Victorian London,” *Visual Culture in Britain* 12, no. 2 (2011): 139–53.

art market in the nineteenth century went hand in hand with a sustained, and perhaps even increasing, emphasis on national conceptual categories, not only because the “international” logically suggests, and is meaningless without, its opposite term, the “national,” but also because in the commercial logic of the time, both terms could mutually reinforce one another.

Some of Durand-Ruel’s own business schemes can be used to illustrate this commercial dialectic. He sold art that was generally seen and promoted as typically French—mainly Barbizon landscapes and impressionist paintings—but soon realised that the high commercial aims he had set for himself could not be achieved on the French market alone. Therefore, he tapped into the two most capitalised markets for contemporary art abroad: the British market, which he tried hard but ultimately failed to conquer, and, most importantly, the American market, where he did succeed in his goals.⁴ During his forced exile in London, he not only established contact with the exiled French impressionists who would assure his continuing fame in the history of nineteenth-century art, but he also set up a permanent business link between Paris and the British capital. This liaison would continue to serve him after his return to France, when he started selling his stock in London under the aegis of the newly founded Société des Artistes Français, assisted by another dealer from the circle of Gambart, the latter’s nephew, Charles Deschamps. This new trading name indicates that Durand-Ruel was firmly aware of the commercial potential of national labels in this international environment. In his London gallery, he actively tried to stimulate the taste for French art by constructing an art-historical canon for the nineteenth-century French school, associating his stock of advanced painting with older, celebrated French masterpieces such as Jacques-Louis David’s *Death of Marat* or Eugène Delacroix’s *Death of Sardanapulus*, which he also put on show. He also made use, however, of the appeal of other national schools. British art, for instance, would on occasion be allowed in his London gallery because it attracted new audiences who could then compare the French and British schools.⁵ The appeal of these shows lay partly in the possibility of enjoying and judging art from the perspective of national identity, and Durand-Ruel clearly capitalised on it.

4 Robbins, “À la conquête de Londres,” 134–49; Jennifer A. Thompson, “Paul Durand-Ruel et l’Amérique,” in *Paul Durand-Ruel. Le pari de l’impressionisme*, 106–19.

5 Robbins, “À la conquête de Londres,” 139–41.

Follow the Money: Lawrence Alma-Tadema's *The Picture Gallery*

Ironically, much of the nineteenth-century state of affairs that had developed by the time Durand-Ruel temporarily set up shop in London is evoked in a painting depicting a scene set in classical antiquity. The Dutch-British artist Lawrence Alma-Tadema painted *The Picture Gallery* in 1874 for Ernest Gambart, who commissioned it together with its pendant, *The Sculpture Gallery*, for the sumptuous villa in Nice where he planned to spend his days after his retirement from the art business (Fig. 1.1). Both paintings show commercial selling spaces, a subject particularly apt as a tribute by Alma-Tadema to Gambart, who had introduced the artist's work into the British art market, stimulated him to move to London and remained his exclusive dealer until he retired to Nice, and had thus played a major role in the artist's extremely successful commercial career.

The Picture Gallery shows a Roman gallery filled with customers, attentively looking at the paintings hanging from top to bottom on the walls or studying an apparently exceptional painting displayed on an easel while sitting on chairs or on the comfortable soft bench in the middle of the gallery. As so often with Alma-Tadema's paintings, however, *The Picture Gallery* is far less concerned with ancient Rome than it is with the artist's own time: it depicts, under the guise of historical antiquity, a typical Victorian commercial exhibition space rather than an actual Roman gallery, visited by so-called "Victorians in toga" instead of real Romans. The art critic Joseph Beavington Atkinson accordingly observed that the walls in the gallery were 'completely filled with paintings, as they would be in a modern gallery' and seized the occasion to criticise the over-productive, profit-driven art market of his own time evoked by the abundance of paintings in the gallery: 'as if back then, as in the present, artists only painted to make their dealers' chimneys smoke.'⁶ Other critics easily recognised the painting's central figure as Gambart himself, in Roman dress, discussing the painting on the easel or simply praising his wares, while looking at the woman on the bench.⁷

What we may see in Alma-Tadema's painting, then, is Gambart's own London gallery, or at least a historical transposition of it. Indeed, on closer inspection, the gallery appears not to be visited by Roman *amateurs* but by major players in the Victorian art market of the time, all belonging to Gambart's circle. The two men in the back have been identified as Gambart's successors, P.J. Pilgeram and Léon Lefèvre, and the woman on the bench is probably 'Madame Angelée,'

⁶ Edwin Becker et al., eds., *Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1996), 187.

⁷ *Id.*, 186.



FIGURE 1.1 Lawrence Alma-Tadema, *The Picture Gallery*, 1874. Oil on canvas, 218 × 166 cm. Towneley Hall Art Gallery & Museum
© COURTESY OF BURNLEY BOROUGH COUNCIL, TOWNELEY HALL ART GALLERY & MUSEUM

Gambart's mistress. Sitting next to her are Charles Deschamps, Gambart's nephew and agent to Durand-Ruel in London, and then, hardly visible behind the easel, Henry Wallis, who had first assisted Durand-Ruel upon his arrival in the British capital. The man on the extreme right, finally, has been identified, albeit tentatively, as Durand-Ruel himself.⁸

Gambart's gallery, or its historical other, is thus depicted as a veritable commercial powerhouse, with a network encompassing the whole of the London art world and extending far beyond to the European continent. This draws attention, again, to the paintings hanging on the walls, the products with which Gambart and his allies—or their classical alter egos—built their commercial empires. Many of these paintings are copies of frescoes in Pompeii and Herculaneum, which Alma-Tadema had studied in Italy. Elizabeth Prettejohn and others have pointed out that these Pompeian frescoes were, in their turn, usually copied from original Greek models, often the most celebrated paintings from classical Greece, now as in Alma-Tadema's time only known from literary sources.⁹ The work on the extreme left, for instance, almost completely cut off by the frame of Alma-Tadema's painting, can be identified by the spears and the horses, only just visible, as a version of *The Battle of Issus*, one of the most celebrated works of art from classical antiquity. The full-length portrait of Medea on the right-hand side of the doorway is a version of a mural in Herculaneum, itself thought to have been modelled after a lost work by the Greek painter Timomachos. In the lower register, just to the right of the centre of the composition, we see a version of *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, copied by Alma-Tadema after a fresco in Pompeii, itself a copy after a famous painting by the Greek artist Timanthes.

Prettejohn has suggested that the works of art in Alma-Tadema's painting should perhaps not be seen as (copies after) copies, but rather as the celebrated Greek originals themselves, brought together in a luxurious Roman commercial gallery. Alma-Tadema's scene can thus be read as a meta-reflection on issues of originality and reproduction, both central to the "copy-paste" practice that characterised the painter's reconstructions of classical antiquity on the basis of its material remains.¹⁰ However, originality and reproduction are also highly significant commercial markers. They were in fact central to the business model of virtually every successful Victorian artist,

8 Jeremy Maas, *Gambart: Prince of the Victorian Art World* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1975), 242; Vern G. Swanson, *The Biography and Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema* (London: Garton, 1990), 175. Swanson attributes the identification of Durand-Ruel to Maas, but it is unclear on what grounds.

9 Becker et al., eds., *Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema*, 186–9.

10 *Ibid.*

including Alma-Tadema. Nineteenth-century artists, both in Britain and on the Continent, often produced copies and variations of paintings in order to meet high market demands while also reducing production costs.¹¹ Dealers invested in the production of copies and replicas because these were considered safe investments.¹² Collectors sometimes expressly asked for replicas but could also insist on new and original compositions and be suspicious of works offered to them. According to Patricia Mainardi, the increased visibility of works of art in the exhibition and gallery circuit of the second half of the nineteenth century put a strain on this system, as it made it easier for collectors to find out about the existence of copies.¹³ The growing internationalisation of the art market, however, could release some of this pressure: collectors residing in different countries were less likely to find out that they possessed mere replicas or paintings very similar to those in other collections abroad. It is thus no coincidence that Vern Swanson's 1990 catalogue raisonné of Alma-Tadema's oeuvre lists—besides two versions in watercolour—no less than four variations of *The Picture Gallery*: one circulating in the British art market, one in Gambart's villa at the Côte d'Azur in France, one that was sold in 1878 to William H. Vanderbilt for his New York mansion, and one bought in 1875 by the Spanish aristocrat José de Murieta.¹⁴

The notions of reproduction and originality evoked in Alma-Tadema's painting can also be linked to the massive trade in engravings, lithographs, etchings and, as technology progressed, photographs. Hugely popular with the broader public, their commercial potential often surpassed that of the original paintings and allowed artists to sell the copyright on their work separately, regularly for a price higher than what was paid for the actual painting. The central importance of these reproductions for the businesses of Alma-Tadema and his peers is underlined in a cartoon that includes a lampooned version of *The Picture Gallery*. The illustration, published in *Fun Magazine* on the occasion of the 1874 Royal Academy exhibition, presents ridiculed versions of some of the most eye-catching paintings at the exhibition, including *The Picture Gallery* in the centre of the upper register (Fig. 1.2). It depicts these paintings, however, as prints or photographs thrown together in a messy pile, in other words as simple commodities in the commercial mass medium through which the vast majority of the public would encounter them. Both the production process of

11 Patricia Mainardi, "The 19th-Century Art Trade: Copies, Variations, Replicas," *Van Gogh Museum Journal* 6 (2000): 62–73.

12 Agnès Penot, *La Maison Goupil. Galerie d'art internationale au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Mare & Martin, 2017), 157–63.

13 *Id.*, 70.

14 Swanson, *The Biography and Catalogue Raisonné*, 144–5, 171–2, 175 and 178.



FIGURE 1.2 Anon., *Recollections of the Royal Academy No. 11*, in *Fun Magazine* 26 (23 May 1874): 212
© COURTESY OF GEORGE A. SMATHERS LIBRARIES, UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

these prints and the markets for which they were destined were radically international. Alma-Tadema engaged foreign engravers like Auguste Blanchard and Leopold Löwenstam for the reproduction of his paintings, and he was actively involved in the conquest of foreign markets for his prints.¹⁵

Alma-Tadema's painting seems to address this increasing international dimension of the trade in paintings and engravings. If the panels hanging in *The Picture Gallery* are meant to represent the lost Greek originals of the famous paintings that served as models for Pompeian mosaics and frescoes, then the scene as a whole may conjure the image of Roman plunder in its dominions, notably in antique Greek or Hellenist cities.¹⁶ As a depiction of a commercial gallery in ancient Rome rather than a pile of war spoils or a scene of plunder, however, the painting may refer first and above all to the (imagined) role of the Roman capital in the art market of classical antiquity. Rome is represented here as the uncontested centre of gravity of the art market, where art treasures from all corners of the vast Roman Empire constantly arrived, to be bought and sold by the wealthy and powerful Roman elite. In fact, the commercial transactions conducted around some of the works depicted in Alma-Tadema's painting are documented, and there is little doubt that Alma-Tadema was aware of this. For instance, the original full-length portrait of Medea hanging next to the doorway was bought for the price of forty talents by Julius Caesar, as described by Pliny the Elder in the *Historia Naturalis*, an important source for many of Alma-Tadema's depictions of the Roman art world.¹⁷ Yet again, the scene should be related to, or translated into, Alma-Tadema's own time and the geographical context of Victorian London. By the second half of the nineteenth century, London was at the heart of another empire and was increasingly seen as the new Rome, performing the same role as the ancient city had, in a now even more connected and globalised world. As the capital of the world's leading industrial, commercial and military nation and, thus, the home of many vastly rich collectors, London was also quickly becoming artists' very own El Dorado, the most attractive commercial market for both old master pictures and contemporary art and as such the place where art treasures from all parts of the world were shipped in order to be bought and sold for huge sums of money.¹⁸

15 Robert Verhoogt, *Art in Reproduction: Nineteenth-Century Prints after Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Jozef Israëls and Ary Scheffer* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 427–506.

16 Becker et al., eds., *Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema*, 189.

17 Swanson, *The Biography and Catalogue Raisonné*, 171.

18 Thomas M. Bayer and John R. Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England: Money as Muse, 1730–1900* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011), 99 ff; Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, "The Lu(c)re of London: French Artists and Art Dealers in the British Capital," in *Monet's*

It is, indeed, not a coincidence that the caricature after *The Picture Gallery* represents the clients sitting and standing in the gallery as money bags.

Durand-Ruel's choice of the British capital was clearly the logical result of broader developments in the international art market. Further below, we will argue that the reference to German art in the name of his gallery, no matter how annoying, was part and parcel with these same developments. First, however, this chapter will further explore the gradual and dynamic process of the integration of local European art markets in the nineteenth century. After a brief sketch of the changing social, economic and technological contexts that made this process possible follows a broad overview of developments in the areas of distribution (exhibitions and dealers), production (artists) and consumption (collectors and other audiences). In the final section, we will then proceed to examine the prime importance of new modes of art knowledge structured along national categories in the internationalisation of the market, to which Durand-Ruel's accommodation in the German Gallery and his establishment of the Société des Artistes Français already hint.

Commodification and Mobility

Causes and consequences, means and effects, are difficult to disentangle in the rapid internationalisation of the nineteenth-century art market, considered in its broadest sense. At the most fundamental level, the changes in the art market were the result of the broader social and economic developments that were gradually restructuring society at large. This process created new audiences and new consumers for art and, in the long run, led to the growth and subsequent integration of national art markets (and markets in general). The new nineteenth-century public for art differed in many important ways

London: Artists' Reflections on the Thames 1859–1914 (Ghent: Snoeck, 2005), 39–54. See also: Jan Dirk Baetens, "The Belgian Brand: Ernest Gambart and the English Market for Nineteenth-Century Belgian Art, c. 1850–1870," *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis—Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 92, no. 4 (2014): 1277–309; Pamela M. Fletcher, "Creating the French Gallery: Ernest Gambart and the Rise of the Commercial Art Gallery in Mid-Victorian London," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 6, no. 1 (2007), <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring07/46-spring07/spring07article/143-creating-the-french-gallery-ernest-gambart-and-the-rise-of-the-commercial-art-gallery-in-mid-victorian-london>; Anne Helmreich, "The Goupil Gallery at the Intersection between London, Continent, and Empire," in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939*, eds. Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich (Manchester – New York: Manchester University Press, 2011), 65–84; Edward Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2005), esp. 127–60.

from the former elites that had patronised artists. While the speed and the specific dynamic of this evolution were surely different in countries throughout Europe, the general tendency was that the new consumer base increasingly came to consist of the middle classes—bankers, industrialists and people in trade or commerce who belonged to the bourgeois elite and started collecting art—and of a broader middle-class public that visited exhibitions and museums at home or abroad and consumed art in popular engravings, books and magazines.¹⁹

The expansion of the market induced by the rise of the bourgeoisie contributed to, and was facilitated by, firstly, an increased commodification of art and, secondly, a growing anonymisation of the market, where artists and collectors, even at the highest echelons, were rarely well acquainted with one another. The anonymisation of the market made it easier for artists to sell their work abroad through exhibitions and dealers and, conversely, for collectors to buy outside of their home markets. In addition, collectors belonging to this new class of clients frequently had some, or even extensive, professional experience in Europe's international markets. They often also supported free trade reforms. Their taste preferences contributed to the growing commodification of artistic goods and thus to their (international) exchangeability. The new

19 The process was, however, usually a gradual one and in many countries patronage by the state, the monarchy and the aristocracy continued to play a role. See for Belgium: Judith Ogonovszky, "Le Commerce de tableaux en Belgique sous la règne de Léopold Ier (1831–1865): première vue d'ensemble," *Art & fact* 21 (2002): 9–11. Compare for France: Albert Boime, "Entrepreneurial Patronage in Nineteenth-Century France," in *Enterprise and Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century France*, eds. Edward C. Carter II, Robert Forster, and Joseph N. Moody (Baltimore – London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1976), 138–60; Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, *L'État et les artistes. De la restauration à la monarchie de Juillet (1815–1833)* (Paris: Flammarion, 1999), 144–8; Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, "Collectionner l'art contemporain (1820–1840). L'exemple des banquiers," in *Collections et marché de l'art en France 1789–1848*, eds. Monica Preti-Hamard and Philippe Sénéchal (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2005), 273–82. See for England: Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). See for the Netherlands: Annemieke Hoogenboom, "Art for the Market: Contemporary Painting in the Netherlands in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 22, no. 3 (1993–94): 130; *Id.*, *De stand des kunstenaars. De positie van kunstschilders in de eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw* (Leiden: Primavera, 1993), 131–7; Chris Stolwijk, *Uit de schilderswereld. Nederlandse kunstschilders in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw* (Leiden: Primavera, 1998), 157–60, 183–5 and 336–62; Richard Bionda, "De afzet van eigentijdse kunst in Nederland," in *De schilders van Tachtig. Nederlandse schilderkunst 1880–1895*, eds. Richard Bionda and Carel Blotkamp (Zwolle: Waanders, 1991), 62–7. See for Germany: Robin Lenman, *Artists and Society in Germany 1850–1914* (Manchester – New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), 151–4.

middle-class public, who were often denied the privileges of a traditional education and who were more modest in their aspirations or pretences than their aristocratic predecessors, usually gave preference to what Véronique Chagnon-Burke has called ‘peinture bourgeoise:’ modestly sized and fairly effortlessly comprehensible still lifes, animal scenes, landscapes and genre scenes, all comparatively generic and interchangeable and therefore easy to ship, market and sell across borders.²⁰ The commodification of art and anonymisation of market exchanges had already been anticipated in the seventeenth-century Netherlands and in eighteenth-century Paris, as is for instance clear from the dealings of Gersaint in Paris. Propelled by the rise to power of the new classes, however, these processes developed on a hitherto unseen scale in the course of the nineteenth century.

Once again, we can read this evolution towards an increased commodification and exchangeability of works of art in a bourgeois-dominated art economy in Alma-Tadema’s *The Picture Gallery*. Examining the painting from a market-oriented perspective, Prettejohn’s suggestion that the wooden panels and painted marble slabs we see in the gallery can be seen as representations of the lost originals of the mosaics and murals in Pompeii and Herculaneum may very well be reversed.²¹ Thinking the other way around, Alma-Tadema could be said not to “restore” the lost Greek originals after which the mosaics and frescoes in Southern Italy were modelled, but rather to commodify the works of art excavated in Pompeii and Herculaneum. By transforming these frescoes and mosaics into modestly sized panels or marble paintings, Alma-Tadema makes them manageable, portable, transportable and hence more easily exchangeable and saleable. They become freely circulating commodities instead of fixed features in a patrician’s house, in line with the bourgeoisification of the art market in the nineteenth century.²² It is striking, in this respect, that the clients visiting the gallery seem to ignore the two most famous works of art hanging on the walls: *The Battle of Issus* and *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia*. Both belong, in terms of subject matter, to the grand genre of history painting, which was quickly becoming obsolete in Alma-Tadema’s time because of its limited commercial potential in a bourgeois-dominated art market. The other paintings in the room, by contrast, are entirely in line with bourgeois taste: two portraits above and next to the doorway, a seascape in the upper register

20 Véronique Chagnon-Burke, “Rue Laffitte: Looking at and Buying Contemporary Art in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Paris,” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 11, no. 2 (2012), <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer12/veronique-chagnon-burke-looking-at-and-buying-contemporary-art-in-mid-nineteenth-century-paris>.

21 Becker et al., eds., *Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema*, 186–9.

22 Bayer and Page, *The Development*, 175.

next to it, a genre scene representing a theatre rehearsal and, finally, an animal piece depicting a lion in the lower register on the far right. It is to the latter painting, belonging to one of the lowest genres in the traditional genre hierarchy, that two of the visitors seem to direct all of their attention, as probably a large part of the new nineteenth-century audiences would do, to the desperation of more high-flown art critics. At least one critic seems to have caught Alma-Tadema's hint. He suggested in a discussion of *The Picture Gallery* that the lion was painted by the Edwin Landseer of Roman times, thus referring to the overwhelming popularity and commercial success that a mere animal painter like Landseer, one of the stars of the Victorian art scene, could have in a bourgeois-dominated art market.²³

If the market's growth was the logical consequence of the increase of disposable income for the growing middle classes, the international dimension of its expansion was possible only because of an increased mobility of goods, persons and information, itself dependent again on evolving social, political, economic and technological developments that began in the eighteenth century. Central to this story was the eighteenth-century "transport revolution," which stimulated intra-European trade in general and thus encouraged exchange between national art markets, both primary and secondary. Dealers, collectors and connoisseurs were able to remain much more aware of movements in foreign markets than their seventeenth-century predecessors and they increasingly operated outside of their home markets.²⁴ Improvements to roads and the transportation infrastructure further facilitated travel and export abroad. Information networks also tightened, as postal services became more efficient and were later complemented by commercial telegraphy, allowing easier and quicker communication across wide distances. Nineteenth-century newspapers and periodicals, on the rise as a result of improved printing processes and new commercial business models, could also reach audiences abroad and address foreign or international issues more efficiently. It was, again, the expanding middle classes that benefitted the most from easier and less expensive access to goods, travel and information, often across national borders. They visited museums and exhibitions at home and abroad, subscribed to national and foreign newspapers and periodicals, bought printed reproductions after old master paintings or contemporary masterpieces in national museums or

23 Becker et al., eds., *Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema*, 188.

24 Dries Lyna, "Towards an Integrated Market? The Austrian Netherlands and the Western European Trade in Pre-Owned Paintings," in *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th–18th Centuries*, eds. Neil De Marchi and Sophie Raux (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 277–88.

foreign art collections and, at least in the upper strata of the bourgeoisie, collected paintings and other works of art with an often open, internationalist spirit.

The general trend towards an ever-increasing international mobility quickly affected art scenes across Europe, though it is sometimes difficult to gauge the exact speed of this process and the depth of its impact. The international circulation of printed reproductions was undoubtedly most important in quantitative terms.²⁵ The success of firms like Goupil, Colnaghi and Buffa was founded on their print business, and, as Robert Verhoogt has shown, artists were sometimes just as involved in the reproduction of their work and the different markets of destination as they were in creating the original compositions.²⁶ Prints were produced, published and distributed in international networks: a print after a Dutch painting could be engraved by a French artist, subsequently published by a British publisher and finally sold through a German retailer. International print dealers also worked their way around the national orientation of copyright legislation in order to cater to the growing interest in engravings as the nineteenth century progressed, as Verhoogt demonstrates in his contribution to this volume. The hugely popular illustrated press that developed in the first half of the century further boosted the international mobility of reproductions. Journals like *L'Artiste*, *The Art-Journal* and many others published prints after the work of foreign artists, sometimes also produced by foreign engravers or lithographers. Journals exchanged woodblocks or metal casts for printing with other journals from abroad. They were also often widely distributed throughout Europe and beyond, sometimes as far as the United States, Canada, Venezuela, Bermuda, Australia and even China.²⁷

Figures on the import and export of art offer only broad estimates based on sources that are not always accurate or reliable, such as national trade statistics and customs records.²⁸ The general impression conveyed by the available material, however, is that art other than prints circulated internationally in equally massive quantities, always—then as now—following

25 Verhoogt, *Art in Reproduction*, 213–23.

26 *Id.*, *passim*.

27 *Id.*, 223–40.

28 Custom duties would often be circumvented. See for instance: Agnès Penot, “The Perils and Perks of Trading Art Overseas: Goupil’s New York Branch,” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 16, no. 1 (2017), <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/spring17/penot-on-the-perils-and-perks-of-trading-art-overseas-goupils-new-york-branch>; María Isabel Baldassare, “Buenos Aires: An Art Metropolis in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 16, no. 1 (2017), <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/spring17/baldassarre-on-buenos-aires-an-art-metropolis-in-the-late-nineteenth-century>.

money. The example of the highly capitalised English market is probably the best known. In the late eighteenth and first two decades of the nineteenth centuries, about 20,000 European paintings were officially imported into England.²⁹ A journalist of the Belgian journal *La Renaissance* wrote in 1849 that from Belgium alone no less than 2,238 had been shipped to England since 1833.³⁰ Contemporaries, however, estimated that between 1825 and 1845 almost 300,000 old master pictures were imported into England from all over Europe.³¹ As the English market shifted over the course of the following decades, from a market aimed primarily at old master paintings to a market with a propensity for contemporary art, England also increasingly became the country of destination for modern painting from the Continent.³² Trade statistics show that in the second half of the century the import of art from a small country like Belgium often amounted to almost one million francs annually.³³ Imports from countries like the Netherlands are likely to have been of similar importance, while those from France and the German states were probably much more significant.³⁴

Although the art trade represented an almost negligible fraction of nations' economies or trade balances, governments deemed it sufficiently important to actively intervene in the international art market in order to further their national economic interests. In the early nineteenth century, for instance, some of the German states stimulated the use of the new medium of lithography in order to counter the British and French domination of the international print market.³⁵ In the final decades of the century and the first decade of the twentieth century, German government officials also actively promoted the export of art to the United States, again against fierce French competition.³⁶ At the

29 Guido Guerzoni, "The British Art Market 1789–1914," in *Economic History and the Arts*, ed. Michael North (Cologne: Bohlau, 1996), 97–132.

30 Anon., "Actualités," *La Renaissance. Chronique des arts et de la littérature* 11 (1849–50): 36.

31 Mark Westgarth, "Florid-looking Speculators in Art and Virtue: The London Picture Trade c. 1850," in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London*, 28.

32 Bayer and Page, *The Development*, 99 ff.

33 Anon., "Commerce de tableaux," *Journal des Beaux-Arts et de la Littérature* 3 (1861): 183; Baetens, "The Belgian Brand," 1293–7.

34 See for the Netherlands: Dieuwertje Dekkers, "Jozef Israëls, een succesvol schilder van het vissersgenre" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 1994), 89–102. See for France: Edward Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain*.

35 Sophie Bobet-Mezzasalma, "Les galeries lithographiées: de la duchesse de Berry à Artaud de Montor," in *Collections et marché de l'art en France 1789–1848*, 409–11.

36 Lenman, *Artists and Society in Germany*, 158–61.

same time, the French state attempted to conquer the budding Argentinean art market.³⁷

Distribution: Salons and Exhibitions

The growing international mobility of art can be discerned most easily in the circuits of distribution that facilitated it, both the traditional circuits of annual Salons and other (semi-)official national (or regional) exhibitions and the unambiguously commercial circuits formed by networks of galleries that became increasingly dominant in the second half of the nineteenth century. Foreign artists certainly submitted work in increasing numbers to the prestigious annual Paris Salon, arguably the artistic (if not always commercial) epicentre of the European art world for most of the century.³⁸ By 1845, the presence of foreign art at the French Salon was so important that the organising committee drew up separate lists with the names of participating artists from abroad.³⁹ Durand-Ruel observed in his memoirs that not all of these foreign artists were after direct sales in Paris: more important in their wish to exhibit in Paris was their awareness of the weight of the critical judgement of their work by the Paris art community.⁴⁰ Artists counted on a successful passage in Paris, characterised by critical consecration or recognition in the form of official rewards, to constitute a firm basis for commercial success in their home markets or on the international scene at large. As mentioned in the introduction, foreign competition at the Paris Salons sped up the saturation of the Salon system and its ultimate incapacity to accommodate the careers of a steadily growing number of artists, which, in turn, created a space where dealers could seize power.⁴¹ This, however, only further stimulated the international distribution of works of art, as dealers often operated with a decidedly international perspective, easily buying and selling across borders. By the last decades of the nineteenth century, the influx of foreign artists and their competition for sales

37 Baldassare, "Buenos Aires."

38 See for instance: Tom Verschaffel, "Art and Nationality: The French Perception of Belgian Painters at the Paris Salons (1831–1865)," in *Visions/Revisions: Essays on Nineteenth-Century French Culture*, eds. Nigel Harkness et al. (Oxford – Bern – Berlin: Peter Lang, 2003), 126.

39 *Id.*, 125.

40 Durand-Ruel, *Memoirs*, 31–2.

41 Harrison C. and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World* (Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993); David W. Galenson and Robert Jensen, "Careers and Canvases: The Rise of the Market for Modern Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *Van Gogh Studies* 1 (2007): 137–66.

and public rewards led to the final demise of the Salon itself and its replacement by a new type of radically internationalist exhibition. In 1890 a discussion over foreign participation in France resulted in the schism between the Société des Artistes Français and the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts and, thus, to the co-existence of two rivalling Salons.⁴² The internationally oriented exhibition organised by the Société Nationale proved the more successful of the pair and subsequently provided the model for the shows organised in the 1890s and 1900s by the various secessionist movements all over Europe, all with an equally cosmopolitan outlook.

Contrary to what occurred in France, in England the Royal Academy remained mostly unsympathetic towards the participation of foreign artists in its annual summer exhibitions.⁴³ This hostility, however, was precisely what allowed dealers like Gambart to develop their lucrative businesses based on the sale of contemporary art from abroad, often organising commercial shows on the fringes of the Royal Academy exhibition dedicated to specific national schools of painting. In other countries the relationship between the official exhibition circuit and the international art trade developed in still different ways. The Belgian prime minister Charles Rogier, for example, was always keen on using the arts to build an international reputation for the young Belgian nation. Clearly taking his cue from the Great Exhibition in London, in 1851 he ordered the annual Belgian Salon of contemporary art that was to take place in Brussels to be organised on a much grander and more international scale than before.⁴⁴ Submissions from abroad, especially from France, were actively solicited, but because the organising committee lacked the logistical resources to realise these international ambitions, art dealers like Arthur Stevens, Gustave Coûteaux and François Petit were engaged to activate their networks and secure paintings by foreign artists. In the following years, the organising committees of the Salons in Antwerp and Ghent, which alternated with Brussels as guest cities for the national exhibitions, adopted the same practice and made

42 Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 154–63.

43 Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 136–9.

44 Monique Nonne, “Artistieke wisselwerking: een paar voorbeelden,” in *Parijs—Brussel, Brussel—Parijs. Realisme, impressionisme, symbolisme, art nouveau. De artistieke dialoog tussen Frankrijk en België, 1848–1914*, eds. Robert Hoozee and Anne Pingeot (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1997), 42–3. See on Charles Rogier and the arts: Judith Ogonovszky, “Charles Rogier, mécène interposé d’un art national,” in *L’Argent des arts. La politique artistique des pouvoirs publics en Belgique de 1830 à 1940*, eds. Ginette Kurgan-van Hentenryk and Valérie Montens (Brussels: Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles, 2001), 63–71.

use, for instance, of the services of the London-based agent Henry Mogford to attract paintings from Britain.⁴⁵

The examples of the Belgian Salons are not exceptional. Exhibition organisers in provincial cities in France, Prussia and many other countries often had similar international ambitions and also regularly recruited the support of dealers to realise them.⁴⁶ One striking aspect of this development, which testifies to the depth to which internationalism penetrated the very structure of the art world, is that international circuits were increasingly able to bypass national networks and hierarchies. France Nerlich has described, for instance, how Louis Sachse, a German art dealer who imported contemporary French painting for provincial exhibitions organised by local *Kunstvereine*, sometimes directly sourced from the studios of provincial French painters who had not yet been able to make a name for themselves in Paris. The result was that these painters could become well established abroad before having gone through the usual career stages in their home country (usually centred in its capital), thus defying, as it were, the internal geographic logic that normally determined artists' careers.⁴⁷ The same prevalence of the international over the national can sometimes be seen on the level of exhibitions, against the internal geographical centre-periphery logic one would expect. Regional and local exhibitions in Germany, for instance, were at times more open to foreign art than the leading Berlin art world because of anti-French sentiment in the Prussian capital.⁴⁸

Even more significant than the presence of foreign art at national or local exhibitions was the craze in the second half of the nineteenth century for *expositions universelles*, or world exhibitions, and the many, alas understudied, international exhibitions, sometimes dedicated specifically to the fine arts.⁴⁹ Surprisingly, the commercial dimension of these exhibitions, and the machinations and intrigues behind them, have never received much attention.⁵⁰ These

45 Baetens, "The Belgian Brand," 1307–8.

46 Nonne, "Artistieke wisselwerking," 51–52; France Nerlich, *La Réception de la peinture française en Allemagne, 1815–1870* (Paris: Éditions de la maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009), 125–7 and 171–2.

47 France Nerlich, "La fin de l'exclusion artistique. Le marchand d'art berlinois Louis Friedrich Sachse à la conquête de la province," in *Marché(s) de l'art en province 1870–1914*, eds. Laurent Houssais and Marion Lagrange (Bordeaux: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 2010), 145–7.

48 *Id.*, 150–4.

49 Jensen, *Marketing Modernism*, 163. See however: Martha Filipová, ed., *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840–1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins* (London – New York: Routledge, 2015).

50 Jan Dirk Baetens, "The General Exhibition of Pictures of 1851: National Schools and International Trade in the Mid-Victorian Art Market," *Visual Culture in Britain* 17, no. 3 (2016), 270–89.

prestigious exhibitions functioned as international showcases of art and could, besides establishing or endorsing an artist's reputation in his home country, launch international careers. Again, art dealers, always happy to rub up with government officials, were usually eager to be involved and to make use of the commercial possibilities created by these shows. Durand-Ruel, for instance, took charge of the French section of the international exhibition organised in London in 1871 and quickly responded affirmatively to the French government's request to send in works for the international exhibition in Vienna in 1873.⁵¹ He also seized the commercial opportunity presented to him by his involvement in the Vienna exhibition to organise his own commercial exhibition of the 'fine French school' on the fringes of the official programme. The Dutch section at the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago was almost entirely an affair of the Dutch dealer Abraham Preyer, who acted as general manager for the Dutch submissions and joined forces with the internationally operating Goupil dealership for the occasion.⁵² Following the Columbian Exhibition, Preyer organised an auction of the unsold works, supplemented by fresh arrivals from the Netherlands, and a year later he opened the so-called Holland Art Galleries in New York. The influence of dealers was also felt in the press coverage surrounding these international events and even in the distribution of medals and other honours to the participating artists. The great medal of honour that the Belgian painter Henri Leys received at the first *exposition universelle* in Paris in 1855 seems to have been the happy outcome (for him at least) of the machinations of his dealer, Gustave Coûteaux. Apparently, the latter had outsmarted the rivalling Belgian dealer Arthur Stevens, who was promoting his brother Alfred's interests, if we are to believe Leys's letters.⁵³

Distribution Continued: Travelling Picture Pedlars and Art Multinationals

It is not surprising that dealers were so often involved in official or state-sponsored exhibitions with international ambitions. Many of them conducted their business in the full understanding, and use, of the growing international potential of the market. The trade in old master paintings had been an international affair since at least the sixteenth century. This evolution, however,

51 Durand-Ruel, *Memoirs*, 80 and 107–8.

52 Dekkers, *Jozef Israëls*, 116; *Id.*, "Where Are the Dutchmen?" Promoting the Hague School in America, 1875–1900," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 24, no. 1 (1996): 67–8.

53 Jan Dirk Baetens, "Vanguard Economics, Rearguard Art: Gustave Coûteaux and the Modernist Myth of the Dealer-Critic System," *Oxford Art Journal* 33, no. 1 (2010): 38.

reached its climax in the nineteenth century. By 1867 the French critic Philippe Burty noted that ‘almost all important deals in old master paintings [were] arranged by a handful of prominent agents, travelling from France to England, from Spain to Russia, thus keeping in touch with the desires of rich *amateurs* and the lacunas in museums.’⁵⁴ Eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century dealers in contemporary art also increasingly targeted foreign markets with their wares. When John Boydell planned his famous Shakespeare Gallery in the 1780s, he had both the British and the French markets in mind, only to be frustrated in his ambitions by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars.⁵⁵ After the wars, in the 1820s, John Arrowsmith applied himself to the import of contemporary British pictures into France, including, famously, a number of paintings by John Constable.⁵⁶ French sensation pictures were, conversely, regularly exhibited in Britain, where they were used to promote the sale of engravings after them, either on artists’ own accord or with the support of entrepreneurs such as the exhibition organiser William Bullock.⁵⁷

In the following decades, the international scope of dealers’ business schemes only became more prevalent. Many dealers in contemporary art started to specialise in the export and/or import of specific national schools to other markets. Gambart made his career in London first and above all with the promotion of French and, to a lesser extent, Belgian, Dutch and German art. Durand-Ruel only arrived at establishing the modern French school of impressionist painting when he succeeded in selling the impressionists’ work abroad. His main Paris competitor, Georges Petit, mirrored this strategy and organised a series of exhibitions of the work of prominent foreign artists in his luxurious Paris gallery, ostensibly under the aegis of the so-called Société Internationale de Peinture, again a label that referred to the benefits of exchange between national schools.⁵⁸ Earlier, Georges Petit’s father, François, had already put together some of the collections of prominent *amateurs* in the Netherlands and Russia.⁵⁹ The Belgian dealer Arthur Stevens, who operated in Paris for

54 Philippe Burty, “L’hôtel des ventes et le commerce de tableaux,” in *Paris-Guide. Par les principaux écrivains et artistes de la France*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie internationale, 1867), 960.

55 Rosie Dias, *Exhibiting Englishness: John Boydell’s Shakespeare Gallery and the Formation of a National Aesthetic* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2013), 65–125 and 217 ff.

56 Linda Whiteley, “Art et commerce d’art en France avant l’époque impressionniste,” *Romantisme* 13 (1983): 69–71.

57 Oskar Bätschmann, *The Artist in the Modern World: The Conflict between Market and Self-Expression* (Cologne: DuMont, 1997), 44–52.

58 Jensen, *Marketing Modernism*, 63–7.

59 Burty, “L’hôtel des ventes,” 962.

much of his career, promoted modern French art, mostly Barbizon painting, in Belgium, Russia and other European countries.⁶⁰ German dealers like Louis Sachse specialised in the import of French art.⁶¹ The Lepke dealership imported contemporary French art in the German territories, but at the same time it also introduced the Parisian auction culture to Berlin, as Lukas Fuchsgruber convincingly shows in his chapter in this volume.

The second half of the nineteenth century also saw the rise of actual multinationals in the art world. Goupil & Cie (later renamed Boussod, Valadon & Cie), arguably the most successful dealership of the nineteenth century, had branches in Paris, London, The Hague, Brussels, Berlin and New York (the latter was taken over by Michael Knoedler in 1857 and continued under his name, becoming one of the most successful art dealerships in the US).⁶² It was also connected to an extensive network of other dealers, many of whom had learned the trade in one of the Goupil branches.⁶³ Others, including the Scottish dealer Daniel Cottier, Arthur Tooth from London, Agnew's from Manchester and the Dutch firm E.J. van Wisselingh & Co., followed suit and established branches in cities in Europe and the United States.⁶⁴ The advantages of such an international corporate structure were clear: it created the possibility of a larger stock that was distributed and sometimes circulated amongst several retail spaces or auctioned off in different cities, it allowed for the spread of business risks over an entire network and thus for the absorption of the effects of political and economic difficulties in specific national markets, and it could build on the shared expertise and personal networks of a large number of employees following up on artistic and commercial developments in different national art scenes.⁶⁵

60 Gustave Vanzype, *Les frères Stevens* (Brussels: Nouvelle société d'éditions, 1936), 80–91; Robert Hoozee, "Barbizon en België," in *De school van Barbizon. Franse meesters van de 19de eeuw*, eds. John Sillevs and Hans Kraan (Ghent: Museum of Fine Arts, 1985), 116 ff; Boris I. Asvarisch, "Les artistes belges et leurs peintures: le point de vue de la Russie," in *Peintures belges de l'Ermitage*, ed. Boris I. Asvarisch (Venice: Marsilio, 1999), 27–34.

61 France Nerlich, *La Réception de la peinture française*, 103–24, 140–2, 175–6 and 239–49; Anna Ahrens, *Der Pionier. Wie Louis Sachse in Berlin den Kunstmarkt erfand* (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: Böhlau, 2017).

62 *Gérôme & Goupil: Art and Enterprise* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2001); Anne Helmreich, "The Art Dealer and Taste: The Case of David Croal Thomson and the Goupil Gallery, 1885–1897," *Visual Culture in Britain* 6, no. 2 (2005): 31–49; *Id.*, "The Goupil Gallery," 65–84; Penot, "The Perils and Perks."

63 Penot, *La Maison Goupil*, 350–1.

64 Helmreich, "The Goupil Gallery," 68.

65 *Id.*, 74; Richard Thomson, "Theo van Gogh: An Honest Broker," in *Theo van Gogh 1857–1891: Art Dealer, Collector and Brother of Vincent*, eds. Chris Stolwijk and Richard Thomson (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999), 81; Penot, *La Maison Goupil*, 248–53 and 274.

Even dealers operating on a more limited scale or in the low end of the market often adopted a similar international approach. They travelled through Europe with a small stock of paintings to be shown in hotels or other modest exhibition sites, acted as occasional middlemen in international networks, or sometimes dealt in large quantities of inexpensive, mass-produced prints and pictures. In the 1840s and 1850s, before the firm's great breakthrough, Durand-Ruel senior and junior regularly toured Europe with their stock.⁶⁶ Hardly anything is known, however, about the Belgian dealers Albert D'Huyvetter senior and junior, who shipped thousands of contemporary Belgian paintings to America—mostly smallish, inexpensive and repetitive traditionalist pictures—and were later even held responsible for provoking the decline of a large part of the Belgian school with their mass exports.⁶⁷

It is striking in this respect, if not surprising in the light of the unprecedented mobility of both goods and persons, that many art dealers, again operating in all strata of the market, were migrants or descendants of foreign stock.⁶⁸ Both Arthur Stevens and Adolphe Coûteaux, two of the most active dealers in and promoters of the Barbizon school in Paris, were Belgian.⁶⁹ Joseph-Henry Rittner, who founded what would become Goupil & Cie in 1827, was a German immigrant. Charles Sedelmeyer, who conquered the Paris art market (and then the US) a few decades later, was of modest Austrian origins, while the German Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler rose to prominence in Paris in the first decade of the twentieth century.⁷⁰ Gambart, the 'prince of the Victorian art world,' had migrated from Belgium, while the Colnaghi dealership, also in London, was established by Italian migrants.⁷¹ These renowned dealers operated within intricate migrant communities, fostering ties with their native countries while at the same time forging new alliances in their new places of residence. In her

66 Durand-Ruel, *Memoirs*, 11 and 24.

67 Anon., "Art et mercantilisme," *L'Art moderne* 20 (1900): 89; Frank Van Den Wijngaert, "De schilderkunst in de XIXde eeuw," in *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis van Antwerpen in de XIXde eeuw. Instellingen—economie—cultuur* (Antwerp: Lloyd Anversois, 1964), 329–30.

68 Christian Huemer, "Crossing Thresholds: The Hybrid Identity of Late Nineteenth-Century Art Dealers," in *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence*, ed. Jaynie Anderson (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 2009), 1007–11.

69 See on Adolphe Coûteaux: Baetens, "Vanguard Economics," 30; Pierre Miquel, *Le Paysage français au XIX^e siècle 1824–1874. L'école de la nature* (Martincelle: Maurs-la-Jolie, 1975), *passim*.

70 Huemer, "Crossing Thresholds," 1007–11; Jeanne-Bathilde Lacourt, ed., *Picasso, Léger, Masson: Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler et ses peintres* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: LaM, 2013).

71 See on Colnaghi's: Tim Warner-Johnson and Jeremy Howard, *Colnaghi: Past, Present and Future. An Anthology* (London: Colnaghi, 2016).

contribution to this book, Camilla Murgia unravels the Italian artistic community in London at the end of the eighteenth century. Migrant communities sometimes also formed actual international networks across Europe to accommodate their trade. Members of the twelve-odd families that made up the population of the tiny North Italian mountain village Pieve Tesino, including the Tessaro, Caramelli and Buffa families, travelled as print pedlars through Europe from the eighteenth century onwards, regularly restocking through local contacts and sometimes only returning home after years of travel. Some of them subsequently settled in cities like Amsterdam, Antwerp, Koblenz and even Moscow and established permanent premises, including the prestigious Buffa dealership in Amsterdam, while usually also remaining in touch with their local and family networks.⁷²

Dealers also developed new strategies to conquer foreign markets. Durand-Ruel and Gambart organised special exhibitions abroad to market their artists. Gambart and others also set up international tours of highly publicised and eye-catching paintings, usually with a range of printed reproductions or photographs on offer during the show.⁷³ On a more modest scale, Theo van Gogh could send a 'mixed bag' of modern French art abroad simply to test the market.⁷⁴ Some of these strategies were developed in direct response to the new logistic and financial challenges created by the internationalisation of the market. Notably transportation, though more efficient than in previous times, was still costly and entailed risks, and insurance and custom duties could seriously reduce profit margins.⁷⁵ Thus, in the late 1840s Goupil set up the International Art Union in New York, both to promote their stock of prints and to circumvent custom duties on paintings that were now purportedly imported for non-commercial reasons, namely because they would be shown in the exhibitions organised under the umbrella of the allegedly philanthropic Art Union.⁷⁶ The firm's later decision to publish a number of promotional albums with works of art for sale for the American market was informed by the high cost involved in the transportation of the actual paintings across the Atlantic

72 Sylvia Alting van Geusau, "Kunst aan de Kalverstraat. De handelszin van Frans Buffa & Zonen," in *Kunsthandel Frans Buffa & Zonen 1790–1950*, eds. Sylvia Alting van Geusau, Mayken Jonkman, and Aukje Vergeest (Zwolle: Waanders, 2016), 37–44.

73 See for a wonderfully detailed case study: Jeremy Maas, *Holman Hunt and the Light of the World* (Aldershot: Wildwood House, 1984).

74 Thomson, "Theo van Gogh," 81.

75 Penot, *La Maison Goupil*, 227–34.

76 Penot, "The Perils and Perks."

without the guarantee of sales.⁷⁷ The development in earlier decades of other strategies, like the formation of buying syndicates and the use of private sale contracts, which both proved their value in the context of the famous Orléans sale, was also impacted by the internationalisation of the market.⁷⁸

Supply: Artists in an International Environment

Dealers sometimes stimulated artists to adapt their production to foreign markets. In the late 1860s, for instance, the promising Dutch artist Frederik Hendrik Kaemmerer largely abandoned landscape painting in his native Dutch tradition and started painting typically French *diréctoire* scenes under the impulse of Goupil & Cie, which had paid for his training in the studio of Jean-Léon Gérôme and also became the young artist's main commercial outlet.⁷⁹ The perspective of artists, however, was as international as that of dealers: many artists studied abroad and often travelled to different countries to visit museums or exhibitions, or simply to sketch or paint. Artists often also wanted to conquer foreign markets as eagerly as dealers and usually readily collaborated with dealers for this purpose. They sometimes developed or adapted their artistic productions according to the exigencies of foreign markets, but the result of such strategies could go in different directions. The Belgian artist Victor-Jules Génisson made a number of paintings of English church interiors clearly destined for the British market and constantly tried to gauge British taste in his correspondence with his London contact. In his letters, he confessed that he aimed at a share of the London art market, the financial resources of which he thought were inexhaustible. Even if it was true, he wrote in a letter from 1851, that in the person of David Roberts Britain already had a specialist in historic interiors, there would be plenty left for him: 'where he [Roberts] has

77 DeCourcy E. McIntosh, "Goupil's Album: Marketing Salon Painting in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Twenty-First-Century Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Art: Essays in Honor of Gabriel P. Weisberg*, eds. Petra ten-Doesschate-Chu and Laurinda S. Dixon (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 77–84.

78 See on the Orléans syndicate: Inge Reist, "The Fate of the Palais Royal Collection: 1791–1800," in *La Circulation des œuvres d'art—The Circulation of Works of Art in the Revolutionary Era, 1789–1848*, eds. Roberta Panzanelli and Monica Preti-Hamard (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2007), esp. 30 ff. See on the use of private contract sales: Julia Armstrong-Totten, "Expand the Audience, Increase the Profits: Motivations Behind the Private Contract Sale," in *Id.*, 45–55.

79 Mayken Jonkman, "Frederik Hendrik Kaemmerer. De lieveling van de kunstmarkt," in *Nederlanders in Parijs 1789–1914*, ed. Mayken Jonkman (Bussum: Thoth, 2017), 131–47.

harvested richly, I am happy to glean in his footsteps.⁸⁰ Gustave Courbet tried to serve several national markets and varied his output of landscape paintings in accordance with differences in taste between French, German, British and other collectors, which he also described in his instructions to his various commercial agents.⁸¹ Other artists adapted their marketing technique according to local circumstances: the Italian sculptor Medardo Rosso, for example, held live casting parties with champagne in Paris, managed to get included in the landmark Vienna Secession of 1903 and donated his own pieces of sculpture to a museum in Dresden alongside sold copies of ancient sculpture, as Sharon Hecker describes in her contribution to this volume.

Artists could, however, also reason the other way around. The success abroad of a certain “style” or type of work that was deemed typical of a specific national school, or sometimes even promoted as an actual national “brand,” could also encourage artists to emphasise the perceived national distinctiveness of their work rather than suppress or adapt it. Foreign markets could thus not only animate other artistic scenes, but they could also stimulate the development of distinctly national or regional schools of painting in other countries (or groups of painters that were seen as such). This was, for instance, the case for the Hague school, which was able to grow and prosper thanks to its popularity in England, Scotland and America, where its output was considered as quintessentially Dutch.⁸² The process of national branding that could accompany mass exports to foreign markets could also lead to artistic sclerosis. Most of the artists of the now largely forgotten school of Écouen in France, for instance, ended up in endlessly repeating traditional artistic recipes in mass-produced French genre paintings, virtually all of which were destined for the American market.⁸³ Finally, artists could also try to balance the appeal of distinct national characteristics in their art with foreign preferences in taste. Some of the features of Claude Monet’s landscape paintings of the 1880s have been explained in this way. They show the distinctive appeal of French nature but leave out the potentially disturbing presence of French people, with their

80 Baetens, “The Belgian Brand,” 1281 and 1303.

81 Petra ten-Doesschate-Chu, *The Most Arrogant Man in France: Gustave Courbet and the Nineteenth-Century Media Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 148 ff.

82 Dekkers, *Jozef Israëls*, 132–50; *Id.*, “Where Are the Dutchmen?,” 54–73; Frances Fowles, *Van Gogh’s Twin: The Scottish Art Dealer Alexander Reid 1854–1928* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2010), 15 ff.

83 Michaël Vottero, *La Peinture de genre en France, après 1850* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012), 354–8.

social or political implications: a perfect recipe for foreign collectors who were attracted to the French landscape but ‘wanted their France as pure “art.”’⁸⁴

The import and export of art could also affect national or local art scenes in many other ways, both artistically and outside of the immediate artistic realm. It could stimulate institutional developments, as it did in the Netherlands, where the international trade led to a (comparatively late) professionalisation of the local art market.⁸⁵ In the United States, a negative, protectionist response to imports from Europe led to the foundation of the American Art-Union and other initiatives to encourage American artists.⁸⁶ Exports, especially of old master paintings and antiquities, could also stir up nationalist reflexes and stimulate initiatives to protect national heritage or provoke acquisitions by the budding national or local museums.⁸⁷ The easy accessibility of foreign art could also elicit artistic responses from local artists. The introduction of Constable in France by the dealer John Arrowsmith had a clear effect on the development of Barbizon landscape painting.⁸⁸ The Scottish art dealer Alexander Reid played a more active role. He introduced local artists George Henry and Edward Atkinson Hornel, whose work he promoted, to Japanese prints and even sent them on a fully financed study trip to Japan in order to stimulate the *japoniste* tendencies in their art.⁸⁹ In London around 1900 the successful import of modern French art alongside a thriving market for Spanish, Dutch and Italian old master paintings allowed British artists to create their own cosmopolitan visual language, as Barbara Pezzini shows in her chapter in this book.

Demand: International Collectors and National Tastes

The import of art from abroad was intricately intertwined with evolving taste patterns and thus with the formation of art collections. The increasing international mobility of art in the nineteenth century clearly played a major

84 Thomson, “Theo van Gogh,” 116.

85 Stolwijk, *Uit de schilderswereld*, 26.

86 Craig Houser, “Disharmony and Discontent: Reviving the American Art-Union and the Market for United States Art in the Gilded Age,” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 11, no. 2 (2012), <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer12/craig-houser-disharmony-and-discontent>.

87 Benjamin Péronnet, “La presse et le marché de l’art, de la Révolution à la Restauration,” in *Collections et marché de l’art en France 1789–1848*, 102.

88 Linda Whiteley, “Art et commerce d’art en France avant l’époque impressionniste,” *Romantisme* 13 (1983): 69–71.

89 Fowles, *Van Gogh’s Twin*, 62 ff.

part in collecting practices. In some cases, like that of the sale of the Orléans collection in Britain, the presence of imported art affected local taste.⁹⁰ Throughout the nineteenth century, French Ancien Régime furniture continued to play a significant role in British interiors. English aristocrats appropriated the art of their (former) enemy by assigning both English and international significance to it, as Adriana Turpin's contribution to this volume demonstrates.

The example of the Orléans sale illustrates that the art market internationalised partly in response to the opportunities created by the uneven distribution amongst cities, regions and countries of (bourgeois, aristocratic or other) buying potential. Both old master and contemporary art "followed the money:" to London during most of the nineteenth century, to the United States in the final decades of the century, but also to more unexpected locations like Buenos Aires, targeted by European dealers because of the rising purchase power of the wealthy bourgeoisie at the end of the century.⁹¹ A disequilibrium between local demand and local supply further stimulated artists or dealers to export in the face of such weak local demand or motivated collectors to make purchases abroad because of limited local supply possibilities (and the high prices this would entail). Contemporary foreign art was, however, even imported in Paris, arguably the most prolific art production centre of the time.⁹² This suggests that foreign markets not only originated from a surplus in wealth and demand in face of a weak supply, but they were also created by artists and dealers promoting certain artists or schools from abroad.

It is difficult to determine whether the changes in collectors' taste preferences were influenced by international trade or were, conversely, what invited this trade in the first place. Changes in the supply side may have sometimes played a greater role in the market for old master paintings. It is well known that confiscations and plunder during the revolutionary era in France and during the Napoleonic Wars that raged throughout Europe in the following decade brought huge quantities of old master pictures to the market.⁹³ Aristocratic collections and works of art in the possession of religious institutions were sold or exported and officers from Napoleon's army built important collections

90 Reist, "The Fate of the Palais Royal Collection," 34.

91 Ten-Doesschate-Chu, "The Lu(c)re of London," 39–54; Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort and Jeanne K. Welcher, "Some Views of Art Buying in New York in the 1870s and 1880s," *Oxford Art Journal* 5, no. 1 (1982): 48–55; Baldassare, "Buenos Aires."

92 See for instance Thomson, "Theo van Gogh," 81.

93 See some of the essays, esp. those related to the Orléans sale, in: Panzanelli and Preti-Hamard, eds., *La Circulation des œuvres d'art*.

of foreign art and antiquities.⁹⁴ After (and sometimes even during) the wars, powerful dealers like John Smith and his main competitors, Lambert-Jean Nieuwenhuys and his son Chrétien, roamed the Continent and shipped thousands of paintings to England.⁹⁵ It may very well be that dealers like father and son Nieuwenhuys and Smith, responding to the changes on the supply side of the market, could sometimes weigh on collecting patterns. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, many significant late medieval Netherlandish paintings, most of them looted, confiscated or bought from religious institutions, were in the hands of dealers, with only a moderate interest in them from the demand side.⁹⁶ Subsequently, however, collectors and museums gradually started buying Flemish primitives, often directly from Nieuwenhuys, Smith and their peers. The availability of these works and their active promotion by dealers may very well have influenced this new taste, together with the rise in scholarly interest in these paintings.

Changes on the demand side, however, also contributed to the momentum of the market for old master painting in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The advent of new collectors, eager to acquire works freshly arrived on the market, was one element. The establishment of national museums in countries all over Europe was another. Virtually all of them aimed to secure a representative collection of national art following the return of collections looted by Napoleon and the concomitant surge in nationalist sentiments, while the most ambitious of these new museums even aspired to become ‘universal survey museums,’ with representative samples of art from all national

94 See for instance: Véronique Gerard-Powell, “Les collections des officiers de l’armée impériale pendant la campagne d’Espagne: un butin très varié,” in *Collections et marché de l’art en France 1789–1848*, 305–17; Patricia A. Teter, “English Gold, Corsican Brass, and French Iron’: Opportunities for Collecting Art in Spain During the Napoleonic Wars,” in *La Circulation des œuvres d’art*, 309–21.

95 Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste: The Rise and Fall of Picture Prices 1760–1960*, vol. 1 (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1982), 26–56; Bayer and Page, *The Development*, 89–98; Charles Sebag-Montefiore and Julia I. Armstrong-Totten, *A Dynasty of Dealers: John Smith and his Successors, 1801–1924* (London: The Roxburghe Club, 2013). The Nieuwenhuys dealership remains, alas, unstudied. See for some basic information: Erik Hintertding and Femy Horsch, “A Small but Choice Collection’: The Art Gallery of King Willem II of the Netherlands (1792–1849),” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 19, no. 1–2 (1989): esp. 9.

96 Till-Holger Borchert, “De geschiedenis van het verzamelen van de Oudnederlandse schilderkunst in de negentiende eeuw,” in *‘Om iets te weten van de oude meesters.’ De Vlaamse Primitieven—herontdekking, waardering en onderzoek*, eds. Bernhard Ridderbos and Henk van Veen (Amsterdam: Sun, 2005), 140–88.

schools.⁹⁷ To what extent supply followed demand, or vice versa, then, is difficult to say: the history of taste always remains elusive.

A substantial number of high profile collectors was also serviced by an increasingly international supply chain. They not only regularly bought old master paintings from foreign schools, but they also often purchased contemporary work from foreign artists and sometimes even built representative collections of specific national schools or local schools from abroad. The Belgian collectors Prosper Crabbe and Jules van Praet both owned prestigious collections of French Barbizon paintings, including masterpieces such as Jean-François Millet's famous *Angelus*.⁹⁸ Early Russian collectors like Nikolai Borisovich Yusupov specialised in French art, while his contemporary Alexander Sergeevich Stroganov focused on Italian art.⁹⁹ Later Russian *amateurs* followed the same pattern. Nicolai Kosjolev-Bezborodko, for instance, collected French art, while Alexander Gorchakov had a special interest in contemporary Belgian art.¹⁰⁰ American collectors of the last decades of the nineteenth century increasingly surpassed all others in their acquisitions. In 1857 the Belgian art critic Emile Leclercq wrote that many of the best Belgian paintings were exported to Russia, while copies and bad and mediocre paintings were put on a boat to America.¹⁰¹ In the 1880s, however, journalists boasted that the Americans owned more French masterpieces than France itself, often Barbizon pictures and popular Salon paintings.¹⁰² In the following years, America would also become the main market for impressionist and old master paintings.¹⁰³ This influx of European paintings in the American market allowed New York intermediaries to educate auction and exhibition visitors via

97 Bénédicte Savoy, "Conquêtes et consécration. Paris—Berlin 1815," in *La Circulation des œuvres d'art*, 85–97. See on the 'universal survey museum:' Carol Duncan and Allan Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," *Art History* 3, no. 4 (1980): 448–69.

98 Hoozee, "Barbizon en België," 114–8.

99 Elena Sharnova, "Un vrai musée de la peinture française: la collection française de Nicolai Borissovitch Youssopov," in *Collections et marché de l'art en France 1789–1848*, 359–73; Susanne Jaeger, *Alexander S. Stroganov (1733–1811). Kunstsammler und Mäzen im Russland der Aufklärung* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2007).

100 Boris Asvarisjtj, "De galerie van vorst Aleksandr Gortsjakov" and "De galerij van Koesjelev-Bezborodko," in *Verzamelaars in Sint-Petersburg* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2007), 66–81 and 82–97.

101 E. Pittore [Emile Leclercq], "Collections particulières d'objets d'art. Galerie de M. Van Becelaere," *Uylenspiegel. Journal des ébats artistiques et littéraires* 2, no. 6 (1857–58): 1.

102 Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort, "The American Art Trade and French Painting at the End of the 19th Century," *Van Gogh Museum Journal* 6 (2000): 105. See also: Lois Marie Fink, "French Art in the United States, 1850–1870: Three Dealers and Collectors," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 120 (1978): 92–9.

103 Thompson, "Paul Durand-Ruel," 106–19.

catalogues and boost their own cultural and social capital, as Leanne Zalewski shows in her chapter in this book.

Collectors could source from local branches of international firms like Goupil.¹⁰⁴ They sometimes also actively monitored foreign supply markets, sent agents abroad or enlisted the help of local middlemen like George A. Lucas, who bought in Paris for some of the most acquisitive American collectors of contemporary art.¹⁰⁵ Of course collectors also travelled abroad themselves. Indeed, the history of collecting has always been connected to the history of travel: ambassadors, foreign princes and army officers of conquering armies have always been prominent amongst collectors.¹⁰⁶ The mobility of collectors increased, however, as larger groups of people obtained the financial means for travel, which also became easier and cheaper in itself. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, for instance, many of the wealthy art-buying bourgeoisie of Buenos Aires regularly made the voyage to Paris to buy the latest fashionable clothes, furniture and art for their houses.¹⁰⁷

Local artists and dealers were well aware of the presence of collectors from abroad. Durand-Ruel wrote in his memoirs that he would have preferred a location for his gallery on the boulevard Montmartre over his address in the rue Lafitte, not only because a lot of wealthy Parisians passed through the boulevard Montmartre, but also because foreigners often strolled there.¹⁰⁸ Foreign collectors also visited local exhibitions, if we are to believe the comments in the press. In 1849, for instance, a Belgian art critic noted in his review of the tri-annual Antwerp Salon with some relief that, in spite of the recent political upheavals in Europe (the wave of revolutions in 1848), the interest of foreign *amateurs* in the Salon had not diminished.¹⁰⁹ Tourism was undoubtedly an important force behind these collecting patterns. In the German Rhineland foreign tourists would regularly be induced to buy work from local artists. By the 1860s the term ‘Engländer’ could even be used as a simple substitute for ‘wealthy *amateur*.’¹¹⁰

104 Hélène Lafont-Couturier, “Mr G r me Works for Goupil,” in *G r me & Goupil: Art and Enterprise* (Paris: R union des mus es nationaux, 2001), 20–1.

105 Lilian M.C. Randall, ed., *The Diary of George A. Lucas: An American Art Agent in Paris, 1857–1909* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

106 Dominique Poulot, “Conclusion: L’histoire des collections entre l’histoire de l’art et l’histoire,” in *Collections et march  de l’art en France 1789–1848*, 434–5; Michela Scolaro, “L’origine des mus es  gyptiens en Italie et en France,” in *Collections et march  de l’art en France 1789–1848*, 349–58.

107 Baldassare, “Buenos Aires.”

108 Thomson, “Theo van Gogh: An Honest Broker,” 79.

109 Artemos, “Lettres sur l’exposition,” *Journal du commerce*, 22 August 1849: 1.

110 Lenman, *Artists and Society in Germany*, 157.

Again, dealers could follow the dictates of foreign taste, which is what Goupil seems to have done in his conquest of the American art market.¹¹¹ They could also try to create new markets abroad, however, and guide the taste of collectors through publications and exhibitions, as Durand-Ruel successfully did in America.¹¹²

Educating the Market: National Schools for New Audiences

The internationalisation of the art market was accompanied, and indeed accommodated, by the rapidly expanding field of art literature. Books and auction catalogues were increasingly distributed through networks that spanned Europe and beyond, while journals and newspapers actively sought subscribers abroad. Specialised art periodicals also increasingly paid attention to exhibitions, auctions and other topical events taking place abroad and of possible interest for art enthusiasts, often enlisting the help of local correspondents in cities throughout Europe. They also sometimes published in-depth analyses of artistic developments abroad or monographic studies devoted to foreign artists. More ambitious introductions to foreign art, old or contemporary, were published in the form of book-length studies and monographs. Authors like Théophile Gautier and Ernest Chesneau seized the occasion offered to them by the presence of art from all over Europe at the universal exhibitions in Paris of 1855 and 1867, respectively, to publish survey texts on the recent development and state of the arts in the different European countries.¹¹³ Chesneau further specialised in English art and regularly published on topics pertaining to that field.¹¹⁴ In England a flow of similar publications saw the light. Leading art critics like Joseph Beavington Atkinson and Philip Gilbert Hamerton wrote on the German, French and other continental schools, while William Bell Scott authored a trilogy on the French, German and Belgian-Dutch schools in the early 1870s illustrated with carbon photographs.¹¹⁵

111 Penot, *La Maison Goupil*, 307–16.

112 Thompson, “Paul Durand-Ruel,” 106–19.

113 Théophile Gautier, *Les Beaux-arts en Europe* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1855); Ernest Chesneau, *Les Nations rivales dans l'art* (Paris: Didier, 1868).

114 See for instance: Ernest Chesneau, *La Peinture anglaise* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1882).

115 See for instance: Joseph Beavington Atkinson, *An Art Tour to Northern Capitals of Europe* (London: Macmillan, 1873); *Id.*, *The Schools of Modern Art in Germany* (London: Seeley Jackson & Halliday, 1880); Philip Gilbert Hamerton, *The Present State of the Fine Arts in France* (London: Seeley, 1892); William Bell Scott, *Gems of French Art, Gems of Modern Belgian Art and Gems of Modern German Art* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1871, 1872 and 1873).

Since the art press was closely interwoven with the market, it should not come as a surprise that some of the editorial choices made with regard to foreign art were at least partially informed by commercial interests (as they were with regard to domestic art). The short-lived art journal *La Chronique Internationale des Beaux-Arts*, published between 1866 and 1868 by the International Society of Fine Arts in London and intended for an international audience, was mostly a commercial vehicle used by the Belgian art dealer Léon Gauchez to promote his stock.¹¹⁶ It is probably no coincidence either that virtually all of the artists discussed in the thirteen articles on contemporary Belgian art published by James Dafforne in the influential English periodical *The Art-Journal* in 1866 and 1867 were represented in England by Ernest Gambart, whose good relations with *The Art-Journal* are well known.¹¹⁷

More important for the present book volume than such examples of direct commerce-driven machinations, however, is the broader role played by the art press in mediating between artists and dealers on the one hand and the new and expanding art audiences on the other. The growing field of art literature indeed not only offered audiences knowledge of and information on the history and contemporary developments of the arts at home and abroad, but it also provided them with conceptual and terminological tools to understand, evaluate or simply respond to art. The creation of this new economy of knowledge, offered and purchased by various actors and in various contexts, was essential for the international expansion of the art market. It is also within this economy of knowledge that the importance of the “national” in the internationalisation of the art market becomes clear; for paradoxically at first sight, it was ideas of national identity and categories related to these ideas that became central in this new economy of knowledge, facilitated and ultimately even propelled the international expansion of the art market.

In order to trace this development, it is necessary to briefly take a step back in time. National identity played a major role in the formation of art markets prior to the nineteenth century. Anthony Smith has argued that the establishment of the art market in seventeenth-century Dutch cities went hand in hand with the early rise of bourgeois nationalism. The popularity of Dutch landscapes and genre paintings with the new bourgeois art buying

116 Ingrid Goddeeris, “Forward!—Selfhelp.—Self-respect: Léon Gauchez (1825–1907) et la Société Internationale des Beaux-Arts de Londres,” in *Animateur d'art. Dealer, collector, critic, publisher ...: the animateur d'art and his multiple roles. Pluridisciplinary research of these disregarded cultural mediators of the 19th and 20th centuries*, eds. Ingrid Goddeeris and Noémie Goldman (Brussels: Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, 2015), esp. 146–8.

117 Baetens, “The Belgian Brand,” 1294.

classes in seventeenth-century Holland was, according to Smith, not only due to the distinct educational backgrounds of these classes, the difficulty of religious subject matter after the Reformation or the more limited availability of space in the houses of Dutch merchants and entrepreneurs, but it was also a consequence of the new form of national “belonging” that the citizens of the Republic adhered to.¹¹⁸ Contrary to the aristocracy, which privileged forms of solidarity based on the transnational blood ties of kinship, the new bourgeois class spawned by the advent of capitalism, constructed new forms of solidarity grounded in an imagined communality for which nationalist thinking provided the basis.¹¹⁹ This logically resulted in outspoken taste preferences for types of art that visualised, represented and constructed the national identity that these new classes built and shared. Thus, Dutch burghers could see both the reflection and the confirmation of “their” way of life in the genre scenes produced by their autochthonous artists, or identify with and claim their homeland in locally produced Dutch landscapes.¹²⁰

Looking at the example of seventeenth-century Holland, the logic of nationalist thinking seems hard to reconcile with the internationalisation of the art market. The nineteenth century, however, presents a distinctively different picture. Capitalism and nationalism further matured, and high art was probably more important than ever before or afterwards to support nationalist agendas or serve the interests of the art buying elites. However, as capitalism gradually started to globalise, the character of its alliance with nationalist thinking in the art market also changed. Clearly, the further conjunction of capitalism and nationalist thinking did not lead to the mere coexistence of a number of self-supporting, discrete, national art markets with local producers supplying “national” art to local audiences, all grounded in exclusively nationalist, or patriotic, taste preferences. On the contrary, the art market became more international than ever before. Again, however, the ideas and forms of knowledge necessary for these market developments were provided by nationalist thinking, not in the narrow sense of a closed and inward-looking patriotic position, but rather in the broader sense of an ideological conviction of the existence of an order dividing the world in distinctive nations, all of which have their own clearly defined cultural identities, and the adoption of rational categories based on this conviction.¹²¹ This new system of knowledge provided a common

118 Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation Made Real: Art and National Identity in Western Europe, 1600–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 79–81.

119 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London – New York: Verso, 1991), 77.

120 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 77; Smith, *The Nation Made Real*, 79–81.

121 *Id.*, 73 ff.

intellectual framework and thus facilitated and stimulated the trade in art across borders.

In their book on the development of the art market in Britain, Thomas Bayer and John Page have described how the art market, like any other capitalist market, strives to maximise the exchangeability of goods.¹²² The economy of knowledge plays a key role in this process, firstly because a system or “habitus” of conceptual categories and criteria shared by all actors in the market provides a common standard to calculate the desirability of the exchange of specific goods on the supply and demand side and to determine the conditions attached by these actors to such an exchange, and secondly because informational efficiency, or equal access to information for different actors, makes the market more transparent and thus further stimulates the exchange of goods, regardless of the commercial benefits that information asymmetry may yield to individual agents in the market.¹²³

In the expanding market of the “long” nineteenth century, then, new systems of knowledge had to be put in place in order to maximise exchanges between the growing groups of consumers of art on the one hand and the producers and distributors of art who responded to the increased demand on the other. Nineteenth-century representations of exhibitions and commercial galleries make evident just how important access to information was for these new audiences: while the select connoisseurs in Alma-Tadema’s *The Picture Gallery* seem to be able to form their own opinions, aided only perhaps by Gambart’s explanations, in most of these depictions, visitors carry catalogues and other little booklets with them, trying to make sense of what they see or pointing out certain features of the works on view to each other (Fig. 1.3). The increased possibilities of trading across national borders, now, logically suggested the central role of categories pertaining to national identity in these systems of knowledge, most conspicuously in the rational organisation of works of art in national schools. Such a classification could serve as a shared system of valuation (in the broadest, not strictly pecuniary sense) for art that increasingly circulated between different national markets.

Neither these new systems of art knowledge nor the type of nationalist thinking that characterised them were, of course, solely developed in the field of commerce. But even in its most emphatically anti-commercial guises,

¹²² Bayer and Page, *The Development*, 14 ff.

¹²³ See for instance: Thomas M. Bayer and John Page, “Arthur Tooth: A London Dealer in the Spotlight, 1870–71,” in *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 9, no. 1 (2010), <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring10/arthur-tooth>, esp. note 28.



FIGURE 1.3 Anon. after J.N. Hyde, *New York City—An Afternoon Lounge at Goupil's Art Gallery, Fifth Avenue*, in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (13 July 1872): 280

modes of art knowledge based on national categories could stimulate the exchangeability of artistic goods and facilitate the opening up of national art markets. The emergence of public museums in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to take the most obvious example, was usually accompanied by a marked anti-commercial stance: the rhetoric of public museums rejected the realm of commerce and prioritised education and moral elevation. The interests of capitalism, however, were never really absent. It has been observed, for instance, that public museums clearly served the governing elite's agenda of control and assimilation, aimed at the absorption of 'the problematic "masses" within the legitimate confines of liberal power.'¹²⁴ However, the museum and its educational project could also affect the market in a more direct way. Moulding museum visitors into ideal citizens could ultimately also mean turning them into ideal consumers. Presenting to them the products of 'the most evolved and civilised culture of which the human spirit is capable,' all 'rationally organised and clearly labelled,' could also mean equipping them with the

¹²⁴ Nick Prior, *Museums and Modernity: Art Galleries and the Making of Modern Culture* (Oxford – New York: Berg, 2002), 50–1.

knowledge required for the consumption of art in an expanding, internationalising world.¹²⁵

When we consider this in the context of the internationalisation of the art market, it becomes clear that the reorganisation of public art collections in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries into separate sections that presented works of art from different countries not only educated museum visitors by means of a new mode of rational art knowledge based on national categories, but indeed it also provided them with the conceptual instruments necessary to consume art in an increasingly international context.¹²⁶ As the century progressed, evolving ideas about art further boosted the commercial potential of this type of consumption-inducing education. Originally, the educational goal behind museum installations based on the distinction between national schools was to encourage the viewer to compare the different schools and to evaluate them on the basis of a set of supposedly objective and universal criteria derived from academic theory: the different national schools could then be judged, for better or worse, by their allegiance, or lack thereof, to academic standards.¹²⁷ Nineteenth-century romanticism's endorsement of individual differences and its interest in national character, however, gradually led to a more equal treatment and appreciation of the different national schools, even if this theoretical impartiality was often kept in check by nationalist, patriotic considerations.¹²⁸ As a result of this democratisation of taste, the restructuring of art knowledge along national categories no longer merely made the international market more transparent: the very idea of treating all schools, at least in theory, on an equal footing could also massively increase the fluidity of goods in the market. Henceforward, national differences in art production no longer had to be impediments to the internationalisation of the art market, as they may have been in the face of the now superseded universal academic standards. They could now actually stimulate the circulation of goods and open up major new markets by securing a richer supply and catering to more varied tastes or demands.

125 Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London – New York: Routledge, 1995), 26.

126 Charlotte Klonk, *Spaces of Experience: Art Gallery Interiors from 1800 to 2000* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2009), 21–2.

127 *Id.*, 23.

128 *Id.*, 37–43; Dominique Poulot, “The Changing Role of Art Museums,” in *National Museums and Nation-Building in Europe 1750–2010: Mobilization and Legitimacy, Continuity and Change*, eds. Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius (London – New York: Routledge, 2015), 99–100.

The same nationalist ideological groundwork that structured public museums and their output of knowledge also characterised the evolving art discourse of the time in newspapers, periodicals, books and other publications. Both in its popular, commercial manifestations and in its more scholarly form, the production of this type of art discourse and art knowledge was intricately interwoven with market interests.¹²⁹ In a more general sense, it was also in this type of publications that the commercial potential of a conceptual apparatus based on national categories could be fully developed. As Julie Codell has explained for the British context, the production of this art discourse changed quickly following the advent of new consumers in the market and the consequent changes in the composition of traditional art audiences: 'no longer a matter of identifying art consumption with the interests and ambitions of a relatively limited and homogeneous class, art writing for a wide audience became taxed with the burden of finding common ground and shared experiences to bind these diverse populations.'¹³⁰ In order to create this 'common ground,' art critics, art historians and other producers of art discourse developed a system of categories, taxonomies and other forms of knowledge that enabled broader audiences to engage with art. Patriotic ideas sometimes played a role in this new system of knowledge, as critics, art historians and periodicals could actively endorse and support their national schools.¹³¹ Authors sometimes also adopted a more open international perspective and even promoted certain types of foreign art.¹³² What both positions shared was that notions of national identity provided authors, and subsequently their readers, with the conceptual framework for their analyses and evaluations of art from all nations: artists and works of art could be examined and judged on the basis of their relation with the national school to which they belonged and the characteristics ascribed to

129 Ivan Gaskell, "Tradesmen as Scholars: Interdependencies in the Study and Exchange of Art," in *Art History and its Institutions: Foundations of a Discipline*, ed. Elizabeth Mansfield (London – New York: Routledge, 2002), 146–62; Antoinette Friedenthal, "John Smith, his Catalogue Raisonné of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters (1829–1842) and the 'stigma of PICTURE DEALER,'" *Journal of Art Historiography* 5, no. 9 (2013): 1–20.

130 Julie F. Codell, *The Victorian Artist: Artists' Lifewritings in Britain, ca. 1870–1910* (Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 21.

131 See for instance for the British context: Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, "The Periodical and the Art Market: Investigating the 'Dealer-Critic System' in Victorian England," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 41, no. 4 (2008): 334–5; Katherine Haskins, *The Art-Journal and Fine Art Publishing in Victorian England, 1850–1880* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), esp. 91–136; Codell, *The Victorian Artist*, 24 ff.

132 Fletcher and Helmreich, "The Periodical," 324 and 335.

this school, or, in a larger perspective, even in relation to the nation that had produced this school, its people and its history.

Accordingly, as the international circulation of works of art increased, French, Belgian and other *salonniers* began to reserve a special place in their exhibition reviews for a discussion of the work of participating foreign artists, frequently elaborating on the nature and development of the nations and national schools to which these artists belonged.¹³³ This approach crystallised most clearly in the massive production of art discourse around the Paris *exposition universelle* of 1855, when art critics systematically related the works of art exhibited by the various national sections to the state of the sciences, industry, politics and culture in the nations that presented them—in short to the “genius” or national character of the nations that had produced these works.¹³⁴ Equipped with this intellectual framework, visitors to the *exposition universelle* could not only educate themselves by comparing the artistic productions from the various national schools, but they could also consume these productions. Four years earlier, in 1851, they had been able to do so in an even more literal way at the so-called General Exhibition of Pictures by the Living Artists of the Schools of All Countries, an international exhibition of contemporary art organised on the fringes of the Great Exhibition in London. The General Exhibition claimed to further a disinterested educational agenda, similar to that of the Great Exhibition, by giving the public the opportunity to compare the different national schools of painting. The show was, however, an unambiguously commercial selling exhibition where visitors could not only look at works of art from all countries, but they were also encouraged to buy them.¹³⁵

Thus, even if the goal of the taxonomies and the wide net of references to foreign art or old masters in the discourse produced by writers on art was, at least in part, to claim art as an entirely autonomous field in which these authors could act as professional arbiters of taste and educators, regardless of monetary interests, the commercial dimension of this discourse is undeniable.¹³⁶ It is easily identifiable in the operations and strategies of dealers and other unmistakably commercial actors who were able to capitalise on the newly created body of knowledge. The discursive use of European schools as categories in British auction catalogues of the eighteenth century already

133 See for instance: Verschaffel, “Art and Nationality,” 123–37.

134 Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1987), 97.

135 Baetens, “The General Exhibition of Pictures of 1851,” 270–89.

136 Elizabeth Prettejohn, “Aesthetic Value and the Professionalization of Victorian Art Criticism 1837–78,” *Journal of Victorian Culture* 2, no. 1 (1997): esp. 85.

evidences a growing British connoisseurship and higher standards of valuation; the changing vocabulary in these commercial documents equipped the British spectators with a value system to deal with and talk about art, as Bénédicte Miyamoto illustrates in her contribution to this volume. John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery aimed to raise the British national school to the same standard as the leading national schools on the Continent, but also to market the now distinctively identifiable school of British painting abroad, especially in France.¹³⁷ From 1792 to 1796 the influential French art dealer Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun published the *Galerie des peintres flamands, hollandais et allemands*, a large three volume book dedicated exclusively to the schools of the North. The book not only provided collectors with knowledge that enabled them to distinguish amongst the different schools of the North, but it also stimulated them to acquire works by the lesser-known artists belonging to these schools.¹³⁸ In the early nineteenth century the American John Wilson ran the so-called European Museum in London, a museum allegedly founded in 1789 that was, in fact, a commercial gallery that functioned as a marketplace for mostly low-end old master pictures. Its name clearly inscribed it into the logic and internationalist perspective of national schools as increasingly adopted by public art collections, thus capitalising on the commercial potential of this new taxonomy.¹³⁹ A similar exhibition and retail space, called the Musée Européen, was run in Paris in the 1820s.¹⁴⁰

As the nineteenth century progressed, national categories were increasingly mobilised in art discourse directly addressed to consumers and unambiguously aimed at stimulating consumption. Dealers could simply sing the praises of the national schools they marketed or ask critics to do so for them. Sometimes dealers also made more subtle use of national categories. The catalogue that accompanied the 1888 selling exhibition of the work of Adolphe Monticelli organised in London by Dowdeswell & Dowdeswell's gallery, for instance, suggested a close harmony between the art of Monticelli and American and Scottish aesthetic sensibilities: 'American and Scotch eyes have been to the

137 Dias, *Exhibiting Englishness*, esp. 65–125 and 217 ff.

138 Aude Prigot, "Une entreprise franco-hollandaise: la galerie des peintres flamands, hollandais et allemands de Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun, 1792–1796," in *Les Échanges artistiques entre les anciens Pays-Bas et la France, 1482–1814*, eds. Gaëtane Maës and Jan Blanc (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 212.

139 Camilla Murgia, "From Private to National: Exhibiting Fine Arts in London around 1800," forthcoming.

140 Hélène Sécherre, "Le marché des tableaux italiens à Paris sous la Restauration (1815–1830): collectionneurs, marchands, spéculateurs," in *Collections et marché de l'art en France 1789–1848*, 168–9.

fore in appreciating Monticelli's work [...] and the story of Monticelli's pictures is a further proof that Englishmen, and even he artist's compatriots, must give way before Scotchmen and Americans in swift and unhesitating understanding of a new and felicitous pictorial interpretation of Nature's facts.¹⁴¹

Nineteenth-century dealers in contemporary art, like Gambart, Stevens and many others, developed their own market identities based on national categories, promoting specific national schools as veritable "national brands," in what could be seen as an early and distinct emanation of the 'ideological dealer,' a term coined by Robert Jensen for a number of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century dealers devoted to a particular group of artists.¹⁴² The system of promoting national "brands" of art was so widespread that it accommodated collaborations between dealers rather than hampering them, even in a market where product differentiation is key.¹⁴³ In 1854, for instance, the Belgian dealer Gustave Coûteaux declined to send any of his stock to London for Gambart's first French exhibition because, as he explained in a letter, he specialised in contemporary Belgian, not French art. When Gambart later rebranded his gallery as a retail place for both contemporary French and Belgian painting, however, many of the artists from Coûteaux's stable would also find their way to Gambart's gallery in London, probably with Coûteaux's blessing.¹⁴⁴ The reconceptualisation of the London art district as a 'Grand Tour on Bond Street' or a huge bazaar or universal exhibition, where works from the different national schools were offered by a wide range of specialised niche retailers, was, then, only the final stage of this development.¹⁴⁵

Conclusion

All of these examples clearly indicate that nationalist modes of thinking on the one hand and the internationalisation of the art market on the other were not at odds but, on the contrary, mutually reinforced one another. The expansion of the market across national borders necessitated the development of new modes of art knowledge, in which national categories played an essential role. Thinking along these national categories did not necessarily make artists or collectors defend rigidly defined, patriotic positions. Rather, it often made

141 Quoted in: Fowles, *Van Gogh's Twin*, 35.

142 Jensen, *Marketing Modernism*, 50–1.

143 See on product differentiation in the art market: Bayer and Page, "Arthur Tooth," esp. note 72.

144 Baetens, "The Belgian Brand," 1285 ff.

145 Fletcher, "The Grand Tour," 139–53.

them 'devotees to nationalism in general.'¹⁴⁶ Artists, for instance, not only painted their own national histories but became interested in other nations' pasts, while collectors became increasingly sensitive to what they perceived as typical art from foreign countries. Critics defended national or foreign schools in partisan ways or promoted the benefits of emulative competition or simple exchanges between art communities across borders. Dealers attempted to gauge or influence taste preferences abroad, marketing foreign artists from their stables or stimulating their artists to adapt to the exigencies of new markets. Collectors, finally, developed their tastes on the basis of nationally defined categories. This could lead to a preference for autochthonous art, for foreign art, or to a taste for art from abroad that tied in with collectors' own national traditions, as in the case of the British predilection for rustic and fishing scenes from the Hague school that went well with British traditions.¹⁴⁷

In all of these operations, artists, dealers, critics, *amateurs* and others embraced ideas of national identity as a common denominator for art knowledge. It was this system of knowledge that provided audiences, suppliers, middlemen and other actors with the shared conceptual framework required to cope with art in an expanding art world, thus increasing the market's transparency in spite of its growth and facilitating the international fluidity of goods and persons. The nineteenth-century art market, in other words, became radically international, but it could only do so on the firm basis of ideas tied to national identity.

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¹⁴⁶ Smith, *The Nation Made Real*, 108–9.

¹⁴⁷ Helmreich, "The Goupil Gallery," 76.

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‘Directions to Know a Good Picture’: Marketing National School Categories to the British Public in the “Long” Eighteenth Century

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The artistic hierarchy of national “schools” in the eighteenth century operated on multiple levels—the adoration of favourite masters, the selection of paramount aesthetic qualities and the ranking of periods and genres. As a vogue for Netherlandish painting spread throughout eighteenth-century Europe and collecting became more democratic, the academic hierarchy of artistic schools became the subject of renewed discussions and increased scrutiny. Traditional Mediterranean superiority was pitted anew against northern aesthetic sensibility, in increasingly varied art criticism and increasingly complex art theories. In Britain, however, the audience experienced specific challenges in shaping and reshaping the highbrow European canon due to the marginality of the British art world, which had been cut off from academic debates and absent as a school from most discussions.¹ When touring English collectors’ houses in search of ‘some of the best pictures in Europe’ for his guide *English Connoisseur* (1766), Thomas Martyn criticised the French for how they questioned the hierarchy of schools and registered his disgust at the idea that taste could fluctuate. He bristled when witnessing ‘the tawdry production’ of France’s ‘own artists set upon a level, nay sometimes, with true French vanity, thrusting aside the divine production of the Italian Pencils,’ and set out on the contrary to ‘felicitate his own countrymen, upon their not having produced artists of sufficient eminence, to give a pretence of burying a taste for real merit and greatness

1 John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1997); *Id.*, “Cultural Production, Consumption, and the Place of the Artist in Eighteenth-Century England,” in *Towards a Modern Art World*, ed. Brian Allen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 7–25; Stephen Copley, “The Fine Arts in Eighteenth-Century Polite Culture,” in *Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art 1700–1850*, ed. John Barrell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 13–27; Iain Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680–1768* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

under national prejudice.² Martyn was more diffident a voice than most British connoisseurs, who increasingly set out to become advocates of a British art school and reappraise European academic art theories.³ But the traditional categories of schools that Martyn revered do seem to have held great sway in Britain. While the British public progressively mastered modern standards of connoisseurship, which heightened the importance of purely aesthetic values, school labels held fast in sales documents. This paper proposes to explore the curtailed descriptions of continental schools in British picture catalogues from the 1680s to the 1800s. It will also study how these descriptions affected the organisation of catalogues, in order to determine what their presence and role can tell us about the development of art-historical knowledge in Britain. It would be inaccurate to deduce that the vocabulary and strategies of the British art market lagged behind the connoisseurship of British writers and collectors. This paper posits that the hierarchy of schools was used as a marketing tool, which operated under a standardised and trusted format to successfully attract a larger audience.

School Categories as a Foreign Concept

As a category, schools described a foreign reality for British buyers at the beginning of this period. They were umbrella terms used to describe an artwork's highly regarded *locus originis* and therefore its reputable national characteristics, its recognisable stylistic affinities with masters or a set of followers, and the affiliation with academic institutions—all of which were circumstances most painters benefited from much later in Britain than the rest of Europe. In his *Réflexions critiques* (1719; translated in English in 1748), the abbé Du Bos gave a scathing appraisal of the artistic professions in England. He used the traditional hierarchy between manual ability and liberal faculties to show that the British arts were still in their infancy and performed by workmen who were not yet artists:

If ever [works] are worth admiring, it is for the hand and execution of the workman, and not for the design of the artist. [...] But [the English] have not been able as yet to attain to that taste in designs which some foreign

2 Thomas Martyn, *The English Connoisseur: Containing an Account of Whatever is Curious in Painting, Sculpture, &c.* (London: L. Davis, 1766), Preface, iv.

3 Ronald Paulson, *Breaking and Remaking: Aesthetic Practice in England, 1700–1820* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989).

artists carried over with them to London; where it has never stirred out of their shops.⁴

According to the abbé Du Bos, while the Continent had schools of art, England had only painters' shops, the owners of which were for the most part not natives of Britain. The profession of painter did indeed experience hardship during the years preceding the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768.⁵ Britain was faced with a double lacuna—not only was there a dearth of institutions to train the profession into maturity, but there was also no recognised school of art. The artists of the British court, such as Holbein, Rubens and Van Dyck, had mostly been foreigners, and royal patronage remained patchy, subsequent to the foundation of the Royal Academy, although it has been reappraised convincingly.⁶ Furthermore, royal patronage was not seconded by the Church of England, which largely disapproved of the use of images in churches and therefore largely disqualified itself from the role of patron for most of the century.⁷

British artists assembled early on—in painting academies, drawing schools, and in related coffeehouses—to dream up a rival to the Continent's academies. But they were aware that the term "school" encompassed not only the academic institution that could train budding artists but also, and most importantly, a body of masters, both ancient and modern, who defined a particular tradition of painting and who were seen as illustrative of a national character and manner in the art of painting. The absence of such a body of British artists was a common lament in the lines of British writers on art, who strove to explain the lack of a national school of painting when the sister art of poetry

4 Jean-Baptiste Du Bos, *Critical Reflections*, 3 vols. (London: printed for John Nourse, 1748), 114.

5 Sarah Monks, John Barrell, and Mark Hallett, eds., *Living with the Royal Academy: Artistic Ideals and Experiences in England, 1768–1848* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); Matthew Hargraves, *'Candidates for Fames': The Society of Artists of Great Britain, 1760–1791* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2005); Richard Johns, "Framing Robert Aggas: The Painter-Stainers' Company and the 'English School for Painters,'" *Art History* 31, no. 3 (2008): 322–41; Ilaria Bignamini, "Art Institutions in London 1689–1768: A Study of Clubs and Academies," *Walpole Society* 54 (1988): 19–148.

6 Holger Hoock, *The King's Artists: The Royal Academy of Arts and the Politics of British Culture, 1760–1840* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003); Ralph Edwards, "George III as Collector," *Apollo* 100 (1974): 117–25.

7 Clare Haynes, *Pictures and Popery: Art and Religion in England, 1660–1760* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Nigel Aston, "St Paul's Cathedral and the Public Culture of Eighteenth-Century Britain," in *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604–2004*, eds. Derek Keene, Arthur Burns, and Andrew Saint (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2004), 363–72.

was faring so well on the British soil.⁸ Contemporary calls for a British school of art to rival the Continent and redress what was perceived as cultural backwardness became more insistent as the eighteenth century unfolded.⁹

It was with a perceivable sigh of relief that Sir Joshua Reynolds introduced his first discourse at the Royal Academy by congratulating the nation on this institutional addition:

An academy in which the polite arts may be regularly cultivated is at last opened among us by royal munificence. This must appear an event in the highest degree interesting, not only to the artist, but to the whole nation. It is, indeed, difficult to give any other reason why an empire like that of Britain should so long have wanted an ornament so suitable to its greatness, than that slow progression of things which naturally makes elegance and refinement the last effect of opulence and power.¹⁰

The reason given for this tardy foundation was a long-winded one and was not altogether convincing. But the discourses of the president circumvented the difficulties of not having a national artistic tradition by referring the academicians to the study of the great masters, both ancient and modern. The established hierarchy of European art schools was not envisaged anymore as an art history that disqualified British painters or that shamed British collectors of old masters for being unpatriotic. The Italian, French, Flemish and Dutch masters were appropriated as the founding fathers of a British school of art and absorbed in a neoclassical theorisation.¹¹

This reconciliation between modern production and collecting practices was not solely brought about by British art writings. Deliberation, selection and comparison of old and modern masters from different schools were practices constantly influenced by market forces, especially as experienced and honed

8 See for example: *An Essay on Perfecting the Fine Arts in Great Britain and in Ireland* (Dublin: William Sleater, 1767), 13 and 20; Lodovico Dolce, *Arctin: A Dialogue on Painting* (London: P. Elmsley, 1770), VIIII–IIIX.

9 Holger Hoock, "Struggling against a Vulgar Prejudice': Patriotism and the Collecting of British Art at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of British Studies* 49, no. 3 (2010): 566–91; Morris Eaves, "Inquiry into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England: The Comedy of the English School of Painting," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 52 (1989): 125–38.

10 Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, ed. Robert R. Wark (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1997), 3.

11 Robert R. Wark, "Introduction," in *Id.*, XIIII–XXXIIII.

by auction bidders.¹² Indeed, the marketing strategies deployed early on by British auctioneers and dealers to woo and attract a large audience of art lovers had a lasting impact on the reception of school categories in Britain. The growing taste of British collectors for European pictures and the corresponding rise in imports has been well documented.¹³ Research has also evidenced that this appetite for European paintings, and for Italian and Dutch pieces in particular, produced better standards of British connoisseurship. It spurred the market for shipped pictures by foreign old masters and spread a learned esteem for these paintings to a larger public, which in turn stimulated the consumption of native art.¹⁴ The dealers in the British market, who largely controlled the sales, adopted and then consistently used synthetic marketing strategies in British auction catalogues, and this lastingly influenced the discourse on art. By delivering a broad and clear picture of their offer, the dealers provided an entry into their market to a larger public and were instrumental in familiarising what was at first a decidedly foreign concept.

1680s–1720s: Title Pages as Aspirational Advertisements

The early resale market for painting manifested a strong vitality in England around the end of the seventeenth century and gained momentum again in the

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- 12 On market forces' influence on the public's preferences and cultural history, see: Michael North and David Ormrod, eds., *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Victor Ginsburgh, ed., *Economics of Art and Culture* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2004); Neil de Marchi and Hans Van Miegroet, eds., *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450–1750* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); Anna Tummers and Koenraad Jonckheere, eds., *Art Market and Connoisseurship: A Closer Look at Paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens and their Contemporaries* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008). On the specific influence of market forces on the canon, see: Dries Lyna, "Name Hunting, Visual Characteristics, and 'New Old Masters': Tracking the Taste for Paintings at Eighteenth-Century Auctions," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 46, no. 1 (2012): 57–84.
- 13 Pears, *The Discovery of Painting*, 51–105; David Ormrod, "The Origins of the London Art Market, 1660–1730," in *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800*, 173–6; David Ormrod, "The Art Trade and its Urban Context: England and the Netherlands Compared, 1550–1750," in *Auctions, Agents and Dealers: The Mechanisms of the Art Market, 1660–1830*, eds. Jeremy Warren and Adriana Turpin (Oxford: Archeopress, 2008), 11–20.
- 14 Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2005); David Solkin, *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1993); Louise Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1983).

1720s after twenty years of relatively quiet activity.¹⁵ By then, most of the procedures of the picture auction (conditions of sales, catalogue circulation and the ordering of the lots from cheapest to most highly valued) had become fixed and would change very little during the remainder of the century.¹⁶ However, what had not yet become a conventional practice was the precise classification by national school. On their title pages, British auction catalogues boasted of a bulk designation—that of ‘ancient and modern Masters of Europe.’ Far from being informed or organised by the notion of schools of art, the lot descriptions inside the auction catalogue were rarely more than dry lists of painters.¹⁷ The loose European designation should not necessarily be translated as a lack of information or connoisseurship, however. In a modern market of cultural artefacts oriented towards a virtuoso audience, the label promised both the completeness of the repository, the invaluable geographical reach of the gentleman’s Grand Tour and the credit of a prestigious attribution.

Auctioneers at the end of the seventeenth century mostly advertised their pictures for sale as the production of both ‘ancient and modern masters.’¹⁸ The term “ancient” in British writings on art loosely encompassed the painters from antiquity to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century masters. The broad-ranging term calls to mind how art history writers of the Enlightenment strove to present complete histories to their readers. They put a premium on offering a perspective that was as exhaustive as possible. The English architect and writer on art Henry Bell, for example, dutifully took his readers on the owner’s tour of his subject in his *Historical Essay on the Original of Painting*

15 Brian Learmount, *A History of the Auction* (London: Barnard & Learmount, 1985), 15–7; Ormrod, “The Origins of the London Art Market,” 167–8.

16 Neil de Marchi and Hans J. Van Miegroet, “Rules versus Play in Early Modern Markets,” *Recherches Économiques de Louvain—Louvain Economic Review* 66, no. 2 (2000): 145–65; Neil de Marchi, “Rules for an Emergent Market: Selling Paintings in Late Seventeenth-Century London,” *Duke University Online Papers* (5 August 2002), <http://public.econ.duke.edu/Papers/Other/DeMarchi/Rules.pdf>.

17 Carol Gibson-Wood, “Picture Consumption in London at the End of the Seventeenth Century,” *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 3 (2002): 491–500. Gibson-Wood studied auction catalogues from 1689 to 1692 and probate inventories from 1695 to 1745 in London and Westminster. See also: Brian Cowan, “Arenas of Connoisseurship: Auctioning Art in Later Stuart England,” in *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800*, 153–66.

18 The studied corpus comprises the period’s auction catalogues available electronically through *Scipio: Art and Rare Books Sales/Auction Catalogs*; *Eebo: Early English Books Online*; *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*; *Getty Provenance Index Sales Catalogs database*.

(1728).¹⁹ Its first chapter starts with an antediluvian chronicle, retracing the ‘probabilities and pretensions to [painting’s] invention before the flood,’ in accordance with the eighteenth-century encyclopaedic turn of mind.²⁰ Such writings endeavoured to document the historical origins of painting and to link them through an explicit causal narrative to the more recent past.²¹ A virtuoso audience was therefore receptive to vocabulary that promoted the collection as comprehensive.

The dealers’ and auctioneers’ claims were bolstered by another recurring expression—the guarantee that the lots were from ‘the most Eminent Masters of Europe.’ This label presented the entire continent beyond the Channel as having long been a treasure trove for paintings, in keeping with Britain’s lack of confidence in its own artistic production in comparison. Buying art reiterated the difficult negotiation between admiration for the Continent’s culture and patriotic pride often experienced by British gentlemen abroad.²² When countries of origin were mentioned, these often indicated that the collection was made ‘by a gentleman for his own curiosity in his travels beyond sea’ or ‘by a person of quality in his travels through Italy, France and Germany.’²³ Such labels emphasised that the pictures were the output of a learned and aristocratic Grand Tour, rather than the production of a specific school of art. The expression ‘masters of Europe’ was used, for example, by the London

19 The term ‘tour du propriétaire’ was coined by Bernard Groethuysen and theorised further by Jean Starobinski to characterise eighteenth-century attempts at making a full register of available knowledge. See: Jean Starobinski, *L’Invention de la Liberté, 1700–1789* (Geneva: Éditions d’art Albert Skira, 1964), 116.

20 Henry Bell, *Historical Essay on the Original of Painting* (London: J. Worrall, 1728), 1.

21 On the slow emergence of historical writing alongside the more traditional Vasarian chronicles of art, of a “history of art (rather than artists),” see: Anne-Marie Link, “Art, History and Discipline in the Eighteenth-Century German University,” *RACAR: Revue d’art canadienne—Canadian Art Review* 28 (2001): 19–28.

22 On Britain’s increasing sense of separation from Europe despite its cultural interactions, see: Jennifer Mori, *The Culture of Diplomacy: Britain in Europe, ca. 1750–1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010). On the culture shock between patriotism and admiration for the Continent, see: Martin Postle, “In Search of the ‘True Briton’: Reynolds, Hogarth, and the British School,” in *Towards a Modern Art World*, ed. Brian Allen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 121–43; Jeremy Black, “Tourism and Cultural Challenge, Travel Literature and Xenophobia: The Changing Scene in the Eighteenth Century,” in *All Before Them: English Literature and the Wider World 1660–1780*, ed. John McVeagh (London: Ashfield Press, 1990), 185–202.

23 See: *A Large Collection of Excellent Prints and Drawings of the Most Eminent Masters of Europe, Made by a Person of Quality in his Travels through Italy, France and Germany* (London: s.n., 1689); Walford Benjamin, *A Catalogue of Prints and Drawings, by the Most Eminent Masters of Europe: Collected by a Gentleman for his Own Curiosity in his Travels beyond Sea* (London: s.n., 1691).

bibliophile Benjamin Walford when, spurred on by the success of the 1682 auction of Sir Peter Lely's collections, he included Richard Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale's prints and drawings in the auction of his library in 1688. 'In his travels beyond the sea [he] made himself very well acquainted with the most Eminent Authors of all Sciences [...] the most considerable Historians of all Ages and Nations, both Ancient and Modern,' the bookseller advertised. To the collection was joined 'a most admirable collection of Drawings, by the Most Eminent masters of Europe' (Fig. 2.1).²⁴ This rhetorical strategy was used as the main sales pitch and underlined the encyclopaedic quality of the collection for sale. It was closely linked to the already well-established practice of book auctions, which were oriented towards a virtuoso audience of antiquarians and book collectors.²⁵ The choice of words here again emphasised the completeness of the selection for sale—both chronologically and geographically. Such designations endured well into the 1710s, from collections of 'eminent masters of Europe, made by a person of quality in his travels through Italy, France and Germany' as early as 1689 to collections advertised expressly as brought over by foreign dealers, such as the 1718 collection of 'the best masters in Europe [...] Brought over by Mr. Ferdinand Cortvrindt.'²⁶ These sales strategies identified that buyers accorded a greater importance to the term "master" than to the notion of schools in their selection and buying decisions.

The emphasis on the pictures' attributions also mirrored what was extolled as precious connoisseurship in art writings of the period. The general knowledge of artists' names had increased greatly in Europe in the seventeenth century, and art-historical narratives were mostly organised in strings of biographies, following the authoritative example of Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* (1550).²⁷ The lists of names on the title pages of catalogues were predominantly foreign, impressing the British buying public with the Continent's full-fledged tradition of pictorial excellence. The emphasis on the European provenance of pictures was also a byword for original pictures, as opposed to

24 Richard Maitland, *Catalogus librorum instructissimae bibliothecae nobilis cujusdam Scoto-Britanni in quavis lingua & facultate insignium* [...] *Per Benj. Walford, bibliop. Lond.* (London: s.n., [1688]).

25 Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*; *Id.*, "Arenas of Connoisseurship," 153–66.

26 *A Large Collection of Excellent Prints*; Luffingham, *A Collection of Curious Prints and Drawings, by the Best Masters in Europe* [...] *Brought over by Mr. Ferdinand Cortvrindt* (London: s.n., 1718).

27 Anna Tummers, "By his Hand': The Paradox of Seventeenth-Century Connoisseurship," in *Art Market and Connoisseurship*, 37–40, esp. 31 and corresponding footnotes for British skills in attribution.

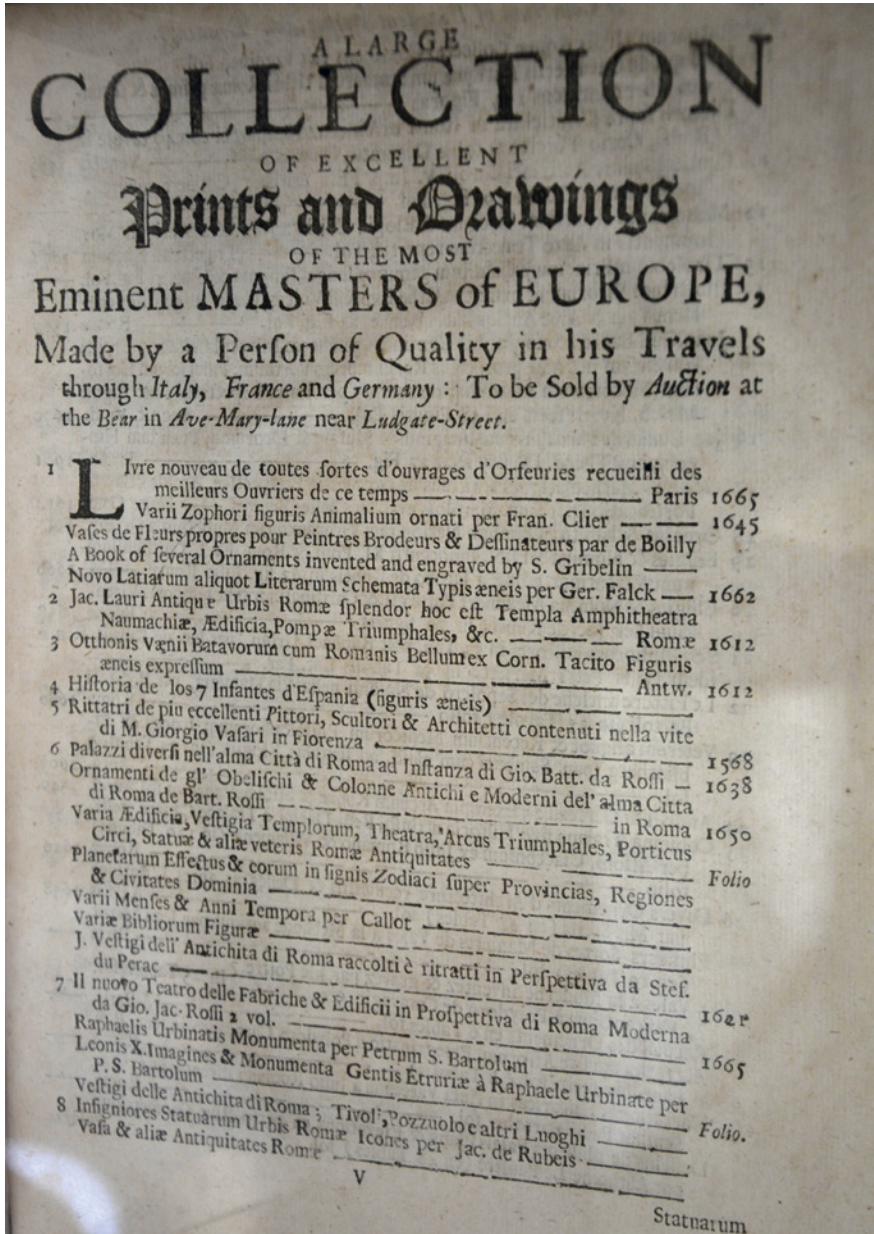


FIGURE 2.1 Richard Maitland, *Catalogus librorum instructissimæ bibliothecæ nobilis cujusdam Scoto-Britanni in quavis lingua & facultate insignium* (London: s.n. [1688]), 145. Washington (DC), Folger Shakespeare Library, L608 Bd.w. S4151 copy 1

copies.²⁸ The fact that they came from abroad enabled the 'Proprietor [to] assure the Public, That none of the Capital Pictures of this Sale has ever been exposed to public View in this Kingdom.'²⁹ The advertisers could thus assert that the pictures had been recently brought to London from the Continent, but also that they were a welcome addition to the small stock of original pictures already in circulation on British soil. By insisting that this was the first time that the pictures were viewed, the professionals in the British art market provided reassurance to the public, by intimating that no copies of these unique designs were to be found in circulation in Britain. This was an important claim indeed, since much of the quality that made a picture an "original" in the early modern art market was its compositional originality rather than its being entirely and strictly autograph.³⁰ In the same guise, many British catalogues atoned for selling copies by reassuring the public that these were 'fine copies by very good hands'—if the pictures were not original designs, they at least had the quality of prestigious attributions.

The listing of names in auction catalogues was not of course direct proof that the auctioneer drawing up the catalogue *was* a connoisseur, nor that the sales were indeed stocked with autographed and quality pictures. Firstly, the painters' names could be gleaned from the signature of the art pieces themselves in some cases, or more frequently from the collection's list of names attributed at the time of their first purchase and handed in by the seller or executor.³¹ Furthermore, the lot descriptions inside the catalogues used the terms "copies" or "after" for one-twelfth of the paintings sold in Britain from

28 See: Ferdinando Verryck, *At the West End of Exeter Change, a Curious Collection of Three Hundred and Odd Paintings, being Most Originals by the Best Masters in Europe* (London: s.n., 1690); *At the Green Dragon next to Northumberland-House at Charing-Cross, will be exposed to Sale (by Auction) a Curious Collection of Original Paintings of the Best Masters of Europe* (London: s.n., 1691). For discussions on the precise meaning of copies and originals on the Continent in the seventeenth century, see: Tummers, "By his Hand," 33–7; Jaap van der Veen, "By his Own Hand: The Valuation of Autograph Paintings in the Seventeenth Century," in *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings, Vol. IV—The Self-Portraits*, ed. Ernst van de Wetering (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005), 3–44.

29 *A Catalogue [...] collected by the Proprietor during his Travels through Italy from Some of the Most Esteemed Cabinets Abroad* (London: s.n., 1765); *A Curious Collection of Three Hundred and Odd Paintings. Being Most Originals* (London: s.n., 1690).

30 Tummers, "By his Hand," 36.

31 Koenraad Jonckheere reminds us that to judge a catalogue's attribution, one needs to know whether the input came from art dealers and auctioneers or from *amateur* connoisseurs. See: Koenraad Jonckheere, "Supply and Demand: Some Notes on the Economy of Seventeenth-Century Connoisseurship," in *Art Market and Connoisseurship*, 69–96. However, the sources of the information given in British sales catalogues from the 1680s to the 1730s remain difficult to locate.

1680 to 1730.³² Ultimately, these sales were often stocked with a large quantity of paintings by London-based artists, while a large number of the pictures sold remained unattributed.³³

There was, therefore, a disconnect between what could be bought and what the catalogue boasted on its title page.³⁴ The catalogue's title page worked as an aspirational advertisement, rather than as descriptive information. The audience at the sale was one step closer to possessing the ideal collection. The organisation by schools does not appear to have resonated with the audience's expectations and knowledge and was therefore rarely mentioned on the title pages. When the country of origin appeared next to a lot in the sales catalogue, it was not a marker of quality prior to the 1720s. Indeed, "Italian" and "Dutch" were used in lot descriptions as loose geographical labels for pictures that remained unattributed and that could not be traced to a "hand." Furthermore, the reference to the Italian or French school before the 1720s sat uneasily with the Anglican distaste for images, which was still diffuse in British society. These two specific schools were specialised in subjects and styles that often directly contravened Anglican theological discourse against idolatry and were politically suspicious for having been commissioned by an absolutist court in France or by the Pope in Rome.³⁵ While the use of "masters" was immediately laudatory for the British public, terms such as "Italian" remained negatively charged. Eliminating the umbilical attachment painting had to Rome was indeed one of the challenges faced by history painting in particular and, by proxy, by the theory of art in general in Britain.

It was therefore still necessary to expunge from the enjoyment of art, from the practice of art, and from the discourse on art any intimation that the public was endorsing Italian or French Catholic ideas or approving of these nations' religious representations. Pictures labelled "Italian" or "French" were

32 The calculation relies on the 302 extant British catalogues recorded in the Getty Provenance Index from 1680 to 1730, putting 49,958 paintings for sale. See also: Gibson-Wood, "Picture Consumption," 495.

33 Eric Jan Sluijter, "Determining Value on the Art Market in the Golden Age: An Introduction," in *Art Market and Connoisseurship*, 24.

34 Carol Gibson-Wood refutes the idea that average buyers were practising conspicuous consumption in the early period of picture sales in Britain, by underlining that most pictures were not sold as collection-worthy, and were not bought 'in the belief that they were amassing valuable collections.' For all the puff attempted on the title page, the catalogues were quite transparent as to the quality of the pictures, according to her study: Gibson-Wood, "Picture Consumption," 495.

35 Haynes, *Pictures and Popery*, 12–35; Bénédicte Miyamoto, "A Pretty General Taste for Pictures: The Construction of Artistic Value in Eighteenth-Century London, 1685–1805" (PhD diss., Université Paris Diderot, 2011), 31–149.

therefore still difficult to enjoy without feeling some unease towards the unpatriotic message these labels called to mind.³⁶ A fearful climate, bolstered by the Clarendon Code, had rendered suspect all objects that could signify some level of Jacobite allegiance.³⁷ In his 1695 political satire *The Auction, or the Poet Turn'd Painter*, Edward Ward's mock-auctioneer Wheedle thus addressed the British public ready to buy imported Italian art:

Gentlemen, I now have a choice Collection of curious Pieces, done to the Life, all originals, and performed by the ablest pencils of the ingenious-est [*sic*] Masters of the Age, who have travelled to Rome, to be instructed in this noble art, nay, have paid their devotions to the infallible Chair, and obtained a Bull from his Holiness, to denounce Excommunication against all those [...] that shall here after pretend to the Italian Stroke.³⁸

The joke that the satirist shared with his audience articulated a common apprehension. If art history enshrined Italian art, then art lovers were at risk of recognising the productions of the Counter-Reformation as the apex of painting. School labels referring to the French and Italian schools were therefore still largely unhelpful in catalogues from the 1680s to the 1720s because they risked delivering unflattering associations with Catholicism and could point to a lack of attribution.

In parallel, the framing of the art-historical discourse into schools had not yet taken root in English translations of continental writings. At that time, the two French academic writings that had the most influence in Britain were not organised by school labels. The first, Roland Fréart de Chambray's *An Idea of*

36 On the encroachment of patriotism on cultural appraisal, see: Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Roy Porter, ed., *Myths of the English* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992); Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715–1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, eds., *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650–c. 1850* (Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

37 The Clarendon Code was a set of four acts (1661–5) that limited the political rights and religious freedom of those who strayed from the Anglican Church, such as Dissenters and Non-Conformists. On the Jacobites and art consumption, see: Lori Ann Ferrel, "Kneeling and the Body Politic," in *Religion, Literature and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540–1688*, eds. Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 70–92; Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688–1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Richard Sharp, *The Engraved Record of the Jacobite Movement* (Aldershot: Scholar, 1996).

38 Edward Ward, *The Auction, or the Poet Turn'd Painter. By the Author of The Step to the Bath* (London: printed by G.C. and sold by E. Mallet, [1703?]), preface, s.p.

the Perfection of Painting (1688), was an evidence-based discussion that often relied on the ekphrasis of famous pictures. The second, Charles-Alphonse Du Fresnoy's *De Arte Graphica* (1662), when translated into English in 1688 and 1695, was complemented by 'a short account of the most Eminent Painters both Ancient and Moderns, continu'd down to the present time according to their order of succession,' complete with an alphabetical index of painters, which reproduced a Vasarian narrative centred on the connoisseurship of "hands" and individual masters.³⁹ These narratives prominently advertised in their titles that they favoured a biographical approach to art history, through a detailed account of the lives of painters.

By 1700 the writer John Elsum had written his *Epigrams upon the Paintings of the Most Eminent Masters, Antient and Modern*, which did present some verses about the different schools of paintings in its last few pages. Due to its relative novelty for British readers, the term "school" needed an explanatory definition. Elsum explained that schools owed much to the 'heat of Fancy hard to be confined' which inclined painters to 'various Ways and Methods' and that they 'have Scholars bred whose Works pronounce the same.'⁴⁰ Schools were therefore clearly identified as commonalities of style reproducing national characteristics and inclinations. However, no classification by school can be found in John Elsum's work—apart from the verses mentioned above, most of his work focuses on individual paintings, with the epigrams following each other according to a chronological order from ancient to modern. In his second art-historical production, *The Art of Painting after the Italian Manner*, published in 1703, the Italian school is identified as the prime example to follow on the title page, but once again, school categories go largely unmentioned in the body of the work, hardly informing the organisation of the book's content, in a manner similar to later auction catalogues.⁴¹ Indeed, Elsum's chapters run the reader through all of the stages of practice, from the types of portraiture to the most suitable hanging places for each genre of picture. His last section promised to teach 'the directions to know a good picture,' in which he explains that the

39 Roland Fréart de Chambray, *An Idea of the Perfection of Painting [...] Parallel'd with some Works of the most Famous Modern Painters, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Julio Romano, and N. Poussin* (London: H. Herringham, 1688 [1662]); Charles-Alphonse Du Fresnoy, *De Arte Graphica [...] As also a Short Account of the Most Eminent Painters, both Ancient and Modern, by another Hand* (London: J. Heptinstall, 1695).

40 John Elsum, *Epigrams Upon the Paintings of the Most Eminent Masters, Antient and Modern* (London, 1700), 131 and 133. The term 'Schools of Paintings' was later switched on the title page to the 'Foreign-Schools of Painting' in the 1704 re-edition.

41 Here again, such art history is ekphrastic in its method. See: Taylor Corse, "The Ekphrastic Tradition: Literary and Pictorial Narrative in the Epigrams of John Elsum, an Eighteenth-Century Connoisseur," *Word and Image* 9, no. 4 (1993): 383–400.

hardest task of connoisseurship was 'not attainable but by long observation, and comparison of the hands of the most eminent Masters,' since it resides not only in the differentiation between an original and a copy, but in the discovery of the name of the author.⁴²

From the 1690s onwards, picture sellers adopted the title page layout in columns developed by booksellers. As early as in the 1687 sale of Robert Scott's library, auction catalogues of books listed the language of the publications for sale in columns, which appeared in the middle of the title page in a different typeface. The language was hereafter a category used to arrange the lots in the body of the catalogue, along with subject and size—a properly antiquarian achievement that made these book catalogues tools for further reference even after the sales.⁴³ However, although the picture auctioneers adopted the same title page layout in columns, these were used simply to advertise the names of the painters rather than their nation of origin. As in contemporaneous art-historical documents, the attributions were seen as the most crucial piece of information for art lovers. These columns of painters' names were neither classified by school nor ordered alphabetically or by any other perceivable order, such as the lot appearance in the catalogue or their ranking by fame.⁴⁴ The layout nevertheless became a fixture of both the auction title page and its newspaper advertisement, lasting well into the nineteenth century, with sales catalogues often fronting some forty names per title page and featuring the frequent disclaimer of 'with many more famous masters not inserted.'⁴⁵

This avalanche of names appealed to British buyers. The country largely despised religious paintings in its churches and did not have a royal collection open to connoisseurs or practitioners. British lovers of art had few occasions to compare the hands of so many masters in one room, although this was one of the recommended practice to educate the eye. The 1706 English translation of Roger de Piles's *Abrégé de la vie des peintres* (1688) contained a chapter on

42 John Elsum, *The Art of Painting after the Italian Manner* (London: printed for D. Brown, 1719), 129.

43 Richard Landon, "The Antiquarian Book Trade in Britain 1695–1830: The Use of Auction and Booksellers' Catalogues," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 89, no. 4 (1995): 409–17, esp. 416. Giles Mandelbrote, "The Organization of Book Auctions in Late Seventeenth-Century London," in *Under the Hammer: Book Auctions since the Seventeenth Century*, eds. Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote (Newcastle: Oak Knoll Press and the British Library, 2001), 15–50.

44 See for the earliest examples the catalogues by Smith, Lugt 64; John Bullord, Lugt 67; at Smyther's Coffee-House, Lugt 92; or Will's Coffee-House, Lugt 119.

45 *A curious Collettion [sic] of Paintings and Limnings, of the most Famous, Ancient and Modern Masters in Europe, viz. Mich. Angelo. Van Hock [...]. Offliqar* (London: s.n., 1691).

the use of prints that encouraged lovers of art to assemble a choice collection of the best masters reproduced in print, since ‘by means of Prints, one may easily see the Works of several Masters on a Table, [...] judge by comparing them with one another, know which to chuse, and by practising it often, contract a Habit of a good Taste.’⁴⁶ The only place where a large number of prints or paintings could be seen together and compared in a relatively accessible way was during auction viewing days, and this probably reinforced the vocabulary used by auctioneers. A roll of names advertised first and foremost that the collection exhibited was unique and original—a winning marketing tactic compared with the use of schools, which in its late Stuart acceptance, downplayed variety and uniqueness.

1730s–1740s: Schools as Brand Names

A growing public market for pictures ‘provided a convenient and public *entrée* for many people into the previously circumscribed culture of the virtuoso connoisseurship,’⁴⁷ and a learned esteem for paintings—thanks to repeated comparison in the auction room—spread to a larger public. Increasingly, as in the rest of Europe, British *amateurs* sought to devise frames of reference to evaluate the merits of paintings and to ‘move away from acquisitions based on famous names.’⁴⁸ To adequately use the classification by schools, the public needed some understanding of the various art theories that informed the different styles developed by the Italian, French, Flemish and Dutch schools, and ‘amateur connoisseurs scroung[ed] through the academic canon (and aesthetic treatises) so as to forge their own art-historical hierarchy.’⁴⁹ In Britain, this much-needed introduction to foreign art theories was provided in part by the virtuosi circles, as they started to take a serious and scientific interest in painting.⁵⁰

46 Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting, and the Lives of the Painters: Containing, a Compleat Treatise of Painting, Designing, and the Use of Prints* (London: J. Nutt, 1706), 60.

47 Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 138. See also: Pears, *The Discovery of Painting*.

48 Vivian Lee Atwater, “The Netherlandish Vogue and Print Culture in Paris, 1730–50,” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 34, no. 3 (2009): 245.

49 Gerrit Verhoeven, “Mastering the Connoisseur’s Eye: Paintings, Criticism, and the Canon in Dutch and Flemish Travel Culture, 1600–1750,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 46, no. 1 (2012): 31.

50 Susan Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron: The Patronage and Collecting of James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos (1674–1744)* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2007), 111–124.

Prior to the joint efforts of the Richardsons—father and son—the British discourse on painting seems to have been living on borrowed lines. Painting was a foreign specialty, and any connoisseurship was obtained through translation. British translators, furthermore, had often shied away from the theoretically fine disquisitions on art and had instead preferred to acquaint the public with the practical side of painting. This rings true especially when one compares the buoyancy of the Italian and French theoretical production during this period, and the difficulties encountered by British publications translating them for the British public. Henry Peacham's blended translation of continental manuals referencing Lomazzo, Fialetti and Dürer is a case in point.⁵¹ Early on, British translators wrote of their irritation at English sentences 'for the most part in tearmes of Art and Erudition, retaining their original povertie, and rather growing rich in complemental phrases and such froth [*sic*].'⁵² They complained of not being 'able to find out words which were purely capable to express those Barbarismes, which Custome has as it were naturaliz'd amongst our Painters' as they sought to educate the native public in their love of art.⁵³ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, British translators were still recommending their writings as attempts to 'divest of difficulty and obscurity' these decidedly foreign theories of art.⁵⁴ In their translations the British writers were therefore confronted with two choices: either simplify their vocabulary or give up attempts at making the translated author 'speak English,' the latter of which was made by the painter John Frederick Fritsch when he translated Gerard de Lairese's *Groot Schilderboek* (1707) as *The Art of Painting* in 1738.⁵⁵ Due to the internal weaknesses of a British professional field under continental dominance, the world of painters was explained well into the eighteenth century

51 Henry Peacham, *The Art of Drawing* (London: Richard Braddock, 1606). On the influence of this manual 'built upon Italian theory and northern European practice' on later British production, see: Liam E. Semler "Breaking the Ice to Invention: Henry Peacham's 'The Art of Drawing' (1606)," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 35, no. 3 (2004): 735–50. On the genre of drawing manuals, see: Chittima Amornpichetkul, "Seventeenth-Century Italian Drawing Books: Their Origin and Development," in *Children of Mercury: The Education of Artists in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Jeffrey Muller (Providence: Brown University, 1984), 109–18; Jaap Bolten, *Method and Practice: Dutch and Flemish Drawing Books 1600–1750* (Landau: PVA, 1985).

52 Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (London: John Bill, 1624), 6.

53 John Evelyn's "To the Reader" in Fréart de Chambray, *An Idea of the Perfection of Painting*, s.p.

54 Thomas Towne, *The Art of Painting on Velvet Without the Use of Spirit Colours* (London: for the author, 1811), title page.

55 Gérard de Lairese, *The Art of Painting, in all its Branches, Methodically demonstrated by Discourses and Plates [...] Translated by John Frederick Fritsch, Painter* (London: J. Brotherton, 1738 [1707]), translator's preface to the reader.

through a language replete with adopted words, as abbé Le Blanc, a frequent translator of French and English, observed in 1747:

The English cannot treat of these subjects without borrowing from their neighbours not only single words, but sometimes whole phrases. When they would express a lover of painting, music, etc. they use the term *virtuoso*, taken from the Italians: but as loving and knowing them are two very different things, and which either here or elsewhere do not always go together, they are obliged to employ the French word *connoisseur* to characterise a judge in them. The same may be said of the word *curieux* and several others.⁵⁶

The language used to talk about art, in failing to conform with the programmatic simplicity and clarity defined by the Royal Society, was suspicious for its opacity.⁵⁷ It fuelled the feeling that somehow the vocabulary that surrounded the art of painting was unpatriotic.⁵⁸ Even those in Britain who held a recognised position as art lovers—men of letters and collectors, such as Horace Walpole—wrote of their impatience with the use of foreign specialised terms. Walpole was not isolated when he lamented, ‘no science has had so much jargon introduced into it as painting: the bombast expression of the Italians, and the prejudices of the French, joined to the vanity of the Possessors, and the interested mysteriousness of the Picture-Merchants have together compiled a new language.’⁵⁹ Bereft of institutional education or of a well-defined professional field, British artists and art writers had difficulties naturalising these foreign terms, which were still being laboriously copied and borrowed, and which remained strange to the reading and viewing public. There is evidence from satirical prints, comedies and some annotated catalogues that auctioneers

56 Jean Bernard Le Blanc, *Letters on the English and French Nations*, vol. 2 (London: J. Brindley, 1747), 91. The letters were translated in English by Le Blanc himself.

57 From 1660 onwards, the Royal Society advocated a ‘close, naked, natural way of speaking positive expressions, clear sense, a native easiness, bringing as near the mathematical plainness as they can, and preferring the language of artisans, countrymen and merchants before that of wits and scholars,’ cited in: Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society of London* (London: s.n., 1667), 113.

58 On the translation of part technical and part theoretical continental treaties, resulting in ‘prose bristling with neologisms supported by glossaries,’ see: Ben Thomas, “John Evelyn’s Project of Translation,” *Art in Print* 2, no. 4 (2012): 28; Felicity Henderson, “Faithful Interpreters? Translation Theory and Practice at the Early Royal Society,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 67, no. 2 (2013): 101–22.

59 Horace Walpole, *Aedes Walpolianae: Or, A Description of the Collection of Pictures at Houghton-Hall* (London: s.n., 1747), x.

did indeed wax lyrical at the rostrum in the heat of the auction. But the commercial documents that were circulated and which were supposed to bolster the credit of the auction houses remained sober to the point of dryness.⁶⁰ The British public held a diffuse reluctance for the elaborate continental education in the art of painting and its vocabulary, as Jonathan Richardson underlined in his *Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as it Relates to Painting* (1725). A British lover of art was indeed in an awkward situation, since he 'may neither have Leisure, or inclination to become a Connoisseur himself, and yet may delight in these things and desire to have [these pictures]' while he 'has no way then but to take up his Opinions upon Trust, and implicitly depend upon Another's Judgement,'⁶¹ thereby sending the prospective buyers back not solely to foreign theories, but also to the art market, its mechanisms and middlemen who seemingly had made little use of these foreign theories in their written commercial documents prior to the 1720s.

In this respect, the publication of Richardson's *Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage, of the Science of a Connoisseur* in 1719 proved a landmark, not only because it was the first British writing on art that was entirely original, but also because it was the first to make an extensive and didactic use of school categories. This reassessment of the period's artistic classifications participated in the British conversation on the arts that increasingly tried to elaborate a canon of reference, from 'something of a habit of investigation to hesitant but compelling *ponere totum*.'⁶² The art world in eighteenth-century Britain underwent a singular transformation when painting increasingly vied to be on the same footing as the more acclaimed, decidedly liberal and more finely theorised art of poetry.⁶³

In this respect the use of national school labels in the art market was a sign that connoisseurship was increasingly seen as a science, and this was symptomatic of the growing insistence in Britain for a British school to rival the

60 Bénédicte Miyamoto, "Making Pictures Marketable": Expertise and the Georgian Art Market," in *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present: A Cultural History*, eds. Charlotte Gould and Sophie Mesplède (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 119–34.

61 Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as it Relates to Painting*, in *Id., Two Discourses* (London: A.C., 1725), 15.

62 Lawrence Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 3.

63 Jonathan Kramnick, *Making the English Canon: Print Capitalism and the Cultural Past, 1700–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Joseph M. Levine, *Between the Ancients and the Moderns: Baroque Culture in Restoration England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

Continent.⁶⁴ Indeed, Richardson purposefully tracked the rise and decline of different European schools in his chapter on the ‘Whole Art of Painting.’ By comparing the Venetian and the Florentine schools, he built a narrative in which the British school could look forward to its own episode of greatness. The opposition was therefore not limited to a polarised Europe/Britain vision of the past, in which a love of art was framed as a taste for all things foreign on the part of customers and in which success in painting was seen as uncharacteristic of British painters. Richardson’s discourse on art developed standards that were entirely aesthetic and that evacuated the religious or political content of the pictures. The attention of the spectator was directed towards the pictorial quality of the picture, and schools were defined clearly for their preferences and commonalities in terms of style. This helped to redefine national origins purely as art-historical labels of aesthetic classifications. Paintings, examined for their pictorial qualities only, were therefore self-referential rather than the bearers of a religious or political message. The foundation for this had already been laid in Richardson’s earlier work, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* in 1715: ‘And this is a Language that is Universal; Men of all Nations hear [...] the Painter speak to them in their own Mother Tongue.’⁶⁵ Less suspiciously foreign, and surrounded by a growing apparatus of aesthetical references, the worth of continental paintings became easier to evaluate for the British public. The labels of national origin were now more clearly identified as manners of invention, expression, composition, design, colouring, handling, or any of the other titles of Richardson’s chapters in his 1715 *Essay*. This mastery of aesthetic standards became even more detailed in the lavish 1738 translation into English of Gerard de Lairesse’s *Art of Painting*. It was organised along the same lines as Jonathan Richardson’s chapters, but with a table of content that held an even more detailed list of sub-chapters the lover of art could refer to when judging of a picture—and very little of these chapters made use of foreign terms.⁶⁶ This didactic introduction of the British public to the notion of the national school very rapidly simplified their use as “brand names” in sales catalogues.⁶⁷

The formulation ‘A collection of Italian, French, Flemish and Dutch Pictures’ in the advertising titles of catalogues and in newspapers’ advertisements was

64 Jonathan Richardson, *A Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage, of the Science of a Connoisseur* (London: W. Churchill, 1719), 50–1.

65 Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting. By Mr. Richardson* (London: W. Bowyer, 1715), 6.

66 De Lairesse, *The Art of Painting*, 13.

67 The term is put forward to describe a similar use of vocabulary in the European seventeenth-century art market by Koenraad Jonckheere, “Supply and Demand,” 69–96.

quickly adopted and rarely varied for the next century. Once introduced, schools proved attractive labels in their simplicity and their promise of a standardised quality, which seemed to have acted as guides for new buyers.

1740s–1800: The Commoditisation of Picture Sales

By the 1740s school denominations were a familiar system in the organisation of British art writings. In parallel the mention of national schools had crept into the title pages of auction catalogues and replaced the bulk designation of 'Europe.' In such a forefront position, and to an audience that now mastered auction codes and benefited from better access to art writings in English, these categories now clearly referred to schools and not to a lack of attribution. They functioned as standardised categories, in an attempt to appeal to a large and undifferentiated market of prospective customers, in what was essentially the awareness stage in the art sales funnel. The mention of schools was a marketing lead that turned the casual reader into an interested potential customer, be it while scanning newspaper advertisements or chancing upon free auction catalogues at a coffee house or a bookseller's shop.

By the 1750s the mention of schools increasingly conformed to the hierarchised set text of 'Italian, French, Flemish and Dutch,' which lasted until well after the turn of the century (Fig. 2.2). Newspaper advertisements, although constrained by a restricted amount of printed text, adopted the same label. This standardisation was not the mark of an entrenched and principled disdain for any other school apart from the four mentioned, but rather the appeased and practical acceptance of the art-historical categories coming from the Continent. As European commentaries on English cultural backwardness decreased, so too did English defensiveness towards European cultural influence.⁶⁸ The growing interconnectedness of the cultural markets meant that there was an increasing convergence in catalogue layouts across Europe. The appearance of school categories on the title pages of picture catalogues in France dates from the very same period. Gersaint's learned and discursive *Catalogue raisonné des diverses curiosités du cabinet de feu M. Quentin de Lorangère* (1744) thus divided its prints in four *Écoles*: Italian (with the added

68 Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727–1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 289–330; Linda Colley, "Britishness and Otherness: An Argument," *Journal of British Studies* 31, no. 4 (1992): 309–29; Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood, eds., *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c. 1750–c. 1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

A
CATALOGUE 27
 OF A MOST CAPITAL AND VALUABLE
Collection of PICTURES,
 By the most esteemed MASTERS of the
 ITALIAN, FRENCH, FLEMISH AND DUTCH SCHOOLS,
The Property of a Man of Fashion,
 LATELY DECEASED.
 To which, by Permission, are added, a few Select CABINET PICTURES,
 RECENTLY BROUGHT FROM
 A NOBLEMAN'S SEAT in the Country.
 Among this Collection will be found the Works of the following Masters in high
 Preservation, viz—

<i>Mic. Angelo,</i>	<i>G. Poussin,</i>	<i>Rubens,</i>	<i>Vander Hovde,</i>
<i>Titian,</i>	<i>Paul Panini,</i>	<i>Vandyck,</i>	<i>Ruyssael,</i>
<i>Fransces,</i>	<i>Seb. Bourdon,</i>	<i>M. D. Teniers,</i>	<i>J. J. Mari,</i>
<i>Paul Veronese,</i>	<i>Nic. Poussin,</i>	<i>Ostade,</i>	<i>Dietrich,</i>
<i>P. Bordone,</i>	<i>Stella,</i>	<i>Bergem,</i>	<i>Mordant,</i>
<i>Carache,</i>	<i>Le Moine,</i>	<i>Wouvermans,</i>	<i>Barrett,</i>
<i>Dominichino,</i>	<i>Vander Meulen,</i>	<i>W. Vanderfeld,</i>	<i>Brooking,</i>
<i>Guercino,</i>	<i>Watteaus,</i>	<i>Coy,</i>	<i>Wootton, &c. &c.</i>

Also, a remarkable fine Holy Family, **ANDREA DEL SARTO**—A beautiful Land-
 scape, **CLAUDE**—A View of the Campagna of Rome, **WILSON**—
 The original Picture of Foote in Major Sturgeon, and Foote and Welton in the President
 and Dr. Laß, **ZOFFANY**, presumed the most capital Pictures ever painted by that esteemed
 Master—
 A Representation of a Committee of the House of Commons enquiring into the
 Abuse practised in the Fleet Prison in the Year 1729, a curious interesting
 Subject by the immortal **HOGARTH**.

WHICH WILL BE SOLD BY AUCTION
 By **Mr. CHRISTIE,**
 At his Great Room in Pall Mall,
 On Friday, May the 6th, 1796, and following Day,
 AT TWELVE O'CLOCK.
 To be viewed; and Catalogues had at the Rainbow Coffee House, Cornhill,
 and in Pall Mall.
 CONDITIONS OF SALE AS USUAL.

FIGURE 2.2 *A Catalogue of a Most Capital and Valuable Collection of Pictures, by the Most Esteemed Masters of the Italian, French, Flemish and Dutch Schools, the Property of a Man of Fashion [...] Sold by Auction, by Mr. Christie* (London: s.n., 1796), Lugt 5447, title page. London, Christie's Archives
 © CHRISTIE'S

categories of Florentine, Venetian, etc. informing the inside organisation of the lots), Flemish, German and French. The British added the Dutch school to the three schools, or 'trois sortes de goût' accepted by the French connoisseur Antoine-Joseph Dézallier d'Argenville in his "Discours sur la Connaissance des Dessains et des Tableaux" and they also clearly differentiated the Flemish

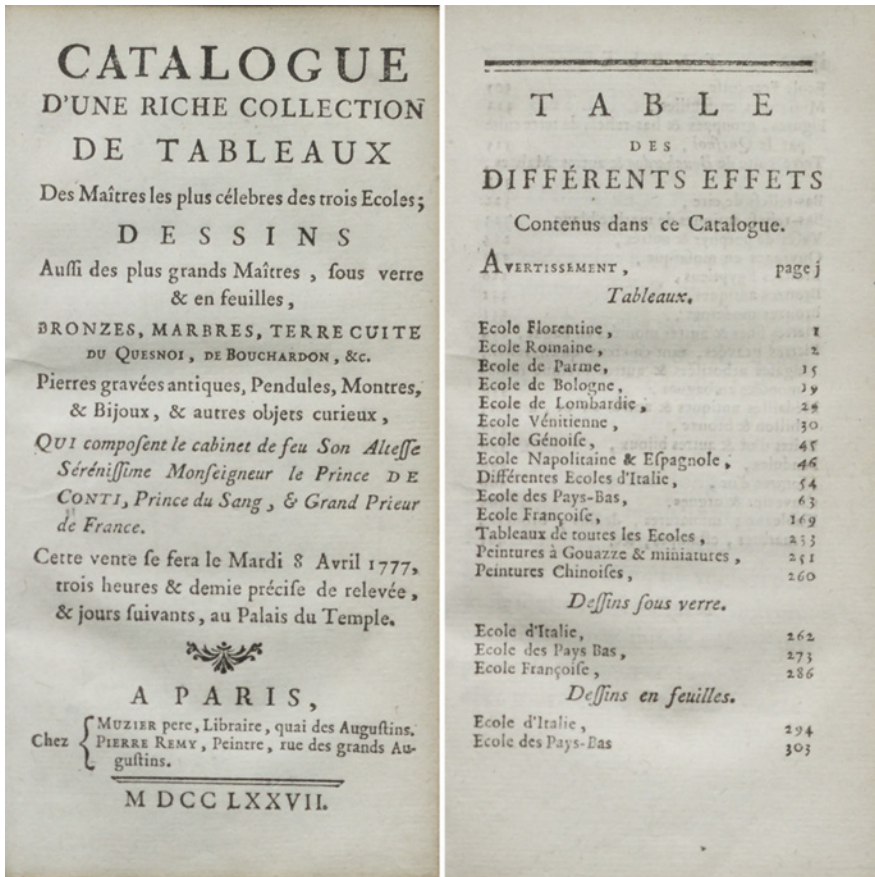


FIGURE 2.3 Prince de Conti, *Catalogue d'une riche collection de tableaux des maîtres les plus célèbres des trois écoles, Dessins aussi des plus grands maîtres [...] 8 avril 1777 au Palais du Temple* (Paris: s. n., 1777), title page and table of contents. Washington (DC), National Gallery of Art Library, David K.E. Bruce Fund

and Dutch in their approach to the Northern schools.⁶⁹ However, no further specialisation was sought in British catalogues, and the use of local schools or the organisation of the lot descriptions by schools, as was routine in France, was rarely adopted (Fig. 2.3).

Like most marketing tools deployed to raise the customer's awareness, this set text on the title page signalled quality by using vocabulary that provided

69 Antoine Joseph Dézallier d'Argenville, "Discours sur la Connaissance des Dessesins et des Tableaux," in *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*, vol. 1 (Paris: Debure, 1745–1752), xxiv.

educational content, but of a sort that the customer had already partially mastered. It worked like a repetitive and recognisable branding, mainly designed to generate trust and support the connoisseurship credentials of those who organised the sales. The British advertisement of 'Italian, French, Flemish and Dutch' pictures in auction catalogues lasted well into the nineteenth century. The use of set expressions offered simple guidelines, resting on didactic and accessible art writings—which especially helped to engage first time buyers by breaking down artistic judgement into more accessible categories than the specialised and intimidating attribution by name. This obeyed the exchange function, or the 'built-in force that drives the exchange system toward the greatest degree of commoditization [...] against the utter singularization of things as they are in nature.'⁷⁰ This went hand in hand with the growing frequency of auctions and can be seen as a sign of their commercial success. The auctioneers now presented their sales as part of a regular flow of quality art to Britain, which consistently shaped and tested buyers' preferences. Auctions had become an established fixture of the London social season—as elsewhere in Europe, they proved to be more influential than a simple recycling market that merely reverberated the changes happening in collectors' salons or artists' studios.⁷¹ In the lists of buyers in the auctioneers' catalogues, the titles of Lord and Sir rub shoulders with Esquire, Doctor, Dean, Colonel, Captain and the simple Mister (Fig. 2.4). The standardisation of auctions attracted a larger audience of middle-class art lovers who were at the heart of the growth of interest in the arts, from clergymen, surgeons, solicitors and merchants to higher civil servants.⁷²

By becoming a repetitive brand name, 'Italian, French, Flemish and Dutch' did not pretend to specifically represent the sale at hand. It did not, for example, provide information on the proportional make-up of the sale—and indeed the auction rooms were filled with many more native British paintings than

70 Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Apparudai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–91.

71 Charlotte Guichard, "From Social Event to Urban Spectacle: Auctions in Late Eighteenth-Century Paris," in *Fashioning Old and New: Changing Consumer Patterns in Western Europe (1650–1900)*, eds. Bruno Blondé and Ilja Van Damme (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 203–18; Dries Lyna and Filip Vermeyleen, "Rubens for Sale: Art Auctions in Antwerp during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Art Auctions and Dealers: The Dissemination of Netherlandish Art During the Ancien Régime*, eds. Dries Lyna, Filip Vermeyleen, and Hans Vlieghe (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 139–53; Thomas Ketelsen, "Art Auctions in Germany during the Eighteenth Century," in *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800*, 143–52.

72 See Jeffrey G. Williamson, "The Structure of Pay in Britain, 1710–1911," *Research in Economic History* 7 (1982): 1–54.

N ^o 1	21.	Mr Landolus	
2	19.	Fitzgerald	
3	11.	Schofield	1/2
4	11.	Gt Biny	1/2
5	15.	Croft	1/2
6	0.	Johnson	1/2
7	15.	Dr Byson	1/2
8	12.	Milly	1/2
9	19.	Fitzgerald	1/2
10	11 6	Do	1/2
11	18.	Evans J	1/2
12	17.	Mr Birch	1/2
13	3 18.	Brown	1/2
14	2 7.	Harding	1/2
15	2 5.	Nixon	1/2
16	1 -	Dean of Peterborough	1/2
17	3 13 6	Buchwell	1/2
18	2 10.	Patch	1/2
19	5 -	Hart	1/2
20	1 5.	Johnson	1/2
21	2 5.	Croft	1/2
22	7 10.	Nixon	1/2
23	1 9.	more	1/2
24	3 8.	Buchwell	1/2
25	5 5	Do	1/2
26	6.	Dr Storr	1/2
27	4 10.	B. Rochester	1/2
28	2 2.	Patch	1/2
29	1.	Price	1/2
30	3 9.	Do	1/2
31	3 3.	Nixon	1/2
* 31	6 10.	Morandis	1/2
£ 78.17.			

FIGURE 2.4 William Anne Holles Capell, 4th Earl of Essex, *A Catalogue of the Genuine and Capital Collection of Italian, French, Flemish and Dutch Pictures, of the Earl of Essex* [...] Sold by Mess. Christie and Ansell (London: s.n., 1777), Lugt 2634, Auctioneer's copy, Folio 1. London, Christie's Archives

these title pages seem to warrant. Krzysztof Pomian notes that in France in the second half of the eighteenth century, the use of schools likewise quickly became a set expression rather than the exact description of what could be found in the sale catalogues.⁷³ However, the adoption of school categories did have a lasting impact on the sales content as the second half of the eighteenth century unfolded—it accompanied a slow rebalancing of national schools present at the sales. Italian and Dutch paintings, present in comparable quantities on the resale market, made up nearly thirty percent of the lots respectively in London auction rooms from the 1760s to the 1800s. This formed an impressive portion of the sales, but it was actually a decreased presence compared to the 1720–40 sales, where Dutch and especially Italian artists had formed an overwhelming majority of the lots for sale.⁷⁴ The Flemish pictures increased slightly in quantity after the upheaval of the French Revolution and settled at the same level (fifteen percent) as the British paintings. The French pictures, meanwhile, remained few, but increased from six to eight percent of the total amount of lots for sale.⁷⁵ The standardised continental categories that appeared systematically on the title pages therefore might have functioned as vouchers of traditional connoisseurship on the part of the auctioneer, but they also triggered the audience's curiosity and induced a diversification of schools displayed for sale.

The title page hence functioned as a first-contact marketing device. To lead the casual readers into becoming interested customers, the next step in this sales funnel could be found inside the catalogue. By the 1760s, evolving beyond dry lists of attributions and short subject titles, some British catalogues began to display connoisseurship in their lot descriptions. These included information on the provenance of the picture, the state of preservation or the illustrative value, with distinctions made between an original and a good copy. The lot

73 Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 125.

74 Data for this period are woefully scarce. This is based on less than fifteen extant catalogues for the period, mainly housed at the British Library, the Courtauld Book Library, and the National Art Library. Most do not contain the price, some prices have been lost in cut and binding, and the Houlditch Manuscript housed at the National Library is an eighteenth-century manuscript transcription of printed sales catalogues, largely devoid of price annotation. Advertisements in the press of the period however warrant that sales were more frequent than this number of extant catalogues suggests.

75 The dataset was elaborated by the compilation of 185 auction catalogues of James Christie, comprising 96,000 paintings, from 1786 to 1800. For more information on these data, see: Bénédicte Miyamoto, "British Buying Patterns at Auction Sales, 1780–1800," in *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market, 1780–1820*, eds. Susannah Avery-Quash and Christian Huemer (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2019), 35–51.

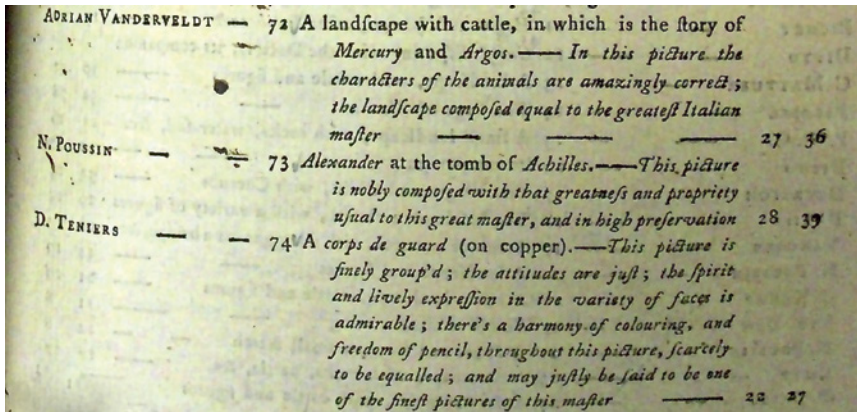


FIGURE 2.5 Robert Ansell, *A Catalogue of a Superb and Valuable Collection of Italian, French, Flemish and Dutch Pictures, Collected Abroad [...]* Sold by Auction, by Mr. Christie (London: s. n., 1771), Lugt 1892, 5, London, Christie's Archives

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description could also include ekphrastic discourse and an aesthetic appraisal of style, composition or colour to further refine the classification by school (Fig. 2.5). Such extended descriptions were still generally reserved for the best lots for sale and were presented at the end of the catalogue. Contrary to French catalogues, the British catalogues stopped short of being an elaborate discursive tool that reproduced the one-to-one exchange between the collectors and their agents, and they rarely included extensive information such as artists' biographies or debates on attribution. The auctioneers, therefore, do not seem to have perceived in their audience a need to replicate the behaviour of aristocratic collecting. Similarly, by giving little information about the received and disputed valuation of the piece for sale, or its former bidding results, auctioneers catered little to consumption behaviour intended to be conspicuous. But these catalogues still achieved what the use of "brand names" promised on the title page—they familiarised prospective buyers with recognisable characteristics, told the customer what to expect when purchasing products, and inculcated to the audience that the pleasure triggered by an Italian master, for example, could be reproduced by a picture from the same school.

Therefore, the adoption of the notion of schools by the bidders enabled them to enter into a more learned consumption of pictures, as these labels became familiar categories that were repetitively linked to specific pleasures of reception. What the set text 'Italian, French, Flemish and Dutch' does not, however, seem to have produced is a strict hierarchy of schools that would

have seen the Italian picture appear more desirable than the Dutch. The listing of pictures remained similar to late seventeenth-century catalogues, with a numbering of lots that was irrespective of schools. The organisation depended on increasing quality and saw the best lots sold last.⁷⁶ Notions of schools educated the public, reminding them to recognise which characteristics to look for in a Dutch genre picture destined for a cabinet or in an Italian biblical scene which displayed a larger composition. This was again very much in keeping with the art appreciation initiated by Richardson's watershed second discourse published in 1719. The *Two Discourses* had gained an impressive readership in Britain and abroad, helping to '(re)shape the highbrow canon.'⁷⁷ It urged the public to become 'discursive citizens' as the influence of foreign academic theoretical discourses waned.⁷⁸ In particular Richardson reminded the reader that 'to judge of the Goodness of a Picture, Drawing, or Print, 'tis necessary to establish to our Selves a System of Rules to be apply'd to that we intend to give a Judgement of.'⁷⁹ The fixed hierarchy of schools from Italian, French, Flemish to Dutch was a helpful first step to acquaint oneself with the world of art but was not the founding basis of this system of rules when it came to ranking pictures by quality—and neither was bowing to the renown of the hand. Richardson recommended judging 'the Intrinsic quality of the thing itself'

That a Picture or Drawing has been, or is much esteemed by those who are believed to be good Judges; Or is, or was Part of a famous Collection, cost so much, has a rich Frame [...] That 'tis Old, *Italian*, Rough, Smooth, &c. These are circumstances hardly worth mentioning, and which belong to Good and Bad. [...] about Two Hundred Years ago, there were wretched Painters, as well as Before, and Since, and in *Italy* as well as Elsewhere.⁸⁰

With this new system of rules, Richardson deployed the first truly British theoretical discourse that blended categories of schools with British empiricism.⁸¹

76 Miyamoto, "Making Pictures Marketable."

77 Verhoeven, "Mastering the Connoisseur's Eye."

78 William Ray, "Talking about Art: The French Royal Academy Salons and the Formation of the Discursive Citizen," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 4 (2004): 527–52.

79 Richardson, *Two Discourses*, 26.

80 *Id.*, 20–23.

81 Carol Gibson-Wood, "Jonathan Richardson, Lord Somers's Collection of Drawings, and Early Art-Historical Writing in England," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989): 167–87. See the introduction to: Jonathan Richardson, *Traité de la peinture et de la sculpture*, eds. Isabelle Baudino and Frédéric Ogée (Paris: Ensba, 2008).

The idea of the superiority of one nation above another in matters of painting was increasingly questioned, and the use of schools as a category became closely related to aesthetic qualities. Gerard de Lairesse's treatise, when it appeared in English in 1738, underlined a similar pleasurable variety, which came from placing side by side two pictures from different schools. A British and an Italian picture were, for example, compared in this manner:

Most Men chime in with those simple Judges who approve no Histories, no Landskips [*sic*], or Portraits, that are not painted in the *Italian* Manner. [...] But let an *Englishman's* Picture hang near an *Italian's*, both handled with equal Skill [...] the sweetening Softness of the *Englishman* will charm as much on one hand, as the strong and glowing Colour of the Italian on the other: Are not both praiseworthy, as having each expressed the *Character* natural to his Figure?⁸²

The chapter in which this comparison appeared was dedicated to portraiture. This was a genre that the British knew they had acquired a reputation for beyond their borders and that, more particularly, enabled British painters to compete with the continental masters. The goal of the above comparative exercise was to underline that schools were matters not strictly of hierarchy, but rather of varied manners, in which different nationalities could display 'equal Skill.'

When Jonathan Richardson published his *Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage, of the Science of a Connoisseur* in 1719, it was therefore with the explicit intention of equipping British buyers and sellers in the art market with discrimination and clear standards so that 'a thing unheard of, and whose Name (to our Dishonour) has at present an Uncouth Sound may come to be Eminent in the World, I mean the British School of Painting.' By the end of the century, a British school of art was decidedly in the making with both a buoyant resale market and institutions like the Royal Academy. Most importantly, the public had by now developed sophisticated skills of connoisseurship, and not only were they able to use the general terms of schools, but they could also recognise both the cultural and economic implications of these labels.

82 De Lairesse, *The Art of Painting*, 354.

Conclusion

In the 1781 *Earwig* review of the Royal Academy's exhibition, an old woman deplored the public's ability to 'coolly make an eulogium on the abilities and turn of the Artists. This, he says, is in the manner of such a master: this is the taste of such a School;—Feeble Praise!'⁸³ The condemnation was levelled at superficial artistic knowledge, but the understanding of schools, manners and genres had in fact proved an invaluable introduction for British spectators who were now better equipped with a value system to deal with and talk about art. By the middle of the century, auction bidders could decipher the self-referential reflexes at work in continental pictures, and thus they found it easier to re-brand suspicious pictures (deemed, for example, too Catholic or too foreign) into masterpieces. National labels, which had been burdened by political and religious references, lost their problematic connotations and became increasingly understood and used as aesthetic categories, both by sellers and buyers. These school categories therefore proved useful as credentials of connoisseurship, indicating an increasingly interconnected and democratic market. Contrary to the criticism of the *Earwig*, school categories were not 'feeble praise,' but initial appraisal. They were the vital first step for pictures to be judged according to their intrinsic aesthetic qualities.

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Creating Cultural and Commercial Value in Late Nineteenth-Century New York Art Catalogues

Leanne Zalewski

Dealers, collectors, critics and auctioneers in late nineteenth-century New York created cultural and commercial value through collections, sales and auction catalogues. Scholars have examined various aspects of the New York art market, such as blockbuster auctions, class identity and the effect of business practices on collecting, but the catalogues themselves remain largely unexamined.¹ Nicholas Green, who focused on the Paris art market, noted that sale catalogues provided publicity for French auction sales from the mid-1850s

1 I wish to thank Jan Dirk Baetens, Dries Lyna, Andrea Lepage and Lindsay Twa for their valuable input on earlier drafts of this chapter.

See: John Ott, "How New York Stole the Art Market: Blockbuster Auctions and Bourgeois Identity in Gilded Age America," *Winterthur Portfolio* 42, no. 2–3 (2008): 133–58; Sven Beckert, "Institution-Building and Class Formation: How the Nineteenth-Century Bourgeoisie Organized," in *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Sven Beckert and Julia Rosenbaum (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 103–17; Albert Boime, "America's Purchasing Power and the Evolution of European Art in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Saloni, gallerie, musei e loro influenza sullo sviluppo dell'arte dei secoli XIX e XX*, ed. Francis Haskell (Bologna: CLUEB, 1979), 123–39; Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort and Jeanne K. Welcher, "Some Views of Art Buying in New York in the 1870s and 1880s," *Oxford Art Journal* 5, no. 1 (September 1982): 48–55; Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort, "A Measure of Taste: Samuel P. Avery's Art Auctions, 1864–1880," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 100 (1982): 87–9; *Id.*, "Art Collecting in the United States after the Civil War: Civic Pride, Competition, and Personal Gains," in *Artwork through the Market: The Past and the Present*, ed. Ján Bakos (Bratislava: VEDA, 2004), 125–36; *Id.*, "The American Art Trade and French Painting at the End of the Nineteenth Century," *Van Gogh Museum Journal* 6 (2000): 101–7; Malcolm Goldstein, *Landscape with Figures: A History of Art Dealing in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). For other related studies, see: DeCoursey E. McIntosh, Gabriel P. Weisberg, and Alison McQueen, eds., *Collecting in the Gilded Age: Art Patronage in Pittsburgh, 1890–1910* (Pittsburgh: Frick Art & Historical Center, Hanover – London: University Press of New England, 1997); Linda Heneffield Skalet, "The Market for American Painting in New York: 1870–1915" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1980); John Ott, *Manufacturing the Modern Patron in Victorian California* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014); Thomas M. Bayer and John R. Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England: Money as Muse, 1730–1900* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011); Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, eds., *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London: 1850–1939* (Manchester – New York: Manchester University Press, 2011).

onwards.² American catalogues became prevalent a few decades later and served as more than publicity for sales and exhibitions. What information did American catalogues communicate about artists, schools and nationality? Increased cultural mobility, largely among the wealthy and the dealers who worked with them, transformed the cultural landscape in New York for its inhabitants.³ This internationalism enhanced the cultural merit and commercial value of the works sold or exhibited by some of the leading collectors. Overall these catalogues reveal that American collectors sought cultural sophistication through internationalism, particularly foreign institutional recognition.⁴ The catalogues reflected what sociologist Pierre Bourdieu explained as a “material type of capital” transformed into cultural and social capital.⁵ But first, Americans needed material capital.

Prior to the American Civil War (1861–5) the art market in New York focused primarily on American art, but after the war a buying frenzy took place through the early 1890s. The internationalisation of New York’s art market resulted from economic shifts and greater cultural mobility at the end of the Civil War. Industrialists and financiers rose to prominence and accumulated wealth never before obtained in the United States. Affluence increased travel abroad, where collectors met artists, visited galleries and museums and purchased artworks. Greater contact between the United States and Europe facilitated the purchase of contemporary foreign artworks. As wealth increased, the number of collectors increased. I call this period the “Postbellum Picture Boom,” a time of rapidly increased picture buying, primarily French art supplemented by art from various other European national “schools.”⁶ Strengthening ties to France

2 Nicholas Green, “Dealing in Temperaments: Economic Transformation of the Artistic Field in France during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century,” in *Critical Readings in Impressionism and Post-Impressionism: An Anthology*, ed. Mary Tompkins Lewis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 36. For a detailed study of dealers, critics, artists and auctions in Paris, see: Harrison C. and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

3 See: Stephen Greenblatt et al., *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 250–3. For a summary of Greenblatt’s manifesto, see also: <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~cardenio/mobility.html>.

4 Lloyd Kramer, *Nationalism in Europe & America: Politics, Cultures, and Identities since 1775* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 4.

5 Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital (1986),” in *Education: Culture, Economy and Society*, ed. A.H. Halsey et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 46.

6 My forthcoming book, *The Postbellum Picture Boom: European Art, American Aspirations, 1867–1893*, further explains the “Postbellum Picture Boom” and significance of international expositions.

by promoting the taste for contemporary French art in the United States, the capital of culture fostered an aesthetic sophistication.

Collectors bought primarily through dealers acting as intermediaries who facilitated cultural transfers.⁷ They included New York-based art dealers Samuel P. Avery (1822–1904), Michael Knoedler (1823–78) and American-born Paris-based dealer George A. Lucas (1824–1909), all of whom in turn dealt with leading French dealers, such as Goupil & Cie and Galerie Georges Petit in Paris.⁸ Lucas, Avery, Knoedler and Goupil supplied much of the art to American collectors. Lucas, who remained in Paris, and Avery, who travelled abroad annually, made the transfer of objects possible by accompanying patrons to artists' studios and exhibitions overseas and by serving as agents abroad. The dealers and collectors sent many European artworks to the United States. Collectors also attended auctions and would occasionally make some of their purchases directly from foreign dealers.

By the 1870s the New York art market had developed transatlantic relationships and catalogue entries expanded to reflect training, provenance and awards garnered by foreign artists. American schools lacked the complex system of awards in European academies. Bourdieu identified these institutional award systems as a means of conveying cultural capital.⁹ Catalogues from the 1870s and 1880s included far more information about the artists than had catalogues prior to the "Postbellum Picture Boom." Later catalogue entries provided lists of awards that implied validation and success and communicated to American readers the cultural and financial value of the works, the internationalisation of the market and collectors' knowledge and sophistication, in other words, cultural and social capital. Expanded catalogue entries thus enhanced the meanings of the artworks and informed readers about art institutions abroad.

7 Greenblatt termed these intermediaries 'mobilizers.' See: Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility*, 251.

8 See: Samuel P. Avery, *The Diaries 1871–1882 of Samuel P. Avery*, eds. Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort, Herbert L. Kleinfield, and Jeanne K. Welcher (New York: Arno Press, 1979); George A. Lucas, *Diary of George A. Lucas: An American Art Agent in Paris, 1857–1909*, ed. Lilian M.C. Randall, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979). See also: Agnès Penot, *La maison Goupil. Galerie d'art internationale au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Mare & Martin, 2016). The M. Knoedler & Co. records, 1848–1971, and Goupil & Cie/Boussod, Valadon & Cie. records, are housed in Special Collections, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, CA. Goupil et Cie stock books are available in a searchable online database at: http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/digital_collections/goupil_cie/books.html.

9 Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 50–1.

National Schools of Art in American Collection Catalogues

Prior to the influx of contemporary European art after the Civil War, American art critics had already been thinking about national schools, particularly what constituted an American school. "School" referred to shared characteristics among a nation's artistic output. A reviewer for the *Bulletin of the American Art-Union* addressed this issue: 'Let us examine [...] into the desirability of this quality which we have called Nationality. We have defined it as the attainment to a School, or a distinctive manner of thinking upon, or regarding the subjects of art, corresponding to some trait of the national mind.'¹⁰ However, little analysis followed on what traits distinguished the 'national mind[s]' of different schools. Clearly defined traits required expertise and connoisseurship, when such expertise, and a critical distance, had not yet developed in the United States.

Lacking in contemporary artists' catalogue entries were distinctive traits such as those found in an 1853 didactic handbook to the Thomas Jefferson Bryan catalogue of old master paintings. The Bryan catalogue was possibly the first in New York published simply to document an important collection and to educate readers.¹¹ In the 1850s a general lack of knowledge necessitated an educational tone in part to help others identify authentic from inauthentic works, but it failed in Bryan's case. Although his collection was later found to contain mainly inauthentic or misattributed paintings, Bryan's catalogue attempted to teach readers about these unfamiliar works. For example, an entry for the Dutch seventeenth-century artist Gerrit Dou describes his technical strengths: 'His aim was to unite the powerful tones and strongly opposed light and shade of REMBRANDT, to the most delicate handling and highest finish. [...] He is unequalled in his style.'¹² However, few American critics defined shared characteristics of the various national schools for catalogues of living artists' works.

Critics made only vague and infrequent attempts to articulate distinguishable traits for national schools. For example, one writer associated French art with strong sensuality, power and energy; German art with rationalism;

10 Anon., "Development of Nationality in American Art," *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*, no. 9 (1851): 137.

11 Thomas Jefferson Bryan, *Companion to the Bryan Gallery of Christian Art* (New York: Baker, Godwin & Co., 1853). I mistakenly identified William Henry Vanderbilt's catalogues as the first in an earlier article: Leanne Zalewski, "Art for the Public: William Henry Vanderbilt's Cultural Legacy," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 11, no. 2 (Summer 2012), <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer12/leanne-zalewski-william-henry-vanderbilts-cultural-legacy> (accessed 28 June 2015).

12 Bryan, *Companion to the Bryan Gallery*, 57.

and English with a ‘reverence for truth and authority.’¹³ Although no unified American school seemed evident in the 1867 Paris universal exhibition, an American critic offered the terms ‘vastness and loneliness’ as an attempt to differentiate American from British landscape painting.¹⁴ Such commentary was published in journals and newspapers rather than in collection catalogues. Catalogue entries for private collections contained factual content rather than assessments. Any opinions expressed were in the form of an artist’s letter written to the collector.

National schools were separated but not defined in the first major New York sale including contemporary European art. John Wolfe, a businessman, sold his collection at auction in 1863. The only catalogue extant for that sale was printed afterwards, with a simple list of the artists’ names, subject of the works, purchasers’ names and prices paid. The artists were grouped under headings including ‘American School,’ ‘English School,’ ‘French School,’ ‘German School’ and ‘Belgian and Dutch School.’¹⁵ No descriptions distinguished these national schools. Similarly vague was an 1866 auction catalogue featuring mainly American art that only listed the artists’ names, cities, and artwork titles, such as ‘E. Vedder, New York.’¹⁶ American artists had no honours or awards listed after their names. In contrast, the few foreign works included additional information, naming awards, for example, ‘Richaud, of Paris; medal, 1848.’¹⁷ The foreign works were not separated by headings, as in the Wolfe catalogue, and offered little information. Later catalogues gave more information, but none identified traits of national schools.

Collections formed during the “Postbellum Picture Boom” included artworks from various national schools, as Wolfe’s 1863 collection. Having at least a few examples of leading artists from other European nations sufficed to create a heterogeneous collection.¹⁸ Foremost among the artists American collectors

13 Anon., “Development of Nationality in American Art,” 138.

14 Carol Troyen, “Innocents Abroad: American Painters at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, Paris,” *American Art Journal* 16, no. 4 (1984): 13; M.D. Conway, “The Great Show at Paris,” *Harper’s New Monthly* 35, no. 206 (1867): 248.

15 *Catalogue of a Private Collection of Original Modern Oil Paintings and Water Color Drawings Belonging to J. Wolfe [...] To Be Sold by Auction [...] December, 1863* (New York: Henry H. Leeds & Co, 1863).

16 *Catalogue of a Remarkably Fine Collection of Oil Paintings by the Best American Artists, Also, A Number of Choice Foreign Works [...] Consigned to Mr. S.P. Avery* (New York: Henry H. Leeds & Miner, 1866), 1.

17 *Ibid.*

18 Artist and author, Earl Shinn, documented the collections in the deluxe, illustrated three-volume set, *Art Treasures of America*. Edward Strahan [Earl Shinn], *Art Treasures of America*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: George Barrie, 1879–82).

patronised were French academic artists who specialised in genre, historical genre, animal and landscape subjects, Orientalist and military subjects.¹⁹ An image of Avery atop crates of artworks shipped overseas exemplifies the transfer of fine and decorative artworks from Europe to the United States (Fig. 3.1) and the variety of schools represented. Cartons of Chinese, Japanese and Sèvres porcelains complement the stacks of paintings. In the caricature Avery carries a banner inscribed with the well-known names of artists, listed top to bottom: León Escosura (Spanish), Jehan-Georges Vibert (French), Adolphe Schreyer (German), Alexandre Cabanel (French), Raimundo Madrazo (Spanish), George Boughton (Anglo-American) and Édouard Detaille (French). Three of the seven are French artists. Although less numerous in collections than French works, other popular artists included genre painters Ludwig Knaus (Prussian), Mihaly Munkácsy (Hungarian), Mariano Fortuny (Spanish) and Alfred Stevens (Belgian), as well as sheep painter Eugène Verboeckhoven (Belgian), animal painter Sir Edwin Landseer (English) and Dutch landscapists from the Hague school, such as Hendrik Willem Mesdag.²⁰ Every important collection had representative works by most or all of these artists. The most select collections included rarer works by the “Hungarian Meissonier,” August von Pettenkofen, and the much-admired Belgian history painter Henri Leys.²¹ Some collections also included a modest number of American pictures.

Catalogues reflect the diverse artists’ nationalities. Sales and collection catalogues listed artists by name, location, city rather than country (i.e., Paris, Düsseldorf, Munich, The Hague and New York rather than French, German, etc.). The city indicated which fine arts school the artist had attended. Entries also often included biographical notes, which listed artists alphabetically.²² Longer entries accompanied the better-known artists’ works. Some included

19 Much work has been done on some academic artists’ reception in the United States. See for example: *Gérôme and Goupil: Art and Enterprise* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, New York: Dahesh Museum of Art, 2000); Robert Isaacson, “Collecting Bouguereau in England and America,” in *William Bouguereau, 1825–1905* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Art, 1984), 104–13; Eric M. Zafran, “William Bouguereau in America: A Roller-Coaster Reputation,” in *In the Studios of Paris: William Bouguereau and his American Students*, ed. James F. Peck (Tulsa: Philbrook Museum of Art, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 17–44; Laura L. Meixner, *French Realist Painting and the Critique of American Society, 1865–1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

20 See: Renske Cohen Tervaert, “L’art pour l’argent,” (MA thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2008), which deals with Mesdag.

21 For more on Leys, see the forthcoming book by Jan Dirk Baetens: *Henri Leys and the Resurrection of the Past* (Leuven: Leuven University Press).

22 *Catalogue of the A.T. Stewart Collection of Paintings, Sculptures, and Other Objects of Art* (New York: American Art Association, 1887).

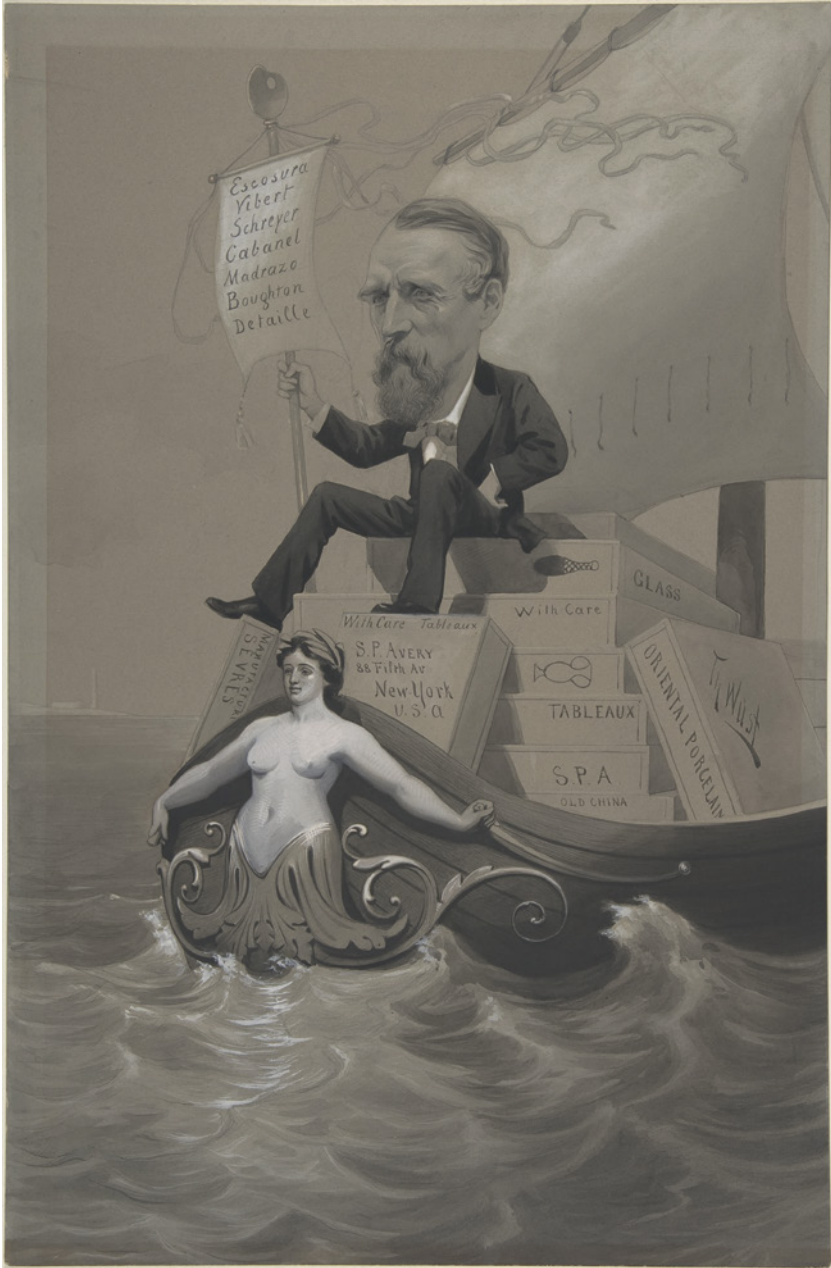


FIGURE 3.1 Theodore Wust, *Samuel P. Avery Transporting his Treasures Across the Sea*, c. 1875–80. Graphite, ink and gouache on grey paper, 40.9 × 26.7 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Emma Avery Welcher and Amy Ogden Welcher and Alice Welcher Erickson, 1967

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lengthy letters from the artist to the collector describing the work. As with today's auction catalogues, these longer entries signified the importance of the painting.

American catalogues tended to follow French models, notably the Luxembourg Museum catalogue format rather than the Paris Salon or well-known French auction catalogues, such as that of the 1872 Isaac and Émile Pereire collection.²³ The Pereire catalogue, representative of high-profile collections, included only the artists' names, titles of the artworks, short descriptions, dates and dimensions, as below:

GÉRÔME

20—Pifferari à Rome.

Deux pifferari sont arrêtés devant une madone, dans une rue de Rome et jouent de leurs instruments; un petit garçon fait aussi sa partie dans le concert.

Daté 1859.

Bois Haut., 38 cm; larg., 29 cm²⁴

Such a famous collection needed no embellishments or list of honours. The artists were already established in France. The French sale catalogue differed from the Paris Salon catalogue of the same year. Henner's two entries exemplify the typical entry:

HENNER (JEAN-JACQUES), né à Bernwiller (Alsace), élève de Drölling et de Picot.—Hors concours.

Place Pigalle, 11.

1016—Le Christ mort.

1017—Portrait de Mme Karakéhia.²⁵

The Salon entry gave the artist's name, birthplace and current address, teacher, artwork title and indicated whether the artist was no longer required to submit work to the jury for admission (*hors concours*). Longer entries in the Luxembourg Museum catalogue were more informative. American visitors would have been

23 *Résumé du catalogue des tableaux anciens et modernes des diverses écoles, dont la vente aura lieu [...] les 6, 7, 8, et 9 mars 1872 [...]: galerie de MM. Pereire* (Paris: François Petit, 1872).

24 *Id.*, 11.

25 *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure et lithographie des artistes vivants, exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées le 1er mai 1876* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1876), 126.

familiar with the museum. Its catalogues listed the artists' names, their native towns, teachers, awards and the Salons at which the paintings were exhibited.²⁶ An entry in the 1872 Luxembourg Museum catalogue reads:

BAUDRY (PAUL-JACQUES-AIMÉ), *né à Napoléon-Vendée (Vendée), élève de Sartoris et de Drolling; grand prix de Rome (Histoire) en 1850, chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur en 1861, officier en 1869; membre de l'Institut en 1870.*

12. La Fortune et le jeune Enfant.

La Fortune passa, l'éveille doucement,
Lui disant: mon mignon, je vous sauve la vie;
Soyez une autre fois plus sage, je vous prie.
(LA FONTAINE.)

H. 1,92.—L. 1, 46.—Fig. gr. Nat. [Figure grandeur naturelle]
(Salon de 1857.)²⁷

When available, these short passages from literary sources, such as La Fontaine for Baudry's entry, indicated importance in its longer entry. Most other artists' entries included birthplace, teacher(s), awards, artwork title, dimensions and Salon exhibition year.

Four representative catalogues of leading New York collections drew from these models: the August Belmont special fundraising exhibition catalogue (1877), the Alexander T. Stewart auction sale catalogue (1887), the William Henry Vanderbilt collection catalogue (1886) and the Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection published by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1887).²⁸ The 1886 William Henry Vanderbilt collection catalogue was later republished verbatim

26 See for example: *Notice des peintures, sculptures et dessins de l'école moderne exposés dans les galeries du Musée national du Luxembourg* (Paris: Charles de Mourgues frères, 1875).

27 *Id.*, 3–4.

28 *Public Exhibition of the Belmont Collection for the Benefit of the Family of the Late Artist, Mr. J. Beaufain Irving* (New York, 1877); *Catalogue of the A.T. Stewart Collection*; *Catalogue of the W.H. Vanderbilt Collection of Paintings* (New York: De Vinne Press, 1886); *Metropolitan Museum of Art. Part I. The Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1887), 1–25. The catalogue lists 142 works on view. [Samuel P. Avery], "Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection and Other Modern Paintings in the Western Galleries, Stairways, and Grand Hall," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Handbook No. 1* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1894); *Catalogue of the Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1902).

in the *Metropolitan Museum of Art Handbook* when the collection was installed at the museum in 1902.²⁹ The bulleted list below outlines the overt information included in catalogue entries and the implied information, the cultural and social capital communicated to catalogue readers.

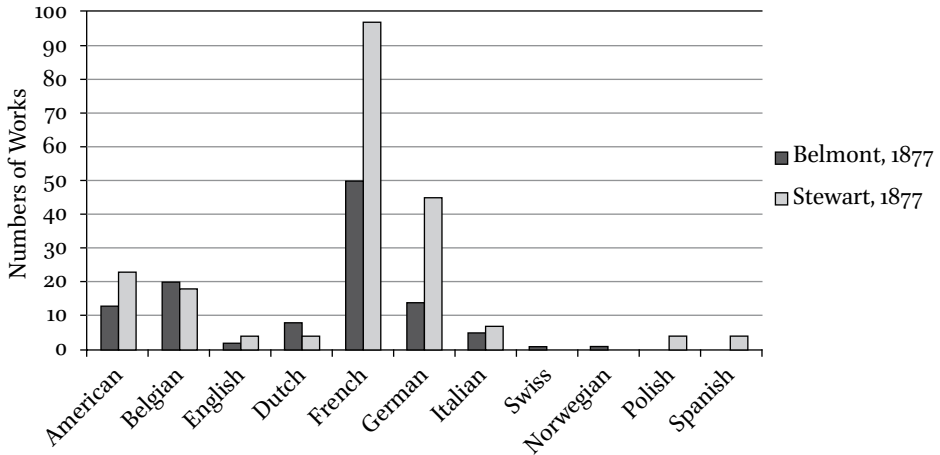
- Overt Information
 - Artist name
 - Title of artwork
 - Dimensions
 - Artist's teacher
 - Nationality (i.e., French school) or city of residence (i.e., Paris)
 - Awards and honours
 - Provenance
 - Description of artwork/artist letter to the collector/excerpt from literary source
- Implied information transmitting social and cultural capital
 - Cultural value
 - Commercial value
 - Artistic lineage
 - Authenticity
 - Internationalisation
 - Collectors' knowledge
 - Collectors' status

Although each of their four catalogues served a different purpose, they shared similar formats and overt and implied information. The goal was the same: to create cultural and commercial value.

Belmont, a financier and former United States minister to The Hague, and Stewart, a dry goods store magnate, assembled two of the best-known New York collections of their time, and the catalogues, ten years apart, enhanced the cultural and pecuniary value of the works. The graph below depicts the various nationalities represented in Belmont's 1877 collection and Stewart's collection at the time of its sale in 1887. Belmont acquired 114 works and Stewart owned 206 works. Each collection comprised works by nine European schools, and both collections included some American works. Although almost half of Belmont's holdings were French, he also owned modest numbers of American, Belgian, English, Dutch, German, Italian, Swiss and Norwegian works.³⁰ Nearly

29 *Catalogue of the Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1902).

30 I included George Boughton (1833–1905) as English, although he is also considered to be American. He was born and died in England, but emigrated at a young age to Albany, New York. He moved permanently to London in 1862.



GRAPH 1 Nationalities Represented in the August Belmont (1877) and Alexander Turney Stewart (1887) Collections

half of Stewart's much larger collection was also French, followed by German, American, Belgian, Italian, Spanish, Polish, Dutch and English.

Both the Belmont and Stewart catalogues promoted commercial events. Belmont's catalogue accompanied a special exhibition to raise funds for a minor American artist's widow. No pictures were to be sold at Belmont's exhibition, held at his residence at 109 Fifth Avenue for four consecutive days. The money earned from the exhibition fees and catalogue sales helped only John Beaufain Irving's (1825–77) widow and her children. Samuel P. Avery, who helped organise Belmont's benefit exhibition, likely wrote or at least advised the preparation of the exhibition catalogue. Its preface simply indicated the fundraising purpose of the exhibition. The first entry in his catalogue reads as follows:

1. HÉBERT (E.) Paris
Pupil of Paul Delaroche. Prize of Rome, 1839. Medals, 1851, '55, '67. Legion of Honor, 1853. Officer of the Legion of Honor, 1867. Member of the Institute of France, 1874. Commander of the Legion of Honor, 1874.
The Savoyard.³¹

³¹ *Public Exhibition of the Belmont Collection*, 3.

Each entry listed the artist's name, city of residence, teacher, honours, and the title of the painting. The artist's artistic lineage and numerous awards sufficed to indicate his reputation.

In addition to the European paintings, a small selection of six paintings by the late Irving were included in Belmont's exhibition. Irving's entries included only the artwork's title and the name of the lender, typical for American artists.³² Irving had studied in Düsseldorf and painted in the style of Ernest Meissonier, but had not received any awards. The fact that the exhibition took place indicates that Irving had not achieved financial success from his art and had left his family in unfortunate circumstances. Instead, his widow and children relied on the proceeds from an exhibition of European art.

In contrast to Belmont's simpler exhibition catalogue, Stewart's auction catalogue, published in conjunction with the blockbuster posthumous sale of his collection, contained more overt information.³³ The Stewart collection (Fig. 3.2), although not publicly exhibited as a whole during his lifetime, was well-known through descriptions. The sale catalogue from 1887 reflected its importance. The American Art Association, the auction house that handled Stewart's sale, prepared the catalogue. Stewart's catalogue began with an alphabetical listing of biographies, including lists of awards as well as artworks on display. A comparison of the entries for the same artist in Belmont's and Stewart's catalogues betrays an attempt to communicate more value for the works on view. An entry in Belmont's catalogue for the highly decorated French painter, Jean-Léon Gérôme includes only his French awards:

Pupil of Delaroche. Medals, 1847, '48, '55. Legion of Honor, 1855. Member of the Institute of France, 1865. One of the Eight Grand Medals of Honor (E.U.), 1867. Officer of the Legion of Honor, 1867. Grand Medal of Honor, 1874.³⁴

Stewart's biographical catalogue entry for the same artist included far more information, a strategy aimed at enhancing the cultural and monetary value of the work and still employed today. It includes additional awards and honours bestowed on Gérôme in the intervening decade, and also his international travel. It reads:

³² *Public Exhibition of the Belmont Collection*, 26.

³³ See: Jay E. Cantor, "A Monument of Trade: A.T. Stewart and the Rise of the Millionaire's Mansion in New York," *Winterthur Portfolio* 10 (1975): 165–97.

³⁴ *Public Exhibition of the Belmont Collection*, 4.



FIGURE 3.2 Anon., *View of Alexander T. Stewart's Private Picture-Gallery*, in George Sheldon, *Artistic Houses*, vol. 1 (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1883–84), 7

Born at Vesoul, France, 1824. Went to Paris in 1841, and entered the studio of Paul Delaroche, at the same time following the course of l'École des Beaux-Arts. In 1844, he accompanied Delaroche to Italy. He made his *début* at the Salon of 1847. In 1853 and 1856 he travelled in Egypt and Turkey, studying closely the history and customs of those countries. Medals, Paris, 1847, 1848, 1855 (*Exposition Universelle*). Medal of the Institute, 1865. Medal of Honor (*Exposition Universelle*), 1867. Medals of Honor, 1874. Medal for Sculpture and one of the eight Grand Medals of Honor (*Exposition Universelle*), 1878. Legion of Honor, 1855; Officer of the same, 1867; Commander, 1878; Chevalier of the *Order* [sic] *de l'Aigle Rouge*, and Member of the Institute of France, 1878. Professor in *l'École des Beaux-Arts*.³⁵

French honours were listed first, and then honours from other countries, reflecting America's broader international interests.

35 *Catalogue of the A.T. Stewart Collection*, 17.

Honours and memberships legitimised the work of Europeans via orders and academies lacking in the United States. Gérôme's international travels served to support his reputation as a learned ethnographer of Egyptian and Turkish subject matter. His early travel to Italy rectified his failure to secure the coveted *Prix de Rome* from the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris. In a sale catalogue, such as Stewart's, these long lists added cachet to the work and helped validate high prices, but they also reflected the sophisticated multicultural experiences of the artists themselves.³⁶ Few Americans, even the wealthiest, would ever travel beyond Europe. The artist's first-hand knowledge of his subject lent credibility and added monetary value to the pictures. American collectors paid some of the highest prices for paintings by the erudite Gérôme.

Catalogue descriptions for other European artists reflected the same interest in awards and honours. History painter and portraitist Louis Gallait (1810–87), well-known in nineteenth-century New York, serves as an example of the Belgian school in Stewart's catalogue:

Born at Tournai, March 10, 1810. Pupil of [Phillipe Auguste] Hennequin. Medals, 1835, 1848. Legion of Honor, 1841; Chevalier of the order of the Cross of Oak, Holland; a Member of Brussels, Antwerp, Paris, Berlin, and Munich Academies; Prussian Order of Merit; Honorary Member of the Royal Academy, London; Grand Cordon of the Order of Leopold, 1881.³⁷

Gallait's French honours were listed first, and then honours from other countries. In contrast, the Gallait entry in the Paris Salon *livret* of that same year listed only his French honours:

GALLAIT (Louis), né à Tournay (Belgique), méd. 2e cl. 1835, Légion d'honneur 1841, méd. 2e cl. 1848—H.C. [hors concours].³⁸

The Stewart catalogue privileged the French honours by listing them first, but then embellished the entry with Gallait's international awards.

American artists' entries were padded with international contacts when such connections occurred. For example, the lengthy entry in the Stewart

36 Ott, "How New York Stole the Art Market," 152.

37 *Catalogue of the A.T. Stewart Collection*, 16.

38 *Explication des ouvrages de peinture et dessins, sculpture, architecture et gravure des artistes vivans [...]* (Paris: Paul Dupont, 1887), cxi.

catalogue for the German-born American landscape painter Albert Bierstadt (1830–1902) includes more extraneous information than honours and emphasises his European connections, travel and training. It reads:

BIERSTADT (Albert), N.A., New York

Born in Düsseldorf, 1830. Brought to America at an early age. In 1853 he returned to Düsseldorf and entered the Academy there; afterward he also studied in Rome, Switzerland, and Germany. Elected a member of the National Academy in 1860, and later appointed Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, France. In 1867 he was sent to Europe upon a government commission, to make studies for a painting of the 'Discovery of the North River by Hendrik Hudson.' Several of his paintings are owned by the United States Government.³⁹

Bierstadt's entry is chronological. It first explains his European heritage and training, then lists his membership to the National Academy of Design in New York. The National Academy of Design, founded in 1825, possessed a local reputation rather than an international one.

International recognition for an American artist raised his status back home. A crucial award in Bierstadt's entry is the Chevalier of the Legion of Honour bestowed upon him by Napoleon III when Bierstadt visited Paris. Bierstadt's entry also appeared in the Paris Salon *livret* of 1887, the same year as the Stewart sale, although he died that year and had no pictures in the Salon. His brief *livret* entry, by contrast, listed only his Legion of Honour and Salon status as *hors concours*.⁴⁰ In the Salon *livrets* only French honours were listed; his National Academy membership was omitted. Similarly, American artist Frederick Edwin Church's Salon *livret* entry listed only the second class medal that he won at the 1867 Universal Exhibition in Paris.⁴¹ French superiority seemed to require no notices of international honours and travels in the Salon *livrets*. American catalogues, by contrast, included as much as possible to elevate the status of the artworks and collectors, as well as their monetary value.

After the biographies in Stewart's catalogues, a separate, simpler listing of artworks followed. For example:

39 *Catalogue of the A.T. Stewart Collection*, 5.

40 *Explication des ouvrages* [...], cviii. Bierstadt travelled around Europe from 1867 to 1869.

41 *Id.*, cix.

No. 4
 Helping the Poor
 13 × 19. Dated 1876
 FIRMIN GIRARD,.... Paris⁴²

Other entries included excerpts from literature, such as Hugues Merle's *Benedick and Beatrice*, two characters from Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*.⁴³ Some also included quotations from letters, as in Régis Gignoux's entry for *The White Mountains*, a landscape painting of New Hampshire's mountain range:

MR. A.T. STEWART.

DEAR SIR: I will not send any pictures to the Philadelphia Centennial, and I would be very glad to be represented at this exhibition by the two pictures you have by me, 'The White Mountains,' and the 'Niagara,' as I consider them my two most important works. [...]

Very respectfully yours,
 RÉGIS GIGNOUX.

Gignoux, a French painter active in the United States, sent his letter from Paris. His French address added prestige to his entry. The letter, dated 6 March 1876, referred to the earlier date of the satellite New York Centennial Loan Exhibition to which Stewart's wife lent pictures and served as a patriotic note.⁴⁴ That Gignoux considered *The White Mountains* one of his most important paintings may have caused potential buyers to examine it more closely and value it more highly.

The non-commercial catalogue for William Henry Vanderbilt's collection contained the same information (city, awards, honours) as Stewart's and Belmont's catalogues, but with no defining characteristics or strictly didactic information despite his educative intentions.⁴⁵ Unlike the Thomas Jefferson Bryan catalogue, Vanderbilt's catalogue did not include discussions of formal elements as an attempt at connoisseurship. Vanderbilt produced four catalogues

⁴² *Catalogue of the A.T. Stewart Collection*, 44.

⁴³ *Id.*, 77.

⁴⁴ The Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition took place from 10 May to 10 November 1876. Ultimately Gignoux was not represented at the loan exhibition. See: Kimberly Orcutt, *Power and Posterity: American Art at Philadelphia's 1876 Centennial Exhibition* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2017), 41. Alexander Turney Stewart died on 10 April 1876, shortly after receiving this letter.

⁴⁵ See: Leanne Zalewski, "Art for the Public."

between 1879 and 1886 for visitors to his private gallery.⁴⁶ In contrast to his California railroad counterpart, Leland Stanford, who published a collection catalogue in 1882 for his private art gallery, Vanderbilt did not treat the catalogue itself as a precious object. Stanford's catalogue rested inside an expensive malachite box in his reception room, attesting to his great wealth.⁴⁷ There were no accounts of similar treatment of Vanderbilt's collection catalogues.

Vanderbilt's last catalogue appeared the year French author Émile Durand-Gréville visited. He called Vanderbilt's collection 'the most celebrated of all [...] by the number of its pictures, by its eclectic character, and by the assemblage of a considerable number of famous works, [which] gives the most favourable idea of the taste of the new American millionaires.'⁴⁸ That a French visitor approved of this new cultural capital in the United States must have pleased collectors. Samuel P. Avery, rather than an art critic, wrote the preface to this last catalogue.⁴⁹ Neither Vanderbilt in his first three catalogues nor Belmont or Stewart in their exhibition catalogues were introduced by prefaces.

Durand-Gréville estimated that roughly two-thirds of Vanderbilt's artworks were French, followed by selections of Austrian, Belgian, Dutch, English, German, Italian and Spanish objects.⁵⁰ Just a glance at the graph below shows that French paintings dominated his collection, but the smattering of artworks from other national schools served to give the collection its 'eclectic character.' The table below shows that 109 of 212 total works were French, or just over half, rather than two-thirds, a clear exaggeration by Durand-Gréville. Vanderbilt's collection included works by twelve different national schools, whereas Belmont's and Stewart's collections each contained works by nine national schools. Vanderbilt's more diverse collection included oil paintings and watercolours by Austrian, Hungarian and Scottish artists, but no Polish or Swiss artists, and only a few American artists.

Vanderbilt's collection included works by more national schools than either Belmont's or Stewart's, but his collection catalogues resembled their

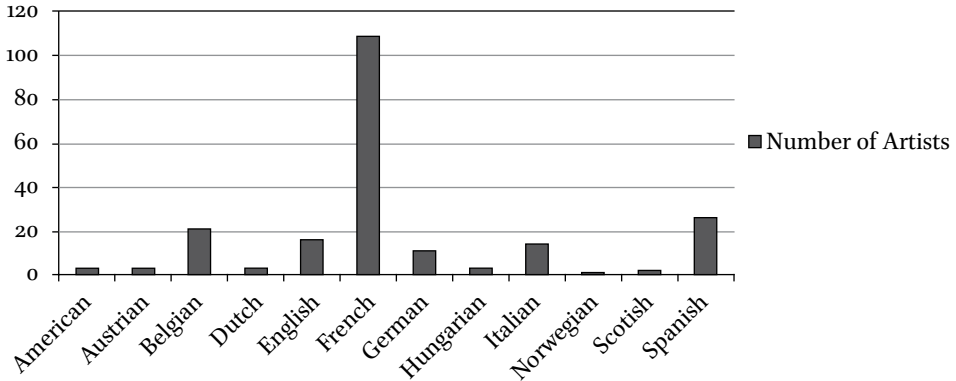
46 *The Private Collection of W.H. Vanderbilt, 459 Fifth Avenue, New York* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1879); *Collection of W.H. Vanderbilt, 640 Fifth Avenue, New York* (New York: Putnam, 1882); *Collection of W.H. Vanderbilt, 640 Fifth Avenue, New York* (New York: s.n., 1884); *Catalogue of the W.H. Vanderbilt Collection of Paintings*.

47 Ott, *Manufacturing the Modern Patron in Victorian California*, 70.

48 Émile Durand-Gréville, "French Pictures in America," *Studio* 2, no. 2 (1887): 30. His articles were published in other journals, see: *Id.*, "Private Picture-Galleries of the United States," *The Connoisseur* 2, no. 3 (1888): 137–42; *Id.*, "La peinture aux États-Unis: les galeries privées," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 36 (1887): 65–75.

49 Reprinted in: *Catalogue of the Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1902), 127–8.

50 Durand-Gréville, "French Pictures in America," 30.



GRAPH 2 Nationalities Represented in the William Henry Vanderbilt Collection, 1886

commercial catalogues. Whether printed for a commercial endeavour or for a private venue, the information was similar. Through these catalogues and their varieties of national schools, each collector or auction house promoted cultural value through international institutional recognition.

The Wolfe Collection

One year after Vanderbilt's last collection catalogue was published, philanthropist Catharine Lorillard Wolfe donated her art collection to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the museum quickly published a catalogue to accompany it. Unlike Vanderbilt, Wolfe rarely opened her collection to the public while she was alive, nor did she publish a separate collection catalogue.⁵¹ The museum's Wolfe collection handbook entries read similarly to Vanderbilt's with the artists' awards listed separately in a biographical index following the 142 entries of the artworks. In the Stewart catalogue the order was reversed: the biographical index preceded the individual entries. An example from the Wolfe handbook reads as follows:

51 For discussions of private art galleries in New York, see: William S. Ayres, "The Domestic Museum in Manhattan: Major Private Art Installations in New York City, 1870–1920" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 1993); Anne McNair Bolin, "Art and Domestic Culture: The Residential Art Gallery in New York City, 1850–1870" (PhD diss., Emory University, 2000).

Catalogue of Pictures:

48. DETAILLE, ÉDOUARD.—Skirmish between Cossacks and the Imperial Body Guard, 1814. Salon 1870. Purchased from the collection of the late Ed'd [Edward] Matthews, Esq.

1870. Canvas, 32 × 39.⁵²

And from the separate Biographical Index:

DETAILLE, JEAN BAPTISTE ÉDOUARD. Paris. Born in Paris, 1848. Favorite pupil of Meissonier. Exhibited at Salon, in 1868, his 'Halt of Infantry,' which received much praise, and in 1869 the 'Rest During Drill at Camp St. Maur,' which established his reputation as one of the most popular military painters of the day. Medals, Paris, 1860, '70, '72. Legion of Honor, 1873; Officer of the same, 1881.

Nos. 48, 134.⁵³

The catalogue entry gave minimal information, simply the artist's name, title of the artwork, Salon exhibition date, provenance—in this case from another American collection—the artwork's date and dimensions. The longer index entry listed awards as well as information regarding his early successful works. Because Meissonier was so highly regarded, the adjective 'favorite' before 'pupil' added prestige to an already impressive biography.

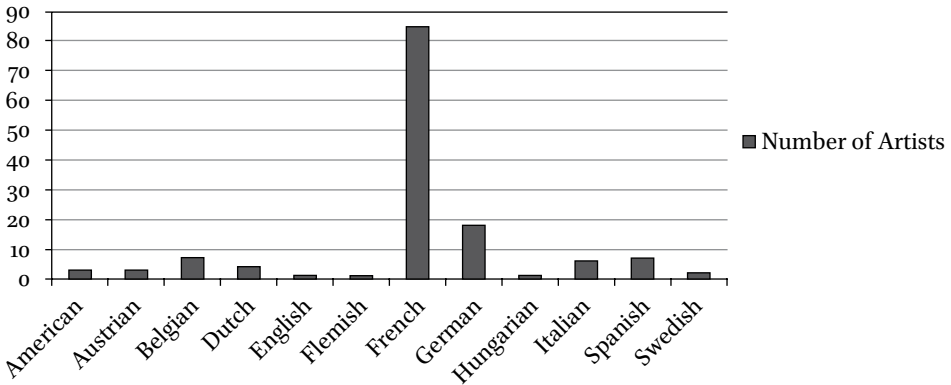
Wolfe's collection comprised mainly French works, but also a diverse number of other national schools. The table below shows that French art dominated her collection more so than it had the other three collections, but she owned works by artists of twelve different national schools, the same number as Vanderbilt.

At the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Wolfe bequest occupied two adjacent galleries, called the Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Gallery.⁵⁴ Wolfe's (and

52 *Metropolitan Museum of Art. Part I. The Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection; Part II. Pictures by Old Masters, in the East Galleries* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1887), 10.

53 *Metropolitan Museum of Art. Part I. The Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection*, 19.

54 For more on Wolfe, see: Rebecca A. Rabinow, "Catharine Lorillard Wolfe: The First Woman Benefactor of the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Apollo* 147, no. 433 (1998): 48–55; Margaret Laster, "Catharine Lorillard Wolfe: Collecting and Patronage in the Gilded Age," (PhD diss., Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2013); Margaret Laster, "The Collecting and Patronage of Catharine Lorillard Wolfe in Gilded-Age New York and



GRAPH 3 Nationalities Represented in the Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection, 1887

the other collectors') eclectic arrangement of pictures, hung without regard to groupings of national schools, persisted in the museum display (Fig. 3.3). In a larger sense, this perhaps reflected the heterogeneous society that characterised urban American demographics. New York was a city filled with immigrants, such as Belmont (b. Germany) and Stewart (b. Ireland), and descendants of immigrants, including Vanderbilt (Dutch) and Wolfe (German). Today, visitors typically find art by national schools displayed together in encyclopaedic museums, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Louvre. French art usually hangs amongst French art, Dutch amongst Dutch, etc. Contemporary displays seem more focused on national schools than they were in the nineteenth century, but modern art is treated as an international phenomenon, whereas nineteenth-century art is divided by schools.⁵⁵ The Belmont, Stewart, Vanderbilt and Wolfe collection catalogues emphasised national schools in individual entries, yet the artists' works were interspersed among the catalogues and in the displays.

The William H. Vanderbilt Collection of Modern Pictures hung in another gallery next to the Wolfe collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art from

Newport," in *Power Underestimated: American Women Art Collectors*, eds. Inge Reist and Rosella Mamoli Zorzi (Venice: Marsilio, 2011), 79–99; Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects: American Women Collectors and the Making of Culture, 1800–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 61–71; Leanne Zalewski, "The Golden Age of French Academic Painting in America, 1867–1893" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2009), 174–81.

55 Andrew Hemingway, "American Art Pre-1940 and the Problem of Art History's Object," in *Internationalizing the History of American Art*, eds. Barbara Groseclose and Jochen Wieric (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 66.



FIGURE 3.3 Anon., *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Paintings Gallery, Room 17: The Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Gallery; View looking southwest*, c. 1907. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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1902 until early 1920.⁵⁶ No photographs exist of the Vanderbilt Collection at the museum, but they likely hung as they had at his mansion, without regard to dividing them by national school. Vanderbilt arranged the pictures according to aesthetic concerns, size and symmetry, rather than by subject or school. French art hung alongside art from other European countries. His collection, like other collections in the United States, typically hung Salon style, or frame-to-frame, just as the pictures were displayed in the Paris Salon, in French collectors' homes and in galleries. Catalogue numbers and entries, not grouped by national school, instead corresponded with the pictures' numbered arrangement in the galleries.⁵⁷ For example, in Vanderbilt's gallery (Fig. 3.4), paintings by Constant Troyon, Jules-Joseph Lefebvre, Jean-Léon Gérôme, Jules Breton and Narcisse-Virgile Díaz de la Peña (all French) hung alongside works by Thomas Faed (Scottish), Lawrence Alma-Tadema (Dutch/English),

56 Samuel P. Avery, "W.H. Vanderbilt's Pictures on View," *New York Times*, 4 May 1902: 15.

57 *Collection of W.H. Vanderbilt, 640 Fifth Avenue, New York.*



FIGURE 3.4 Anon., *View of William H. Vanderbilt's Private Art Gallery*, c. 1883, in E. Strahan, *Mr. Vanderbilt's House and Collection* (Boston, 1883–84), s.p., labelled by Leanne Zalewski

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Edwin Landseer (English), Edmond Tschaggeny (Belgian) and Henri Leys (Belgian). Although not all of the works are easily identifiable, this sample demonstrates the diverse hanging and eclectic selection of European works. Catalogues aided in identifying the different national schools among the heterogeneous hanging.

Conclusion

Catalogues played an important role in communicating social and cultural capital. They helped educate auction and exhibition visitors, making them aware of the variety of schools and prestigious awards and honours system abroad. Belmont only published catalogues for special exhibitions and auctions, but not for the collection in his home. Neither Stewart nor Wolfe published collection catalogues to aid visitors. Only Vanderbilt printed several collection

catalogues for visitors' edification. Catalogues printed in conjunction with exhibitions aided visitors in understanding the works, despite the lack of criticism contained on their pages. Rather than teach readers about the technical skill of the individual artworks, the catalogue entries emphasised institutional validation through connections to respected teachers, awards and exhibitions regardless of the catalogue's function. Such validation and provenance information confirmed the authenticity of the works. When letters were available, they were published in the catalogues to establish not only the subject matter depicted, but the relationship between the collector and artist.

The primary differences among the catalogues involves the inclusion of prefaces and separately published deluxe catalogues, which were illustrated. The two non-commercial Wolfe and Vanderbilt catalogues included prefaces written by art dealer Samuel P. Avery with information about the collectors.⁵⁸ Avery's prefaces in both instances sought to validate the collectors' characters, in part by noting their extensive travels abroad, as well as endorse the collections' worthiness. Vanderbilt 'conferred with reliable experts,' primarily Avery, in his frequent travels across the Atlantic and in his art selections.⁵⁹ Wolfe's biographical note emphasises her benevolence as well as her 'educated and refined taste.'⁶⁰ Undoubtedly as a means to overcome her perceived handicap as a single woman collector, unusual for her time, Avery presented her as following in her charitable father's footsteps. In addition he credited her with independent thought regarding her art collecting, but only after stating that she relied on her male cousin. These references legitimised this woman's collection as worthy of the museum's permanent collection.

Deluxe oversize illustrated catalogues of Stewart's and Vanderbilt's collections were published in addition to the standard versions. During his lifetime Vanderbilt had his mansion and art collection documented and published in beautifully illustrated volumes with both black-and-white and colour images.⁶¹ Awareness of the collection's significance as a model for other collectors helped motivate the publication. Stewart's sale catalogue was also published in a deluxe, illustrated edition.⁶² Stewart, however, was not involved. As John Ott noted, auctioneers Kirby & Sutton produced three catalogues for Stewart's sale, one a "thick guidebook," as a lavishly illustrated catalogue for a

58 *Catalogue of the Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 127–8.

59 *Id.*, 128.

60 *Id.*, 179–83.

61 Edward Strahan [Earl Shinn], *Mr. Vanderbilt's House and Collection*, 4 vols. (Boston: G. Barrie, 1883–84).

62 *Catalogue of the A.T. Stewart Collection of Paintings, Sculptures, and Other Objects of Art* (New York: J. J. Little & Co., 1887).

blockbuster sale.⁶³ Offering a deluxe alternative sale catalogue along with the simpler version provided a souvenir of the sale as well as indicated the collection's importance. Such expensive catalogues were sold by subscription to the wealthy. Unfortunately for posterity, the Belmont and Wolfe collections were not published in separate, illustrated editions.

Although Belmont, Stewart, Vanderbilt and Wolfe lived in New York, their collections are representative of a broader pattern of collecting across the United States at that time. Regardless of the type of exhibition, collections featured a variety of national schools that enhanced the cultural value of the collections and the cultural knowledge of the collectors. National schools were intermingled in the catalogues as well as in the display. The artists' names, their teachers' names, nationalities, awards and honours, provenances, and additional descriptions or letters to collectors lent cultural and commercial value, provided an artistic lineage and by extension, authenticity, which attested to the internationalisation of the market and alluded to the collectors' knowledge and status. These collections' international emphasis provided cultural capital for the young nation. This process is evident even in something as seemingly insignificant as a catalogue. Further study of the works and catalogues for these and other collections would surely yield a more complex story of art collecting in the United States.

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63 Ott, "How New York Stole the Art Market," 137.

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(Inter)national Art: The London Old Masters Market and Modern British Painting (1900–14)

Barbara Pezzini

Introduction: Conflicting National Canons

In his popular and successful essay *Reflections on British Painting*, an elderly Roger Fry—who died in September 1934, the same year of this essay’s publication—criticised the art-historical use of a concept closely related to nationalism: patriotism.¹ For Fry the critical appreciation of works of art should be detached from geographical allegiances and instead devoted ‘towards an ideal end’ that had ‘nothing to do with the boundaries between nations.’ Fry also minimised the historical importance of British art, declaring it ‘a minor school.’² According to Fry, British artists failed to recognise a higher purpose in their art and thus produced works that merely satisfied their immediate contemporaries instead of serving ‘posterity and mankind at large.’³ Their formal choices—which tended towards the linear and generally showed an absence of the plastic awareness and sculptural qualities of other European art, especially Italian—were also considered by Fry to be a serious limitation. Fry’s remarks concerning patriotism in art were directed against the aggressive political nationalism of the 1930s, but the ideas behind them had long been debated. They were, in fact, a development of earlier formalist ideas shared in part by other writers of the Bloomsbury set and popularised by Clive Bell’s 1914 discussion of ‘significant form.’⁴ For Fry, as for Bell, there was a positive lineage to be found in art, a stylistic continuum that passed from Giotto through Poussin to arrive to Cézanne. British painting, with some exceptions, was excluded from this

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- 1 I wish to thank Susanna Avery-Quash, Marie Cambefort, Alan Crookham, Sophie Hatchwell, Scott Howie, Sam Rose, Samuel Shaw and Julia Snape, who have read drafts of this chapter and provided suggestions and insights. I also wish to thank the editors, Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna, for their perceptive comments.
 - 2 Roger Fry, *Reflections on British Painting* (London: Faber & Faber, 1934), republished in: *French, Flemish and British Art* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1951), 137.
 - 3 Fry, *Reflections*, 138.
 - 4 Clive Bell, *Art* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1914), 3.

standard of excellence and was accepted only when it was seen as precursor of, or connected with, European movements.

In this chapter I identify an earlier, pivotal moment in the development of this mindset in the London art world. This occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century, a period that witnessed an intensifying of the discussions about the placement of historical and contemporary British painting within the canon of European art in parallel with an unprecedented commercial and scholarly growth of interest for the international art of the past. The timeframe of my enquiry spans the turn of the century until 1914. The latter date is concomitant with the epochal changes in the national and international dynamics brought forward and accelerated by the Great War. This is also the date of Bell's text on significant form and of the Whitechapel Gallery exhibition *Twentieth Century Art*, a celebrated show that traced the origin, development and early divisions of British modernism.⁵ By this time the political and artistic paradigm had shifted.

I deal here with a double set of interactions: between the national and the international and between the past and the present. In fact, I explore how (British) national artists of the present dealt with an international (European) past. In investigating the national/international tension, I address the main research question of this volume, namely, how the increasing internationalisation of the art world simultaneously challenged and reinforced questions regarding national art. In this chapter I will ask how a booming art market in London, with its circulation of goods and ideas, was a force for international exchange and yet how the increased comparison with other nations' artistic products contributed to an increased reflection on national art. This relatively straightforward process, at the time and in the place under investigation here, was enriched and complicated by the fact that a very large and culturally dominant part of this international art belonged to the European past. This type of art broadly covered the chronological span from 1200 to 1800 (Middle Ages to neoclassicism) and was traditionally defined as old masters.⁶ This sector of the art market was expanding greatly in London, where such works could be

5 On the 1914 Whitechapel exhibition, see: Lisa Tickner, *Modern Life and Modern Subjects: British Art in the Early Twentieth Century* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2000), 1–10.

6 A caveat on this term is needed. "Old masters" is a definition fraught with exclusion (of gender first of all) and inaccuracy, for instance, its chronological and geographical boundaries are not defined. It is adopted here for historical reasons, and for want of a better name. Barbara Pezzini and Susanna Avery-Quash are jointly editing a collection on the old masters market from the Napoleonic era to the Great Depression, forthcoming, 2020.

purchased, and seen, from a growing variety of outlets.⁷ The contact with the art of the European past afforded by these commercial events, however, was more than an occasion for profit and consumerism: it created a cultural opportunity that generated fruitful comparative reflection. Here I illustrate the results of such commercial, critical and stylistic conjunctions and show how British artists were directly and deeply involved with the art of the past, not merely in its study and collecting, but also in its commerce.

The notion of turning to the old masters is a recurring element in art, and a conscious reference to older European artists had been present in Britain since at least the eighteenth century.⁸ Victorian artists have often been described as dependent on prototypes and precedents from the old masters.⁹ Within this general paradigm, however, each generation negotiated a different stylistic relationship with the art of the European past. Here I analyse the modalities through which British artists of the turn of the century sought their inspiration from the old masters. I argue that, in a general crisis of the market for modern academic painting, these artists not only created alternative circuits of commerce in artists' clubs and associations, but they also latched onto the trade of old masters to market their own works. The newly developed structures of this commerce—highly visible, displayed in fashionable galleries, and a much-discussed topic in new platforms of criticism—were a fundamental contribution to the dissemination and formation of modern British painting.

How is my enquiry placed within the wider panorama of British art and what does it add to its study? In the framework of my investigation—the London art world at the turn of the century—many different styles and influences coexisted to make British painting very diverse. For instance, academic historical and genre painting, still making use of a highly descriptive and detailed style, with well-defined contours, smooth surfaces and illusionistic perspective, was produced simultaneously with late Pre-Raphaelite offerings. Some artists conversed with European symbolism in a freer, looser pictorial style. In the

7 Pamela Fletcher's *London Gallery Project* notes only four large dealers around Pall Mall and the Bond Street area in 1860 and thirty-two in 1900. This is perhaps more reflective of the increased visibility of the trade, rather than expansion of the trade itself, but the increase in visibility is significant per se. See: <http://learn.bowdoin.edu/fletcher/london-gallery/map/> (accessed January 2018).

8 On the significance that, for instance, the Renaissance had in Victorian and Edwardian times, see the essays in: John E. Law and Lene Østermark-Johansen, eds., *Victorian and Edwardian Responses to the Italian Renaissance* (Burlington – Farnham: Ashgate, 2005).

9 The relationship between the Victorians and the old masters is the subject of: Hilary Fraser, *The Victorians and Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992) and, more recently, Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Modern Painters, Old Masters: The Art of Imitation from the Pre-Raphaelites to the First World War* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2017).

case of landscape painters, many continued a long-standing British thematic tradition, while others absorbed and disseminated the lessons of French impressionism.¹⁰ The style of James Abbott McNeill Whistler, a highly successful American-born painter (d. 1903), who spent the majority of his life in Britain and was active and influential in artists' associations there, also had a great impact.¹¹ Such diversity was amplified by many painters' concurrent adoption of contrasting styles. As pointed out by Kenneth McConkey, modern British art has been critically re-ordered in, and somehow reduced to, a coherent narrative of progression towards a homogenised European modernist style, in which the coveted status was what Charles Harrison defined as the 'most advanced.'¹² Within this general interpretation, great attention has been given to the development of a British avant-garde in the course of the new century. Roger Fry, who was at first engaged with the type of non-modernist art we discuss here and then around 1910 changed his critical allegiance and pictorial style to a French-inspired modernism, was at the forefront of this critical ordering in Britain, which *de facto* aimed to align British art production with French modernism. Following this critical paradigm shift, artists who, as McConkey effectively puts it, did not 'consciously position themselves on the modernist map,' have been less explored and their work interpreted merely as moderately modern or outright conservative.¹³ In this chapter I wish to restore some of the complexity to the British art world at the time. Like McConkey, I focus on works that have been excluded from the history of art by a reductive modernist mapping and, instead of interpreting them as a mere nostalgic episode, centred on isolated—and insular—topics, I connect their chosen subjects and style with topical concerns, notably the scholarly study of the art of the past

10 See on the art of the time: Elizabeth Prettejohn, "Walter Pater and Aesthetic Painting," in *After the Pre-Raphaelites: Art and Aestheticism in Victorian England*, ed. Elizabeth Prettejohn (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 36–58; Kenneth McConkey, *Memory and Desire: Painting in Britain and Ireland at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Burlington – London: Ashgate, 2002), esp. 19–37; Stephen Calloway, "Tired Hedonists, the Decadence of the Aesthetic Movement," in *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1860–1890*, ed. Stephen Calloway (London: Victoria and Albert Museum Publications, 2011), 233–5.

11 See on Whistler: Robin Spencer, "Whistler, Swinburne and Art for Art's Sake," in *After the Pre-Raphaelites*, 59–89. On Whistler's impact on British painting and artists' associations, see: Anne Koval, "The 'Artists' Have Come Out and the 'British' Remain: The Whistler Faction at the Society of British Artists," in *After the Pre-Raphaelites*, 90–114.

12 McConkey, *Memory*, 9–11; Charles Harrison, *English Art and Modernism* (London: Allan Lane, 1981), 18.

13 McConkey, *Memory*, 9–11.

and the market for old master paintings, both of which were flourishing in London at the time.

Nationalism, Internationalism and the London Art World

According to its main historiographer, Benedict Anderson, nationalism is a specifically modern concept that prospered in nineteenth-century Europe, partly as a reaction against the forced internationalism of the Napoleonic Empire. Anderson defines nationalism as a cultural construct and describes nations as ‘imagined communities’ generated by social expressions that build ‘solidarities,’ shared hubs of knowledge such as maps, the census and museums.¹⁴ At the turn of the century, the intensification of national identity coincided with an increased internationalisation of travel, cultural exchanges and trade. At this time in London, a cosmopolitan art market coexisted with a critical reflection on national painting and collections, as protective policies of national heritage that aimed to confine and define works of art nationally, alongside which developed a transnational circulation of art. For instance, 1897 saw the opening of not only the National Gallery of British Art Millbank (already known as the Tate Gallery), but also the formation of the International Society of Painters, Sculptors and Gravers, whose first president was Whistler and whose second was Auguste Rodin.

Or again, if we take 1910 as another “snapshot” of events in the London calendar, we see that several art exhibitions exemplify the coexisting, and sometimes conflicting, matters of nationalistic definition and cosmopolitan striving. At White City, the *Japan-British Exhibition* stretched for over 22,000 square metres, had over 8 million visitors in six months and showed examples of Japanese life and arts.¹⁵ In modern art Roger Fry’s international commercial exhibition, *Manet and the Post-Impressionists*, opened at the Grafton Galleries, featuring works by Édouard Manet, Paul Cézanne, Paul Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh and others. The exhibition is now widely accepted as the keystone of the diffusion of European modernism in Britain.¹⁶ Another major, but much

14 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London – New York: Verso, 1983), 163–86.

15 Ayako Hotta-Lister and Ian Nish, eds., *Commerce and Culture at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition: Centenary Perspectives* (London: Global Oriental, 2012).

16 Much has been written on Fry’s Post-Impressionist exhibitions, notably: Anna Gruetzner Robins, “Marketing Post-Impressionism: Roger Fry’s Commercial Exhibitions,” in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939*, eds. Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 85–97.

less investigated, exhibition of that year was the Whitechapel Gallery show *Twenty Years of British Art*, which aimed to establish the scope and identity of national contemporary art.¹⁷ This exhibition—organised by the Whitechapel Gallery's director, Charles Aitken, with a committee that included the artist George Clausen, the artist-critic D.S. (Dugald Sutherland) MacColl and the artist-critic-administrator Charles Holmes—showed 569 contemporary works by 203 artists, including Charles Shannon, Charles Conder, William Rothenstein, Margaret Gere and Henry Tonks. The old masters were also exhibited in 1910 with shows of both national and international scope. At the Royal Academy, the winter exhibition *Old Masters and Deceased Masters of the British School* displayed, among others, several Northern Italian Renaissance works from the collections of Robert Henry Benson and from the dealers Thomas Humphry Ward and Charles Davis. The Renaissance Italian painters of Umbria were admired by Fry at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, which showed works attributed to Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, Pinturicchio, Perugino and Raphael.¹⁸ Historical British painting, then defined by the axis Reynolds-Gainsborough-Romney-Hoppner-Turner-Constable, was seen at Agnew's yearly exhibitions at their Bond Street gallery. These shows were reviewed with increasingly diminishing enthusiasm by Claude Phillips in the *Daily Telegraph*, as the critical interest for British portraiture started to grow thin.¹⁹ Those institutional and commercial exhibitions, albeit very different, shared the aim of re-mapping and re-ordering the art of the past as well as that of the present, both along national and international lines. They were part of a more general impetus already begun in the nineteenth century that took an increasingly visible intellectual, spatial and commercial form in the new century. To fully comprehend such complex intertwining of national/international and past/present, we should begin by exploring the four main components of such interaction: art institutions, art market, art writers and artists.

17 There is no contemporary scholarship on *Twenty Years of British Art* (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, May–June 1910). D.S. MacColl reviewed the exhibition in *The Burlington Magazine* of July 1910, 220–30. This show also contained British works collected by the dealer Hugh Lane that were soon to be donated to the collection of the National Gallery of South Africa in Cape Town, see: Jillian Carman, *Uplifting the Colonial Philistine* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2006), 196–206. *The Burlington Magazine* is hereafter cited as *BM*.

18 Roger Fry, "The Umbrian Exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club," *BM* 16 (1910): 267–74.

19 Claude Phillips's reviews for the *Daily Telegraph* are collected in: *Criticisms of Exhibitions of Pictures Held in London 1869–1912* (London: privately printed, 1912). A copy can be found at the National Gallery Library, Shelfmark NC395London Roy=5 1870–1912.

Art Institutions and the Definition of National Art

London art institutions were experiencing a period of rapid change and development. Their interactions were sometimes fraught with conflict and such disputes often concerned their national, or indeed international, scope and function. New museums, such as the Tate Gallery (1897), Wallace Collection (1900) and Whitechapel Gallery (1901) opened, and existing ones, such as the National Portrait Gallery and the Victoria and Albert Museum, were subject to expansion and to practical as well as intellectual re-organisation. For instance, Lionel Cust, director of the National Portrait Gallery from 1895 to 1909, supervised the 1896 move of this museum from its temporary quarters at Bethnal Green to its current location near Trafalgar Square.²⁰ Cust, who later became co-editor of the *Burlington Magazine* from 1909 to 1919, also compiled the first two catalogues of the permanent collection in 1898 and 1900.²¹ In 1899 the South Kensington Museum was renamed the Victoria and Albert Museum and the construction of its new building by Aston Webb commenced. The Tate Gallery itself, which only opened in 1897, doubled its capacity and incorporated a sculpture gallery through its 1899 extension.²² The reputation of the Royal Academy was in decline, whereas the Tate Gallery's and National Gallery's influence was rising and their collections growing.²³ As Brandon Taylor has pointed out, the situation was 'set for a radically revised relationship between the Tate and the Royal Academy over what was the legitimate European art of the day.'²⁴ The battle, however, was not limited to the Royal Academy and the Tate Gallery. The Tate Gallery's and the National Gallery's different responsibilities as repositories of historic and modern, national and international paintings were also the subject of lengthy and often-contested negotiations and exchanges in collection holdings. To clarify such a complicated situation, and to attempt to establish some form of protection for the exodus of national

20 On the early history of the National Portrait Gallery, see: Brandon Taylor, *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public, 1747–2001* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 92–9.

21 Lionel Cust, *Historical and Descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures, Busts, &c. in the National Portrait Gallery* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1898 and 1900).

22 Frances Spalding, *The Tate: A History* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1998), 25.

23 Christopher Whitehead, *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth Century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). On the early 1900s decline of the Royal Academy, see: Anne Helmreich and Pamela Fletcher, "The Periodical and the Art Market: Investigating the 'Dealer-Critic System' in Victorian England," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 41 (2008): 323–51. For a contemporary account, see: Anon., "Modern Pictures in the Saleroom," *BM* 13 (1908): 67–9.

24 Taylor, *Art for the Nation*, 136.

art treasures abroad, a committee of inquiry, headed by the National Gallery trustee Lord George Curzon of Kedleston, was set up in 1911, possibly in response to Robert Witt's plea in *The Nation and its Art Treasures*.²⁵ During a six-day-long hearing, influential art world professionals were consulted. These included Charles Aitken (keeper of the Tate Gallery), Roger Fry (editor of the *Burlington Magazine*), Robert Ross (former director of the Carfax Gallery and art critic for *The Morning Post*), D.S. MacColl (keeper of the Wallace Collection) and others. The remit of the committee was to discuss 'the retention of important pictures in this country and other matters connected with the national collections,' namely, the re-ordering, and possible re-distribution, of works in the London museums.²⁶ The ensuing 1915 Curzon Report recommended that:

The object to be kept in view for the Tate Gallery, shall be its gradual conversion into a gallery of British art (not exclusively modern British art), the National Gallery continuing to exhibit the acknowledged masterpieces of the British school alongside the masterpieces of foreign schools, but the remaining British pictures being transferred by degrees to the Tate Gallery.²⁷

Such a division posited difficult choices: not only to establish what constituted the historic British school of painting and its 'masterpieces,' but also to select which contemporary works were truly representative of its modernity and what relationship they had with the development of art history as a whole.²⁸ The decision was made that a museum that carried the name 'National' would be mostly dedicated to the international art of the European past, within which British art was seen as an increasingly minor episode.

25 Robert Witt, *The Nation and its Art Treasures* (London: Heinemann, 1911). I am indebted to Alan Crookham for this reference.

26 The Curzon Report is officially known as: *Report of the Committee of Trustees of the National Gallery Appointed by the Trustees to Enquire into the Retention of Important Pictures in this Country and Other Matters Connected with the National Art Collections* (London: HMSO, 1915), 2; hereafter cited as Curzon Report.

27 Curzon Report, 39. On the division of the Tate and National Gallery's collections, see: Alan Crookham, "Confronting Modernity: The Establishment of the British National Collection of Modern Foreign Art 1914–1918" (paper presented at the conference *Mars and Museum: European Museums During the First World War*, Berlin, Bode Museum, 19 September 2014). I wish to thank Alan Crookham for the access to his as yet unpublished paper.

28 Curzon Report, interview with Sidney Colvin, 25 November 1912, 11–12; Charles Aitken, 26 November 1912, 18–20 and 24–5; Roger Fry, 28 November 1912, 50–51.

The Art Market: The Rise of the Old Masters

There was also a rapid development in the London art trade. Pamela Fletcher, focussing on the market for contemporary painting, has traced the swift expansion of the commercial gallery, noting how an expanded set of commercial structures and networks was already in place at the turn of the twentieth century.²⁹ Thomas Bayer and John Page, using a different set of data from auction sales, have also demonstrated how, by 1900, London's secondary art market had expanded into a fully integrated network of international dealers where many galleries were connected with international artists and art writers and had branches in Europe, the United States and worldwide.³⁰ This expansion continued in the first decade of the twentieth century. Some dealers—like Frank Hyams, who sold art from New Zealand—were highly specialised, but the trade for paintings remained quite general, and the primary and secondary markets were often combined (Fig. 4.1). Modern, old, national and international paintings were sold by the same main platforms: dealers, galleries and auction rooms. If the scope of their stock was similar, there were, however, clear distinctions between the different types of commercial spaces.

At the top end of the market, the larger dealers—Agnew's, P&D Colnaghi and, later, Duveen—were situated around Pall Mall and Bond Street. These companies, which often began as print sellers or other art trade shops (such as framers), increasingly specialised in paintings and, as we shall see, in old masters, as those provided higher returns. Dealers and their associated advisers, famously Bernard Berenson and Otto Gutekunst for P&D Colnaghi and Charles Fairfax Murray for Agnew's, functioned mainly as expert mediators or advisers, either purchasing works at auction or directly from their owners.³¹ As Agnew's stock books show, these successful businesses often negotiated large numbers of important transactions, made considerable profits and dealt with

29 Pamela Fletcher, "Shopping for Art: The Rise of the Commercial Art Gallery, 1850s–1890s," in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market*, 47–64.

30 Thomas M. Bayer and John R. Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England: Money as Muse 1730–1900* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011), 1–12.

31 On Berenson and Colnaghi, see: Jeremy Howard, "Art, Commerce, and Scholarship: The Friendship between Otto Gutekunst of Colnaghi and Bernard Berenson," in *Bernard Berenson: Formation and Heritage*, eds. Joseph Connors and Louis A. Waldman (Princeton: Harvard University Press, 2014), 33–68. On Fairfax Murray, see: Paul Tucker, "Responsible Outsider: Charles Fairfax Murray and the South Kensington Museum," *Journal of the History of Collections* 14 (2002): 115–37; *Id.*, "Eyesight, Knowledge, Argument: Charles Fairfax Murray on 'Scientific' Connoisseurship," *Studi di Memofonte* 12 (2014): 106–43.

<p>ARFAX & Co., Ltd., 24 <i>Bury Street,</i> <i>St. James's, S.W.</i> Telephone No. 7036 Gerrard.</p> <p>Drawings and Paintings by Old Masters, ITALIAN, FLEMISH, FRENCH, DUTCH, PERSIAN, AND ENGLISH.</p> <p>Pictures, Illuminated Prints and Engraved Books by WILLIAM BLAKE.</p> <p>Modern Works By LEGROS, STRANG, WILSON STEER, ROTHENSTEIN, C. H. SHANNON, CHARLES RICKETTS, D. S. MACCOLL, McEVoy, ROGER FRY, TONKS, JOHN, C. J. HOLMES, ORPEN, BONE, &c., always on view.</p> <p>Bronzes By RODIN, LEGROS, TWEED, and FURSE.</p>	<p>WHISTLER'S Nocturne in Blue and Silver (<i>'A Pier of Old Battersea Bridge,'</i> <i>National Gallery of British Art.</i>)</p> <p>FACSIMILE REPRODUCTION IN THE COLOURS OF THE ORIGINAL.</p> <p><i>Proposed size of engraved surface, about 21 x 36 inches.</i></p> <p>IMPRESSIONS OF THIS REPRODUCTION will be strictly limited to Sixty-two Stamped and Numbered Copies, of which Fifty only will be for sale at the follow- ing prices:°</p> <p>At £5 5 0 each to the first Twenty-five Subscribers. At £6 6 0 each to all Subscribers who are on the list before July 1st, 1906. At £7 7 0 each to all purchasers after that date.</p> <p><i>Prospectus on application.</i> * The remaining Twelve are reserved for presentation purposes.</p> <p>FRANZ HANFSTAENGL, 16 Pall Mall East, S.W.</p>
<p>W. B. PATERSON, 5 Old Bond Street, London, W. Telephone—No. 3949 GERRARD.</p> <p>Selected Pictures by Old Masters OF THE <i>Early English, Dutch, French, and Italian Schools.</i></p> <p>Modern Pictures and Watercolour Drawings, Etchings, Furniture, Porcelain, Brasses, etc.</p> <p>SPRING EXHIBITION OF WATER- COLOUR DRAWINGS BY J. CRAW- HALL, WM. NICHOLSON, D. Y. CAMERON, ARTHUR RACKHAM, JAMES PATERSON, and others.</p>	<p>Obach & Company 168 New Bond Street, LONDON, W. Telephone No. 3938 Gerrard.</p> <p>HIGH-CLASS PICTURES, WATER COLOURS, AND DRAWINGS.</p> <p>ORIGINAL ETCHINGS By REMBRANDT, DURER, THE LITTLE MASTERS, MÉRYON, WHISTLER, SEYMOUR HADEN, &c., &c.</p> <p>ENGRAVINGS & ETCHINGS In PROOF STATES, after the GREAT MASTERS.</p>

FIGURE 4.1 Advertisements of London commercial galleries, *The Burlington Magazine* (March 1903)

aristocracy, wealthier collectors and major international museums.³² They were especially keen to establish a strong relationship with museums in Britain, which, consequently, were given works of art as gifts or sold pieces at cost or at a lower profit margin.³³ Several of these larger firms, such as Goupil for French and Agnew's for British art, had made large profits in the mid-nineteenth century selling modern academic art to wealthier British industrialists. At the turn of the twentieth century, however, modern British art had been abandoned by high-tier dealers. They still had occasional forays into modern art, albeit this time non-academic: one of the most interesting exhibitions of modern British painting at the time, *Some Examples of Independent Art of Today*, was organised in February 1906 by Agnew's director, David Croal Thomson, perhaps to test the market for this new generation of native painters. It featured works by artists who were later exhibited at *Twenty Years of British Art* at Whitechapel: William Strang (Fig. 4.2), Roger Fry, Charles Shannon, Charles Ricketts, William Rothenstein, D.S. MacColl, Charles Holmes, Charles Conder and many others.³⁴

Then there were new small "boutique" galleries, where dealers often combined the roles of specialists and art critics, such as Carfax and Sackville galleries.³⁵ Modern non-academic British art circulated more freely there, intermixed with the art of the past. These smaller galleries operated from side alleys in the Bond Street area and had an exclusive, or more often bohemian, atmosphere. Carfax, for instance, had been described as

a gallery run by dilettanti for dilettanti. Somehow it was always afternoon there, and there were always tall, vague, well-dressed men talking about

32 The Agnew's Stock Books, as well as the rest of the Agnew's archive, are now preserved at the National Gallery Archive. Between 1890 and 1905 Agnew's made a profit equivalent of five million pounds in current value dealing with works by Romney alone. For business strategies of Agnew's within the wider panorama of London dealers, see: Barbara Pezzini and Alycen Mitchell, "Marketing Miss Charlotte: Martin Colnaghi and George Romney at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Transactions of the Romney Society* 19 (2014): 4–11.

33 Practice confirmed not only from data in Agnew's Stock Books but also by Lockett Agnew's testimony in Curzon Report, 10 December 1912, 63–4.

34 *Some Examples of Independent Art of To-day. English, Scottish, Irish* (London: Thomas Agnew and Sons, February–March 1906), another exhibition that, albeit widely referenced, has not yet received the critical attention it deserves. Reviewed by Bernard Sickert, "Independent Art of To-Day," *BM* 8 (1906): 381–4.

35 On the Carfax Gallery, see: Samuel Shaw, "The New Ideal Shop: Founding the Carfax Gallery, c. 1898–1902," *The British Art Journal* 13 (2012): 35–43; Barbara Pezzini, "New Documents Regarding the 1902 'Fans and Other Paintings on Silk by Charles Conder' Exhibition at the Carfax Gallery," *British Art Journal* 13 (2012): 19–29. On the Sackville and Marlborough Galleries, see: Barbara Pezzini, "The 1912 Futurist Exhibition at the Sackville Gallery, London: An Avant-garde Show within the Old Masters Trade," *BM* 155 (2013): 471–9.



FIGURE 4.2 William Strang, *Supper Time*, 1905. Oil on canvas, 109 × 115 cm. Stoke-on-Trent, The Potteries Museum & Art Gallery
© THE POTTERIES MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY

unknown poets. Upstairs in a sort of loft were stocks of Aubrey Beardsley drawings and a rare Blake painting on copper, and so it was whispered, some wonderful Botticellis in the very Chianti bottles in which they were smuggled from Italy!³⁶

Some, like the Sackville Gallery, dealt almost exclusively in old masters but many sold both new and old art. Their activities are more difficult to reconstruct as their archives are in great part lost, but from the remaining evidence it can be gathered that theirs was mainly a network of intellectuals and their

36 From the obituary of Arthur Bellamy Clifton: "A Rare Art Dealer," *The Guardian*, 8 October 1932: 12–3.

clientele consisted principally of knowledgeable, smaller collectors, although they occasionally dealt with larger transactions.³⁷

Auction houses, then known as salesrooms—such as Christie's, Foster's, Robinson & Fisher's and, for prints and drawings, Sotheby's—were at this time large wholesale supermarkets of secondary sale where old masters and more recent works changed hands quickly. The salesrooms were a risk-loaded place of purchase for the uninitiated, as the works for sale were not vetted and the fast rhythm of the sale necessitated split-second judgement, fast reflexes and steady nerves.³⁸ The unpolished nature of the auction trade, however, offered potential for the discovery of hidden gems. On the floor of the salesrooms, flamboyant dealers such as William Agnew, Lockett Agnew and Martin Colnaghi of the Marlborough Gallery played theatrical battles with increasingly high bids for the treasure they had identified for their stockrooms and clients.³⁹

If the stock of the art traders combined modern British paintings and European old masters, the financial worth of the two categories was not equal. In fact, towards the end of the nineteenth century the market in contemporary art was challenged by the secondary market in older art, which finally claimed precedence around 1900.⁴⁰ The prices of old masters were then reaching unprecedented heights. Arguably, Renaissance works classified as “masterpieces,” made by celebrated artists whose works rarely came on the market, had fetched increasingly high prices for a long time, although the curve became noticeably steeper after 1900. Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* had sold for 17,000 ducats (then the equivalent of £8,500) in 1754, his *Alba Madonna* for £14,000 in 1836 and the *Ansidei Madonna* was purchased by the National Gallery in 1885 for £70,000.⁴¹ Then Leonardo's *Benois Madonna* was bought by the Tsar in Paris in 1914 for

37 On the different networks employed by dealers, see: Anne Helmreich, “Traversing Objects: The London Art Market at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” in *Marketing Art in the British Isles 1700 to the Present*, eds. Charlotte Gould and Sophie Mesplède (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 135–45.

38 Bidding at auction, with its fascination and risk, is eloquently described by Charles Holmes, *Pictures and Picture Collecting* (London: A. Treherne & Co, 1903), 48–50.

39 As an anonymous writer (Claude Phillips? ACR Carter?) in the *Daily Telegraph* testifies, when Martin Colnaghi bought a Raeburn portrait of Sir John Sinclair for 14,000 guineas ‘he was in a merry mood. Proud of his health and elasticity he pirouetted on the smooth floor, singing the refrain of Mendelssohn's *I am a roamer*.’ Anon., “Death of Mr. Martin Colnaghi,” *Daily Telegraph*, 25 June 1908: 8. On auction sales and dealers' marketing strategies, see: Mitchell and Pezzini, “Marketing Miss Charlotte,” 4–11.

40 Bayer and Page, *The Development*, 179–203.

41 Figures reported by Gerard Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, vol. 2 (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961), 418–9.

£310,400.⁴² What had also changed was the seemingly unstoppable rise of previously lesser-known Renaissance masters, such as Botticelli, Bellini, Crivelli and Mantegna. These artists belonged mainly to the Italian fifteenth century, the newly fashionable Quattrocento. Their critical and commercial success had previously varied, but they reached an established reputation and new commercial heights in the early twentieth century.⁴³ There was steady growth: for instance, a relatively small cassone side by Botticelli, which sold in 1879 for £294, achieved £1,365 in 1892; and two small panels of Saint George and Saint Dominic by Crivelli went up from £154 in 1875 to £1,575 in 1905.⁴⁴ But there were also spectacular price pinnacles. In March 1912 a *Holy Family* by Andrea Mantegna (Fig. 4.3) from the Weber Collection (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), which had already sold for £4,000 from Dowdeswell's in 1903, was purchased by Duveen for £29,500, at that time the highest price for a picture ever paid at a public auction.⁴⁵ In 1916 Giovanni Bellini's *The Feast of the Gods* (now attributed to Bellini and Titian; National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC) was reported to be sold by Agnew's in conjunction with Sulley for £20,000.⁴⁶ Auction sales, however, are only a part of the story, as old masters bought relatively cheaply at auction by dealers were then sold to private collectors for high returns. These transactions are harder to trace, but the newly available Agnew's stock books at the London National Gallery provide evidence of these practices. For instance, a *Burial of the Virgin* by Fra Angelico (Philadelphia Museum of Art) was bought on 1 July 1899 by Agnew's from Colonel Ottley for £350 and sold to John G. Johnson on 18 July 1900 for £1,500.⁴⁷ An unidentified *Portrait of a Lady* ascribed to Tintoretto was bought on 21 October 1901 by Agnew's, Charles Fairfax Murray and Colnaghi together for £2,500 and then sold for £4,300 to the Lawrie dealership on 4 January 1902.⁴⁸ It was a particularly fortunate conjunction for the old masters painting market. Their supply was unusually plentiful. The agricultural depression that began in the 1870s; the introduction of the Settled Land Acts in 1882–90, which facilitated sales; and, finally, the introduc-

42 Reitlinger, *The Economics*, vol. 2, 367.

43 Susanna Avery-Quash, "Botticelli and Victorian Art Collecting," in *Botticelli Reimagined*, eds. Mark Evans and Stefan Weppelmann (London: V&A Publishing, 2016), 294–310.

44 Reitlinger, *The Economics*, vol. 2, 255–6 (Botticelli) and 287–8 (Crivelli).

45 Anon., "Picture Sales," *The Connoisseur* 32 (1912): 267. The author reports that it sold for £29,500 at the Weber auction, and that Weber had bought it for £4,000 from Dowdeswell in 1903. Also reported in: Reitlinger, *The Economics*, vol. 2, 379.

46 Reitlinger, *The Economics*, vol. 2, 248.

47 Fra Angelico, *Dormition of the Virgin*, Agnew's Stock Books, vol. 6, stock no. 9068, National Gallery Archive, London, NGA27/1/1/8, currently Philadelphia Museum of Art (Inventory number Cat. 15), bequeathed by John J. Johnson to the museum in 1917.

48 Agnew's Stock Books, vol. 6, stock no. 89, National Gallery Archive, London, NGA27/1/1/8.



FIGURE 4.3 Andrea Mantegna, *Holy Family with Saint Mary Magdalen*, 1495–1500. Distemper on canvas, 57.2 × 45.7 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
© THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

tion of Death Duties in 1894 had led to a considerable amount of works of art of high quality belonging to the British aristocracy on the London market, augmented further by the high prices these commanded. There was, in fact, a great demand for them: a new collecting class of industrialists, mainly from the United States and South Africa, was on the rise, gathering these works

in large numbers. The new collectors were more ostentatious and looked for the approval of peers and the public validation of their enterprises. They, as Kenneth McConkey and Flaminia Gennari Santori have noted, were the sort of individuals who collected to outstrip everyone else, and when they entered the market, prices rose to new heights.⁴⁹ But the interest for such art was not limited to rich collectors alone. The old masters were *en vogue*. From expensive monographs to cheaper popular artists' biographies, from masterly photogravures to inexpensive photographs, there was a flourishing trade around the old masters, their reproductions and their associated products.

Art Writers: Scholarship as a Commercial Guarantee

At the turn of the twentieth century, art writing in Britain was in a state of flux. As in the commercial world, where contemporary art and old masters were exhibited and sold in the same spaces, in art writing the art of the past and the art of the present were treated by the same writers. Criticism of contemporary art and art historiography coexisted. Writers like Claude Phillips, D.S. MacColl, Roger Fry and Charles Ricketts reviewed contemporary and historical art alike and combined journalism and careers in art institutions. In Britain criticism of modern art modified the rules of the art writing game first when a new reviewing style, to which the claims of autonomy of art made in Whistler's 'Ten O'Clock Lecture' of 1885 were closely related, shifted the emphasis of criticism from moral exhortation to visual description. Its main proponents were George Moore of the *Speaker*, R.A.M. Stevenson of the *Saturday Review* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* and, above all, D.S. MacColl at the *Spectator*.⁵⁰

A parallel shift from the moral to the descriptive also occurred in historiography. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the new research methods coming from Germany, France and Italy, where art history was already subject of study at universities, contributed to changing the study of art from a poetic experience in the manner of Ruskin into a referenced, peer-reviewed language, based on documentary sources and on what was felt to be a truly objective visual methodology known as "scientific connoisseurship." This process gained momentum in the early twentieth century. Then, expanding on

49 Regarding the American art market, but with many cross references to the British market too, see: Flaminia Gennari Santori, *The Melancholy of Masterpieces: Old Master Paintings in America 1900–1914* (Milan: 5 Continents, 2003), 123–50.

50 For an overview of the New Criticism, see: John Stokes, *In the Nineties* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 34–52.

the pioneering work of earlier scholars, such as Eastlake, Passavant, Waagen, Morelli and Cavalcaselle, the new experts continued to find in the art of the European past a fruitful field of enquiry. Novel studies were published by an increasingly developed art press with a wider circulation and higher print runs, which made them available to an ever-increasing number of readers.⁵¹ For instance, Fry's monograph on Giovanni Bellini had three editions between 1899 and 1901.⁵² Bernard (and Mary) Berenson's volumes on the Italian painters of the Renaissance, published between 1894 and 1907, were collected in a single volume in 1930. These were printed again and again throughout the twentieth century, translated into the main European languages and adopted as textbooks in university courses.⁵³ By 1900 art writers were no longer just critics, they were also recognised as "experts" and "connoisseurs" and possessed a series of skills that gave them the ability of identifying artists and works of art. These skills were expressed in publications, such as the monograph and catalogue raisonné, which established a list of attributed works and were thus useful for the trade.⁵⁴ But art writing did not merely produce a frame of reference for commerce; it actively participated in it. Well-respected "experts" such

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- 51 On the expansion of the book trade, see: Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market 1836–1916* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Simon Eliot, "From Few and Expensive to Many and Cheap: The British Book Market 1800–1890," and Jonathan Rose, "Modernity and print I: Britain 1890–1970," both in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, eds. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Malden: Blackwell, 2007), 291–302 and 341–53.
- 52 Donald A. Laing, *Roger Fry: An Annotated Bibliography of the Published Writings* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1979), 29–33. On Fry's intellectual influence, see: *Vision and Design: The Life, Work and Influence of Roger Fry, 1866–1934* (London: Arts Council Catalogues, 1966).
- 53 Berenson's *The Italian Painters of the Renaissance* was first published as *Venetian Painters of the Renaissance*, in 1894; *Florentine Painters of the Renaissance* in 1896; *Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance* in 1897; and finally *North Italian Painters of the Renaissance* in 1907. These were then collected as *Italian Painters of the Renaissance* in 1930, and had subsequent editions in 1932 and then several in the course of later decades. During the 1910s Roberto Longhi translated *The Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, published in 1936. See: William Mostyn-Owen, *Bibliografia di Bernard Berenson* (Milano: Electa, 1955); Ernest Samuels and Jayne Samuels, *Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Legend* (Princeton: Harvard University Press, 1987), 598–9. The works by the nineteenth-century pioneers, instead, garnered much less attention. For instance, Gustav Friedrich Waagen's *Treasures of Art in Great Britain* was published in the mid-nineteenth century and then not printed again until 1970.
- 54 Barbara Pezzini, "The Burlington Magazine, The Burlington Gazette and The Connoisseur: The Art Periodical and the Market for Old-Master Paintings in Edwardian London," *Visual Resources* 29 (2013): 154–83; Meaghan Clarke, "The Art Press at the Fin-de-Siècle: Women, Collecting and Connoisseurship," *Visual Resources* 31 (2015): 15–30.

as Bernard Berenson, Wilhelm Bode and Charles Fairfax Murray had the power to connect and disconnect names to works of art, sometimes changing their fortunes, and commercial values, dramatically. A painting by the hand of a “master” was worth much more than an unidentified work, and a painting by a prominent master, such as the established Raphael or the emerging Botticelli, was worth most of all.⁵⁵ As the prices of old masters were rising to unprecedented heights, the financial implications were significant—and in fact those experts had lucrative associations, either known or semi-clandestine, with major art dealers, such as Colnaghi (Berenson) and Agnew’s (Bode and Murray).⁵⁶ Scholarship itself became a form of publicity and a guarantee: the old masters, when certified by expert approval, were then considered a sound investment, immune to the fluctuations to which other kinds of art seemed to be subjected. Art writers formed all sorts of new relations with the old masters trade: from the creation of alternative commercial circuits and the management of smaller galleries, to the organisation of exhibitions in commercial galleries and the mediation of acquisitions with the commercial world while still in public service.⁵⁷ New periodicals that dealt specifically with the old masters, such as *The Connoisseur* (1901–92) and *The Burlington Magazine* (1903–present), were founded and books were written, notably Charles Holmes’s 1903 *Picture Collecting*, with the aim of guiding artists, collectors and scholars alike in this maze of new spaces and relations.⁵⁸

Artists: New Networks and Old Models

In such a dynamic period, how did an intertwining of nationalism and internationalism manifest itself in current artistic practice? How was modern national painting situated by its contemporaries within this newly forming canon? A certain kind of national painting seemed to be in deep crisis. The highly moralistic and minutely-detailed narrative style, in which the subject matter and mimetic veracity was of utmost importance—of which a characteristic example is *Mother’s Darling* by Joseph Clarke (1884; London, Tate Gallery, acquired

55 On Botticelli’s inconsistent critical reception, see: Avery-Quash, “Botticelli and Victorian Art Collecting,” 310.

56 See footnote 31 for some secondary literature on these matters.

57 For a snapshot of the publishing world at the time and the combination of professional roles, see: Samuel Shaw, “Scarcely a Scholar: William Rothenstein and the Artist as Art-Writer in English Periodicals, ca. 1890–1910,” *Visual Resources* 31 (2015): 45–60.

58 Holmes, *Pictures*.

1885)—was in critical decline.⁵⁹ Such works, which were associated with the Royal Academy and had formed the backbone of the British acquisitions of the National Gallery and the Tate Gallery through the Academy-administered Chantrey Bequest, were now despised by a new generation of art writers.⁶⁰ When in 1902 MacColl wrote his monumental resumé of nineteenth-century art, he excluded British academic art from his narrative, which instead centred on French impressionism.⁶¹ The art press that was connected to British painting and its diffusion by reproductive engravings, the *Magazine of Art* and *Art Journal*, was, understandably, in crisis too—in fact these journals closed respectively in 1904 and 1912.⁶² The demise was also commercial. Prices for late-Victorian narrative art, as Bayer and Page, and Reitlinger have shown, were falling; these works soon disappeared from the market altogether.⁶³ It is interesting to follow some examples of such decline. These works had changed hands for very high profits in the 1860s and 1870s. Agnew's stock books, again, bear witness to the height of the sums in question.⁶⁴ A plethora of British paintings were bought by Agnew's, either directly from the artists or at the Royal Academy summer exhibitions, and re-sold for high markups. For instance, *Chill October* and *Yes or No* by John Everett Millais were bought jointly for £2,000 and sold for a total of £3,432.12, at a profit of £1,432.12 and a markup of 71.61 per cent.⁶⁵ But at the turn of the twentieth century, the tide had turned and prices declined steeply. Edwin Landseer's *Lady Godiva's Prayer* (Coventry, Herbert Art Gallery and Museum) was sold in 1873 by his executors for £3,360, but in 1916 it only achieved £943.⁶⁶ *La Siesta* by John Frederick Lewis declined from £1,013 in 1877 to only £115 in 1923.⁶⁷ Similarly, John Linnell's *Eve of the Deluge* decreased

59 When the first official guide to the Tate Gallery was published in 1897 it still focused on the subject rather than on the execution of a painting. Such descriptive catalogues, as Frances Spalding has pointed out, only reinforced visitors' expectation that every picture should tell a story and should be judged on the basis of its mimetic veracity. Spalding, *The Tate*, 25.

60 Spalding, *The Tate*, 26–8.

61 D.S. MacColl, *Nineteenth Century Art* (London: Macmillan, 1902).

62 On the demise of these magazines in a changed panorama, see: Anne Helmreich, "The Death of the Victorian Art Periodical," *Visual Resources* 26 (2010): 242–53.

63 Bayer and Page, *The Development*, 12. See also the variations in price for the period 1850–1910 recorded by Reitlinger, *The Economics*, vol. 2, 264–5, 319–20, 359–60, 365–6 (modern art); 254–5, 289–90, 333–4, 373–4, 378–9 (old masters).

64 See the Agnew's Stock Books, vols. 1 to 3, National Gallery Archive, London, NGA27/1/1/3 and NGA27/1/1/5.

65 Agnew's Stock Books, vol. 2, stock nos. 6270 and 6271, National Gallery Archive, London, NGA27/1/1/4.

66 Reitlinger, *The Economics*, vol. 2, 359.

67 *Id.*, 369–70.

from £1,092 in 1872 to £189 in 1913.⁶⁸ William Frith (d. 1909) saw the value of his market collapse around 1896 when he was still actively working. Frith's paintings sold for £3,000 to £5,000 in the 1860s but fetched one-tenth of this value at the turn of the century.⁶⁹ There were a few collectors who supported this type of academic art into the new century. For instance, Sir John Aird commissioned in 1902 *The Finding of Moses* by Lawrence Alma-Tadema for £5,250 plus expenses.⁷⁰ These were, however, exceptions. By 1900 Agnew's, often the thermometer of British taste, dealt almost exclusively in works of, as they called them then, 'deceased masters.' In 1903, when the Henry James Turner collection of British painting was sold at auction, it was bought-in by the Tooth art dealers. The critic (and art dealer) Max Rothschild expressed his open contempt for this collection, which included works by previously successful artists such as Briton Rivière, and affirmed that a large number of its pictures had been selected for their subject matter and not their quality and were 'not worth the canvas upon which they are painted.'⁷¹ The golden generation of British painters connected with the Royal Academy, whose works had exchanged hands for thousands of pounds in the 1860s–70s, was in commercial and critical decline, and there lacked a successful new cohort of academicians to replace it.

It would therefore seem unsurprising, when the art of the past experienced such a critical, commercial and popular fame and when such a success was paired with a waning interest in the immediately precedent generations, that younger artists began to associate themselves, both stylistically and commercially, with the European past and bypassed their older contemporaries, especially native ones, altogether. In fact, at the turn of the twentieth century a newly formed network of younger critics, artists and dealers rejected the previously acclaimed academic narrative painting and instead adopted compositional and technical models directly from European old masters to achieve a style that strived to be less illusionistic, less detailed and less descriptive and yet was felt to be more evocative than the immediately precedent era's attempts. A new cosmopolitan generation of London-based artists had emerged who had either trained in Paris, or who were regularly travelling between the two cities and throughout Europe. These artists grouped themselves into associations independent from the Royal Academy, such as the New English Art Club (founded in 1886) and the International Society (1897). They adopted a

68 *Id.*, 371.

69 *Id.*, 319.

70 Vern G. Swanson, *The Biography and Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema* (London: Garton & Co, 1990).

71 M.R. [Max Rothschild], "The Picture Sales," *The Burlington Gazette* 1 (1903): 47.

pictorial style that McConkey has suggestively described as a 'referential world of quote and counter quote.'⁷² Schooled mainly at the Slade School of Art by Alphonse Legros, who keenly encouraged his pupils to copy works in public museums, these artists conversed directly with the old masters at the National Gallery. Such dialogue was a fertile ground of inspiration, which affected British figure painting from the late 1890s onwards. The starting point was a Whistler/Velázquez model, as clearly exemplified in William Strang's *Supper-time* (Fig. 4.2), but some artists had a distinct preference for Dutch and Flemish art. As McConkey points out, small, perfectly painted interiors became the distinguishing features of New English Art Club exhibitions at the turn of the century, such as in *The Mirror* by William Orpen (1900; London, Tate Gallery).

Charles Conder's work is a distinctive example of the coexisting denial of the visual language of the artists of the immediately preceding generation, while taking lessons from the art of the European past. Conder's work was often compared to the old masters: in 1902 Fry had noted in *The Athenaeum* that Conder was 'gifted with the same recklessness of invention and the same expressive inaccuracy as the cassone painters of the Renaissance.'⁷³ The Paris-trained Conder, however, found his main inspiration in Antoine Watteau for his poetic interpretations, such as *The Gondolier* and *Fête Galante*, the latter quoting literally the title of Watteau's best-known compositions (Fig. 4.4). In Conder's works, like in Watteau's paintings such as the *Pilgrimage to the Isle of Cythera* (1717; in the Louvre since 1793), clouds rise from pools of water, and women in pink and blue silk dresses rest under verdant trees, their hands and arms often gracefully turned to the side in sinuous curves. Yet again the reference to Watteau is intensely personal in Conder and combined with a strong departure from conventions of narrative Victorian painting. Conder rejects the Victorian predilection for historically specific representation and abandons codified spatial canons. As Petra Chu writes, in Conder's art, as well as the much-mentioned nostalgia for the past and the neo-rococo revival, themes of dreams and memory anticipate Bergson-inspired motifs of the surrealist movement.⁷⁴

The importance of Venetian art for Charles Shannon is especially visible in works such as *The Bath of Venus* (London, Tate Gallery), exhibited in 1904 at the Guildhall, and *Tibullus in the House of Delia* (London, Tate Gallery) and

72 McConkey, *Memory*, 82.

73 [Roger Fry], "Exhibitions," *The Athenaeum*, 17 May 1902: 632.

74 Petra ten-Doesschate-Chu, "Siegfried Bing and Charles Conder: The Many Faces of New Art," in *Twenty-First-Century Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Art: Essays in Honor of Gabriel P. Weisberg*, eds. Laurinda S. Dixon and Petra ten-Doesschate-Chu (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008): 133–40.



FIGURE 4.4 Charles Conder, *Fête Galante*, 1896. Watercolour on silk laid down on paper, 26 × 44.7 cm. Private collection
© CREATIVE COMMONS

The Mill Pond (Manchester, City Art Gallery) (Fig. 4.5), both exhibited in 1906 at the Agnew's *Independent Art* exhibition.⁷⁵ Such Venetian inspiration is particularly noticeable in the later portrait of Hilda Moore, titled, in Renaissance style, *The Lady with the Amethyst* (Fig. 4.6), which shows, through a Whistlerian filter, the compositional and chromatic impact of works by Lorenzo Lotto such as the *Portrait of Andrea Odoni* (London, Royal Collection since 1660) and the *Portrait of a Gentleman in his Studio* (Fig. 4.7) in the historical collection of the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice, which Shannon visited with Ricketts in 1899 and 1903. The oeuvre of Shannon is more problematic to place neatly in this brief mapping of the old and the new, as the self-taught Shannon did maintain conscious connections with some of the painters, such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti, who immediately preceded him. Yet when we compare Shannon with Rossetti, we find again in Shannon that process of visual subtraction and simplification already identified in Conder. Shannon's composition is tighter and sparser than Rossetti's; his palette and psychology, as expressed through a body language of closed, defensive gestures and the absence of eye contact, are much darker in tone as well as in mood.

75 *Irish Artists* (London: Guildhall Museum, 1904), cat. no. 13, as *The Toilet of Venus*, lent by the artist; *Some Examples of Independent Art of To-day. English, Scottish, Irish*, Thomas Agnew and Sons, London, February–March 1906, cat. nos. 10 and 23; William C. McKeown, "Charles Shannon in the House of Delia: A Theme from Tibullus," *BM* 152 (2010): 303–6.



FIGURE 4.5 Charles Shannon, *The Mill Pond*, 1905. Oil on canvas, 109.2 × 103.5 cm. Manchester, Manchester Art Gallery

© MANCHESTER ART GALLERY

Other artists adopted a combination of models and subjects, as shown in Charles Ricketts's *Crucifixion* (Cheltenham Museum and Art Gallery) (Fig. 4.8), exhibited at the International Society in 1909, which fuses Spanish and Italian Mannerism but finds in El Greco's *Crucifixion* (Toledo, Museo de Santa Cruz) (Fig. 4.9), published by Cossío in 1908, its principal reference.⁷⁶ Yet the torn

76 "Crucifixion of Charles Ricketts, Venetian in colouring, exhibited January 1909 at the International Society," "London News," *American Art News* 7, 16 January 1909: 5. In April 1903 Ricketts had travelled to Madrid to write a guide to the Prado Museum, published



FIGURE 4.6 Charles Shannon, *The Lady with the Amethyst*, 1915. Oil on canvas, 61 × 59.7 cm.
London, Tate
© TATE

drapery, dark sky and dramatic palette give this work a much more sombre atmosphere that hints towards a novel psychological despair and torment. Another work of the time, William Rothenstein's *The Browning Readers* (1900; Bradford Museum and Art Galleries), a work that simultaneously references Whistler, Puvis de Chavannes and Dutch interiors again, captures perfectly the bidirectional current between the national and the international, the past and the present.⁷⁷

later that year. See: Paul Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 131–6 and 161–71; Manuel B. Cossío, *El Greco* (Madrid: Suarez, 1908), 92.

⁷⁷ I am indebted to Samuel Shaw for these observations.



FIGURE 4.7 Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait of a Gentleman in his Study*, c. 1530. Oil on canvas, 98 × 111 cm. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia
© GALLERIE DELL'ACCADEMIA

The Old Masters of the Future? Modern British Painting and the Old Masters Market

Within this combination of novel formal experiments and quotation of the past, the element of innovation was at times understated by art writers who preferred to emphasise the stylistic references to the old masters as part of a marketing strategy. For instance, the commercial connection between the younger British artists and the old masters was openly formulated by Charles Holmes in *Pictures and Picture Collecting* (1903). Holmes specifically suggested the purchase of 'serious' works that contained 'what is best in the art of the past.' Holmes mentioned by name the artists treated here and introduced them as the old masters of the future: Charles Conder, William Orpen, Charles Ricketts, Charles Shannon and William Strang. These artists were presented as commercially viable too, as they were 'reasonable in price' and 'a very safe



FIGURE 4.8 Charles Ricketts, *Crucifixion*, c. 1908. Oil on canvas, 200 × 133.5 cm. Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum

© CHELTENHAM ART GALLERY AND MUSEUM



FIGURE 4.9 El Greco, *Crucifixion*, 1604–14, as illustrated in Manuel Bartolomé Cossío, *El Greco* (Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1908)

investment.⁷⁸ Their works were indeed modestly priced, indicative of a group of not-yet-established artists who wished to entice collectors with relatively small disposable incomes. Conder's works sold for around £25–50 in 1898–1909 and William Orpen's *The Mirror* made an appearance in Agnew's stock books for as little as £35 in 1901.⁷⁹ The cross-fertilisation between the old masters market and artistic practice, however, was not solely a matter of a commercially oriented critical discourse, but rather it was the product of complex dynamics and undeniable ties. In fact, the younger artists were not merely responding to a booming old masters market but they were also actively participating in the circumstances that created it. This process of amalgamation was intensified by the multiple roles of those involved, as the professional boundaries between dealers, critics and artists were fluid. For instance, artists such as James Kerr-Lawson and William Rothenstein worked as art dealers and dealt in old masters and contemporary art alike; conversely, several art dealers, such as Robert Ross and Robert Dell, were critics too, and they wrote about, and dealt with, contemporary art as well as old masters.⁸⁰ The art of the past and modern British works shared commercial exhibition spaces, were commented upon by the same writers, were judged according to the same aesthetic canons and fulfilled the same function of simultaneously countering, supporting and illustrating the development of national art.

Such enmeshment of criticism, commerce and artistic practice is illustrated in a prominent art periodical of the time, *The Burlington Magazine*. This journal aimed to broaden the horizons of British art with recourse to cosmopolitanism, sought through the comparison with the art of the European past and links with international scholars and periodicals.⁸¹ The *Burlington* was also deeply involved with contemporary artistic practice: its engagement, with Fry,

78 Holmes, *Pictures*, 34–41.

79 I have explored Conder's prices in: Pezzini, "New Documents," 19–29. Orpen's *The Mirror* is recorded as acquired from D.C. Thompson in March 1901 for £35 and sold to General Mc Culloch for the same amount. Agnew's Stock Books, vol. 8, stock no. 9766, National Gallery Archive, London, NGA27/1/1/10.

80 I have investigated the cross-fertilisation between old masters and contemporary art market in: Barbara Pezzini, "More Adey, the Carfax Gallery and *The Burlington Magazine*," *BM* 153 (2011): 806–14; *Id.*, "The Value and Price of the Renaissance: Robert Ross and the Satire of Connoisseurship," in *La Storia e la Critica: Atti della Giornata di Studi per Festeggiare Antonino Caleca*, eds. Lorenzo Carletti and Gabriella Garzella (Pisa: Pacini, 2016), 179–86.

81 On the early history of *The Burlington Magazine*, see: Helen Rees Leahy, "For Connoisseurs: *The Burlington Magazine*," in *Art History and its Institutions*, ed. Elizabeth Mansfield (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 231–45; Caroline Elam, "A More and More Important Work: Roger Fry and *The Burlington Magazine*," *BM* 145 (2003): 142–52; Pezzini, "More Adey," 154–83, with bibliography.

in the diffusion of contemporary French art in the 1910s, in parallel with Fry's two post-impressionist exhibitions, has been amply treated.⁸² But—and this is still an unexplored subject—the publication had an interest in contemporary art even in its early years, when Robert Dell and Charles Holmes were its editors. In fact, I argue that an acute interest in contemporary British art and its position within the historical national canon rested at the very heart of the *Burlington's* inception. The very first editorial of this magazine, unsigned but most likely written by its first editor, Dell, and published in March 1903, stated that contemporary art, if it was not the main subject of this magazine, it was nevertheless its main *raison d'être*.⁸³ The journal positioned itself against much of contemporary British art, a mere sophistication that emitted 'odour of false sentiment' and a cheap substitute for real thought and feeling. Dell pointed the finger sternly towards the Royal Academy summer exhibitions, where artists dealt 'in fatuities, mild parlour jests, tit-bits of curiosities' with sentimental titles such as *A Baby Crab* and *A Merry Jest*.⁸⁴ The rigorous study of the art of the past was proposed by Dell as a remedy for this situation of decadence in contemporary art.

In the very early days of the *Burlington*, contemporary art was often mentioned in commercial terms. As the old masters market had 'absorbed the public attention to the detriment of living men' for the wealthiest collectors, contemporary art was presented as the best investment for collectors of relatively modest means who could not afford to purchase old masters.⁸⁵ Which living artists were on their way to becoming the old masters of the future? Which kind of contemporary art was worth collecting to make a worthy aesthetic as well as economic investment? Such topics were treated in several editorials and full-length articles in the *Burlington*, pieces that were either unsigned or hidden under initials, as these subjects were still considered controversial and the responsibility of their authorship did not wish to be claimed. For instance, in "What Modern Pictures Are Worth Collecting," published in November 1904 by the as-yet-unknown P.A. (Painter Anonymous? Perhaps Charles Holmes?), the author guided buyers in the purchase of contemporary art as a long-term financial investment.⁸⁶ In February 1905 an editorial on the prospect of contemporary painting mentioned the commercial success of Conder, whose fame was connected with the current fashion for eighteenth-century painting

82 Benedict Nicolson, "Post-Impressionism and Roger Fry," *BM* 93 (1951): 10–5; Anon., "Cézanne and *The Burlington Magazine*," *BM* 138 (1996): 67–8.

83 [Robert Dell], "Editorial," *BM* 1 (March 1903): 3–5.

84 *Id.*, 5.

85 Anon., "The Prospects of Contemporary Painting," *BM* 6 (1905): 341–4.

86 P.A., "What Modern Pictures Are Worth Collecting," *BM* 6 (1904): 108–10.

and domestic decoration.⁸⁷ The *Burlington* reviewed commercial exhibitions of independent artists' associations at length in addition to shows held in private galleries. Also in these reviews modern art was compared with that of the European old masters. 'A Modern Painter,' the anonymous author of a 1907 series of five articles entitled "The Case for Modern Painting," chose to illustrate prominently a tondo by Shannon, *Hermes and the Infant Bacchus* (Fig. 4.10).⁸⁸ This work, finished in 1906 and recently exhibited in London, was inspired by the old masters in the choice of its format, subject and style. Its main reference point was Titian, whose *Bacchus and Ariadne* had been in the National Gallery's collection since 1826. Shannon's quote was noted by the reviewer, according to whom this painting belonged to 'the Venetian room of Trafalgar Square' where it would be able to quite hold its own 'even in that exalted society.'⁸⁹ This was a particularly telling remark about the modernity of the old masters' revival, coming from a writer who identified himself as 'A Modern Painter.' In May 1909 Holmes commented favourably on another contemporary work, *Smiling Woman* by Augustus John (London, Tate Gallery), recently exhibited at the New Gallery, and compared it to early Florentine portraiture, not as a mere academic copy, but rather as a work that participated in the spirit of the art of Botticelli, Pollaiuolo and Andrea del Castagno, and defined it 'a gipsy Gioconda.'⁹⁰ The *Burlington* thus inscribed a selection of contemporary British artists in a network of international artistic references, mainly to the European old masters, in order to emphasise and boost the commercial potential and market value of this new generation of artists.

Not all writers, however, agreed with the adoption of the old European masters as a source for modern inspiration. In 1906 the art critic and artist Bernard

87 'Now eighteenth-century furniture of a certain outward appearance of authenticity is within the reach of many who are no more than well-to-do, and cannot afford the fine works by the old masters which are its conventional accompaniments. Modern paintings are not supposed to look well in such an environment, and so they are no longer purchased by many of the class which bought them most freely in the past. In this quarter artists will have to wait till the caprice of fashion introduces some style of furnishing which needs oil paintings and water colours for its completion. Meanwhile those who, like that gifted colourist Mr. Conder, paint in a manner which harmonizes perfectly with the style of the French eighteenth century will reap the richest harvest.' Cited from: Anon., "The Prospects," 341–4.

88 The title of this work, *Hermes and the Infant Bacchus*, as given in the 1906 *Burlington Magazine*, combines Greek and Roman mythologies: Hermes is the Greek form of Mercury and Bacchus is the Latin name of Dionisos. Another version of this work in the Tate Gallery, London.

89 A Modern Painter, "The Case for Modern Painting," *BM* 11 (1907): 3–13.

90 Charles Holmes, "Two Modern Pictures," *BM* 15 (1909): 75–81.



FIGURE 4.10 Charles Shannon, *Hermes and the Infant Bacchus*, 1902–06. Oil on canvas, 10.7 × 10.7 cm. Lincoln, Usher Gallery
© USHER GALLERY

Sickert, brother of the better-known painter Walter, in two important articles for the *Burlington*—“Independent Art of To-Day” and “Modern Painters in 1906”—questioned the stylistic choices of what he dubbed the ‘archaistic’ current. For instance, Sickert found Shannon’s overt use of the quote tiresome. In discussing *The Mill Pond* (Fig. 4.5), he stated: “These youths are not doing anything in particular. They have posed to Titian and to Andrea del Sarto, they have posed to Watts and Burne-Jones, and now they are posing to Mr. Shannon, and are heartily tired of the business.”⁹¹ Sickert accused British artists of fleeing reality in favour of mere escapism: ‘the eclectic reconstruction of past visions is misleading as it gives no insights into our pursuits and our appearance

91 Sickert, “Independent Art,” 381–4.

at present in the year 1906.⁹² He unfavourably compared such a choice with modern French painting, which he believed to be a more valid alternative because it was fully grounded in the present.

Conclusion: The European Idiom of British Painting

By choosing French painting, Sickert had bet on the winning horse.⁹³ As Taylor has pointed out, the majority of art criticism at the beginning of the twentieth century veered ‘towards the canonisation of French art as the only serious art.’⁹⁴ French painting—namely, impressionism, post-impressionism and the avant-garde—was to become the dominant critical paradigm for modern art. Mark Cheetham has traced the Francophile bent in Fry’s writings, noting how Fry (and, we can add, Bell) assessed historical and contemporary British art in terms of his own version of French standards, and how Fry defined universal art as a particular line of post-impressionist practice.⁹⁵ To this unquestionably correct observation, it must be added that Fry made constant reference to a historical paradigm of art. In the course of the twentieth century, the two canons separated: modern French art became the litmus test for modern British art, and the European old masters for historic national painting. Such a separation, however, was still *in fieri* in the early twentieth century, when modern British art was judged according to both the modern French standard and the old masters paradigm. Caught between European—especially Italian, Spanish and Dutch—old masters in the past and French modern art in the present, contemporary British national art was seen as a secondary event in European painting, neither continuing a long-standing tradition nor proposing an innovation. The presence of an integrated, formidably successful old masters market and of a paradigm dominated by the European old masters can be seen, in such a logic, as a stifling force in the formation of an autonomous visual language in Britain. Yet there is another possible reading. A wider understanding of the intertwining of the art market, scholarship and artistic practice

92 Bernard Sickert, “Modern Painters in 1906,” *BM* 9 (1906): 221–4.

93 For instance, the acquisition policy of the Tate Gallery and its moderate Francophile bent has been examined in: Taylor, *Art for the Nation*, 132–66; Alexandra MacGilp, “The London Art World and the Formation of a National Collection of Modern British and Foreign Works at Tate 1926–1946” (PhD diss., University of Reading, 2010).

94 Taylor, *Art for the Nation*, 140.

95 Mark A. Cheetham, *Artwriting, Nation, and Cosmopolitanism in Britain: The ‘Englishness’ of English Art Theory since the Eighteenth Century* (Farnham – Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 86–90.

contributes to the revision of a dominant idea of this period as stylistically insular and parochial and dominated by an excessive nostalgia of the past. On the contrary, in parallel with a thriving art market and growing scholarly investigations, it could be argued that British artists of the turn of the century aimed to live up to the comparison with the old masters and created a diverse cosmopolitan language, part Whistlerian, part French, and significantly inspired by the European art of the past, to generate critical, commercial and popular interest. This art was not modernist, in the sense that it did not present the extreme simplifications and distortions that we have come to associate with that movement, and certainly had strong stylistic connections with British fin-de-siècle aestheticism, but that does not mean that it was not representative of topical concerns. At least until 1910, as shown in the Whitechapel exhibition *Twenty Years of British Art*, this current represented a vital element of modern art in Britain and possessed enough of its own character to be distinctive and hence worthy of independent consideration. Neither did this current represent pictorial conservatism. It was, instead, the expression of a proactive return to the European art of the past through the recuperation of themes and devices. Later avant-garde artists portrayed themselves as extreme innovators who broke with tradition, and yet the art of the past was strongly present in their work with recourse to late medieval and early Renaissance “primitivism.” They too were indebted to an inquisitive approach to the art of the past that expressed itself not only through visual works but also with commercial exhibitions and historical studies as it developed in the generation that flourished at the turn of the twentieth century.

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The Artistic Trade and Networks of the Italian Community in London Around 1800

Camilla Murgia

In his caricature of a bas-relief found in Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, the artist Benedetto Pastorini (1746–1807) nicely captured how his migration to Britain had impacted him, and more generally what this had meant for Italian artists (Fig. 5.1). Born in Italy in 1746, Pastorini worked with the Adam brothers in the 1760s and early 1770s, thanks to whom he was able to build up an international professional network and consequently move to London.¹ A draughtsman and engraver, Pastorini soon integrated into the Italian artistic community of the British capital and began to collaborate with the most archetypal Italian expatriate artist of this time, Francesco Bartolozzi (1727–1815). Pastorini's 1778 print epitomises his career as an integral part of a commercial network built upon the transfer of aesthetic values from one country to another. In the caption below the print, the engraver refers to the origin of the bas-relief, associating the notion of a common, Roman antiquity with the British: 'An antique basso-rilevo [*sic*] found in Hadrian's Villa evidently of Greek Sculpture. The story seems obscure but antiquarians suppose it to represent some fact relative to antient [*sic*] britons if so, we have not entirely lost all resemblance to our ancestors.' Pastorini never returned to Italy, but kept a close relationship with his home country, as he engraved, some twenty years after this print, a series of drawings by Leonardo da Vinci belonging to the Royal Collection.² This edition was the product of a collaboration between Italian artists based in London,

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- 1 Robert and John Adam were Scottish architects who sojourned in Rome in the 1750s. Back in England, the two brothers established a business in London together with their other brother James. The success they encountered was considerable and much indebted to classical antiquity as discovered in Italy during their Grand Tour. On the Adam brothers, see: Joseph and Anne Rykwert, *The Brothers Adam: The Men and the Style* (London: Collins, 1985); Alan Andrew Tait, *The Adam Brothers in Rome: Drawings from the Grand Tour* (London: Scala, 2008).
 - 2 *Imitations Of Original Designs By Leonardo Da Vinci: Consisting Of Various Drawings Of Single Figures, Heads, Compositions, Horses, And Other Animals* (London: John Chamberlaine, 1796–1806).



FIGURE 5.1 Benedetto Pastorini, *A Caricature Comprising Figures Based on a Bas-Relief Found in Hadrian's Villa*, 16 December 1778. Etching and aquatint with hand-colouring, 12.8 × 33 cm. London, The British Museum

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such as Bartolozzi, and their British colleagues, such as Peltro William Tomkins (1759–1840).

Pastorini's attitude betrays a set of socio-economic, cultural and artistic practices that went far beyond the mere reproduction of works of art, which the present article proposes to investigate. The situation of Italian artists around 1800 in Britain in general and London in particular is based on the arrival of foreigners looking for a professional future abroad. It had been common for artists to gain experience abroad since the Renaissance, but on an individual basis rather than as part of a close-knit community such as the one that Italian artists established in London around 1800. Given the increased mobility of Englishmen with their Grand Tours and their interest in Italian art, the situation profoundly changed from the early eighteenth century onwards. Italian artists increasingly moved to Britain, bringing with them relationships and networks, as well as ideas and connections. This process encompasses a multitude of diverse aspects that contributes to questions of trade strategies, diffusion practices and the internationalisation of the British art market, which changed from a closed national market that only imported to a more open environment. This chapter intends to primarily investigate the background of and reasons for this development, as well as its impact, in order to reconstruct the networks that such mobility enabled.

Artistic Mobility and the Rise of the London Art Market Around 1800

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, London was a crucial economic centre not only for the United Kingdom, but also for Europe more generally. While the French Revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic regime significantly affected France, England was experiencing prosperity.³ Foreigners on the run for the wars raging on the Continent sought out a safe place to settle and resume business, and many found their way to London. Such a political situation, therefore, resulted in an important boom of trade and commerce.⁴ Burton Frederickson and Julia Armstrong have demonstrated that a great majority of the paintings that left European countries, such as France and Italy, circulated at least once through England beginning around 1780. The growth of the British art trade strongly depended upon the political upheavals engendered first by the French Revolution and then the Napoleonic Wars.⁵ The flow of works of art from the Continent to England represented, within this context, a rapid and explicit response to the political situation.

The arrival of the Orléans collection in 1793 marked an important moment in the development of London as a trade platform for artworks. This event represented a benchmark for the history of collections because it provided the British public, which was mainly accustomed to displays of contemporary art or private collections, with the opportunity to see old master paintings of virtually unrivalled quality.⁶ Hence, from the 1790s until the first decades of the nineteenth century, London offered a point of reference for the art market. The city also witnessed the rise of many collections that were assembled under different forms and with different purposes.

3 Jeremy Warren and Adriana Turpin, eds., *Auctions, Agents and Dealers: The Mechanisms of the Art Market 1660–1830* (London: Archaeopress, 2007); Benedicte Miyamoto, “Making Pictures Marketable’: Expertise and the Georgian Art Market,” in *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present: A Cultural History*, eds. Charlotte Gould and Sophie Mesplède (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 119–34.

4 On London’s economic growth and its relationship to the development of the art market, see: Thomas M. Bayer and John R. Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England: Money as Muse, 1730–1900* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011).

5 Burton B. Frederickson, Julia I. Armstrong, and Doris A. Mendenhall, *The Index of Paintings Sold in the British Isles during the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clío, 1988), 11.

6 David Bindman, “The Orléans Collection and its Impact on British Art,” in *La Circulation des œuvres d’art, 1789–1848*, eds. Roberta Panzanelli and Monica Preti-Hamard (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2007), 57–66; Donata Levi, “Like the Leaves of the Sybil’: The Orléans Collection and the Debate on a National Gallery in Great Britain,” in *La Circulation des œuvres d’art*, 67–82.

However, the internationalisation of the British art market did not solely concern flows of artworks coming from France. Imports from Italy were a significant part of the trade that had developed mainly throughout the eighteenth and the first years of the nineteenth centuries.⁷ British art dealers such as Michael Bryan, for instance, were a crucial step in the flow of paintings to England and in the development of art transactions across Europe.⁸ Bryan, who was a primary contributor to the sale of the Orléans collection and its display, regularly bought artworks outside of England to import into the country. The increasing circulation of artworks evidently triggered a need for a space to store, consume and display art. As a result, a number of commercial art galleries opened in London around 1800, standing alongside well-known, prominent auction houses such as Christie's or Sotheby's. These new businesses proposed a different, previously unseen trade practice: the selling exhibition.⁹ By combining display and sale, dealers not only diversified their range of activities, but they also attempted to provide a platform for art where commercial transactions could flourish together with a scholarly exchange.

Many of these galleries were founded by British men, such as John Boydell (Shakespeare Gallery) or Robert Bowyer (Bowyer's Historic Gallery). However, the London art market was not exclusively bound to British art dealers. In fact, there were a number of European professionals who had left their countries of origin to establish a business in England that contributed to its development. For instance, Noel Joseph Desenfans (1745–1807) had left France for London and then began to work with Francis Bourgeois (1753–1811), a British painter who became an art dealer. The emigration of French art professionals was particularly important during the last years of the eighteenth century as the Napoleonic regime persecuted many French citizens who, like Alexis Delahante (1767–1837), returned to France only after the Restoration.¹⁰

This phenomenon of immigration also concerned other countries. Napoleon's rule resulted in the rearrangement of the political and economic

7 Frederickson, Armstrong, and Mendenhall, *The Index of Paintings*, 13.

8 On Bryan, see: Julia Armstrong-Totten, "The Rise and Fall of a British Connoisseur: The Career of Michael Bryan (1757–1821), Picture Dealer extraordinaire," in *Auctions, Agents and Dealers*, 141–50.

9 On these shows, see: Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1978).

10 On Delahante's career, see: Sylvain Cordier, "Inventer et vendre le meuble historique: le goût et la carrière d'Alexis Delahante, peintre, expert et marchand de curiosités," *Revue de l'Art* 184, no. 2 (2014): 63–73. Delahante took particular care of renewing his stock of paintings. Indeed, before returning to Paris in 1814, he put 79 paintings on sale at Harry Phillips's auction house in London. For the sale catalogue, see: Getty Provenance Index Databases (GPID), Sale Cat Br–1197.

structure of many European nations. For instance, subsequent to the French occupation of the Netherlands in 1795, Dutch dealers reorganised their businesses, moving an important part of their trade to Hamburg.¹¹ Some of them rapidly associated their commerce with other dealers in order to enhance their trade capacities and to reach an international public. In this way, Dutch painter and dealer Louis-Bernard Coclers (1741–1817) worked in partnership with his Paris-based colleague Alexandre-Joseph Paillet (1743–1814). Furthermore, a number of Flemish art professionals, such as art dealer Philippe Panné (fl. 1790–1818) or painter and art dealer Philippe-Joseph Tassaert (1732–1803), moved their commerce to London.¹²

Italian Art and Dealers in Eighteenth-Century London

A significant immigration of Italian artists and dealers to England occurred during the last decades of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth centuries. By 1800 an important community of expatriate artists had settled in London, introducing the production of Italian art abroad and assimilating into the British model upon their arrival in England. Many artists' careers developed around print-related activities, which flourished during these years.¹³ Francesco Bartolozzi played a major role in this development, as he was responsible for the increasing number of Italian artists moving to London in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹⁴

Born and mainly trained in Florence as an engraver, Bartolozzi arrived in London in 1764. In England he achieved remarkable success, contributing to the development of the technique of the stipple engraving. Easier and quicker to execute than line engraving, the stipple technique largely developed in the country in the second half of the eighteenth century and stood alongside

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- 11 Thomas Ketelsen, "‘In Keeping with the Truth’: The German Art Market and its Role in the Education of Connoisseurs in the Eighteenth Century," in *Auctions, Agents and Dealers*, 151–60.
 - 12 Dries Lyna, "In Search of a British Connection: Flemish Dealers on the London Art Market and the Taste for Continental Painting (1750–1800)," in *Marketing Art in the British Isles*, 101–17.
 - 13 Timothy Clayton, *The English Print 1688–1802* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1997). See also: James Hamilton, *A Strange Business: Making Art and Money in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Atlantic Books, 2014); Miyamoto, "Making Pictures Marketable."
 - 14 On Bartolozzi, see: Barbara Jatta, ed., *Francesco Bartolozzi: incisore delle grazie* (Rome: Artemide, 1995); Andrew White Tuer, *Bartolozzi and his Works* (London: Field & Tuer, 1885); Selwyn Brinton, *Bartolozzi and his Pupils in England* (London: A. Siegle, 1903).

successful and existing techniques, such as mezzotint.¹⁵ Bartolozzi was elected member of the Royal Academy in 1768 and was among the co-founders of the Society of Engravers. He produced prints after old masters such as Guercino—one of the artists he engraved the most—and his contemporaries Giovanni Battista Cipriani (1727–85) and Angelika Kaufmann (1741–1807). Both London residents, Kaufmann and Cipriani were respectively Swiss and Italian, and their friendship with Bartolozzi epitomises the multicultural alliances that so strongly characterised the Italian community in London at that time. Thanks to a large production of prints after old and modern masters, Bartolozzi became a reference for art and publishing markets. Furthermore, he retained strong connections with his Italian counterparts, especially those from the Venetian region, therefore establishing a crossroads between the two countries. Italian expatriate engravers nourished the dense network of art professionals gravitating towards Bartolozzi, who also generated close links with British artists and dealers.

Within the context of the internationalisation of the London art market, one primary research question arises: how did these individuals manage to position themselves as prominent art professionals in a foreign country? Italian artists developed a set of trade practices that enhanced their own national identity and allowed for a diverse, multi-layered response to the growing demand for the types of works of art that characterise the second half of the eighteenth century. Three strategies are particularly relevant and will be discussed in the following paragraphs: the perception of these individuals as linked to a singular nationally defined community; the permeability of and exchanges between art-related professions, such as printmaking and restoration, or printmaking and teaching drawing; and, finally, their strategy of operating on the crossroads of two economic and artistic realms, England and Italy.

These three business strategies and approaches to an internationalised art market are the direct result of a long history of artistic exchanges between Italy and the United Kingdom. The British interest in Italian art originated in the beginning of the “long” eighteenth century thanks to a growing attention for art.¹⁶ Grand Tourists, such as Sir William Hamilton, cultivated international connections through their travels across Europe and contributed to the development of a network of collectors, men of letters, artists and art dealers working both

15 Clayton, *The English Print*, 216–8; Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 77–87.

16 Iain Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England (1680–1768)* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1991).

in England and Italy. Iain Pears has demonstrated that from about the end of the seventeenth century onwards the interest in art grew significantly and that this process spread through social classes.¹⁷ The art market followed this interest and fed the demand for artworks. Such a context, therefore, was an ideal seedbed for Italian dealers and artists settling in England.

The increase of art market transactions inevitably questioned dealers' competences and their selling strategies and abilities, as a satirical print by Rowlandson (Fig. 5.2) illustrates. A well-dressed, fashionable Englishman and his counsellor are examining a painting by Guido Reni that an Italian art dealer attempts to sell to them. The print satirises both the credulity of the Englishman and the trading skills of the dealer. Published in 1812, this sheet shows to what extent Italian art interested British collectors, partly due to the fact that in these years the English could not visit Italy.¹⁸ Moreover, the development and internationalisation of the art market contributed to the bad reputation of art dealers. Newspapers regularly targeted art dealers and their reputation:

The profession of a picture-dealer has been so abused, that the following anecdote of George the Third, concerning their trade, need not surprise us; nor of that when his Majesty, turning to Sir William Hamilton, on his return from Naples, said, 'How is it, Sir William, that whenever I send out a gentleman to Italy, he is sure to return a picture-dealer.'¹⁹

The growth of the number of transactions of artworks that took place in London betrays the enthusiasm for art that also led to a reconfiguration of the methods by which collections were formed. Important collections, such as those of the Duke of Devonshire or of Agar-Ellis, assembled in the years 1760–90s, proved, according to Anna Jameson, that 'the purchase of pictures had by this time become a *fashion*.'²⁰ Jameson criticised, however, the superficiality that characterised the description of artworks in collection catalogues. According to her, the state of things changed with the French Revolution and with the subsequent financial crisis that resulted in many masterpieces leaving France for England. The sale of the Orléans collection contributed to the rearrangement

17 Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, eds., *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery, 1996).

18 Constance C. McPhee and Nadine M. Orenstein, eds., *Infinite Jest: Caricature and Satire from Leonardo to Levine* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), 133.

19 *The Monthly Critical Gazette* (1 October 1824): 443.

20 Anna Jameson, *Companion to the Most Celebrated Private Galleries of Art in London* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1844), xxvi.



FIGURE 5.2 Thomas Rowlandson, *Italian Picture Dealers Humbugging My Lord Anglaise*, 1812. Stipple engraving and hand-coloured etching, 31.4 × 22.5 cm. London, The British Museum

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of trade, as did subsequent collecting practices: ‘Then followed the plunder of Italy, i.e., the French plundered—we [the British] purchased.’²¹ Agents and dealers benefited from this fragile situation, and a number of commercial art galleries were created in London in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Jameson points out that of course this trend did not uniquely concern France and Italy, but rather the whole of Europe: ‘One stands amazed at the number of pictures introduced by the enterprise of private dealers into England between 1795 and 1815, during the hottest time of the war.’²² Newly established businesses, such as the Gallery of the British Institution or John Wilson’s European Museum, developed during these years and found considerable success. These galleries contributed not only to the increase in the trade of old masters coming from France and Italy, but also to the promotion of British art.

Working as a Community

This context also reveals the increasing demand for printed images that England experienced in the second half of the eighteenth century. Italian dealers happened to be particularly versatile and attentive to the needs of the art market as they adapted to satisfy the public’s demand. To improve their impact on the British public, Italian artists and dealers often worked in partnership with their fellow countrymen or with British dealers. In the early 1790s, for instance, engraver and art dealer Mariano Bovi (1757–1813) associated with Thomas Cheesman (1760–1834) and with another Italian engraver, Michele Benedetti (1745–1810).²³ Brothers Niccolò (1771–1813) and Luigi (1765–1810) Schiavonetti developed a partnership with their master, Bartolozzi. These associations were not bound to the London art market; they also concerned the rest of England. In Manchester, for example, Vittore Zanetti (c. 1746–1855) and Thomas Agnew (1794–1871) associated in 1817.²⁴

21 Jameson, *Companion*, xxx. This passage was also highlighted on the occasion of the review of Jameson’s book, published in 1844: ‘Fine Arts. Companion to the Most Celebrated Private Galleries of Art in London. By Mrs. Jameson,’ *The Atheneum*, 27 July 1844: 698–9.

22 Jameson, *Companion*, xxxi.

23 Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades, 1775–1800: A Preliminary Checklist of Members* (Folkestone: Dawson, 1977); *Id.*, *The London Book Trades, 1735–1775: A Checklist of Members in Trade Directories and in Musgrave’s ‘Obituary’* (Exeter: J. Maxted, 1984). See also the University of Birmingham’s database on the British Book Trade Index (BBTI): <http://www.bbti.bham.ac.uk/search.htm>.

24 An advertisement of 1825 mentioned them as carvers and gilders, specialised in mirrors and picture frame manufacturing. See: Manchester Central Library: GB127.Broadsides/F1825.2. Indeed, Zanetti had apparently been running his business since about 1804,

Partnership provided artists and dealers with the possibility to strengthen their trade capacities and to diversify their stock. The Italian community in London often relied on a figure who is considered a benchmark for the process of internationalisation of the art market around 1800: Tuscan engraver and art dealer Bartolozzi. The network that the Italian printmaker was able to establish was formative for its members, triggering a sense of belonging and serving as a reference point. Moreover, because of his success and his position as a Royal Academician, Bartolozzi was a touchpoint for the London artistic world; a number of artists and dealers were keen to parade their connection to the master. Their partnership was perceived as the work of a group of professionals and no longer as an individual initiative. For instance, Bovi, a pupil of Bartolozzi who came to London in the early 1780s thanks to the recommendation of King Ferdinand IV, followed his master and specialised in stipple engraving. Some of the prints he produced or published mentioned his professional affiliation with Bartolozzi and are inscribed, 'Engraved by M. Bovi late Pupil of F. Bartolozzi.'²⁵

The ability of Italians to integrate into their current setting significantly contributed to the community's paramount role in the diffusion of printed images. Such an integration is evident in the adaptation of Italian artists to the British context, as many of them anglicised their names—Benedetto Pastorini became 'Benedict' and Giovanni Vendramini became 'John.' But it also affected the impact that their trade tactics and image diffusion had on the British art world. Printed images developed on several levels and affected, in different ways, three main categories of art market's professionals: artists, collectors and dealers.

How is it possible that a group of individuals, working independently but creating partnerships, affected the art market in such a way that their activities were perceived as a single entity? How did they develop an international response to the growing demand for artworks that characterised the second half of the eighteenth century? In other words, did Bartolozzi create a model

when he opened a picture frame shop in Manchester, and started to sell paintings directly imported from the Continent. See: John Seed, "Commerce and Liberal Arts': The Political Economy of Art in Manchester, 1775–1860," in *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth Century Middle-Class*, eds. Janet Wolff and John Seed (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 52. The company had significant success and survived until 2013 when, due to financial problems, the London branch on Albemarle Street closed. Agnews's archives and stock books were recently acquired by the National Gallery of Art.

25 See for instance the prints Bovi executed after the drawing by Countess Lavinia Spencer published in 1792: London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Acc. no. 1917,1208.3313.

or did he follow an existing one? When the master arrived to England in the 1760s, he relied on his relationship with a fellow Italian artist who came to England a few years earlier, Giovanni Battista Cipriani, who introduced him to the English art world and helped him to create a professional network. Even more importantly, he understood that the rising interest in printed images and the growing art market in London were deeply linked, and he rapidly developed a winning strategy: the diversification of printing techniques as an instrument to populate the market with a variety of artworks. Evidently, to achieve his goal the artist needed not only an established business, but also a number of fellow professionals who could easily reproduce the images and disperse them through art dealing. This model functioned extremely well because it represented a niche of production that was unknown in London.

In this regard, Bartolozzi's strategy seems very close to the career of another engraver, Johann Georg Wille (1715–1808). Wille moved from his native Germany to Paris in the second half of the eighteenth century and triggered the mobility of a number of his countrymen, such as Jakob Philipp Hackert (1737–1807), Johann Friedrich August Tischbein (1750–1812) and Johann Gotthard Müller (1747–1830). A member of the Académie Royale, Wille filled a gap in the Parisian art world as he produced artworks to satisfy the growing demand for printed images.²⁶ But while Wille achieved such a project within an institutional context—his workshop operated as a part of the Académie Royale—Bartolozzi developed a set of collaborations which, originating from engraving, affected the whole of the London art market and its internationalisation. Bartolozzi's aim was similar to Wille's objective in creating a wide-spanning network and in ideally tempting young artists to move to London, many of whom returned home after their formative years and spread this established model elsewhere.

Partnerships linked to printmaking constituted a solid background for the development of London's art market and for the mobility of the Italian community. It was indeed during these years that Italian-born Paul Colnaghi (1751–1833) founded his business, initiating one of the most important art enterprises that England had ever known. In 1785 Colnaghi joined the print

26 Rena M. Hoisington, "Learning to Etch," in *Artists and Amateurs: Etching in 18th-Century France*, eds. Perrin Stein, Charlotte Guichard, and Rena M. Hoisington (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), 31. On Wille and his pupils, see: Hein-Thomas Schulze Altcappenberg, *'Le Voltaire de l'art.' Johann Georg Wille (1715–1808) und seine Schule in Paris* (Münster: Lit-Verlag, 1987); Élisabeth Décultot, Michel Espagne, and François-René Martin, eds., *Johann Georg Wille (1715–1808) et son milieu. Un réseau européen de l'art au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: École du Louvre, 2009).

shop of Anthony Torre after a brief sojourn in the Paris branch of Torre's shop.²⁷ Following the boom of the demand for prints, Torre's shop grew considerably, and when he went back to Milan in 1788, Colnaghi became responsible for the art gallery. Colnaghi soon entered into a partnership with fellow Italian emigrants. First, he associated with Anthony Molteno (fl. 1784–1845), who had moved from Milan. The company, Molteno, Colnaghi & Co., was thus created in London, while the Paris branch prospered from Torre's activities thanks to a collaboration with other Italian-born art dealers, such as Sebastiano Tessari and Joseph Zanna.²⁸ Tessari and Zanna's businesses were established in Augsburg and Brussels, respectively. This international connection provided the company with an important European counterpart. In 1793 Molteno left the partnership to pursue his own career as an art dealer and Colnaghi solicited other Italian expatriate artists, such as Luigi Schiavonetti and Gaetano Testolini (1760–1818), to join the gallery.²⁹

The establishment of tandem businesses played a fundamental role in the development of the art trade. Printmakers and print sellers systematically bought paintings and drawings in order to reproduce them and to sell the printed reproductions. Molteno, for instance, appears to have regularly embraced such a trade programme.³⁰ Quite a few engravers also owned drawings by contemporary artists. In this Bartolozzi also played a primary role. Many of his pupils, such as Bovi, owned, printed and published various drawings that he had

27 Timothy Clayton, "From Fireworks to Old Masters: Colnaghi and Printselling c. 1760–c. 1880," in *Colnaghi: The History*, ed. Jeremy Howard (London: Colnaghi, 2010), 8–9. On Colnaghi, see also: Donald Garstang, ed., *Art, Commerce, Scholarship: A Window onto the Art World: Colnaghi 1760–1984* (London: Colnaghi, 1984).

28 *Ibid.* On Tessari and Zanna, see also: Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond, and Jeroen Salman, eds., *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy and the Low Countries, 1500–1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 77 and 94.

29 Clayton, "From Fireworks to Old Masters," 9.

30 In fact in January 1795 he bought Francis Wheatley's drawing representing the *Girl with Watercress* for £3.5. See: GPID Sale Cat Br-A5455 (Lot 67). The auction took place at Christie's and was the sale after death of Francis Wheatley. Almost one year later, on 6 January 1796, he published the print after Wheatley's work, clearly mentioning in the lettering that the British academician was the author of both painting and drawing, Bartolozzi being the engraver. On this transaction, see also: William Roberts, *F. Wheatley, R.A.: His Life and Works* (London: Otto, 1910), 16. In a similar way, the Schiavonetti brothers sold in 1814 a series of paintings by British artists they had engraved a few years earlier. See: GPID Sale Cat Br-1214, lot 136 for Maria Spilsbury and 140 for Robert Kerr Porter. Among them, Maria Spilsbury's *Child Found, and Happiness of the Nursery Restored* and Robert Kerr Porter's *Family of Tippoo Weeping over the Dead Body* had been respectively reproduced in 1805 and in 1801. For the engravings of these works, see: The British Museum, Acc. no.1850,1014.214 (for Kerr Porter) and 1872,0511.311 (for Maria Spilsbury).



FIGURE 5.3 Anon., *Draft Trade Card of Mariano Bovi, Engraver and Printseller*, c. 1795. Etching and stipple with hand-colouring. London, The British Museum

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executed, indicating this connection in the lettering of the print.³¹ Bovi also specialised in colour prints, following the market's demand, as a trade card dating to 1795 shows (Fig. 5.3). The card employs an artistic vocabulary that explicitly refers to Italian allegorical imagery of flying putti and infants, which Bartolozzi also regularly used. This imagery was commonly employed by other Italian printmakers and therefore came to be associated with an Italianate visual model. Bovi continued to follow the art market's trends and, while continuing to collaborate with Bartolozzi, started to produce prints on textiles for use as decoration for furniture and upholstery (Fig. 5.4).³²

31 See, for instance, Bovi's *Study of Three Children's Heads* after a drawing by Bartolozzi. The latter's drawing belonged to Bovi's collection as the inscription on the print clearly indicated: 'The above drawing in the collection of M. Bovi' (The British Museum, Acc. no. 1868,0612.2207).

32 Bovi used here an imagery which directly refers to a mercantile universe: the boat on the background and the shipment on the foreground directly support the description of the activities mentioned on the card: "Engraver and print merchant." Bovi aimed at attracting clients by insisting on 'His new invented Art of Printing in Colours on Cotton, much approved of for the use of Superb Furniture.' The artist exploited the success of cotton as



FIGURE 5.4 Mariano Bovi, *Trade Card of Mariano Bovi, Printmaker and Publisher*, 1798. Stipple engraving, 7.7 × 11.8 cm. London, The British Museum
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Combining Professions to “Make” the Market

The majority of the Italians who moved to London started their businesses as draughtsmen and printmakers and afterwards developed parallel activities, such as the art trade or publishing. This permeability of careers shaped the development of London’s commercial activities and is not exclusively bound to Italians. Printmakers like the Boydells, Valentine Green (1739–1813) and Robert Pollard (1755–1838) were also printsellers and publishers. But what characterises

a printing material which developed in eighteenth-century Britain. See: Beverly Lemire, *Fashion’s Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). As John Styles pointed out, the use of cotton knew a range of different applications around 1800 and the market subsequently adapted itself to such a variation. See: John Styles, “What were Cottons for in the Early Industrial Revolution,” in *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850*, eds. Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 307–26. This fluctuation concerned of course the print world and Bovi therefore fundamentally contributed to this development by producing prints on cotton and on a variety of cotton-related textiles such as muslin, calico and velvet. A handwritten draft catalogue of Bovi’s productions held in the British Library lists a number of prints made on several textiles: Add.Ms. 33397, ff.183–190.

the Italian community is a diversification of their activities within an existing structure—the London art market—combined with the diffusion of an Italian visual model, such as, for instance, the flying putti and infants regularly employed by printmakers. Publishing and selling art legitimated printmakers' competences and galvanised a market where collaborations between artists became more and more frequent and essential to economic prosperity.

A trade's success depends, in such a context, on both the production and distribution of artworks. As for the production, a diversification of the artworks on offer inevitably strengthens a business's economic base and renown. In order to create variety, different versions of the same image were produced in order to satisfy multiple demands. For his Shakespeare Gallery, for instance, publisher John Boydell proposed several versions of the same image, pricing them according to the paper size and the type of impression.³³ He thus sold the paintings and the prints simultaneously to develop a wide-ranging stock, including expensive pictures as well as luxury and cheap reproductions, and to reach wealthy and less fortunate audiences in the same glance.

Artists like Bartolozzi, who were also print sellers and publishers, benefited from a privileged position in the art market and affected the distribution of prints. The success of this combination between printmaking and distribution was so remarkable that Italians rapidly reached foreign markets. For instance, on the occasion of the 1802 Leipzig art fair, the *Monthly Magazine* reported that Germans largely preferred English prints because of the array that art dealers proposed: 'Bartolozzi and Colnaghi, and other English dealers, had large assortments of English prints, aquatint, plain and coloured impressions, battle-pieces, costumes, and a variety of splendid things in the sentimental toilette-taste; which were eagerly bought by the Germans, in preference to many better productions of their own artists.'³⁴ Bartolozzi, like many other Italian engravers and dealers, was responsible for the publishing of his own artistic production. To have more time to dedicate to his artistic activity, he often collaborated with his son and pupil, Gaetano Stefano Bartolozzi (1757–1821). But the limits of this structure clearly surfaced when Bartolozzi had to cope with the counterfeit of one of his most successful works, the *Rudiments of Drawing* (Fig. 5.5).³⁵ The work, published by Gaetano Stefano, included a set

33 Rosie Dias, *Exhibiting Englishness: John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and the Formation of a National Aesthetic* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2013).

34 "Notice relative to the fine arts in Germany," *The Monthly Magazine* (1 January 1803): 483.

35 The success of the work was such, that another of Bartolozzi's pupils, Thomas Cheesman, published the series further and added, around 1816, new plates after Cipriani's and other masters' designs: *Rudiments of Drawing the Human Figure From Cipriani, Guido, Poussin, Rubens &c.* The favourable outcome of the enterprise relied, evidently, on Bartolozzi's



FIGURE 5.5 Francesco Bartolozzi after Giovanni Battista Cipriani, *Title Page of the Rudiments of Drawing*, 1786. Stipple engraving and etching, 20.8 × 30.4 cm. London, The British Museum

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of prints by Bartolozzi after Cipriani's drawings featuring a number of figures, models and specimens, and was intended for use as a reference guide for those learning to draw.³⁶ Taking advantage of the volume's success, Italian dealer and print seller Antonio Zatta (1722–1804) reproduced the same set of prints in Venice and put them on the market for the same price, a practice denounced in the 1797 exhibition catalogue of the London Royal Academy.³⁷

legacy, as contemporaries pointed out: 'It is so well known, indeed, that Mr. Cheesman has inherited, from the late Bartolozzi, all the elegance of his master's drawing and taste in engraving, that the mere mention of his name is a sufficient pledge of excellence, and renders any eulogy unnecessary.' See: "New publications on May and June, with critical remarks," *The New Monthly Magazine* (1 July 1816): 532.

36 *The Artist's Assistant; or School of Science; forming a Practical Introduction to the Polite Arts* (Birmingham: Swinney & Hawkins, 1801), 2. The *Rudiments of Drawings* paid much attention to the study of the human figure and followed, in this sense, a well diffused eighteenth-century trend. See: Peter Bicknell and Jane Munro, eds., *Gilpin to Ruskin: Drawing Masters and their Manuals, 1800–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 16.

37 John Williams, *A Critical Guide of the Present Exhibition at the Royal Academy for 1797* (London: H.D. Symonds, 1797), 19.



FIGURE 5.6 Anon., *Draft Trade Card of Gaetano Testolini, Printseller*. Etching, London, The British Museum

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In other cases, engravers and dealers proposed a variety of different supports to strengthen their business. This could include furniture design, for example, as in the case of engraver Michelangelo Pergolesi (fl. 1760–1801) who designed a set of ornaments for furniture.³⁸ Other artists invested in the diversification of the market's offer. In such a way, Gaetano Testolini, print maker, seller and publisher, advertised on his trade card (Fig. 5.6) a series of supplies for artists, including all sorts of colours, pencils and crayons, together with prints

38 Some of these pieces are kept in the Ringling Museum of Art (Florida) and in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Untermeyer Collection). On these furniture designs, see: Stephen Donald Borys, *The John and Mable Ringling Art Museum: A Guide to the Collection* (Sarasota: Ringling Art Museum, 2008), 105; Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Highlights of the Untermeyer Collection of English and Continental Decorative Arts* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 1977), 96 and 100.

and framing for collectors from his shop in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange.³⁹ The development of artists' supplies and stationery goods appeared to be a frequent practice for printmakers whose artistic skills and knowledge legitimated the quality of the articles on sale.

A large portion of Italian professionals acting in the London art market was, directly or indirectly, linked to the printmaking world. Such a connection is not accidental, as the years around 1800 were indeed a crucial moment in the history of engraving in England. Aware of the importance of their craft, printmakers started to create instruments to protect their profession. With this in mind, the Society of Engravers was founded in 1802 to preserve printmakers' rights. It was also established in response to the fact that printmakers were not allowed to become members of the prestigious Royal Academy, founded a few decades before, unless they were also painters or sculptors. Bartolozzi, who was among the founding members of the Royal Academy, was the unique exception to this rule; he also became the first president of the Society of Engravers. As indicated in the society's regulations, the purpose of its establishment was to promote a subscription to gather funds to provide financial support in cases of sickness, retirement and widowhood.⁴⁰

Italians were very well represented in the Society of Engravers because Benedetto Pastorini was among its governors. A similar situation occurred in 1807, when Giovanni Vendramini and brothers Luigi and Niccolò Schiavonetti became members of the newly founded Calcographic Society. The Calcographic Society was founded in response to the economic crisis that printmaking experienced in the first decades of the nineteenth century, mainly due to the slowdown of exportations of British prints, which had previously been much appreciated in the rest of Europe.⁴¹ The participation of Italian printmakers shows that they were actively integrated into the London printmaking sphere.

39 For the naturalisation act of Testolini, see: Parliamentary Archives, London, Private Act, 37, George III, c.1 (HL/PO/PB/1/1796/37G3n1).

40 *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* (January–June 1804): 116–7.

41 On the Calcographic Society, see: Dongho Chun, "A Plan for Raising Money for the Calcographic Society," *Print Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (2002): 373–6.

On the Crossroads of Great Britain and Italy: Artistic and Commercial Exchanges

Printmaking became increasingly professionalised all over Europe during the eighteenth century, including a growing didactic concern for the technical elements and the transmission of cultural models, in particular the Italian approach to art. With the increase in printed reproductions after old masters—either gallery paintings or frescoes and decorations in churches, palaces and villas—as well as contemporary works, this didactic concern became more visible. The basis of European high culture relied primarily on these models, which have been partly forgotten because of the predominance of French academic painting since the mid-seventeenth century. The great advantage of Italian art was, however, that it was much more regionally diverse, covered different subjects and had an overall high level of quality, at least in certain periods. In the end, this was connected to the situation in London at the end of the eighteenth century. New strategies were necessary to keep abreast of new developments. Such an approach epitomises the artists' strategy of operating on the crossroads between England and Italy. For instance, James Anthony Minasi (1776–1865), engraver and publisher, cousin of Bovi and pupil of Bartolozzi, advertised a series of drawing classes using a trade card (Fig. 5.7) whose graphic vocabulary—the winged putti—was strongly reminiscent of his master's. The depiction of infants and putti, also used by Bartolozzi and his fellow countrymen, became extremely popular in England during this period and must be ascribed to Italian artists such as Mantegna and Guercino, who regularly employed winged infants in their allegories.⁴² This model is only one aspect of the commercial and artistic exchange between the two countries.

Italian expatriates kept a strong connection, both artistically and commercially, with their country of origin. The rescue of a set of frescoes by Veronese illustrates, for instance, the operations taking place on the crossroads of these two countries. William Buchanan's 1828 sale reported that Vendramini, while travelling to Italy, was impressed by Veronese's frescoes at La Soranzo's Palace in the Venetian region where he was born. The frescoes were nearly consigned to demolition, but Vendramini, aware of their beauty, 'conceived the design of procuring them to enrich the Fine Arts of the country of his adoption.'⁴³ The catalogue entry on these frescoes insists on the magnanimity of the Italian engraver, thanks to whom the masterpieces were not only rescued but also ar-

42 Jane K. Brown, *The Persistence of Allegory: Drama and Neoclassicism from Shakespeare to Wagner* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2007), 11.

43 GPID Sale Cat Br-3110 (Lot 19).



FIGURE 5.7 Francesco Bartolozzi, *Draft Trade Card of James Anthony Minasi*, c. 1791. Etching and engraving, 6th state. London: The British Museum

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rived in England. This account is representative of the attachment of Italian expatriates to their home country and demonstrates the growing importance of the status of printmakers in England around 1800.

Art dealer Antonio Cesare de Poggi (1744–1836) also developed his career operating between his native Italy and London. Poggi was among the few Italian artists who established a print and drawing business in London without being himself a printmaker. In fact he trained as a painter and reached England around 1768.⁴⁴ He sojourned first in Devon, where he met James Northcote,

44 Zsuzsa Gonda, “Noble and Generous Actions, by Whomsoever Performed’: Antonio Cesare Poggi and John Trumbull,” in *Ex Fumo Lucem: Baroque Studies in Honour of Klára Garas*, ed. Zsuzanna Dobos, vol. 1 (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 221–32. On Poggi, see also: Camilla Murgia, “Transposed Models: The British Career of Antonio Cesare de Poggi (1744–1836),” *Predella* 38 (2014): 173–83.

a pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–92).⁴⁵ Thanks to Reynolds's recommendations, Poggi rapidly integrated into the British art world. The Italian artist subsequently moved to London, where he established his own business and apparently travelled regularly to Italy with his wife, Hester Lewis. Continuing his activities as an art dealer while in Italy, Poggi made use of his British relationships, as is clear from a letter written by his wife in January 1777, while sojourning in Florence, to the couple's friend, Ozias Humphrey (1742–1810), a British portrait painter living in London.⁴⁶ In London, Poggi established a successful business as a fan maker. Collectors sought after his fans based on designs by fellow artists, such as Bartolozzi. The account that the writer Fanny Burney left of a visit to his shop in 1781 is helpful to understand the fashionable character of these luxury objects, as well as their international production: 'I passed the whole day at Sir Joshua Reynolds's with Miss Palmer, who, in the morning, took me to see some most beautiful fans, painted by Poggi, from designs of Sir Joshua, Angelica, West, and Cipriani, on leather; they are, indeed more delightful than can be imagined.'⁴⁷ Burney's report is representative of Poggi's double strategy: the collaboration with British or Anglo-Saxon artists on the one hand and with Italian expatriate artists on the other.

On a few occasions, Italian emigrants dedicated themselves exclusively to art dealing, returning regularly to Italy to fill their stock of artworks. This was the case for Angelo Bonelli, who moved from Rome to London in the late eighteenth century and established his commercial gallery on Duke Street.⁴⁸ His first sales took place in 1803 and lasted apparently until 1818.⁴⁹ Bonelli mainly sold old master paintings focusing on Italian painters, such as the Carraccis, Federico Barocci or Andrea Locatelli, in addition to French masters, such as Claude Lorrain and Northern European painters, such as Paul Bril or Jan Both. The art dealer bought these items directly from their owners, without appealing to any intermediary figure. Before returning to Italy to undertake

45 Stephen Lucius Gwynn, *Memorials of an Eighteenth Century Painter (James Northcote)* (London: T. Fischer Unwin, 1898), 116–7.

46 Letter from Hester Poggi to Ozias Humphrey, Florence, 20 January 1777. London, The Royal Academy of Arts, HU/2/49. Poggi apparently borrowed some money from Humphrey to pay a debt and intended to send to his friend a bill for some paintings his British fellow had in custody.

47 Frances Burney, *Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay, edited by her Niece, Charlotte Barrett*, vol. 2 (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1854), 10. On Fanny Burney's visit to Poggi's shop, see also: Dorothy Moulton Mayer, *Angelica Kauffmann, R.A., 1741–1807* (Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1972), 93; Jane Roberts, Prudence Sutcliffe, and Susan Mayor, *Unfolding Pictures: Fans in the Royal Collection* (London: The Royal Collection, 2005), 83.

48 John Feltham, *The Picture of London* (London: Phillips, 1805), 261.

49 The GPID recorded a last sale in 1814.

an acquisition campaign, Bonelli would sell all of the items in his possession at public auction. The advertisements of these events provide evidence of the economic situation and the investments that the Italian dealer undertook in moving the paintings from Italy to the United Kingdom. In May 1804, for instance, just before leaving London, Bonelli advertised an important auction that was meant to take place not in his gallery, but on Old Bond Street in the rooms of a renowned auctioneer, Charles Farebrother.⁵⁰ The advertisement clearly states that Bonelli personally bought the Italian masterworks, intending them for a British audience: 'Signior [*sic*] Bonelli spared neither expense nor pains in selecting the chef d'œuvres, and being now on the point of returning to Rome, the whole of the Gallery will, therefore, be submitted peremptorily, and without reserve, to the protection of a discerning and liberal British public.'⁵¹ The sales catalogue listed, as Frederickson points out, a series of prestigious provenances.⁵² Bonelli apparently hoped, in such a way, to increase his profit. Frederickson noticed, in fact, that all of the lots in this auction had already appeared in another sale, which took place at Christie's in February of the same year.⁵³ Bonelli significantly modified the catalogue's contents to embellish the items' descriptions, which, although exaggerated, employ the marketing tactic of the inclusion of a system of visual references based on Italian art. For instance, when listing Federico Barocci's *Christ Calling Andreas*, Bonelli stated: 'In this picture the connoisseur will admire the superiority of colouring of that great master, who has united the design of Raphael to the colouring of Correggio.'⁵⁴

Marketing Italian(ate) Art and the Search for a National Artistic Production

The success of Italian engravers in London also contributed to the ongoing discussion around printmaking and Italian art collecting in general. With the arrival of Italian emigrants and the rise of Bartolozzi's pupils in the 1780s, the number of transactions concerning Italian art grew significantly. For instance, the acquisition of several drawings by Guercino, which entered the

50 The company apparently existed since the early years of the nineteenth century. Cash books and miscellaneous documents are kept in the London Metropolitan Archives: CLC/B/081.

51 *Morning Chronicle*, 2 May 1804: 3.

52 GPID Sale Cat Br-257.

53 GPID Sale Cat Br-241.

54 GPID Sale Cat Br-151-A (Lot 22).

Royal Collection under King George III, played a major role in the development of knowledge about the Italian artist. By engraving the drawings in the Royal Collection, Bartolozzi entertained and intensified this growing interest. The data concerning Guercino's sales during the second half of the eighteenth century are representative of the importance of this period in the history of collecting and of the reception of Italian art in general. Between 1751 and 1759, only twenty-five lot numbers are recorded for Guercino in sales taking place in London.⁵⁵ On the other hand, a few decades later, this number exploded with 222 lots recorded between 1780 and 1789. In 1803 Josiah Boydell was well aware that most of the British engravings had been executed by foreign artists and underlined the need for a proper training of printmakers, which would lead to a truly national "school" of printmaking:

we had in England but a small number of eminent Engravers, and most of them were foreigners. To remove this defect, it was requisite to bestow upon those, who seemed capable of improvement, a proper cultivation, together with such rewards as seemed absolutely necessary to stimulate men of genius and prompts them to proceed with resolution and spirit.⁵⁶

On the other hand, Boydell's success particularly relied on Bartolozzi's work. In 1803, in fact, Boydell published a portfolio of eighty-two prints that the Florentine artist engraved after the drawings by Guercino in the Royal Collection. The success of this volume was considerable, and Boydell went on to publish a second series consisting of seventy-four prints etched by Bartolozzi after other Italian masterworks, from Michelangelo to the Carraccis, also belonging to the Royal Collection. In his catalogue Boydell insisted on the fact that Bartolozzi had executed all the prints in England, but also that the sheets show Guercino's characteristic manner:

The Prints contained in these Two Volumes are the first productions of Mr. Bartolozzi on his coming into this Country, and are universally esteemed by connoisseurs to be in the best style of this celebrated Artist; they have also the peculiar merit of possessing all the spirit and character of the exquisite Works of Guercino, &c. after which they were engraved.⁵⁷

55 Analysis based on the sales recorded in the GPID.

56 *An Alphabetical Catalogue of Plates, engraved by the most esteemed artists, after the finest pictures and drawings of the Italian, Flemish, German, French, English, and other schools, which compose the stock of John and Josiah Boydell, engravers and printsellers* (London: Boydell, 1803), xvi.

57 *Id.*, xi.

The attention paid to an artist's training represented a crucial step not only for British printmaking, but also for the constitution of collections in general. Indeed, a discussion started to develop around the need for collecting prints both as objects of aesthetic value and as material for knowledge. Around 1806, John Landseer's lecture series on engraving brought this discussion to light in his questioning of the role of the "copyist," a title ascribed to many printmakers who sold printed reproductions after paintings.⁵⁸ In 1828 art dealer Thomas Wilson wrote an introductory essay in the sales catalogue of his print collection, in which he pointed out that prints were collected in England for their usefulness as illustrations rather than as artworks and proof of an artist's skill. However, according to the dealer, these works were extremely precious because they offered, through a graphic translation, the manner of an artist.⁵⁹

However, new difficulties also arose in England with the changing political situation in Europe in the aftermath of the French Revolution and the reorganisation of the various countries and cultural life. The art market in general and the print market in particular suffered from this situation. Entire collections were dispersed, and new collections of prints became increasingly rare. Engravers thus entered into a more competitive situation, not limited to Britain, but also on the Continent. It is therefore no surprise that Italian expatriate art professionals, as well as their fellow British colleagues, struggled to keep their trades safe. Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery closed in 1803 following its bankruptcy; the sale of the remaining paintings took place in 1805.⁶⁰ This outcome was common and concerned many Italians. In a similar way, Bovi's trade activities started to decline and, after a sale in 1802 that led to catastrophic results, the artist announced his own bankruptcy in 1804.⁶¹ Testolini's shop

58 John Landseer, *Lectures of the Art of Engraving* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1807). On Landseer's lectures and criticism of commercial printmaking, see: John Klancher, *Transfiguring the Arts and Sciences: Knowledge and Cultural Institutions in the Romantic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 75–7.

59 *A catalogue raisonné of the Select Collection of Engravings of an Amateur* (London: s.n., 1828), I. A year before, collector George Cumberland insisted on the didactical goal of print collecting. Cumberland, who was also an amateur printmaker and painter, defended the role of print collecting as a catalyst for knowledge: "t is not to steal the ideas of the old master that we study them, but rather to amalgamate them with those of each other and our own: new ideas of beauty and grandeur can alone arise from happy combinations, and as he that has read attentively the best authors is likely to acquire the best style; so he that is conversant with the works of all the good Artists, it is most likely, will be successful in his own." See: George Cumberland, *An Essay on the Utility of Collecting the Best Works of the Ancient Engravers of the Italian School* (London: W. Nicol, 1827), 15–6.

60 The 1805 sale took place at Christie's on 17–20 May: GPID Sale Cat Br–334.

61 For the 1802 sale, see: GPID Sale Cat Br–146. For the announcement of the bankruptcy, see: *London Gazette*, 1 January 1804: 217 and 245.

also ended due to financial problems and to a subsequent bankruptcy in 1808.⁶² Some other artists managed to move elsewhere, giving new life to their trades. Within this context, Bartolozzi's move to Lisbon in 1802 represents a key moment for the commercial activities of Italian artists in London, as many of his fellow engravers were obliged to relocate or close their businesses. Some of them, such as Domenico Pellegrini, followed Bartolozzi to Portugal and later returned to Italy. Others, such as Poggi, moved their businesses independently from Bartolozzi and attempted to start anew in Paris. Although the majority of Italian expatriate artists left England, some also managed to stay in London. For instance, Anthony Molteno not only kept his business prosperous until his death in 1816, but he also left his print shop to his son, James Anthony, who remained active until the 1830s.⁶³

Conclusion

The immigration of Italian artists to London triggered a series of repercussions concerning the artistic sphere of the city, which also touched upon commercial and cultural contexts. The dense network of the production of artworks developed in a delicate period for printmaking and for British art in general. The combination of skills and the permeability of professions related to printmaking corresponded to a boom in printed images and an important growth in the art market. Prints were works of art in their own right, but in many cases they also allowed for the reproduction of paintings that were often inaccessible to clients or interested *amateurs*. Prints were used as substitutes for paintings, creating a demand and therefore establishing their own market. They contributed to making Italian models available and to increasing interest in different visual references. Both Italian and British prints contributed to the diffusion of British material culture until the Regency period. Because an important part of this artistic production was executed by foreigners, such as Italian immigrants, the impact these artworks had on collecting and on the knowledge associated with these works evidently had to be rearranged and positioned between national and international spheres.

62 *The National Register*, 25 September 1808: 616.

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Berlin – Paris: Transnational Aspects of French Art Auctions in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century

Lukas Fuchsgruber

In a previously unrecognised obituary for the Paris-based German art dealer and art historian Otto Müндler by Wilhelm Bode, Müндler is praised as a source of knowledge for the Berlin museum and described as an institutionally external actor who actually assisted with acquisitions for various German collections during both the 1850s and 1860s.¹ Bode commends Müндler as a patriotic art agent ‘who, in the diaspora, in the humblest of circumstances, always upheld his Germanness and was a credit to it.’² Müндler had moved to Paris in 1835, in his early twenties, but had kept ties to Berlin in particular. In the following text he serves as a case study for the international circulation of knowledge and artworks.³ The other case study in this text is the Berlin-based dealership Lepke, run by Louis Eduard Lepke and later his son Rudolph Lepke, who established ties with Paris, a transfer in the opposite direction to Müндler. While Müндler’s success in the market was due to his knowledge of old masters, with a certain focus on the Italian Renaissance, Lepke connected markets for living artists between the two cities.

In the valuation of works of art, the setting of a price is the last step, the result of a discursive attribution of quality; in this regard, aesthetic and commercial evaluations merge. The structure of this mediation is characterised by

1 On Otto Müндler, see: Tilmann von Stockhausen, “Otto Müндler als Agent der Berliner Gemäldegalerie,” *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 39 (1997): 99–113; Rolf Kultzen, “Einiges über die kunsthistorischen Leitbilder Otto Müндlers,” in *Hülle und Fülle. Festschrift für Tilmann Buddensieg*, ed. Andreas Beyer (Alfter: VDG, 1993), 323–35; Jaynie Anderson, “Otto Müндler and his Travel Diary,” in *The Travel Diaries of Otto Müндler, 1855–1858*, eds. Carol Togneri Dowd and Burton Frederickson (London: The Walpole Society, 1985), 7–64; Barbara Götzte, “Quellen zur Kunstgeschichte. Otto Müндler—Tagebücher,” *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 39 (1997): 115–22.

2 Wilhelm von Bode, “Die Großherzogl. Gemälde-Galerie im Augusteum zu Oldenburg,” *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 42 (1907): 284.

3 Circulation is understood here in the sense of both economic traffic and cultural transfer. For methodological reflections on the topic of transnational circulation, see the introduction and the texts in: Catherine Dossin, Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, and Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann, *Circulations in the Global History of Art* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

the concept of the “knowledge market;” knowledge that is ordered and able to spread is essential in order to stabilise the accumulation of value.⁴ The boundaries of this circulation of knowledge are fuzzy. It begins in the market and in museums, but also in scholarship. An extended definition of circulation must therefore consider not only objects, actors and money, but also knowledge itself and its media. Such a model of transnational exchange can accommodate both aesthetic and economic aspects. In this way it does not deal with the art market as a clearly separate sphere beyond the art world, but instead relates economic aspects to supposedly purely artistic ones.

In the nineteenth century there was considerable exchange between the Berlin and Paris art worlds, with a steady transfer of individuals, artworks and knowledge between the two metropolises. This is reflected in sources including exhibition catalogues, press articles, lists of pupils, address books and correspondence. However, documents from the art market also contribute to the picture of this transnational exchange. During this period, auctions developed into a leading forum of the art world in Paris. This was a time when individual galleries could be places of transnational exchange; however, Parisian auctions were also central hubs with large audiences. Auctions became a catalyst of transnational encounters in the art world. This text aims to contribute to the field of transnational art history from the perspective of art market research.⁵ It seeks to contribute to the research on the Parisian auction market in the middle of the nineteenth century,⁶ and on transfers between Paris and Berlin.⁷ The central questions explored here are how the French auction market can be positioned in the context of transnational art history, and how it supported the varied processes of circulation. These questions will be answered by examining several auctions related to Lepke and Müндler in the 1850s, as well as the networks around these events.

4 Isabelle Graw, *High Price: Art between the Market and Celebrity Culture* (Köln: Sternberg Press, 2009), 9.

5 The term “transnational” is used here instead of “international” as this text is not only about two art dealers who built up international networks, but also about how they actively moved objects, knowledge and themselves across national borders. In the example of Otto Müндler we witness very specific transfers between primarily Paris and Berlin, but also including Italian cities, Amsterdam and London.

6 Manuel Charpy, “Le Théâtre des objets. Espaces privés, culture matérielle et identité bourgeoise” (PhD diss., University François-Rabelais de Tours, 2010); Nicholas Green “Circuits of Production, Circuits of Consumption: The Case of Mid-Nineteenth-Century French Art Dealing,” *Art Journal* 1 (1989): 29–34.

7 France Nerlich, *La Peinture française en Allemagne, 1815–1870* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 2010), 235–50; Stockhausen, “Agent der Berliner Gemäldegalerie.”

The text will first summarise the situation in 1852 at the newly created auction house Hôtel Drouot in Paris and the early history of the Lepke firm in Berlin. It will then show how the Drouot was the site of Lepke's early auction endeavours, inspiring their use of auctions in Berlin. The second case study of Otto Mündler will then show how this far more mobile actor used Paris as a platform to reach back to Berlin, but also to circulate between Italian cities, London and Amsterdam.

The Hôtel Drouot

The art markets in Berlin and Paris in the middle of the nineteenth century are marked by an imbalance of art auctions in the two cities. Lepke's auction house in Berlin opened in 1869, whereas in Paris the monumental auction house Hôtel Drouot existed since 1852, and auction houses specialising in art had existed since the second half of the eighteenth century (Fig. 6.1). French auctioneers held a state-sanctioned monopoly. In the nineteenth century they were organised in a chamber and their number was limited to eighty.⁸ The auctioneers' monopoly covered the various forms of auction, which included judicial sales, the sale of seized property and estate auctions. Apart from this, there were voluntary auctions by dealers, collectors, artists and private individuals, meaning that the items traded ranged from everyday objects, fashion and wine, to horses, books and paintings.

The Hôtel Drouot was the central venue of French art auctions in the second half of the nineteenth century. Auctioneers had opened the space in 1852 and centralised the auctions there. Hundreds of auctions were then held each month;⁹ every day, thousands of objects were on display.¹⁰ In the 1850s, this monumental centre for the art trade stood in stark contrast to how things were done in Berlin. The beginning of a relevant art auction market in Berlin is associated with the work of Rudolph Lepke, who successfully established an auction house in the 1870s and 1880s.¹¹ Berlin was considered an insignificant place for the art market during the preceding decades—one which was primarily of

8 Isabelle Rouge-Ducos, *Le crieur et le marteau. Histoire des commissaires-priseurs de Paris (1801–1945)* (Paris: Édition Belin, 2013), 33.

9 Archives de Paris, Paris, Déclarations des Ventes 1854, D1E3 107.

10 Jules Champfleury, *L'hôtel des commissaires-priseurs* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1867), vi.

11 According to Malkowsky, the first auctions of Lepke took place in the 1860s. See: Georg Malkowsky, *Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Berliner Kunsthandels* (Berlin, 1912), 39.



FIGURE 6.1 M.A. Texier, *Une vente de tableaux, à l'Hôtel des Commissaires-Priseurs, 1868*, in *L'Univers Illustré. Journal Hebdomadaire* 10 (1868): 276 (detail)

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local interest.¹² In Prussian Berlin during the middle of the century, auctions were still held under the supervision of royal auction commissioners, such as Theodor Müller and A. Meyer.¹³ They were responsible for both court-ordered and voluntary auctions, a system comparable with France's official auctioneers, who also had such a dual role in the nineteenth century.¹⁴ The institutional setting was very similar in Berlin and Paris, although the art auctions in Berlin had not yet reached a comparable importance. New archival material related to the Lepke firm shows that, long before 1869, the company was testing out the auction business in its reach towards the Parisian market.

12 Malkowsky, *Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus*, 41.

13 Sale catalogues are the main source here, e.g.: Th. Müller, *Verzeichniss einer, aus dem Nachlasse eines hohen Staatsbeamten herrührenden, Sammlung von Gemälden, so wie von Handzeichnungen und neueren Kupferstichen, welche den 18. October 1847 und die folgenden Tage in Berlin durch den K. Auctions-Commissarius Herrn Th. Müller öffentlich versteigert werden sollen* (Berlin: Müller, 1847).

14 The catalogue cover of Th. Müller, *Alexander von Humboldt's Kunst-Nachlass, welcher am 17. September 1860 und den folgd. Tagen [...] durch den k. gerichtl. und aussergerichtl. Auctions-Commissarius für Bücher und Kunstsachen Th. Müller [...] versteigert werden soll* (Berlin: Müller, 1860) documents this double function.

The Lepke Art Dealership in Berlin

The Lepke art dealership was founded by Nathan Levi Lepke in Berlin in 1839. Both of his sons, Louis Eduard Lepke and Julius Lepke, as well as his grandson, Rudolph Lepke, worked in the art trade and continued to run the company in various forms.¹⁵ While the auctions held at the Lepke art dealership in the period after 1869, when it was run by Rudolph Lepke, are well documented, we know very little about the company's earlier commitment to this form of business from the time it was established around 1840. As will be explained below, the company's activities in Paris are revealing when it comes to the auction business.

Another Berlin art dealer, Louis Sachse, was also cultivating an intense exchange with Paris at that time, with a particular focus on reproduction technologies, such as those in printmaking and photography, the latter of which had been recently discovered. In 1827, at the age of 29, he spent half a year in Paris in order to study lithography at the institute of Knecht, Senefelder et Cie.¹⁶ The following year, he opened his own lithographic institute in Berlin. Also in the middle of the century, one of the Lepkes—presumably Louis Eduard Lepke—was active in Paris; Sachse's diaries mention an encounter in 1851.¹⁷ Just like Sachse, the Lepke art dealership was also involved in the publication of printed reproductions, and in addition it also imported French paintings to Berlin. The art magazine *Dioskuren* distinguished the two competitors, Sachse and Lepke, from one another based on their public image, claiming that Sachse and his exhibition rooms had a more popular orientation, while Lepke was more professional and reserved.¹⁸

An 1853 auction catalogue originally issued by auctioneer Theodor Müller bears the handwritten note 'My first catalogue, Lepke.'¹⁹ It remains unclear whether this was the first Louis Eduard Lepke auction to be officially led by Müller, or whether it was the first catalogue in Rudolph Lepke's library. Evidence of a possible early collaboration with Müller exists in the form of later catalogues by Louis Eduard Lepke and Louis Sachse, which document

15 Handelsregister des Königl. Stadtgerichts zu Berlin, in *Königlich Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* (1864): 1979.

16 Anna Ahrens, "Louis Sachse," in *Pariser Lehrjahre. Ein Lexikon zur Ausbildung Deutscher Maler in der Französischen Hauptstadt*, vol. 1: 1793–1843, eds. France Nerlich and Bénédicte Savoy (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 249–51.

17 Annette Schlagenhauff, "Die Kunst zu handeln. Louis Friedrich Sachse—Lithograph, Kunstförderer und Kunsthändler in Berlin," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 42 (2000): 288.

18 Max Schasler, "Kunst-Kritik. Berliner Kunstschau," *Dioskuren* 38 (1865).

19 Malkowsky, *Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus*, 38.

their cooperation in the 1860s and 1870s.²⁰ In the 1850s it was uncommon to find the name of an art dealer mentioned on the cover of a catalogue, but during the 1860s and 1870s, the front pages of the Berlin catalogues changed considerably in favour of more explicitly mentioning them, as was customary in France, where they performed the function of so-called experts. These experts were often not only authorities on their subjects, but they were also directly involved in arranging the auctions, meaning that they were internal rather than external actors at the auction house. This extended to their direct economic participation in auctions, as in cases where they were held on behalf of the expert.

In Berlin, art dealers originally appeared in catalogues as the places where they were distributed, prior to a single dealer's name appearing on the front page. Two documented examples from Berlin show a more explicit mention of Lepke on the cover as the catalogue publisher in 1865, and in the early 1870s there was also a clearly marked division of duties, with Sachse named as the director of the auction and a small addendum mentioning Müller as the auctioneer.²¹

Lepke's 1855 Auction in Paris

Towards the middle of the century, the Lepke art dealership in Berlin explored the terrain of French auctions by means of imports and exports. Previously unrecognised material from an archive in Paris reveals that they were already active at the Hôtel Drouot by 1855.

On 3 December 1855 Lepke held an auction in collaboration with the French auctioneers at the Hôtel Drouot. This auction took place anonymously, with the provenance in the catalogue indicating only 'M. X*** de Berlin.'²² It is only

20 Louis Eduard Lepke, *Panneberg'sche Gemälde-Sammlung. I. Abtheilung. Original Gemälde alter und neuer Meister welche am 17. und 18. Mai d. J. [...] durch den Königlichen Auctions-Commissarius für Kunstsachen, Herrn Dr. Th. Müller [...] versteigert werden* (Berlin: Lepke, 1865) and Louis Sachse, *Achte Berliner Versteigerung geleitet durch die Hofkunsthändler von L. Sachse & Co. In Berlin 41 vorzügl. Original-Aquarellen moderner Meister ferner 31 schöne Federzeichnungen des renommirten Malers Herrmann Kauffmann in Hamburg [...] sowie 11 Original-Zeichnungen des Historienmalers und Professors Adolph Menzel [...]* Auctionator: Königl. Auctions-Commissarius Herr Th. Müller (Berlin: Sachse, 1871).

21 *Ibid.*

22 Charles Pillet, Commissaire-Priseur, M. Febvre, Expert, *Catalogue d'une collection de 70 tableaux, bonnes reproductions d'après les plus belles œuvres des Musées de Dresde, Vienne, Munich, Berlin et autres provenant du Cabinet de M. X*** de Berlin, dont la vente aura lieu*

possible to assign ownership to Lepke through an analysis of the auction record at the Archives de Paris.²³ The auction was held on behalf of the expert Alexis Febvre, who in turn was a middleman for Lepke—a common practice at the time.

This 1855 Parisian auction lends weight to the assumption that the early Lepkes were already conducting auctions in Berlin as early as the 1850s, as was suggested by the unclearly marked catalogue from 1853 noted above. This means that Lepke used a similar approach in Paris and Berlin to test a new business model by means of middlemen and official auctioneers, Febvre and Pillet in Paris, and Müller in Berlin.

In Paris, Lepke auctioned copies of works from collections in cities including Dresden, Vienna, Munich and Berlin. Despite the fact that the auction contained no originals, it was held in one of the large, prestigious halls intended for art auctions on the upper floor of the Hôtel Drouot and was conducted by Charles Pillet, the most important auctioneer at that time. Apart from the inclusion of numerous old masters, such as Raphael, Titian, Metsu, Correggio, Murillo, Rubens and Guido Reni, one of the focal points of the auction consisted of fifteen pieces after the Berlin artist Eduard Meyerheim. The auction was opened with two copies of his works. The fact that a Berlin art dealer opted to offer such works in Paris should be considered within the context of the *exposition universelle* of 1855, which took place the same year. This exhibition prepared Paris audiences for art from Prussia, and Lepke's auction allowed them to acquire copies after famous paintings, including two paintings by Eduard Meyerheim, which had been displayed at the *exposition universelle*.²⁴ The public sale of copies was therefore able to tie in directly with this exhibition.

This auction is not only further evidence of Lepke having been involved in the auction market from very early on, but it also offers insight into their transnational marketing strategies. As a direct result of the international exhibition in 1855, Lepke introduced copies into a flourishing Parisian market in the middle of the century. At the same time, a connection was established with the museums that held the original works. This auction was a multi-layered process of translation and transfer.

Hôtel des Commissaires-Priseurs rue Drouot, N. 5, Grande Salle N° 5 le lundi 3 décembre 1855 à une heure (Paris: Pillet, 1855).

23 Archives de Paris, Paris, Procès-verbaux Vente Febvre Lepke, 3 December 1855, D48E3 47 N° 3949.

24 Friedrich von Bötticher, *Malerwerke des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2, part 1 (Leipzig: Schmidt & Günther, 1901), 44.

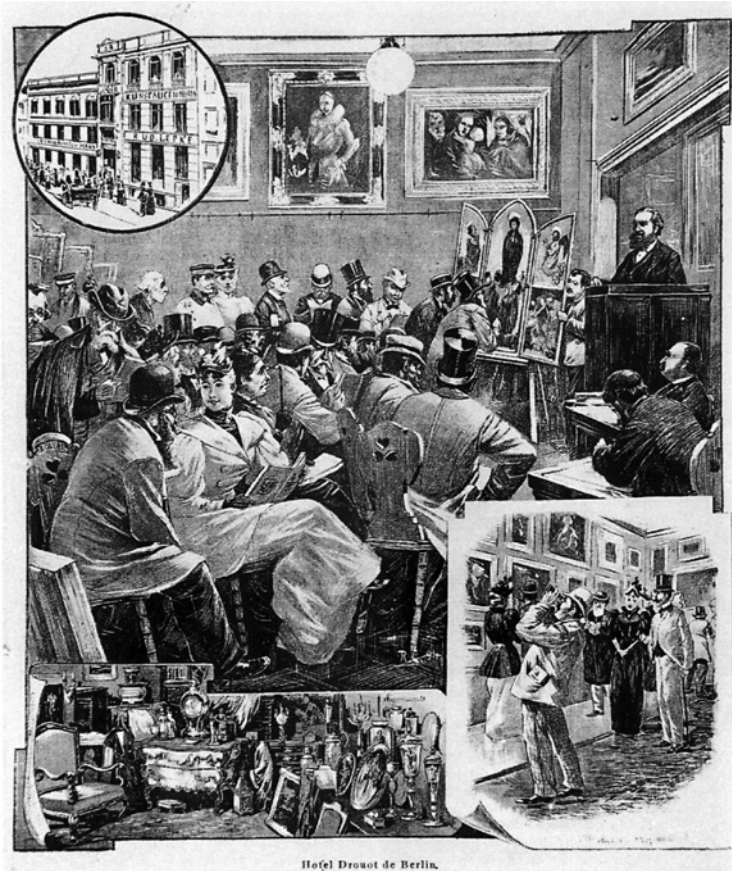


FIGURE 6.2 Anon., *Hôtel Drouot de Berlin*, 1895, in *Der Sammler* 1895. After Karl Heinz Arnold, *Auktion in der Kunst* (Frankfurt am Main: Kramer, 1998), 68

Lepke and the “School” of Barbizon

While Lepke was busy making Meyerheim and other German artists accessible to Parisian audiences, the dealership in Berlin was also becoming a well-known address for the purchase of French art (Fig. 6.2). Eduard Meyerheim’s son Paul later recalled that as a youngster, in 1858, his father had taken him to the Lepke gallery to view French landscape paintings.²⁵ Being introduced to French art in

25 Paul Meyerheim, “Meine Erinnerungen an Teutwart Schmitson,” in *Kunst und Künstler* 2 (1904): 342.

Berlin by an art dealer and by his father as his teacher was completely normal for him. Eduard Meyerheim sought to expose his son to new artistic trends at the very beginning of his interest in painting—trends that he personally sometimes viewed critically. There was an additional way in which art dealers—including Lepke and Sachse in particular—created access to French art; they arranged for French artists to appear at the academic institution that was Berlin's Akademie exhibition.²⁶

Years later, Paul Meyerheim remembered these early encounters with the art trade and embarked upon an educational tour of his own. His journey took him via Paris to the forest of Fontainebleau at Barbizon, where he created three known works.²⁷ One painting is a war loss of the museum in Gdansk;²⁸ another oil painting, entitled *Stag in the Forest of Fontainebleau* has been lost; and one watercolour, the whereabouts of which are unknown, was last seen in a private collection.²⁹ Both his first encounter with French art, while he was still in Berlin, and his educational tour took place outside of traditional academic structures. This reflected the overall change in the French art world during the second half of the nineteenth century, with the weakening of the academy's authority and the emergence of alternative modes of circulation, such as independent exhibitions and galleries.³⁰ Meyerheim experienced this changing art world in the 1850s and 1860s when he became successful in his role as an outsider. As a popular circus and animal painter, he found himself free from certain academic demands. This resulted in his initial rejection in Paris, and as such he was unable to achieve his primary goal of spending time at one of the city's well-known artist's studios, which is why he left for Barbizon. Despite his problems with the training structures in Paris, he was later able to exhibit in the city, participating in the Salon in 1866 and 1867. Furthermore, Ludwig Pietsch reported that during his stay Meyerheim was a respected figure in local artistic circles.³¹

26 Schlagenhauff, "Die Kunst zu handeln," 271.

27 Lukas Fuchsgruber, "Paul Meyerheim," in *Pariser Lehrjahre. Ein Lexikon zur Ausbildung Deutscher Maler in der Französischen Hauptstadt*, vol. 2: 1844–70, eds. France Nerlich and Bénédicte Savoy (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 163–5.

28 Małgorzata Danielewicz, ed., *Straty wojenne Muzeum Miejskiego w Gdańsku*, vol. 1 (Gdansk: Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku, 2005), 80.

29 *Gemälde und Zeichnungen von Paul Meyerheim, Akademische Kunstaussstellung Kgl. Akademie der Künste vom 1. April bis zum 12. Mai 1900* (Berlin: Königliche Akademie der Künste, 1900).

30 Harrison C. and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

31 Fuchsgruber, "Paul Meyerheim."

Meyerheim's early experience illustrates the parallels between academic and commercial circulation, a relationship that became more acute as the century progressed. The relationship between the two is demonstrated particularly clearly by the Salon exhibition. Before the advent of galleries in France, artists had almost nowhere other than this exhibition to display their works and in turn to attract potential buyers. This relationship is evident not only through the emergence of more commercial exhibitions. Even the Salon itself, as an academically staged venue, was a commercial forum.³² The way Lepke tied in commercially with the annual exhibition by holding an auction the same year was a strategy intended to take advantage of the Salon.

Meyerheim's educational tour, which did not take place in the Parisian studios, can also be seen in this context. The Barbizon school of painters sought both new spaces to exhibit as well as new areas of artistic practice. In this regard, the auction house was a relevant exhibition space for them, as Simon Kelly has studied in the case of Narcisse Díaz de la Peña and Théodore Rousseau.³³ In the 1850s these artists organised individual auctions, which for them represented a significant link back to the city. It was within this changing art market and exhibition practice that Lepke anchored his Parisian auction, which offered works including some by the living artist Eduard Meyerheim.

Lepke's activities in French art in Berlin in turn demonstrate that the new network of spaces extended beyond national borders. Lepke's business, as experienced and described by Paul Meyerheim early on, indicated that the move away from academic spaces was not a dead end, but instead resulted in new artistic contacts and practices.

Auctions accelerated the relationship between exhibitions and sales, reducing the exhibitions into a condensed form held in advance and lasting one or two days and accelerating the circulation process in favour of a concentrated succession of lots in a temporally and spatially concentrated public event. French landscape painters used the auction house as a new space for their art, even in the innovative format of individual auctions, which were comparable to highlighting an artist in a solo exhibition. As a rule, however, group auctions were also held, during which the same art dealers who made the individual auctions possible—such as the highly influential Pierre-Firmin

32 Gerrit Walzcak, "Werben und Verkaufen: Ausstellungen und der Kunstmarkt im Paris des 18. Jahrhunderts" (paper presented at the annual workshop of the Forum Kunst und Markt, Berlin, 22 November 2014).

33 Simon Kelly, "This Dangerous Game': Rousseau, Diaz and the Uses of the Auction in the Marketing of Landscapes," in *Soil and Stone: Impressionism, Urbanism, Environment*, eds. Frances Fowle and Richard Thomson (Edinburgh: Visual Arts Research Institute Edinburgh, 2003), 33–48.

Martin—would offer a curated selection of works for auction.³⁴ These auctions took place regularly at the Hôtel Drouot and contrasted with the range of collections placed on the market as a result of estate auctions. Lepke then introduced curated auctions in Berlin based on the Parisian model.³⁵

As we have seen, Lepke used the exhibition circuits as a platform for his business, supporting the circulation of painters from Berlin in Paris and painters from Paris in Berlin. This two-way transfer was based on their precise knowledge of the market in both cities. In a move towards establishing an auction house in Berlin inspired by the Parisian market, Lepke amplified their involvement from circulating artworks to importing an entire business model.

After their initial experiments in 1853 and 1855, the Lepke dealership started to become more visible in auction catalogues again in the 1860s with the Panneberg sale of 1865. This sale was still handled by Louis Eduard Lepke, under the supervision of the royal auction commissary, Theodor Müller. The situation changed in 1869, when his son, Rudolph Lepke, opened an auction house. He was the first of the Lepke family to be an auction commissary himself, eliminating the necessity of relying on cooperation. His competitors were either very specialised—like Amsler und Ruthardt, who held print auctions—or went out of business—like Sachse, who went bankrupt. Consequently, Lepke called the auctions that took place in his salesroom ‘Berliner Kunst-Auktionen’ (Berlin art auctions) and numbered them serially (number 100 was reached in 1873). Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the press even called Lepke’s space the ‘Hôtel Drouot de Berlin,’ possibly because of the auctions he held in Berlin in cooperation with the Hôtel Drouot starting in 1876.³⁶ This moniker again points to Lepke’s success in bridging the auction markets of Berlin and Paris.

34 Numerous catalogues of Martin, often cooperating with the auctioneer Boussaton, document this. See for instance: Boussaton, Commissaire-Priseur and Martin, Expert, *Catalogue de Tableaux et dessins modernes [...] Samedi 24 Mars 1855 [...] Hôtel des Commissaires-Priseurs, rue Drouot, N° 5, Grande Salle [...]* (Paris: Boussaton, 1855).

35 One of the first auctions of Rudolph Lepke already leaves out any mention of a collector or provenance: Rudolph Lepke, *Catalog von Oelgemalden, Aquarellen und Skizzen neuerer Meister. [...] 9. December 1869 [...]* (Berlin: Lepke, 1869).

36 The press depicted Lepke’s space with the caption ‘Hôtel Drouot de Berlin’ (Fig. 6.2). The original source for this illustration nor the article possibly accompanying it could be traced. According to Karl Heinz Arnold, it is from *Der Sammler* in 1895.

Otto Mündler's Gallery in Paris

The transfers that Louis Eduard Lepke and Rudolph Lepke fostered were different from those of Otto Mündler, who operated internationally as an art dealer (Fig. 6.3). While they all adapted to existing market conditions in mobilising their specialised knowledge, the resulting business operations took another shape with Mündler. The transfers that the Lepkes effected were linear—exporting German Art, importing French art—while the activities of Mündler, both when it came to the circulation of expertise and to the circulation of artworks, were related to his great mobility. He organised his movements from a gallery in Paris, which he ran for over three decades.

Otto Mündler was born in Bavaria in 1811, trained in theology in Berlin under the likes of Friedrich Schleiermacher, and traded in paintings in Paris in the middle of the century.³⁷ From 1855 to 1858 he worked as a travelling agent for the National Gallery in London,³⁸ also cooperating with the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin beginning in the 1850s, for which he also attempted to work as an agent.³⁹ He ended up in the art trade following a time working as a private tutor. His first experience of the business was the sale of his employer's collection.⁴⁰ He moved to Paris in 1834, at a time when galleries were just beginning to establish themselves there.

Mündler's gallery was founded within this milieu in the 1840s,⁴¹ initially at 7 rue St.-Georges and 15 rue Pigalle (although no information survives about these locations),⁴² and later at 9 rue Laval. The listing for his gallery on rue Laval in the 1862 issue of the *Annuaire des artistes et des amateurs* states: 'Tableaux anciens de toutes les écoles, principalement de l'école italienne.'⁴³ Adolphe Joanne wrote that it boasted a 'superb' Rubens and a 'delightful' Murillo.⁴⁴ In an obituary Alfred Woltmann described the gallery as a social meeting place, a kind of salon, whose regular guests included members of the Bonapartist art world:

37 Götze, "Quellen zur Kunstgeschichte," 116.

38 Anderson, "Otto Mündler and his Travel Diary."

39 Von Stockhausen, "Otto Mündler als Agent."

40 Anderson, "Otto Mündler and his Travel Diary," 9.

41 Götze, "Quellen zur Kunstgeschichte," 117.

42 These early addresses appear in letters that are cited by von Stockhausen and Kultzen. See: Tilmann von Stockhausen, "Ein Michelangelo für Berlin? Otto Mündler und Gustav Friedrich Waagen," *Kunstchronik* 48 (1995): 182; Rolf Kultzen, "Giovanni Morelli als Briefpartner von Otto Mündler," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 52 (1989): 392.

43 Jacob Chavignerie, ed., *Annuaire des artistes et des amateurs* (Paris: Renouard, 1862), 82.

44 Adolphe Laurent Joanne, *The Diamond Guide for the Stranger in Paris* (Paris: Hachette, 1867), 288.



FIGURE 6.3

Ernst Fröhlich, *Untitled (Missa Pschorr)*, in Giovanni Morelli, *Balvi magnus: das ist kritische Beleuchtung des balvischen Missale* (Munich, 1836), s.p. (detail). After Jaynie Anderson, "The Morelli Conference in Bergamo," *The Burlington Magazine*, 129 (1987): 597. Otto Mündler can be identified in this depiction of the Bavarian circle of Giovanni Morelli

Here the rich and noble picture collectors of France and England would often stop by, and here one might also meet Princess Mathilde and Prince Napoleon as well as [Henri] Rochefort, who for his part is also an avid lover of paintings. Mündler was considered the most experienced in these circles, someone to whom collectors, dealers and aficionados could turn for advice and information.⁴⁵

45 Alfred Woltmann, "Otto Mündler," *Nationalzeitung*, 8 May 1870: 1.

A gallery like this was a counterpart to the accelerated process of circulation occurring on the auction market. At the same time, Mündler himself was a highly visible figure at the Hôtel Drouot, as will be shown.

Mündler's collaboration with the Rothschilds in Paris may be seen as a further important example of his commercial cooperation and international activity. This contact is first documented in 1835 in his first Paris diary.⁴⁶ In his obituary for Mündler, Lützow provides further information about the 'Barons of Rothschild [...], who used to purchase their paintings by old masters only when brokered by Mündler, and on whose behalf he also, as far as we believe is true, travelled to St. Petersburg a few years ago.'⁴⁷ The fact that Mündler travelled to St. Petersburg is confirmed in Bode's memoirs and can be dated to the spring of 1869.⁴⁸ One example of Mündler's brokerage for the Rothschilds is the San Donato auction of 1868 in Florence.⁴⁹ Conversely, Mündler also used his connection to the Rothschilds for his scholarly work; in a piece written for Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *Les Anciens Peintres Flamands* in 1857, he describes a painting owned by the Rothschild family, Jan van Eyck's *La Vierge*.⁵⁰

Mündler, who had been described as a patriotic agent and who, according to Bode, retained his 'Germanness,' was very well established in the Parisian art world, active intellectually as well as commercially, and always balancing between the two. As an author, he also examined a picture from the Pereire family collections, Rubens's *Apollo and Marsyas*.⁵¹ As lending bankers the Rothschilds were more cautious on the art market than the Pereires' Crédit Mobilier, which supported riskier transactions involving art.⁵² While Mündler, who was critical of speculating with art, worked for the Rothschilds, Théophile Thoré-Bürger was instrumental in building the Pereire collection. Mündler also maintained contact with contemporary artists in Paris, including German

46 Götze, "Quellen zur Kunstgeschichte," 116.

47 Carl von Lützow, "Otto Mündler," *Beiblatt zur Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 14 (1870): 114.

48 Wilhelm von Bode, *Mein Leben*, vol. 1 (Berlin: H. Reckendorf, 1930), 27.

49 Anon., "Vente publique aux enchères de vingt-trois tableaux des écoles flamandes et hollandaises provenant de la galerie San Donato, de Florence, appartenant au prince Demidoff, faite à l'hôtel des commissaires-priseurs de Paris, le 18 avril 1868 (M. Francis Petit, expert)," *Journal des amateurs d'objets d'art et de curiosité* 12 (1868): 46.

50 Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, eds., *Les Anciens Peintres Flamands, leur vie et leurs œuvres* (Brussels: Heussner, 1862), 97–8.

51 Otto Mündler, "Apollo und Marsyas. Oelgemälde von Rubens," *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* 4 (1866): 225–36.

52 Nicholas Green, "Dealing in Temperaments: Economic Transformation of the Artistic Field in France during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," in *Critical Readings in Impressionism and Post-Impressionism: An Anthology*, ed. Mary Tompkins Lewis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 37.

artists in particular, such as the Winterhalter brothers and Schlesinger and Magnus from Berlin. He saw Magnus ‘almost daily’ during his frequent visits to Paris.⁵³

His gallery was connected to his apartment on the first floor, a semi-private space that was not visible from the street.⁵⁴ His direct business partner, Emmanuel Sano, lived in the same house. Sano was a marine painter from Antwerp who changed careers after arriving in Paris, instead focusing on the trade of paintings. He eventually became adviser for the collection of Prince Napoleon at the royal palace.⁵⁵ Another resident in the same house was the dealer-expert Adolphe Coûteaux, who worked at the Hôtel Drouot. His liquidation auction took place on rue Laval in 1863.⁵⁶ So far no evidence has been found of any direct business links between Mündler and Coûteaux. Coûteaux did, however, supervise an auction by Sano in his capacity as an expert, meaning that there is evidence of collaboration between these two men.⁵⁷

The house at 9 rue Laval was originally a studio house with two apartments. It was home to the painters Eugène Flandrin and Alfred Stevens—brother of the dealer Arthur Stevens—in the 1850s.⁵⁸ After they had moved out, Mündler, Sano and Coûteaux converted the house into a place dedicated to the art trade. Coûteaux had an office on the ground floor, Mündler’s apartment and gallery were on the first floor, and Sano lived on the third floor.⁵⁹ Once Coûteaux, Sano and Mündler no longer lived in the house, Paul Eudel, who was known as the chronicler of the Hôtel Drouot, purchased the building in 1885 and lived in it until 1889.⁶⁰ Today he is remembered by a plaque on the house, the façade of which has since changed considerably. For many decades, the building and its at times international residents had close links to the auction house.

Otto Mündler strategically positioned his gallery in a bohemian quarter. Many artists, among them Narcisse Díaz and Charles Hoguet, lived on the

53 Letter from Otto Mündler to the director of the royal painting gallery in Berlin, Gustav Friedrich Waagen, from Paris, dated 24 February 1846, published in: Stockhausen, “Ein Michelangelo für Berlin?,” 182.

54 Archives de Paris, Paris, Calepins du cadastre rue Laval, 1852, D1P4 0621.

55 Anderson, “Otto Mündler and his Travel Diary,” 10.

56 Boussaton, Commissaire-Priseur, and Petit and Roussel, Experts, *Catalogue de meubles d'art anciens et modernes [...] composant la collection de M.A. Coûteaux [...] vente [...] en son domicile rue Laval, N° 9 [...] 21 Avril 1863* (Paris: Boussaton, 1863).

57 Pouchet, Commissaire-Priseur, and Coûteaux, Expert, *Tableaux modernes composant la collection de M.E.-S. [...] dont la vente aura lieu le lundi 22 Janvier 1855 [...] rue Drouot, N. 5 [...]* (Paris: Pouchet, 1855).

58 Archives de Paris, Paris, Calepins du cadastre rue Laval, 1852, D1P4 0621.

59 *Ibid.*

60 Archives de Paris, Paris, Calepins du cadastre rue Laval, 1852, D1P4 0622.

same street or had their studios there.⁶¹ The Hôtel Drouot was a short walk from rue Laval. Mündler must have been a regular guest at the art auctions, since many key texts about the auction house mention him as an important, notable figure. He was established in the Parisian art market and used it for transnational circulation, as further evidence from auctions illustrates.

Mündler's and Sano's Auctions in the 1850s

Mündler's dispersal of the collection of paintings he shared with Sano before starting to work for the National Gallery in London represents a major turning point in his activities and his connection with the auction market. This dispersal took the form of several auctions, orientated towards specific audiences in three European capitals: Paris, London and Amsterdam. The catalogues and an archived record demonstrate how the two dealers made use of various auction locations to offer the works—some of them even at multiple auctions.

The pair held an initial auction in 1853.⁶² As was often the case, the auction was announced anonymously as the 'Cabinet de M.M ...,' and was conducted by the auctioneer Bonnefons de Laviaille and the expert Alexis Febvre, who often supervised art auctions at that time. It did not take place at the Hôtel Drouot, but at a competing location operated by dissenters from the chamber of auctioneers on rue de Jeûneurs, which was shut down soon afterwards.

The record reveals that more than a third of the ninety-four works were bought back, twenty-nine by the conducting expert, five by Sano, and one by Mündler.⁶³ Here Mündler and Sano were particularly busy when it came to the higher-priced works, so it seems that the auction was not a success. Since the auction was announced anonymously, only the twenty-nine buy-backs by the expert were recognisable as such. In the case of individual paintings, it appears that the repurchased works were brokered by Febvre before returning to Sano and Mündler. Some of them reappear in an auction by Sano in 1857.⁶⁴

61 Pierre Miquel, *Eugène Isabey, 1803–1886: la marine au XIX^e siècle*, vol. 1 (Mauris-la-Jolie: Martinelle, 1980), 238.

62 Bonnefons de Laviaille, Commissaire-Preneur, and Febvre, Expert, *Catalogue d'une intéressante collection de tableaux anciens, des écoles italienne, française, hollandaise et flamande, provenant du cabinet de M. M*** [...]* *Hotel des Ventes rue des Jeûneurs, N. 42 [...]* 14 Mars 1853 [...]. (Paris: Bonnefons de Laviaille, 1853).

63 Archives de Paris, Paris, Procès-verbaux vente de tableaux Febvre, 14 Mars 1853, D48E3 45 N° 3681.

64 *Catalogue of a small cabinet of choice pictures, the property of a gentleman, selected from the collections of marshal Soult, The Count Pourtales, The Duke of Padua [...]* *Auction [...]* May, 1857 (London: Christie's, 1857).

This took place at Christie's in London, two years after Mündler found employment in that city. A Frans Hals painting of fishermen that had been repurchased by Febvre in 1853 was offered at both auctions, as was a Canaletto, depicting the Grand Canal and Rialto in Venice, which had been repurchased by Mündler in 1853. A portrait of Philip IV by Velázquez was bought back by Sano and then offered at the London auction. Both art dealers therefore used London in a new attempt to auction works following the large number of buy-backs that had been necessary in Paris.

No such continuity can be demonstrated with another extensive auction that has been associated with Mündler, held in Amsterdam in 1854.⁶⁵ The selection of artists shows some overlap, for example with Jacob Ruysdael, David Teniers and Jan Weenix. This auction also included approximately one hundred lots featuring contemporary artists. It was tailored to the Netherlands, with early and more recent Dutch art. Furthermore, a panorama of the city of Amsterdam was also offered for sale and was even featured on the catalogue cover along with a series of cityscapes.

Sano also organised another auction of his own in this period. In 1855 his collection of modern paintings, including numerous works by Narcisse Díaz, was auctioned in Paris.⁶⁶ This auction was supervised by Coûteaux, an expert and his neighbour at 9 rue Laval. The fact that Mündler and Sano did not work as experts themselves, which was quite common for art dealers in those days, but instead that they relied on established experts, shows their position towards the auction market. They remained consignors and buyers, and therefore external actors.

Mündler and Sano, who as immigrants were very familiar with Paris by that time, selected multiple channels for the dispersal of their gallery. The individual auctions at different locations emphasised different aspects and were in some cases only associated with one of the two men, although it has been shown that direct connections can be established between individual auctions. This indicates that they knew how to use their transnational networks in order to offer works more than once.

65 *Catalogus van eene voortreffelijke en uitgebreide verzameling schilderijen [...] afkomstig uit een der voornaamste europesche kabinetten [...] 23 en 25 September [...]* (Amsterdam: Roos, 1854).

66 Pouchet, Commissaire-Priseur, and Coûteaux, Expert, *Tableaux modernes*.

Italian Art as Capital

Mündler's knowledge of the Italian market was his capital, which he was able to use to his advantage in Paris and later in London and Berlin. He had spent several years travelling in Italy, together with Charles Locke Eastlake, in the 1840s and then later as a travelling agent when Eastlake was head of the National Gallery.⁶⁷ An important partner for Mündler in his tapping of Italian art was Giovanni Morelli, who for a time lived together with Mündler in Paris.⁶⁸ At that time Italian institutions tried to prevent the export of Italian art and those in charge were cautious when it came to art acquisitions, although such a purchase was a legal condition to prevent export. If Italian collections refused to buy, Morelli would use his contacts with European collectors and agents, heavily contributing to the "drain of Italian art," much of which was former church property. This was despite the fact that he personally presided over the commission that watched over artworks of national value, which often caused conflicts with his subordinate, Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, in the 1860s.⁶⁹ Mündler also travelled around Italy with Cavalcaselle.⁷⁰ Here Morelli was essentially patriotic, first offering paintings, for example, to Italian institutions and then to the National Gallery.⁷¹ In contrast to what has been written about Guiseppe Baslini, the most famous Italian dealer, Morelli tried to take into account issues of national heritage and not simply sell to the highest bidder.⁷² In one instance, Morelli even blocked the transfer of a work from the Venetian Manfrin collection to Berlin—Giorgione's *The Tempest*—which Bode wanted to purchase. Morelli prevented the required amount from being paid out at the Italian bank and was thus able to secure the work for his own customer, Prince Giovanelli.⁷³

The historical context behind the trade in early Italian art was dominated by changes in who owned church art as well as the wartime situation in Italy. Accordingly, in his letters Morelli expresses his feeling of being torn between participating in the political disputes in Italy, in which he was deeply involved,

67 Anderson, "Otto Mündler and his Travel Diary," 9.

68 Letter from Otto Mündler to Friedrich Rückert dated 13 May 1859, quoted in: Kultzen, "Giovanni Morelli," 326.

69 Kultzen, "Giovanni Morelli," 374–5.

70 Anderson, "Otto Mündler and his Travel Diary," 39.

71 Letter from Giovanni Morelli to Otto Mündler dated 14 November 1860, printed in: Kultzen, "Giovanni Morelli," 389.

72 Anderson, "Otto Mündler and his Travel Diary," 19.

73 *Id.*, 33.

and the opportunities of attributing and buying artworks from Italian collections and churches.⁷⁴ In this regard we can extract many details about the export of art from Morelli's published letters to Mündler, which have been annotated by Rolf Kultzen. They include information about delivery periods of ten to twelve days, how shipments were influenced by the wartime situation, and individual business contacts, such as the collector and restorer Giovanni Secco Suardo, the Averoldi family, and also the English collector James Hudson, who resided in Turin from 1852.

Mündler in the Networks of the Knowledge Economy

Mündler had built up a powerful commercial network during his many travels to Italy. But again the second way to profit from these tours was in the knowledge economy, as a prolific expert of Italian art. Throughout his life Mündler sought out activities outside of the trade in paintings, which was his main occupation. On several occasions he expressed criticism of the art trade and what he perceived as an intensification of the commodification of art in Paris in particular.⁷⁵ After beginning his career as an art dealer, from the middle of the century he began to work in publishing.

This was based on both his period of training, which he used to directly study objects in Berlin exhibitions,⁷⁶ as well as his subsequent travels in Italy and to several European collections.⁷⁷ Mündler was therefore a connoisseur in the classical sense, who could use his observations to conduct skilled artistic comparisons that in turn made him an historically oft-cited authority in discussions concerning the attribution of paintings. He applied this knowledge both in the market and by becoming involved in the still-young field of art studies, in particular by producing numerous lexicon articles.⁷⁸

74 Letter from Giovanni Morelli to Otto Mündler dated 29 July 1864, printed in: Kultzen, "Giovanni Morelli," 395–6.

75 Letter from Otto Mündler to unknown recipient dated 24 April 1868, quoted in: Kultzen, "Giovanni Morelli," 330.

76 Letter from Otto Mündler to the director of the royal painting gallery in Berlin, Gustav Friedrich Waagen, from Paris, dated 24 February 1846, published in: von Stockhausen, "Ein Michelangelo für Berlin?," 181.

77 Anderson, "Otto Mündler and his Travel Diary," 9.

78 Von Stockhausen, "Agent der Berliner Gemäldegalerie," 111.

First, Müндler used his experience from travelling and visiting museums in Paris to write a critical catalogue in French of the Italian collection at the Louvre.⁷⁹ This publication is even mentioned in Flaubert's *L'Éducation sentimentale*, which notes that a German had written an entire book on the flaws of the catalogue, and as such 'foreigners' were making fun of the French.⁸⁰

As a writer, he was, however, more successful in German-speaking countries as a correspondent from Paris. Müндler reported from Paris for the *Deutsches Kunstblatt* from 1851 until 1855, before he began working in London. In the 1860s he assumed the post of foreign correspondent in Paris for the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*. He wrote several auction reports for both magazines. His auction reports should not be regarded as lists of prices achieved by the lots, but rather as a genre of their own—one that attempts to paint a clear picture of the respective auctioned collection and its history. The art market and art history are closely intertwined here in a history of collecting. In 1852 the art collection of the recently deceased King Louis-Philippe was auctioned in Paris. The historical dimension at stake here is not only that a collection of the July Monarchy was sold in the early Second Empire, but also—as Müндler explained in this report—that the context of the revolution of 1848 was still strongly felt. The turbulent political climate of the time is reflected in this sale of a royal art collection. Müндler reported on the auction in the *Deutsches Kunstblatt* and indulged in highly detailed descriptions of the paintings, which had been damaged by the hostilities of 1848.⁸¹ He even speculated about how one particularly visually powerful picture probably made the looters stop what they were doing; the events had given it a sudden new contemporary relevance, and it was spared from damage. The auctions Müндler described were linked to historic events, and he in turn historicised the auctions. Here his knowledge of European collections merged with his proximity to the art market, so he was highly suited to writing about the dispersal of collections in the auction market.

That Müндler himself only conducted a single auction in Paris is evidence of his lack of confidence in the auction market as a platform for dealers. Nevertheless, he is regarded as a central figure of the Parisian auction market. He appears in various historical texts about the Hôtel Drouot as a respected

79 Otto Müндler, *Essai d'une analyse critique de la notice des tableaux italiens du musée national du Louvre accompagné d'observations et de documents relatifs à ces mêmes tableaux* (Paris: Didot, 1850).

80 David Eksedjian, review of *The Travel Diaries of Otto Müндler 1855–1858* by Carol Togneri Dowd and Burton Frederickson, eds., *Journal of the History of Collections* 1 (1991): 107.

81 Otto Müндler, "Aus Paris. Versteigerung Orléans," *Deutsches Kunstblatt* 25 (1851): 199–200.

authority who could often be found in the audience and was highlighted by Philippe Burty and Henri Rochefort in particular as a connoisseur, given the institutionalised expertise of the internal actors of the auction house and the coup that an experienced buyer was able to land by using specialised knowledge.⁸² Even away from this auction house literature, Mündler is treated as someone who generated relevance and was clearly separate from the experts; an 1868 auction announcement in *Le Monde Illustré* states: ‘The name of Mr. Haro, expert, the opinion of Mr. Th. Gautier and Otto Mündler are, for sure, the best guarantees one could offer as proof that this collection is worthy in every way to gather the attention and sympathy of all connoisseurs.’⁸³

With this activity he was, however, pursuing other goals than the circulation of art between private collectors, which was usual in the auction market. In his first contact with Berlin—a letter to Gustav Waagen—Mündler expresses his intention to save Michelangelo’s *Madonna and Child with St John and Angels* ‘from the grave of so many art treasures and bring it to safety and for general display to a museum in the fatherland,’ albeit against the stated wishes of the owner, who wanted it to stay in England.⁸⁴ Mündler’s offer was unsuccessful. In Mündler’s view, the private ownership of artworks was the grave from which they had to be saved, and they needed to be brought into public collections. Here the auction represented another potential means of gaining access. To that effect, in the 1850s he tried to participate in the Parisian auctions on behalf of Berlin, although this never grew beyond a few minor commissions and did not last. The reason for this lay in the extensive withdrawal of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin from the expanding international art market under director general Ignaz von Olfers, while Mündler was probably still influenced by the museum’s acquisitions from 1830 onwards and also overestimated the authority of Waagen, who was subordinate to Olfers.⁸⁵ There were only a few cases where the Gemäldegalerie used Mündler as an agent in Paris, for example, in the auction of the Soult collection in 1852, in which the Berlin gallery made an exception and attempted to bid because of the personal support

82 Henri Rochefort, *Les petits mystères de l’hôtel des ventes* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1862), 50; Philippe Burty, “L’Hôtel des Ventes et le Commerce des Tableaux,” in *Paris. Guide par les principaux écrivains et artistes de la France*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Internationale, 1867), 959–60.

83 Anon., “Le vente de la collection de M. le comte d’Espagnac,” *Monde Illustré* (1868): 288.

84 Letter from Otto Mündler to the director of the royal painting gallery in Berlin, Gustav Friedrich Waagen, from Paris, dated 24 February 1846, published in: von Stockhausen, “Ein Michelangelo für Berlin?,” 180.

85 Von Stockhausen, “Agent der Berliner Gemäldegalerie,” 178.

of Frederick William IV.⁸⁶ He also worked for it in an advisory capacity more regularly in the 1860s, yet they still did not have enough confidence to conduct business through him.

The situation at the German museums offered no chance of an institutional career for a person like Müндler, but he nonetheless devoted himself extensively to their collections in his scholarly work. Summarising Müндler's academic legacy, Rolf Kultzen writes that his interest in these institutions 'had a widely acclaimed impact which continues to this day, in the form of thorough discussions of recently published catalogues of paintings.'⁸⁷ Thanks to Charles Eastlake, he was then able to work as a travelling agent for the National Gallery in London, which enabled him to once more spend extended periods in Italy. He had long been friends with Eastlake and had already travelled to Italy many years earlier, which formed a good basis for their cooperation; he lacked a similarly close contact in Berlin.

Not until the 1860s, after his time in London, did he increase his dealings with Berlin's cultural sphere, where the art market was steadily advancing—as was shown in the case of Lepke. Although Müндler was unable to establish himself as a purchasing agent for Berlin, he still played a role in the German museum scene, also as a result of his close contact with the young Wilhelm Bode shortly before his death.⁸⁸

Following his death, the representatives of the Berlin museums attempted to use Müндler's structured knowledge from his Italian travel notes. Julius Meyer and Bode took Müндler's diaries with them when they toured Italian collections in 1872–73.⁸⁹ Due to the changed circumstances in the country, however, they did not attain the benefits they had hoped for in terms of acquisitions.⁹⁰ To this day, comments from Müндler's diaries, of which those produced for London were published in transcribed form in 1985, are still often found in museums' documentation on the provenance of works. Here Müндler's knowledge has been applied once more for reasons quite unrelated to acquisition interests.

86 *Id.*, 102–3.

87 Kultzen, "Einiges über Otto Müндlers," 327.

88 Rolf Kultzen, "Otto Müндler als Freund und Förderer des jungen Bode," in *Kenntenschaft: Kolloquium zum 150sten Geburtstag von Wilhelm von Bode*, eds. Thomas Gaetgens and Peter-Klaus Schuster (Berlin: Mann, 1996), 49–55.

89 Kultzen, "Otto Müндler," 51.

90 Bode, *Mein Leben*, 70.

Conclusion

The economies of the art world not only involve the circulation of actors, knowledge media and art objects, but their very interaction with each other also constitutes the valuation of art. These economies are not reducible to sales contracts for artworks and to the prices of artworks, but pervade the various aspects of the creation, mediation, transformation and reception of art. The direct art trade on the part of galleries is only a limited component of the art market; other actors need to be considered as well, such as scholars, critics, collectors and museum workers, who form the historical canon that provides orientation for valuations. The knowledge and discourses associated with these other figures have their own economies, such as the structures of production and consecration at academies, yet they are characterised by the fact that what they convey can ultimately take into account both the price of art and artistic values. Knowledge forms a connecting medium between differently structured models of valuation. In the nineteenth century, the networks of the gallery, academy, scholarship and collections extended far beyond national borders.

While the Lepke art dealership tangibly opened German collections up by making the works available as copies and bringing them to Paris, Müндler's activity in this regard was partly intangible, as he also opened up collections in a scholarly sense. Both of these activities were effective in the field of the transnational trade of art as well as in the transnational historiography of art, their clear difference being the two actors' orientation towards either the auction house or the museum. While Müндler's own auctions in the 1850s may be regarded as a provisional end to his involvement in the art trade, in favour of a reorientation towards the museum, the Lepke auctions from the mid-1850s were only the beginning of what was later a rapidly expanding auction industry. From Paris Müндler attempted to shift his attention back towards Berlin, actively turning away from the art market, of which he spoke negatively in correspondence. Only in London did he go on to find the temporary institutional work that he had hoped for. Lepke, on the other hand, launched his first auction in Paris before transferring the local principle of auctions as an instrument for marketing art to the burgeoning art market in Berlin.

Lepke's case clearly demonstrates that the transfers of knowledge through numerous auction reports, for which figures like Müндler were responsible, fell on highly fertile ground. What becomes apparent in both case studies is that the Paris auction house became the platform of a complex system of circulation—one that was not limited to art alone; rather it became an accelerated exhibition space and a catalyst of transnational art encounters.

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Appropriation as a Form of Nationalism? Collecting French Furniture in the Nineteenth Century

Adriana Turpin

During the “long” nineteenth century, at a time when Britain reached its greatest economic and political power, the taste for the furnishing and decoration of the houses of the aristocrats and *nouveaux riches* was resolutely French. Moreover, it was the France of the eighteenth century that was recaptured in the boudoirs, drawing and reception rooms of the great London mansions and country residences. The history of this phenomenon can be traced back to the late eighteenth century, when British and Irish aristocrats travelled to France to acquire firstly contemporary and then antique works of art. The period ends with the advent of the Great War and the demise of the great London and country houses. By this time, as J. Mordaunt Crook in *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches* describes, central London, Mayfair, Park Lane and Piccadilly were filled with the houses of the newly rich; he gives a breathless account of an astonishing number of houses furnished in the eighteenth-century style, often by French architects and designers or architects of French origin.¹ Although the style was clearly associated with ostentation and wealth, acquiring or collecting French furniture also appealed to the connoisseur, who could admire the quality and superb craftsmanship of the works of art collected. In addition to the well-known and very rich collectors, eighteenth-century French furniture and porcelains were acquired at all levels of British society, as can be seen in the quantity of French furniture in nineteenth-century sale catalogues of ‘a gentleman’ or a ‘householder.’² During the nineteenth century for the first time

1 Joseph Mordaunt Crook, *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches: Style and Status in Victorian and Edwardian Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1999), 153–212.

2 For the purpose of this essay, in addition to sale catalogues from Christie’s, Manson & Woods, the author searched more than 100 catalogues produced by the auction company Foster and Sons between 1826 and 1850, held at the National Art Library in the Victoria & Albert Museum. These cover sales held weekly at the auction rooms at 54 Pall Mall of the contents of what appear to be mid-level households. The question of who we could consider “middle class” is complicated, but as the catalogues show, French furniture appears in a wide variety of sales throughout the century. I would like in particular to thank Eunmin Lim, who transcribed many of these auction catalogues, and Preston Fitzgerald, for his assistance in researching the catalogues in Christie’s archives.

there was a market for old or antique furniture and porcelains. This may, at the outset, largely have been the result of the driving opportunism of French and British dealers resulting from sales during and after the Revolution in France. It became a national phenomenon as the 'old French style'—as it was often called—grew into an accepted form of decoration and furnishing of the drawing rooms of Britain. The market for French works of art (or copies thereof) remained strong well into the twentieth century.

Whereas the appeal of this style in Britain is well studied and described, the underlying question of the market forces steering this long-lasting taste has never been properly analysed; nor have the drivers for this taste been discussed in the context of a transnational exchange.³ The popular market for French furniture might also raise questions in an era dominated by British nationalism that often expressed itself as anti-French. This article allows for reflection on the hitherto unclear interplay between market forces and taste patterns, and in particular it opens the opportunity to analyse the dichotomy of adopting a "foreign" style during a period of intense national pride and great national wealth, beyond mere copying or imitation of a fashionable style. What began as the taste of the richest and most aristocratic families became fashionable amongst the growing bourgeoisie, promulgated by the sales of French furniture and then by the magazines and journals devoted to design and taste. What was derided at the beginning of the century had become acceptable and even praiseworthy by the end of the century, as a manifestation of the international and cosmopolitan. In this essay I would like therefore to consider the market for French furniture in the nineteenth century and examine the enduring taste for the French Ancien Régime style throughout the century within the context of the debates on British identity.

The concept of nationhood, national identity, Britain's role as a colonial empire and the manifestation of this identity were all areas of intense debate and scrutiny during the nineteenth century. A key construct in the formation of national identity is the argument that Benedict Anderson has discussed in *Imagined Communities*, namely that the idea of nationhood grows out of the

3 See in particular: Nicholas Cooper, *The Opulent Eye: Late Victorian and Edwardian Taste in Interior Design* (London: Architectural Press, 1976); Edwin Beresford Chancellor, *The Private Palaces of London, Past and Present* (London: K. Paul Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., 1908); Christopher Symon Sykes, *Private Palaces: Life in the Great London Houses* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1985), 250–319. For an account of the taste of the South African millionaires and their collecting, see: Michael Stevenson, *Art and Aspirations: The Randlords of South Africa and their Collections* (Vlaeberg: Fernwood Press, 2002).

creation of communal entities.⁴ Although he is referring to the contemporary emergence of new nations, his analysis can be applied to the historic emergence of the nation during the nineteenth century and developed to demonstrate that the appropriation of a French decorative style was part of the developing consciousness of the nation. In this context—and as will be shown in detail later—it can be argued that acquiring and displaying French works of art moved from the prerogative of aristocratic elites to an acceptable demonstration of British wealth and national pride. As this essay demonstrates, adopting the French alternative had a significant and widespread appeal to the wealthy and indeed the not-so-wealthy. This is all the more significant as there were two other historicist revivals taking place in Britain at the same time: the Gothic revival, championed as the historical national style, and that of the Italian Renaissance. Much admired for its associations with humanism and the individual, Renaissance art was collected by those who often described themselves as the heirs of the Medici and other great mercantile princes. In contrast to the Italian Renaissance, the market for French decorative arts was to be found in the aristocratic origins of this taste. Thus a major factor in its acceptance was its international nature, connecting figures not only in France and England, but also in Germany, Italy and indeed throughout most of Europe. It is also important to note that the revival of the French eighteenth century was not confined to Britain, but was part of an aristocratic style found all over Europe. In Germany many palaces were decorated in a revived rococo style, particularly those created for Emperor Ludwig II (1845–86). At Linderhoff (1869–78) the interiors drew on the rococo decorations of the Munich Residenz of Nymphenburg as much as on French design; at Herrenschiemsee Palace (1878, and still uncompleted in 1886) Ludwig created a new Versailles.⁵

4 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

5 Ken Ireland, *Cythera Regained: The Rococo Revival in European Literature and the Arts, 1830–1910* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006), 139–41. Discussions as to the relevance of the eighteenth century to nineteenth-century identity and taste were as intense on the Continent as in Britain. Discussion on the style as a matter of historic precedents include: Gotfried Semper, *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten*, vol. 2 (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1860), 350; Anton Springer, “Der Rococostil,” in *Id., Bilder aus der neueren Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Bonn: A. Marcus, 1867), 213; Peter Jessen, *Das Ornament des Rococo* (Leipzig: E.A. Seeman, 1894); August Schmarsow, *Beiträge zur Ästhetik der Bildenden Künste. Barock und Rokoko* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1897). There were also many critics of the style, including: Gustav E. Pazaurek, *Dreierlei Rokoko: Ausstellung im Königlich Württ. Landes-Gewerbemuseum Stuttgart 1909/Katalog im Auftrag der Königl. Zentralstelle für Gewerbe und Handel* (Stuttgart: Klett & Hartmann, 1909). See: Ireland, *Cythera Regained*, 118 and 158. Much

Recent interest in applying transnational approaches to the study of art history has developed as a counterbalance to the focus in late nineteenth-century studies on the rise of the nation state; it has been set in the context of both traditional enquiries into internationalism and more recent interest in the importance of globalisation.⁶ As such, it has been argued, ‘transnational history forms one of a series of terms which have been developed in order to help study engagement beyond the terms of state or nation-centred history, and especially so as to review, renew or go beyond comparative approaches.’⁷ More specifically, a number of writers take this approach into the arena of cultural exchanges, the context in which the subject of this essay can be discussed.⁸ As stated by Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmerman, not ‘all cultural differences map onto national differences: but where cultural differences do exist, they imply processes of acculturation, whose proper study requires that valorised notions of national cultural paradigms should be corrected by attentiveness to the particular economic, technological and human vehicles of cultural transfer.’⁹ Thus, as much as it is important to analyse the ways in which the French style was appropriated in the writings of the period, it is also essential to discover the underlying mechanisms by which the style was accepted and promoted in Britain, and manifested by the continuing market for French decorative arts.

The motives for importing French taste into Britain can be examined fruitfully as part of a transnational and international phenomenon. While the English admiration for French things rarely progressed to an appreciation for

of this has to do with the revival of the style in both interiors and the decorative arts and as such is a different discussion from the present essay.

- 6 The literature concerning transnationalism as a conceptual framework mainly deals with twentieth-century or contemporary issues and the movement of people and ideas across borders. See: Stephen Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009).
- 7 Simon Macdonald, “Transnational History: A Review of Past and Present,” January 2013, http://www.ucl.ac.uk/cth/objectives/simon_macdonald_tns_review.
- 8 Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996) is cited as raising key issues explored within the framework of transnationalism. So is Christopher Alan Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden – Oxford: Blackwell, 2004). Bayly, when discussing the difficulties of using the term “transnationalism” wrote: ‘At least in Europe, I get the sense that “trans-national history” stands in the same relationship to “international history” as “global history” does to “world history:” that it is much the same thing, except that the term “transnational” gives a sense of movement and interpenetration. It is broadly associated with the study of diasporas, social or political, which cross national boundaries, etc.’ See: Christopher Alan Bayly et al., “AHR Conversation: On Transnational History,” *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1441–64.
- 9 Macdonald, “Transnational History,” 6.

French painting, which remained under constant attack, imitating French interiors of the previous centuries was enormously in vogue: this arguably was not seen as “French” per se, but as a demonstration of wealth, taste and a reflection of the owner’s position in society. The grandeur of the late nineteenth-century houses became a mark of the new wealth and prosperity of the country, and in this way they contributed to the national identity. Part of the context in which French works of art were collected and sold was thus the overall taste for the French style in decoration and architecture.

This essay therefore begins with an account of the market for French Ancien Régime furniture and then analyses the several factors underlying its continued success. It takes the well-known and highly visible collections of the nineteenth century, often described as opulent or ostentatious, and places them in a broader context, in which the French style emerges as part of British pride and appears as evidence of Britain’s new role in world politics. The first part of this essay begins with the market, as it was the dispersal of goods after the French Revolution that made it possible for the British to collect on such a level. This democratisation of the market allowed anyone with money to aspire to what in the eighteenth century had been the preserve of the Prince of Wales and a small group of aristocrats and London elites. To understand the widespread acquisition and imitation of the French Ancien Régime style during the nineteenth century, we need to focus on the question of market demand. As such it is necessary to place it within the context of debates about British identity and to explore the various and often contradictory opinions given to this style. During the second half of the nineteenth century, discussion moved increasingly beyond the topos of magnificence. Played out in the battle of determining a style of decoration suitable to an increasingly prosperous and influential nation, arguments on improving British manufacture and British taste gained a moral force. Within the context of these debates, it will be argued that the concept of “cosmopolitanism” can help to understand how it was possible for a foreign style to be transformed into a signal of British wealth and success.¹⁰

10 The connections between internationalism, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism were brought out very clearly in the papers and discussions at a conference held at Tate Britain in 2013, organised by Grace Brockington and Sarah Victoria Turner, entitled *Internationalism and the Arts: Imagining the Cosmopolis at the Long Fin de Siècle*. As the authors state in their abstract, this conference ‘adapted Benedict Anderson’s theory of the nation as an imagined community in order to examine certain questions—about the locations, languages and citizens of an “imagined cosmopolis.”’ They took up three themes, of place, language and cosmopolitanism, as they played out during an otherwise intense period of nation-building as part of their examination of cultural internationalism. The approaches taken by the speakers at the conference were instrumental in forming the arguments of this paper.

The Market for French Eighteenth-Century Furniture

The taste in Britain for eighteenth-century French furniture from the Ancien Régime that developed during the nineteenth century followed many years of English aristocrats visiting Paris and purchasing luxury goods in the capital. Throughout the eighteenth century Paris had been the centre of civilised life for the British aristocracy. As many as 200 English visitors to Paris are recorded between 1739 and 1783.¹¹ As the first stop of the Grand Tour, Paris was where young British aristocrats learned manners, how to converse and how to dress, and it was to Paris that British aristocrats, such as Horace Walpole, Lord Coventry in the 1760s or the young 2nd Lord Spencer or the Duke of Bedford in the 1780s, went to purchase furniture, porcelains, gilt bronzes and mirror glass.¹² George IV, one of the most prolific purchasers of eighteenth-century French decorative arts, had been acquiring items and furnishing Carlton House as Prince of Wales in the latest Parisian taste before the Revolution. At Carlton House his patronage of the Francophile architect Henry Holland was extended to the French painter and decorator Jean-Jacques Boullieu (1787–1800) and to Dominique Daguerre (1772–96), one of the most important Parisian *marchand-merciers* who had migrated to London before the Revolution. Moreover, he bought, through Daguerre, furniture from contemporary Parisian cabinetmakers and also some earlier pieces.¹³ Most of the aristocratic purchases in Paris were of contemporary furniture, gilt bronzes and Sèvres porcelain; however, there is evidence that some collectors were buying Boulle furniture earlier in the eighteenth century.¹⁴ William Beckford, living in Paris, may have acquired

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- 11 These would be mainly aristocrats either visiting Paris as part of their Grand Tour or occasionally going to Paris for shopping purposes. See: Robin Eagles, *Francophilia in English Society* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 173–5.
- 12 For Horace Walpole's acquisitions of French ceramics, see: Sir Francis Watson, "Walpole and the Taste for French Porcelain," in *Horace Walpole: Writer, Politician and Connoisseur*, ed. Warren Hunting Smith (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1967), 185–94. For the 2nd Lord and Lady Spencer, see: Joseph Friedman, *Spencer House: Chronicle of a Great London Mansion* (London: Zwemmer, 1993); Christian Baulez, "Tout Europe tire ses bronzes de Paris," in *Bernard Molitor, 1755–1833: ébéniste parisien d'origine luxembourgeoise*, ed. Ulrich Leben (Ville de Luxembourg: Galerie d'art de la Ville de Luxembourg, Villa Vauban, 1995), 77–101. For accounts of shopping in Paris, see: Stella Tillyard, *Aristocrats: Caroline, Emily, Louisa and Sarah Lennox, 1750–1832* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1994).
- 13 Sir Geoffrey de Bellaigue, "George IV and French Furniture," *Connoisseur* 195 (1977): 116–25. This gives an account of George IV's purchases, including several from the dealer Dominique Daguerre for Carlton House bought before the revolution. See also: Sir Geoffrey de Bellaigue, "Daguerre and England," in *Bernard Molitor*, 157–79.
- 14 One recent example of a Boulle-piece acquired before the revolutionary sales has been discovered by Colin Demetrescu. See: Colin Demetrescu, "Le Cabinet de Boulle du duc de Buccleuch: une énigme Résolue," *Dossier de l'Art* no. 224 (2014): 30–59.

his appreciation for the works of André Charles Boulle (1642–1732) from the extensive collections of rich French eighteenth-century financiers, such as Randon de Boisset (1708–76) or Augustin de Blondel de Gagny (1695–1776). The importance of Boulle furniture that dominated nineteenth-century collecting in Britain was thus predominantly a direct transfer of taste from the Parisian collector.¹⁵ Boulle furniture was one of the most highly desirable to collect, and thus this early appreciation of this work is one of the first examples of buying “antique” furniture made for a previous generation at a time when almost all furnishings would have been contemporary. The French Revolution and the number of works of art from royal and aristocratic collections to appear on the market have always been seen as key factors in the transformation of the market, not only in Britain, but perhaps more spectacularly there. It is worth mentioning that works of art from earlier periods were just beginning to appear in auction catalogues and references to certain types of historical pieces, such as Italian cabinets with panels of *pietre dure*, can be found listed in English sale catalogues from about 1800.¹⁶ Collecting French furniture from the eighteenth century was thus one of the several historicist movements that drew on the past to provide inspiration for the contemporary,¹⁷ but one with particular resonance and on a far larger scale, as the thousands of goods available created the perfect scenario for the English market, in which a burgeoning demand was fed and then multiplied by a plentiful supply.

Amongst the first to appreciate the possibilities of the market were the dealers. While it is very difficult to ascertain the exact mechanisms by which works of art were bought and sold, it seems that at the sales of royal furniture

15 Colin Bailey, “Conventions of the 18th-Century Cabinet de Tableaux: Blondel d’Azincourt, la première idée de la Curiosité,” *Art Bulletin* 69 (1987): 431–7.

16 See: Clive Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1989), 1–53 for an introduction to the beginnings of historicist taste, collecting and dealers in Britain. William Beckford bought and created much furniture in a historicist style from the early years of the nineteenth century. See: Clive Wainwright, “William Beckford’s Furniture,” *Connoisseur* 191 (1976): 290–7; Adriana Turpin, “Filling the Void: The Development of Beckford’s Taste and the Market in Furniture,” in *William Beckford 1760–1844: An Eye for the Magnificent*, ed. Derek Ostergard (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2001), 177–202.

17 Rosanna Pavoni, ed., *Reviving the Renaissance: The Use and Abuse of the Past in Nineteenth-Century Italian Art and Decoration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). The introduction provides a strong argument that the revival of the Renaissance style was also seen by contemporaries as a form of improving the quality of design and manufacture. See for example: Annalisa Zanni, “The Neo-Renaissance as the Image of the Private,” in *Reviving the Renaissance*, 29–47.

in Paris held by the revolutionary government in the 1790s the names of the buyers were all French.¹⁸ Many of them were dealers, but Jean-Henri Riesener (1734–1806), former cabinetmaker to Marie Antoinette, was also a buyer, acquiring at low prices the furniture he had supplied to the crown.¹⁹ How sales were then made to the English collectors, who had the money to buy, is not clear, but certainly English visitors flocked to Paris during the peace of Amiens between 1802 and 1803. George IV certainly acquired a pair of cabinets at that time from Daguerre's partner, Martin-Eloy Lignereux (1751–1809) with plaques of *pietre dure*.²⁰ According to the royal accounts, many of George IV's acquisitions were actually made after 1815 and the opening up of the Paris market after the blockades of the Napoleonic Wars.²¹ However, it has always been suggested that some goods were allowed to leave France via Holland or Germany, so it is always possible that French furniture was available to collectors before 1815.²² Judging from the fact that so many works of art appeared in Britain after the defeat of Napoleon, it seems probable that they were bought during the revolutionary period by French dealers. A number of these had been successful auctioneers and dealers before the Revolution and were able to continue dealing in France under Napoleon. Alexander Pradère has shown how Lebrun, auctioneer of paintings before 1793, adviser to the French revolutionary government before 1803 and then dealer under Napoleon, both collected and

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- 18 Michel Beurdeley, *De Versailles à Paris: le destin des collections royales* (Paris: Centre Culturel du Panthéon, 1989), 115–26 and *La France à l'encan—Exode des objets d'art sous la Révolution* (Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1981). For a partial account of the market during this period, see: Turpin, "Filling the Void." For a useful summary of the Parisian dealers and their activities in the first half of the nineteenth century, see: Sylvain Cordier, *Bellangé ébénistes: une histoire du goût au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Mare et Martin, 2012), 319–87.
- 19 Michel Beurdeley, "Ventes du mobilier royal de Versailles," in *De Versailles à Paris: le destin des collections royales*, 115–26.
- 20 Sir Geoffrey de Bellaigue, "Martin-Eloy Lignereux and England," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 71 (1968): 283–94.
- 21 Sir Hugh Roberts, *For the King's Pleasure: The Furnishing and Decoration of George IV's Apartments at Windsor Castle* (London: Royal Collections, 2001).
- 22 Charles Davillier, *Vente du Mobilier du Château de Versailles pendant le Terreur* (Paris: August Aubry, 1877). Davillier quotes a newspaper advertisement in Haarlem 1794 for the sale of French royal works of art. Although it is not certain, the sale probably took place in Holland and not in Paris. See also: Pierre Verlet, "Chapeaurouge et les collections royales françaises," in *Festschrift für Erich Meyer zum 60. Geburtstag, 29. Oktober, 1957: Studien zu Werken in den Sammlungen des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg*, ed. Werner Gramberg (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1959), 286–94.

sold Boulle furniture, some even to Napoleon.²³ The leading Parisian dealers, amongst whom Philippe-Claude Maëlrondt (1766–1824) was perhaps the most famous, sold French Ancien Régime furniture to the English and, once established, the collecting of French works of art only intensified in the years after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.²⁴ Not only did Maëlrondt gather works of art in Paris that would appeal to the English taste, he worked with cabinetmakers such as the Bellangé family to supply old and new furniture to an extensive list of clients, most notably George IV and often through English intermediaries.²⁵

Although French dealers may have dominated the supply to England in the early years of the nineteenth century, soon afterwards, English dealers began to buy directly in Paris and import French works of art into the country. By 1845 when the auction house of Foster and Son put up for sale 'FOREIGN ANCIENT ELEGANCIES including beautiful *marqueterie* commodes, consoles and tables,' the catalogue went on to say 'which by direction of the IMPORTER will be sold by auction.' Sir Geoffrey de Bellaigue has traced the career of one of the most significant of these dealers and importers, Edward Holmes Baldock, itemising his sales of Sèvres porcelain and eighteenth-century French furniture to such distinguished collectors as the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, where surviving bills show the extent of the purchases and the sums paid to Baldock (Fig. 7.1).²⁶ It seems that Baldock bought his works

23 Alexandre Pradère, "Lerouge, Le Brun, Bonnemaïson: The Role of Art Dealers in the Commerce of Boulle Furniture from the Revolution to the Restoration," *Revue de l'Art* no. 184 (2014): 47–62.

24 *Catalogue d'objets rares et curieux, composant le fonds de commerce De Feu M Maëlrondt* (Paris: M. Pérignon, 1824). Maëlrondt's sale catalogue of 15 November 1824 lists some 40 examples of French cabinet-work (lots 306–46) as well as mirrors and clocks, porcelains, paintings and sculptures. The sale took place after his death and was presumably a clearing of his stock.

25 Bills show that one of the king's dealers, Robert Fogg, bought extensively from Maëlrondt. See: *Carlton House: The Past Glories of George IV's Palace* (London: The Queen's Gallery Buckingham Palace, 1991), 80. There is a complete listing of furniture acquired for Windsor in: Sir Geoffrey de Bellaigue, "Phillippe-Claude Maëlrondt, Supplier to George IV," *Burlington Magazine* 146 (2004): 386–95. See also: Cordier, *Bellangé ébénistes*, 319–87.

26 Buccleuch archives, Drumlanrig Castle. There are bills from 1836 to 1848 itemising works of art supplied to Walter Francis, 5th Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, including many items of French furniture. For a further analysis of the bills, see: Sir Geoffrey de Bellaigue, "Edward Holmes Baldock I," *Connoisseur* 189 (1975): 290–9; and *Id.*, "Edward Holmes Baldock II," *Connoisseur* 190 (1975): 18–25. Copies of the bills are also held at Boughton House and I am most grateful to Crispin Powell for his help in studying them and kindly photograph one for me. Also my grateful thanks to the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry for allowing me access to the archives and permission to photograph them.

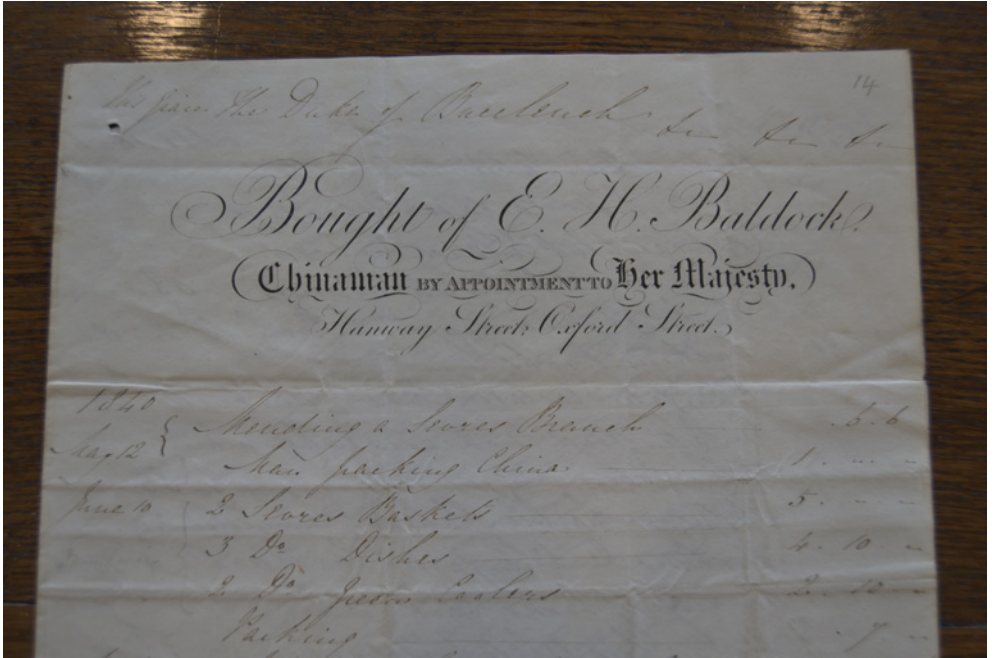


FIGURE 7.1 *Heading of bill from Edward Holmes Baldock to Walter Francis, 5th Duke of Buccleuch, 1840. Thornhill, Buccleuch Archives*

© COURTESY OF THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH AND QUEENSBERRY

of art in Paris, although his name also appears on English auction catalogues. Baldock, of course, not only bought pieces of Sèvres or important examples of French furniture which he brought into England; he also bought parts of old furniture and remade them into new pieces or had the Sèvres porcelain mounted or re-mounted for the English market. His sale catalogue of 1843, for example, has several lots of ebony panels, which he no doubt used to create cabinets or cupboards in the style of the French seventeenth century.²⁷

The market for furniture from the Ancien Régime was thus created primarily in England firstly by French and then English dealers. In France, at least in the first part of the century, modern furnishings seem to have been more

27 William Beckford made a great cabinet with ebony panelled doors of which he was very proud. He used recycled seventeenth-century panels and in turn, when his cabinet was sold in 1823, it was bought by Baldock for £572 6s and dismantled. The doors were sold after Baldock's death in the sale of 21 July 1843 and bought by de Sommarard. Several cabinets of this type are in the Musée de la Renaissance, Écouen. See: De Bellaigue, "Edward Holmes Baldock II," 21; and Turpin, "Filling the Void," 200.

appreciated than antiques. For example, the price of 450 francs realised for a Boulle cabinet by the dealer Rocheux to the *garde-meuble* for Fontainebleau in 1807 is remarkably low in comparison to 3,000 francs for a new mahogany secretaire.²⁸ In England, however, as evidenced through the sales taking place throughout the century, there was a strong and continuous market for antique French furniture, which were highlighted by the dealers and auctioneers, even though of course modern copies and pastiches were also sold throughout the century. The first sale catalogues selected two main criteria to highlight the importance of their sales: royal provenance and the historic names of André Charles Boulle and Riesener. The first sale catalogues emphasised that the works of art came directly from Paris; that they were often described as royal added to their authority. This was clearly stated on the front pages of the catalogues. An 1816 Phillips sale catalogue, for example, was presented as a *Catalogue of Parisian furniture including 4 armoires, 3 splendid commodes, cabinets etc [...]* from the Palaces of Versailles and Compiègne and the Chateau of Malmaison or in 1818, a *Catalogue of one of the most splendid and extensive selection of Parisian Furniture, Bronzes etc that has ever been imported [...]*²⁹

Moreover, the catalogue entries and the prices fetched clearly highlight the importance of furniture by André Charles Boulle and Jean-Henri Riesener. The name of Boulle is not surprising in that French collectors throughout the eighteenth century had paid great sums for his work. That of Riesener was a new phenomenon, possibly a direct result of its availability on the market and the dealers' promotion of him as the 'royal cabinetmaker' to Louis XVI and his queen. At the sale of Wanstead House in 1823, a Parisian Boulle cabinet in brass and tortoiseshell described as antique reached £31 10s and a superb Parisian Boulle commode in the Grand Salon went for 40 guineas or £44 6s, both amongst the highest prices paid for individual pieces.³⁰ A few years later at the sale held by 'A Gentleman from the West Country,' thought to include furniture owned by William Beckford, a Boulle writing table was sold for a similar amount, £25 4s; however a red Boulle armoire said to have been made for Louis XV's cabinet at Versailles fetched much more at £236 5s, which reflects the emphasis placed on authenticity and provenance.³¹ Similar huge prices were

28 Cordier, *Bellangé ébénistes*, 320.

29 The Wallace Collection Library: Phillips SAL1816 and Phillips SAL1818.

30 Lot 26, from the Grand Salon, *Wanstead House*, 1823, 203.

31 Lot 167, *Sale of furniture of Gentleman from the West of England*, Phillips, 22 June 1825. The website Measuringworth.com provides four ways to view historical prices in current terms. One ('real price') is based on calculating inflation as cost of a typical bundle of goods and services consumed by an average worker, thus, the increase in the UK retail price index ('RPI'). The second ('labour value') calculates the cost in terms of the same

reached for exceptional pieces of Boulle in the two important sales by George Watson-Taylor.³² Furniture by Riesener could reach equal heights. Thus in the same sale of 1825, the Marquess of Hertford paid £179 11s for a Riesener roll-top desk, described as coming from the French royal *garde-meuble*.³³ The sale contained a lacquer commode, which fetched a not dissimilar price of £107 12s without the Riesener name, perhaps because of the fine lacquer.³⁴ George IV most famously paid the highest price reached at the time for a piece of French furniture, £420, with the purchase of the cabinet made for the Comtesse de Provence at the 1825 sale of George Watson Taylor's collection (Fig. 7.2). The description below of one of the most important and most expensive pieces of French furniture brings together the various selling points emphasised to attract the wealthy buyer:

proportion of typical worker's wages. This normally gives a higher figure due to the real increases in wages over time. The authors of the website add two additional ways to determine value: 'income value' takes into account salaries, investment and cost of services which have normally exceeded wage increases, and 'economic share,' which refers to economic power (the relative power the purchaser would have in controlling production within the economy). For example the 1825 £236 5s quoted would be the equivalent in 2017 of £18,430 in real terms, £193,000 in terms of labour value, £243,100 when measured by income value and £968,600 when measured by its economic share. <https://www.measuringworth.com>, accessed 10 November 2018.

- 32 George Watson Taylor (1771–1841), a Jamaica sugar merchant, Member of Parliament and one of the most lavish collectors of French decorative arts, put together a collection of art that, when it was sold, set the standard and prices for French decorative arts that lasted throughout the century. There were two sales. One from his London town house in Cavendish Square, sold at Christie's, 28 May 1825, see: *Catalogue of a Selection of Sumptuous Articles of Parisian and other Furniture, [...] some [...] Groups and Busts of Bronze, and Various Sculpture, from the [...] Mansion of G.W. Taylor [...] Which will be sold by auction, etc. (With Notes and Prices)*. The second was the sale from his country house at Erlestoke Manor in 1832, see: *Catalogue of the Magnificent Assemblage of Property at Erlestoke Mansion near Devizes [...] accumulated [...] by G.W. Taylor [...] which will be Sold by Auction, by Mr. George Robins [...] the 9th Day of July, 1832, and Twenty Succeeding Days, etc.*
- 33 Lot 282, a 'secretaire elaborately inlaid by Riesener in fanciful design sumptuously mounted and enriched in highly chased gilt-bronze mounts [...] the interior fitted with a great variety of secret and other drawers, the whole finished and executed with that degree of elaborate care, for which the Artist was justly celebrated.' Phillips, 22 June 1825. This was the desk now known to have been made for the Comte d'Orsay at the Wallace Collection. See: Peter Hughes, *The Wallace Collection Catalogue of Furniture*, vol. 2 (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1996), 939–40.
- 34 Lot 168, 'a saloon commode of ebony and panelled with specimens of the finest old Japan, angles formed by antique trusses [...] gilt ormolu, solid slab of Italian marble.' Phillips, 22 June 1825.



FIGURE 7.2 Jean-Henri Riesener, *Jewel cabinet made for the Comtesse de Provence*, 1774.
 Mahogany veneer with gilt-bronze mounts, 246 × 147 × 54.6 cm. Windsor, Royal
 Collection Trust
 © HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II 2018

A MAGNIFICENT CABINET of mahogany elegantly disposed in three panels or compartments, opens by folding doors, surmounted by a mask of Apollo, and a frieze of foliage. In the centre panel is suspended the lyre of Apollo between two wreaths of olive, resting upon a torch which springs from the centre of two branches with Arabesque scrolls connected

by festoons [...] The arms of a branch of the royal family of France and a group of Cupids of or-molu surmount this splendid piece of furniture (a chef d'œuvre of the ingenious Riesner) [...] and formerly belonged to the Palace of Versailles where it was sold by the commissioners of the French Convention in an early period of the Republic.³⁵

Even taking into account the hyperbole of the auction houses, the language of the sale catalogues emphasised the status of French furniture as a collectable commodity and it is clear that what was being sold was status. 'A matchless Louis XIV Boule table,' 'a superb Parisian commode,' 'a noble and lofty armoire:' these were the terms in which this furniture was described.

Thus by the 1830s the prices and reputation of French eighteenth-century furniture was well established and the names of Boulle and Riesener recognised both for the quality of the work and the reputation of the cabinetmakers. In sales later in the century, French furniture continued to command enormous prices, amongst them the sales of the entire contents of Stowe in 1848 and the Hamilton Palace sale in 1882. They are reflections of the extensive amassing of great collections of French furniture, many of which still survive today in the Wallace Collection, at Waddesdon Manor (Rothschild) or Dalmeny (the Earl of Rosebery), to name only some of the most extensive. The acquisitions by the wealthiest collectors in Britain provide a testament to the enormous importance of owning French works of art during the century, which only diminished when wealthier collectors, most notably from the United States, could afford to pay sums of money that their European counterparts found hard to match.³⁶ As has often been pointed out, the furniture at the Hamilton Palace sale in 1882 eclipsed the prices paid for paintings or any other type of artwork. The names of Boulle and Riesener still carried enormous weight; some of the documented pieces by Riesener fetched nearly ten times that of an unsigned piece.³⁷ The Boulle cabinets inherited from Beckford and bought at £400 were

35 *Sale of the contents of Cavendish St. Watson Taylor*, Christie's, 28 May 1825, lot 76.

36 The story of the acquisition of French furnishing by the leading collectors in the United States, including Mr. and Mrs. William Vanderbilt, whose collections were donated to the Metropolitan Museum, and Henry Clay Frick, who created his own museum in New York, to mention only some of the earliest buyers of French furniture, is well documented, most recently by Christopher Maxwell, "The Dispersal of the Hamilton Palace Collection," (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2014). I am hugely grateful to Kit Maxwell for sharing his unpublished thesis with me.

37 Lot 293, 'a cabinet, the frame of mahogany with panels of gold Japan lacquer with richly-chased metal-gilt mounts by Auguste [...] sold for £493 10s; lot 300, a Louis XVI secretaire made for Madame du Barry, sold for £430 10s. *The Hamilton Palace Collection, Illustrated Priced Catalogue* (Paris – London: Christie's, 1882), 42–3.

sold for £12,075; a Riesener commode fetched £4,305, while the lacquer-veneered secretaire and commode supplied to Marie Antoinette by Riesener were sold for a total of £19,000.³⁸

The collecting of French furnishing was not, however, just confined to the aristocracy or the opulent millionaires, who, as will be seen, decorated their London houses with choice specimens of French furniture. There was a steady and increasing market for French furniture at every level. The Foster auction catalogues held at the Victoria and Albert Museum show that in the biweekly sales held in their auction rooms in Greek Street, Soho, furniture in the “old French” style abounded. As with the more important sales, furniture by Boulle and Riesener was marked out for mention. Generally called ‘Buhl,’ it was often not specified whether the object was authentic or an imitation of French work; the prices could be as low as 11s or as high as several pounds. Those items described as Louis XIV, such as, for example, ‘A Louis XIV Marqueterie commode of 4 drawers, with swept front, massively mounted, with or-molu handles, corners & feet and Italian marble slab’ was sold for four times that price. Thus the above lot sold at Fosters in 1845 fetched £5 17s.³⁹ This is one indication amongst many that the auctioneers could differentiate between the old and the modern, but both were desirable.

The market for furniture in the French style remained strong throughout the last half of the century and ‘old porcelain’ and ‘old decorative furniture’ is found consistently in the drawing rooms of the London wealthy, sometimes cited as the property of ‘a gentleman’ and occasionally of ‘a lady,’ sometimes the sales of individual collectors.⁴⁰ Drawing on the Christie’s catalogues of this period, it is clear that French furniture was found throughout the house, sometimes on its own but equally it could be combined with furniture from other

38 The Boulle cabinet (lot 672) was sold to S. Wertheimer; the Riesener commode (lot 302) was sold to H. Stettiner; the lacquer secretaire and commode were sold to S. Wertheimer. *The Hamilton Palace Catalogue*, 42, 88 and 163.

39 National Art Library, London: *FOREIGN ANCIENT ELEGANCIES including beautiful marqueterie commodes, consoles and tables ... French Secretaires, Suites of Tapestry from the looms of Beauvais & Gobelins ... A suite of Boule commodes, Bibliothèques, Library & other tables for a drawing room richly decorated with or-molu and about two hundred cabriole chairs in sets of six, twelve and twenty-four which by direction of the IMPORTER will be sold by Auction by Messrs Foster and Son at the Gallery 54 Pall Mall on Thursday the 15th of May, 1845 and two following days.*

40 There is a great deal of research that still needs to be done in the sale catalogues to identify the extent of the market for French works of art. Just a short survey of later sales at Christie’s, citing collections of lesser-known collectors such as Christopher Dennison, shows the extent to which French furniture, bronzes and Sèvres porcelain were collected in London.

countries, often Italy. Thus in the sale of Christopher Beckett Denison Esq. at Christie's in 1885, alongside the large collections of French and German porcelain, Wedgwood, French clocks, English and decorative furniture, there was a section of 'Old French Decorative Furniture' with obviously original works. Amongst these was a Louis XVI mahogany cabinet, richly mounted, from the Alexander Barker sale, fetching £135. All of the other commodes, cabinets or desks described as Louis XV or Louis XVI were sold for much less, between £25 and £35 on average, while a modern upright satinwood cabinet sold for £6 10s.⁴¹ Denison clearly had a strong collection of French furniture, with only some modern pieces or from other countries. The sale of an anonymous collector, 'A Gentleman from the Country,' which took place in 1875, also shows that prices could be very high for Louis XVI furniture, with some of his furniture reaching £136 10s for a Louis XVI commode of 'old marquetry' or £535 10s for two Louis XVI *parqueterie* cabinets in rosewood.⁴² The most expensive piece, a Louis XVI *escritoire* in tulipwood, was sold to the dealer in French furniture, Durlacher, for £276.⁴³ With such widespread interest in French furnishing it is not surprising that the market remained so strong. The question thus remains as to why collectors were motivated to spend such sums at the top end of the market as well as why the taste for a French-based decorative style remained so appealing to the British of all types of wealth and backgrounds throughout the nineteenth century.

From Criticism to Appreciation

The admirers of original French works of art might cite the great skill, ingenuity and beauty of the originals to defend furnishing their houses and collecting such pieces. However, this admiration needs to be set in the context of a long tradition of distaste and distinct antipathy from British critics often couched in nationalistic terms: the decadence of French art was contrasted with the pure, simple style associated with England. French art was thus seen as 'weak,

41 Lot 3276, *Second Portion of the Valuable Collection of Pictures, Works of Art and Decorative Objects of Christopher Beckett Denison, Esq.* Christie's, Manson & Woods, 25 June 1885.

42 Lots 154, 158 and 159, *Catalogue of the Very Choice Collection of Old Porcelain and Decorative Furniture, the Property of a Gentleman received from a Mansion in the Country*, Christie's, Manson and Woods, 3 June 1875.

43 *Id.*, Lot 276. Durlacher Brothers was established in 1843 and counted amongst its clients J. Pierpont Morgan and Sir Richard Wallace. They also advised the Victoria and Albert Museum on their acquisitions. See: <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/d/durlacher-brothers/>.

ill-jointed and unmeaning' as well as representing—at least in the eighteenth century—the worst kind of government. In 1753 Isaac Ware wrote: 'Let us rouse in every sense the national spirit then; and no more permit them to deprave our taste in this noble science than to introduce among us the miseries of their government or fooleries of their religion.'⁴⁴ It was, of course, the rococo style that drew most criticism, particularly after it had fallen from favour throughout Europe. As a result Joshua Reynolds accused French painters, even Poussin and seemingly Boucher, as corrupting 'the true taste and leading it astray from the pure, the simple and grand style by a mock majesty and false magnificence.'⁴⁵

Throughout the nineteenth century, the same arguments were presented in the journals. British nationalism often expressed itself as anti-French, and critics explained that British painting exemplified British virtues, such as domesticity, simplicity, love of the countryside and morality, in contrast to the excesses of French art. Robert Buchanan, in his attack on Swinburne's poetry, placed the source of corruption in France: 'All that is worst in Mr. Swinburne belongs to Baudelaire. The offensive choice of subject, the obtrusion of unnatural passion, the blasphemy, the wretched animalism, are all taken intact out of *Les Fleurs de Mal*.'⁴⁶ This is not to say that certain French artists such as Delacroix and Ary Scheffer (who was Dutch by birth) were not admired; however, it has been argued that Scheffer's popularity in England stemmed from his religious morality and thus, in effect, he retained the high moral values associated with British painters. He was collected both by the liberal political families and Liverpool and Manchester merchants.

Criticisms of the French style in architecture stressed the vulgarity of French interiors, implying again a lack of morality. Thus, when writing about the rebuilding of Buckingham House, Johann David Passavant (1787–1861), visiting London in 1836, commented: 'everyone will join in regretting that so much money should have been expended in converting a fine old palace into one, which from the insignificance of its proportions and unimposing exterior does little credit to the taste of the English nation.'⁴⁷ The explanation he gave was

44 Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture* (London: T. Osborne, J. Shipton; etc., 1768). Quoted in: Edward Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2005), 5–6.

45 Henry W. Beechey, "Introduction," in *Id.*, *The History Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, to which is prefixed a Memoir of the Artist by Henry W. Beechey*, vol. 1 (London and Edinburgh: T. Codell, Strand and W. Blackwood, 1835), 97. The memoir is based on: James Northcote, *Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds Comprised of Original Anecdotes ... and a Brief Analysis of his Discourses*, vol. 1 (London: Colborn, 1818), 56.

46 Morris, *French Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 178–80.

47 Johann David Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England, With Notices of Private Galleries, and Remarks on the State of Art* (London: Saunders and Ottley, 1836), 119.

that the magnificence of the interiors satisfied the demand of the new king for an opulent and rich setting for his palace. Passavant continued his disapproval of the style.

It is owing to this, viz. that whatever is most rich is most desirable, that we find the English in their gilt balustrades, chandeliers, brackets & so closely imitating the taste of Louis XIV, in whose reign this mannered style of ornament was most in vogue; and even furniture of this kind, inlaid with a profusion of tortoiseshell, or brass, and groaning beneath the weight of numberless little knickknacks, no less grotesque than itself, is everywhere to be met with in the houses of the wealthy.⁴⁸

Such criticisms from the early part of the century were repeated even more frequently later in the century. Influential writers, such as Charles Locke Eastlake in his *Hints on Household Taste*, published in 1869, or Edith Wharton in *The Decoration of Houses*, published some thirty years later, condemned the excesses of French ornamentation or gilding found in contemporary furniture and decoration.⁴⁹ As stated in his introduction, Eastlake's purpose was to improve contemporary design by showing how design should follow function. He argued for chaste and sober forms, 'never running into extravagant contour or unnecessary curves.'⁵⁰ French furniture was the opposite of this notion. Thus, he argued, 'that school of decorative art, bad and vicious in principle as it was, had a certain air of luxury and grandeur about it which was due to elaboration of detail and richness of material. Its worst characteristic was an extravagance of contour and this is just the only characteristic which the tradition of upholstery has preserved.'⁵¹ Other writers went further in their attack on this foreign style, as in *The Lady* in 1897, when J.H. Duncan wrote: 'We have so many beautiful styles of our own that it is sheer perversity that prompts us to adopt styles of foreign importation, for which we have no continuity of tradition.'⁵²

48 Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist*, 140.

49 Charles Locke Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste in Furniture, Upholstery and Other Details* (London: Longman, Green & Co, 1869). As he states, the series of essays had been produced for *Cornhill Magazine* and the *London Review* and was aimed to address the question of style and design in contemporary manufacture. Edith Wharton and Ogden Jr. Codman, *The Decoration of Houses* (London: Batsford, 1898).

50 *Id.*, 143.

51 *Id.*, 55–6.

52 John Hudson Elder Duncan, *The Lady* 26 (1897): 798, quoted in: Cooper, *The Opulent Eye*, 17.

Gradually critics began to find elements of French design they approved of. Marshall's *French Home Life*, originally published in *Blackwood's Journal* and then republished as a treatise in 1873, presented a synthesis of how French design could be given moral value.⁵³ For Marshall bad design and taste had moral implications, which were linked to society's political and social policies. In discussing the role of the contemporary French servant, which begins the book, Marshall credits the French Revolution as having levelled classes and raised 'the moral and political value of each individual affected by it.'⁵⁴ He blames French design for a decline in taste and its replacement by a desire for ostentation, show and also an excessive interest in comfort.⁵⁵ He was, of course, discussing the France of the Second Empire and the problems of revivals rather than the originals from the eighteenth century. Further on, he argues that it was contemporary furniture, not antique, that had lapsed into this bad taste; thus he leaves open the possibility that original eighteenth-century furnishings might avoid such grave condemnation.

Writing on the need to reform contemporary decoration, Edith Wharton also tackled the question of taste, arguing that what was satisfactory depended on the appropriate relationship between the object and the interior.⁵⁶ In her attempt to reform the interior from the excesses of historic revivals, she brought a different approach from those who, like Passavant, only saw excessive ornamentation in French furnishings. She could be forgiving of French design, but only when used as originally intended: 'when the rocaille manner was at its height, the main lines of a room were seldom allowed to follow the capricious movement of the ornamental accessories.'⁵⁷ As long as the individual piece of furniture was subordinate to the overall decoration of the room, for Wharton the style could indeed be French. In her attempt to reform the decoration of the contemporary interior, she therefore emphasised a new understanding of good taste: that each piece placed in an interior should be considered in relation to its importance to the room as a whole.

53 Frederic Marshall, *French Home Life* (Edinburgh – London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1873). Blackwood's was a popular magazine with an extensive readership.

54 *Id.*, 10.

55 *Id.*, 90.

56 Wharton and Codman, *The Decoration of Houses*, 85.

57 *Id.*, 56.

Wealth and Ostentation

In spite of the condemnation from critics, the French style was found in the drawing rooms of both town and country houses. Hermann von Pückler-Muskau, writing in 1831, offered one very plausible reason for the success of the French style in Britain, namely that it was ‘very consistent in a country where the nobility grows more and more like that of the time of Louis the Fourteenth.’⁵⁸ One motive would seem to be that British aristocrats adopted the French style as appropriate to their new status as victors of the Napoleonic Wars, and thus that they were the inheritors of the grandeur of eighteenth-century France. By the 1820s George IV, the creator of Windsor, could be said to have absorbed and taken over French decoration—despite having been an ardent supporter of the early stages of the Revolution as a young man—installing it within the Gothic exterior of the castle, thus making it “English.” It may have been the patronage of George IV that prevented the French style from acquiring the political overtones in the nineteenth century that it had during the eighteenth century. The 5th Duke of Buccleuch, who recreated Montagu House in the 1850s with drawing rooms decorated in the rococo style featuring fine examples of eighteenth-century cabinet work and carving, was a Tory peer, as was Lord de Grey, who built Wrest Park in a similar fashion. However, aristocrats with very different political views—such as the Devonshires and other Liberals—could also espouse this style in order to display the benefits of British prosperity, the results of industry and trade. Thus the ostentation implicit in the style became a virtue; the change from previous criticism was that now the French style was seen as combining skill and excellence of craftsmanship, and thus, in its original form, it could be admired. This may be one reason why late nineteenth-century fashion concerned itself with the much closer imitation of the eighteenth century rather than the early years of the century.

The most obvious characteristic of the revived French style was its luxury, exemplified by its gilded and elaborate decoration. As has been seen this was both the most common criticism of the Ancien Régime interior, but it was also an essential part of its appeal. By the 1840s this form of decoration had become established as the accepted interior of the aristocracy. It is against this architectural revival that the taste for collecting original French furnishings must be briefly discussed. Combining architectural designs from the seventeenth to the late eighteenth century, this hybrid and eclectic revival, sometimes

58 Hermann von Pückler-Muskau, *Tour in England, Ireland, and France, in the Years 1828, and 1829. [...] In a Series of Letters. By a German Prince*, transl. Sarah Austin, vol. 4 (London: Carey, Lee and Blanchard, 1832), 338–9.

called the 'Tous les Louis'-style or 'old French style'⁵⁹ appeared in the great London mansions and palaces, establishing it as an accepted decoration for the richest members of the aristocracy. One of the first examples was created for the Duchess of Rutland by Benjamin Dean Wyatt and Matthew Cotes Wyatt at Belvoir Castle. Using panelling from eighteenth-century Parisian salons, the architects created a reception room for the duchess combining the antique panels with modern interpretations of a ceiling from Louis XIV's Versailles.⁶⁰ Benjamin Wyatt went on to work for the Duke of York for his new house in St. James's Park (now Lancaster House), which was then taken over and finished by the richest peer of his generation, George Granville Leveson-Gower, Marquess of Stafford and later 1st Duke of Sutherland (1758–1833),⁶¹ while his brother, Philip, created equally splendid interiors for the Marquess of Londonderry at Wynyard Park (1822–8) at a cost of £102,097 12s *od.*⁶² When George IV had the state rooms of Windsor redecorated by his architect, another member of the Wyatt family, Sir Jeffry Wyatville, added the seal of royal patronage of the style.

An early collector of French furniture, George IV, passionate in his interest in French politics and art, was certainly one of the most influential in the drive to display antique furniture in his newly decorated, grandiose interiors (Fig. 7.3). From a young man and throughout his life, he expended huge sums on French porcelain and furniture from the eighteenth century and his purchases of French works of art, set in the newly created rooms at Windsor Castle or Buckingham Palace, created a standard that continued until the end of the century. Ferdinand de Rothschild, for example, stated in his memoirs that he modelled himself on George IV and William Beckford.⁶³ William Beckford (1760–1844) also had strong links to Paris before the Revolution. One of the most notable collectors of the early nineteenth century and considered one of the chief arbiters of taste in his lifetime, he had lived in Paris until the

59 See the designs published by George Smith (1786–1828) especially in his *Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide* (London: Jones & Company, 1826) or in Henry and Aaron Arrowsmith, *The House Decorator and Painter's Guide* (London: Thomas Kelly, 1840).

60 John Martin Robinson, *The Wyatts: An Architectural Dynasty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

61 James Yorke, *Lancaster House: London's Greatest Town House* (London: Merrell, 2001).

62 Robinson, *The Wyatts*, 121. To place this in context, the equivalent for the project in 2018 terms would be £9,074,000 in real terms, £90,390,000 in terms of labour cost. The economic cost of the project has been estimated at £520,100,000. See footnote 31. Figures taken from *Measuringworth.com*, accessed 30 March 2018.

63 Ferdinand de Rothschild, "The Expansion of Art," in *The Fortnightly Review*, ed. Thomas Hay Sweet Escott (London: Chapman and Hall, 1885), 55–69, quoted in: Michael Hall, *Waddesdon Manor: The Heritage of a Rothschild House* (New York: Harry Abrams, 2002), 100.



FIGURE 7.3

Joseph Nash, *Windsor Castle: the angle of the grand corridor*, showing Boulle furniture and a clock by Charles Cressent, 1846. Watercolour and bodycolour over pencil, 33 × 41.5 cm. Windsor, Royal Collection Trust

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outbreak of the Revolution.⁶⁴ George Watson Taylor, a newly rich Jamaica sugar merchant, furnished his two homes with the finest examples of French furniture. The extravagant lifestyle and spending of his wife's fortune by Pole-Tylney-Long-Wellesley, nephew to the Marquess of Wellesley, led to the sale of Wanstead House in 1823. The Watson Taylor and Wanstead House sales were important because they give evidence to the major role French furniture had in the decoration of grand London and country houses early in the century, when they were particularly associated with the furnishing of the principal state rooms, such as the state drawing room, the grand saloon or other such rooms intended for entertainment and display.

As the century progressed, emulation by the new wealthy—the new plutocrats of whom there were certainly an enormous number—was also a form of overtaking and outdoing Ancien Régime prototypes and possibly even the aristocrats from whom so many bought houses. The decoration and furnishing of these houses thus came to be associated with general ideas of aristocratic splendour, as it was suitable for entertaining and for the lavish parties given in these houses (Fig. 7.4). As Passavant remarked about Gower House: "There is something in these wreaths of curling leaves and twisted ends, especially when covered with the most gorgeous gilding, which attracts the eye more than the simple forms of pure taste."⁶⁵ Visitors all cite opulence and ostentatious display as the key features of these interiors, noting that they were finer than the original French models. Henri Bischoffsheim's palace in Mayfair, previously the home of Lord Bute (an eighteenth-century aristocratic family), was described by contemporaries as a Versailles in miniature. The interiors of

64 Anne Eschapsse, "William Beckford in Paris, 1788–1814: 'Le Feste Solitaire,'" in *William Beckford 1760–1844*, 199–216.

65 Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist*, 140.



FIGURE 7.4 Anon., *The Drawing Room, Wimborne House, 22 Arlington St., Mayfair, formerly Hamilton House and bought from the Dukes of Hamilton in 1870 by Sir Ivor Bertie Guest, ironworks owner, 1902.* London, Country Life Picture Library

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Alfred de Rothschild (1842–1918) were considered to be finer than the originals at Chantilly. However, diaries written at the time also show that this display of wealth was as much envied and admired as denigrated. A telling comment about Algernon Borthwick, 1st Baron of Glensesk (1830–1908) and owner of the *Morning Post*, gives part of the rationale for the wealthy: ‘He is the friend and

host of his Sovereign, not because he owns the *Daily Telegraph* but because he lives like a lord, and with lords and possesses first class shooting.' The plutocrats of the late nineteenth century, who had made their money in manufacture, brewing, railroads, shipping, banking—whether British, South-African, American or Jewish—could choose the style of the French eighteenth century and know that they were living at the same level of luxury as the royalty and aristocracy of the past. Ferdinand de Rothschild, who supported the Liberal government and as a Jew fought for Jewish emancipation, was a great admirer of French art and culture although not of its politics. For him the rise of the new rich created 'a new centre of attraction (that) has been formed on the ruins of the old, produced by the very action of the democracy.' Through their collections they could offer examples of taste and discernment, which could even 'lead to the social and political development of a future age.'⁶⁶ Ferdinand bought his treasures at aristocratic sales as part of the inevitable process of democracy. Nonetheless, he too used Waddesdon to entertain the society of his day, including the king. However, for Ferdinand there was another appeal of collecting French eighteenth-century works of art. Modelling himself on George IV and William Beckford, he saw himself as a prince of connoisseurship with the wealth to surround himself by the finest objects.

Skill and Finish

For Ferdinand de Rothschild, as for George IV, the eighteenth century in France was the period when the arts reached their peak. The names of André Charles Boulle and Riesener brought the English collector directly into the salons and elegant society of the eighteenth century, and for many French luxury goods represented the highest quality. The descriptions of furniture by Boulle and Riesener always emphasised the quality of the workmanship as well as the elegance, magnificence and costly qualities they held. It is perhaps not surprising that at a time when painters and art critics admired the detailed execution of such artists as Maclise or Mulready, Landseer or Lord Leighton, the same attributes were admired in furniture.⁶⁷

66 Rothschild, "The Expansion of Art," 57.

67 These highly finished contemporary paintings were collected by many of the leading figures in Britain, from Queen Victoria, who most notably patronised Landseer, to the newly-rich industrialists. Nonetheless it is often assumed that few aristocrats collected contemporary art, so the sale of the collection of the Countess of Blessington in 1849 is particularly interesting for its combination of French furniture and contemporary British artists. *The Costly and Elegant Effects including the Magnificent Furniture, Rare Porcelain,*

An added dimension was given to the taste and acquisition of French decorative furniture when national pride was identified with excellence in the arts. Success in the arts was part of the nationalist competition for excellence. For example, in 1875, when debating the proposal for the Royal Academy to exhibit in the Philadelphia International exhibition, the arguments put forward to the Privy Council to support the costs of the exhibit were that ‘British Art has hitherto made a very poor show at all International Exhibitions, while foreign countries like France and Belgium have always been well represented; and the result is that whereas Belgian and French pictures are well-known and command a sale all over Europe, English Pictures are but little known and esteemed out of England.’⁶⁸ This was also the concern for the decorative arts, where there were frequent representations that England needed to improve its quality of design in order to compete with other countries. Emulation of French furniture was considered by some, though by no means all, critics to be a way to provide inspiration for contemporary British design.

Ferdinand de Rothschild described the French Revolution as bringing to England ‘the priceless and countless works of art, the heirlooms of centuries.’ Moreover, for him, through this ‘dissemination of ancient and foreign works of art [...] the multitude have been made conversant of their beauty and usefulness, that has opened out a new vista of refinement and industry.’⁶⁹ As a result England had become the centre of this market. Ferdinand thus combined the most admired qualities of the period—excellence in workmanship and beauty of design—with their beneficial influence on British life and culture. In this he was followed by John Jones, whose bequest to the Victoria and Albert Museum of his collection of French works of art was made to bring these qualities before the English public.⁷⁰ In the catalogue describing the collection, the author goes out of his way to show how Jones was contributing to the nation’s interest by providing works of inestimable value, both artistic and financial. Through this donation, it was argued, Britain could reach the same levels of quality as her competitors (Fig. 7.5).

Sculpture in Marble, Bronzes and an Assemblage of Objects of Art and Decoration [...] Collection of Ancient and Modern Pictures [...] from Gore House, sold by Mr. Philips on Monday, 7 May 1849 and twelve subsequent days.

- 68 Guillaume Evrard, “English Pictures Are but Little Known and Esteemed Out of England’: The Royal Academy of Arts and the 1878 Paris Exposition Universelle,” in *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present: A Cultural History*, eds. Charlotte Gould and Sophie Mesplède (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), 211–26.
- 69 Rothschild, “The Expansion of Art,” 57.
- 70 See the introduction to the catalogue of the John Jones Collection: *Handbook of the Jones Collection in the South Kensington Museum* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1883), 77–112.



FIGURE 7.5 Martin Carlin, *Worktable bequeathed by John Jones and said to have belonged to Marie Antoinette, veneered in tulipwood, purplewood, sycamore and boxwood on a carcass of oak, c. 1775. Gilt-bronze mounts, the top set with a porcelain plaque, 77 × 42 × 36.8 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum*

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When Edith Wharton emphasised the fact that, in the past, works of art were deemed valuable because of their design and not because of their workmanship, she implicitly referred to the dominant emphasis on skill and manufacture as the chief aesthetic value. In fact this may account for another paradox, which is that very often modern copies were priced more highly than the antiques, partly because of the contemporary costs of the craft and partly because the modern would be newer, more lavish and possibly more comfortable.

The emphasis on finish and skill of original eighteenth-century French decorative arts seems crucial in accounting for the taste for French decorative arts and sets it apart from other historical revivals of the nineteenth century, placing the collecting of French works of art within a national British demand for finish and perfection. Lady Dilke, in her introduction to the furniture catalogue of the newly created Wallace Collection, furthermore separated the political conditions under which French eighteenth-century furniture was produced and emphasised that:

These are considerations which one would desire to put in the first place before the reader to whom this introduction is addressed. Because at the present time—when the works of the eighteenth century and especially the latter half of that century are inordinately popular—it is necessary to insist on the fact that their chief claim to admiration lies in the measure of the style and distinction which they have attained in virtue of the taste and admirable training of their makers. This is the lesson which the great store, garnered within these walls, is aptly calculated to teach. Furthermore I would say that beautiful things may be rare and costly, but rarity and cost are not in themselves excellencies.

The truth is that the exact appreciation of work, which in all its varied forms is the product of finished skill perfected in historic traditions and controlled by critical tastes, requires incessant and steadily directed effort of the judgment and constant discipline of the powers of observation.⁷¹

71 Émile Molinier, with an introduction by Lady Dilke, *The Wallace Collection (objets d'art) at Hertford House* (London: Manzi, Joyant & Co, 1903), originally published in French as: Émile Molinier, *La Collection Wallace: meubles et objets d'art français des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris: E. Lévy, 1902).

Cosmopolitanism: The French Style as an Expression of National Pride

In 1886 T.H. Escott, writing under the guise of a foreign visitor to England, commented:

British cosmopolitanism shows itself in its rapid assimilation of the social ideas of other countries and in its heroic struggle to rise superior to the hampering restrictions of insular respectability. True it still possesses its own excellent common sense, but even this immense virtue is beguiled by the desire of those who possess it to prove that they are without its prejudices. London society is thus a society in a state of solution.⁷²

The use of the term 'cosmopolitan' brings another dimension to the taste for French, and indeed for foreign goods found in Britain during the nineteenth century. Arguably it underlies the enduring market for works of art at both the highest and more ordinary levels of society. One of the hallmarks of the nineteenth-century drawing room, the mixing of different types of decoration and time periods in a single space, became an example not just of wealth but also of the quality of British society. Disraeli's somewhat mocking tone in *Henrietta Temple* reflects the mixed appreciation of this historical medley: 'and then they were ushered into a drawing room of Parisian elegance: buhl cabinets, marqueterie tables, hangings of the choicest damask suspended from burnished cornices of old carving. The chairs had been rifled from a Venetian palace; the couches were part of the spoils of the French revolution.'⁷³ Disraeli's fictional drawing room could be found in many of the houses described in this essay: few collections were as concentrated on French works of art as those of George IV, the Marquess of Hertford or Ferdinand Rothschild. More typical, as has been discussed above, collections reflected an eclectic mixture of furnishings from myriad dates and countries. At Stowe, alongside the French furnishings, there were also a striking number of Italian cabinets and tables in the drawing rooms and the rooms used for entertainment, and a German cabinet in metal marquetry placed in the state bedroom was considered one

72 Thomas Hay Sweet Escott, *Society in London, by a Foreign Resident* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1886), 24.

73 Benjamin Disraeli, *Henrietta Temple: A Love Story* (London: Henry Colburn, 1837), 350, quoted in: Crook, *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches*, 173.

of the most important items in the sale.⁷⁴ The Hamilton Palace sale notably included important works of Italian, Russian or other continental origins alongside famous French pieces. Perhaps even more importantly, this mixing and melange of styles and materials can also be found in the sale catalogues of London houses belonging to not only the nobility, but also those described as ‘a gentleman’ or residents in fashionable areas of central London. The catalogues of the contents of their houses repeat the same eclectic mixtures as in those of the greater. Thus in sale catalogues, in addition to the concentration on French decorative arts, one also finds antiques from other countries, particularly Italy.⁷⁵

Justifying, or at least explaining, the practice of displaying and living in surroundings which were eclectic in their style and international in their origin, should be seen within the context of the debate about Britain’s international position in the world. It is by drawing on the discussions about cosmopolitanism that the resolution of the appropriation of a foreign style to formulate a British identity can be addressed. The term, as has been extensively discussed in recent writings on Victorian literature and identity, has many contradictory facets related to contemporary political and economic debates.⁷⁶ Linked strongly to the debate over national identity, the issues of patriotism and nationalism and their relationship to the ideal of the “citizen of the world” developed strongly in the early nineteenth century. ‘Cosmopolitanism’ as a term was used by Coleridge in opposition to nationalism in *The Friend* in 1809.⁷⁷ At the

74 Stowe Catalogue, Second days sale, lots 221–224 describes Venetian chairs from the Doge’s palace and lots 253 and 254 were Florentine *pietra dura* cabinets. These were in the Duchess’s drawing room and were displayed alongside a marquetry table, several gilt pier tables and a ‘buhl’ table. Ninth days sale, lot 1146 was a German marquetry cabinet, which at £246 15s was one of the most expensive items at the sale.

75 For example the stock of a Mr. Pratt boasted not only Louis XVI cabinets mounted by Gouthière, but also an astronomical clock from the royal palace of Turin and a suite of furniture from the Palace of Naples.

76 There has been much written about cosmopolitanism in general and its associations in nineteenth-century literature. See: Tanya Agathocleous and Jason R. Rudy, “Victorian Cosmopolitanisms: Introduction,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 38, no. 2 (2010): 389–97. This essay takes the term from this historical perspective and not from current sociological or socio-political viewpoint. However, for an overall introduction, a useful summary is found in: Victor Roudometof, “Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Glocalization,” *Current Sociology* 53, no. 1 (2005): 113–35.

77 Esther Wohlgemut, *Romantic Cosmopolitanism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009), 3–4. Wohlgemut argues that in fact the bipolarity between nationalism and cosmopolitanism argued by Coleridge in *The Friend* in 1809 was modified later in the essay to show that the two were seen as mutually constitutive and therefore non-oppositional.

same time, for the *Edinburgh Review* a cosmopolitan understanding of politics was based on an international approach to economics.⁷⁸ As it appeared in the writings of John Stuart Mill, in 1848 the term was given a more qualified, even negative use, on the one occasion he refers to cosmopolitanism itself: 'A tendency may, even now, be observed towards such a state of things; capital is becoming more and more cosmopolitan.'⁷⁹ He continued to argue that such cosmopolitan freedom may not be possible in the unequal economic world of the British Empire. Mill's negative use of the word was not taken up by a number of Victorian writers, many of whom used the term to argue for a more universal and international understanding of the world.⁸⁰ The term 'cosmopolitan,' as can be seen in the several journals that used it in their titles, could be used for various purposes and agendas, as the different stances in their editorial perspectives demonstrate. The short-lived *Cosmopolitan Review* (1861) followed the universal principles in the term; its writings aimed at bringing harmony to European policies. The weekly publication *Cosmopolitan* (1865–76) held a more imperialist viewpoint, writing about the English colonies. *Cosmopolis: An International Review* (1896–8), on the other hand, was more ambitious and international in its scope, trying to create networks between cities by publishing articles about the arts in Paris, London and New York.⁸¹

The concept of cosmopolitanism has not traditionally been linked with the types of interiors described above, but rather with the reform movements for English taste. Both Mary Haweis and her contemporary Lucy Orrinsmith wrote guides on interior decoration for the homeowner,⁸² arguing that drawing on the past or from different cultures brought individuality to the home and that such eclecticism could achieve the highest form of decoration. These treatises were intended to deal with exactly the mixture of different styles by showing how, through careful disposition, a well-balanced interior could be achieved in the readers' homes. Judith Neiswander argues that this emphasised the need for individuals to show their individuality and as such was linked to the lib-

78 *Id.*, 52.

79 John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economics*, vol. 2 (London: John W. Parker, 1848), chapter XVII, 1.

80 Tanya Agathocleous, *Urban Realism and the Cosmopolitan Imagination in the Nineteenth Century: Visible City, Invisible World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 58–9.

81 Agathocleous, *Urban Realism*, 54–67.

82 Lucy Orrinsmith, née Faulkner, was an artist who before she married worked for Morris & Company and was a close friend of Morris, who advised her in the writing of her book, *The Drawing Room: Its Decoration and Furniture*, which was published in November 1877. See: Emma Ferry, "'The Other Miss Faulkner': Lucy Orrinsmith and the 'Art at Home Series,'" *The Journal of William Morris Studies* 19, no. 2 (2011): 47–64.

eral movements at the end of the nineteenth century and to the concept of free trade. Cosmopolitanism thus manifested itself in the choice of objects to decorate the interior, objects which came from all over the world.⁸³ The type of cosmopolitan interior argued by Neiswander to have been part of a liberal, aesthetic creation was certainly far from the historicist interiors in which Boulle furniture, Italian cabinets and carved console tables enriched an already opulent room, possibly even one decorated with French Louis xv *boiseries*, such as those at Waddesdon Manor or the London townhouses already described. Although these writers, espousing the freedom to choose the best examples from all parts of the world, did not include examples of the French style—far from it—the very arguments involved in presenting the virtues of a cosmopolitan, free-ranging approach to design provided opportunities for critics to accept certain elements of French furniture, in particular the skill of artisans from the past.

Furthermore, cosmopolitanism could be linked to Britain's destiny and importance. Thus in the discussion which surrounded the Great Exhibition, for example, abundant use could be made of Kant's rhetoric of world peace, turning it to argue that Britain, with its industrial supremacy, would lead the world towards its egalitarian destiny—not least by aligning its territories with the progressive trajectory of European civilisation. 'What is more natural than that the first exhibition of the Works of Industry of *all* Nations should take place among a people which beyond every other in the world is composed of *all* nations' was only one of many such statements of pride in the wealth and cosmopolitanism of the nation.⁸⁴ It is in this sense of cosmopolitanism that the collection of the Ancien Régime may be most closely associated. For the owners of these mansions, the mixture of antiques from international sources reflected cosmopolitanism as an expression of pride and national supremacy. The drawing rooms of the English could thus demonstrate the power of the British nation to own works of art from all countries, united under one roof. Whatever one's means, cosmopolitanism created the final stage in British perception of the revived French style, placing taste, wealth and national pride on display in the drawing room.

83 Judy Neiswander, *The Cosmopolitan Interior: Liberalism and the British Home 1870–1914* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2008), 8–14.

84 Agathocleous, *Urban Realism*, 37.

Conclusion

The long-standing emulation of French style, already well established in the eighteenth century, gave it an internationalist acceptability, which during the nineteenth century came to stand for wealth and luxury. In England emulation was characterised by an interest in antique works of art; thus eighteenth-century French furniture played a significant role in the interiors of the great houses. The motives to collect French furniture meant that the market continued long after its beginnings in the first part of the century. Obviously an important factor in the fashion and taste for furnishing houses in this style involved issues of emulation and copying. Nonetheless the choice to acquire French furniture and works of art signalled more than mere copying. French and later British dealers had pushed the market for French works of art onto the English scene immediately after the Revolution and maintained that market throughout the century. The connections between English and French dealers made high quality pieces available to British collectors, while in France there was no real market until decades later. However, the enduring success of the French style in the drawing rooms of Britain had deeper roots, thus ensuring a continuous demand for eighteenth-century French works of art by not only the wealthiest in the land, but also by those who aspired to emulate their taste. Through their ready acceptance of the French style as an expression of their position, English aristocrats appropriated the art of their enemy, paradoxically by giving it both an English as well as an international meaning. The desire to emulate and to appropriate the style of the Ancien Régime was based on various and sometimes conflicting motives, but its importance in the formation of the British sense of identity must be uniformly appreciated. The style of the Ancien Régime became the style of the plutocrats of the late nineteenth century who were both British and international. It thus represented a recognised form of wealth and taste both internationally and nationally. As such it can be argued that the reasons for acquiring French works of art moved beyond emulation to deeper motives of pride in the cosmopolitan position of Britain, in which the best of both Europe and the rest of the world could be brought to the country and where the British collector could rejoice in owning the finest works of art from Europe. At a time when the past provided contemporary artists with inspiration, French furniture was also expected to provide a standard to be emulated by British craftsmen. Through its emphasis on the combination of skill and design, French furniture appealed to the nineteenth-century collector and made it acceptable throughout society. It was this that supported the market for these works of art, making them not just collectors' items, but fundamental to every fashionable drawing room. To quote Escott again:

There is, one is told, no waste in nature and what Paris, since the fall of the Empire, has lost, London has gained. I do not say that everyone goes to London now as all the world went to Paris once; but the British capital today approaches nearer to the Paris of fifteen or twenty years ago than any other capital of the world. London is not the most beautiful, the most splendid or even the most convenient city but it is pre-eminently the smart metropolis of Europe.⁸⁵

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85 Escott, *Society in London*, 24.

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The Modern Italian Sculptor as International Entrepreneur: The Case of Medardo Rosso (1858–1928)

Sharon Hecker

Performing the Sale of Modern Sculpture

In 1899 the French poet Jehan Rictus recorded an encounter with Medardo Rosso, Italian sculptor and astute marketer, in his diary:

Medardo Rosso selling a reproduction to a *bourgeois* is [...] truly [...] comedic [...] He takes the unlucky guy, turns his nose to the wall enjoining him to stay in this penitent posture [...] Then he goes to a big Norman chest that conceals the work he wants to sell [...], opens a lid, plunges into the chest, brings out [...] a piece of [...] plush cloth, [...] drapes it on a wooden chest or a seat, [...] quickly runs to the window, plays with the curtains of the atelier for *the illumination* [...] And if the restless *bourgeois* risks glancing at these preparations, Rosso vehemently warns him not to move, reprimanding him ‘*Per Cristo*, don’t turn around!’ Finally, after half an hour of beseechments [...], Rosso, having placed the wax [...] on the pedestal decorated by a plush cloth, declares: ‘And now look!’ The relieved bourgeois turns around [...] and [...] declares—how superb it is and generally he buys. If he was not convinced he wouldn’t dare confess this and would leave with the object anyway.¹

1 The full quote is: ‘Rosso vendant une reproduction à un bourgeois est étonnant à voir. C’est une vraie scène de comédie inoubliable. Il prend l’infortuné Michet, il le tourne le nez dans la muraille lui enjoignant de rester dans cette posture de pénitence jusqu’à ce qu’il lui dise de se retourner. Puis il va à un grand bahut normand qui recèle l’œuvre qu’il veut [lui] vendre. Il [en] ouvre un battant de porte, plonge dans le bahut, en retire un morceau de peluche vert ou noir selon, le dispose, le drape sur une caisse en bois, ou une selle, puis vite court à la fenêtre, fait jouer les rideaux de l’atelier pour *l’éclairage, la lumière*. Et si le bourgeois inquiet risque un œil vers ces préparatifs, Rosso véhémentement lui enjoint de ne pas bouger, ce en le tutoyant: “Per Cristo, né té [*sic*] retourné [*sic*] pas!” Enfin après une demi-heure d’adjurations et de recommandations, Rosso ayant situé la cire qu’il veut vendre sur le piédestal orné d’une peluche déclare: “Et maintenant [*sic*] régarde!” Le bourgeois se retourne soulagé et devant tant de précautions déclare—que c’est superbe et généralement achète.’

This account replicates well-known perceptions of the artist as an entrepreneurial vendor in the increasingly commercialised market for art that characterised the late nineteenth century. Like most artists of the modern era, Rosso had to make his living by selling his sculptures to a new class of bourgeois clients. He viewed himself as an exhibitor for a mass audience rather than for a specific patron, as well as a skilled entertainer and salesperson, feeling at once superior to, yet dependent on enticing often-unrefined buyers. Rosso's marketing approach was particularly flamboyant and creative. As a foreigner working in Paris, he had to work harder to develop creative sales tactics and make a niche for himself in the competitive art scene. Despite a new cosmopolitan attitude in Paris, foreigners like Rosso were still considered to be outsiders, revealing tensions between nationalism and internationalism. Even his close Parisian friend Rictus described Rosso as having 'all the double-dealing and astuteness of an Italian.'²

Rosso saw himself as an internationalist, a citizen of the world and a maker of art without borders. His intransigent cosmopolitan attitude both helped and hampered his success, for in this period sculptors were expected to be international minded but also to promote their national identity. Rosso never fully accepted categorisation by any nationality or integration within the nationally defined artistic movements that characterised this epoch. As an internationalist, he refused to take into account cultural differences, rendering problematic the necessary forms of interaction, exchange, compromise and diplomacy. Thus, although he could make contact with markets around Europe, he remained an outsider looking in.

Whether an artist was local or foreign, selling sculpture posed specific problems in the modern age. Despite the intensified internationalisation of the art markets, sculpture continued to be entrenched in national concerns, for monuments could not be internationalised: such large-scale works, which brought sculptors prestige and financial security, were costly to make, difficult to move, mostly site specific and firmly attached to national institutions. Thus, they were unmarketable as objects for a new class of mobile bourgeois buyers.

S'il était mal convaincu il n'oserait pas le confesser et s'en irait tout de même avec l'objet.' See: Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Paris, Papiers de Jehan Rictus, NaFr 16102, Journal 6, 12 May 1899, 41 R/V. Transcription by Alessandro De Stefani. The text was reproduced, with minor errors of transcription, in: Giovanni Lista, *Medardo Rosso. Destin d'un Sculpteur* (Paris: L'Échoppe, 1994), 152–3.

2 'Rosso [...] a toute la fourberie et l'astuce italienne.' Papiers de Jehan Rictus, NaFr16102, Journal 6, 12 May, 1899, 41R. Transcription by Alessandro De Stefani, published in Italian translation in: Giovanni Lista, *Medardo Rosso. Scultura e fotografia* (Milan: 5 Continents editions, 2003), 304.

Advances in technology permitted the efficient manufacture of smaller serial reproductions, and this offered a promising new avenue for transnational circulation and profit. Casting and distribution remained nonetheless problematic: they were dependent upon a few powerful foundries that conformed to nationalistic agendas and forced sculptors to take a back seat to marketing. By the end of the century, serial sculpture's mass reproducibility and commercialisation also rendered its quality dubious and raised issues surrounding art's uniqueness, originality and authenticity. Rosso devised creative ways to bypass this problem by casting his own works serially and selling them as if they were original, unique sculptures.

In this essay I contend that Rosso is a rare example of an Italian sculptor who took advantage of the new international prospects for modern art that were developing in Paris and around Europe.³ I examine the evolution of Rosso's sales tactics from Milan to Paris to Europe at large within the context of markets for avant-garde sculpture, especially the possibilities and problems posed by the burgeoning serial sculpture industry. As a foreigner, Rosso was a displaced, nomadic and mobile subject and therefore was forced to rely on serial sculpture's new commercial possibilities. I maintain that he mobilised the sites of his sales. His career exemplifies the gradual shift from the sculptor's dependence on the public Salon for sales. He capitalised on his studio, independently organised shows and relied on commercial galleries to exhibit and market his works. Rosso took this new concept to an extreme: combining artisanal and modern, national and international approaches, he became a travelling salesman who attempted to no longer rely on location as a form of self-definition. Finally, via the publication of idiosyncratic photographs he made of his works, which he disseminated in newspapers, journals and exhibition catalogues around Europe, he reduced the need to present the object to a client in order to sell it. I hope this essay will contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics underlying the international marketing of avant-garde sculpture in the late nineteenth century.

The Revolution of the Market for Modern Art in France

France, and specifically Paris, played a decisive role in the transformation of the production, reception, and marketing of art during the second half of the nineteenth century. In their 1965 study *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World*, sociologist Harrison C. White and art

3 For a full account of Medardo Rosso's internationalism, see: Sharon Hecker, *A Moment's Monument: Medardo Rosso and the International Origins of Modern Sculpture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017).

historian Cynthia A. White argued that the demise of the Salon in the 1860s forever altered the system by which art was distributed, opening the doors for smaller, more non-juried exhibitions in Paris and expanding the roles of critics and art dealers in the following decades.⁴ According to the Whites, government-controlled Salons with academic juries gradually ceased to be central to the building of French artistic reputations. New middle-class buyers—professional people, merchants and industrialists—rather than members of the upper classes, were now seeking smaller, less expensive paintings with modest themes, often appropriate to the decoration of the bourgeois home. An increasing number of private dealers emerged on the scene to serve these new clients.

The Whites' account of the Salon tradition giving way to new kinds of opportunities for French artists mediated by dealers was disputed in 2007 by economic historian David W. Galenson and art historian Robert Jensen.⁵ Galenson and Jensen demonstrated that the Salon's monopoly was not immediately replaced in the 1860s by a competitive market run by private dealers. Rather, the authors emphasised that the change in the market was first instituted by the smaller, artist-organised exhibitions, which offered new ways for artists, among them the impressionists, to develop their own markets. The authors opined that this shift to artist-driven organisations and sales of works also had an impact on the kind of art that was produced, since modern artists like the impressionists and neo-impressionists no longer had to rely on commissions from specific patrons and instead could paint whatever they chose and then look for an appropriate buyer. Galenson and Jensen concluded that painters gained greater artistic freedom as well as control over exhibitions and sales.

The Case of Sculpture: The Enduring Role of the Salon

Within these two accounts of the radical changes that took place in the French art market in the second half of the nineteenth century, sculpture is ignored. It is a commonplace that sculpture lagged behind avant-garde painting and generally remained more conservative than its sister art until the end of the century. This delay has been attributed to institutional controls: with rare exception, the most important sculptors of the time continued to establish their reputations by winning large public commissions, typically by producing monuments that reflected collective nationalistic and political concerns.

4 Harrison C. and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World* (New York: Wiley, 1965).

5 David W. Galenson and Robert Jensen, "Careers and Canvases: The Rise of the Market for Modern Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *Van Gogh Studies (Current Issues in Nineteenth-Century Art)* 1 (2007): 137–66.

Throughout the nineteenth century, even in the last decades under discussion here, official Salons still by and large created the reputations of French sculptors and allowed the successful ones to build a measure of financial security.⁶ This situation persisted even after the Salon had ceased to control the reputations of avant-garde painters. Given the high costs of production of large-scale sculptures, sculptors would first exhibit their best works as plaster models at the Salon or in academic exhibitions. If a model was selected, then the state (or, less frequently, members of the public by subscription, or wealthy private societies or patrons) paid for it to be converted into such expensive permanent materials as marble or bronze. Especially in France, the state supported the extensive costs of training sculptors and, as a return on its investment, would then acquire their large works destined for public official spaces. The state thus promoted favoured artists (this was true of preferred Salon painters as well), who were rewarded not only with state purchases but also medals, cash prizes, teaching positions, elections to national academies, exhibitions and the opportunity to sit on juries. Even the most progressive French sculptors of the time—notably Auguste Rodin, who is praised today for his autonomy—remained committed to institutional recognition in France during their lifetime.⁷

Although foreign sculptors such as Rosso could exhibit at the Salon, they could not hope to truly penetrate its insular system. They were thus obliged to find alternative ways to build a reputation and market. Monuments, in fact, remained the exclusive domain of French sculptors. Despite increasing openness to international ideas and foreign artists in Paris, it would have been inconceivable for a foreign sculptor to participate in a French national monument competition during this period, especially after France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1.⁸ State-commissioned monuments were intended to foster a sense of common national heritage and identity: war monuments celebrating French heroism, resistance, defence and *revanche* (revenge), as well as funerary monuments and tributes to French literary

6 For an overview, see: *La sculpture française au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1986).

7 A notable exception is Jean-Louis Barye, who built a career outside of the Salon.

8 On the tension between internationalism and nationalism in the arts in France after 1871, see: Rachel Esner, "Art Knows no Fatherland": Internationalism and the Reception of German Art in France in the Early Third Republic," in *The Mechanics of Internationalism*, eds. Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann (London: Oxford University Press, 2001), 357–74.

genius or universal human values were all seen, with rare exception, as the proper preserve of French sculptors.⁹

By the time Rosso came to Paris in 1889, Rodin had engaged in repeated clashes with the establishment over his unconventional monument proposals. Rodin's presentation of innovative large-scale sculptures and his requests for official support for them put pressure on the Salon's power and conservatism, foreshadowing the breakdown between sculptors and the Salon's exclusive control over their careers, reputations and markets in the twentieth century. Eventually, this situation would further open the door to foreign sculptors in Paris, such as Constantin Brancusi and Alberto Giacometti, who gained fame and success without the need to build their reputations through official French channels such as the Salon.

Serial Sculpture: A New Avenue for Commercialisation

Even as French sculptors continued to depend on the Salon for certification of their reputations and acquisition of large-scale works, they also found profitable new options in the industry for mechanically reproduced serial sculptures, which had the potential to run the gamut from kitsch to avant-garde. In his seminal study of serial sculpture in nineteenth-century France, art historian Jacques de Caso notes that already from the 1840s, serial sculpture found an expanding place in society, which was characterised by a growing taste for fashionable, small-scale reproductions.¹⁰ While it was costly and labour-intensive to make large monuments, technical developments in French foundries made serial sculpture increasingly efficient to produce. The sand casting method, which required a significant division of highly specialised labour, dominated French foundry industries (in contrast to Italy, in which serial sculpture was made in a more artisanal fashion, primarily through the *cire perdue* or lost-wax process). The expanding railroad system facilitated exportation of these smaller objects abroad. Thus, while the Salon continued to promote large-scale sculpture, smaller, serial sculpture gained a strong international presence by the 1870s.

9 June Hargrove, "Qui Vive? France: Sculpture of the Revanche," in *Nationalism and French Visual Culture, 1870–1914*, eds. June Hargrove and Neil McWilliam (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2005), 55–82. See also: June Hargrove, "Introduction," in *Nationalism and French Visual Culture*, 9–16.

10 Jacques de Caso, "Serial Sculpture in Nineteenth-Century France," in *Metamorphoses in Nineteenth-Century Sculpture*, ed. Jean Wasserman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 3.

Neither the model of the dealer-led system for painting hypothesised by the Whites nor the artist-led system theorised by Jensen and Galenson fits the case of the development of markets for modern sculpture. In the history of sculpture, a key role in marketing was played by foundries. Serial sculpture was an industry that involved many more components than painting. According to de Caso,

the profession of the sculptor [...] opened up to a much greater number of practitioners [...] The commercial exploitation of sculpture [...] became a large-scale enterprise. Public capital (i.e., the government) as well as private—that of the artists, the metallurgical industry, and retail dealers in this case—was invested in art both for profit and in order to further the development of industry.¹¹

Important technical advances helped develop this market: Achille Collas's perfection of the pointing machine in 1836 made sculptural reductions simpler to produce. In partnership with French bronze founder Ferdinand Barbedienne, Colas soon created an empire for the production of serial sculpture, as did other French foundry businesses like Thiébaud, Christofle and Siot-Decauville.¹² Art historian Neil McWilliam observes that serial sculpture during the subsequent decades became 'the most intensely capitalised area of French artistic production [...] [and the] demand for reproductive sculpture and decorative items had mushroomed, creating a highly competitive market controlled by a small number of specialist foundries.'¹³

No other country could compete with France's command of the bronze casting industry, in particular the power of Barbedienne. As much a dealer as a founder, Barbedienne even directed major sculptors such as Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux on which subjects to make or sell.¹⁴ Until 1902 official limits on multiples were not recognised, nor were founders required to make contracts with sculptors that would restrict distribution. Only in the twentieth century, owing to legal interventions that have not yet been studied systematically, did

11 De Caso, "Serial Sculpture," 3.

12 Elisabeth Lebon, *Dictionnaire des fondeurs de bronze d'art, France 1890–1950* (Paris: Marjon Éditions, 2003). On Barbedienne, see: Florence Rionnet, *La maison Barbedienne: correspondances d'artistes* (Paris: CTHS, 2008).

13 Neil McWilliam, "Craft, Commerce and the Contradictions of Anti-Capitalism: Reproducing the Applied Art of Jean Baffier," in *Sculpture and its Reproductions*, eds. Anthony Hughes and Erich Ranfft (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 103.

14 Jacques de Caso, "Gustave Moreau, l'envers de la sculpture," in *Gustave Moreau: l'homme aux figures de cire* (Paris: Somogy, 2010), 10–1.

industrially produced multiples become more restricted and subject to official control.

Unlike anything seen in the promotion and sales of painting, Barbedienne used aggressive and professional marketing techniques, such as the development of a network for exhibition and retailing that included printed catalogues and advertising.¹⁵ Barbedienne used his participation in industrial exhibitions and world fairs at home and abroad to advertise his goods, and his catalogues boasted medals and awards received throughout Europe, where he placed agents to promote his sales. Customers were encouraged to physically handle the objects on display, and this tactile aspect became part of these reproductions' commercial appeal. De Caso defines the situation as one of

supply and demand: [...] on the one hand, the conditions surrounding the creative processes which allow us to consider the works as already created in multiple, thanks to moulding operations; on the other hand, the deliberate multiplication of work for wide circulation in public and private whether for profit or not.¹⁶

It was Barbedienne whom Rosso approached upon his arrival in Paris in 1889, hoping to create a serial edition of one of his sculptures—but Barbedienne refused. Nonetheless, serial sculpture as a technique still became the best option for any sculptor to penetrate both the French and the international market.

There is as yet no systematic, comprehensive study of serial sculpture as a transnational market phenomenon. Such a study would include collecting patterns, buying preferences and tastes, and differences between domestic and international markets. This is necessarily related to ideas about the construction of value, and to the relationship of serial sculpture to growing international networks of exhibitions, dealers and agents that promoted these works. A thorough examination of the phenomenon should also include a study of the laws that governed the construction and transfer of these goods across borders. Finally, it should address the role of so-called “cultural mediators” (middlemen of various kinds, including art dealers, critics and literary figures, all of whom regularly travelled abroad or were otherwise familiar with cultural developments outside their home countries), as well as of private collectors, exhibition organisers and museum directors who began creating collections of national and foreign art.

15 McWilliam, “Craft, Commerce,” 103.

16 De Caso, “Serial Sculpture,” 2.

Sculpture as Unique versus Sculpture as Multiple

Serial sculpture's popularity also posed problems. Its popularity created a tension between sculpture as high art and sculpture as multiple mass-produced objects. Barbedienne's name had become so powerful as a brand and status symbol that at times the name of the sculptor who modelled the work became obscured. This conflict led sculptors to seek new ways to benefit, yet also disengage, from the decorative/commercial aspect of their art.¹⁷ Some sculptors, such as James Pradier, made important statues for wealthy collectors and at the same time gave models to the industry to be reproduced as multiples. Others, like Jean-Louis Barye, were refused by the Salon and subsequently made only commercial works, which, in Barye's case, he personally cast in large series, thereby creating a reputation without the Salon's and a founder's approval. Other Salon artists gave models to the industry for reproduction but then regretted their decision: Auguste Clésinger attempted to escape the control of foundries, suing his founders to recover his work's artistic value. Still, major founders would continue to regularly prowl the Salons to find popularly and critically well-received large works in order to make small, saleable copies.

By 1870 the divisions became blurred between the unique high art object and the serial multiple, traditional and modern sculpture, "sculpture to see" and "sculpture to sell."¹⁸ The market abundance of industrial bronzes had significantly jeopardised the definition of sculpture as art, leading to questions of quality, authenticity and uniqueness that affected sculptors and the public alike. The generation of sculptors that came of age after 1870 was highly suspicious of industrial foundries and many began to publicly define their careers against them, although these younger sculptors still attempted to take advantage of the marketability of serial sculpture. Rodin, for example, closely supervised the quality of his casts and never ceded rights of reproduction to any founder. Rosso, whom Barbedienne likely rejected due to the sculptor's insistence on maintaining control, would begin casting his own works and making this fact publicly known in Paris after 1895.

17 For studies of single French sculptors and their market strategies, see for example: Anne Middleton Wagner, *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Sculptor of the Second Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 175–207; Catherine Chevillot, ed., *Emmanuel Frémiet: La main et le multiple* (Dijon: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1988); William Johnston and Simon Kelly, *Untamed: The Art of Antoine-Louis Barye* (Munich and New York: Prestel, 2006).

18 To rephrase Patricia Mainardi's definition of Salon painting. See: Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

The rising concern for quality can be seen in the growing demand by connoisseurs in France for casts made by the more artisanal *cire perdue* method during the last decade of the century (the technique had fallen into disuse in France earlier in the century), as described by art historian Elisabeth Lebon.¹⁹ *Cire perdue* implied a reduction of the number of practitioners involved. It also suggested that the sculptor could personally supervise the wax model before it was melted out of the mould to make the bronze. This led to a widespread belief that the resulting object, despite being a multiple, was more “authentic,” “unique” and closer to the artist’s hand. Since Rosso had experience with *cire perdue* from his early years in Italy, he would capitalise on his Italian roots to advertise this as a particularly valuable aspect of his works in Paris. As it turned out, familiarity with *cire perdue* became one way for sculptors outside the French establishment to penetrate the French market.

Medardo Rosso’s Early Marketing Strategies in Milan

Rosso provides a rare example of a sculptor who made the transnational crossing by taking advantage of the popularity of serial sculpture while being careful not to cede to extreme commercialisation. His decision to move to Paris in 1889 made sense both from artistic and economic perspectives. The Italian market for modern sculpture in the 1880s was much smaller and far more provincial than that of France. When Rosso began his career in Italy, the newly united country was caught up in a fragile moment of nation building. It was afflicted by political and economic crises. The unfulfilled promises of the *Risorgimento* had created an atmosphere of widespread pessimism.²⁰ Poverty and illiteracy further obstructed Italy’s already belated race to modernise, which inevitably had an impact on its avant-garde art scene. The effort to industrialise had resulted in fitful progress. The Italian government needed sculptors to fill the country’s *piazze* with conservative equestrian monuments glorifying such heroes of Italian unification as Giuseppe Garibaldi, in order to reinforce a tenuous sense of national identity.²¹ Italian artists, especially sculptors, retreated

19 Elisabeth Lebon, *Faire-Fonte au sable-Fonte à cire perdue* (Paris: Ophrys Édition, 2012).

20 Gilles Pécout, *Il lungo Risorgimento. La nascita dell’Italia contemporanea (1770–1922)* (Milan: Bruno Mondadori, 2000).

21 Giovanna Massobrio, *L’Italia per Garibaldi* (Milan: SugarCo, 1982); Maurizio Corgnati, Gianlorenzo Mellini, and Francesco Poli, eds., *Il lauro e il bronzo. La scultura celebrativa in Italia. 1800–1900* (Moncalieri: Ilte, 1990). For a more critical assessment, see: Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Lucy Riall, “Eroi maschili, virilità e forme della guerra,” in *Storia d’Italia. Annali 22. Il Risorgimento*, eds.

from the modern idioms, refusing or unable to integrate advances from abroad. Instead, many of them looked nostalgically to the country's illustrious past for inspiration—or sought to maintain the status quo.²²

Most Italian critics and artists remained nostalgic for their country's glorious artistic past, which they believed could form the basis for a new art that might support a collective sense of national identity. In addition, suspicions about French cultural hegemony led many to reject the developments represented by French realism and impressionism throughout the 1880s and 1890s.²³ Apart from a few enlightened private collectors, supported by a handful of art dealers and critics, there was no real market for avant-garde art in Italy.

Italian sculptors continued to meet the considerable commercial demand from abroad for highly crafted replicas of ancient and Renaissance sculptures. Unlike France, Italy's systems for producing and distributing serial sculpture remained locally based and provincial. It is no surprise that from 1890 until World War I, a wave of Italian founders immigrated to Paris in search of better jobs, bringing with them the specialised knowledge of bronze casting by the *cire perdue* method that eventually allowed them to dominate the burgeoning French foundry industry (this was also the case in London).²⁴ Such transnational transfer of technical know-how suggests yet another way in which sculpture crossed national borders, although the phenomenon remains unstudied in France. Rosso too would capitalise on this Italian artisanal tradition, although he was careful not to become confused with a mere craftsman.

The unstable scenario in Italy left little scope for a rebellious avant-garde sculptor like Rosso, whose radical art served to emphasise rather than neutralise the national crisis. Indeed, no major monument by Rosso was ever erected

Alberto Mario Banti and Paul Ginsborg (Turin: Einaudi, 2007), 253–88; Ilaria Porciani, "Stato e nazione: l'immagine debole dell'Italia," in *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea*, eds. Simonetta Soldani and Gabriele Turi, vol. 1 (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993), 385–428.

22 Sculptors such as Giuseppe Grandi experimented in their smaller works but not in their large-scale ones. See: Davide Martin Gariff, "Giuseppe Grandi (1843–1894) and the Milanese Scapigliatura" (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 1991).

23 On Francophobia in Italy, see: Federico Chabod, *Storia della politica estera italiana dal 1870 al 1896*, vol. 1 (Bari: Laterza, 1951), 33–6.

24 There is no comprehensive account of Italian founders in Paris. On Italian founders in London, see: Duncan S. James, *A Century of Statues: A History of the Morris Singer Foundry* (Basingstoke: The Morris Singer Foundry, 1984); Susan Beattle, *Alfred Stevens, 1817–75* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1975); *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851–1951*, University of Glasgow History of Art and HATII, online database 2011, http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=ann_1356906205, accessed 5 October 2014; Steve Parlanti, *The Parlantis: Art Bronze Founders of Fulham* (London: Troubador Publishing, 2010).

in Italy, although he entered several official competitions. His early, highly unconventional proposals for official monuments to Garibaldi (in 1882 and 1884), the first showing a seated, brooding Garibaldi rather than a resolute warrior on horseback or man of action and the second in which he abolished the figure of the hero from the monument altogether, were rejected.²⁵ His idiosyncratic funerary monument in Milan for a distinguished public figure, Filippo Filippi (1889), the revered music critic of the Milanese daily newspaper *La Perseveranza*, was similarly attacked by critics as a sculpture 'pushed to disintegration [...] deplorable, without taste and without logic.'²⁶ Even enlightened Italian critics and collectors considered Rosso's roughly modelled heads and figurines depicting lower-class urban figures like *La Portinaia* (The Concierge, 1883–84) and the sleeping prostitute of *Carne altrui* (The Flesh of Others, 1883–84), innovative yet extreme. Most Italian academicians considered works like Rosso's, with their suggestion of social realism and rough, fragmented modelling style, to be outside the realm of such traditional desirable Italian qualities as *il bello* (beauty), for they believed that only beauty could 'elevate [the viewer] to the sublime.'²⁷

We have little documentation about Rosso's market in Italy, but evidence suggests that it could not have been substantial. No institutions record acquisitions of his works in the 1880s. Several of his early private sales in Milan allude to the artist's commercial naiveté or, perhaps, his sheer desperation: he sold a clay model of a work known as *Bersagliere* (ca. 1882), tinted in a bronze colour, to a collector named Gianatti, thereby opening the door to potential unauthorised copies. He also signed away his rights to a small figure group, *Gli innamorati sotto il lampione* (1883), to industrialist Pietro Curletti, allowing the owner to make as many copies as he wanted, (which the latter did), an agreement Rosso later regretted and tried to rescind without success in 1900.²⁸

25 On Rosso's failed monument proposals, see: Sharon Hecker, "Il centro non può reggere: la monumentalità impossibile di Medardo Rosso," in *Patrioti si diventa. Luoghi e linguaggi di pedagogia patriottica nell'Italia unita*, eds. Arianna Arisi Rota and Matteo Morandi (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2009), 185–98.

26 'spinta fino alla scombiccheratura,' 'senza gusto e senza logica.' See: Federico Fontana, "I nuovi monumenti al Cimitero Monumentale di Milano," *L'Italia*, 2–3 November 1889.

27 'elevatorci al sublime.' Avv. Giuseppe Bomben, "Esposizione delle opere di belle arti in Brera, VII," *Il Secolo*, 23 September 1869.

28 See letters from Medardo Rosso to Alberto Grubicy dated 11 August 1900, preserved in Archivio Medardo Rosso, Barzio. The relevant passage on Gianatti is published in: Paola Mola and Fabio Vittucci, *Medardo Rosso. Catalogo ragionato della scultura* (Milan: Skira, 2009), 226. The passage on Curletti is in *Id.*, 235–6.

The economic situation for all avant-garde artists in Italy during the 1880s was bleak.²⁹ Even for traditional sculpture, there were few opportunities for exhibitions, like the Salons in Paris, which provided officially sanctioned showcases for marketing one's art. In Milan, where Rosso began his career, the annual Salone at the Accademia di Brera was the only available option aside from crowded national and regional exhibitions. No influential alternative venues emerged in Italy until the last decade of the century, and there was no official Italian exhibition for dissenters like the Salon des refusés held in Paris in 1863.

A Broadening Outlook: First Paris Exhibitions (1885–86)

The dynamic nature of the Parisian art scene of the 1880s, with its internationally renowned reputation for avant-garde art, the new exhibition and market opportunities provided for unofficial art, and, finally, a booming serial sculpture industry, explain its attraction for the young Rosso. Although Rosso was reticent about his early years in Italy, it is highly likely that his early knowledge of French artistic developments led him to believe he could infiltrate the French market. Rosso's network in Milan was comprised of sophisticated Francophile journalists, writers and literary critics who subscribed to French publications that included art reviews. A surviving album of Rosso's press clippings further attests to his attention to the goings on in French art in the 1880s. He therefore surely knew about French avant-garde art of the previous generation of realists being canonised in the French press. He could also not have been unaware of the fact that the first impressionist exhibition had occurred in 1874 and that impressionism was gaining international attention by the mid-1880s.

Rosso's decision to submit works to the French Salons of 1885 and 1886 was predictable, for Italian sculptors regularly sent sculptures to the Salons.³⁰

29 Paola Martinelli and Alessandra Pino, "Il realismo sociale nelle mostre milanesi dal 1865 al 1915," in *Arte e Socialità in Italia dal realismo al simbolismo 1865–1915* (Milan: Regione Lombardia. Assessorato agli enti locali e alla cultura, 1979), 227–47.

30 Matteo Gardonio, "Scultori italiani alle Esposizioni Universali di Parigi (1855–1889): aspettative, successi e delusioni" (PhD diss., Università degli Studi di Trieste, 2008), 98; Gianna Piantoni and Anne Pinget, eds., *Italie 1880–1910. Arte alla prova della modernità* (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 2000), 52; published also in French as *Italiens 1880–1910. L'art italien à l'épreuve de la modernité* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2001); Maria Beatrice Giorio, "Gli scultori italiani e la Francia. Influenze e modelli francesi nella prima metà del novecento" (PhD diss., Università degli Studi di Trieste, 2010–1). Pinget's article and these dissertations demonstrate the significant presence of Italian artists at the Paris Salons and other exhibitions. This tradition must have influenced a young ambitious

France played a key role in promoting the careers of foreign sculptors, who used Parisian Salon exhibitions as a launching pad both to achieve a stamp of approval for success back in their home countries as well as to establish international reputations. Rosso's unwillingness to show any of his newest works in the Salon suggests strategic caution. Taking advantage of his national origins, he submitted works on popular Italian themes, such as a bronze cast of the bust known in Italy as *Bersagliere* (ca. 1882) to the Salon of 1885 at the Palais des Champs-Élysées.³¹ He now retitled it with a descriptive name that would be more appealing to foreigners: *Bersagliere, tirailleur italien en vedette* (Italian Marksman on a Scouting Mission). At the Salon of 1886, he showed bronze casts of his *Mère et son enfant endormis* (Mother and Her Sleeping Child, 1882) and his earlier *Dopo una scappata*, later known as *Il Birichino* but for this show retitled *Gavroche* (1882), thereby making an explicit reference to Victor Hugo's popular character from *Les Misérables*.³² Additionally, at some point in the 1880s he prepared printed photographs of his sculptures with bilingual titles under them, likely intending them for circulation in France.

The French press took note of Rosso. In an 1886 review, for example, French critic and *homme de lettres* Edmond Thiaudière (himself a committed

sculptor like Rosso, although Gardonio does not examine Rosso's specific relationship to it or his different strategies with respect to his compatriots. Albert Boime believes that only Italian institutional limitations led Italian artists to exhibit in France. See: Albert Boime, *The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento: Representing Culture and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 4. I believe that the reasons are more complex, especially in the case of Milan, a city that aspired to equal the French capital's cultural achievements.

31 François-Guillaume Dumas, ed., *Catalogue illustré du Salon* (Paris: Librairie d'art Ludovic Baschet, 1885), lxxix, entry no. 4174. There were nearly 5,000 artworks exhibited in this show.

32 Rosso's name does not appear in the 1886 Salon catalogue, but his participation is confirmed in: Edmond Thiaudière, "Au Salon: La Sculpture—Les Bustes, II, Medardo Rosso," *L'Opinion*, 2 June 1886, as well as numerous other reviews. See: Langely, "La Sculpture Au Salon de 1886," *Journal des artistes*, 9 May 1886: 'un amusant *Gavroche* de M. Rosso,' (an amusing *Gavroche* by M. Rosso). Another article, listed by Rosso as "Langely" but undated and handwritten with the words 'Salon 86' reads: 'Sous l'escalier [...] une très originale esquisse de M. Rosso, *une mère et son enfant endormis*.' (under the staircase [...] a very original sketch by M. Rosso, *a mother and her child asleep*). See also: Louis-Pilate de Brinn'Gaubast, "L'Exposition des artistes indépendants," *Le Décadent*, 18 September 1886 (undated but written on top by Rosso 'samdi, 18 Sept. bre 86' [corrected from '87']): 'Mais toutes nos préférences sont pour les bustes en bronze de MM. Filleul et Rosso.' (But all our preferences go for the bronze busts by Mr. Filleul and Mr. Rosso.) See also: August Dalligny, "Le Salon de 1886," *Journal des arts*, 30 April 1886: 'des têtes de bronze bien accentuées par M. Rosso.' (well-accentuated heads in bronze by M. Rosso). See also: Anon., "L'Amore materno," *L'Illustrazione italiana*, 28 November 1886: 406 and 418.

internationalist) singled Rosso out, stating in *L'Opinion* that the artist 'masterfully founds [...] impressionist sculpture.'³³ Thiaudière also commended Rosso for not ceding to Italian stereotypes: 'here is an Italian sculptor who happily avoids the usual *Italianisms*. He is not a lace needle-pointer in marble, making exquisite work, but a bit too affected and precious.'³⁴

Existing biographies register that Rosso exhibited at the small Salon du Groupe des Artistes Indépendants held in Paris in 1885 (a short-lived offshoot of the newly formed Société des Artistes Indépendants that had established an exhibition, free of juries, the previous year). He showed two of his earlier physiognomic bronze casts, a laughing old man originally titled *Il Vecchio* (The Old Man, 1883) and a laughing old woman originally titled *Fine* (End, 1883). However, Rosso strategically retitled the pair for the 1885 exhibition with the Ovidian names *Philémon et Baucis* (Philemon and Baucis).³⁵ Although scholars have not noted possible reasons for this curious title change, it is tempting to imagine that he chose the names to recall the story of hospitality given by the old couple to strangers in a foreign land. French critics again singled these works out for their liveliness—to Rosso's great pleasure (although they were not his most radical or impressionistic works). It is worth noting that Rosso was the only Italian to exhibit in the show.

The opportunities these new independently run venues offered for foreign artists have not yet been studied systematically. Rosso's interest in engaging

33 'il fond magistralement la sculpture impressionniste.' Thiaudière, "Au Salon," 2.

34 'voici un sculpteur italien qui sort joliment des *italienneries* habituelles. Ce n'est pas un dentellier en marbre, faisant un travail exquis, mais un peu trop mièvre et précieux.' Thiaudière, "Au Salon," 2.

35 Robert Py, "Le Salon du Groupe des Artistes Indépendants," *Revue moderne*, 1 June 1885: 354: 'Bien *nature* aussi, les deux têtes en bronze de M. Medardo Rosso, qui se font pendant l'une à l'autre: *Philémon et Baucis*. Je place cependant *Baucis* au dessus de *Philémon* qui au point [de] vue de la couleur locale laisse bien un peu à désirer avec son petit bonnet de paysan Normand.' (Very *natural* are also the two bronze heads by Mr. Medardo Rosso, which are pendants: *Philemon and Baucis*. I place *Baucis* above *Philemon* who, from the viewpoint of local colour leaves something to be desired with her small Norman farmer's bonnet). This review is marked incorrectly in Rosso's scrapbook as being by Leon Rictor and the name of this author has been mistakenly repeated throughout the Rosso literature. See also: F. [*sic*] Hoffmann, "Le Salon des Indépendants," *La Bataille*, 4 June 1885: 2: 'Je donnerai une mention spéciale aux deux bustes en bronze de *Philémon et Baucis*, [part missing] fouillés, d'une touche grasse, signés Rosso, et au tableau de M. Lemanceau, le *Moulin de la Galette*, qui a de bien sérieuses qualités.' (I would give special mention to the two bronze busts *Philemon* and *Baucis* [...] excavated, with a rough touch, signed Rosso, and the painting by M. Lemanceau, *Moulin de la Galette*, that have very serious qualities). Caramel misdates this review as 22 August 1886. Luciano Caramel, *Mostra di Medardo Rosso (1858–1928)* (Milan: Società per le belle arti ed esposizione permanente, 1979), 48.

with the most avant-garde realms of French art indicates his attunement to new alternative options in Paris for foreigners. His growing desire to associate his art with that of the French avant-garde meant that he was also among only a handful of Italian artists to send work to the second Salon de la Société des Indépendants in Paris in 1886. Founded two years earlier by avant-garde painters such as Georges Seurat, Paul Signac and Odilon Redon, this Salon quickly became the main site for the promotion of post-impressionist painting. Again Rosso presented an older work, a bronze cast of *La Ruffiana*, but now under a far more neutral title—*Portrait de vieille femme* (Portrait of an Old Woman)—along with his *Bersagliere* now described in the press generically as a ‘buste d’un troupier’ (bust of a troupier),³⁶ both of which reflected the realist style of his earliest period rather than his more impressionistically sculptured works made around 1884. Rosso’s caution paid off: through his participation in these exhibitions, he gained confidence and visibility. He also sold four of the works he exhibited in Paris in these years—the buyer listed as ‘Pesce’ in the margins of the original Hôtel Drouot auction catalogue, which has never been examined, was actually an Italian friend of Rosso’s rather than a major international collector.³⁷

36 This review is preserved in Rosso’s scrapbook without the name of the journal signed “Un Passant,” “Les On—dit,” 22 August 1886, 2: ‘A l’exposition d’à côté, groupe des artistes indépendants. M. Rosso expose deux bronzes vigoureux et bien vivants: une tête de vieille femme et le buste d’un troupier.’ (At the exhibition next door, the group of independent artists. Mr. Rosso exhibits two vigorous and very lively bronzes: a head of an old woman and the bust of a troupier.) Rosso underlined the word ‘vivants’ in his scrapbook. The review was repeated in *Le Reveil National* on the same date. The information given in the chronology by Caramel for Rosso’s exhibition of these works is incorrect. Caramel, *Mostra di Medardo Rosso*, 48. It is partially corrected by Giovanni Lista but without proper references for the changes. Giovanni Lista, *Medardo Rosso: La Sculpture impressionniste* (Paris: L’Échoppe, 1994), 13–4.

37 “Bronzes d’art et d’ameublement,” *Catalogue des Objets de curiosité*, Hôtel Drouot, 17 February 1886, 11. ‘No. 83—Bronze par M. Medardo Rosso: tête de bersagliere. (A figuré au Salon de 1885).’ Price noted in margin: 52; ‘no. 84—Têtes de vieillard et de vieille femme: Philémon et Baucis, bronzes par Medardo Rosso.’ Price noted as 59; ‘no. 85—Jeune femme et son enfant, bronze par Medardo Rosso.’ Price noted as 39. The buyer’s name in the margin, noted as ‘Pesce,’ was probably an acquaintance named Gaston (Gaetano) Pesce, who is described as ‘addetto ingegnere all’Ambasciata d’Italia’ (engineer of the Italian Embassy [in Paris]) in *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d’Italia*, 7 September 1910: 4789. Lista believes that Rosso met Pesce during his military service in Pavia but produces no documentation to support this or his claim that Pesce also served in the same year. Lista, *Medardo Rosso: Destin d’un sculpteur*, 44. Lista finds a mention of Pesce in Gaetano Barbese, *L’indicatore della colonia italiana di Parigi* (Paris: Tipografia del Risveglio italiano, 1905). Rosso had given Pesce’s address in the Salon catalogue: ‘chez M. Pesce, 23 rue Tronchet,’ perhaps in order to be able to submit his works from a local address. No evidence suggests that Pesce

Rosso's intuition of the value of expanding the international market for his work may have also encouraged him to sell casts to collectors in Vienna in the 1880s by unknown means, although perhaps not the 'some sixty bronzes' exhorted in the Italian newspaper *L'Illustrazione italiana*.³⁸ Seeking further international opportunities, he participated in the vast art show in the Italian Exhibition of 1888 in London organised by Milanese art dealer Alberto Grubicy (a rare forward-looking figure, who would later champion the divisionists). My consultation of original sales catalogues reveals that an important early international sale for Rosso was to British Army officer and politician Charles Balfour, who bought one of the four sculptures he showed in the London exhibition, although the price is not listed.³⁹

Rosso's Move to Paris (1889)

Pursuing further international visibility, with the help of the Francophile Milanese journalist Felice Camerini, Rosso moved to Paris. He first submitted five bronzes to another important Parisian venue—the 1889 *exposition universelle*. Since their inception in 1855, the expositions universelles broadened the possible venues where foreigners could exhibit in Paris beyond the Salon. Unlike the Paris Salons, the expositions did not function according to the old, state-sponsored paradigm since each pavilion had its own national jurisdiction. As a site for international exchange, the *exposition universelle* encouraged visitors from around the world to attend and numerous exhibitors spent significant time in Paris or decided to stay there. The show thus contributed to the growth of the Parisian international artistic community. It also provided a competitive venue for fame and markets as the Salon's power gradually waned.

submitted the works to the French Salons or sold them on Rosso's behalf without Rosso's knowledge, as is claimed by Alessandro Oldani, "Medardo Rosso, 1858–1928," in *Medardo Rosso. La luce e la materia*, ed. Paolo Zatti (Milan: 24 Ore Cultura, 2015), 115.

38 Anon., "L'Amore materno," *L'Illustrazione italiana*, 28 November 1886: 406 and 418.

39 *Illustrated Catalogue of Alberto Grubicy's Picture Gallery in the Italian Exhibition in London, with a Preface and Biographical Notes by Vittore* (Milan: Grubicy, 1888). Rosso's name is not mentioned in this catalogue. But see also: *Report (translation)* (London: Waterlow and Sons, 1889). *Part Four—Regulations, Forms, Catalogue. Chapter III. Catalogue of the Fine Art Section. Class XV. SCULPTURE*. Rosso's works are listed as number 1417 *Golden Wedding*, 1418 *A Scamp* [bronze], 1419 *Oh that it were Whiskey*, and 1422 *A Street Boy*. British Army Officer and politician Charles Balfour bought number 1418 *A scamp*. See: Antonella E.A. Bestaggini, "The Italian Exhibition of 1888 at Earl's Court" (MA Thesis, Courtauld Institute, 1990). Bestaggini does not mention Rosso's participation.

Rosso remained in Paris after the show and was enthusiastically determined to access the market there. It might seem paradoxical given his desire to make avant-garde art that he immediately approached Barbedienne with photographs of his works and two bronzes, hoping the successful producer of serial sculptures would agree to create a marketable edition. He was clearly aware of Barbedienne's and serial sculpture's problematic reputation, for he optimistically wrote to his friend Cameroni in a letter from Paris: 'I will easily strike a deal [...] if Barbedienne intends to get out of his bronze candelabras this is the right time.'⁴⁰ However, as Rosso later told Cameroni, his efforts were not successful.

The market situation in Paris was shifting, but not fast enough for a foreign sculptor. Rosso was unsuccessful in his attempt to gain the support of new internationally minded dealers. A dealer's rejection was not uncommon for any artist without a reputation, since only a few of the known dealers in modern art in Paris were capable of establishing and promoting an artist's career in the 1890s. Galenson and Jensen remark that 'dealers did not support young untried painters during the late nineteenth century: they rarely even showed their work.'⁴¹ Rather, they continued to promote artists whose reputations had already been established.

One of the most noteworthy dealers approached by Rosso was Goupil & Cie, which promoted artists seeking to expand their market. Goupil encouraged local and foreign artists who made huge history paintings to begin making small paintings from which they might produce printed reproductions and photographs. These were then distributed for consumption around the world. They also did the same with sculptures and even sold small sculptures, alongside paintings, in their gallery.⁴² Goupil's influence in the success of such expatriate

40 Comune di Milano, Biblioteca archeologica—Biblioteca d'arte—Centro di alti studi sulle arti visive—CASVA (Milano, MI), Lettere di Medardo Rosso a Felice Cameroni, <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/archivi/complessi-archivistici/MIBAooCF9B/>; Paola Rita Mola, "Medardo Rosso, due lettere a Felice Cameroni," *E.S.* 6 (1977): 121–6. Noted hereafter as "L:MR/FC." L:MR/FC 39. Mola also published L:MR/FC 8 here; L:MR/FC 1, 8, 18, 34, 39, 45 and 46 are in Paola Mola Kirchmayr, "Appendice," in Caramel, *Mostra di Medardo Rosso*, 98–9. Mentions of Barbedienne are found in: L:MR/FC 45, L:MR/FC 19, 31 January 1890, L:MR/FC 38, L:MR/FC 39, L:MR/FC 41 and L:MR/FC 50.

41 Jensen and Galenson, "Careers and Canvases," 160.

42 The Getty Research Institute's digitisation of the ledgers will reveal more about the worldwide scope of the Goupil enterprise not only in Paris but also throughout Europe. See: "Goupil & Cie/Boussod, Valadon & Cie Stock Books," The Getty Research Institute, http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/digital_collections/goupil_cie/. For an interesting first case study, see: Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, "Local/Global: Mapping Nineteenth-Century London's Art Market," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 11, no. 3 (2012),

Italian painters as Giuseppe de Nittis, for example, is well documented. But although Rosso would exhibit a few sculptures at the Boussod & Valadon Gallery (formerly Goupil) in London in 1896,⁴³ Goupil evidently did not see a potential market for prints or for sales of his radical sculptures. Perhaps the gallery managers, like others Rosso had approached, sensed and disliked Rosso's desire for artistic autonomy.

Despite approaching dealers, Rosso's quest for artistic and commercial autonomy after his move to Paris distinguishes him from most of the other Italian sculptors there. In general, sculptors rarely enjoyed the same artistic acclaim or posthumous reputations as modern Italian painters like Giuseppe de Nittis, Giovanni Boldini or Federico Zandomenighi, who adapted their work to impressionism and to the iconography of modern Paris.⁴⁴ Some Italian émigré sculptors, like Emanuele Caroni, fully surrendered to the French market, promoting sales of their serially cast sculptures through prints made by Goupil. This led to excessive commercialisation. As art historian Matteo Gardonio laments, Caroni, like the other Italian artists who joined Goupil's stable, 'became swallowed up by economic dynamics, which led him to please the most frivolous and mundane middle class, setting aside any type of artistic desire.'⁴⁵ Others, like Luca Madrassi, who had moved to Paris in 1869, ended up permanently stranded in the studios of famous French sculptors. Madrassi worked first for Pierre Jules Cavalier and then for Albert Carrier-Belleuse, in whose studio Rodin had got his start, sacrificing personal ambitions in order to survive. Madrassi represented the many talented Italian sculptors of the time who, as Gardonio notes, 'remained in the darkness of some French atelier' and whose

<http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/autumn12/fletcher-helmreich-mapping-the-london-art-market>. Rosso mentions Goupil in L:MR/FC 5, 6 September 1889, L:MR/FC 45, L:MR/FC 49. He speaks of a deal falling through in L:MR/FC 18. In L:MR/FC 17, 3 January 1890, he identifies the bronzes as *Birichini*. In L:MR/FC 21 he fears he lost the Goupil deal because he could not deliver bad casts.

- 43 A work described as 'small head of a boy' by Rosso is mentioned in a review in "Arts and Crafts," *The Daily Chronicle*, Monday, 3 August 1896, a clipping of which was found among Rosso's own press reviews. This and another Rosso wax may have been exhibited in the Boussod, Valadon & Cie. gallery, but not in the Pre-raphaelite show listed by Mola and Vittucci, *Medardo Rosso*, 371. On Goupil's marketing of Italian painters, see: Marion Lagrange, *Les Peintres italiens en quête d'identité. Paris 1855-1909* (Paris: INHA/CTS, 2009), 262-74. Also on Goupil and Italian artists, see: Maria Mimmi Lamberti, "Il mercato della pittura italiana negli anni settanta," in *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1982), 5-62.
- 44 On Italian painters in Paris, see: Lagrange, *Les Peintres italiens*.
- 45 'venne inghiottito da dinamiche economiche, che lo portano ad accontentare la borghesia più salottiera, mettendo a parte ogni tipo di velleità artistiche.' See: Gardonio, "Scultori italiani alle Esposizioni Universali," 57.

names are now forgotten.⁴⁶ In hindsight, Rosso's strategy to maintain artistic autonomy served to enhance his reputation as an independent avant-garde artist.

Rosso did not have much success with other increasingly powerful Parisian art dealers such as Georges Petit (son of dealer Francis Petit). Dealers like Goupil, Petit, Paul Durand-Ruel and, later, Ambroise Vollard are now considered among the first entrepreneurs of the modern art world. Rosso must have known Petit's name from Milan and from Petit's exhibition in 1889 of Rodin's sculptures, along with paintings by Claude Monet, during the *exposition universelle*. In characteristically bold form, Rosso contacted Petit shortly after his arrival in Paris and announced to his friend Cameroni a future exhibition. But Petit does not appear to have shown Rosso's works in his lavish Parisian gallery at 8 rue de Sèze. This makes sense in the context of Jensen and Galenson's observation about the market in the nineteenth century that

never in the nineteenth century would dealers introduce and promote the reputation of an unknown artist [...] the absence of a steady demand by collectors for his work, and no dealer by himself could readily find the collectors who could create this demand. [...] Collectors' understanding of the principle that important art would be innovative was not yet sufficiently widespread to create large-scale demand for the work of young artists.⁴⁷

Only a few clients—among them opera singer Jean-Baptiste Faure—bought large numbers of impressionist paintings through dealers like Durand-Ruel, as Jensen and Galenson confirm. Yet collectors were not exclusively bound to dealers. I have found that Faure owned a small sculpture by Rosso, confirming that collectors like Faure also had direct contact with artists.⁴⁸

As with all ambitious artists of his time, Rosso was keenly aware that international markets depended on the support of sophisticated cosmopolitan writers and critics, who now not only judged, but also publicised artworks,

46 Gardonio, "Scultori italiani alle Esposizioni Universali," 123. See also: Pingéot, "La scultura italiana vista da Parigi," in *Italie 1880–1910*, 52.

47 Jensen and Galenson, "Careers and Canvases," 157–8.

48 A wax cast of the *Bambino ebreo* (*Jewish Boy*) (c. 1892–94) whose provenance is attributed to Faure is currently in the collection of the Houston Museum of Fine Arts. On Faure and Durand-Ruel, see: Jensen and Galenson, "Careers and Canvases," 157. See also: Anthea Callen, "Faure and Manet," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (1974): 157–78. The work by Rosso in the Faure collection is mentioned in: Louis Piérard, *Un sculpteur impressionniste: Medardo Rosso* (Paris – Mons: Éditions de la Société nouvelle, 1909).

connecting artists to dealers and patrons, and “explaining” or theorising about the latest artistic developments. Jensen and Galenson assert that, in this respect, the critics preceded the dealers, for in spite of their pioneering role in the distribution of modern art: ‘dealers were [followers], not leaders in the development of modern art and its markets in the late nineteenth century. [They] played their role after talented painters had created the new art, and sophisticated critics had analysed it, and a body of collectors had come to buy it.’⁴⁹ I would like to suggest that it was not so much a matter of who preceded and who followed, but rather that this period was marked by the emergence of a web of relationships among artists, dealers, writers, critics, the audience and collectors, that together supported the international marketing of modern art.

It comes as no surprise that, like many aspiring artists of the time, Rosso made contact soon after his arrival in Paris with such famous literary figures as Émile Zola and Edmond de Goncourt, audaciously hoping that they would write about him. Both agreed to meet the young sculptor but neither ended up writing about him. Zola did allow Rosso to lend his name as the owner of Rosso’s *Il Birichino* on exhibit at the *exposition universelle* of 1889, leading Italian newspapers of the time and many subsequent biographies of Rosso to claim that Zola actually bought the work.⁵⁰ This was yet another strategy that Rosso employed to publicise his work and enhance his market interests.

Rosso would eventually find limited support from other writers. Second-generation symbolists like Charles Morice and Camille de Sainte-Croix, as well as Rosso’s close friend, the poet Jehan Rictus, all later wrote lengthy articles about the artist, at times illustrated with Rosso’s idiosyncratic photographs of his own works, in such Parisian literary journals as the *Mercure de France* and periodicals like *Comœdia*.⁵¹ Rosso’s thirst to appear in these publications confirms his sense of Paris as an international tribunal of taste. Indeed, like most artists of his time, he understood that future foreign market success around Europe would depend on first establishing a reputation in Paris.

49 Jensen and Galenson, “Careers and Canvases,” 160.

50 For a discussion of Rosso’s meeting with Zola, see: Sharon Hecker, “Everywhere and Nowhere: Medardo Rosso and the Cultural Cosmopolitan in Fin-de-Siècle Paris,” in *Strangers in Paradise: Foreign Artists and Communities in Modern Paris, 1870–1914*, eds. Susan Waller and Karen Carter (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015), 143–54.

51 See, for example: Camille de Sainte-Croix, “Medardo Rosso,” *Mercure de France* 17 (March 1896): 378–91; C. Morice, “Les Passants: Medardo Rosso,” *Le Soir*, 25 September 1895, 2; Jehan Rictus, “Un Précurseur: Medardo Rosso,” *Comœdia*, 3 January 1913, 1–2. See also: Yveling Rambaud, *Silhouettes d’Artistes* (Paris: Société Française d’Éditions d’Art, 1899), 229–32.

Developing New Strategies for Selling Sculpture in Paris (1890s)

During the 1890s Rosso began to devise alternative strategies to market his sculptures in Paris. He trod a fine line between national and international approaches. While alluding to French impressionism in the subjects of his new works created in Paris and continuing to call his sculptures 'impressions,' he refused to fully commit to the movement's French overtones. He also capitalised on his Italian background to promote himself as a sculptor-craftsman who cast his own works in a foundry he set up in his studio. It is noteworthy that many of Rosso's creative survival strategies later became typical artistic features of modern art and involved new elements of performance.

One of these ways, perhaps in an effort to promote his reputation as an avant-garde sculptor, was for Rosso to refrain from further Salon exhibitions after 1895. In so doing, he placed himself outside the Salon, in line with avant-garde French artists who made highly experimental modern sculpture, such as Edgar Degas and Paul Gauguin. He showed his works only one time at a small but sophisticated exhibition in the foyer of a theatre called La Bodinière in late 1893–4. Exhibiting in this manner allowed him to be seen in a more intimate setting, to preserve control over his works and the way they were displayed in the show, while at the same time attracting the attention of the most avant-garde critics, collectors and artists of the time. It was at this show that Rosso met Rodin, which was publicised in Parisian papers. Following the show, newspapers also reported that Rosso and Rodin exchanged works as a sign of friendship.

Another strategy Rosso employed was to express big ideas in small-scale works. Since, as a foreigner, he was not eligible for official government commissions, he was forced to sustain himself in Paris almost entirely through small-scale sculptures intended for the middle-class market. Yet he also had to contend with the danger that their small size risked having his works too easily read as artistically insignificant commercial objects. It is this artistic reworking of the language of serial sculpture that has made Rosso one of the few sculptors of his time to have survived without a single large-scale sculpture to his name.

A third strategy involved relying on his technical training in Italy and his home country's reputation for craftsmanship, to create a mini foundry in his Paris studio and cast his own works.⁵² Rosso thus gained full control of his pro-

52 Rosso lived at various addresses during his Parisian years. Eugène Rouart, son of engineer and art collector Henri Rouart, recalled that in 1891, Rosso lived and cast his works in his father's factory on 137 boulevard Voltaire, directed by Henri's brother Alexis Eugène Rouart, "En souvenir de Medardo Rosso," *L'Archer, nouvelle série* 4 (1930): 281–5. However,

duction process, fashioning for himself a unique status as a sculptor-founder while producing serial sculpture and benefitting from its popularity. At the same time he was uncomfortable with the impersonal quality of the multiple and was thus careful to make his works appear hand-modelled and hand-cast, so much so that for years scholars considered them to be unique objects.⁵³

Whether as a survival strategy or for artistic reasons or both, in 1895 Rosso also began to exploit the new middle-class taste for cheaper sculptural materials and started to cast works in wax and plaster, selling them as finished pieces. He thereby successfully concealed the fact that he often could not afford bronze. By these actions he made a sharp departure from the French bronze foundry empire, pointing to the possibility of independence from its tyrannical power. Fortuitously, wax would eventually become the medium most associated with Rosso's name. His choice of wax and his rough surface modelling resonated with the French-identified word "impression," thereby allowing him to give a new sculptural twist to impressionist painting. Concomitantly, the fluid, dreamy quality of his waxes also aligned his sculptures with French symbolism.

Putting his modelling and casting skills to further use, Rosso began casting and selling copies of ancient and Renaissance sculptures, but signed with his own name. While making copies of antique works was not unique, and although a thriving international market for pastiches existed, copies of ancient art signed by modern artists seem unusual. In the 1890s, he produced such objects as the gilded bronze head titled *The Emperor Vitellius* and the *Head of an Ancient Roman Emperor* in cement, both said to be copied from ancient busts, which he sold to the Victoria and Albert Museum on a visit to London in 1896.⁵⁴ The process by which he made these copies is still not clear. It foreshadows the conceptual gestures of modern artists from Marcel Duchamp onwards, who

there was no metal foundry equipment in the boulevard Voltaire factory. In 1895 Rosso set up a foundry in his studio in Montmartre, at 50 rue Caulaincourt. He would also set up studio-foundries when he moved to 100 and then 98 Boulevard des Batignolles.

53 See: Sharon Hecker, "Reflections on Repetition in the Sculpture of Medardo Rosso," in *Medardo Rosso: Second Impressions* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2003), 23–67; Sharon Hecker, "Fleeting Revelations: The Demise of Duration in Medardo Rosso's Wax Sculpture," in *Ephemeral Bodies: Wax Sculpture and the Human Figure*, ed. Roberta Panzanelli (Los Angeles: J.P. Getty Trust, 2008), 131–53.

54 See letter to Rosso from South Kensington Museum dated 26 September 1896 (Archivio Museo Rosso, Barzio). Volker Krahn hypothesises that early in his career, Rosso sold copies of Renaissance sculptures as originals, and that Wilhelm von Bode purchased one unknowingly in London in 1894. See: Volker Krahn, "Pastiche or Fake? A 'Donatello' by Medardo Rosso," *Apollo* (June 2009): 40–7. Mola and Vittucci refute this. See: Mola and Vittucci, *Medardo Rosso*, 340.

claimed their authorship of historical artworks, which they reproduced and reworked as a form of critical contemporary reference.

Rosso also generated special excitement around his sculptures by opening his casting processes to the public. He again used his experience in Italian foundries, where the *cire perdue* method was regularly employed for casting bronzes, to play up his knowledge of a method that was particularly rare in order to appeal to refined collectors in Paris. He began publicising this talent on his business cards, in interviews given to journalists and in his letters to collectors. He further deployed publicity strategies through carefully choreographed studio photographs and personal letters to clients in which he appeared to divulge his special secret recipes for casting and patinating bronzes.⁵⁵

After 1900 Rosso began holding casting parties in his studio in which he would dramatically cast bronzes in front of his guests' eyes using the *cire perdue* method—and then serve champagne to everyone. This generated an atmosphere of excitement for viewers at having witnessed a moment of creation and re-established the power of the artist, which had been taken away by the foundry industry. What had become part of the industrial process was thus restored to the hand of the sculptor. These events were recorded in the diaries of Rictus and in newspaper reviews by Parisian critics such as Louis Vauxcelles. The audience found them so exciting that one such incident of Rosso in the act of creation was recaptured in a novel by journalist André Ibels and novelist Georges de Lys: Rosso inspired their fictional character, 'Medardo Rosso,' a flamboyant Italian sculptor, in their 1908 French *roman d'art* titled *L'Arantelle* (The Spider Web). One finds descriptions in the press of Rosso as a modern-day Benvenuto Cellini, and his performances of the act of making prefigured the action paintings of Jackson Pollock captured on film by photographer Hans Namuth. All these approaches contributed to the development of Rosso's new "sculptor-founder" persona.

Yet while Rosso promoted his sculptures as unique and original and emphasised his personal role in making them, I believe that his approach allowed him to take advantage of international art markets for multiples. Indeed, the serial production of his sculptures would play a key role in increasing Rosso's visibility around Europe after 1900, by which time he had practically ceased making any new subjects but for one final work (*Ecce puer*, 1906).

55 See, for example, the letter from Medardo Rosso to collector Gottfried Eissler dated September 1903 in: Archivio Storico di Arte Contemporanea (ASAC), Venice, Lettere di Medardo Rosso a Gottfried e Hermann Eissler, CA 14, file "Medardo Rosso," unpublished except for three letters, two of which are dated September 1903 and a third undated, which have been published with errors of transcription by Lista, *Medardo Rosso*, 99–107.

Rosso's multiple new marketing tactics and publicity acts notwithstanding, his economic status as a foreign sculptor in Paris remained difficult throughout the 1890s. He found only sporadic support from a sophisticated but limited avant-garde clientele, such as the engineer and art collector Henri Rouart, the French collectors Paul-Arthur Chéramy and Isidore Montaignac, and a meningitis expert named Dr. Sylvain Noblet, as well as an equally restricted circle of enlightened critics who hailed his art as revolutionary. He did garner press notices during the Balzac affair of 1898, when Rodin was accused by several critics of having appropriated Rosso's ideas for his monument to the French literary giant. Part of Rosso's difficulties stemmed from his notorious carelessness with money—he seems to have frequently borrowed significant sums (his letters to collectors are replete with requests for money and he relied heavily on support from patrons), was overly generous with friends and spent everything he earned. His refusal to adapt and compromise, which led to financial difficulties, at the same time allowed him to escape criticism at home about excessive artistic and commercial accommodation or selling out to France. This contrasted with the treatment of Italian expatriate painters such as De Nittis, winner of the 1878 *Légion d'honneur*, who had been derided by Italian critics for 'making himself Parisian' and 'abandon[ing] himself to the genre sought by the public.'⁵⁶

Expanding Pan-European Markets for Modern Sculpture (1900–10)

By 1900 it became clear to Rosso that being in Paris would not suffice to create a truly international reputation, disseminate his revolutionary ideas and leave a lasting material legacy. He began to travel around Europe to promote and sell his art, relying on international networks and new market opportunities that characterised the period. Continuing to make reproductions of his serially produced subjects from Paris, he participated in several European shows and sold works around Europe between 1900 and 1910: Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague, Rotterdam, Dresden, Berlin, Leipzig, Vienna, Paris, London, Brussels and Florence.

The historical turning point was the *exposition universelle* in Paris of 1900, which functioned as a site for spontaneous international exchanges. Scholars point to three events held in conjunction with this exposition that shaped a foreign market for French impressionism. Yet there is no detailed description

56 Diego Martelli, "Exposition des Beaux Arts à Paris 1870," *La Rivista Europea*, 1 June and 1 August 1870, quoted in Lagrange, *Les Peintres italiens*, 90.

of the process by which impressionist painting's success paved the way to the economic success of modern sculpture. The Centennale exhibition of French painting from 1878 to 1889 established impressionism as central to the French tradition in a final divorce from Salon art and made this faction known to the international visitors of the *exposition universelle*.⁵⁷ Through this show, most Europeans gained awareness of impressionism and its modernity.⁵⁸ Additionally, the display of Gustave Caillebotte's impressionist collection at the Musée du Luxembourg reinforced impressionism's supremacy and importance. Third, and specifically related to modern sculpture, Rodin was crowned as France's greatest living sculptor through the largest retrospective of his works mounted in Rodin's personal Alma Pavillon.⁵⁹ The combination of these events paved the way for modern sculpture's entrance into European markets.

Rosso had apparently hoped to promote his work to the world alongside French avant-garde art by exhibiting in the French Pavilion of the *exposition universelle*. Despite the fact that he had lived in Paris for over a decade, he was still an Italian citizen and was forced to exhibit in the Italian Pavilion. There European cultural operators could first see and assess the marketability of his art.⁶⁰ One was the wealthy Dutch writer, artist and art critic Etha Fles. Captivated by Rosso's art, she became his lover, patroness and supporter. Fles had come to Paris to help the Dutch commissioners select paintings at the exposition for an impressionist show in Holland.⁶¹ The ensuing Dutch exhibition reframed Rosso for international audiences within French impressionist art. It included paintings by Georges d'Espagnat, Gustave Loiseau, Camille Pissarro, Maxime Maufra, Claude Monet, Henry Moret, Pierre-Auguste Renoir and Alfred Sisley, and five sculptures by Rosso, and travelled to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht and The Hague (Fig. 8.1).⁶²

57 Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 164.

58 Jensen, *Marketing Modernism*, 67.

59 *Rodin en 1900. L'exposition de l'Alma* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2001).

60 Rosso refused to exhibit the works that were authorised (see unpublished letter to Rosso from Camera di Commercio Italiana in Parigi dated 15 April 1900 with his annotations, preserved in Archivio Medardo Rosso, Barzio). His name does not appear in the catalogue. For works exhibited, see: Anon., "A L'Exposition," *L'éclair*, 22 May 1900: 2.

61 She had come under the auspices of the Amsterdam society *Arti et Amicitiae*, of which she was a charter member. See: Margaret Scolari Barr, "Medardo Rosso and his Dutch Patroness," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 13 (1962): 223.

62 Caramel gives the dates as January to April in Caramel, *Mostra di Medardo Rosso*, 51. Mola and Vittucci claim that the show travelled until May in Mola and Vittucci, *Medardo Rosso*, 372. The exhibition catalogue cover notes the dates as January–February, see: *Tentoonstelling van schilderijen uit de moderne Fransche school en beeldhouwwerken van*



FIGURE 8.1 Medardo Rosso, *Self-Portrait in Studio with Exhibition Poster "Tentoonstelling van schilderijen uit de moderne Fransche school en beeldhouwwerken van M. Rosso" in background*, post-1901

Rosso believed he would be welcomed in Holland, optimistically stating that, ‘in the country of Hals and Rembrandt where people hate the academic, I shall be understood.’⁶³ He hardly garnered any press, however. Art historian Margaret Scolari Barr hypothesises that this was because only one of his bronzes arrived in Amsterdam in time for the opening. Although his Dutch supporter, Fles, wrote glowingly in a review that ‘in Paris and Vienna the casts of Rosso’s work command prices that surpass our imagination, therefore he is not interested in selling here,’⁶⁴ the exhibition was also clearly intended as a commercial enterprise. Fles’s personal copy of the catalogue includes handwritten prices for Rosso’s works, but no records or objects have emerged to assess whether any were sold (although Fles had amassed a significant collection).⁶⁵ Given that this would be Rosso’s only exhibition in Holland, one might surmise that the sales strategies did not generate a hoped-for international market.

Markets for Modern Art in Central Europe (1901–2)

Existing biographies recount Rosso’s subsequent exhibitions and sales in Berlin, Dresden and Leipzig between 1901 and 1902 as a resounding success. I am convinced, however, that German attention to Rosso was contextually determined and the market for his art ambivalent. Although Fles may have been involved, the German interest belongs to what Jensen has described as Central Europe’s investment in transforming French impressionism into a pan-European modern phenomenon. Rosso’s search for new markets there confirms that the greatest buyers of impressionism were outside of France.⁶⁶ In my opinion these German exhibitions led to Rosso’s inclusion in the landmark Vienna Secession of 1903, the show that definitively reshaped French impressionism into a transnational “origin” of modern art. This construction was codified the following year by one of the Secession’s masterminds, German art historian and critic Julius Meier-Graefe, whose first edition of the seminal

M. Rosso. Januari–Februari 1901 (s.l.: Arti et Amicitiae, 1901). Barr also cites from the catalogue the works exhibited. Mola and Vittucci make several amendments to this list without citing an alternative source.

63 This article by Etha Fles in the *Nieuwe Groningsche Courant* dated 1 March 1901 is cited in translation but without its title in: Barr, “Medardo Rosso,” 224.

64 *Ibid.*

65 Barr, “Medardo Rosso,” 223.

66 Jensen, *Marketing Modernism*, 50.

Entwicklungsgeschichte der Modernen Kunst (Origins of Modern Art, 1904), included a nine-page chapter entitled 'Medardo Rosso.'⁶⁷

An example of Rosso's new sales tactics in Central Europe emerges through an examination of his exhibition of eight sculptures at the Albertinum in Dresden, probably in June 1901, thanks to Georg Treu, the museum's internationally minded director and curator of its Sculpture Department.⁶⁸ Dresden's institutional interest in Rosso is not surprising: it had been the first German city to witness exhibitions and sales of modern French art since the 1890s. Treu only bought one small work from Rosso: a wax version of *Enfant malade* (Sick Child, 1893–95), for 1,600 marks in July 1901.⁶⁹

Undaunted, and intuiting Treu's background as an archaeologist and his interest in ancient art, Rosso subsequently sold Treu one of his "copies" of an ancient work, *Head of Vitellius*, for the far lower sum of 400 marks in March or April 1902, to be placed in the section of the museum that housed copies from the antique.⁷⁰ Rosso insisted that his name appear on a label beside the work.⁷¹ Rosso did not succeed in his attempts to sell Treu another copy, *Roman Senator*, in 1903, despite allusion to financial difficulty and an offer to lower the price.⁷² Rosso donated a plaster version of his radical figure group, *Une Conversation* (A Conversation, ca. 1892–99) in the same month as he sold the *Head of Vitellius*. But this sculpture can no longer be found in the museum's collection.⁷³

67 Julius Meier-Graefe, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst* (Stuttgart: Julius Hoffmann, 1904). Republished in English as *Modern Art: Being a Contribution to a New System of Aesthetics* (London: W. Heinemann, 1908). The chapter was removed from subsequent editions.

68 See letter from Medardo Rosso to Georg Treu (hereafter L:MR/GT), s.d. from Paris: 'C'est [something erased] celle ci 8 œuvres que j'expose.' All letters to Treu are preserved in the Archive Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Skulpturensammlung, and are unpublished. This letter contradicts Mola and Vittucci, who claim that Rosso repeated the Dutch tour of five works in Mola and Vittucci, *Medardo Rosso*, 372. In L:MR/GT (but addressed to Treu's secretary), s.d., Rosso asks Treu to let Fles add a wax from her collection.

69 L:MR/GT 9 July 1901.

70 The transaction is recorded in four letters. See L:MR/GT.

71 The receipt reads 'riproduzione da mia mano,' replaced by 'riproduzione fatta di mia mano.' L:MR/GT, s.d. He repeats this as: 'Riprodotta e fuso da Medardo Rosso dall'originale del Vaticano a Roma,' L:MR/GT s.d.

72 L:MR/GT 18 June 1903 and 10 July 1903.

73 Mola and Vittucci give conflicting accounts: that it was sold, and that it was a gift, in Mola and Vittucci, *Medardo Rosso*, 200 and 372 respectively. The Dresden museum Inventory Register notes its entry on 22 March 1902 as 'geschenk' (gift) (Archives Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden).

Rosso also exhibited in a commercial art gallery in Berlin in January 1902.⁷⁴ Berlin, the economic and political capital, superseded all regional art capitals and had the greatest growth of art galleries, which dominated contemporary art in the late 1890s and 1900s. Rosso's show was held in Keller und Reiner, one of the leading prestigious galleries. I believe that Keller und Reiner chose to exhibit Rosso's works as part of its internationalist marketing strategy. By 1900 ambitious German dealers became convinced that modernist art sold well and was a good long-term investment.⁷⁵ Fierce competition among galleries led to the importation of foreign art and a lucrative expansion of the contemporary art market in Berlin. More than the French, therefore, German gallerists courted international artists. In the spring of 1900 alone, Keller und Reiner held exhibitions of the Berlin artists Ludwig von Hofmann and Walter Leistikow, the Parisian Étienne Moreau-Nélaton and the Belgian Fernand Khnopff. Reviews confirm that German critics and dealers were framing Rosso through the lens of French "impressionist sculpture," which was reinforced by the publication of political journalist Edmond Claris's *enquête, De L'Impressionnisme en sculpture* (1902). In this piece of pro-Rosso propaganda, Claris interviewed major artists, critics and dealers about impressionism's relationship to sculpture. The book, for which Rosso had provided as illustrations his idiosyncratic photographs of his sculptures, first appeared in French, but was translated into German and republished by Fles in Utrecht, proving that Dutch, German and French markets were now becoming interconnected and open to the marketing of modern sculpture.⁷⁶

Despite the non-commercial veneer of Keller und Reiner, this was clearly an economic venture intended to entice private collectors and appeal to museum directors. The show likely convinced Treu to buy Rosso's *Vitellius* copy in March or April 1902, and industrialist Walther Rathenau to buy a *Tête de jeune fille* (Head of a Young Girl; medium unspecified) for 1,500 marks in

74 Caramel, and Mola and Vittucci date the opening to February in Caramel, *Mostra di Medardo Rosso*, 35; Mola and Vittucci *Medardo Rosso*, 372. However, a letter from Keller und Reiner to Rosso dated 24 January 1902 suggests that the show opened in January (Archivio Medardo Rosso, Barzio), a fact that is confirmed in R.D., "Aus dem Berliner Kunstleben," *National Zeitung*, 24 January 1902. Mola and Vittucci hypothesise that he exhibited thirteen sculptures and seven photographs, and that these same works went to Leipzig a few months later, but cite no evidence for this. See: Mola and Vittucci, *Medardo Rosso*, 372.

75 Jensen, *Marketing Modernism*, 74.

76 Edmond Claris, *De l'Impressionnisme en sculpture: lettres et opinions de Rodin* [et al.] (Paris: Éditions de La Nouvelle Revue, 1902). On Claris and the book's genesis, see: Edmond Claris, *Souvenirs de soixante ans de journalisme 1895-1955* (Paris: José Millas-Martin, 1958), 30-2 and 137-9.

September 1903.⁷⁷ Harald Gutherz, a German scholar, bought a bronze *Il Birichino* (1882), and Karl Ernst Osthaus, who was amassing a collection of French impressionist art in Hagen, bought a bronze *Bambino ebreo* (Jewish Boy, 1892–94).⁷⁸

Subsequently, no city museum purchased Rosso's works and he never exhibited again in Berlin. Hugo von Tschudi, the director of the National Gallery, who had brought modern art to Berlin and was introduced by Treu to Rosso, seemed uninterested in an acquisition.⁷⁹ Rosso's contact with Wilhelm von Bode, at the time curator of the Kaiser Friedrich Skulpturensammlung and a member of Berlin's cultural establishment, did not lead to sales, either. Bode was responsible for the museum's collection of plaster casts and an expert in Renaissance bronzes. Letters from Rosso to Bode disclose that Rosso promoted himself to Bode as an expert founder by claiming to divulge "secret" patination recipes. Rosso also repeatedly asked Bode for introductions to collectors.

Rosso's attempts at contacting possible venues in Germany were more successful in the case of Richard Graul, the director of the Museum der bildenden Künste in Leipzig, introduced to him by Treu. Graul held a one-man show of Rosso's works, whose title can now be confirmed as *Kleinplastik in Bronze, Wachs und Papiermasse des Impressionisten Medardo Rosso, Paris*, in June 1902.⁸⁰ As with Keller und Reiner, the internationally minded Graul

77 Letter from Medardo Rosso to Walter Rathenau dated 25 September 1903 (Archivio Medardo Rosso, Barzio). Caramel mistakes this for a sale to the Berlin Museum in Caramel, *Mostra di Medardo Rosso*, 52. Mola believes that the work, now lost, was a copy from the antique in Mola and Vittucci, *Medardo Rosso*, 338. However, I believe it could also have been a bronze version of Rosso's *Bambina che ride*.

78 Mola and Vittucci give the sale date as 'end of July–early September' but cite no source in Mola and Vittucci, *Medardo Rosso*, 292.

79 L: MR:GT, s.d.

80 *Jahresberichte/Verein Kunstgewerbemuseum Leipzig*, and *Städtisches Kunstgewerbemuseum Leipzig*, 125; *Jahre Museum für Kunsthandwerk Leipzig Grassimuseum*, v. 2/1, both unpublished; Olaf Thormann, *Die Museumschronik von den Anfängen bis zum Jahr 1929* (Leipzig: Passage-Verlag, 2003), 67. The opening date is uncertain, but the museum's shows normally lasted for a month. Caramel (*Mostra di Medardo Rosso*, 53), believes it was in autumn, but Mola and Vittucci claim it was June, citing no source (*Medardo Rosso*, 372). See note 80 below for a review of 25 September 1902, suggesting it opened in that month. For Rosso's description to Treu of his first meeting with Graul, see L: MR/GT, s.d. but from Leipzig. Graul returned the works on exhibition to Rosso with a packing list, itemising thirteen bronzes (see letter from Richard Graul to Medardo Rosso, hereafter L: RG/MR, 29 November 1902, Archivio Medardo Rosso, Barzio). Mola and Vittucci claim that these were actually six bronzes and seven waxes, as well as seven photographs, but do not cite a source for the discrepancies with respect to Graul's list. In 1908, the museum library registered a gift from Rosso of Claris's publication in German (see note 75 above).

linked Rosso with “impressionist sculpture.”⁸¹ Graul had been the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*'s Paris correspondent and was on the editorial board of *Pan*, the German arts and literary magazine published from 1895 to 1900 in Berlin by Meier-Grafe with journalist and editor Otto Julius Bierbaum. Although Graul bought a bronze *Laughing Child* from Rosso in August 1903, it does not appear in the museum's registers and never entered the museum's collection.⁸²

German interest led to a visit by Meier-Graefe and Wilhelm Bernatzik (an impressionist painter who had spent most of his life in Paris) to Rosso's studio in Paris in October 1902. The sculptor was subsequently included in their landmark Vienna Secession exhibition, *Entwicklung des Impressionismus in Malerei u. Plastik*, from January to February 1903, organised by Meier-Graefe and Bernatzik through a powerful alliance of dealers, collectors and the Secessionists.⁸³ Since 1897, not only had the Secessionists set the standard of modernist culture for Vienna but they also became the main funnel for market distribution. As Jensen establishes, they saw themselves as the heirs of impressionism and the representatives of a ‘pan-European impressionist Weltanschauung.’⁸⁴ This was, in fact, the first major exhibition of impressionism in Central Europe and it set forth the tenets of modern art, creating a sweeping linear history that culminated in French impressionism.

Rosso's market in Vienna was certainly helped by his presence at the Secession, which demonstrates how internationalism had reshuffled the cards of European art. Meier-Graefe, a German critic, created a Viennese show that inscribed the Italian-born Rosso within a broader history of French impressionism. Rosso was the only Italian modern sculptor included and Giovanni Boldini, listed as ‘Jean Boldini,’ was the only Italian-born painter. This supports the idea that nineteenth-century Italian art played a most minimal role in the narrative of modernism traced by Meier-Graefe, and that Rosso had gained

81 See: Anon., “Modernes Kunstgewerbe: Impressionistische Sculptur und Decoration,” *Leipzig's Illustrierte Zeitung*, 25 September 1902.

82 See: L: RG/MR, 6 August 1903 (Archivio Medardo Rosso, Barzio). Rosso recounts this sale to various other people. See: letter from Rosso to Gottfried Eissler, s.d. but from August/September 1903, written from Leipzig (Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, CA 14, fasc. “Medardo Rosso,” unpublished, transcription by Alessandro De Stefani). Rosso also recounts the sale in L: MR/GT, s.d. but likely from September 1903; letter from Medardo Rosso to Jehan Rictus, 11 August 1903, *Papiers de Jehan Rictus*, NaFr24571, 189 R, unpublished, transcription by Alessandro De Stefani.

83 See: letter from Rosso to Wilhelm Bernatzik dated 29 October 1902, published in: Hans Ankweiz von Kleehoven, “Medardo Rosso a Vienna,” *La biennale di Venezia* 23 (1955): 23–4.

84 Jensen, *Marketing Modernism*, 201.

access to it through his internationalisation.⁸⁵ His point of origin (as with Boldini) was now noted as Paris. In a critical shift from his earlier grouping with Italians at the *exposition universelle*, he was now billed among French sculptors Antoine Houdon, Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, Rodin and Albert Bartholomé, as well as the Belgians Constantin Meunier and Georges Minne.⁸⁶ Rosso's new classification was facilitated by the fact that he had applied for French citizenship in 1902. He believed himself to be part of the international history of modern art, writing to his friend Rictus that, 'in this dozen of names they chose there was naturally mine.'⁸⁷ Rosso was also acutely aware of his status as a travelling salesman:

[I am here] to take advantage [...] of whomever has been able to be interested in me and come to know [my works] [...] I come here with two works that I brought with me—my calling cards. Like the ancient Genoese goldsmiths did on their voyages. Visiting with their merchandise. You can see how I live and that many people never see me complain believe I am happy and completely in a good mood and completely at ease.⁸⁸

Rictus's later entry in his diary reflected a less glowing view of Rosso's marketing: 'Poor Rosso, vagabond and street pedlar, who is obliged to make his sales patter all around Europe to offer his works and make a living.'⁸⁹ Yet throughout his career, Rosso maintained a sense of humour about his precarious condition.

85 Another "Italian" exception was painter Giovanni Segantini, who had spent most of his career in Switzerland.

86 Rosso was already interested in participating in the Vienna Secession in 1900. See: letter from Alberto Grubicy to Medardo Rosso dated 11 August 1900, transcribed in: Mola and Vittucci, *Medardo Rosso*, 46. The letter is preserved in Archivio Medardo Rosso, Barzio.

87 'dans cette dixaine de nom que l'on a choisi il y avait naturellement le mien.' Letter of Medardo Rosso to Jehan Rictus, s.d. but from Vienna, Papiers de Jehan Rictus, NaFr 24571, 387V, published by Lista, *Medardo Rosso. La Sculpture impressionniste*, 85. Transcription by Alessandro De Stefani.

88 'Pour profiter ici de qui a pu s'interesser a moi et le connaitre [...] J'en vien avec deux travaux que j'avais porté avec moi—mes cartes de visite. Comme ils fesait les voyages les anciens orfievres genois. Visitant avec leur marchandise. Vois tu comme je vit et que bien des gens me plaignant jamais me croyent heureux et tout a mon bonheur tout a mon aise.' *Ibid.*

89 'Pauvre Rosso, vagabond et camelot qui est obligé de faire son boniment dans tout l'Europe pour offrir ses œuvres et vivre.' Papiers de Jehan Rictus, NaFr16144, Journal 47, 12 May 1907, 40v. The text was originally transcribed by Alessandro De Stefani. It was later reproduced in Italian translation by Lista in *Medardo Rosso. Scultura e fotografia*, 315.

Rosso's Return to Paris, Vienna and London (1903–7)

In the first decade of 1900, Rosso rarely exhibited in Paris and we have as yet very few accounts of his sales there. In 1903 he became a founding member of the Salon d'Automne, where he showed works in 1904. While biographies state that he was invited, Barr says that he was refused a separate gallery and thus chose a room adjacent to the Italian sculptor Paul Troubetskoy, in order to elicit a comparison that would prove his superiority.⁹⁰ Despite Rosso's French citizenship, this placement led to a reframing of Rosso as Italian (and Troubetskoy, who was also Italian, as Russian, due to his father's nationality). French critic Louis Vauxcelles expressed the feeling of the French nationalists by calling them 'two foreigners' and contrasting them with what 'the nationalists will say [...] We have Rodin in France.'⁹¹

Rosso's idiosyncratic installation points to yet another creative strategy he devised to corner a market in Paris. While the catalogue lists his submission to the show generically under the single heading '*Impressions (Bronze et cire)*,' photographs show he exhibited numerous works (Fig. 8.2).⁹² In *The Guardian* of London, Rosso's acquaintance, the British critic Frances Keyzer, described a series of 'surreptitious [...] snapshots' made by his 'friends.'⁹³ These 'snapshots' show that Rosso had added his copies of ancient and Renaissance works alongside his sculptures for the first time in an exhibition. Though he had sold them throughout Europe, he had never exhibited them alongside his modern sculptures, a daring manoeuvre for its time. Additionally, the photos reveal that Rosso had furtively placed his sculptures in galleries dedicated to retrospectives of famous French painters Paul Cézanne and Pierre-Auguste Renoir (Fig. 8.3). Tongue in cheek, Keyzer reported that Rosso had also hung photographs of his works—'accidentally or purposely'—interspersed with photos of works by Rodin.⁹⁴ This might be read as a gesture of protest on Rosso's part for

90 Barr, "Medardo Rosso," 232.

91 'deux étrangers, diront les nationalistes [...] Nous avons Rodin, en France.' Louis Vauxcelles, "Notes d'art: au Salon d'Automne. Le sculpteur Medardo Rosso," *Gil Blas*, 31 October 1904: 1. It is uncertain how many works Rosso exhibited: Barr noted twenty works in Barr, "Medardo Rosso," 232. Jean-François Rodriguez lists seventeen in Jean-François Rodriguez, *La réception de l'impressionnisme à Florence en 1910* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1994), 50. Mola and Vittucci list fifteen in Mola and Vittucci, *Medardo Rosso*, 372.

92 *Catalogue de Peinture, Dessin, Sculpture, Gravure, Architecture et Arts Décoratifs*, Société du Salon d'Automne (Paris: Évreux, 1904), 161.

93 Frances Keyzer, "Impressionism in Sculpture: A Talk with Medardo Rosso," *The Guardian*, 2 November 1904.

94 *Ibid.*



FIGURE 8.2 Unknown photographer, *Medardo Rosso, Installation at the Salon d'Automne, 1904*

having been rejected by the French. Whatever the circumstances that led to such an act of appropriation, Rosso made a remarkably modern artistic gesture and foreshadowed later conceptual appropriations in avant-garde art.

Rosso told Keyzer in an interview that these unusual placements were by 'the hand of Nemesis.'⁹⁵ But to German collector Harald Gutherz, Rosso described the show as his great homecoming in France:

I have just had an exhibition at the salon d'authomme champselisse [*sic*]. They invited me specially and to put my ensemble of works and me up to today to make known my work to everyone, which has been useful to many others bought by celebrities. I accepted. They also asked me to put two of my works in the collection of works by Cezanne and Renoir. That was the most beautiful proof that I am right. That my sculpture goes well with [their painting].⁹⁶

95 Frances Keyzer, "The Parisians of Paris: A Giant's Struggle," *The King*, 3 December 1904: 326.

96 'Je viens de faire une exposition au salon d'authomme champselisee. L'on m'a invite specialment et y mettre mon ensemble d'ouvrage e moi jusq'a aujourd'hui faire connaitre par



FIGURE 8.3 Unknown photographer, *Medardo Rosso, Installation in Salle Cézanne at the Salon d'Automne, 1904*

Not only did Rosso infiltrate French art as a form of remonstrance, but he also refused to shake Rodin's hand at the show, ostensibly due to the Balzac affair, but this again provided an opportunity for press coverage. Except for one work submitted to the Salon d'Automne of 1906, this was the last time Rosso exhibited in France.

Rosso returned to Vienna in 1905 for a commercial one-man exhibition, held at Artaria & Co., an art and antiques gallery.⁹⁷ Little is known of Artaria, which had exhibited Czech art nouveau painter Alphonse Mucha and Austrian painter Felician von Myrbach. Rosso's casts of ancient copies were now listed for sale along with his works.⁹⁸ He received significant Viennese press coverage, including several reviews by the Austro-Hungarian Ludwig Hevesi, the chief apologist for the Secession.⁹⁹ He also sold serial works to several Viennese collectors. These include, among others, Hermann and Gottfried Eissler (who bought a bronze *Enfant Malade* as well as other works),¹⁰⁰ Erna Brunauer (who bought a wax *Bambino ebreo* now in a private collection), a certain 'Baronne Eleonora Bach' (who also owned a *Bambino ebreo*), and a 'Mons. Mendl,' to whom Rosso dedicated another wax *Bambino ebreo* (now housed in the Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna).

In this show Rosso for the first time used the Artaria catalogue as an international marketing tool. The catalogue itself was now offered to visitors for sale. Capitalising on serial reproduction, Rosso published names of collections and institutions around Europe that now owned other casts of the same work, in order to give his casts prestigious owners. He also included the 'surreptitious snapshots' of his recent Salon d'Automne infiltration, now billed as a 'large

la toute mon oeuvre, le qui avait été d'utilité a bien d'autres célébrités achetée. Ai accepté. Meme l'on m'a prie mettre deux de mes ouvrages, dans la collection aussi des ouvrages a Cezanne et a Renoir. Cela a fait la plus belle preuve que ai raison. Ce que ma sculpture vais bien avec.' Letter from Medardo Rosso to Harald Gutherz, s.d. but end of 1904, published in: Giorgio Nicodemi, "Le gamin souriant' e cinque lettere di Medardo Rosso," *Emporium*, 83, no. 498 (1936): 300.

97 The agreement was signed on 27 May 1903 for January of 1904, but the show was postponed to 1905. See letter of agreement: Wienbibliothek Artaria Archiv, Vienna, autographenbox, 22, cited but not transcribed in Mola, *Medardo Rosso*, 309.

98 See Rosso's copy of *Medardo Rosso: Bronzen, Impressionen in Wachs*, Kunstsalon Artaria, February 1905 (Archivio Medardo Rosso, Barzio). Prices are listed by hand in the margins.

99 Ludwig Hevesi, "Medardo Rosso," *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk* 8 (1905): 174–82.

100 See: Sharon Hecker, "An *Enfant malade* by Medardo Rosso from the Collection of Louis Vauxcelles," *The Burlington Magazine* 152 (2010): 727–35.

collective exhibition.¹⁰¹ Finally, he added glowing reviews by prestigious critics from around Europe and the United States, including a bit from Meier-Graefe's new volume. The catalogue also advertised Claris's *enquête* (which "proved" that Rosso "belonged" to French impressionism and was internationalised in its German translation) for sale at the show. Rosso would later amplify this grand marketing strategy for another lavish catalogue at his personal exhibition at the Cremetti Gallery in London in December 1906, creating what Barr called 'a gigantic publicity release.'¹⁰²

In 1905, as the Fauves debuted at the Salon d'Automne and French critics hailed impressionism as dead, a major impressionist show was mounted in London, in which Rosso did not participate. Yet I believe that his subsequent period in London can be contextualised as part of the continued internationalisation of impressionism and Rodin's undying success abroad. In late 1905 Rosso was commissioned by the British Jewish industrialist Emile Mond and his wife, Angela, to make a portrait of their young son, Alfred William (who would commit suicide at age twenty-seven). The family immediately rejected the work, claiming it did not resemble their son, but today it is considered Rosso's masterpiece (*Ecce puer*).¹⁰³ Until 1907 Rosso's name continued to appear in the British press, especially following a well-publicised battle with the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers of which Rodin was president.

From France and Back to Italy (1906–10)

Rosso still made efforts to gain institutional acceptance, no doubt realising that in spite of all his creative marketing strategies, the best way to promote his works was still through an entrance into a national museum. Biographies cite the acquisition of *Aetas aurea* (Golden Age, late 1885–86) for the Petit Palais at the end of 1907, and Georges Clemenceau's acceptance of *Ecce puer* and *Femme à la Voilette* (Lady with a Veil, c. 1892–97) for the Luxembourg Museum, as a sign of the French recognition of Rosso's work. The reality turns out to be more complicated. After an offer to buy *Femme à la Voilette* from the French State for a low sum, Rosso, trying to negotiate for the acceptance of *Ecce puer*, which he

101 'große Kollektiv-Ausstellung.' *Medardo Rosso: Bronzen, Impressionen in Wachs*, Kunstsalon Artaria, February 1905 (Archivio Medardo Rosso, Barzio).

102 Barr believes it was paid for by Fles in Barr, "Medardo Rosso," 234.

103 For a detailed history of the work, see: Sharon Hecker, "Ecce Puer," in *Da Hayez a Klimt. Maestri dell'Ottocento e Novecento della Galleria Ricci Oddi*, ed. Stefano Fugazza (Milan: Skira, 1997), 147–9.

considered his masterpiece, ended up donating it. *Femme à la Voilette* was never inventoried and was shipped to the provincial museum of Lyon in 1931. Despite Rosso's French citizenship, *Ecce puer*, exhibited at the Luxembourg Museum from 1908, was put into storage in 1920, to be installed in a future museum dedicated to the 'School of Foreigners,' which would never be constructed.

Hoping to find new markets in Italy, Rosso returned after a long hiatus to participate in his first exhibition there in 1910, *La prima mostra dell'impressionismo francese e delle sculture di Medardo Rosso*, organised by Ardengo Soffici in Florence. The show was intended to introduce Italians to French impressionism. What was promoted as Rosso's triumphant homecoming after a twenty-one year absence—now as an affirmed cosmopolitan artist and recognised by the world as part of French impressionism—instead elicited ferocious nationalistic criticism that Rosso had suppressed his Italian roots.

At the same time, Rosso's patroness Etha Fles attempted to generate an Italian institutional acceptance for Rosso in different ways than Soffici's campaign. She could no longer support Rosso financially by then.¹⁰⁴ In order to advance his career in Italy, she proposed to sell Rosso's works from her collection to Italian museums. She wrote to directors that, 'it would be psychologically such a good thing for Medardo Rosso if Italy actually bestirred herself for him. If Italy were not his own country he would not mind quite so much this animosity, this hostility towards him.'¹⁰⁵ To entice them, she cited his international acceptance, listing his works at the Luxembourg, and in collections in Dresden, Hagen and Leipzig. This was apparently no easy task, which she described as 'forcing' museums to buy one work each while donating several others.¹⁰⁶ With very few exceptions, Rosso's return to Italy sounded the death knell for his international sales. Because of events leading up to World War I, which caused a fierce nationalistic regression, Rosso was not able to maintain his international marketing approach over the next several decades.

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104 Barr, "Medardo Rosso," 240.

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106 *Ibid.*

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Art Reproduction and the Nation: National Perspectives in an International Art Market

Robert Verhoogt

During the nineteenth century the business of reproducing artworks was booming internationally. New (photo)graphic techniques like aquatint, steel engraving, lithography and photography were quickly developing to reproduce paintings and drawings effectively in countless prints and photographs. This was also made possible thanks to new printing presses, innovative paper production and modern means of distribution and communication. It resulted in the wide-ranging production of illustrated magazines, journals and prints, including art reproductions. Artists, printmakers and art dealer-publishers provided an international distribution to an expanding worldwide public of consumers of art and reproductions. Internationally oriented art dealer-publishers like John Boydell, Franz Hanfstaengl, Thomas Agnew & Sons, Ernest Gambart, Colnaghi & Sons, Goupil & Cie and Buffa & Sons were, as Jeremy Maas stated in his biography of the Victorian art dealer-publisher Ernest Gambart, 'the un-acknowledged legislators of the art world. It was they who carried an artist's reputation into every home in the country and to all the four corners of the globe.'¹

In his classic work *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), Adam Smith strongly advocated the free market ruled by the invisible hand of supply and demand with only limited state intervention. Smith's economic theory was inspired by the Industrial Revolution, which in turn was accelerated by his new ideas regarding production, consumption and the division of labour. The Industrial Revolution affected all aspects of society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including the art world and the printing industry. Concerning the world of art, Smith advised the state to stimulate the arts 'by encouraging, that is, by giving entire liberty to all those who, from their own interest, would attempt, without scandal or indecency, to amuse and divert the people by painting, poetry, music, dancing; by all sorts of dramatic representations and exhibitions; would easily dissipate, in the greater part of them, that melancholy and gloomy humour which is almost always the nurse

1 Jeremy Maas, *Gambart: Prince of the Victorian Art World* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1975), 28.

of popular superstition and enthusiasm.² Smith's principles for a free market economy were widely disseminated around 1800 through various translations of his *Wealth of Nations*.³ Influential economists like David Ricardo (1772–1832) and John Stuart Mill (1806–73) adapted his ideas about transforming the economy from the national protectionism seen during the Napoleonic Wars toward a more open economy inspired by ideas of liberalism and free trade. The French economist Jean-Baptiste Say also supported the ideas expressed by Smith in his *Traite de l'économie politique* (1803), but his advocacy to end state intervention was only partially followed in France, where the invisible hand of the government seems stronger than elsewhere.⁴

The process of internationalisation of the markets that logically followed from liberal economic policies was, of course, a gradual one. For one thing, it was often kept in check by, and even in collision with, national interests and nationalist modes of thinking. But nationalism and internationalism could also mutually reinforce one another. They were, in other words, both conflicting and interlocking forces in the development of nineteenth-century markets, including the print market.

Throughout the nineteenth century, local print dealers became more and more connected to the international art market. At the same time this international art market remained richly coloured by divergent national socio-economic and cultural contexts, national interests of various natures and nationalist modes of thinking, which could involve institutions, art dealers, publishers, artists, collectors and critics alike. Of course, “nation,” “national,” and “nationalism” are complex concepts referring to ever-changing cultural identities and political entities during the nineteenth century, dictated by wars and revolutions.⁵ That does not take away, however, any of the importance or reality that these concepts, and the ways of thinking that depended on them, had for actors operating in the market: nationality and national differences,

2 Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. Salvio M. Soares (MetaLibri Digital Library, 2007), 614.

3 Robert L. Heilbroner, *The Worldly Philosophers: The Lives, Times and Ideas of the Great Economic Thinkers* (London: Touchstone, 2000), 67.

4 Jeff Rosen, “The Political Economy of Graphic Art Production during the July Monarchy,” *Art Journal* 48 (1989): 41.

5 Nationalism proved to be a fascinating topic for scientific research in political science, anthropology and linguistic theory, as can be learned from the modern classic publications by Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson. See: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso 2006); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). In 1991 Anderson stated in the preface to his second edition: ‘The study of nationalism too has been startlingly transformed—in method, scale, sophistication, and sheer quality’ (p. xii).

both perceived and actual, were a practical reality that these figures had to take into account in the organisation of their businesses and include in their strategic calculations.

In this chapter I will examine three different ways in which the print market was shaped by the forces of nationalism and internationalism. I will first reflect on the issue of copyright legislation, the legal basis for artists and dealers in the business of art reproduction. During most of the nineteenth century, copyright legislation was nationally oriented, but differences between national legislation obstructed the international expansion of the market. Eventually, it became necessary to eliminate these differences and regulate the art and print business through international copyright law. Second, I will shift my focus toward individual art dealer-publishers and their use of nationalist ideology in the marketing of their products. As the nineteenth century progressed, national “schools” of engraving were often threatened by the wide supply of cheap prints from abroad, which made publishers turn towards the state for national patronage and promote their products as “authentic” national publications. Here, we have the opposite constellation of the national and the international, wherein foreign imports threaten the local market and give rise to nationalist protectionism. Finally, I will examine the Dutch art dealer-publisher Frans Buffa and his strategies to reconcile his “national” merchandise with the foreign expansion and gradual integration of markets. In Buffa’s business model, the national and international are no longer at odds but are dialectically reconciled and mutually reinforce one another to stimulate market growth. The national could, therefore, not only complicate or hamper the internationalisation of the market or remedy negative effects of this process of internationalisation, but it could also stimulate the market’s international expansion.

This essay is based on my research for *Art in Reproduction: Nineteenth-Century Prints after Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Jozef Israëls and Ary Scheffer* (AUP, 2007), with elaboration on art reproduction in relation to national perspectives in the nineteenth-century art world. I do not contest the international scale and development of the art business in the nineteenth century, but rather I intend to complement this picture. As James Hamilton explains in his recent inspiring book, *A Strange Business: Making Art and Money in Nineteenth Century Britain* (2014), the artist William Turner once stated that painting is ‘a strange business.’⁶ Art reproduction closely intermingled in this strange international

6 James Hamilton, *A Strange Business: Making Art and Money in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Atlantic Books, 2014), 4.

business without borders, but it can be considered through national perspectives as well.

National Copyright Protection

In his pamphlet *On Piracy of Artistic Copyright* (1863), art dealer-publisher Ernest Gambart emphasised the importance of copyright protection by the state: 'It is not, [...] against competition that protection for copyright in artworks is demanded, [...] but against robbers.'⁷ During the 1850s and 1860s, Gambart and other publishers took many photographers to court. Once a popular painting had been photographed by fraudulent photographers, the publisher of an engraving after the original work lost his business.⁸ Gambart instigated more than twenty lawsuits concerning William Holman Hunt's world-famous painting *The Light of the World* alone.⁹ Gambart stated: 'It is now a question for the legislature and the public to decide whether or not the school of English line engraving, once occupying so high a position, shall perish or be maintained.'¹⁰ Gambart was responding to large-scale, illegal reproduction with a passionate plea to improve copyright protection.

Copyright laws were developed by national authorities influenced by nationally oriented cultural and legal ideas of property and authorship.¹¹ The legal protection of the (visual) artist was first advocated by the painter and engraver William Hogarth, famous for his series of paintings, such as *A Rake's Progress* (1732–33), and their many printed reproductions (Fig. 9.1). Battling

7 Ernest Gambart, *On Piracy of Artistic Copyright* (London: William Tegg, 1863), 4. See also: Anon., "Copyright in Sculpture," *The Art Journal* (1863): 59; Anon., "Reviews," *The Art Journal* (1863): 128.

8 William Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, vol. 2 (London: Macmillan, 1905), 96.

9 Anon., "Copyright in Art," *The Art Journal* (1862): 241; Anon., "Infringement of Copyright," *The Art Journal* (1863): 103; Anon., "Infringement of Copyright," *The Art Journal* (1863): 210–1; Anthony J. Hamber, *'A Higher Branch of the Art': Photographing the Fine Arts in England, 1839–1880* (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1996), 12–3.

10 Maas, *Gambart*, 21. See for more about nineteenth-century copyright laws in relation to art reproduction: Robert Verhoogt, *Art in Reproduction: Nineteenth-Century Prints after Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Jozef Israëls and Ary Scheffer* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 150–79.

11 Robert Verhoogt and Chris Schriks, "Reflecting Media: A Cultural History of Copyright and the Media," in *The Handbook of the History of Information Security*, eds. Karl de Leeuw and Jan Bergstra (Amsterdam: Elsevier Science, 2007), 83–119. The English copyright system was founded by Queen Anne's Act of 1710 in which the (literary) author was recognised for the first time. Act 8 Anne, c.19.



FIGURE 9.1 William Hogarth, *A Rake's Progress*, Plate 3, 25 June 1735. Etching and engraving, third state of three, 35.5 × 40.9 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Carl Joseph Ulmann

the powerful publishers, Hogarth strongly proclaimed that he should be the primary party entitled to exploit his work and earn benefits from it. His efforts were eventually rewarded with the Engraving Copyright Act of 24 June 1735, better known as the 'Hogarth Act,' which provided artists and printmakers 'the sole right and liberty of printing and reprinting the same for the term of fourteen years, to commence from the day of the first publishing thereof.'¹² This British legal protection was gradually extended.¹³ The 1862 Copyright Act was an important step in the development of modern British copyright law concerning the visual arts, although the English copyright remained a legal

12 Act 8 Geo.2, c.13.

13 The Hogarth Act, and its 1767 amendment, offered protection to the makers of engravings, etchings, mezzotints and lithographs: See: 15 Vict.c.12 art. xiv in Charles Palmer Phillips, *The Law of Copyright in Works of Literature and Art and in the Application of Designs* (London: V&R Stevens, Sons and Haynes, 1863), lxxviii.

patchwork of rules concerning literature, printmaking, painting, sculpture and applied arts.¹⁴

'Come to France, and travel from Calais to Marseilles, and you will not find any pirated copies of English engravings for sale,' declared Gambart.¹⁵ In his criticism of English legislation, Gambart often pointed to French legislation as the standard. The French Revolution left its mark in the field of intellectual property, as in many other aspects of society. The traditional privilege system, closely associated with the guild structure and censorship of the Ancien Régime, was overthrown and the rights of individuals were affirmed in the *Déclaration des Droits de l'homme et du citoyen* (1789). Soon the recognition of the individual was translated into that of the artist, as can be interpreted from a decree from 1793, which proclaims in article 3: 'Les auteurs d'écrits en tout genre, les compositeurs de musique, les peintres et dessinateurs qui feront graver des tableaux ou dessins, jouiront, durant leur vie entière, du droit exclusif de vendre, faire vendre, distribuer leurs ouvrages dans le territoire de la République, et d'en céder la propriété en tout ou en partie.'¹⁶ The *droit de reproduction* soon became an accepted right in the French art world, as described in *L'Artiste* in 1839.¹⁷ The *droit de reproduction* provided the legal basis for artists to enjoy commercial benefits from the reproduction of their work. However, to enjoy copyright protection the artist needed to stay apprised of his rights. Inattention could result in their loss, which sorely irritated the renowned painter Horace Vernet, who fiercely resisted this prospect in his essay *Du droit des peintres et des sculpteurs. Sur leurs ouvrages* (1841).¹⁸

The national orientation of copyright legislation soon proved to be a complex limitation in the international art market and print business, as experienced

14 Related to copyright, the patent laws were relevant for the arts-and-crafts, but this interesting topic falls outside the scope of this article. See for discussions concerning patents in relation to the arts and industry: Elizabeth Bonython and Anthony Burton, *The Great Exhibitor: The Life and Work of Henry Cole* (London: V&A Publications, 2003), 109–11.

15 Ernest Gambart quoted in Hamber, 'A Higher Branch of the Art,' 212.

16 Décret des 19–24 juillet 1793 (an II de la République), art.1. A previous decree from January 1791 guaranteed the author's supervision and income with regard to the production of plays. See: décret des 13–19 janvier 1791, art.3: 'Les ouvrages des auteurs vivants ne pourront être représentés sur aucun théâtre public, dans toute l'étendue de la France, sans le consentement formel et par écrit des auteurs, sous peine de confiscation du produit total des représentations au profit des auteurs.' For this decree of 1793 see also: Anne L. Schroder, "Reversals of Power: Artistic Property, Counterfeiture, and the 1793 French Copyright Act," *Visual Resources* 16 (2000): 143–54.

17 François Lecler and Léon Noel, "Revue des éditions illustrées, des gravures et des lithographies," *L'Artiste* (1839): 142.

18 Horace Vernet, *Du Droit des Peintres et des Sculpteurs sur les ouvrages* (Paris: Édouard Proux, 1841), 8.

by the internationally operating art dealer and print publisher Ernest Gambart. Piracy of printed works was a phenomenon that crossed national borders.¹⁹ At the same time the international art market and print business in the nineteenth century was hindered by national legislations. As a result, national copyright laws were supplemented by a series of bilateral treaties intended to provide more international protection for intellectual property.²⁰ This was followed by efforts to achieve a multilateral regulation of copyrights.²¹ On 9 September 1886 the Berne Convention was signed by ten countries, including England, France and Germany. It established a permanent jurisdiction of international law, guaranteeing participating countries a basic level of protection of intellectual property, which was accorded to the author for a period of up to thirty years after his death.²² This treaty provides the legal basis for national and international copyright protection to this day.

Save Our National School of Engraving!

On 1 February 1859 the leading printmakers Henriquel-Dupont, Adolphe Mouilleron, Léon Noël and the publisher Goupil submitted a petition to Napoleon III. They requested protection for traditional reproduction techniques against the threat of technical innovations such as photography.²³

19 Gambart pointed accusingly to German publishers whose widespread distribution of large volumes of illegal reproductions not only had negative effects in other European countries but also in Germany itself, see: Ernest Gambart, *On Piracy*, 17. For centuries there had been a strong tradition in the Netherlands of reprinting foreign works, a practice that continued in the nineteenth century.

20 Henri Louis de Beaufort, *Het Auteursrecht in het Nederlandsche en internationale recht* (Utrecht: De Boer, 1909), 65–6. Particularly France made a number of bilateral agreements with various (neighbouring) countries in order to secure legal protection for its authors abroad. In 1852 France signed a treaty with England, followed by treaties with Spain (1853), the Netherlands (1855), Denmark (1858), Russia (1861), Prussia (1862) and Austria (1866).

21 Frederik Willem Grosheide, *Auteursrecht op maat* (Deventer: Kluwer, 1986), 275–6.

22 This international treaty assumed that each participating country had already introduced a basic national law concerning copyright. Founded in 1886 by ten countries, the Berne Convention has 168 contracting nation states today. See: http://www.wipo.int/treaties/en/ShowResults.jsp?treaty_id=15. For extensive information on international authorship rights, see: Jaap H. Spoor en Dirk W.F. Verkade, *Auteursrecht* (Deventer: Kluwer, 1993), 525–44.

23 Verhoogt, *Art in Reproduction*, 105. For various contributions on this subject, see: André Rouillé, *La Photographie en France. Textes & Controverses: une Anthologie 1816–1871* (Paris: Éditions Macula, 1989), 298–309. For this petition, see also: Pierre Renié, “The Battle for a Market: Art Reproductions in Print and Photography from 1850–1880,” in *Intersections*:

While these technological innovations in art reproduction offered new possibilities for the future, they also caused concerns over the possible decline of rich cultural traditions. Furthermore, the national school of engraving was also threatened by the abundance of cheap prints from abroad.²⁴ The traditional engraving technique was a French cultural tradition based on the methods used by famous engravers of the seventeenth century. The petition honoured the engraving technique as a valuable part of French cultural heritage in need of protection, but it also requested that the French government provide patronage to compensate for the failing market. They argued that the national tradition of the art of engraving had to be maintained, if necessary at the expense of technical innovation.

This appeal to save traditional techniques illuminates an awareness that increasingly resounded in various commentaries during the 1850s and 1860s. In 1863, for example, critic Philippe Burty wrote about the prints displayed at the Salon: 'La photographie tuera la gravure.'²⁵ The rich cultural tradition of engraving, with its roots in the fifteenth century, would soon be over. Engraving had been 'murdered' by photography, according to Burty, and he was not the only one with this opinion.²⁶ Of course, there was not a singular causal relation between the success of photography and the downfall of the state of engraving. Instead, it was a matter of production costs, a backslide in commissions and expertise, and a change in the markets in graphic and photographic reproductions. The 1860s appeared to be a complex and critical phase of the history of engraving. Interestingly, as Burty underlined in 1861, 'Le burin est un art essentiellement national.'²⁷ Because the art of line engraving was considered national cultural heritage, printmakers and publishers turned to the state to save the French school of engraving.

Lithography, Photography and the Traditions of Printmaking, ed. Kathleen Stewart Howe (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 44–5.

- 24 The Dutch print business showed the same concerns in the 1830s about the fragile national print tradition threatened by the abundance of cheap prints from abroad. See: Verhoogt, *Art in Reproduction*, 74–6.
- 25 Philippe Burty, "La gravure et la lithographie. Salon de 1863," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (1863): 147. Gautier had initially stressed that the latest medium was a welcome addition to the world of art reproduction and of service to art in general. See: Théophile Gautier "Exposition Photographique," *L'Artiste* (1857): 194. See for more about the endangered art of engraving in the 1860s: Verhoogt, *Art in Reproduction*, 105–8.
- 26 See also: M. de Saint-Santin, "De Quelques arts qui s'en vont," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (1865): 305 and 316.
- 27 Philippe Burty, "La gravure et la lithographie à l'exposition de 1861," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (1861): 172.

The French state had a strong tradition of patronage in printmaking, from the reign of Louis XIV until well into the nineteenth century, with publications such as *Le grand ouvrage de l'Égypte*, *Le Sacre de Napoléon*, *l'Iconographie grecque et romain* and *Le Sacre de Charles X*. The establishment of the new permanent Académie des Beaux-Arts in 1816, supported by painters, sculptors, composers and engravers, was also meant to stimulate the economy in the arts.²⁸ However, the stormy political developments of the Restoration and the July Revolution were followed by the reign of the liberally inclined, bourgeois King Louis-Philippe (r. 1830–48), which subsided a stream of government-sponsored projects.²⁹ The connection between the state and printmaking was no longer self-evident, but it was never entirely severed during the nineteenth century either. In the 1830s and 1840s, for example, there were recurring appeals to the state to protect the traditional and esteemed art of printmaking. *L'Artiste* repeatedly underlined the government's responsibility for traditional engraving, on the one hand, and the dangers of the commercial market, on the other. For example, in 1837: 'Sous le rapport commercial, cet art mériterait donc la protection du *gouvernement*' (italics added).³⁰ Where the government failed to act, engraving was left to the mercy of the market. One example of the French state's involvement in printmaking was Napoleon III's 1853 project to reorganise the Chalcography Department at the Louvre—where major artworks were reproduced in print—in imitation of Louis XIV's earlier

28 Harrison C. and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1993), 16–8. The French Académie de Peinture et Sculpture was a source of inspiration for the establishment of the Royal Academy of Arts in the Netherlands as part of a new educational system that aimed to revive the cultural glory of the past *and* to train artists and draughtsmen in order to stimulate national economic developments in architecture, manufacture, and arts and crafts. The founding of the Academy of Scotland in Edinburgh was also strongly influenced by the economic ideas first articulated by the former Edinburgh resident Adam Smith, see: Jenny Reynaerts, *Het karakter onzer Hollandsche School! De Koninklijke Akademie van Beeldende Kunsten te Amsterdam, 1817–1870* (Leiden: Primavera Press, 2001), 55; Duncan Forbes, "Private Advantage and Public Feeling: The Struggle for Academic Legitimacy in Edinburgh in the 1820s," in *Art and the Academy in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Rafael Cardoso Denis and Colin Trodd (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 86–101.

29 Annick Bergeon, "Le temps ciselé, correspondances autour d'une œuvre gravée: éditeurs, artistes, critiques (1829–1859)," in *États des lieux*, ed. Hélène Lafont-Couturier, vol. 1 (Bordeaux: Musée Goupil, 1994), 83.

30 Anon., "De la gravure," *L'Artiste* 14 (1837): 287–9.

initiative.³¹ During the 1860s the French government decided to commission reproductions of paintings in government buildings and churches. Thus new prints were ordered by the French state, which, as *The Art Journal* stated in 1862, 'seems to have become alarmed at the state of line engraving, and is now determined to support it by all means in its power.'³²

The mezzotint was to English printmaking what line engraving was to the French. The origins of the method lay in the Low Countries, but it was perfected in England and soon became known as the 'maniera anglais.'³³ Mezzotint was an exceptionally successful reproductive technique, employed on a large scale during the golden age of English printmaking in the late eighteenth century. Renowned mezzotinters, such as James MacArdell (1728/29–65), Valentine Green (1739–1813) and John Raphael Smith (1752–1812), made Sir Joshua Reynolds one of the most reproduced artists of his age.³⁴ While French printmakers of the early nineteenth century pursued the tradition of seventeenth-century line engravers, English mezzotinters like Charles Turner, William Ward and most importantly Samuel Reynolds (1794–1835) produced many prints after works by celebrated painters in the tradition of the 'Great Age of the Mezzotint.'³⁵

31 Arthur. M. Hind, *A History of Engraving & Etching from the 15th Century to the Year 1914* (New York: Dover Publications, 1967), 198. See also: Henry de Chennevières, "Exposition Universelle de 1889. La gravure du siècle au Champ de Mars," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (1889): 483; Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848–1871* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 279.

32 Anon., "Minor Topics of the Month," *The Art Journal* (1862): 88.

33 Gerdina Wuestman, "De Hollandse schilderschool in prent. Studies naar reproductiegrafiek in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw" (Phd diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 1998), 125.

34 During Reynolds's lifetime hundreds of mezzotints were made after his work, particularly his portraits. Other artists whose work generated many prints were Thomas Gainsborough, George Romney, Allan Ramsay and Joseph Wright of Derby. Line engravings were also produced in England, in the shadow of the many mezzotints. For example, Hogarth's famous moralising genre series, such as *A Harlot's Progress* and *A Rake's Progress*, were largely reproduced as line engravings, although this may be explained by the fact that Hogarth tended to work with French engravers: David Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times: Serious Comedy* (London: British Museum, 1997), 31.

35 The Salons of 1810 and 1812 had already exhibited prints by Reynolds after French masters such as Delaroche and Géricault, which the Englishman had produced during a stay in Paris in 1809. He also stayed in the French capital for some time in the mid-1820s. Reynolds probably spent a total of five or six years in Paris, on the advice of English publishers who had set up branches in the city: Carol Wax, *Mezzotint: History and Technique* (New York: Abrams, 1996), 100.

In England equal concerns existed about the future of traditional engraving.³⁶ In 1850 John Burnet, the grand old man of English engravers, had already foreseen the demise of English engraving.³⁷ Renowned English engravers like Charles William Sharp (1818–99), George Thomas Doo (1800–86) and John Pye (1782–1874) had become a rarity.³⁸ In contrast to the French state, the English government generally kept its distance from (the reproduction of) art. When a special House of Commons committee investigated the position of English printmaking in 1836, engraver John Pye declared: ‘as far as I know, except for a few private patrons, no encouragement is extended to art, besides that which comes through the printsellers.’³⁹ The English state, unlike the French, did not systematically stimulate the art of engraving with commissions. On the contrary, Queen Victoria and her husband, Prince Albert, did encourage photography—the engravers’ “enemy.” Prince Albert, in particular, showed a great interest in the new medium and even initiated a comprehensive “catalogue raisonné” with reproductions of Raphael’s work, entitled *Works of Raphael Santi da Urbino as Represented in the Raphael Collection in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, Formed by H.R.H. The Prince Consort 1853–1861 and Completed by Her Majesty Queen Victoria*. An imposing publication, it contained a number of prints and no less than 2,000 photographs.

The critic Louis Clément de Ris also recognised the differences between English and French graphic arts and likewise had an eye for the merits of printmakers on the other side of the Channel. While English printmakers continued to live up to their reputation in the field of mezzotint and wood engraving, French engravers were superior in the field of line engraving.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, both in France and England—the two superpowers in the graphic world—concerns were now growing about the uncertain future of traditional printmaking. The French government was especially active in addressing the need to protect the national school of engraving for the future and responded with

36 *Id.*, 138.

37 Surveying the production of graphic art in England during the first half of the nineteenth century, Burnet pointed to talented modern engravers such as Doo, Watt and Pye, but also observed that they could not compete with famous English engravers of the past, such as Woollett and Strange. See: Anon., “Autography of John Burnet,” *The Art Journal* (1850): 275–7.

38 Anon., “Line-engraving,” *The Art Journal* (1864): 354. See also: Anon., “Line Engraving,” *The Art Journal* (1866): 158.

39 John Pye, *Evidence Relating to the Art of Engraving Taken Before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on Arts, 1836, and the Committee’s Report Made to the House Thereon* (London: s.n., 1836), 38.

40 Louis Clément de Ris, “Salon de 1859. Gravure et lithographie,” *L’Artiste* 7 (1859): 98. In 1861 Philippe Burty wrote in a similar vein on the subject of French engraving: Burty, “La gravure et la lithographie,” 172.

several projects to save the endangered technique. It is difficult to retrospectively determine to what extent these initiatives were effective and actually changed the course of the history of engraving. However, it clearly shows a national dimension to the business of engraving. Of course, the state's role in patronage was not self-evident. Despite equal doubts concerning the uncertain future of engraving in England and France, the response of their governments was different. The active participation of the French government as a patron was largely absent across the Channel.

“Authentic” National Publications

‘Une idée de génie [...] graphique’ was the response to the plan proposed by engraver Pierre Laurent (1739–1809) to reproduce all the paintings and sculptures in the French royal collection in print, and thereby breathe new life into French printmaking.⁴¹ The *Musée Français, recueil complet des tableaux, statues et bas-reliefs qui composent la collection nationale* was published between 1803 and 1811 with contributions by dozens of engravers. It was continued by Laurent's son, Pierre Louis Henri Laurent (1779–1844), under the title *Musée Royal* and published between 1816 and 1822 (Fig. 9.2).⁴² This publication of prints by the Laurents was honoured as a national publication, but it was a private and commercially driven project.

“National” publications, either in name or ambition, were not the exclusive domain of national institutions. Commercial print dealers also used this description in their marketing strategies to reach their public. Here, I would like to consider the terms “nation” and “nationalism” in the marketing of engravings. As mentioned above, sometimes dealers were blamed for the decline of the state of engraving.⁴³ However, *L'Artiste* also published more liberal-minded ideas that highly valued the role played by commercial art dealer-publishers like Goupil.⁴⁴ In the Netherlands the important art dealer-publisher Frans

41 Henry de Chennevières, “La gravure du siècle,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* (1889): 480. See also: Verhoogt, *Art in Reproduction*, 69–71.

42 The *Musée Français* was published in four folio albums, containing a total of 344 prints. The *Musée Royal* comprised two folio albums with 161 prints. For the latter, see also: Anon., “De la gravure,” *L'Artiste* 14 (1837): 288; Henri Delaborde, *La Gravure. Précis élémentaire de ses origines, de ses procédés et de son histoire* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1882), 269. See also: Stanley William Hayter, *New Ways of Gravure* (London: Routledge & Paul Kegan, 1968), 187.

43 Anon., “Gravures et lithographies,” *L'Artiste* 4 (1843): 122.

44 A.J., “Simples réflexions sur l'art et les artistes,” *L'Artiste* (1835): 236–8.

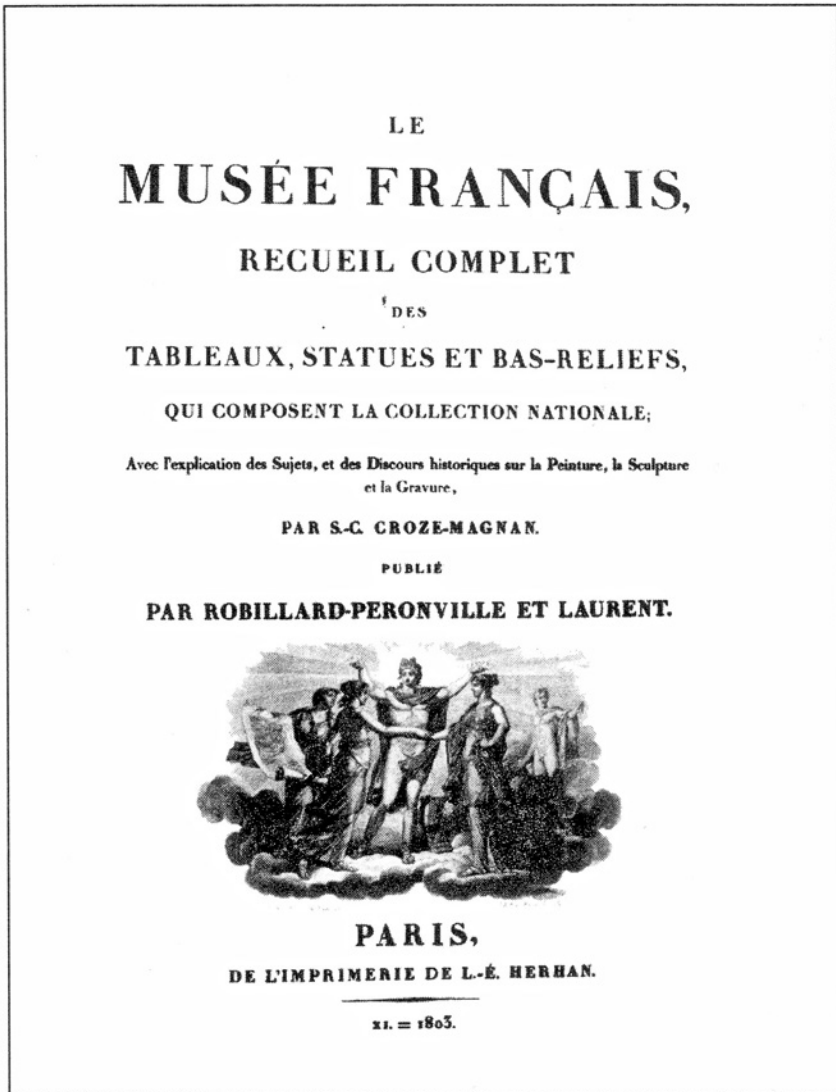


FIGURE 9.2 Simon-Célestin Croze-Magnan, Louis-Nicolas-Joseph Robillard-Péronville, Pierre Laurent, *Le Musée Français. Recueil complet des Tableaux, Statues et Bas-reliefs, qui composent la collection nationale*, vol. 1 (Paris: L.-É. Herhan, 1803), frontispiece

Buffa was admired for his continuing efforts to promote the art of engraving.⁴⁵ Buffa was established in Amsterdam in 1806 and soon thereafter became one of the leading firms in the Dutch print business.⁴⁶ During the nineteenth century the firm produced prints after old masters like Rembrandt and Bartholomeus van der Helst and fashionable modern painters like Jozef Israëls, singular prints and large-scale exclusive albums about the Rijksmuseum and Dutch history and its colonies.

Buffa repeatedly sent his prospectus and new prints for subscription to King William III.⁴⁷ These prints were for sale and not intended as gifts, not even for the king. Instead, Buffa's motivation was to persuade the king to support his publications. In this context Buffa often used words like 'nation' and 'national' in his patriotic approach to His Majesty, as in his letter of 6 July 1871. In humble words Buffa presented his latest publications to the king, hoping for subscription. The publisher underlined that his publications were always of 'national artistic importance,' whether they were prints after modern painters like Israëls and Rochussen, or after Rembrandt or Van der Helst. For over fifty years the firm had published editions of national importance, according to Buffa himself.⁴⁸ Repeatedly, Buffa underlined his ambition to publish paintings by Dutch painters engraved by Dutch engravers to make their works better known to everyone.⁴⁹ Buffa explained his national ambitions in relation to a couple of new engravings after Charles Rochussen in his letter to King William III of April 1873. It was an honour 'to present the first prints of this new Dutch work of art. Being aware that art is one of the most powerful instruments to stimulate good taste and civilisation, we have stated it our mission in life to, as far as our weak forces may reach, promote the national art, to make it better known and distribute it. Being not unsuccessful in this mission, we are so thanks to the positive attention our efforts attracted in this country and abroad.'⁵⁰

45 Anon., "Kunstberichten," *De Kunstkronijk* 8 (1847): 14.

46 Jan Frederik Heijbroek, "Van eenvoudige prentenkoopman tot gerenommeerde kunsthandelaar: Frans Buffa & Zonen in Amsterdam (ca. 1785–1951)," *De Boekenwereld* 23, no. 2 (2006): 50–66; Sylvia Alting van Geusau, Mayken Jonkman, and Aukje Vergeest, eds., *Schoonheid te koop. Kunsthandel Frans Buffa & Zonen 1790–1951* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2016).

47 I want to thank Sylvia Alting van Geusau for bringing this correspondence to my attention. These letters are kept in the Koninklijk Huisarchief in The Hague. See also: Robert Verhoogt, "De firma Frans Buffa & Zonen: handelaar in prenten," in *Schoonheid te koop*, 67–79.

48 Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, Letter from Buffa to the secretary of King William III, 6 July 1871.

49 Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, Letter from Buffa to King William III, 9 February 1865.

50 Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, Letter from Buffa to King William III, April 1873.

A “national” publication *par excellence* that Buffa was proud to present to King William III was the first issue of *Nederland in de XVI & XVII Eeuw vertegenwoordigd zijne groote mannen; door J.W. Kaiser en W.J. Hofdijk*, stating in a letter of 17 February 1857: ‘All our strength and ambition have been applied in order to make this issue completely Dutch and worthy enough regarding the subject it presents.’⁵¹ The same day the publisher wrote to the private secretary of the king pointing to the high costs of this expensive production and hoping for the king’s support.⁵² A few days later Buffa emphasised ‘the importance of this work based on our old masters, that the skilful Kaiser and Hofdijk admirably present us our heroes of our history worthy to be part of any collection.’⁵³ On 6 March 1857 the king’s secretary replied to the publisher that the king had agreed to buy two editions of his publication, one printed on regular paper and the other on Chinese paper.⁵⁴ On 14 March 1857 Buffa sent the sold editions to the king but could not hide his slight disappointment: ‘Your Excellency, we cannot deny that we had expected more interest and love to receive from Your Excellency regarding this publication in which Dutch art and history are so honourable and powerful unified.’⁵⁵ Buffa’s complaint was definitely not appreciated at the court, as we can read in the court secretary’s reply. Responding to Buffa’s highly inappropriate statement, the secretary felt obliged to explain that, no matter how important the publication might be, it was absolutely not the only one that deserved support. On the contrary, there were many other Dutch publications concerning the arts, literature and sciences that also justified national support. As a result the resources to realise Buffa’s project were limited, which ended the affair.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, this publication shows us the way a publisher advertised his “national” publications to the king hoping for support. However, Buffa was not the only one to do so.

Buffa frequently referred to truly “national” publications; to the subject of the publication, which was of national importance, like Dutch history and the arts; or to the Dutch nationality of the engravers and painters involved. Buffa’s stock of prints almost completely consisted of national Dutch publications with national subjects or made by Dutch artists. Yet Buffa, like other

51 Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, Letter from Buffa to King William III, 17 February 1857.

52 Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, Letter from Buffa to the secretary of King William III, 17 February 1857.

53 Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, Letter from Buffa to King William III, 23 February 1857.

54 Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, Letter from the secretary of King William III to Buffa, 6 March 1857.

55 Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, Letter from Buffa to King William III, 14 March 1857.

56 Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, Concept letter from the King’s Librarian to Buffa, 16 March 1857.



FIGURE 9.3 William Unger after Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Banquet at the Crossbowmen's Guild in Celebration of the Treaty of Münster, 1847–1932*. Etching, 26.2 cm × 42.0 cm. Published by F. Buffa & Zn. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

publishers, did work in a very international environment. His stocklist contains well-known Dutch engravers, including Johan Wilhelm Kaiser (1813–1900) and Hendrik D. Sluyter (1839–1931), but it also includes prints made by the well-known German etcher William Unger (1837–1932) and the French lithographer Adolphe Mouilleron (1820–81). Unger produced a series of etchings after masterpieces at the Rijksmuseum (Fig. 9.3), Mouilleron made a beautiful lithograph after Rembrandt's icon *The Nightwatch* (Fig. 9.4). The subject of these publications can also be considered national, even though Mouilleron's lithography appears to have been commissioned by the French state.

Of course, the terms "nation" and "national" can be used in many ways in relation to the nineteenth-century print business. From an iconological point of view, subjects from national history had been popular since the late eighteenth century. History and genre paintings by David, Delaroche, Scheffer, and Wilkie depicting scenes from history were very popular at large exhibitions like the Salon and the Royal Academy. This renown was largely echoed in the stocklists of print sellers Goupil, Colnaghi and Buffa. The iconological analysis of nationalism, nineteenth-century history painting and the print business falls outside the scope of this paper. Here I will merely reflect on the observation that the stocklists of internationally operating firms like Goupil, Buffa, Agnew and Colnaghi were dominated by painters and printmakers of the same nationality as their publishers. Buffa provided Dutch publications, Goupil's stock was dominated by French artists and engravers, and Colnaghi's and Agnew's stocks by their fellow Victorian artists. Goupil hardly published any prints



FIGURE 9.4 Adolphe Mouilleron after Rembrandt, *The Nightwatch*, 1854. Lithography, 39.8 cm × 48.3 cm. Published by F. Buffa & Zn. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

after successful Victorian artists like David Wilkie or John Everett Millais, and neither did Agnew produce engravings after Paul Delaroche.⁵⁷ Although Goupil did publish in the English language, with prints after Constable and Turner, these seem to be the exception to the rule of nationally dominated stocks of these internationally operating dealers.⁵⁸ This is especially striking since the Goupil company was an international network that operated branches in Paris, London, Brussels, The Hague, Berlin and New York for dealing in paintings and prints. Nonetheless, all of these branches used the same stocklists dominated by French Romantic painters of the “juste milieu” and

57 *Extrait du Catalogue Général de Goupil & Cie, Gravures Imprimeurs et Éditeurs, Photogravures Lithographies et Photographies* (Paris: s.n., 1877 [1878]).

58 See the ‘publications anglaises’ in the *Catalogue Général de la maison Bousod, Valadon & Cie éditeurs, successeurs de Goupil et Cie, Gravures, Photogravures, lithographies & Photographies, Paris, La Haye, Londres, New-York, Berlin*, 13–4 and 41–2.

French printmakers and photographers. This is remarkable considering the international orientation and cooperation of Goupil and their colleagues like Buffa and Colnaghi. But perhaps this observation could be reversed. Maybe these print dealers managed to be successful in an international competitive art print market during the nineteenth century *because* they were specialised in national artists.

How can we understand these nationally coloured stocklists? Apart from historical and cultural factors, it is interesting to consider these differences from an economic point of view. Admittedly, this is a complex matter to analyse with only fragments of the accountancy of the economic aspects of the print business remaining in our archives today. Nevertheless, it seems plausible that specialisation in the art business could have economic benefits as Adam Smith and especially David Ricardo have shown for other sectors of the economy. In his *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, published in 1817, Ricardo explained the critical role played by differences in production costs in the development of international trade. In his well-known example, Ricardo compared British cloth production with the Portuguese wine industry. He explained the economic benefits of the British specialising in cloth and the Portuguese in wine, and how both countries could profit equally from trading together.⁵⁹ Of course, prints and photographs are different products than cloth and wine, with different production costs. However, it seems reasonable for French art dealer-publishers to specialise in French artists and their work, and for the British to focus on their own domestic art stock because of the cost advantages in the production and reproduction of these works. Obviously, it was easier for British dealer-publishers to deal with their fellow artists, as it was for Frans Buffa to deal with mainly contemporary Dutch artists and engravers. Of course, there are also interesting exceptions to this rule: the Belgian Ernest Gambart was very successful with his French gallery in London, as Goupil was in selling Dutch paintings of the Hague school in Great Britain and the United States.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, considering the stocklists of prints of several successful dealer-publishers, it appears that they focused on artists of their own national schools in order to find success in the international art world. From this perspective the international print market increasingly seems to reflect Ricardo's

59 David Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (London: John Murray, 1817), Chapter 7.

60 Pamela M. Fletcher, "Creating the French Gallery: Ernest Gambart and the Rise of the Commercial Art Gallery in Mid-Victorian London," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 6, no. 1 (2007), <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring07/143-creating-the-french-gallery-ernest-gambart-and-the-rise-of-the-commercial-art-gallery-inmid-victorian-london>.

theory of comparative cost differences and international trade in the course of the nineteenth century.

The international networks of Goupil, Buffa and the Victorian print dealers guaranteed the wide circulation of engravings, lithographs, etchings and photographs to an international public of consumers. Prints published in London or Paris could be bought at Buffa's in the Amsterdam Kalverstraat. The international cooperation of dealers can be illustrated by the relationship between the London firm Pilgeram & Lefèvre and the Amsterdam art dealer-publisher Frans Buffa & Sons. Pilgeram & Lefèvre—successor of the illustrious dealer-publisher Ernest Gambart—sold paintings and prints of mainly modern Victorian art from its home base in London, but according to an advertisement these products were also available at 'the leading Publishers and Printsellers in all countries.'⁶¹ This simple addendum is interesting because it connects Pilgeram & Lefèvre's firm to the international market of art dealing and print publishing. The international cooperation of this British firm and Buffa is proven by the fact that some prints after works by the Victorian artist Alma-Tadema, published by Pilgeram & Lefèvre in 1875, were also available at Buffa in Amsterdam a few months later.⁶² Sometimes Buffa actively promoted the publications of Pilgeram & Lefèvre to his own regular clients. For example, on 29 March 1874 he proposed King William III the sale of a proof of the 'rightly praised engraving after Alma-Tadema's well-known painting' *The Vintage Festival*, published by Pilgeram & Lefèvre.⁶³ This print by the famous engraver Auguste Blanchard was one of the finest prints in Pilgeram's stock, published just a few months prior.⁶⁴

Buffa's publications were also available at Pilgeram & Lefèvre in London. We know that Buffa sold at least one copy of the album *Musée National d'Amsterdam: 32 planches gravées à l'eau forte par W. Unger (1875–6)* with etchings by Wilhelm Unger to Pilgeram & Lefèvre. Likewise, Buffa sold his publications to several well-known art dealer-publishers both in the Netherlands and abroad, as seen in Buffa's recently discovered sales book.⁶⁵ The Goupil branch

61 Advertisement L.H. Lefèvre, *The Complete Engraved Works of L. Alma Tadema, R.A.*, Fries Museum, Leeuwarden. See also: Verhoogt, *Art in Reproduction*, 456.

62 Anon., "Nieuwe uitgaven," *De Kunstkronek* (1876): 96; *The First Whisper of Love. Companion to "In Confidence,"* L. Löwenstam, Pilgeram and Lefèvre, 24 December 1875. See: George William Friend, *An Alphabetical List of Engravings Declared at the Office of The Printsellers' Association, London, since its Establishments in 1847 to the end of 1885* (London: Printsellers' Association, 1886), 77 and 108.

63 Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, Letter from Buffa to King William III, 29 March 1874,

64 Verhoogt, *Art in Reproduction*, 437–9.

65 <https://rkd.nl/explore/archives/details/NL-HaRKD-0554>, inv.nr. 12.

in The Hague bought Buffa's publications on a regular basis, as did the London branch. Other dealers who purchased prints and albums from Buffa were the leading firms Colnaghi and Henry Graves in London and Knoedler in New York.

Buffa sold publications to his colleagues, business to business, or to his local clients at his gallery in the Amsterdam Kalverstraat. Some of his publications were popular amongst an international clientele. Copies of the album *Musée National d'Amsterdam* were sold to the well-known collector Staats Forbes in London, the industrialist Dagobert Oppenheim in Cologne, railroad entrepreneur Erasmus Gest in Cincinnati and Robert Gordon in Singapore, as well as addresses in Vienna, Berlin, Munich and Basel. Buffa's "national" publications were widely distributed from the Amsterdam Kalverstraat to the corners of the international print market. Commercial dealers like Buffa and his colleagues appear to have been perfectly capable of reconciling their national interests with the international challenges of the art business. In this way Buffa's publications illustrate the refined balance between national and international perspectives in the nineteenth-century art market and print business.

The National Footprint of the International Art Market

Art dealers, artists, critics and institutions each brought their own "national" perspectives to the internationally booming art business during the nineteenth century. The prominent art dealer-publisher Ernest Gambart claimed national copyright protection; Goupil and the French engravers requested national patronage to save the national school of engraving in France; and finally the Dutch dealer Frans Buffa promoted his publications as "real" national publications and sold them at home and abroad.

The success of firms such as Goupil, Colnaghi and Buffa was based on their print business. After starting as print sellers, they expanded their business to include dealing in paintings and drawings. In the meantime they continued their usual practice of publishing engravings, lithographs and etchings after old and contemporary masters. In this essay I focused on the sale of prints, but of course this business was not completely isolated from the dealing of paintings and drawings. On the contrary. In Buffa's gallery, for example, clients interested in the work of Jozef Israëls could buy paintings, drawings, watercolours and etchings by their beloved master, as well as prints after his works, including engravings, lithographs and etchings in different states, each printed on a different kind of paper and signed by the artist, the printmaker or both. These could be purchased for a variety of prices, framed or unframed. Art and reproductions were one part of a range of products with their own price and

quality. Likewise, Pilgeram & Lefèvre offered Alma-Tadema paintings, water-colours and numerous reproductions of his work. Moreover, this firm commissioned paintings from Alma-Tadema at the same time that they assigned engravers and photographers to reproduce them. Auguste Blanchard even engraved Alma-Tadema's *The Picture Gallery* while the original painting was still on the easel. In many cases artists were just as involved in the reproduction of their own work as they were in creating the original compositions.⁶⁶

Art dealers and artists kept watch over the markets of both paintings and prints. Art and reproduction were held together by legal, artistic and commercial strings. The original painting and the (photo)graphic reproduction proved to be a strong combination in the marketing and promotion of the international art business. For example, the exhibitions of single paintings that toured towns and villages were very popular venues for the promotion and sale of reproductions, like that of William Holman Hunt's painting *The Light of the World*, which was shown around the world (Fig. 9.5).⁶⁷ It is reasonable, given the close relationship between such paintings and their reproduction, to see the content of the paintings largely matching that of the prints sold by the same art dealer-publishers.

Apart from the similarities in the subject matter of the paintings and prints, there also seem to have been interesting differences between each end of the business. For example, Goupil's international success in selling paintings and drawings of the Hague school artists since the 1870s is only partly reflected in the stocklist of reproductions published by the firm.⁶⁸ Obviously, paintings and prints are different products with distinct production costs, qualities and prices. The (overlapping) markets of paintings and prints need further research to figure out the different consumption patterns in the (international) art business. The nineteenth-century German statistician Ernst Engel (1821–96) once laid the foundation for the research of consumption patterns. He observed that when incomes rise, people spend relatively less money on food and relatively more money on luxury goods; this is known as Engel's Law. Roughly speaking, during the nineteenth century the consumption of luxury goods generally increased.⁶⁹ Did people buy more prints because they had more money to spend? Or did they buy fewer prints because they could now

66 Verhoogt, *Art in Reproduction*, 507–24.

67 Jeremy Maas, *Holman Hunt and the Light of the World* (London: Wildwood House, 1987).

68 Chris Stolwijk, *Uit de schilderswereld. Nederlandse kunstschilders in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 1998), 216–21; *Extrait du Catalogue Général de Goupil & Cie*.

69 For extensive information on the consumption of art and culture, see: Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, eds., *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650–1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).



FIGURE 9.5
 William Holman Hunt, *The Light of the World*, 1851–56. Oil on canvas,
 49.8 × 26.1 cm. Manchester,
 Manchester Art Gallery

afford paintings in a higher price class? Or did the ratio between the acquisition of paintings and prints remain stable? In other words, were reproductions a *substitute* for paintings or were they *complementary* to the original works? More research into nineteenth-century patterns of consumption is required in order to provide a clear answer to these questions. Collecting prints was not a practice limited to people with a restricted budget, for wealthy, elite collectors also purchased reproductions for their exclusive collections.⁷⁰ King William III did not hesitate to buy prints from Buffa, even though he could afford original

70 Research into print culture in the eighteenth century has shown that prints were also owned by members of the elite. See: Alpheus Hyatt Mayor, *Prints and People: A Social History of Printed Pictures* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971), 596.

paintings. So apparently reproductions were not regarded merely as cheap substitutes for paintings. There was a wide public for reproductions, probably wider than that for paintings. This extended from the cultural elite and the social middle classes to the lower sections of society, for whom purchasing a painting was normally above their means. As the Pre-Raphaelite artist F.G. Stephens remarked: 'Where the picture cannot go, the engravings penetrate.'⁷¹

The public of the international art and reproduction market was shaped by both the political economy and private initiatives by artists and entrepreneurs in the art business. International orientation and national interests were complementary elements in the nineteenth-century art business, as can be illustrated by the famous Great Exhibition held in London in 1851. Its initiator, Henry Cole, noted his first discussions with Prince Albert about the event in his memoirs. On 29 June 1849, he asked the prince: 'if the Exhibition should be a National or an International Exhibition [...]. The Prince reflected for a minute, and then said, "It must embrace foreign productions," to use his words, and added emphatically, "International certainly."⁷² It was up to Cole to decide how much space each country should have at the Great Exhibition, and in the end space was allotted to countries in proportion to their trade with Britain. Therefore, France was given the most space.⁷³ So at the Great Exhibition, the footprints of the exhibitors were based on national British interests.

In the international economy of art and reproduction, we come across many references to the nation and nationalism. In many ways national perspectives shaped copyright legislation, public patronage and even the marketing of prints. Copyright legislation thus regulated the art market from a national perspective. When it became clear that this national approach to legal protection was important but not sufficient, international treaties were drafted. The old glorious national tradition of engraving was still cherished in the nineteenth century, but could not guarantee a future unaffected by the invention of new photographic reproductions. And where the art market fell short, artists, print-makers and dealers turned towards the government for patronage to compensate for the art market. Nationally tinged remarks can also be identified in the marketing of prints and "authentic" national publications, like those the publisher Buffa repeatedly used in his letters to promote his publications to

71 Stephens quoted in: Rodney Engen, *Pre-Raphaelite Prints: The Graphic Art of Millais, Holman Hunt, Rossetti and their Followers* (London: Lund Humphries, 1995), 8.

72 Bonython and Burton, *The Great Exhibitor*, 116.

73 *Id.*, 140.

King William III. Buffa promoted his own publications after Dutch paintings and engraved by Dutch printmakers and sold them all over the world. He repeatedly underlined the “national” character of his publications. And in many ways he was right to do so.

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Reframing the “International Art Market”

Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich

The ambition of this collection—to analyse the dialectical nature of the nineteenth-century international art market sustained by a knowledge economy informed by discourses of nationalism—provides an opportunity to reflect on the state of art market studies, as well as the implications of such study to the discipline of art history as whole. The study of the international art market in the age of the rise of nation states puts into play a number of concepts critical to art history’s current concern with re-imagining the discipline within a transnational framework. Mobility and exchange have gained considerable attention as essential processes for circulating goods and fuelling new cultural formations. Furthermore, the networks formed by the art market invite comparison with other contemporaneous networks, such as linguistic or imperial, or even other networks of trade. The analysis of the art market thus holds tremendous promise for the discipline as a whole, but the very centrality of questions of networks and transculturation challenge us to define the boundaries of our object of study: the “international art market.”

A brief look at the development of the study of the art market in the nineteenth century helps to define the questions at stake. Harrison C. White and Cynthia White’s pioneering study *Canvases and Careers* (1965), as Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna observe in the introduction to this volume, established the terms and terrain on which many succeeding studies were built, both in terms of their focus on Paris and their identification of the dealer-critic system as the critical new mechanism defining the market. Later scholarship has built upon and complicated White and White’s narrative, challenging its historical accuracy and testing its conclusions against the histories of other metropolitan centres.¹ And yet in certain important senses their study remains the underlying master narrative of the field. Their focus on individual national markets represented by capital cities, concentration on paintings and prints, and attention to the key agents of artists, dealers and critics within an exhibitionary complex still provide the lines of inquiry for most art market studies.

¹ For a more comprehensive overview of recent work on the art market and its relationship to White and White, see the introduction to this volume.

As the present collection suggests, shifting the scale of inquiry to the international art market requires rethinking these assumptions and paying attention to other forces at play in market dynamics. Baetens and Lyna provide one overarching narrative as they examine the emergence of national categories in art-historical discourses, arguing that the idea of the nation, as expressed in art-historical information and knowledge, both sustained the internationalisation of the market and was produced by it. The essays that comprise this collection develop this paradigm, providing detailed case studies that illuminate the formation of art knowledge in national markets, the circulation of this knowledge in personal networks, and the uneasy relation between international trade and the discourses of national identity.

In this epilogue we want to consider the larger context in which these structures and networks—of information, of sociability, of trade, etc.—were formed and recognise their variable characters, ranging from informal to formal, open to closed, dynamic to static, singular to multiple.² We reflect on these issues by probing each of the key terms—international, art and market—inflected by the syntactical constellation of “the international art market” in the historical moment at hand, c. 1750–1914. Building upon these lexical observations and the work of the contributors to this volume, we close by offering suggestions for further lines of inquiry for the investigation of the international art market within the context of the “global turn” in art history. In particular, we consider how we as a field might begin to leverage and synthesise the work on the nineteenth-century art market done to date through what is now a robust set of case studies in order to begin to model the market.

“International”

What is the geography of the international art market? The term “international” implies that the nation state is the individual actor or unit of analysis, but most studies focus on metropolitan centres rather than nations. In our own anthology on the modern art market, we focused on the study of London, with some attention to interactions between London and other metropolitan centres, such as Paris, The Hague, Cape Town and Dublin.³ But is the study of cities knit together by the trade in art objects a truly international study? Can

2 Simon J. Potter, “Webs, Networks and Systems: Globalization and the Mass Media in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Empire,” *Journal of British Studies* 46 (2007): 622.

3 Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, eds., *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939* (Manchester – New York: Manchester University Press, 2011).

"London" or "Paris" represent the national? What is the status of other centres within a nation, such as Glasgow, Salisbury, Liverpool or Bristol within the larger fabric of Great Britain? What of metropolitan centres of artistic production and reception that are subdivided by foreign concessions, such as Shanghai, which did not belong to a self-described nation state?

These questions take on even more force when we recognise that the nineteenth century was a century of nation formation; for example, the territories of "Germany" and "Italy" have variable historical meanings across the period. Moreover, the concept of the nation itself, as a political and social entity, was heavily debated at this time. For example, in 1882 French historical writer Ernest Renan delivered his by now famous lecture "What is a Nation?" at the Sorbonne in which he pointed out that nations were relatively new forms of social organisation and the problem of how best to describe and to understand 'la fusion des populations' was not only historical but also contemporary.⁴ Extending these questions, what terms best describe the territories and geographies of Africa or Asia at this historical moment? Or what of the Ottoman Empire, which overlay territories in Europe, Africa and Asia? And Great Britain, France, Germany, and even arguably the United States were both nations and empires in the nineteenth century. Indeed, as historian Chris Bayly has observed, 'before 1850, large parts of the globe were not dominated by nations so much as by empires, city-states, diasporas.'⁵ In some cases the imperial model continued to consolidate well into the early twentieth century before dramatically disintegrating with the two World Wars and independence movements of the twentieth century.

These histories remind us that the nation state should be understood as a particular type of historical unit or formation within a larger circulatory context, albeit one that gained purchase over the course of the nineteenth century. As the contributions to this volume make clear, the concept of national "schools" was critically important for creating categories of commodities that could then be produced, described and valued by the market in the nineteenth century. (This phenomenon is borne out explicitly in Bénédicte Miyamoto's investigation of the British auction trade.) But the categories themselves were also subject to considerable variation, which did not always map precisely onto political entities. As Baetens and Lyna note in their chapter, the national classifications used in the art market changed over time, as their example of

4 Ernest Renan, "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?," in Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? Et autres essais politiques*, ed. Joël Roman (Paris: Presses Pocket, 1992), 40.

5 Christopher Alan Bayly et al., "AHR Conversation: On Transnational History," *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1442.

several quite different eighteenth-century usages of the variable category of “Flemish painting” makes clear. Nineteenth-century categorisations could be equally flexible, and even a quick survey of exhibitions held in London reveals the continued utility of catch-all categories such as “foreign” or “continental” artists.⁶

Other limitations of the term “international,” particularly when construed literally, have been explored in recent scholarship in history and cultural studies. Historian Robert Schneider recently observed that his discipline was re-engaging with transnational history out of ‘a desire to break out of the nation state or singular nation state as the category of analysis.’⁷ Historians of the art market, with its focus on the circulation of goods, would benefit greatly from attending to this methodological shift.⁸ Historian Isabel Hofmeyr, following on Schneider’s observations, has argued that ‘the key claim of any transnational approach is its central concern with movements, flows, and circulation, not simply as a theme or motif but as an analytic set of methods which defines the endeavour itself.’⁹ This analysis, Wendy Kozol has argued, requires examining ‘how cultural practices and ideologies shape, constrain or enable the economic, social and political conditions in which people and goods circulate within local, regional and global locales.’¹⁰ The study of movements should also encompass its opposite, that is, resistance or even absence, and all points on the continuum between flow and stoppage, including a lack of connection, which can be just as telling as a robust interaction.

Art history, as a discipline, has also been concerned with methodological approaches that foster a self-critical examination of the discipline’s roots in the formation of nation states and that allow a fuller range of cultural artefacts to be the focus of analyses. Art history has arguably demonstrated a greater preference for the term “global” over “transnational” as a means to destabilise traditional binaries between Western and non-Western and to rethink the role of the nation in writing history.¹¹ Alicia Walker, describing the benefits of a global approach for the study of medieval art history, has pointed to its ability to break down the nationalisms that have shaped the formation of the discipline and, as in the case made for transnationalism, to focus ‘on the movement

6 See, for example, the listings in *The Year’s Art 1881* (London: Macmillan, 1881), 50–2.

7 Bayly et al., “AHR Conversation,” 1441.

8 *Id.*, 1442.

9 *Id.*, 1444.

10 *Id.*, 1451.

11 See for example: James Elkins, *Is Art History Global?* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, eds., *Circulations in the Global History of Art* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015).

(rather than origins) of objects and ideas as the generative force behind artistic form and meaning.¹² Walker is encouraged by the ways in which medieval art history is now attending to such phenomena as ‘multicultural nexus points’ and ‘cross-cultural interaction,’ including spoliation.¹³ The latter might also be described as transculturation, using the term coined by Fernando Ortiz to describe the complex processes by which cultures and their artefacts are displaced, acquired and transformed.¹⁴

In short, to write a history of the art market in the nineteenth century will require us to attend not only to knowledge formation, as the authors of this volume have done, but also to the geographical frame both epistemologically—how and why it came about—and in terms of effect—what the geographical frame focuses our attention upon and what it occludes. Space and time, as the means to establish context for the production and reception of works of art, are also tied to differing dynamics of wealth and power.¹⁵ These forces, at play in the circulatory system of the market, allowed for mobilisation and flow, as in the Italian artistic community that formed in London around 1800 described by Camilla Murgia or the cultural transfer that took place between the Berlin dealership Lepke and the Paris market studied by Lukas Fuchsgruber or the British taste for eighteenth-century French furniture recounted by Adriana Turpin. These forces also produced resistance and impediments, as demonstrated in debates about copyright, emanating from notions of property and authorship rooted in the enlightenment that impacted the print trade analysed by Robert Verhoogt. Tariffs, export duties and cultural heritage laws are all examples of how national borders could be patrolled at the same time that new modes of transport and uneven access to wealth, amongst other factors, aided the mobilisation of goods. The phenomenon of Japonisme, for example, that so greatly impacted the collecting practices of connoisseurs such as Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, as well as the artistic production of artists such as James McNeill Whistler, owes a great deal to the United States’ deployment of “gunboat diplomacy” and, in particular, the tactics of Commodore Matthew Perry.

12 Alicia Walker, “Globalism,” *Medieval Art History Today—Critical Terms* 33 (2012): 187.

13 *Id.*, 186.

14 Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint, Tobacco and Sugar* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), 98 and 102–3.

15 John Brewer and Frank Trentmann, “Introduction: Space, Time and Value in Consuming Cultures,” in *Consuming Cultures: Global Perspectives, Historical Trajectories, Transnational Exchanges*, eds. John Brewer and Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 3–4.

“Market”

Cutting across these multifaceted geographies is the equally complex definition of the “market” for art. Returning to Wendy Kozol’s observation about the roles that economic, social and political conditions play with respect to the circulation of people and goods in local, regional and global contexts, these same conditions also constituted and governed markets and their behaviour. The configuration of the art market in the West—the focus of the studies here—changed considerably in the nineteenth century with the rise of wealth attendant upon the industrial revolution as well as political and social changes that fostered the growth of the wealthy middle class as consumers and further weakened the role of church and state as leading art patrons. Indeed, the very nature of what could constitute a market radically altered in the nineteenth century with the emergence of constitutional monarchies and republics, and the consolidation and professionalisation of the bureaucracies of the state, as well as technological innovations, particularly in the transportation sector, and the formation of financial institutions and instruments that fostered the acceleration of processes of exchange. Within the art market, the museum emerged as a new player that markedly altered circulatory possibilities. The museum, with its implicit social contract of preserving and presenting works of art for the public, symbolically represented the end point of mobility as works of art presumably entered collections in perpetuity (although in practice deaccessioning occurred regularly).

As the market grew, it also fragmented into specialisations, with markets for different kinds of goods functioning in quite different ways. The essays in this volume cumulatively suggest some of the relevant fault lines. For example, Sharon Hecker points out that the market for mid-nineteenth-century French sculpture operated according to different norms than the market for paintings for two related reasons. The work and expense involved in casting and transporting bronze sculptures meant that they required different kinds of exhibitions and patronage, which were more easily sustained by the state through the vehicles of the state-sponsored Salon or commissions for large-scale works of art as national monuments. Hecker’s account very usefully highlights the central importance of the material realities of fabrication and transportation to the operation of the market. Her argument also reminds us that histories of the “Salon” or “Academy” are not monolithic; such institutions do not operate identically within their national contexts, nor do they treat all kinds of art in the same way. Attending to local variations suggests even more avenues for exploration: what, for example, was the role of the many academies and galleries

that also hosted annual exhibitions across the United Kingdom, in cities such as Liverpool and Birmingham? In addition to providing opportunities for local artists to exhibit and to sell their work, some also seem to have functioned as secondary markets for London-based artists, who sent unsold paintings on an autumn tour of the provinces in search of buyers.¹⁶

As this example also suggests, there was a temporal dimension to markets as well as a geographic one. Matthew Lincoln and Abram Fox have recently used statistical analysis of a large database of London auction records from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to explore the seasonality of the auction trade, concluding both that the consolidation of high-end picture sales into the early summer season occurred in the early nineteenth century and that temporal patterns varied for works of art aimed at different parts of the market.¹⁷ By the mid-nineteenth century, the late spring season was well established, leading many new commercial galleries in London to time their major annual exhibitions to coincide with it, often focusing those shows on foreign paintings the Royal Academy mostly omitted. The season quickly expanded into the fall and winter, and many galleries featured British artists during this period, perhaps taking advantage of the availability of works that remained unsold after the Academy's late spring/summer exhibition.¹⁸ Attending to the temporal as well as the spatial patterns of the market may well reveal more such examples, allowing us to better understand artists' and dealers' decisions about the choice of subject, medium and exhibition venue.

New media and new categories of art also generated their own distinctive market formations. For example, the nineteenth century witnessed the birth of the new medium of photography, which initially functioned as a primary market with photographers operating both itinerantly and through specially built premises, as in the case of Matthew Brady. Photographers also took advantage of existing vehicles for asserting the value of their work and reaching the market. British photographer Julia Margaret Cameron registered her work with the British Copyright Office (in 1862 legal protection of copyright was established for photographers) and also exhibited and sold her work through the

16 For a listing of such opportunities, aimed at practicing artists, see: *The Year's Art 1887* (London: J.S. Virtue, 1887), 78–115.

17 Matthew Lincoln and Abram Fox, "The Temporal Dimensions of the London Art Auction, 1780–1835," *British Art Studies* 4, <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-04/afoxmlincoln>.

18 Pamela Fletcher, "Shopping for Art: The Rise of the Commercial Art Gallery, 1850s–90s," in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market*, 52–3.

French Gallery as well as print dealers P. and D. Colnaghi.¹⁹ A secondary market developed only slowly and episodically, as early practitioners such as David Octavius Hill, Robert Adamson and Cameron were belatedly recognised as artist practitioners, largely through the early twentieth-century efforts of Alfred Stieglitz and members of the Photo-Secession. This episode points to the myriad of factors required to create a market, including the means by which to assert ownership and fiscal value, as well as to assess artistic and historical significance and to reach and to persuade consumers.

This episode is also a good reminder that while markets for varied goods could operate under different rules and according to different temporalities, they also intersected and at times competed with one another. For example, as Barbara Pezzini points out in her essay, the London firm of Colnaghi eventually moved away from the print market to the old master market, a strategy also adopted by the New York firm of Knoedler, which was originally established as the American branch of the Parisian print publisher Goupil. This shift to the old master market also maps onto the rapid collapse of the reproductive engraving trade, which had been responsible for the payment of record prices for contemporary paintings as dealers sought to secure images and their copyright in order to generate prints that could sustain a far more extensive market than that of any single painting.²⁰ And, as Pezzini argues, the rising values associated with the old master market at the end of the nineteenth century enticed contemporary British painters to adopt emulative artistic practices. In sum, “the art market” may be more accurately described as a set of intersecting markets, each with its own affordances, limits, temporal rhythms and histories.

“Art”

Market behaviour is shaped not only by economic, political and social conditions associated with differing geographic, temporal and historical contexts and the institutions and mechanisms of the marketplace, but also by the very objects that constitute the market. In the case of the art market, the very category of the exchanged good—art—is highly unstable. In other words, what constituted art has changed over time and in response to a complex array of

19 Sylvia Wolf, “Mrs. Cameron’s Photographs, Priced Catalogue.’ A Note on her Sales and Process,” in *Julia Margaret Cameron’s Women*, ed. Sylvia Wolf (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1998), 208–18.

20 Martha Tedeschi, “Where the Picture Cannot Go, the Engravings Penetrate’: Prints and the Victorian Art Market,” *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 31, no. 1 (2005): 8–19 and 89–90.

factors.²¹ Different markets thus emerged not only around specific media but also around different types of goods, particularly those associated with shifting categories, such as antiquities, curiosities, decorative arts and the exotic. For example, as Mark Westgarth has observed with respect to the London picture trade in the first half of the nineteenth century, the identity of the picture dealer was not fixed but instead hybridised because 'the boundaries between picture dealing and other trades were extremely fluid and picture dealers trading in curiosities and antique furniture were the convention rather than an exception.'²²

The semantic meaning, artistic significance and financial value of an object could alter significantly as it crossed borders, whether real or imagined, while moving through time and space. Therefore, the field of art market studies would do well to expand its temporal and geographic frame to encompass not only new forms of goods entering well-studied markets, such as those of London and Paris in the case of the arts of Africa and Asia, including China, Japan, India and the Arabian Peninsula, but also the sites from which these goods emerged and traversed.²³ Moreover, as art historian Patrick Flores has observed, making art history more global means not only 'opening up to the non-western,' it requires rethinking the Western 'and how supposedly the non-western has constituted it' and examining, in a non-hierarchical fashion, the 'matrices of relations' that produced global circulations of art.²⁴ In attending

21 See, for example, the discussion of the dialogue between art historians and anthropologists concerning the nature of the art object or object of art described in: Mariët Westermann, "Introduction: The Objects of Art History and Anthropology," in *Anthropologies of Art*, ed. Mariët Westermann (Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2005), vii–xxxii.

22 Mark Westgarth, "Florid-looking Speculators in Art and Virtue': The London Picture Trade c. 1850," in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market*, 29.

23 New directions in eighteenth-century studies offers a fruitful example, as in Nebahat Avcioğlu and Finbar Barry Flood's recent observation that 'in general, analyses of the transregional cultural flows that marked the century have privileged the reception of European forms and ideas, ignoring or marginalising the multidirectionality of exchange, preexisting or enhanced cultural flows that operated outside of European parameters, and the role of major imperial and sub-imperial centers such as Istanbul or Lucnow in the dissemination and mediation of Western European forms.' See: Nebahat Avcioğlu and Finbar Barry Flood, "Introduction: Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century," *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010): 7–8. For a study of nineteenth-century cross-cultural exchanges in Istanbul, see: Mary Roberts, *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015).

24 Patrick Flores, "Art History and the Global Challenge: A Critical Perspective," *Art@s Bulletin* 6, no. 1 (2017): 33.

to the circulation of objects, the shifts in meaning and value that took place within and through these exchanges, and those matrices of relations through which these flows took place, we would enrich not only art market studies but also the history of the discipline of art history given the tight interweaving between the discourses of the marketplace and those of the discipline, particularly in the nineteenth century.

For example, Louise Tythacott, in her article “Curiosities, Antiquities, Art Treasure, Commodities: Collecting Chinese Deity Figures in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England,” examines the variety of meanings—suggested in her title—assigned to Chinese Buddhist images by British collectors.²⁵ The possibility for understanding these objects as art, and the increasing dominance of this understanding, was enabled by the activities of figures such as Thomas Larkin, a former British civil engineer who worked in Japan and then opened his Japanese Gallery on New Bond Street in the late nineteenth century to address the growing interest in Japanese and Chinese art, as well as Sadajiro Yamanaka, who first opened a shop devoted to Japanese objects in New York in 1895, Boston in 1899 and then London in 1900.²⁶ Their activities suggest a tight-knit connection between the processes of commodification and signification as objects became recognised as art and entered the circulatory mechanisms of the marketplace. Art historian Stacey Pierson has revealed how the developing market for Ming porcelain, which had become a highly desirable imported commodity in the West beginning in the seventeenth century, helped to shape the ‘category of “Chinese art” outside of China, particularly in Great Britain and the United States around the turn of the last century and well into the twentieth century.’²⁷ By 1916 Yamanaka held exhibitions with such titles as

25 Louise Tythacott, “Curiosities, Antiquities, Art Treasure, Commodities: Collecting Chinese Deity Figures in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England,” *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 23 (2010): 56–71.

26 Anon., “T.J. Larkin, 1848–1915, Dealer in Chinese and Japanese Art,” *Freer | Sackler*, <http://archive.asia.si.edu/collections/downloads/Larkin-Thomas-Joseph.pdf>. As Constance Chen has observed with respect to Yamanaka and Bunkio Matsuki, a buying agent on behalf of Boston purveyors and collectors, their sales catalogues ‘illuminate the ways in which certain notions of Asianness and the reconceptualisation of aesthetic categories were linked in complex ways.’ See: Constance Chen, “Merchants of Asianness: Japanese Art Dealers in the United States in the Early Twentieth Century,” *Journal of American Studies* 44, no. 1 (2010): 22. See also: Yumiko Yamamori, “Japanese Arts in America, 1895–1920, and the A.A. Vantine and Yamanaka Companies,” *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 15, no. 2 (2008): 96–126.

27 Stacey Pierson, *From Object to Concept: Global Consumption and the Transformation of Ming Porcelain* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 81–107. See also: Ellen C. Huang, “From the Imperial Court to the International Art Market: Jingdezhen Porcelain Production as Global Visual Culture,” *Journal of World History* 23, no. 1 (2012): 115–45;

Oriental Art Treasures that echoed the language used to describe old master and contemporary paintings, as in the case of the *Art Treasures of Great Britain* held in Manchester in 1857.

These examples largely demonstrate a one-way flow, from East to West, and raise the question of the reverse, from West to East, as well as the conditions of production and reception in the East. Shanghai, for example, underwent tremendous change over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, leading to the emergence of a new class of art patrons who favoured new subjects in contemporary art, such as portraiture, which was an implicit rejection of the long-dominant literati style.²⁸

In sum, the very definition of “art” itself is historically specific and is, in key ways, produced by the markets within which objects circulate. The market enables the object to signify as art and it is within the market processes of valuation and exchange that the status of art is reified. Thus we, as a field, need to continue to ask: who was responsible for defining or describing art in the international art market of the nineteenth century? Was it a universal concept or did it require constant acts of translation and mediation? Did the taxonomies that we have become accustomed to today—such as paintings, prints, drawings, sculpture and the decorative arts—operate in similar ways in the period and across different markets?

Conclusion: Modelling the International Art Market

We would like to conclude these observations with a provocation: what would it look like to try to model the international art market? How might we draw on the case studies in this volume and elsewhere in order to map out a conceptual ecosystem, identifying the relevant variables and those forces that act upon them? In turn, how might such a conceptual map help foster case studies that advance our understanding of the art market and its complexities? How might particular instances be further contextualised by attending to the larger set of agents, instruments, institutions, processes and historical conditions that produced the market? In suggesting this approach we are inspired by both the example of modelling in other disciplines and the use of computational

Michelle Ying-Ling Huang, “British Interest in Chinese Painting, 1881–1910: The Anderson and Wegener Collections of Chinese Painting in the British Museum,” *Journal of the History of Collecting* 22, no. 2 (2010): 279–87.

28 Anon., “Art in Late-Nineteenth-Century Shanghai,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 58, no. 3 (2001): 10–3.

techniques and large data sets within art history, but we do not couch our provisional proposal in these terms.²⁹ Instead, we offer a set of questions and categories that might underpin future work, whether computational, theoretical or narrative.

As suggested above, we must attend to our geographical and temporal frameworks, recognising them as lenses of sorts that allow certain fields to come into focus and others to remain obscured. Those fields are further shaped by the economic, political and social conditions at play and what these changing dynamics make possible and what they impede. Is the market self-consciously acknowledged in this context and commented upon as such? Is it differentiated from other modes of exchange, such as gift-giving or patronage? In other words, what defines the nature of “the market” in a specific context?

Once the contours and context of “the market” in a particular case are established, a model would then require identification of the most important variables within that configuration and the rules that govern their actions and interactions. What are the available identities—agents, intermediaries, consumers, etc. and their roles—within a given market, and who filled them? What were the primary institutions and mechanisms by which objects entered, circulated, produced meaning and were assigned forms of value within the field? Again, were these agents, institutions and mechanisms understood as an interlocked system and commented upon as such? The “rules” of a given market include not only the specific practices of dissemination, display, evaluation and transfer, but also other systems for exchange and value on which the art market relied, such as legal and financial regulations and practices (e.g., copyright, tariffs, export duties, cultural heritage laws), as well as complementary modes of circulation, such as communication and transportation. What and where were the pressure points in these interlocking systems and where did flow(s) start, slow, speed, or stop, or even disappear altogether, and why?

Each individual market—whether defined by medium or geography or temporality, etc.—is then potentially in contact with many others. As objects cross borders of various types, the same actors, agents, institutions, mechanisms, semantic and other processes of making meaning, structures and systems do not necessarily travel with them. The original conceptual map will thus need to be reconfigured within the new field of activity. In other words, an effective

29 For a discussion of the benefits and limitations of a data-driven approach, harnessing data-based modelling and machine learning, see: Matt Lincoln, “Predicting the Past: Digital Art History, Modeling, and Machine Learning,” *The Iris, Behind the Scenes at the Getty*, 27 July 2017, <http://blogs.getty.edu/iris/predicting-the-past-digital-art-history-modeling-and-machine-learning/>.

model must be drawn from historically specific conditions and with an awareness that interactions between markets may operate unevenly.

In working towards an ecosystem model of the market—towards identifying structures, agents, behaviours, practices and their interactions within a specific spatial and temporal context—we are also describing an inherently fragile system, one which depends on critically significant but also highly unstable categories. Even if the art market in the nineteenth century was highly visible, integrated and robust, the concept of art and even commodity was in flux.³⁰ Borders did not remain fixed; nations and knowledge were in formation. Acknowledging the mutability of the market while attempting to model it is the great challenge we face as a field.

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